FAMILIARITY AND ALTERITY

Ottoman Istanbul through the Eyes of Three Moroccan Travellers from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries

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Abstract

This thesis analyses and compares the travelogues of three Moroccan travellers to Ottoman Istanbul spanning the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, a key period strategically both in the Mediterranean and in Ottoman-Moroccan relations. Early modern Morocco was an independent but threatened frontier state, negotiating and building relations with competing powers across the Mediterranean and northern Atlantic. A region spatially closer to the countries of Europe than to the East Islamic world, it was not under Ottoman rule, and its relations with the Ottomans oscillated between camaraderie against the common Christian threat, admiration for Ottoman state institutions, and competition for who was the most 'righteous ruler'.

It is through the lenses/perspectives of 'alterity and familiarity', 'righteous rule', and in its examination of the texts' 'strategies of compilation' that this study explores three Moroccan travel accounts of Ottoman Istanbul: *al-Nafḥa al Miskiyya fī Sifāra al-Turkiyya* (The Book of the Musky Breeze of the Embassy to Turkey, 1589-1590) by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā wa-l-raqīb fī ḥajj bayt Allāh al-ḥarām wa ziyārat al-Quds al-Sharīf wa-l-Khalīl wa-l-tabarruk bi-qabr al-Ḥabīb* (The Attainment of High Dignities from Hajj to the Sacred House of God and Visiting the Noble Jerusalem and Hebron and Seeking the Blessing of the Tomb of Dearly Beloved [Prophet Muḥammad]) by Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī (1785-1788), and *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā fī akhbār al-maʾmūr barran wa baḥran* (The Great Guidebook on the News of the [Inhabited] World by Land and Sea) by Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī (1785-1786). These Moroccan travellers were official emissaries, and although they do not offer precise details about their missions in the travelogues, they nevertheless provide elaborate descriptions of Ottoman ceremonies and draw comparisons between Moroccan and Ottoman rule. Maghribi Muslim emissaries' self-differentiation from Ottoman and Mashriqi Muslims is manifested in the travelogues that al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī produce. They also convey an interplay of alterity and familiarity by positioning their orthodox (more religious) selves in the face of the profane, ʿajamī (non-Arab, foreign) Ottomans. Despite the shifting historical context of Moroccan dynasties from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, from the Saʿdīs to the ʿAlawīs, the travelogues retain some clear continuities, both intertextual but also

ideological, such as the need to depict and define a "righteous ruler" who remained stable, as is reflected in the three travelogues.

To my parents, *Elmas* and *Şahzade*, and my sister, *Vildan*.

Notes on Transliteration, Translation and Dates

This dissertation employs the *IJMES (International Journal of Middle East Studies)* system of transliteration for both Arabic and Turkish words, unless a commonplace English rendition exists, e.g. sultan, qadi, sharifian, madrasa, muezzin, minbar etc. are not transliterated. Regarding the place names, this dissertation uses English renditions where these exist. The capital of the Ottoman Empire is referred to as Istanbul, unless the reference is to the city (Constantinople) before the Ottoman conquest, or it is quoted and/or translated as such in the texts under study. Arabic and Ottoman Turkish sources also spell some proper names, like that of Sultan Abdülhamid I, Murad III, and Arabic-origin words differently; apart from names that are rendered according to the modern Turkish usage, such as Abdülhamid and Murad, I adhere to their primary linguistic context—hence *ḳāżīʿasker* and *şeyhülislām* for Ottoman institutions, and *ʿarżuḥāl* instead of *ʿarḍ al-ḥāl*. Plurals of non-English terms use the English plural suffix "s", e.g., *riḥlas*, *ḳāżīʿaskers*.

The translations from Arabic are mine unless otherwise indicated. I use the English translations of the selected texts Arabic script occasionally, where to underline the textual relationship of the travelogues or their stylistic features.

Dates follow the *hijrī*/Common Era (C.E.) format when they first appear. After that, only the Common Era dates are provided. *Hijrī* dates have been converted to Common Era equivalents using the Turkish History Institute (Türk Tarih Kurumu)'s online guide https://www.ttk.gov.tr/genel/tarih-cevirme-kilavuzu/ for date conversion.

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Introduction

Section I: Aims, Concepts and Contribution

Al-Maghrib al-Aqsā, the Farthest West, as present-day Morocco was called in the early modern period, occupied a unique space in North Africa as the only Arab land not penetrated by the Ottomans. By contrast, from the early sixteenth century onwards Bilād al-Shām (Greater Syria), Egypt, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, the Hijaz and even Yemen were all brought under Ottoman dominion. This conferred on Morocco special status, in both Mediterranean and Ottoman history, as an independent but threatened frontier state, negotiating and building relations with competing powers in the Mediterranean and northern Atlantic. Morocco was threatened by Europe to the north, with Spanish and Portuguese enclaves within its borders, while to the east lay, if not the Ottoman Empire itself, the Ottoman-affiliated Regency of Algiers.[1] According to Dahiru Yahya, Morocco maintained its independence through a combination of factors, including the rivalry between the two Empires, the Ottoman and Habsburg, in the western Mediterranean, and the Sa'dī sultans' policies of playing these two off against each other.[2]

Relations between the Moroccan and Ottoman sultans and their governors in the Maghrib were therefore ambivalent, and included competition, cooperation against common enemies, and emulation.[3] Against this historical perspective, my study

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[1] Spanish and Portuguese enclaves continued to exist on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of the Maghrib. Ceuta was held by Portuguese from 1415 to 1668 and then by the Spanish while Melilla was captured in 1497. The Portuguese raids on Tangier, Asilah (Aṣīla) and Larache (al-ʿArāʾish) with their eventual capture in the late fifteenth century. Agadir was occupied by the Portuguese between 1505-1541. Ceuta and Melilla remain Spanish territories on the Moroccan coast to this day. See Nabil Matar, "The Mediterranean through Arab Eyes in the Early Modern Period: From Rūmī to "White In-Between Sea", in *The Making of the Modern Mediterranean: Views from the South*, Judith E. Tucker (ed.), Oakland California: University of California Press, 2019, p. 20.

[2] Dahiru Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century: Problems and Patterns in African Foreign Policy,* Harlow: Longman, 1981, p. xiii. For a further discussion see also Abderrahmane El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs: Moroccan-Ottoman Relations from the 16th through to the 18th Century", PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1992, pp. 150-153.

[3] About Ottoman intentions to extend control across Morocco, it has been argued that most military campaign plans against Morocco were undertaken at the initiative of the Regency of Algiers, at a time

explores three travelogues by Moroccan envoys to the Eastern Islamic World written between the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, focusing specifically on their accounts of the Ottoman capital. How did Maghribi Muslims travelling to Istanbul view and write about the Ottoman capital—what views of the Ottoman world did they articulate? What impressed them? Did they feel familiarity or estrangement in the city and in their dealings with their Ottoman hosts, particularly when they traversed Christian lands before landing in Istanbul?

The sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were a strategically key period in the Mediterranean beyond Ottoman-Moroccan relations. With the Ottoman conquest of Mamluk territories in 1516, Cairo ceased to be the imperial capital and was replaced by Istanbul. Regional travel patterns also changed as a consequence of this shift in the imperial seat and in political power, and bilateral exchanges started between Istanbul and the new Arab provinces.[4] Travellers, merchants, emissaries and scholars, not only from the East Islamic world—today's Egypt, Syria and Hijaz—but also from the Western Islamic lands, visited the new Ottoman capital. Although there had been travel in both directions between Ottoman Anatolia and the Mamlūk Bilād al-Shām, before the Ottoman conquest travellers had moved largely southwards to perform the hajj, visit holy shrines and search for knowledge at the principal centres of learning in the East Islamic World. While for the Ottomans the main motivation for travelling to newly-conquered provinces was to take up administrative positions as governors, judges and scribes, Arab scholars travelled to Istanbul to seek patronage and secure positions in the new imperial system. As they travelled to the imperial centre, these scholars and elites in the Arab provinces produced the earliest examples of travelogues to Ottoman Istanbul.[5]

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when Ottoman administration was not yet established, and the power of the Ottoman sultan was not directly felt. However, the Ottoman State attempted to send its navy twice, in 1561 and 1581, in support of its Regency, though none of these forces reached Morocco since the fleets were recalled by the Sublime Porte. The stated reason for cancelling the expedition to Morocco in 1581 was that Ottomans did not want to strengthen the hands of the Muslim corsairs in western Mediterranean by eliminating the Sultanate of Morocco, which was the only check on their power; see Emrah Safa Gürkan, "The Centre and the Frontier: Ottoman Cooperation with the North African Corsairs in the Sixteenth Century," *Turkish Historical Review,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (2010), pp. 125–163, and Gürkan, "Fooling the Sultan: Information, Decision-Making and the 'Mediterranean Faction' (1585-1587)", *Journal of Ottoman Studies,* 45 (2015), pp. 57-96.

[4] Yehoshua Frenkel, "The Ottomans and the Mamlūks through the Eyes of Arab Travelers (in 16th-17th Centuries)", in *The Mamluk- Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*, Stephan Conerman and Gül Şen (eds.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016, p. 277.

[5] Helen Pfeifer, "To Gather Together: Cultural Encounters in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Literary Salons", PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2014, p. 58; Nir Shafir, "The Road from Damascus:

What distinguishes the Moroccan travellers who visited Ottoman Istanbul and Ottoman provinces in this period that are the subject of this thesis from those who came from the Eastern Islamic lands is that the former came beyond the confines of the *memālik-i maḥrūsa-i Osmāniyye*, the Protected Domains of the Ottoman Empire, and their motive was not to seek patronage in the Ottoman capital. The Moroccan travellers were rather official envoys, and although in their travelogues they rarely offer precise details about their missions, they still provide elaborate descriptions of Ottoman ceremonial, set up comparisons between Moroccan and Ottoman rule, and comment on Maghribi communities within Ottoman lands. Through three Moroccan travelogues to Istanbul written over the course of three centuries, this thesis explores the discourses of alterity, similarity, and comparison between the Western and Eastern Islamic worlds that the travelogues set up and participated in, ranging from legal schools and court ceremonials to the Ottoman administrative system of *‘ulamā’* (*‘ilmiyye*) and lifestyle.

In fact, many more Moroccan men of letters, pilgrims and emissaries visited Ottoman Istanbul in this period than those who left written records. In particular, the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a dramatic increase in the numbers of Moroccan emissaries. Cihan Yüksel Muslu's recent study of Ottoman-Mamluk diplomatic relations highlights the importance of considering the mutual representations, ceremonial codes and correspondence in the interactions of two Muslim states. Muslu shows how diplomatic missions with carefully chosen emissaries, meticulously planned ceremonies, and presentations of gifts played a critical role in projecting imperial ideology for both Ottomans and Mamluks alike.[6]

Apart from diplomatic reasons, Moroccans left their homelands for study, pilgrimage, or visiting sacred locations, and trade. They permanently settled in the East, visited Ottoman Istanbul and even took up positions within the Empire.[7] Yet most

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Circulation and the Redefinition of Islam in the Ottoman Empire, 1620-1720", PhD Dissertation, University of California, 2016, p. 235. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several Arab travellers from Bilād al-Shām and the Hijaz visited Ottoman Istanbul and composed travelogues, among them Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (1499-1577), Qutb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (1511/12-1582), Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī (1542-1608), Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, known as Kibrīt (1603-1660), Ramaḍān al-ʿUṭayfī (1610-1684), Ibrāhīm al-Khiyārī (1628-1673) and ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731); for detailed information see Shafir, "The Road from Damascus", pp. 238-278.

[6] Cihan Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World*, London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.

[7] Aḥmad bin ʿAlī al-Jazūlī al-Sūsī was one of those Maghribis who, according to al-Jabartī, set off for pilgrimage in 1768, visited Istanbul and even occupied a high position there. He then settled and died in Cairo in 1782 without leaving any account. See Abderrahmane El Moudden, "The ambivalence of

of the travellers did not document their travels or sojourns, while in other cases their accounts are reported to have been lost.[8] Abderrahmane El Moudden provides a chart displaying the regularity of Moroccan emissaries' visits to Istanbul.[9] Only two from this list, Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī and Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī, composed travelogues that still survive today. The three Moroccan travels and travel accounts of Ottoman Istanbul that I examine in this thesis are therefore the only ones that we have. They are: *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya fī Sifāra al-Turkiyya"* (The Book of the Musky Breeze of the Embassy to Turkey, 1589-1590) by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī,[10] *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā wa-l-raqīb fī ḥajj bayt Allāh al-ḥarām wa ziyārat al-Quds al-Sharīf wa-l-Khalīl wa-l-tabarruk bi-qabr al-Habīb* (The Attainment of high dignities from Hajj to the Sacred House of Allah and visiting the Noble Jerusalem and Hebron and seeking the blessing of the tomb of Dearly Beloved [Prophet Muḥammad] by Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī (1785-1788),[11] and *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā fī akhbār al-maʾmūr barran wa baḥran* (The Great Guidebook on the News of the [Inhabited] World by Land and Sea,)

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rihla: community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300-1800", in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination,* D. F. Eickelman and J. Piscatori (eds.), London: Routledge, 1990, p. 72. Ibn Ṭayyib al-Sharqī is another Moroccan scholar-traveller who embarked on several journeys to the east and composed travelogues. His first travelogue was about his journey in 1728 to the Hijaz to perform pilgrimage and his second travelogue which consisted of Damascus, Egypt and Turkey, is considered to be lost as well. See Nasser S. Al-Samaany, "Travel Literature of Moroccan Pilgrims During the 11-12th/17-18th Centuries: Thematic and Artistic Study", PhD Dissertation, University of Leeds, 2000, p. 67; Muḥammad Ibn Ṭayyib al-Sharaqī, *The Travels of Ibn al-Ṭayyib: The Forgotten Journey of an Eighteenth Century Traveller to the Ḥijāz*, El Mustapha Lahlali, Salah Al-Dihan and Wafa Abu Hatab (tr., ed. and comment), London: I.B. Tauris 2010.

[8] For instance, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir al-Salawī was another emissary sent to Sultan Abdülhamid I in 1179/1765, earlier to al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī, but his travelogue *al-rihla al-hijaziyya* did not survive into our time. See ʿAbd al-Salām ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl Muʾarrikh al-Maghrib Al-aqṣā*, Titwān: al-Matbaʿa al-Ḥasanīyya, 1950, p. 389.

[9] El Moudden's research about Moroccan missions to Istanbul draws on Ottoman archival documents and Moroccan sources. He notes that the chart does not include all of the emissaries since the sources sometimes do not mention the individuals' names, and that further research is needed; El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 237-241.

[10] Most of the historians working on Mediterranean history have highlighted *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya,* which is considered one of the primary sources on the Mediterranean history of its time, and there are several editions of this text. Henri de Castries first published al-*Nafḥa al-Miskiyya's* text in Arabic in 1929 and translated it into French in the same year; see Lisa Bitel and Peter C. Mancall, *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology*, Peter Mancall (ed.), Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 375-374. In 1988, al-*Nafḥa al-Miskiyya* was edited by Sulayman al-Sayd, on the basis on de Castries's edition. In 2002, al-Tamagrūtī's account was again edited by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Shādhilī, with a brief introduction; finally, in 2007, Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī produced the latest edition of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, adding the *fihrists* and index at the end of his work.

[11] Al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz Al-muʿallā* was edited and annotated by Muḥammad Bū Kabūt in 2003; see, Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān Miknāsī and Muḥammad Bū Kabūt, *Rihla al-Miknāsī: Iḥrāz Al-muʿallā wa-l-raqīb fī Ḥajj Bayt Allāh al-ḥarām wa-ziyārat Al-Quds al-sharīf wa-l-Khalīl wa-l-tabarruk bi-qabr al-Ḥabīb, 1785*, Abu Dhabi: Dār al-Suwaydī li-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2003. See also Muḥammad Bū Kabūt, *Sifārat Muḥammad Ibn 'Uthmān Al-Miknāsī Wa-mushāhadātih Fī Astānbūl Wa-al-Shām Wa-al-Ḥijāz, 1786-1789*, Fās: Jāmiʿat Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. Kullīyat al-Ādāb wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah bi-Fās, 2004.

by Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Zayyānī (1785-1786).[12] Although these travelogues are valued as the only surviving Moroccan travelogues on Istanbul from this period, they have been less studied than the works of other famous Moroccan historians and authors such as al-Fishtālī (d. 1031/1621).[13] Moreover, existing studies treat them individually, while comparing them allows us to identify strategies of compilation and citation and patterns of continuity and change in the representation of Ottoman Istanbul.

The first traveller, al-Tamagrūtī, arrived in Istanbul in November 1589 and stayed there for nearly eight months, leaving the city on 11th June 1590. His description of the city, both in the order of description and the range of topics, laid down the pattern and tenor of description—though he himself borrowed partly from earlier writers, particularly for what regards the description of buildings, as we shall see in Chapter 1. Unlike the other two travellers, al-Tamagrūtī's trip to Istanbul was his first time away from home. And while his brother had already been sent there as an envoy (though he left no account) and must have told him about his experiences, al-Tamagrūtī was still bowled over by the variety of goods in the city's many markets, but also by the "strange" Islamic practices, and was surprised to hear Ottomans refer to themselves as Rumis, as we shall see (Chapter 1). Among the three travelogues, his description of Istanbul is the most concise and impersonal and the one that expresses a Maghribi's unfamiliarity to the highest degree.

By comparison, al-Miknāsī was an experienced traveller and envoy, and his trip to Istanbul was his third official mission (see Chapter 2). Al-Miknāsī and his mission stayed in Ottoman capital for nearly nine months, between September 1786 and May 1787, the longest among the three Maghribi travellers. Al-Miknāsī's Istanbul account builds on and expands al-Tamāgrūtī's topographical description and descriptions of monuments, and his brief account of the Ottoman education and administrative systems, but he also adds notices about the libraries of Istanbul and their scholarly

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[12] al-Zayyānī's *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* was edited by ʿAbd al-Karīm Fīlālī, firstly in 1967 and then in 1991; see Abu al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad Zayyānī, and ʿAbd al-Karīm Fīlālī. *Al-Tarjumānah Al-kubrā Fī Akhbār Al-maʿmūr Barran Wa-baḥran*, [al-Ribāṭ / Ghasht]: Wizārat al-Anbāʾ, 1967; Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad Zayyānī and ʿAbd al-Karīm Fīlālī, *Al-Tarjūmānah Al-kubrá Fī Akhbār Al-maʿmūr Barran Wa-baḥran*. Ṭabʿah 1991, al-Rabāṭ: Dār Nashr al-Maʿrifah, 1991. Al-Zayyānī visited Istanbul between 1785-1786, although he completed writing his *rihla* only in 1818, as he writes at the end of *al-Tarjumān*.
[13] al-Tamagrūti's contemporary ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Fishtālī is highly respected author of al-Manṣūr's time. al-Fishtālī was head of the chancery (*wazīr al-qalam al-aʿlā*) and court historian and wrote a history of the Saʿdi dynasty entitled *Manāhil al-ṣafā fī akhbār al-mulūk al-shurafā*. For more information on al-Fishtālī, see Stephen Cory, *Reviving the Islamic Caliphate in Early Modern Morocco*, Surrey-Burlington: Ashgate, 2014.

activities. Al-Miknāsī portrays daily life, ranging from bazaars and security to the "people of Istanbul" (*ahl al-Istānbūl*), including citations from the seventeenth century Damascene historian Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Qaramānī's (d. 1019/1610-1611) history regarding the foundation of the Ottomans and their conquest of Istanbul.[14] His main innovation was in the description of his reception by the Ottoman Sultan and of the elaborate protocol at court, which he described with awe but also with a sense of the strangeness of "their ceremonies", as we shall see. His admiration for the Ottomans was therefore tempered by criticism of their profligate lifestyle ("they eat meat and even suck the bones!" he noted), and he compared them to the '*Ajamīs* that he had met while on earlier trip to Naples; Ottomans were a "different *jins*" and did not like Arabs.

The third and last text, al-Zayyānī's *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, completed in 1233/1818, is an encyclopaedia-like *riḥla* that includes the records of the three trips al-Zayyānī made to the Hijaz, Egypt and Istanbul between 1756 and 1794. It is a voluminous work that includes political memoirs, geography, descriptions of natural sources, an inventory of peoples and even a section on the internal divisions and the boundaries of the Maghrib (see Chapter 3).[15] Though it follows al-Zayyānī's personal chronology and follows, and further expands on, the previous travelogues, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* it is also full of digressions and flashbacks.[16] Perhaps the most interesting section in his account of Istanbul is his even more detailed description of his reception by Sultan Abdülhamid I, during which, he claimed, he enjoyed particular closeness and regard. Of the travellers, al-Zayyānī's is the most positive towards the Ottoman state, although, as we shall see, he also gives space to criticism of Ottoman exclusion of the Arab *'ulamā'*.

These three travelogues share spatial and temporal features. Firstly, there is their geographic framework: the authors come from the Maghrib frontier, a region temporally and spatially closer to Al-Andalus and the countries of Europe than to the Eastern Islamic world and the centre of the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, these travelogues belong to the post-Reconquista and pre-colonial period, often considered an era of decline in Islamic intellectual history.[17] In fact, since al-Miknāsī and al-

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[14] See Chapter 2 of this study.

[15] Nabil Matar, "Arabic Travel Writing to 1916", in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, Carl Thompson (ed.), New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 144; Nabil Matar, "Christians in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Mashriq in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 47, Number 2, Winter 2014, p. 178.

[16] al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 58.

[17] For a recent study challenging the narratives of intellectual stagnation and decadence in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa in the early modern periods, see Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual*

Zayyānī were sent by the same ruler, Sīdī Muḥammad to the same Ottoman sultan, Sultan Abdülhamid I, their texts partly deal with the same events. This allows us to analyse how these two Moroccan scholar-travellers produced similar but contrasting texts.

Through an in-depth analysis of these travelogues from Morocco to Istanbul and Ottoman world, this thesis contributes to a growing body of scholarship that is challenging the notion of intellectual stagnation in the Islamic world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and particularly in the Western Islamic world. Instead, it argues that Muslim scholars continued to travel and cultivate relationships across the Islamic world. This introduction first introduces the conceptual lenses —of alterity, righteous ruler/legitimacy and strategies of compilation —through which I analyse and compare the three texts. The second part presents the existing scholarship on the *riḥla* or travelogue genre in Arabic, and on Maghribi travelogues in particular, and lays out the historico-political context of the connections between the Maghribi and Ottoman rulers.

Conceptual Framework and Contributions of the Study

Travels and visits to Istanbul introduced Moroccan travellers to different and contrasting Muslim sovereigns and their policies. While trying to render the unfamiliar familiar, the ensuing comparison enabled the travel writers to elaborate an image of the Maghribi rulers and position them as the righteous and ideal rulers in the Islamic world, not only for an external audience but also to counter the constant threat of the religious elites and ʿulamāʾ to the sultans' authority within their own country. This thesis explores *al-Nafḥa al Miskiyya, Ihrāz al-muʿallā* and *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* through a close reading of the texts according to three main interconnected analytical lenses – familiarity and alterity, the idea of righteous ruler, and the texts' strategies of citation.

History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015. It has been claimed that Maghrib remained intellectually stagnant compared to the Eastern Islamic World, but el-Rouayheb argues that the history of Morocco in the early modern period cannot be called one of "decline"; towards the end of the seventeenth century a number of Moroccan scholars identified their era as one of revival of learning; Ibid., pp. 147-148, 354-355.

According to İrvin Cemil Schick, alterity is necessarily involved in the construction and definition of the self, which requires the positioning the self in the face of an 'other'.[18] As Roxanne Euben also observes about travel literature in general, while trying to understand the self and the other, the familiar and unfamiliar, travellers produce knowledge by way of comparison.[19] "Travel writing", Schick further argues,

> is a technology, a discursive instrument through which identity is constructed and reconstructed, precisely because it relentlessly sets up oppositions between Self and Other, because it explicitly thematises the Other and thereby authorizes definitions of the Self. But there is more: travel writing involves displacements that bring about confrontations not only with the Other but also with the elsewhere.[20]

Foreign places become an active standpoint for travellers to consider the culture from they have come from.[21] Specifically, as Mohamed El Mansour has argued in "Maghribis in the Mashriq", even within the *dār al-Islām* and Arabic-speaking lands, differences in cultural identity always existed. Although El Mansour does not adopt a specific conceptual framework, he observes that Maghribi Muslims revealed their "frontier culture" when they interacted with Easterner Muslims.[22] As a result, the chapters of this thesis analyse and contrast the three travelogues firstly through the prism of familiarity and alterity in their descriptions and (usually implicit) comparison between Ottoman Istanbul and Morocco. This includes attention to the focus and tone of the descriptions: do descriptions of the city, of Ottoman institutions and of court ceremonial emphasise unfamiliarity or strangeness, do they express admiration and a desire for emulation, is admiration tempered by criticism, and so on?

More specifically, Gerd Baumann uses the term "grammar' of identity/alterity" to refer to socially shared classificatory structures, namely orientalization (building on

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[18] İrvin 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 the Middle Eastern Travel Writing*, Bekim Agai, Olcay Yıldız, Caspar Hillebrand (eds.), Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2013, p.15.
[19] Roxanne Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006, pp.18-19.
[20] Schick, "Self and Other", p.15.
[21] Ibid., p. 13.
[22] Mohamed El Mansour, "Magribis in the in the Mashriq during the Modern Period: Representations of the Other within the World of Islam", *Journal of North African Studies* Vol. 6, issue I (2011), pp. 81-104.

the work of Edward Said), segmentation and encompassment. [23] Orientalization conceives of differences between two groups as "us=good" and "them=bad", as well as reverse mirror imaging. While I don't use the term orientalization in my thesis, since it does not seem appropriate in this context, the travelogues by al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī show and interplay of identity and alterity by positioning their orthodox (more religious) self in the face of the worldlier, non-Arab Ottoman other. While describing Ottoman customs, by distinguishing themselves (in the first person) from the third-person "they" for the Ottomans, these Moroccan travellers highlight their alterity.

Segmentation (Evans Pritchard's concept) means that identity and alterity depend on context, which can change "according to the structural level of the conflict or contest, coalition and cooperation".[24] In other words, Baumann argues, "the Other may be a foe in a context placed at a lower level of segmentation but may simultaneously be my ally in a context placed at a higher level of segmentation."[25] In the case of al-Zayyānī and al-Miknāsī in particular, we find segmentation in their criticism and othering in the context of specific religious rituals and practices, with admiration for Ottoman libraries and mosques at a different level, and at a yet higher level of international geopolitics praise for the Ottoman sultan as *amīr al-muslimīn* in the context of his struggles against the Russians at a higher level. Particularly in the case of al-Zayyānī (Ch. 3), the pleasure of being admitted to the presence of Ottoman high officials and the Ottoman sultan led him to emphasise bonds of fraternity and commonality, while at other times he, like the others, did not fail to notice the discrimination against Arab *'ulamā'* within the Ottoman system.

Finally, "encompassment" (Dumont) means defining the self through appropriation, or as Baumann describes it: "your low level of consciousness may need my otherness to define itself, but my heart is big enough for both of us".[26] It is hard to

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[23] Gerd Baumann, "Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach" in Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich (eds), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, New York and Oxford: Berghahm Books, 2004, pp.19-50. This volume updates the work of Edward Said, Evans Pritchard and Louis Dumont, offering a framework through which one can compare the various forms of alterities in and across cultures and societies.
[24] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[25] Ibid., p. 23.
[26] Ibid., p. 25.

speak of encompassment in the case of our three Moroccan travellers, perhaps because they came from a smaller polity or because the sense of alterity as Maghribis prevailed.

Baumann presents these three "grammars of identity/alterity" within a context of "competition and interaction", with a particular focus on politics, religion, and aesthetics. This approach is important since it posits politics and competition for power as potentially crucial in processes of selfing and othering. Similarly, while the authors of the three travelogues do not present a dichotomy of good/Maghribi versus bad/Ottoman, the background of competition for "righteous ruler" and comparison between Ottoman institutions and Moroccan ones renders Bauman's discussion of identity/alterity relevant to our context. Although these Moroccan travellers, al-Tamagrūtī in particular, expressed feelings of alterity towards the Ottomans and Ottoman Istanbul, they displayed alterity and attraction at the same time.[27]

Al-Tamagrūtī's own Saʿdī patron had gained direct familiarity with Ottoman Istanbul, and historians argue that after al-Manṣūr's accession to power, Ottoman influences on administrative and military systems became sustained. In this context, it is no surprise that Maghribi travellers from the seventeenth century onwards devoted significant space to the social and administrative systems not just in Europe but also in the Ottoman Empire, as al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī's travelogues show (Chapters 2 and 3). In addition to institutional arrangements, there were also cultural and artistic borrowings from the Ottomans, especially in the period of al-Manṣūr's reign.[28]

My second analytical prism is the idea of the righteous ruler: how do the statements, descriptions, and comparisons of the Ottoman and Moroccan sultans, their courts and religious establishments reflect the authors' understanding of a righteous ruler? According to Rodney Barker, "When rulers legitimate themselves, they give an account of who they are".[29] In these travelogues this idea is often voiced through the particular terms they used for the Ottoman Sultan, through brief discussions on authority and legitimacy, and in reflections on just and unjust administration, e.g. in

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[27] According to El Moudden, al-Tamagrūtī's reaction hovered between "fascination and rejection"; El Moudden, "The ambivalence of Rihla", p. 80.

[28] E.g. in book binding and styles of ornamentation; Nuria de Castilla, "Maghrebi Bindings in Ottoman Dress: About Changes and of Tastes and Techniques in Saʿdīan Morocco", *Turcica*, Vol. 50 (2019), pp. 89-113.

[29] Rodney Barker, *Legitimating Identities: The Self-Presentations of Rulers and Subjects,* Cambridge, 2001, p. 35.

regard to the position of the Arab *'ulamā'* in the Ottoman domain. In the midst of the political upheavals of the sixteenth century, the Saʿdīs constructed an ideology of authority based on their sharifian divine right to rule, and in the face of Portuguese invasion of their lands declared a holy war. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, considered the most significant ruler of the Saʿdī dynasty, emerged triumphant in 1578 after the Battle of Wādī al-Makhāzin (Battle of Three Kings) against Spain and Portugal.[30] Following his victorious accession to the throne, he combined from the outset the divine right to rule, or sharifism, with messianism in order to deter potential domestic rebels claiming the title of the *mahdī*, like for example Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī.[31] Al-Manṣūr developed and maintained relations with both Christian and Islamic domains by sending and receiving emissaries to Murad III of the Ottoman Empire, Philip II of Spain, and Elizabeth I of England.[32] Prior to al-Tamagrūtī's mission to Istanbul in 1589, there had been several missions carrying imperial letters between al-Manṣūr and Murad III, including the mission of al-Tamagrūtī's brother in 980/ 1572-1573.[33]

In this context, it becomes less surprising that, in his travelogue, al-Tamagrūtī should discuss the origins of the Ottomans and compared their legitimacy with his ruler's (see Chapter 1). As we shall see, al-Tamagrūtī began his travelogue with a lengthy quotation from al-Bakrī on the history of the North African dynasties and the victory of Muslims against the Crusaders, which raised the issue of the righteous caliphate over the whole Muslim world. He then underlines how the Ottomans do not possess a legitimate right to the caliphate, whereas the Saʿdī rulers are descendants of the Prophet, and clarifies that the caliphate was only legitimate when occupied by the true descendants of the Prophet from Quraysh. For al-Tamagrūtī, then, the Ottomans belong to the category of *al-mamālīk wa-l-mawālī* or "Mamluks and clients/non-Arab converts" (see Chapter 1), through whom God protects Muslims.

In all the three travelogues, the caliphate, righteous rule, divine rule and even messianism are significant themes. Comparisons between the Maghribi rulers and the Ottoman sultans, this study argues, allowed writers under both the Saʿdī and ʿAlawī dynasties the opportunity to position and define their rulers vis-à-vis the main Muslim

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[30] For more information of the Battle of Wādī al-Makhāzin, see Cory, *Reviving the Islamic Caliphate*, pp. 59-63.
[31] Mercedes García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdīs of the Muslim West*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 262-270.
[32] Ibid., p.288.
[33] Muḥammad Ḥajjī, *Mawsūʿat Aʿlām al-Maghrib*, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996, vol 2, p. 988.

power of their time. This helped them legitimise their authority within the boundaries of the Maghrib, too, where there were numerous sharifian families who had previously rebelled against their authority. These travelogues thus functioned as a tool to convince the ʿulamāʾ, the sharifian families and the people of the Maghrib in general, that the Saʿdīs and ʿAlawīs were their legitimate rulers. Although the portrayal of the Ottoman sultans changed from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, as we shall see, the need to define and support the Moroccan sultan as "a righteous ruler" remained constant.

In a section of the eighteenth century *riḥla, Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* devoted to the return to his homeland, for example, al-Miknāsī explicitly compares Sīdī Muḥammad with the governor of Algiers and praises the former for his virtuous act of always liberating captives of Christian pirates. In so doing, al-Miknāsī deliberately and proudly reminds his readers that Sīdī Muḥammad was the sole ruler in the whole Islamic world who liberated Muslim captives.[34] So, although El Moudden has defined the eighteenth-century Ottoman-Moroccan relationship as an early form of pan-Islamism, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī's travelogues on Istanbul confirm that Sīdī Muḥammad rather emphasised his righteousness and religious authority through the ransoming of Muslim captives who were ignored by the Ottoman governors of Algiers province.[35]

My third analytical lens in this thesis is the "texture" and style of these travelogues and their strategies of citation: what and who do they choose to cite, do they identify their sources (or not), and what do they add to previous accounts? An analysis of these three Moroccan travelogues through these three lenses highlights a certain continuity across these texts and periods. Let me expand each lens with a few examples from the texts.

Along similar lines to Schick, Ansgar Nünning draws attention to the work of representation in Arabic travelogues and points out that a traveller's personal background, cultural patterns, topoi and auto- and hetero-stereotypes impact upon the experience and images of the Other. Thus, the image of the Other presented in the travelogues is not independent from the authors' own culture and previous

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[34] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, pp. 332-334.
[35] For a discussion on Sīdī Muḥammad's policies on releasing Ottoman-Algerian captives, through al-Miknāsī's mission to Spain (first travel) and Moroccan sultan's assertion of "religio-political authority over the Beylik of Algiers, see Peter Kitlas, "Al-Miknāsī's Mediterranean Mission: Negotiating Moroccan Temporal and Spritual Sovereignty in the Late Eighteenth Century", *Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2015), pp. 170-194.

assumptions.[36] Nünning's argues that prefiguration plays an important role in both travelling and writing travelogues, since the traveller has generally already "acquired knowledge and ideas about the places and countries travelled in" which function "not only to inform the traveller but also influence their selection and representation of the descriptions in the travelogue at least as much as personal experiences do".[37] As Nünning claims, former travel narratives constitute exemplary patterns to be followed in terms of both perception and representation.

Recycling earlier texts makes our authors appear to be compilers of previous sources rather than revealing their own voices. However, in the last decades close analyses of early modern Islamic chronicles have showed that authors could in fact present their own views through what Fred Donner calls their "strategies of compilation".[38] So while each *riḥla* worked through "prefiguration" and built on previous texts, adhering to the framework and tropes that had already been set, each chose whom to quote and exhibits some characteristics of its own. For example, Chapter 1 will ask why did al-Tamagrūtī narrate the Islamic conquest of Constantinople not from Mehmed II's conquest but Caliph Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d.60/680) siege and *almost* conquest, as it to emphasise that credit for the conquest should go to Arabs from time of the Prophet's companions?[39] And why did he choose to open his Istanbul section with a selection of hadiths that claimed that the conquest of Constantinople was a portent of the End of Time, a widespread notion at the end of sixteenth century CE as the end of the first Muslim millennium approached?[40] Whereas al-Tamagrūtī drew for the history of Istanbul upon the thirteenth century *al-Tadhkira* by al-Qurṭubī, which was still highly popular among his local Sufi circle, the later *riḥlas* by al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī eschew this theme and choose to cite from al-Qaramānī's *Akhbār al-Duwal wa āthār al-uwal*, which makes no reference to the

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[36] Ansgar Nünning, "On the Manifold Prefiguration/Premediation of the Representation of Reality in the Travelogue: An outline of a Narratological Theory, Typology and Poetics of Travel Writing", *Comunicaqao & Cultura,* No. 8 (2009), p. 131.

[37] Ibid., p. 130.

[38] Fred M. Donner, "ʿUthmān and the Rashidūn Caliphs in Ibn ʿAsākirʾs Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimasqh: A Study in Strategies of Compilation" in James E. Lindsay (ed), *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2001), pp. 44–61.; , "The First Islamic Revolt in Mamlūk Collective Memory: Ibn Bakrʾs (D. 1340) Portrayal of The Third Caliph ʿUthmān" in Sebastian Günther (ed), *Ideas, Images, And Methods of Portrayal: Insights Into Classical Arabic Literature And Islam*, Leiden-Boston, 2005, p. 377.

[39] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya*, pp. 112.

[40] Ibid., pp. 111-113.

relationship between the conquest and the End of the Time. [41] Thus the authors' strategies of citation, omissions and additions varied according to their social background (e.g. al-Zayyānī's Berber lineage in Chapter 3) or ideological orientation.

The travel writings of Moroccan authors from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, this thesis argues, were deeply embedded in their social and political circumstances. Istanbul, the imperial seat of the Ottoman Empire, was not simply the spatial centre of Morocco's co-religionist rival, though. It was also the capital of a Muslim state with an elaborate administrative and religious system and a wondrous marketplace for goods and people. Through descriptions of buildings and markets, of court ceremonials and religious rituals, Istanbul is presented as both an alluring and unfamiliar presence. The works of the three Moroccan travellers, therefore, speak about the intense workings of power and place in the period before the onset of European colonialism, which offer new meanings to these complicated relations.

I see the main contributions of this thesis as following:

1. Rather than assuming a factual basis to the descriptions of the Ottoman capital in these travel narratives, I bring the critical work on the representation of reality to bear upon them to emphasise *how* they present their information and experiences, and *why* they select certain topics.

2. The thesis' comparative focus allows me to show some very direct continuities between these texts, which in some cases are divided by several centuries, and to show their debt to each other, even when the texts fail to mention it. This is important because it emphasises the mediated nature of travelogues, which always relied on previous accounts and patterns of description. At the same time, the comparative angle also allows me to appreciate even minor innovations and changes, small additions and omissions, and the particular choice of words or turns of phrase that each author used and ponder over their significance and meaning.

3. The great interest that two of the three travelogues pay toward Ottoman court ceremonials and the *'ilmiyye* system – painstakingly detailing the structure, grades, and pay of the various *'ulamā'*, supports the argument that historians like Fatima Harrak, Amira Bennison and Mercedes García-Arenal have made in passing that the Moroccan state may have modelled its institutions on Ottoman ones. But while they only state that the Moroccan rulers like al-Manṣūr and Sīdī Muḥammad followed

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[41] Further, in the remainder of his account al-Tamagrūtī mostly refers to, Abu'l-Baqāʾ Khālid al-Balawī (d. after 767/1365), Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and ʾAbd Ibn Rabbih (d.246-328/860-940).

Ottoman forms of government, I argue that they did so on the basis of the information provided by the travelogues by al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī.

4. Finally, the prism of alterity and familiarity confirms El Moudden's argument about the Maghribis' identity: admiration for the richness of the Ottoman capital, its splendid buildings, and its elaborate institutions remained tempered by a sense of sometimes Maghribi, sometimes Arab, alterity.

Thesis Structure and Chapters' Outline

This thesis consists of three core chapters corresponding to the three case studies, in chronological order. Each chapter focusing on an author and his *riḥla* and includes biographical information about the author, their itinerary on their way to and from Istanbul and their description of Istanbul. The first chapter is dedicated to the sixteenth-century traveller ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī and his *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī sifāra al-Turkiyya*. This chapter shows that al-Tamagrūtī's description of Istanbul vista provided a sort of blueprint for the later Moroccan travellers, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī of this study. Al-Tamagrūtī himself followed a similar structure to that of earlier travelogues he had read, such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's. Through the lens of alterity and familiarity, this chapter highlights the emerging sense of a pious, more religious Maghribi identity juxtaposed to that of the worldly Ottomans. Al-Tamagrūtī's usage of pronouns such as "they/their" highlights the difference between Ottoman and Maghribi practices, while the righteous ruler lens underlines that he placed the Ottoman rulers at a lower rank than the Sharifian rulers of Morocco.

The second chapter, '"Gathering soil from travelling through lands": Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī in Istanbul' deals with the life, travels and travelogue(s) of al-Miknāsī, comparing his travelogue to Istanbul with his earlier ones to Spain and Naples. Although al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* strikes us as a more cosmopolitan text, a close reading reveals the importance of "prefiguration" in narrating about the city, in that al-Miknāsī followed al-Tamagrūtī's earlier text even though he does not acknowledge it. The chapter also shows that although al-Miknāsī's tone is less othering than al-Tamagrūtī, his travelogue provides a continuity with respects of the issues of alterity and of who was the most righteous ruler.

The third and final chapter, "In the Mirror of the Self: Ibn al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī in Istanbul", deals with an exact contemporary of al-Miknāsī, whose career followed a different trajectory, though. A historian and scholar, al-Zayyānī revels in historical digressions; while quoting freely from Ottoman texts, he also presents himself unapologetically as a Maghribi, indeed a Berber scholar. He also gives us an extraordinary account of his meeting with Sultan Abdülhamid I, which contrasts greatly with al-Miknāsī's rather unfortunate mission. Again, a close textual comparison reveals that parts of al-Zayyānī's description of Istanbul reproduced the earlier accounts, though the tone was significantly warmer.

Section II: Literature Review: The *Riḥla* and Historical Contexts of Three Moroccan Travelogues

Islamic Travel and the *Riḥla* Genre

The word al-*riḥla* in Arabic both refers to an act of travel and a travelogue (a genre) and etymologically derives from the root of ra-ḥa-la that is related to camel husbandry.[42] The study of Arabic travel writing has become a lively field of research in recent years.[43] Houari Touati, who has produced one of the most comprehensive works on medieval Arab travellers and who traces the emergence of the *riḥla* genre from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, begins his book *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages* by noting the passion for travel among Muslim scholars, whose principal

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[42] Ian R. Netton, "Riḥla", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition,* ed. P. Bearman, et al. Vol. VIII, Leiden, 1995, p. 528.

[43] Although it is impossible to list all the studies here, some of the most important include: Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*, London: Routledge, 1990; Ian Richard Netton (ed.), *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam*, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1993; Roxanne Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. A preliminary survey of Arabic travel writings from the East Islamic world is Ralf Elger, "Arabic Travelogues from the Mashreq 1700-1834: A Preliminary Survey of the Genre's Development", in *Crossing and Passages in Genre and Culture*, in Christian Szyska and Friederike Pannewick (eds.), Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003, pp. 27-40. See also Hilary Kilpatrick, "Between Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and al-Ṭahṭāwī: Arabic Travel Accounts of the Early Ottoman Period", *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11, no.2 (2008), pp. 233-248. Nasser S. Al-Samaany's PhD dissertation, "Travel Literature of Moroccan Pilgrims: analyses the Moroccan Pilgrimage narratives (*al-Riḥlāt al- Ḥijāziyya*) between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries"; see also: Samia S. A. al-ʿItani, "The Travels of Mahmud Shihab al-Dine al-Alusi Abū Thanaʿ: Arabic Rihlah Literature in the 19th Century", PhD Thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2003; Fathi A. El-Shihibi, "Travel Genre in Arabic Literature: A Selective Literary and Historical Study", PhD Thesis, Florida University, 2006; Salah Al-Dihan, "Critical Edition of Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib's Manuscript "Travel to Ḥijāz": Annotated and Authenticated", PhD Thesis, University of Salford, 2003.

motivation was the search for knowledge.[44] According to Touati, this impulse and the scope of their travels were instrumental in creating the conceptual boundaries of the "abode of Islam" (*dār al-Islām*); thus travel constituted one of Islam's major intellectual acts. In tracing the development of the *riḥla* genre, Touati argues that it started in the tenth century as an inventory of the scholars a traveller met and consulted with, whether in the form of letters or a journal, and evolved into a recognized *riḥla* genre in the twelfth century.[45]

Touati makes a basic distinction between European and Islamic travellers in the medieval era. He suggests that for European travellers the primary goal was to venture beyond the borders of Europe; as a result, their accounts focus on encountering "the other." By contrast, since the primary intention of Muslim travellers was to acquire knowledge, which included studying and recording the traditions of the Prophet, meeting renowned scholars, and acquiring first-hand information from masters, attending the oral sessions held in Muslim learning centres and transmitting their newly-acquired knowledge, Touati argues, they mainly remained within the confines of *dār al-Islām*.[46]

Despite the growing interest in editing and publishing Arabic travelogues since the beginning of the 1990s, Shawkat Toorawa has lamented that few studies have approached the complexity of medieval Muslim travel in a critical and theoretically sophisticated manner.[47] For example, since Touati focuses on travels motivated by a 'pursuit of knowledge', his expansive treatment excludes journeys undertaken for diplomatic purposes—those of emissaries and missions, including those beyond the *dār al-Islām*[48]—as well as the accounts of exiles or merchants; he also omits travel

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[44] Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, Lydia G. Cochrane (trans.), Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

[45] Ibid., pp. 224-246.

[46] Ibid., pp. 8.

[47] Shawkat M. Toorawa, "Travel in the Medieval Islamic World: The Importance of Patronage as Illustrated by 'Abd al Latif al-Baghdadi (and other littérateurs)", in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, Rosamund Allen (ed.) Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, pp. 57-70. Many travelogues have been published In Abu Dhabi under the Ruwwād al-Mashriq al-ʿArabī (Pioneers from the Arab East) and *Irtiyād al-āfāq* (Explorers of the Horizons) series; see Nabil Matar, "Arabic Travel Writing to 1916", p. 139. In addition, the Arabian Centre for Geographical Literature has organised "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa Awards for Travel Literature" since 2003 with the stated objective of encouraging the editing and publishing of Arabic travelogues which have been ignored and forgotten in the manuscript libraries of the Arab world; see Muḥammad al-Mughayribī, *Raḥḥālat al-Gharb al-Islāmī*, trans. ʿAbd al-Nabī Dhākir, Abu Dhabi: Dār al-Suwaydī, 2013, p. 9. Two of the travelogues under consideration in this study: *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya* and *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, were published in the series of *Irtiyād al-āfāq* by the Dār al-Suwaydī in Abu Dhabi.

[48] For example, Nabil Matar's works on Muslim travellers to Europe, *In the Lands of the Christians*, New York and London: Routledge, 2003; and *Europe through Arab Eyes*, New York: Columbia

dedicated to the hajj. Through the hajj, Muslims not only fulfilled their religious duty; they also explored new places on their way to Mecca. Some travellers recorded their impressions, which gave rise to a sub-genre of the *riḥla,* called *riḥla hijāziyya*.[49]

While Toorawa has argued that patronage played an important role in motivating medieval Muslim travel, Hilary Kilpatrick has suggested classifying Arabic travel accounts written between the late-sixteenth and early-nineteenth centuries according to motivation, including: pilgrimage, spiritual initiation and nourishment, diplomatic missions, request for a position or financial support, trade, and private reasons. [50]

Though the boundaries of the *riḥla* genre are blurred, and *riḥla* texts typically include material pertaining to genres such as *al-masālik wa'l-mamālik* (geographical literature), history, ethnography, *tarjama* (biographical works) and autobiography, what is distinct about the genre is its first-person narrative, which facilitates a more personal style.[51] According to some scholars, as the genre evolved in the thirteenth century, the autobiographical elements superseded geographical and ethnographic descriptions, and authors listed their meetings with other scholars and the *ijāzas* they gained, interspersing them with poetry and quotations from earlier sources.[52] As such, some *riḥlas* easily fall within the broad rubric of what have been called "ego-documents", texts in which "an ego talks about himself".[53] For example, after the first

University Press, 2009. See also Nizar F. Hermes, *The (European) Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture: Ninth-twelfth Century AD*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Late Medieval Ambassadors and the Practice of Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1250-1450" in *The Book of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, Palmira Brummett (ed.), Leiden-Boston, 2009, p. 59.

[49] For "*riḥla hijāziyya*", see Muḥammad al-Fāsi's introduction to al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr fī Fikāk al-asīr*, Rabat: al-Markaz al-Jāmiʿī li-l-Baḥth al-ʿIlmī, 1965; and Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Al-Maṣādir al-ʿArabiyya li Tarikh al-Maghrib*, 2 vols., Rabat: Jāmiʿat Muḥammad al-Khāmis, Kullīyat al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm al-Insāniyya, 1983.

[50] Kilpatrick, "Between Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and al-Ṭaḥṭāwī", pp. 233-248. For each motivation, Kilpatrick presents examples from established travelogues along with brief information about the authors, their environment and epoch. See also C. E. Bosworth, "Travel Literature", in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds.), vol. 2, London: Routledge, 1998, pp. 778-780.

[51] Rubiés, "Late Medieval Ambassadors", pp. 58-59; Dwight F. Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 2001, p.293. Given the parallels between the rihla and al-masālik wa'l-mamālik genre, some travelogues have been categorised under the *al-adab al-jughrāfī* (geographical literature); Ignatii I. Krachkovskii examined some of the texts we classify as travelogues today, such as Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travelogues, under the category of geographical literature in his outstanding work on the subject: Ignati Iulianovich Krachkovski, *Tārīkh al-adab al-jughrāfī al-ʿarabī*, (trans. from Russian into Arabic Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim), Cairo: Lajnat al-taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama, 1963, vol.1, pp. 299, 421.

[52] Daniel Newman, "Arabic Travel Writing", in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing,* N. Das & T. Youngs (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, pp.147.

[53] Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (14th-20th Century),* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, p. 8.

riḥla by Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217), Ibn Rushayd's (d.721/1321) *riḥla,* which recounted his pilgrimage and travels to Tunis, Damascus and Cairo devoted very little space to geographical information but included a series of biographical records of the scholars and poetic excerpts.[54]

Nabil Matar has further divided Arabic travel writing into two periods: a first period of 'self-assurance' that runs from the earliest texts in the ninth century up to 1798; and a second phase, which he calls of 'defeat, discovery and awakening' between 1798 and 1916. In his account, the *riḥla* genre was transformed in the seventeenth century: detailed diplomatic accounts emerged, and non-Muslim Arab travellers started to compose travelogues of their journeys within the Islamic world. [55]

If through pilgrimage Muslims had an opportunity to meet fellow worshippers both in the course of their journey and in the Hijaz, encounters with the wider Muslim community also contributed to these travellers' awareness of regional identities—a key point for this study. Eighteenth century travellers like Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 1799) from Morocco and ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Suwaydī (d.1761) from Iraq, for example, expressed their feelings of being different from other Muslim societies as they travelled to the Hijaz, and their experiences led them towards a more localised identity.[56] At the same time, Matar argues that while emissaries to foreign states encountered huge differences in place and cultures, and occasionally could not conceal their wonder, they nevertheless give no indication of losing their own sense of belonging or religiosity.[57]

As the Muslims living furthest west on the frontier of the Islamic world, Maghribi travellers constituted the greatest number of those journeying from the Maghrib and al-Andalus towards the East—to the Hijaz, Damascus, Cairo and Jerusalem, among other centres. Combined with the pressure of the Christian advance

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[54] R. Arié, "Ibn Rushayd*", In Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, P.J. Bearman (Volumes X, XI, XII), Th. Bianquis (Volumes X, XI, XII), et al. (Brill Online, 2019).

[55] Matar, "Arabic Travel Writing", pp. 139-151. Like Kilpatrick, Matar and Newman also refer to Arab/Arabic travel writing treating Arabic language travelogues as a single corpus without differentiating those texts by region, such as Maghribi or Mashriqi travellers and travelogues.

[56] Kilpatrick, "Between Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and al-Ṭahṭāwī", pp. 234-235. For detailed information on al-Suwaydī and his travels, see Hala Fattah, "Representations of Self and Other in Two Iraqi Travelogues of the Ottoman Period", *International Journal of Middle East Studies 30*, 1998, pp. 51-76. Through an analysis of the travelogues of ʿAbdullah al-Suwaydī from the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century scholar Abū al-Thāna al-Ālūsi, Fattah highlights how the two scholar travellers revealed their idealised Iraqi identities in the face of encountering with the ʿulamāʾ of Damascus and Istanbul.

[57] Matar, "Arabic Travel Writing to 1916", p. 148.

from Iberia between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, being on the frontier created an urgent need to maintain the transmission of knowledge from the heartlands of Islam to the Maghrib and al-Andalus.[58]

The *Riḥla* in the Maghrib

The first written account of the Islamic West, by the Sevillian Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī (d.1148), appeared before Ibn Jubayr's (d.1217) *riḥla*.[59] Before ibn al-ʿArabī, the practice of detailing their journey for men of letters took the form of composing inventories of the scholars they studied with, which acted as testimony to their travels. [60] On the other side of the Gilbraltar Strait, according to Moroccan scholars al-Ḥasan al-Shahidī and Muḥammad al-Manūnī, the first travelogue in the Maghrib appeared only at the time of the Marīnids (1244-1465), when scholarly activities flourished, motivating travels in quest of knowledge.[61] As a result, the number of Moroccan travelogues increased substantially, particularly over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. [62] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Rashid al-Fihrī (d. 1321), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Abdarī, (1292), al-Qāsim b. Yūsuf al-Tujaybī (d.1329/1330) and definitely Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1304) were amongst the prominent Maghribi travellers of this era. In fact, the majority of the scholarship on Arabic travel literature has focused on medieval Muslim travellers, and the view that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels mark the end of travel in Islam is widespread. According to Touati, Muslims did not travel for the sake of knowledge in any other period as much as they did between the eighth century and

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[58] Rubiés, "Late Medieval Ambassadors", p. 59.

[59] al-Ḥasan al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-riḥlah bi-al-Maghrib fī al-ʿaṣr al-Marīnī*, Rabat: Maṭābiʿ ʿUkāz, 1990, vol. 1, p. 60.

[60] Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī was a judge of Maliki School of law, a historian and scholar of hadith from Seville who travelled to the Islamic East and studied with the prominent scholars of his time, such as al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). He recorded his travels, the scholars he met and the knowledge he acquired in the Eastern lands, in *Tartīb al-riḥla* which is lost. Another account of his travels exists, included at the beginning of one of his other books, *Qānūn al-Taʾwīl*. Abū Bakr died in 1148 in Fes; see Kenneth Garden, "The riḥla and Self-Reinvention of Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 135, issue 1 (January-March 2015), pp. 2, 7. See also Touati, *Islam and Travel*, pp. 226-227.

[61] al-Ḥasan al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-riḥla bi-al-Maghrib*, p. 35.

[62] Ibid., pp. 141-211. While for al-Manūnī and al-Shahidī the first example of Moroccan *riḥla* coincides with the Marīnid era, it has been argued that actually the first rihla in the epistle form appeared in the Maghrib during the Almohad era, before the Marīnids—the rihla of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī; see al-Ḥātimī, *al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya al-Sūsiyya: Bayna al-maʿrifī wa-l-adabī*, Agadir: Jāmiat ibn Zuhr Kullīyat al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm al-Insāniyya, 2012., p. 36.

the twelfth century. After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he argues, there was nothing to develop in the *riḥla* genre, and therefore travelling lost its function as a major scholarly activity.[63]

In fact, from the death of Marīnid Sultan Abū ʿInān in 1357 until the sixteenth century, the number of journeys undertaken from Morocco decreased. Piracy and the accompanying danger of captivity in the Mediterranean led to a decrease in Moroccan sea travel, the main route to the East. In the face of dangers and instability, some jurists even issued fatwas recommending Muslims to forgo the hajj and study in the East.[64] Contacts between the Maghrib and countries of Europe and the Ottomans increased during the Saʿdī dynasty. Between 1581 and 1891 more than twenty Moroccan ambassadors were sent to Spain, though only few of them left behind travelogues. The sub-genre the *riḥla sifāriyya,* or travel undertaken for diplomatic reasons, developed, particularly in the seventeenth century, when *riḥla* texts were written that hold significant literary value and are not simply "official reports".[65]

Moroccan historians Muḥammad al-Fāsī and Muḥammad al-Manūnī have divided pre-modern Moroccan travel accounts into different types or sub-genres. Al-Fāsī's exhaustive categorisation lists fifteen types of travelogues, which are interrelated with one another.[66] Al-Manūnī's list of Moroccan archival and primary

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[63] Touati*, Islam and Travel*, p. 265.

[64] Aḥmad al-Zarrūq (d. 1457) and al-Ḥassan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān were two of the few fifteenth-century Maghribi travellers, see al-Samaany, *Travel Literature of Moroccan Pilgrims*, p. 43. The number of Moroccan pilgrims also fell during this period; al-Shāhidī, *Adab al-riḥla*, pp.120-128.

[65] Prominent travellers who left travelogues include Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (d. 1645), who travelled to France and the Netherlands in 1612 (his written account is entitled *Kitāb nāsir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfirīn, Religion's Support Against the Unbeliever's Cohort)* and Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī (d.1707), who was sent to Spain in 1690-1691 mainly to recover Arabic manuscripts and retrieve Muslim captives; his travelogue is called *Riḥlāt al-wazīr fī fikāk al-asīr (The Journey of the Wazīr to Ransom the Captive).* Another traveller was Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī al-Ghazzāl, who was sent to raise awareness of the problem of captives in Spain in 1766-1767; his account *Natījat al-ijtihād fī al-muhādana wa-l-jihād (The Fruits of the Struggle in Diplomacy and War)* is considered a huge influence on Moroccan and Spanish literature; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Benḥadda, "Safīrān Muslimān fī Madrīd", in *Al-Safar fī al-ʿālam al-Maghribī al-Islāmī (Le Voyage dans le monde Arabo-Musulman: Échange et Modernité)*, Abderrahmane El Moudden and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Benhadda (eds.), Rabat: Manshūrāt Kullīyat al-Ādāb wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyya, 2003, pp. 53-54; see also Kilpatrick, "Between Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and al-Ṭahṭāwī", p. 237; and the introduction of *The Fruits of the Struggle in Diplomacy and War: Moroccan Ambassador al-Ghazzāl and His Diplomatic Retinue in Eighteenth-Century Andalusia,* Travis Landry (ed.) and Abdurrahman al-Ruwaishan (trans.), Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2017, p. 2.

[66] According to al-Fāsī's classifications, Maghribi travelogues fall under fifteen sub-genres, including *al-raḥalāt al-ḥijāziyya* (pilgrimage accounts), *al-raḥalāt al-siyāḥiyya* (touristic accounts in later periods), *al-raḥalāt al-rasmiyya* (official accounts), *al-raḥalāt al-dirāsiyya* (educational accounts)*, al-raḥalāt al-athriyya* (antiquarian accounts), *al-raḥalāt al-iktiṣāfiyya* (accounts of discovery), *al-raḥalāt al-ziyāriyya* (accounts of pious visitations), *al-raḥalāt al-siyāsiyya* (diplomatic accounts), *al-raḥalāt al-ʿilmiyya* (scholarly accounts), *al-raḥalāt al-maqāmiyya* (accounts written purely in the form of maqāma,

sources from the beginning of Islamic conquests in the region up until the nineteenth century includes travelogues under three sub-genres, starting from the ʿAlawī period: *raḥalāt ḥijāziyya* (pilgrimage accounts)*, raḥalāt sifāriyya* (diplomatic accounts) and *raḥalāt dākhil al-Maghrib* (internal travelogues).[67]

In his book *In the Lands of the Christians*, Nabil Matar refutes Touati's view that, in contrast with Europeans, medieval and early modern Muslims lacked curiosity about cultures and languages beyond the abode of Islam.[68] In *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727,* Matar focuses on the Maghrib (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya) and on Maghribi travelogues.[69] Morocco, he shows, was the centre of trilateral encounters (Moroccan-Ottoman-European) and the period between the Moroccan victory over the invading Portuguese in 1578 up until the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl in 1727 saw frequent contact and cultural exchanges between the Maghrib and Europe.[70] Matar draws on accounts and letters by Muslim captives in Europe, what he calls "popular" material to distinguish it from the "elite", mainly official, accounts by emissaries and chronicles. He adopts a micro-historical approach to his sources with the aim of conveying the diversity of viewpoints. Together, they constitute "a multi-vocal narrative, a montage of fragments" that created an ideological description of the Europeans.[71] This study uses Matar's works as a point of departure, extending it further to focus on Moroccan travels within dār al-Islām, and towards Ottoman world and Istanbul particularly.

Abderrahmane El Moudden's short but important article "The ambivalence of *riḥla*" represents the main English-language study of Moroccan travel narratives within the Islamic world.[72] El Moudden focuses on two Moroccan travellers, al-

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rhymed prose), *al-raḥalāt al-dalīliyya* (accounts written in guide form), *al-raḥalāt al-khayāliyya* (imaginary accounts) , *al-raḥalāt al-fihrisiyya* (accounts of inventories), *al-raḥalāt al-ʿāmma* (common accounts) and *al-raḥalāt al-sifāriyya* (ambassadorial/diplomatic accounts). He thus divides diplomatic travelogues into three sub-types; *raḥalāt rasmiyya, raḥalāt siyāsiyya and raḥalāt sifāriyya*; al-Fāsī's introduction to *al-Iksīr fī fikāk al-asīr*, pp. خ – ز.

[67] Al-Manūnī, *Al-Maṣādir al-ʿArabiyya*, vol. 1, pp.186-191. The book does not list re is no travelogues during the Marīnid or Saʿdī periods, and even though al-Tamagrūtī's travelogue *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* should be regarded as a diplomatic mission, al-Manūnī does not classify it as a *riḥla sifāriyya*.

[68] Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, New York: Routledge, 2003. The book includes a select translation of four Arabic travelogues to Europe and South America from the seventeenth century previously undocumented in English language scholarship.

[69] Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*, New York: Colombia University Press, 2009.

[70] Ibid., p. 5.

[71] Ibid., p.19.

[72] Abderrahmane El Moudden, "The ambivalence of *riḥla*", pp.69-85.

ʿAyyāshī (d. 1090/1679) and al-Tamagrūtī (d. 1003/1594-5, see Chapter 1 here) and examines their identification with the larger Muslim community while, at the same time, it shows how they felt they belonged to a distinct community with its own culture. Travel to "the Hijaz was an important means of integration of Moroccan pilgrims with the wider Muslim community", he notes, and pilgrimage and travel reminded Moroccan travellers of their connections with other parts of the Muslim world, but they were also occasions in which they confronted their differences, and in the case of Morocco and the Ottomans their mutual competition for the title of Caliph and the claim to be righteous rulers.[73] Later travelogues from the eighteenth century, he argues, were less interested in depicting difference and competition between the Moroccan and the Ottoman states, since by then the two states had reached "a kind of modus vivendi", and a paradigm of mutual assistance or *ukhuwwat* (fraternity) emerged.[74] My reading of al-Tamagrūtī's text in this study builds on El Mouddden's argument for the sixteenth century, but asks whether eighteenth-century Moroccan travellers really viewed the Ottomans in a radically different way from al-Tamagrūtī.

According to general practices of compilation and citation within Arabic literary culture, later travellers often relied on earlier travelogues as models or to fill in descriptive gaps for places they had not seen.[75] And whatever their actual motivations for travel, these often appear less explicitly in the travelogues compared to culturally valued motives such as the quest for knowledge, meeting with local *ʿulamāʾ*, or pilgrimage. The travelogues of al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī might be considered *raḥalāt sifāriyya* or diplomatic accounts, yet unlike their Ottoman counterparts, who only provided brief diplomatic reports, all three Moroccan travellers combined their diplomatic missions to Istanbul with pilgrimage, scholarly activities and pious visits, and described them at length in their travelogues, together with geographical descriptions and history.[76] In so doing they blended genres, facts and literature into a single narrative. Whether travel was undertaken for pilgrimage or

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[73] Ibid. p.73.

[74] El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", p.127.

[75] Miriam Cooke, and Bruce B. Lawrence (eds.), *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*, Chapel Hill, N.C.; London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, p.3.

[76] For example, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī's Ottoman counterparts Ismail Efendi (in 1785-86) and Ahmed Azmi Efendi (in 1787-88) were sent to Morocco by Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid I, and they recorded short official reports regarding their missions, see Nazire Karaçay Türkal, "18. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı-Fas İlişkileri: Seyyid İsmail ve Ahmed Azmi Efendilerin Fas Elçilikleri (1785-1788)", M.A. Thesis, Karadeniz Technical University, 2004.

diplomatic reasons, the Moroccan travellers returned to their homelands with a series of comparisons of their friends and enemies, brothers in religion and infidels.

Scholars have drawn on al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī's texts in a selective fashion. For example, two Moroccan scholars, M'hammad al-Benaboud and Muḥammad Menouni, have together written an article on al-Miknāsī and his travel to Istanbul and provided partial translations from *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* into English for the first time.[77] Just like El Moudden, al-Benaboud and Menouni consider al-Miknāsī's section on Istanbul a document that testifies to the "friendly relationship" between Moroccans and Ottomans at the time. They highlight the value of al-Miknāsī's Istanbul description as a historical document that reflects the social, cultural and economic situation of the capital at that time.[78] In a separate article, "Authority and Power in the Ottoman State in the Eighteenth Century", Benaboud examines al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī's descriptions of the Ottoman capital and compares their depiction of authority and power.[79] While al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī mostly travelled to the same places in the same period and present almost identical observations about Istanbul, he notes, they differed in their achievements. As we shall see in Chapter 3, al-Zayyānī was strongly critical of al-Miknāsī and spared no ink in highlighting his supposed failures. But whether we should trust al-Miknāsī's judgement is a different matter.

Finally, Nabil Matar's recent book *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World* is worthy of note. Here, too, Matar traces Arab-Muslim travellers' journeys to Europe but also their movements within the Mediterranean world. As part of this anthology of texts, Matar collates and partially translates and annotates al-Miknāsī's three travelogues—*al-Iksīr fī fikāk al-asīr (The Elixir to Ransom the Captive,* 1779-1780) to Spain; *al-Badr al-sāfir li-hidāyat al-musāfir ilā fikāk al-asārā min yad al-ʿaduww al-kāfir* (The Unveiled Full Moon for the Guidance of the Traveller in Ransoming the Captives from the Hands of the Unbeliever Enemy*, 1781-1783)* to Malta, Naples and Sicily; and *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* to the Ottoman Empire (1785-1788).

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[77] Muḥammad Menouni, and M'hammad Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account of Constantinople", in *Actes du VIe Congres du C.I.E.P.O tenu a Cambridge sur: Les Provinces a 'l-epoque Ottoman,* ed. Abdeljelil Temimi, Zaghuan, 1987, pp. 39-76. This article is important as it represents one of the first examples of English-language scholarship on al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, while it was still in manuscript form.

[78] Menouni and Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account of Constantinople", p. 40.

[79] M'hammad Benaboud, "Authority and Power in the Ottoman State in the Eighteenth Century", in Caesar Farah (ed.), *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, Kirksville, Mo.: Thomas Jefferson Northeast Missouri State University, 1993, 67-79.

Matar emphasises al-Miknāsī's growing cosmopolitanism, his curiosity for new inventions and institutions, and his sense of social ease, not just in Muslim Istanbul but also Christian Spain and Naples.[80] My analysis of al-Miknāsī's texts draws significantly upon Matar's work, but the comparison with the other Maghribi accounts brings to the fore a continuing sense of relative alienness.

Historico-political Context

The historical context of the travelogues discussed in this thesis is the one El Moudden outlined in his pioneering 1992 dissertation, "Sharifs and Padishahs: Moroccan-Ottoman Relations from the 16th through the 18th Centuries". His thesis, which offers a detailed account of the disputes between the two Muslim States, provides important historical grounding for this study.

One might have expected, given their shared interests, i.e. coreligionists fighting holy war (jihad), the Ottomans and Saʿdīs to be allies at least in the struggle against Western Christendom. However, El Moudden shows, relations between the two powers were complex and antagonistic, and between 1548 and 1574 Ottoman and Saʿdī forces clashed on a number of occasions. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr had also visited Ottoman capital while in exile as young heir to Saʿdī throne, when together with his brothers ʿAbd al-Mālik and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin he had to flee their older brother ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib to Algiers after their father Muḥammad al-Shakyh's death in 1557.[81] Even though Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's name does not appear frequently in the sources, it has been claimed that the brothers went to Istanbul from Algiers, where they took refuge with Sultan Selim II, who guaranteed his support against ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib.[82] Although there is no detailed information on Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's stay in Istanbul, it seems clear that, as stated in several sources, he was so familiar with, and impressed

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[80] Matar, Nabil, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World: The Travels of Muḥammad Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī*, New York: Routledge, 2015.

[81] Following the assassination of Saʿdī sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh in 1557 his eldest son ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi-llāh (1557-1574) became the new ruler, his other two brothers ʿAbd al-Mālik and Aḥmad al-Manṣūr fled to Algiers and then to Istanbul in fear of the new sultan Abd Allāh al-Ghālib's determination to eliminate them as potential rivals. For a brief summary of ʿAbd al-Mālik and Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's presence in Ottoman Algeria and Istanbul, see Abderrahmane El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 58-77; Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, pp. 271-272.

[82] El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 72-73. According to García-Arenal, ʿAbd al-Mālik and Aḥmad al-Manṣūr later were in Istanbul when the sultan Selim II died in 1574. When sultan Murad III succeeded Selim II, he withdrew the support for the Moroccan brothers and sent them back to Algiers, albeit providing them with military assistance there; see Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, p. 270.

by, Ottoman Algeria and Istanbul that, together with his brother ʿAbd al-Mālik, he adopted the Ottoman military and administrative structures in the Maghrib and, as such, Ottoman influence grew and endured even into the ʿAlawī period.[83]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the relations between the two-state shifted to a ground of mutual recognition. The period of ʿAbd al-Mālik's reign, from 1576 to 1578, was termed by El Moudden as "official vassalage".[84] Subsequently, reciprocal official visits were undertaken by both Moroccan and Ottoman ambassadors. In 1581, Sultan Murad III was convinced by the Regency of Algiers to dispatch his navy towards Morocco. Although it has been argued that the Ottomans cancelled the expedition against Morocco at the last minute, preferring to leave the Saʿdī sultanate as a controlling power over the Muslim corsairs in the western Mediterranean, El Moudden notes that the expedition was prevented by al-Manṣūr's set of strategies that includes sending a mission headed by Aḥmad b. Wādda al-ʿAmrānī and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Hawzālī with splendid gifts to Sultan Murad III, reinforcing the military forces where Ottomans could attack and seeking Spanish assistance to counter any possible military campaign. The Ottomans decided to abandon their expedition in the knowledge that any military action against Morocco would provoke a Spanish intervention.[85] El Moudden characterises the second half of the sixteenth century as a fragile peace, both sides intent on avoiding the military and diplomatic confrontation.

As for the eighteenth century, according to El Moudden, during the reigns of the first ʿAlawī rulers, Muḥammad b. Al-Sharīf (1640-1664), al-Rashīd (1664-1672) and for the first half of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's reign (1672-1727), Ottoman-Moroccan relations were tense due to conflict between officials in Algiers province and the ʿAlawī dynasty. Overall, El Moudden breaks the Ottoman-ʿAlawī relations into three discrete stages; the first stage represents is fraught with confrontation and dispute, whilst mutual recognition as neighbours in the region from 1701 to 1757 can be considered as the second stage. Finally, the third stage is positive cooperation between

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[83] After ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib's death in 1576, ʿAbd al-Mālik took power and implemented Ottoman-style reforms to the Saʿdī army and administration. He was so taken with Ottoman rule that, it has been noted, he studied and became fluent in Ottoman Turkish. See Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, pp. 270-27; El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 89-90; Amira K. Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-colonial Morocco: State-society Relations during the French Conquest of Algeria*, London: Routledge Curzon, 2002, p. 8.

[84] For more information and the questions raised, see El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 85, 90-92.

[85] Ibid., pp. 114-119.

Morocco and the Ottoman capital in the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad (1757-1790). El Moudden concludes that, whilst there were clashes and politically tense relations between the Ottomans and ʿAlawīs during the second half of the 17th century, evidenced in the correspondence between the two factions, the eighteenth century became a period of "mutual assistance".[86]

By the mid-eighteenth century there was an emphasis placed on the discourses concerning religious solidarity and the need for unity against the European threat. During the reigns of Ottoman Sultan Mustafa III (1757-1774) and Moroccan Sultan Muḥammad (1757-1790), ambassadorial exchanges reached their peak. The need for cooperation in the face of the threat posed by the Russian Empire led to no fewer than fourteen Moroccan ambassadors to the Ottoman Capital.[87] In fact, according to El Moudden, Sīdī Muḥammad's international policy represented the start of an early modern pan-Islamism, an idea he develops in his article "The Idea of the Caliphate Between Moroccans and Ottomans: Political and Symbolic Stakes in the 16th and 17th Century Maghrib".[88] While El Moudden's doctoral thesis and this article underpin my discussions of sharifism and the Caliphate issues in particular, my thesis diverges from his analysis of the second half of the eighteenth-century Ottoman-Moroccan relations through the paradigm of *ukhuwwa*. Rather, my reading of al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī's texts leads me to argue that even in the eighteenth-century, Sīdī Muḥammad pursued the sharifist ideology as a legitimising tool of his authority not only beyond the realms of his rule but equally against the *ʿulamāʾ* and religious elite within Morocco. For example, during his conversation, mediated by a dragoman, with Sultan Abdülhamid I, al-Zayyānī addressed him as the *amīr al-muslimīn*—the lesser title rather than the fully caliphal title of as *amīr al-muʾminīn* which he uses to address Sīdī Muḥammad. After calling Abdülhamid I the *amīr al-muslimīn*, al-Zayyānī immediately mentions Sīdī Muḥammad's lineage; and when the Ottoman sultan replies to him, al-Zayyānī writes, "I love him [Sīdī Muḥammad] too, because he is the descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad".[89]

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[86] Ibid., p. 158.

[87] In response to increase in the number of the Moroccan emissaries to Istanbul, no more than four emissaries were sent from the Ottoman side; Ibid., pp. 237-242

[88] Abderrahmane El Moudden, "The Idea of the Caliphate between Moroccans and Ottomans: Political and Symbolic Stakes in the 16th and 17th Century-Maghrib", *Studia Islamica* 82 (October 1995), pp. 103-112.

[89] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 125.

As discussed above, most of the scholarship dedicated to early-modern Moroccan travelogues to the Ottoman world focuses on Ottoman-Moroccan political relations and uses these travelogues as documents from which to draw factual evidence about political relations during this period. In this study, by contrast, I consider the travelogues less as reliable sources that present historically accurate facts, or as singular acts of description, but rather as discursive interventions and as part of an interconnected textual corpus of travel writing in the Western Islamic world. While my research builds upon previous studies, it also distinguishes itself in taking, as its central theme, the depiction of Ottoman Istanbul and Ottomans over the course of the Maghribi *riḥla* tradition spanning two centuries.

Chapter 1

"The Fragrant Breeze" to the Lands of *Ghurba*:

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī in Istanbul

We headed toward [Istanbul] with Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fishtālī,[1] as two emissaries carrying Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's auspicious gifts along with the [Ottoman] ambassadors [who were also in Fes and returning to Istanbul]. We arrived [with the gifts] to the Porte of the Ottoman in Constantinople, the capital of the sovereign in the furthest lands of Rūm which is known as "Stanbul" by the people of the Maghrib. Someone who knows the language of those lands had told me that they call Constantinople "Istanbul"[2] which means Abundant Islam [where Islam abounds] in their language, but God knows best.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 37)[3]

Introduction

In 997/1589, towards the end of the first millennium of the Islamic calendar, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī set off by sea from the Maghrib to Ottoman Istanbul, visiting several Mediterranean port cities along the coast of North Africa en route. He had been chosen by his patron, the Saʿdī sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, to be a member of the diplomatic mission to the Ottoman Sultan Murad III. Although al-Tamagrūtī is referred to as the head of the mission in some of the secondary sources, there is no clear

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[1] Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fishtālī (1021/1612) was a secretary and court poet of Aḥmad al-Mansūr as well as a relative of the head of the chancery ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fishtālī (d. 1031/1621), the author of *Manāhil al- ṣafāʾ fī akhbār al-mulūk al-shurafāʾ*; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (History of the Arabic Written Tradition), Joep Lameer (tr.), Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018, vol.2 , p. 708; Cory, *Reviving the Islamic Caliphate*, p. 85.

[2] According to al-Tamagrūtī's explanation it seems that he meant to write *Islām-bol* (where Islam abounds) another name for Istanbul introduced by Mehmed II after he conquered the city, see Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Edited by: P. Bearman, C.E. Bosworth, et al. (Brill Online, 2019). He, however, spelled it as "Istanbul" with the letter *tāʾ* as it is in the Ottoman Turkish.

[3] All quotes from *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* are from the edition by Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī, Abū Dhabi, Beirut: Dār al-Suwaydī; al-Muʾassasah al-ʿArabiyah, 2007.

indication that he actually led the delegation to the Ottoman capital.[4] As such, one might rather assume that he was merely a member of the mission, accompanied by his friends Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fishtālī and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Qāsim.[5] On the 18th March 1589 al-Tamagrūtī left his hometown of al-Tamagrūt for Fes, where he presented himself at the court of the Sultan al-Manṣūr. He remained there until the 6th May 1589, when he left together with the Ottoman ambassadors who had visited al-Manṣūr. The delegation left Fes, intending to set off by sea from Tetouan, but encountered numerous delays due to unfavourable weather conditions and spent nearly three months in Tetouan waiting for a ship to arrive from Algeria. On 1st Shawwāl 997/ 13th August 1589, the delegation finally departed.[6] Al-Tamagrūtī and his companions proceeded along the coast of North Africa, stopping at several cities up to Tripoli, from where their route took them through Koroni, Monemvasia, Bozcaada (Tenedos) and Dardanelles, ultimately arriving in Istanbul on 6th Muharram 998/ 25th November 1589.[7] Al-Tamagrūtī remained in Istanbul for approximately 7 months (6 Muḥarram 998 - 7 Shaʿbān 998/ 25 November 1589 - 11 June 1590), although unfortunately his account does not explain the true purpose of the mission, nor what its members did in any detail. Al-Tamagrūtī only reveals how he visited Sultan Murat III and presented him with a letter and precious gifts from Sultan al-Manṣūr. He also had the privilege of dining at the house of one of the Sultan's viziers in Istanbul. The mission left Istanbul on 11th June 1590, taking the same route back to Tripoli, and then spent four months travelling to Algeria. Finally, the delegation retraced its steps to Tetouan, arriving there on 9th November 1590. Al-Tamagrūtī and his companions reached Marrakesh on 5th February 1591. Al-Tamagrūtī stayed there for nearly two months before returning to his homeland al-Tamagrūt having learned of his mother's death while he was in Marrakesh.[8] Al-Tamagrūtī does not indicate when exactly he finished writing his travelogue which he entitled as *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī sifāra al-Turkiyya* (The Fragrant Breeze of the Embassy to Turkey), henceforth referred to as *al-Nafḥa*

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[4] For example, ʿAbd al-Qādir Zamāma notes that the Moroccan mission to Istanbul was led by al-Tamagrūtī, see ʿAbd al-Qādir Zamāma, "Maʿa Abī'l-Ḥasan al-Tamagrūtī fī riḥlatihi ilā al-Qusṭanṭīniyya" in *al-Manāhil*, vol. 25, (Rabat: Wizārat al-Shuʾūn al-Thaqāfiyya 1982), p.221.
[5] For Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fishtālī see footnote 1 of this chapter. Unfortunately, there is no information about Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Qāsim; al-Tamagrūtī only mentions him as one of his close friends who accompanied him during his journey, see *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.103.
[6] Ibid., pp.34-39.
[7] Ibid., p.111.
[8] Ibid., p.179. See Appendix 1 for the map of al-Tamagrūtī's route.

al-miskiyya, but he must have completed it within three years, between 1591 and 1594, before his death in 1003/1594.

In the passage from *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* quoted above*,* al-Tamagrūtī describes Constantinople/Istanbul's location as being the "furthest" of lands of the *Rūm*[9] before giving the meaning of the city's name, Istanbul, as *Islām-bol* and adding gingerly, "God knows best". The fact that Istanbul for al-Tamagrūtī stood at one end of the Rumelia side,[10] connected with the Christian lands up to al-Andalus,[11] helps me read his *riḥla* through the analytical lenses of this thesis, i.e. alterity and identity and the question of Ottoman legitimacy as righteous rulers. It poses the question whether al-Tamagrūtī found Istanbul to be a place where Islam really abounded.

This chapter explores how ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī depicted Ottoman Istanbul and what he chose to focus on and ignore, whether it was public monuments, people, ceremonies, or administration. To what extent does his description of Istanbul draw upon observation and how much on previous travellers' texts? *Al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* devotes substantial attention to the cities of North Africa, en route both to and from Istanbul. In these sections, al-Tamagrūtī quoted *verbatim* passages from predominantly al-Balawī's (d. after 767/1365) *riḥla*, *Tāj al-Mafriq fī taḥliyat ʿulamāʾ al-mashriq* (The Crown of the Crossroads in the Embellishment of the Learned Men of the Mashriq)[12] as will be detailed in the last section, while informing his readers that none of the descriptions mentioned in the earlier works remained in those places, in other words, the monuments and scholars that al-Balawī had seen no longer existed,

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[9] In the early Islamic sources "*Bilād al-Rūm*" refers to the land of the Byzantine, the Eastern Roman Empire, see Nadia El Cheikh, "Rūm," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Edited by: P. Bearman, C.E. Bosworth, et al. (Brill Online, 2019). For an analysis of "*al-Rūm*" in medieval Arabic geographical writings from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, see Koray Durak, "Who Are the Romans? The Definition of *Bilād al-Rūm* (Land of the Romans) in Medieval Islamic Geographies", *Journal of International Studies* 31 (2010), pp. 285–298. According to Durak, while *al-Rūm* and *Bilād al-Rūm*, the lands of the Rūm corresponds to the Byzantine Empire in earlier geographical works, later it was used to refer to the lands of Christians in north general, including Byzantium, see p. 287. The term was also used by the Seljuks in Anatolia to distinguish themselves from the Seljuks in Baghdad, Zeynep Aydogan, "Changing Perceptions along the Frontiers: The Moving Frontier with Rum in Late Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives", in Schull, Kent and Christine Veraaren (eds), Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016, pp. 29. For a discussion of "*Rūmī*" identity in the Ottoman context and its changing perceptions over time, see Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of Oneʾs Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum", *Muqarnas* 2 (2007), pp.7-25.

[10] Rumeli (Rumelia) designates Ottoman lands to the west of Istanbul, Kafadar, "A Rome of Oneʾs Own", p. 12.

[11] al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.122.

[12] Khālid ibn ʿĪsā al-Balawī, *Tāj al-mafriq fī taḥliyat ʿulamāʾ al-mashriq*, ed. al-Ḥasan al-Sāʾiḥ, 2 vols, Rabaṭ: Ṣundūq Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī al-Mushtarak bayna al-Mamlaka al-Maghribīya wa-al-Imārāt al-ʿArabīyya al-Muttaḥida, 1980.

those places were not the same at the time al-Tamagrūtī visited . He then proceeds to include lengthy passages, drawing mostly on sections of *Tāj al-Mafriq* about al-Balawī's own meetings with local scholars, shaykhs and Sufis. Al-Tamagrūtī's account of the North African history is thus predominantly historical, as if to preserve the memory and legacy of those places and of earlier scholars. However, this chapter suggests that al-Tamagrūtī's interest in the past history of Ifriqiyya, closely associated with and motivated by presenting a continuous caliphal past and thereby providing a bridge with Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's rule.

Further, a comparison of his description of Istanbul with that of the North African cities en route helps us acquire a better sense of how unfamiliar or even alien the Ottoman capital appeared to him. While familial, religious and scholarly networks render North African towns familiar to al-Tamagrūtī, such elements are conspicuously absent from his description of Istanbul as a worldly city. Istanbul's wordliness leads me to my second analytical lens, that of righteous rule. Does al-Tamagrūtī's description of Istanbul present any explicit or implicit comparison with other polities, and particularly with the Moroccan polity? How does his depiction convey his concern with legitimacy and just rule in the sixteenth century? Finally, to what extent did al-Tamagrūtī's text itself constituted a source for subsequent travellers of eighteenth century, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī?

Before I begin to analyse his text and address these questions, I will start by examining al-Tamagrūtī's personal background in the Darʿa valley, the region where the Saʿdī dynasty emerged. Having briefly presented the general content of al-Tamagrūtī's travelogue, I will focus on his descriptions of Istanbul. Third, I will show how al-Tamagrūtī linked his account of Istanbul to the question of legitimacy by means of a discussion of his apocalyptic passages. The following section will examine al-Tamagrūtī's dependence on, and citation of, earlier authorities when describing Istanbul and North African cities. I conclude this chapter by identifying which aspects of his description of Istanbul chime with those of subsequent Moroccan travellers in the eighteenth century.

1. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī: Faqih, Sufi, Man of Letters and Emissary to Istanbul

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Saʿdī dynasty, who were Arab tribal warlords from the Darʿa valley in southern Morocco, came to power during a period of internal upheavals and Portuguese attacks on the Moroccan shores. In response to this turmoil, the Sufi *zāwiyas* of Darʿa became centres of local resistance and supported the Saʿdīs. The leaders of the Jazūlīyya Sufi brotherhood in particular supported the Saʿdī dynasty, providing financial assistance to arm them and recruit troops among the tribes in the region. Thus, the call for the liberation of *dār al-Islām* and jihad against the Christian presence in *Maghrib al-aqsā* accompanied the rise of the Saʿdīs to power state and provided a useful legitimising tool to their state. The alliance with the Jazūlīyya also enabled the Saʿdīs to gain extensive support from the southern tribes, and their sharifian claim was based on this alliance.[13]

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Jazūlī al-Bakrī al-Darʿī al-Tamagrūtī (941-1003/1534-1594-95), to give his full name at the beginning of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* , was originally from al-Tamagrūt in the Darʿa valley, the cradle of the Saʿdī dynasty and of Sufi unity in the face of Portuguese aggression.[14] Al-Tamagrūtī was born into a family of scholars with close ties to the ruling *zāwiyas*. The family had moved to the city of al-Tamagrūt by the early tenth/sixteenth century, and al-Tamagrūtī's grandfather, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad[15] (d. 930/1524) settled in al-Tamagrūt to be physically close to the Saʿdīs and established his *zāwiya*, called Zāwiya Sīdī ʿAlī, near to Tagmadert, the homeland of the Saʿdī

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[13] Amira Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations*, pp. 19-20; Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998, p. 259; Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, pp. 256-260.

[14] al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.31. Henri De Castries states that al-Tamagrūtī was born around 1560 while primary sources offer no date of birth, see Al-Tamagrūtī, *En-al-Nafḥat el-Miskiya fi-s-sifarat et-Tourkiya: Relation dʾune Ambassade Marocaine en Turquie (1589-1591)*, Henri De Castries (tr. and ed.), Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929, p. 3. Likewise, Hāshim al-ʿAlawī al-Qāsimī the editor of *Kitāb iltiqāṭ al-Durar*, the biography of eighteenth-century Moroccan scholar, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, adds additional information about al-Tamagrūtī in his footnotes, identifying his date of birth was around 967/1560, see Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, *Kitāb iltiqāṭ al-Durar*, ed. Hāshim al-ʿAlawī al-Qāsimī, Beirut, 1983, p. 23. The editor of the 1988 edition of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* also notes that al-Tamagrūtī's birth was around 967/1560, see al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* (ed. Sulayman al-Ṣayd, 1988), p. 3. However, as al-Shadhilī shows, al-Tamagrūtī put his year of birth as 941/1534-1535 in one of his poems he added at the end *al-Nafḥa*; al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Shadhilī (ed.), 2002, p. 5.

[15] Al-Tamagrūtī refers to his grandfather on the first page of *al-Nafḥa* with honorific titles of *Shaykh al-Islām, qudwat al-anām, al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 27.

family.[16] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was considered a prominent scholar in the Darʿa region, and his *zāwiya* established broader connections and networks beyond Morocco with scholars in Tunisia, Egypt and the Hijaz. Al-Tamagrūtī's father followed his father's footsteps and became well-known amongst the scholars of Darʿa.[17]

The importance of the Tamagrūtī family is well attested in the biographical works about renowned scholars of the era. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamagrūtī's brother, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, appears to have also been a man of local importance, since the Saʿdī sultan ʿAbdallah al-Ghālib (r.1557-1574) sent him on a mission to the Ottoman capital in 980/1572-1573. Unfortunately, however, there is no existing account of his journey or mission.[18] In fact, it is worth noting that al-Tamagrūtī's famous contemporaries Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fishtālī (d. 1031/1621), Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāḍī (d. 1025/1616) and Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), devote space in their works and biographical dictionaries to holy figures, men of letters from their lifetime (including each other) and from earlier generations, but neither mentions al-Tamagrūtī's name nor his travelogue *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*.[19] The reason for such an omission is unclear. Although al-Tamagrūtī came from a house of knowledge, he may not have been widely recognised outside of al-Tamagrūt before his travelogue was copied, most likely by a relative in the early eighteenth century.[20]

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[16] Muḥammad al-Ḥajjī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya bi'l-Maghrib fī ʿahd al-Saʿdiyyīn*, Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib li-l-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1977, Vol. 2, p.545; Muḥammad Māgāmān, *al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribiyya (11th-12th/17th-18th Centuries)*, Rabat: Kullīyat al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyya, 2014, p. 368.

[17] Zamāma, "Maʿa Abīʾl-Ḥasan al-Tamagrūtī", p. 223.

[18] For example, one of the greatest hagiographers of the sixteenth century, Ibn ʿAskar (d.986/1578) mentions al-Tamagrūtī's father and brother Muḥammad b. Muḥammad's names in his work *Dawḥat al-nashir* in which he records shaykhs of the tenth century hijrī in the Maghrib. He does not, however, include al-Tamagrūtī, see Abū ʿAbd Allāh fMuḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn Ibn ʿAskar, *Dawḥat al-nashir li-maḥasin man kāne bi-l-Maghrib min mashayīkh al-qarn al ʿāshir*, Muḥammad Ḥajjī (ed.), Rabat, 1977, p. 93; Muḥammad Ḥajjī, *Mawsūʿat Aʿlām Al-Maghrib*, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996, vol. 2, p. 988.

[19] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad al-Fishtālī, *Manāhil al-ṣafā fī akhbār al-mulūk al-shurafā*, ʿAbd Allāh Gannūn (ed.), Tetouan: al-Maktaba al-Mahdiyya, 1964; Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī, *Al-Muntaqā al-maqṣūr ʿalā maʾathir al-khalīfa al-Mansūr*, ed. Muḥammad Razzouk, 2 vols., Rabat: Maktabat al-Maʿarif, 1986. Al-Maqqarī, for instance mentions al-Fishtālī and al-Qāḍī's names in his biographical dictionary where he enumerates the scholars he met in Marrakesh and Fes, see Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Rawḍat al-ās al-ʿāṭirat al-anfās fī dhikr man laqītuhu min aʿlām al-ḥaḍratayn Marrākush wa-Fās*, Rabat: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Malakiyya, 2nd ed. 1983, pp.112-163, 239-300.

[20] At both the beginning and the end of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* there is a note explaining that the text of the travelogue was copied by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Jazūlī al-Bakrī al-Darʿī. As can be discerned from his full name, the copyist was also from the Darʿa region and belonged to al-Jazūlīyya family and al-Bakrī tribe as al-Tamagrūtī did. One of the earliest biographical works featuring al-Tamagrūtī is al-ʿIfrānī's (d.1080-1156 or 1157/1670-1743-1745) *Ṣafwat*, see Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar min akhbār ṣulaḥāʾ al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, Casablanca, 2004, pp.197-198.

Regardless, it is fair to conjecture that al-Tamagrūtī's authority as a scholar, and his being chosen as a member of the mission of the Saʿdī sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr to Istanbul derived from his lineage and his family's connection with the Saʿdī dynasty. All the information regarding his journey comes from the travelogue itself.

1.1.   Structure and Themes of al-Tamagrūtī's *Riḥla*

Al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya comprises a preface, and the main body of the narrative, which is arranged in spatial and chronological order, starting with the author's departure from his hometown al-Tamagrūt in 1589 and ending in 1591. Although it is not clear whether al-Tamagrūtī put headings to his text, given that all the editions of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*[21] include headings assigned by their editors, we can divide *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* in five narrative sections. Other than his descriptions of Istanbul and North African cities, the most prevalent recurring themes in *al-Nafḥa* are *ḥanīn ilā al-waṭan* (longing for the homeland) and fear of sea and captivity.

The first section comprises his journey within Morocco, from al-Tamagrūt to Fes and then on to Tetouan, while the second details his outbound journey, with its numerous stops along the coast of North Africa; al-Tamagrūtī mentions the dates of his sojourns to these cities, describes the fortifications and their condition, drawing on previous travellers' works. After the conventional opening phrases,[22] the preface intimates that al-Tamagrūtī's journey was beset by stormy seas: "In this book I mention what I saw and I benefitted from my travel to the *Bilād al-Turk* (lands of the Turk), and I provide what I witnessed from *ʿajā'ib* (marvels) of travelling by ship and [I mention] the prayers recited and the reading of the Qur'an in times of danger and under the threat of the destruction"—a commonly followed tradition for the openings in the works of *riḥla*.[23] He then quotes verses attributed to al-Shāfiʿī' (d.150/767)

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[21] There are three editions of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya; Al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī Sifāra al-Turkiyya,* (ed.) Sulayman al-Sayd, Tunis: Dār Bū Salāmah, 1988, ; *Al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī Sifāra al-Turkiyya,* (ed.) ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Shādhilī, Rabat: al-Matbaʿah al-Malakīyah, 2002 and the latest edition: *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī Sifāra al-Turkiyya*, (ed.) Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī, Abū Dhabi, Beirut: Dār al-Suwaydī al-Mu'assasa al-ʿArabiyya, 2007. As already mentioned above, quotes from the text are from al-Ṣāliḥī's 2007 edition.

[22] It is one of the characteristic features of the Arabic manuscripts to begin with *basmalah (tasmiyah)*, *ḥamdalah (taḥmīd)* and *ṣalwalah (taṣliyah)* in the prefaces. However, in the Maghribi texts the order changes as follows, *basmalah*, *ṣalwalah* and *ḥamdalah* and *ṣalwalah* is repeated as al-Tamagrūtī did in his preface. See Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 80, 200-201; Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.27.

[23] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 28.

which enumerate the benefits of travel despite its dangers and challenges. [24] Al-Tamagrūtī's sea journeys, both outward and homeward, across the Mediterranean Sea were dangerous and terrifying due to violent storms and the threat of lurking corsairs— "Christian and Muslim mariners", and his fear of being captured by the Christians.[25] In fact, Matar notes that al-Tamagrūtī's *rihla* is the first Arabic text that talks about European piracy, fear of the sea and captivity.[26] Fears of drowning at sea and captivity became common sentiments among medieval and early modern Muslim travellers, and al-Tamagrūtī includes lengthy passages regarding the challenges he faced at sea followed by poems yearning for home quoted *verbatim* from al-Balawī.[27] For example, after they departed from Bijāya en route to Istanbul, he recounts:

> The waves became greater and greater, the sea rose high, the wind became stronger; right after the waves became like high mountains surrounding the whole ship and shook it here and there like an animal wallowing in the dust.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 50)

He goes on to describe how everyone on board was overwhelmed by despair at the thought of never being rescued and destined to drown. The sea did not calm down but raged more, increasing the misery of the passengers.[28] This was one of the most traumatic events on his sea journey, and al-Tamagrūtī's fear of the sea was so extreme that he almost reconsidered his ongoing travel towards Istanbul. After they stopped in

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[24] Ibid.; Al-Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-ʿAbbās al-Shāfiʿī (d.204/820) is one of the key legal thinkers of Islam and the eponym founder of the Shāfiʿī school of jurisprudence, see Chaumont, "al-Shāfiʿī", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, P. Bearman, C.E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), (Brill Online, 2019); Kecia Ali, *Imam Shafi'i: Scholar and Saint*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2011; Al-Shāfiʿī's poem advises people to leave their homeland and travel, since travel brings five benefits. The first part reads:
"Leave your homeland and go abroad in search of advancement!
Go and travel, for travel has five benefits:
Relief from worries, gain a livelihood,
Knowledge, education, and keeping company with good men." See Franz Rosenthal, "The Stranger in Medieval Islam" (tr. F. Rosenthal), in *Arabica* 44, no. 1, 1997, p. 51.
[25] For example, Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also travelled by sea and both suffered seasickness and homesickness, see Ian R. Netton,"Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Wanderland: Voyage, as Text: Was Ibn Baṭṭūṭa an Orientalist?" in *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, Ian R. Netton (ed.), Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013, p. 225.
[26] Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes*, p. 148; Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 178.
[27] See al-Balawī, *Tāj al-mafriq,* pp. 144-145.
[28] al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya,* p. 51.

Tripoli for nearly a month and a half, al-Tamagrūtī hesitated to reboard the ship, given the weather conditions. As their departure came near, his fear and anxiety made him consider spending the winter in Tripoli. It was only thanks to the support of his friends, al-Fishtālī and ʿAlī b. al-Qāsim that he felt able to continue his journey.[29] There are similar sections about violent storms, huge waves and shipwrecks he encountered in his account of the return journey to Morocco.[30] The recurring depiction of the perils of travel in al-Nafḥa may also have been intended to discourage readers from setting off from the Maghrib for the east, even for the pilgrimage to Mecca. In fact, from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries, Mālikī jurists produced legal opinions that undertaking the pilgrimage in the face of Christian threat and the risks of travel was considered dispensable something I return to at the end of this Chapter.[31] Similarly, Vincent Cornell suggests that the Jazūliyya Sufi order promoted the visiting of local shrines and shaykhs living within the Maghrib, just as al-Tamagrūtī himself did in the cities of North Africa, in order to strengthen regional identity.[32]

The third part of al-Tamagrūtī's rihla comprises his stay in Istanbul. In this section, as we shall see, al-Tamagrūtī describes the urban topography of Istanbul: its walls, houses, mosques, marketplaces, even the ships anchored in the imperial shipyard. He presents some scenes of everyday life in the city, for example, he states how many sheep were slaughtered each day, the types of fruit sold in the markets, and how Istanbulites use boats called sandals for transport.[33] He mentions the cold weather, and devotes particular attention to the explanation of the hierarchy of administrative system and Sultan Murad's lifestyle, as will be detailed in the next section. Unlike al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī, he does not offer an elaborate description of his own reception at the Ottoman court, nor does he report the stages of his reception by the Ottoman sultan. In fact, he gives information about Ottoman bureaucracy and dīwān

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[29] He gives a detailed explanation of how he was convinced to pursue his journey by his friends, who comforted him, advised patience, and encouraged him not to fall behind the fleet. Only then did he decide to continue travelling with the fleet and set sail from Tripoli to Istanbul with the Moroccan retinue; ibid., pp. 103-107.

[30] After departing from Istanbul, near Euboea (which al-Tamagrūtī calls "Kızıl Hisar") their ship was caught by a storm, during which al-Tamagrūtī witnessed another shipwreck. He reports witnessing people were trying to escape drowning; Ibid., pp.130-133.

[31] For the discussion of Mālikī jurists' legal opinions on pilgrimage, see Jocelyn Hendrickson, "Prohibiting the Pilgrimage: Politics and Fiction in Mālikī Fatwās", in Islamic Law and Society, Vol. 23, Issue 3 (2016), pp.161-238.

[32] Cornell, Realm of the Saint, p. 180.

[33] Al-Tamagrūtī, al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya, p.121.

(imperial council) gatherings in the third person, as if he did not gain this knowledge directly from his own audience at the Ottoman court.

The fourth section, devoted to his homeward journey, includes further passages, again quoted *verbatim*, from al-Balawī and al-Bakrī describing locations that al-Tamagrūtī had visited (as well as others he had not) on his outward journey. This section also includes several digressions. For example, while in Algiers, al-Tamagrūtī expounds at length on the history of the ruling dynasties of North Africa and discusses the legitimacy of Ottoman rule in the region.[34] The final section of *al-Nafḥa* is dedicated to al-Tamagrūtī's homecoming and his reunion with family members.[35] al-Tamagrūtī also describes the celebrations held in the palace of al-Manṣūr in Marrakesh during the *mawlid* and Eid al-fitr seasons with long and rhymed-prose descriptions, in which the style is different to account of the Istanbul section.

2. Al-Tamagrūtī in Istanbul

Al-Tamagrūtī's first description of *barr al-Turk* (land of the Turk) is of the Dardanelles Strait, with the two fortresses built facing one other.[36] On seeing the cannons and fortresses along the Strait, he recalled the story of Umayyad Caliph Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d.60/680) which he had read in "history books":

> I had seen in a history book that these fortifications that protect the sea were built during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya in Syria, may God be pleased with [him]. During his reign, a patriarch of the patriarchs of Constantinople slapped a Muslim captive and insulted him. So, the captive sought Muʿāwiya's help. When the caliph heard the news, he had a merchant who travelled to those lands trick the patriarch and bring him before him. Muʿāwiya gave the merchant large amounts of money and valuables and ordered him to offer them to that patriarch to win him over. The merchant

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[34] Ibid., p. 165.

[35] According to the editors of the text, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Shādhalī (2002) and Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī (2007), al-Tamagrūtī included another long section at the end of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* that even exceeds the length of the travelogue. They note that this lengthy section comprised poems, *akhbār*, anecdotes and what al-Tamagrūtī heard and learned from the people he met during his travel to Istanbul and other travels within the Maghrib. Unfortunately, neither editor included this section in their publications as they believed that it lacked historical information (al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Shādhalī, 2002, p. 13; ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī, 2007 p. 22). I was thus unable to access this unpublished section of *al-Nafḥa*.

[36] After the conquest of Istanbul, these two fortresses were built by Sultan Mehmed II at the narrowest part of the Strait. The Kilitbahir Fortress is located on the European side and the Kala-i Sultaniyye Fortress directly opposite, on the Anatolian side.

did as he was told. The patriarch agreed to meet with the merchant in a meadow outside the city and to bring various kinds of merchandise and clothing. The merchant took what Muʿāwiya had given him, and when the patriarch reached the meadow to receive the goods, the merchant seized him and sailed away in a strong ship and delivered him to Muʿāwiya. The latter commanded that the Muslim who had been slapped be brought before him, having been earlier liberated from captivity. The Muslim arrived, whereupon Muʿāwiya told him to slap the Christian and do unto him nothing more than what had been done unto him. He then had the patriarch returned to his country with honour. The Christian [i.e. patriarch] was astonished at Muʿāwiya justice. Since then, Christians treat captives well and do not abuse them. That is why they built the defence line. Thus, the story has been told, and God alone knows the truth.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 109-110)[37]

Thus, even before writing of his arrival to Istanbul, al-Tamagrūtī recalls the early Muslim sieges of the Constantinople at the time of Caliph Muʿāwiya, (erroneously) attributing the building of two the fortresses to Arab incursions and identifying them as the fortifications of Constantinople. Al-Tamagrūtī maintains that the fortress and the high walls of Istanbul were built when Muʿāwiya reached the outskirts of Istanbul. Additionally, he observes how, in his era, these fortresses and surrounding embankments, formerly built to protect the city from Umayyad threat, now formed a barrier preventing Christians from attacking the Muslims:

Thanks be to God who has made that line a barrier against the entry of Christians into the lands of the Muslims, after the opposite had been the case. May God preserve that until the last day, *Āmīn*.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 110)[38]

Although al-Tamagrūtī refers to his source as some "history books" and is reluctant to reveal the source's identity, at odds with his regular references to al-Balawī or ʾAbd Ibn Rabbih (d.246-328/860-940), it is evident that he was drawing upon *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar* (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels),[39] the work

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[37] The translation is taken from Nabil Matar's *Europe through Arab Eyes*, pp.152-153.
[38] Ibid., p. 153.
[39] ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar*, Kamāl Ḥasan Marʿī (ed.), Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 2005, vol. 4, p. 172-175. Al-Ṣāliḥī, the editor of 2007 version of *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* also notes that Henri De Castries pointed out that this story appears in *Murūj al-dhahab*, see *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya,* p.109, footnote 4.

of the tenth-century traveller and historian al-Masʿūdī's (d. 345/956). In this section, al-Tamagrūtī summarises the story cited above which originally spanned three pages in *Murūj* and claims that the fortifications were built in response to the threat of al-Muʿāwiya despite the fact that Masʿūdī does not offer such an interpretation in his work.[40] Al-Tamagrūtī's "strategies of compilation" demonstrates how he evidently worked with earlier texts and reproduced material from different sources ranging from al-Balawī's travelogue to al-Masʿūdī's larger work *Murūj* - a combination of geography and history.

As al-Tamagrūtī indicates in his Istanbul section , the fortifications on the Dardanelles Strait are the "Door of *al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*/Constantinople", and "No ship is allowed to pass through whether it comes from the interior side or the exterior without the permission of the people who were settled here by the Sultan in order to guard the sea from enemies".[41] Thus, despite their failure, the early Muslim sieges of Constantinople did have the positive consequence of the building of those fortifications which were to protect the Ottoman/Muslim lands for centuries to come.

Unlike the travelogues of al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī, al-Tamagrūtī's description of the city, where he disembarked after spending ten days onboard waiting in the harbour, begins by quoting the hadiths about Istanbul. According to al-Tamagrūtī, these hadiths are sufficient to substantiate this city's reputation. Al-Tamagrūtī cites the hadith: "The first army amongst my followers who will invade Caesar's city will be forgiven their sins",[42] and continues, "Therefore, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya invaded it in the times of his father's caliphate". Once again, al-Tamagrūtī asserts that it was the army under the command of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya that deserves the credit for the conquest, as prefigured by the hadith. Regarding the Ottoman conquest, he merely notes at the close of his Istanbul section that, "The one who took this city from *al-Rūm* (the Byzantine) and rescued it from the infidelity and conquered it was Sultan Mehmed II. The name of the Sultan to whom we came with gifts is Sultan Murad b. Sultan Selim b. Sultan Süleyman".[43]

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[40] Al-Tamagrūtī does not relate the details of the story such the Qurayshī origin of the captive and his reproach to Muʿāwiya when he was humiliated, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, p. 172.

[41] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 109.

[42] Reported in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, hadith no: 2924. https://sunnah.com/bukhari/56/137 (accessed 13/05/2017).

[43] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.126-127.

Medieval Muslim historical works on Constantinople included accounts of early Arab sieges and eschatological literature, according to which the Muslim conquest of Constantinople was a sign of the proximity of the Last Hour.[44] Nadia El Cheikh has argued that eschatological literature about Constantinople developed after the repeated failure of Arab sieges, during which the conquest of the city appeared an unattainable goal.[45] Here, al-Tamagrūtī explicitly links the anecdote of Muʿāwiya that he cited from al-Masʿūdī with the hadiths regarding the conquest of Istanbul borrowing from the Andalusi jurist and exegete Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī's (d.671/1272-73) book *al-Tadhkira fī aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhirah* (Memorandum on the States of the Dead and Matters Pertaining to the Hereafter).[46] In fact, this is precisely the order that al-Tamagrūtī follows, such that having mentioned the early Arab attempts to seize the Byzantine capital, he proceeds to quote hadiths from al-Qurṭubī's *al-Tadhkira,* such as that recorded by Abū Hurairah: "The Last Hour will not come until the Muslims conquer Constantinople and fight with Rūm".[47] The other hadith he quotes was: "The Last Hour will not come until the Muslims conquer Constantinople with *tasbīḥ* and *takbīr* and acquire such spoils as never seen before, which they will distribute by the hour of the Last Judgement". [48]

The epoch of al-Qurṭubī coincided with a period in which the Muslims suffered huge territorial losses in al-Andalus, and al-Qurṭubī includes prophesies of the Prophet

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[44]Since Muslim eschatological speculations were also widespread among the Ottoman ʿulamāʾ, the legacy of the conquest and the conqueror was created. Amongst these interpretations, it was claimed, the following hadith holds an important place, which is not found in authoritative hadith collections of al-Bukhari and Sahīh Muslim: "You shall conquer Constantinople indeed. What a wonderful leader will her leader be, and what a wonderful army will that army be." Even if it is ignored by modern day scholars, with the exception of a small minority, in the fifteenth century, before and after the conquest, there was a respected scholarship amongst the Muslim, non-Muslim, Ottoman or Arab historiographers that associated the End Time with the conquest of Constantinople. For detailed discussions on the relationship between the conquest of Istanbul and the End of the Hour, see Feridun Emecen, "Lanetli Şehir Düştü: İstanbul'un Fethi ve Kıyamet Senaryoları" in *The Journal of Ottoman Studies,* Vol. 23 (2003), pp. 191-205; Feridun Emecen, *İstanbul'un Fethi Olayı ve Meseleleri,* İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003; Stéphane Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire:La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*, Istanbul and Paris: Institut français d'études anatoliennes; Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Jean Maisonneuve, 1990; Şahin Kaya, "Constantinople and the End Time: The Ottoman Conquest as a Portent of the Last Hour", in *Journal of Early Modern History,* Vol. 14 (2010), pp.317-354.

[45] Nadia Maria El-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004, p. 64.

[46] Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Qurṭubī*, al-Tadhkira fī aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhirah*, ed. Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Riyad: maktaba dār al-manhāj li-nashr wa tawzīʿ, h.1425/2004.

[47] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 112.

[48] Al-Tamagrūtī cites this paragraph from *al-Tadhkira*, see *al-Tadhkira*, p. 1212.; ibid.*,* pp. 112-113. Reported in Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, hadith no: 4094. https://sunnah.com/ibnmajah/36/170 (accessed 13/05/2017).

Muḥammad regarding the loss of al-Andalus and the subsequent Muslim re-conquest led by the *mahdī*, who will emerge from the Maghrib.[49] Al-Tamagrūtī also quotes from al-Qurṭubī's *al-Tadhkira* that the Prophet mentioned to his three companions, one of whom had died when the city of Caesar was besieged and was buried there. Moreover, Abū Ayyūb was among these three companions, and al-Tamagrūtī claims that "it is ascertained that" by mentioning "Muslims" in his hadiths, the Prophet was actually referring to these three Companions. [50]

The fact that al-Tamagrūtī placed the aforementioned hadiths at the very beginning of his description indicates that for him they implied those who had first besieged the city. Unlike al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī, he does not dedicate a section to the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans, but instead directs attention to the first Arab sieges and Prophetic traditions, thereby downplaying the Ottoman conquest.[51] Al-Tamagrūtī mentions that he had read up on Constantinople before his visit. He refers to his sources "according to some history books I read" without referring to them by name. It is thus apparent that he read his predecessors' works on Constantinople, and as a late sixteenth-century traveller to Istanbul he would likely have been familiar with Muslim eschatological speculations concerning the conquest of Constantinople. However, his strategy of compilation of these hadiths here suggests that he was trying to demonstrate how Aḥmad al-Manṣūr meets the descriptions of the awaited *mahdī*. [52] As such, narrating the aforementioned Muslim eschatological

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[49] Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, p. 203.

[50] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.113. He also cites the following hadith from al-Qurtubī: "You have heard about a city, one side of which is on land and the other is in the sea (Constantinople)? They said: yes, Allah's messenger. Thereupon he said: The Last Hour would not come unless seventy thousand persons from Bani lshaq would attack it. When they would land there, they will neither fight with weapons nor would shower arrows but would only say: "There is no god but Allah and Allah is the Greatest," and one side of it would fall. Thaur (one of the narrators) said: I think that he said: The part by the side of the sea. Then they would say for the second time: "There is no god but Allah and Allah is the Greatest" and the second side would also fall, and they would say: "There is no god but Allah and Allah is the Greatest," and the gates would be opened for them and they would enter therein and, they would be collecting spoils of war and distributing them amongst themselves when a noise would be heard saying: Verily, Dajjal has emerged. And thus, they would leave everything there and go back." Reported in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, hadith no: 2920 a. https://sunnah.com/muslim/54/99 (accessed 13/05/2017). In a section of *al-Tadhkira* dedicated to hadiths that detail the conquest of Constantinople and the End of time, and the appearance of the *mahdī*, see in al-Qurṭubī's *al-Tadhkira*, p. 1213.

[51] On the other hand, these hadiths warned about the proximity of the End of Time and echoed the millenarian ideas prevailing until the fourteenth century, and then again in the sixteenth century. As Kaya Şahin has argued, regardless of their religion, people in the fifteenth century saw the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople as a sign of the Last Hour, provoking a considerable increase in "apocalyptic and prophetic speculation"; Şahin, "Constantinople and the End Time", p. 322.

[52] Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, p. 286.

speculations referring to the conquest of Istanbul serves as a basis for al-Tamagrūtī to propose his views to support the legitimacy of Saʿdī Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr that he would subsequently elaborate on, towards the end of his travelogue in which he links the legitimacy of Sultan al-Manṣūr to narratives of the conquest of Constantinople, end of the time and the appearance of the *mahdī*. As I will show in the last section, al-Tamagrūtī concludes his travelogue by citing more hadiths concerning the appearance of the *mahdī* in the Maghrib when writing about his final stop, Algiers, directly linking them to his substantiation of the legitimacy of the Saʿdī rule.

2.1. The City and its Buildings

"Writing about a foreign place, or even a second home, seems to be implicitly or explicitly, consciously or unconsciously, comparative", observes Ilham Khuri-Makdisi.[53] When travellers set foot in foreign lands, they only described and noted what they considered different. As such they wrote what was worthy of mention and of interest to their readers. As Schick suggests, if a travel writer had written about familiar things he encountered in foreign places, "this account would be boring and pointless". Thus, travel writing always tends to remark on the unfamiliar or unknown and thereby constructs difference.[54] In fact, "identity itself only makes sense in juxtaposition to alterity."[55] Therefore, even when al-Tamagrūtī does not mention explicitly what he found different, his descriptions and comparisons reveal to the reader what was more or less unfamiliar to him.

Like most medieval Arab travellers, al-Tamagrūtī refers to the grandeur of Istanbul and describes the city as "one of the largest and the most famous city in the world", with its high walls and substantial number of gates, buildings, mosques, bazaars, baths and hostelries: "This city is really vast and surrounded by walls. Its gates are numerous, its population is huge, and its mosques and masjids, buildings, *souks* [marketplaces], public baths and hostelries are also countless."[56]

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[53] Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, "Ottoman Arabs in Istanbul, 1860-1914: Perceptions of Empire, Experience of the Metropole through the Writings of Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā and Jirjī Zaydān", in *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, Sahar Bazzaz, Yota Batsaki, and Dimiter Angelov (eds.), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 160.
[54] Schick, "Self and Other, Here and There", p.25.
[55] Ibid., p. 15.
[56] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya,* p.113. For example, for ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī (d.1215), who was an emissary and also a scholar from Mosul, Iraq travelled to Constantinople and recorded: "Constantinople is even greater than its reputation"; quoted in Nadia Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the*

Al-Tamagrūtī's description of Istanbul covers a range of topics, from the size of population to an enumeration of buildings damaged by fire, to the abundance of running water, especially in the mosques. He interrupts his description told as if through a wanderer's casual eye to include a more detailed depiction and discussion of the main mosque of Hagia Sophia, before once again resuming his urban observations.[57] After the first approach by sea, his narrative jumps from one topic to another, as if noting down observations and information gathered promptly lest he forget it. He does not seem to strive for nor be concerned by coherence; he does not structure and compile all his information under relevant headlines or sections; rather he acts in this section as if he simply compiled the notes made during his stay in Istanbul.

Some of the physical descriptions of Constantinople that al-Tamagrūtī records are reminiscent of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and earlier Arab travellers' succinct descriptions of Constantinople, focused on similar aspects and monuments of the city. As Nadia El Cheikh points out, one of the earliest and most extensive accounts of Constantinople was by the ninth century Syrian traveller Hārūn b. Yaḥyā. It served as a prototype description of Constantinople for later geographers and travellers, who included passages on similar monuments of the city and provided comparable commentaries.[58]

Although there are variations and additions of Arab descriptions between Byzantine Constantinople and the Ottoman capital, one can still observe that al-Tamagrūtī was influenced by his predecessors as he turned his gaze to the city. One of the first features al-Tamagrūtī describes is the harbour with its great variety of ships:

> The buildings [of Istanbul] surround its harbour, and the harbour which extends towards the land is considerably wide. Various ships and boats are anchored in the harbour: the galleys, galleons, barges, barques, galliots,

Arabs, p. 204. Carole Hillenbrand notes that in Muslim geographical literature, histories, and diplomatic correspondence, Constantinople is mentioned as having "immense prestige". Although Muslims failed repeatedly to conquer the city, other great capital cities, such as Damascus, Baghdad, Cordoba, Cairo of the medieval Islamic world compared their status with Constantinople; see Carole Hillenbrand, "Some Medieval Muslim Views of Constantinople", in Stephen R. Goodwin (ed.), *World Christianity in Muslim Encounter*, Volume II, London: Continuum, p.75.

[57] Occasionally there is no connection between his sentences, as if he had dropped the sentences inattentively or compiled his notes apace; in other cases, he falls into repetition, as when he mentions in several places the fire that had broken out in Istanbul just before his arrival, see *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 117, 120.

[58] Nadia M. El-Cheikh "Constantinople Through Arab Eyes: A Mythology", in Angelica Neuwirth et al. (eds), *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, Beirut: Orient Institute, 1999, pp. 529-530.

frigates, and sandals, are like the ants in the harbour. For them [those boats] are [used] like donkeys to transport all kind of goods; from weeds, to straw and firewood to Galata and its neighbourhood.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.114)

A little later he observes:

As for the harbour of Istanbul, there are few harbours like this one in the world in terms of the capacity and being shelter against all the winds. Even if the sea becomes rough and the waves arise, the water which remains inside the harbour would hardly surge. The biggest ships anchor from the side of the houses and so near to the land that one can directly take a step into the ship from the land. At the end of the harbour there is a freshwater river [flows] into the sea.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 114)

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had also referred to the harbours and noted the different types of ships that dropped anchor in the city. By comparison al-Tamagrūtī offers a more detailed list of the kinds of ships.[59]

Similarly, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had already highlighted the division of the city into two districts: Istanbul the walled city on the right of the Bosporus and Galata on the left. Al-Tamagrūtī, and later on al-Miknāsī, do the same:

The great city which is located on the right of the harbour they call Istanbul, while the other, which is on the left, is Galata. The latter one is small also surrounded by wall. Outside of the walls [of Istanbul and Galata] there are peri-urban areas, and adjacent rows of residences and buildings.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 114)

Al-Tamagrūtī further describes the layout of the city in the following terms: "This city is founded in triangle shape, two thirds of it surrounded by the sea which penetrates towards its inside. On the highest point of the city there is the palace of the sultan to

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[59] See, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharāʾib al-Amṣār wa ʿAjāʾib al-Asfār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, Rabat: Academie du Royaume du Maroc, 1997, Vol. 4, pp. 251-254.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325-1354*, H.A.R. Gibb (trans.), London: the Hakluyt Society, 1962, Vol.II, pp. 506, 509.

which they call 'sarāy' in their language, a very vast palace which has a lot of rooms and sections".   While mentioning the palace, he also reports that in the palace there were wickets opening directly to the sea where "they shoot cannon when they send off someone by sea, or when they receive a visitor, they shoot cannon again for salutation". He notes that there were small embellished boats waiting in front of those wickets ready for the sultan to board whenever he wants.[60]

The manner of constructing buildings evidently attracted al-Tamagrūtī's attention, for he notes how the people of Istanbul had built houses in the sea itself:

> They build in the middle of the sea either reclaiming with stones, on which they establish buildings, or they embed wooden pilings [in the sea] and raise the building(s) on top of them and they reside inside of these buildings. The houses are adjacent like this and extend along the seashore intergraded above each other."
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.114)

He then adds:

> The construction of their houses is weak, most of them built with wood which is abundant for that reason the fire spreads fast. The Stone ones (houses) are rare, and only a small number of those who are rich and wealthy build with this material.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.120)

In his enumeration of the city's monuments al-Tamagrūtī also follows a paradigm established by Arab travellers from the thirteenth century onwards, although he replaces the accounts of sanctuaries, churches and monasteries of Byzantine Constantinople portrayed by these medieval Arab visitors with descriptions of mosques and Ayyūb al-Anṣārī's tomb (see also Chapters 2 and 3), his depiction once again echoes Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description: "All of the streets of this city are furnished with stones, wide ways and shops".[61] After Ayyūb al-Anṣārī's tomb, al-Tamagrūtī resumes his physical description of the city from the *At Meydanı* (the Hippodrome) and other monuments of the Hippodrome:

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[60] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 117.
[61] See *Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 508: *"Its bazaars and streets are spacious and paved with flagstones"*.

> In this city, there is a place called *At Meydānı*:[62] with the preceding of *muḍāf ilayh*, *at* in their language is horse, and the *meydān* is the place where horse(s) run. [In this square] there are tall stone columns set up vertically either on a base or embedded on the ground. It is not known why they were erected and why were they put there. Some of them have images, such as snakes and other animals [engraved on them]. Some of them were cracked and split thus chained with iron and copper bands.

> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 120)

The first "column" erected on a base can easily be recognised as the Theodosian Obelisk, while the second one refers to the Walled Obelisk (Masonry Obelisk), and it is noteworthy that al-Tamagrūtī considers them strange.[63]

Like earlier Arab travellers, al-Tamagrūtī devotes considerable space to the description of Hagia Sophia: "The first thing that we saw in the land was the high and gold-gilded dome of Hagia Sophia". Unsurprisingly, al-Tamagrūtī was greatly impressed by its huge size and the great dome in the middle. He concurred with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's claim that *jinns* were used to build it, since human beings would have failed to build such a grand edifice.[64] He details the circumference of the dome:

> The circumference of the dome is more than a hundred paces, and it is [the dome] elevated on thick columns sculpted from giant blocks of stone, as if they were cliffs on peak of mountains. The columns are made from veiny-coloured massive marble, so huge and thick that even one of them cannot be encircled by the hands [arms] of two men.

> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.115)

Al-Tamagrūtī then goes on to describe the three-storey glass oil lamps (*qandīls*) hanging inside Hagia Sophia and the many scripts and gilded ornamentations. He mentions that the floor was covered with coloured marble-slab, and the walls were all

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[62] *At Meydanı* (square of horse) refers to the space for chariot races, the former Byzantine Hippodrome. It continued to function as the ceremonial centre where the majority of festivals took place. Zeynep Tarım, "Osmanlılar'da Teşrifat/ Ceremony and Protocol at the Ottoman Court", *Türk Dünyası Kültür Atlası/ A Cultural Atlas of the Turkish World, Osmanlı Dönemi I/ Ottoman Period I* , İstanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Kültür Eğitim Vakfı Yayınları, 1999, p. 452; Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, p. 23.

[63] The obelisk was removed from the Temple of Amon in Thebes and brought to the Hippodrome in 390 by the Emperor Theodosius (r. 379 - 395).

[64] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 115; Ibn Battuta, *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, p. 509.

covered with marble. It is worthy of note here that his was the first Maghribi Muslim's description of Hagia Sophia following the Ottoman conquest. Although Hagia Sophia attracted particular attention in medieval Arabic texts, earlier Muslim Arab travellers to Constantinople, including Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, could only describe its exterior. It is thus plausible to suggest that in his description of its interior, al-Tamagrūtī emulates al-Balawī's description of the al-Aqṣā Mosque in rhymed prose and employs al-Balawī's flowery style in his passage:[65]

> The interior of the mosque is adorned with various engravings and variously crafted laces with [various] colours that each of them differs from the other with outstanding beauty and marvellous embellishment. These [designs] which are in octagonal, hexagonal and quadrilateral patterns were enhanced with melted gold. These gilded decorations depict trees and leaves all in parallel lines, executed in marvellous precision. It [interior of the mosque] has acquired the fortune of excellent craftsmanship. A beautiful scenery beyond radiance.

> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.115)

Although al-Tamagrūtī did not describe any other Istanbul mosque, he did offer a comparison between Hagia Sophia and the imperial Süleymaniye Mosque: "In this city, they have tried to construct similar masjids to this grand masjid [Hagia Sophia] but they failed in this".[66] For him the closest one to the Hagia Sophia was the Süleymaniye Mosque. To al-Tamagrūtī, the Süleymaniye Mosque was more elegant than the Hagia Sophia, but Hagia Sophia was stronger and on a grander scale than the Süleymaniye Mosque. After most of the fervour for the uniqueness of Hagia Sophia which was built by the Christians, and elaborated descriptions of its architecture, al-Tamagrūtī tries to balance his enthusiasm for Hagia Sophia by comparing it the

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[65] For a al-Balawī's descriptions of al-Aqsa Mosque see, al-Balawī, *Tāj al-mafriq,* vol. 1, pp. 247-248. For the similarity see al-Tamagrūtī's descriptions of Hagia Sophia: in *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 115:
وداخل المسجد كله منقوش بأنواع النقوش والتخاريم المختلفة الصنعة والألوان التي لا يشبه بعضها بعضاً فائقة الحسن غريبة الترصيع، قد أفرغ على ذلك كله الذهب الذائب المضروب إفراغاً بالتثمين والتدسيس والتربيع، بتذهيب مشجر مورق ومصفف لحكم قد استماها، واستوفت حظوظ البراعة اختتامها منظر رائع وراء لامع رونق الحسن.
See Al-Balawī's descriptions of al-Aqṣā Mosque:
مذهبة ما دخلها في التثمين والتسديد والتربيع بتذهيب مشجر مورق بالذهب مصنف محكم قد رونق الحسن استماها واستوفت من حظوظ البراعة أقسامها، لها منظر رائع وراء لامع (...)" gilded and designed with octagonal, hexagonal and quadrilateral patterns. These gilded decorations depict trees and leaves all in parallel lines, executed in marvellous precision. It [interior of the mosque] has acquired the fortune of excellent authority in craftsmanship, and it has beautiful scenery beyond radiance"]; Al-Balawī, *Tāj al-mafriq*, vol.1, p. 247.
[66] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 116.

Süleymaniye, leaving the decision to his readers. His assessment is ambiguous: the imperial mosques in Istanbul have failed to imitate Hagia Sophia, he suggests, citing poetry: "How different are the heavens from the earth, you have spoken, but have not captured the essence".[67]

Al-Tamagrūtī asserts that the Ottomans could not have built a monumental mosque like Hagia Sophia and had inherited it themselves from an earlier era. Al-Tamagrūtī connects the two mosques through a story about their construction. Four columns had been brought in two ships from Alexandria for the Süleymaniye had been, but one of the ships had sunk. The other ship had survived, carrying two of the columns which were used in the construction of the Süleymaniye.[68] Indeed, the phenomenon of re-using coloured marble columns and stones removed from ancient ruins was common practice from the sixteenth century onwards. According to Gülru Necipoğlu, after Mehmed II, Sultan Selim I (r.1512-1520) and Sultan Süleyman (r.1520-1566) continued to consider themselves as the heirs to the Eastern Roman Empire, and the converted church Hagia Sophia had been one of the principal inspirations for the imperial mosques.[69] As such, it was decided to reuse the collection of antique stones in the construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque through which Sultan Süleyman projected himself as Muslim successor to the greatest emperors of the Mediterranean and, as al-Tamagrūtī alleges, antique marble columns were brought from Alexandria.[70] It appears that for al-Tamagrūtī the transporting of huge antique columns from ancient ruins of Alexandria did not make the Süleymaniye Mosque as strong or grand as the Hagia Sophia. After giving this information, al-Tamagrūtī finally puts an end to his comparison of the two mosques:

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[67] Translation in Nabil Matar's *Europe through Arab Eyes*, p. 155. In his reference, Matar gives the sources in which the line appeared as Ibn al-Wardī (d.1349) and Ibn Farkūn.

[68] Al-Tamagrūtī confirms the authenticity of this information by means of reference to a local voice from Monastir of Tunisia, whom he claims to have personally met. However, he does not mention whether he met this person in Istanbul or not. He only asserts that this man had been in Alexandria when the workers quarried these four columns from an aperture and reported that they had had to demolish a part of the gate wall in order to create an adequate entrance to transport them out, al-*Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 116.

[69] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 10 (Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar 1993), p. 171.

[70] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean "Portable Archaeology": Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators", in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Alina Alexandra Payne (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 2014, pp.363-364.

> The structure of Hagia Sophia is stronger, more splendid and enormous [than of the Süleymaniye Mosque], as for the Sulaymāniyya [Süleymaniye Mosque], it is brighter, charming [in demand] and more spacious. Allah knows the best that the differences between them are the differences between their builders, between Islam and infidelity, so each of them holds an attire from its builder's spirit.

> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 116-117)

Other than the description of notable buildings and building styles, al-Tamagrūtī's narrative seems more scattered, though as already noted he returns repeatedly to the consequences of a major fire. According to his account, because many of the buildings were made out of wood, fire spread fast. However, despite the large number of buildings burned, when compared with the vastness of the city, the area destroyed was relatively small. He also observes that those mostly afflicted by the fire were Jews, adding that, "The Jews and the Christians were mixed with the Muslims".[71] Coming from the Maghrib, where there were no Christian or Jewish communities living in the same quarter together with Muslims, al-Tamagrūtī clearly felt the need to mention that that in Istanbul the Christians and Jews lived in mixed quarters.[72]

Al-Tamagrūtī's description of the city revels in numbers: every day fifteen thousand lambs were being slaughtered in Istanbul, in the meantime, and the daily firewood consumption in the sultan's residence was "equal to seven hundred *mithqāls*". He then mentions the massive numbers of people, craftsmen, commodities, merchants, merchandises, shops and books, and comments that their abundance would amaze "a human being" and could not be counted except by God.[73] He recounts:

> The markets of the city are uncountable, beyond number; there is all kinds of worldly goods in the bazaars that a human being cannot express in words. If all of the people of the world would come together, these bazaars would take up all of them, and there would be still some space left. […]

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[71] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 117.
[72] In Moroccan *madina*s (such as Fes and Marrakesh) there were specially designated areas known as *mellah* where Jews lived in. For example, it is known that in the year 1276 Fes consisted of *mellah*, see Simon O'Meara, *Space and Muslim Urban Life: At the Limits of the Labyrinth of Fez*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 6, 13.
[73] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.117.

You would find even the rarest and most contemptible [*aḥqarihā*] objects in excessive quantities in the marketplaces."

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 114, 117)

Al-Tamagrūtī's description of trade and the abundance of goods, foodstuffs, and all kinds of worldly merchandise projects an image of "consuming" Istanbul (Dursteler). As Eric Dursteler has argued, the description of food in early modern European travel narratives served to create a "consuming geography" of the Mediterranean, and travellers employed food to mark differences between themselves and the Ottomans.[74] Here, however, the emphasis seems rather on abundance to the point of excess, and the use of the term "the most contemptible", probably indicates his moral condemnation of the "consuming city".

Al-Tamagrūtī's description of Ottoman courtly ceremonials differs from that of the two later travellers for its impersonal tone: rather than describing his own experience and viewpoint, he uses an impersonal tone and the third-person plural pronoun ("they") throughout. At the same time, in his brief account he did provide a list of courtly ranks and offices.

2.2.   Al-Tamagrūtī at the Ottoman Court

The palace was always a place to display the imperial grandeur of the Ottoman Sultan.[75] Overt demonstrations of consumption and exhibiting wealth were a sign of distinguished and elevated position in Ottoman society. Thus, the highest figure in society was expected to show off all his wealth and glory. In his book of etiquette, the renowned Ottoman intellectual, Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (d. 1600), stresses that the palace of the world-ruling sultan should reflect all the prestige and glory of the empire.[76] As such,

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[74] Eric R. Dursteler, "Bad Bread and the 'Outrageous Drunkenness of the Turks': Food and Identity in the Accounts of Early Modern European Travelers to the Ottoman Empire", in *Journal of World History,* Vol. 25, Numbers 2-3 (June/September 2014), p. 205.
[75] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991, p. xi
[76] In his book of etiquette, Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī writes: "Neither is the sultan's palace suitable for a pauper nor is the pauper's tiny cell becoming to the monarch of the age. The world-ruling sultan must build his palace on a site vast as a desert so that he can show off and boast"; quoted in Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. xi. Necipoğlu's outstanding book informs us that a vast primary source produced by the Ottoman chroniclers as well as their European counterparts describes the Ottoman Palace by detailing ceremonial life of the palace, and also includes poems and gravures. These sources

every occasion at the palace offered ceremonial opportunity for the display of grandeur. The Sultan's reception and meeting with all the ambassadors occurred in a series of special ceremonies according to severe protocol rules.[77]

The Topkapı Palace is a huge complex, consisting of three intertwined courts.[78] Through the first gate, the *Bāb-ı Hümāyūn* (The Imperial Gate), one enters the first courtyard or court of processions (*alay meydanı*). All the stately parades started and ended here. The envoys were led through the *Bāb-ı Hümāyūn* with their entourage into the first courtyard, which contained many state buildings such as the Imperial Mint House (*Żarbhāne-i ʿĀmire*), the warehouse, and the paper commissioner's office.[79] Envoys could ride in on horses or they could simply walk into the first court, however. Once they reached the second gate, the *Bābüʾs-Saʿāde* (The Gate of Felicity), they were no longer permitted to ride a horse but had to dismount and proceed on foot, since only the sultan could enter on horseback from this point.[80] The imperial council (*Dīvān-ı Hümāyūn*), the imperial treasury, Tower of Justice, imperial kitchens and stables were located in the second court. Here, in order to display the power and wealth of the Ottoman sultan, "an almost theatrical show was played out" for the official guests.[81] They would witness thousands of Ottoman Janissaries on parade while their salaries being distributed. Indeed, audiences took place on the same days as *dīvān* meetings (imperial council meetings) and the distribution of salaries to the Janissaries, as al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī (Chapters 2 and 3) describe. Then envoys were led to the *Dīvān-ı Hümāyūn* (the imperial council hall), where they would attend the *dīvān* meeting session and had an opportunity to view the Ottoman administrative centre and

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can help us to understand how both Ottomans and Europeans positioned the Ottoman Sultan's residence. For details, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. xi-xx.

[77] Hakan T. Karateke (ed. with Introduction and annotations), *An Ottoman Protocol Register Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: BEO Sadaret Defterleri 250 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives*, Istanbul: The Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre; London: Royal Asiatic Society, 2007, pp. 11-20.

[78] These courts were entered through three gates: the first court which was "popularly" known as the *alay meydanı* (court of processions) was behind the first gate, *Bāb-ı Hümāyūn* (The Imperial Gate), the second (middle) gate, *Bābüʾs-Selām* (The Gate of Salutation) was the entrance of the second court where state ceremonials were being held. The third gate, *Bābüʾs-Saʿāde* (The Gate of Felicity) which marked the threshold between the *bīrūn* (outer palace) and *enderūn* (inner palace) opened into the third court where the sultan resided with his family; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 33-90.

[79] Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 48. Necipoğlu notes that the first court was full of well-dressed soldiers and various wild animals, to instil a sense of ceremony and impress the visitors, see p. 44.

[80] Michael Talbot, "Accessing the Shadow of God: Spatial and Performative Ceremonial at the Ottoman Court", in *The Key to Power: The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400-1750*, Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks (eds), Leiden: Brill, 2016, p. 114.

[81] Ibid., p.115.

how the state affairs were discussed between the grand vizier and state officials. After the *dīvān* meetings, envoys were given a banquet in the same hall, where they ate together with the Ottoman dignitaries. After watching the Janissary parade, attending the imperial council and partaking of the banquet, envoys were finally led across the third gate, the *Bābü's-Saʿāde* (The Gate of Felicity), beyond which lay the inner palace, the *ḥarem*, the residence of the sultan. Before proceeding through this threshold, envoys were dressed with the robes of honour or *khilʿats* (*hilʿat* in Ottoman Turkish) given by the Ottoman sultan and then enter the third court, where they eventually had their audience with the sultan in the chamber of petitions (*ʿArż Oḍası*).[82]

While al-Miknāsī and Al-Zayyānī's accounts give more detailed descriptions of ceremonial preparations and royal rituals, and the manner in which they were received at the palace, al-Tamagrūtī does not do so. In fact, he makes no mention of the reception ceremony and the audience until the end of his Istanbul section. Such omission might make the reader of al-*Nafḥa al-miskiyya* think that he had not met personally with the Ottoman Sultan unless they read right to the end of the section. Furthermore, al-Tamagrūtī offers no detail of his audience with the sultan, recording only that on the third day of their stay in their residence prepared for them, they were allowed to visit the Ottoman sultan and present Sultan Murad III with the royal gifts from Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.[83]

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[82] Talbot, "Accessing the Shadow of God", pp. 115-120.
[83] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 121-122.

Figure1: Reception of a Moroccan mission at the Ottoman court. Sayyid Lokmān, *Shahanshāhnāma*, 1592, TSK, B 200, fol. 142v, 143r. (Photo Courtesy the Topkapı Museum Library)

Figure 1 depicts a miniature located in the second volume of the *Shahanshāhnāma* (Book of the King of Kings) manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, commissioned by Sultan Murad III, thus around the time of al-Tamagrūtī's visit, and written in Persian in a rhetorical literary style by Sayyid Lokmān (d.after 1010/1601), Lokmān was charged with composing Persian verses in this *masnawi* style, and the two volumes of *Shahanshāhnāma* present important events in the reign of Murad III and include lavishly painted miniatures most probably by Nakkash Osman, the renowned miniaturist at the time.[84] On the right page (142v), the red script on the left upper corner in Ottoman Turkish tells us that the Moroccan mission arrived at the Ottoman court with gifts when the Vizier Osman Pasha was in

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[84] Christine Woodhead, "Reading Ottoman "Şehnames": Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century", in *Studia Islamica*, 104/105 (2007), p. 71, 2007; Jane Hathaway, "The Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch (Darüssaade Ağası) as Commissioner of Illuminated Manuscripts: The Slave as Patron, Subject, and Artist?", in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (eds.), Göttingen: Bonn University Press and V&R Uni.press, 2020, pp. 171-172.

Kefe.[85] The second volume of the *Shahanshāhnāma* was completed in 1592 and comprises the incidents of the period between 1581 and 1592, but there is no statement in the manuscript concerning the exact date of this reception. However, owing to the phrase "*Vezīr Osman Paşa Kefe'de iken*" (while the Vizier Osman Pasha was in Kefe), one can assume that this audience scene between Sultan Murad III and the Moroccan mission might well have taken place in approximately 1582, seven years before al-Tamagrūtī's meeting with the Sultan Murad III, since the Vizier Osman Pasha's mission in Kefe spanned the period 1578-1583 and this miniature was included in the second volume. More importantly, this miniature provides an image of Moroccans in the Sublime Port and their audience with the Ottoman sultan and helps us to visualise how the reception ceremonies, as detailed in the texts, were performed in the sixteenth century. It thus also assists us in visualising al-Tamagrūtī's own reception.[86] The miniature shows the different stages the Moroccan embassy underwent before reaching the presence of the sultan, stages that, as I already said, the other travelogues dwelt on while al-Tamagrūtī passed over them in silence.

It should be noted that the Ottoman bureaucracy sporadically underwent substantial changes, although this is not dealt with in detail here. Rather, the authors have shown a varied string of textual strategies, which is the main concern of this section. While al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī allocate separate sections for the *ʿilmiyye* (Ottoman educational hierarchy) and military hierarchies, as will be seen in chapters

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[85] In Ottoman Turkish, "Vezīr Osman Paşa Kefe'de iken Fās Pādişāhından pīşkeş ile elçi gelüp Pāye-i Serīr-i aʾlāya yüz sürdüğüdür". Kefe (Caffa), located on the southern coast of Crimea, was under Ottoman rule between 1475-1783.

[86] We can describe the reception ceremony depicted in the miniature in four scenes, two scenes in each folio. In addition to the illustration, certain details of the meeting were inscribed in Persian at the top from the perspective of the Ottoman side of the meeting. The first scene below on folio 142r depicts the Moroccan mission waiting with the gifts they brought to the second court. Their turbans and clothing distinguish them. Janissaries are carrying the gifts. In the second scene on the same folio, the grand vizier is gathered with other viziers in the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn* (the imperial court). One of the viziers presents the translation of the original letter brought from the sultan of Morocco by his envoy to the grand vizier. Other Ottoman statesmen and janissaries are seen waiting. The third scene illustrates the *Bābüʾs-Saʿāde*, the Gate of Felicity, the second court of the palace, which was the heart of state ceremonies, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture Ceremonial and Power*, p. 48. The fourth scene illustrates the encountering of an envoy with the sultan in *ʿarż oḍası* (the chamber of petitions or the throne room where the Ottoman sultan met with emissaries). Certain protocol rules were followed during this meeting. The courtiers are standing orderly and in respectful gestures, as al-Tamagrūtī describes below: "with their hands clasped; placing one hand on the other as they were in the prayer", *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 123. In the same scene, the sultan is sitting in his throne; on his right-hand side are the *silāhdār* (sword-bearer) and *rikābdār* ağası (equerry of the sultan), and on his left-hand side stands the vizier (or the grand vizier). Near the vizier are other officers called *ikinci kapının kapıcıları*, gate keepers of the second gate. Dressed in the Ottoman *khilʿats*, the Moroccan mission is standing behind the members of the imperial council. I would like to thank Dr. Kemal Özkurt for his explanation of this miniature.

2 and 3, al-Tamagrūtī relates the structure of Ottoman governance in this reception section; the very place he encountered the ranks of the government. As we understand from his descriptions, on his reception day al-Tamagrūtī attended the council meeting session at the palace. Al-Tamagrūtī notes that on the third day of their residence in Istanbul, they were invited for the audience with the Sultan Murad III. Unlike Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī, al-Tamagrūtī skips all the preliminary ceremonials and does not elaborate what he did or how the Ottomans received him in the palace, instead he describes the central administrational structure of the Ottoman Empire after giving his short, general impressions on the palace:

> Then we came into the presence [of the sultan] in his palace. It [the palace] is very vast and arboraceous. There are wild animals in it [in the courtyard] and in [the palace] there are domed halls and large buildings where the viziers, jurists, secretaries, *ağa* of the Janissaries (commander of the Janissaries) and higher-ranking officers meet particularly in the *dīvān* days: Saturday, Monday and Wednesday.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 122)

Al-Tamagrūtī continues to give information about the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn*, the imperial council meetings at the Sublime Porte and reports that the members of the *dīvān* would gather under the chairmanship of the vizier and they discuss key issues until the lunch time. After having the lunch, the members of the imperial council would meet the sultan al-Tamagrūtī states.[87] In fact, as al-Tamagrūtī reports, in order to confirm their decisions, the sultan would receive the members of the *dīvān* after the council meetings.[88] According to al-Tamagrūtī's description the order of their entrance to the sultan's presence was:

> They [the member of the imperial council] enter the presence of the sultan after the two qadis [*ḳāżī ʿasker*s, chief military judges]. The qadi [*ḳāżī ʿasker*] of Rumelia and it [Rumelia] is the name of the land where Istanbul is located and adjacent to the land of the Christians up to al-Andalus. The qadi [*ḳāżī ʿasker*] of *Nāḍūla* [Anatolia] is the name of the eastern side of

[87] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 122.
[88] Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300–1600,* N. Itzkowitz and C. Imber (tr.), New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973, p. 92. İnalcık notes that the members of the imperial council "entered the sultan's presence in a fixed order" according to their ranks the first to enter was the *ağa* of the Janissaries, then subsequently the *ḳāżī ʿasker*s (of Rumelia and Anatolia), the grand viziers and the other viziers, the *defterdār* (treasurer) and finally the *nişāncı* (seal-keeper), p. 92-93.

that is adjacent to Damascus which is in the Arab lands. The qadi [ḳāżī 'asker] of Rumelia is superior and steadier than the qadi [ḳāżī 'asker] of Nāḍūla [Anatolia]. These two qadis are the first to enter the sultan's presence, then the *ra ʾīs al-kuttāb*[89] (the chief scribe), then the *ra ʾīs bayt al-māl* [the *defterdār*] (treasurer). Apart from these [officials], no one can enter the presence and see the sultan. Each of them enters the presence in an order in accordance with their ranks and costumes. The qadi [ḳāżī 'asker] of Rumelia precedes and the qadi [ḳāżī 'asker] of Nāḍūla [Anatolia] follows him.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 122)

Al-Tamagrūtī proceeds to describe the order of each officials to the presence of the Ottoman sultan, he explains the processional code, as strict hierarchy and carefully calculated sequence of marching. For example, the *ḳāżī 'asker* of Anatolia should walk behind the *ḳāżī 'asker* of Rumelia, for if he marches side by side with the latter, it would be considered a vulgar act. His comment on this court protocol is: "None of them are equal whether in marching the same row, [wearing] turban, clothes and or in the sitting order with his superior. I have never seen such rigorous people who adhered to reverence in the hierarchy".[90] Apparently, al-Tamagrūtī finds these strictly regulated Ottoman protocol rules strange and excessive. Such that, "in the presence of the sultan no one can sit down or speak, all stand respectfully with their hands clasped; placing one hand on the other as they were in the prayer" he notes.[91]

He then details the audience scene of the members of the imperial council with the sultan and their roles:

The qadi [ḳāżī 'asker] of Rumelia, in a low voice, reports the judicial issues, the matters regarding the judges under his charge, dismissals and appointments to the sultan, then he receives the response [of the sultan] and he leaves. The qadi [ḳāżī 'asker] of Nāḍūla [Anatolia] performs in the same manner. Then, the grand vizier acts in the same way on military issues, whilst the other two viziers also do the same regarding their missions. The *ra ʾīs al-kuttāb* [presents] the correspondences under his responsibility.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 123)

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[89] In Ottoman Turkish, *reīsülküttāb.*
[90] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 123.
[91] Ibid.

Al-Tamagrūtī also briefly mentions the roles of the *nişāncı* (seal-keeper), the *defterdār* (treasurer) and concludes with a description of the *ḥājib* (chamberlain), who would stand with a golden stick in his hand and stays with the sultan when all those mentioned officials leave the chamber of petitions (*Arż Oḍası*).[92] Before his audience with the sultan, witnessing the imperial council meeting gave al-Tamagrūtī the opportunity to view the administrative class at close proximity. It appears that al-Tamagrūtī's descriptions are his direct observations during the council meeting on the day of his reception at the palace. However, it is safe to suggest that he must have supported what he witnessed with evidence from an official or a local who knew what each rank's duties were, although he does not refer to any sources, he drew upon to provide this information.

Although al-Tamagrūtī gives fewer details about his reception day at the palace, he mentions that he enjoyed an audience with Sultan Murad III, saw the palace he lived in and experienced the interminable ceremonies. He did not refer to the Sultan as a pious or righteous leader but rather observed that, the Ottoman sultan was a mild-tempered ruler who lives in a great comfort. For al-Tamagrūtī, he [Sultan Murad III] was busy only with his own amusement (*lahw*) and secluded within the palace walls in the company of his family, slaves and dwarfs who made them laugh.[93] Al-Tamagrūtī's choice of the word "*lahw*", which in the Qur'an is generally used to describe a state of diversion, distraction, (from the remembrance of God) or amusement, is important here in terms of reflecting his views about the Ottoman sultan. As he also highlights, he found the sultan occupied with the worldly affairs; in a state of distraction and amusement as it is stated in the Qurʾanic verse: (29:64) "the life of this world is nothing but distraction and amusement".[94] Then al-Tamagrūtī comes to issue of royal seclusion:

> Nobody enters in his [the sultan's] presence and none was allowed to see him except, as mentioned before, the viziers, the two qadis [*ḳāżī ʿaskers* of Rumelia and Anatolia], the *raʾīs al-kuttāb* (the chief scribe), the *defterdār* (treasurer), the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) [who is in charge] on the day of the imperial council meeting, and his advisor, who they call *khūja* [*hoca* in Ottoman Turkish] in their language.

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[92] Ibid., pp. 123-124.
[93] Ibid., p. 124.
[94] El Said M. Badawi and Muhammad Abdel Haleem, *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qurʾanic Usage*, Leiden: Brill, 2008, pp.853-854.

Having observed the roles of senior members of the Ottoman state administration in the strict hierarchies, and the seclusion of the Ottoman sultan, al-Tamagrūtī comes to the conclusion that:

> All the affairs and administration of their empire (*mamlaka*) are regulated by a number of exact law codes and written rules that have been recorded. The grand vizier follows and conforms to them [these legislations and registers]. He [the grand vizier] does not need to ask for the sultan's advice or to keep him informed, except regarding the important affairs.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 124)

For him, the grand vizier oversees everything in the country who does not need to consult with the sultan but for the most important issues prefiguring al-Miknāsī's remarks (in Chapter 2) after his reception ceremony in the imperial seat: "In this state, the vizier is responsible for every affair, as the sultan does not apply himself to any country affairs".[95] While al-Tamagrūtī's tone seems critical here, Stephen Cory has in fact suggested that Aḥmad al-Manṣūr began to imitate the Ottoman sultan's practice of seclusion towards the later years of his reign. This supports my argument that the travelogues were sources of information and emulation for the Moroccan rulers.

Among the three travellers, al-Tamagrūtī is the most eloquent about the pain of distance from home and unfamiliarity in a strange land, and it is to this topic that I now turn.

3. The Pain of a *Gharīb* in the Land of *Rūm*

> Whenever the pain of being away from home became unbearable for me and I lost my taste [for life], Praise be to God, I would see a dream that relieved me and removed my anxiety… In one of those dreams, I once saw that a ship had run towards us through a narrow canal near our house and

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[95] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 66.

stopped at our door. This astonished me, and I asked in my dream: How could such a ship have entered here, from where did it come, and how could the canal allow the ship in? Then I woke up and I interpreted this dream that we would arrive safely [conclude our travel safely] and return to our homeland. When I saw this dream, we were in Constantinople.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 132)

Although they travelled within the Islamic world, when Maghribi travellers were far from spaces where they felt a sense of belonging, they articulated their relationship to the place in terms of *ghurba* or estrangement and alienation.[96] We find this sense of alienation expressed even in pilgrimage accounts, whose authors often compared the coreligionists they encountered or the different places in the eastern lands of the Arab world. For example, Ibn Jubayr, an Andalusian Muslim coming from the Maghrib, differentiated himself from Eastern Muslims and mentioned what was unfamiliar to him during his pilgrimage to Mecca.[97]

In the passage quoted above, al-Tamagrūtī had a dream while still in Istanbul in which he saw himself back in his homeland, Tamegroute. More important than the content of the dream is al-Tamagrūtī's sense that Istanbul was for him a place of *ghurba*, where he suffered from homesickness. To use his own words, "the pain of the *ghurba*" was so profound that he dreamed of his homeland. According to Franz Rosenthal, a *gharīb* or stranger is "everybody who left his original place of residence and went abroad".[98] Becoming a stranger in a foreign land had negative as well as positive elements. One of the most common negative sentiments that travellers experienced was isolation when the world of family and friends that "had provided protection and comfort becomes desolation".[99] For al-Tamagrūtī, Istanbul, unlike Tunis, was a foreign place where he "lost his taste of life" and had no familial links. As will be discussed below, al-Tamagrūtī makes comparisons, highlights and describes differences for him in this place of *ghurba*.

One of the first impressions mentioned by al-Tamagrūtī is how the Muslims of Istanbul referred to themselves as *Rūmī*, which he found strange. He noted that the

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[96] Gretchen Head, Space, Identity, and Exile in Seventeenth-Century Morocco: The Case of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī", *Journal of Arabic Literature,* 47 (2016), pp. 235-236.
[97] Suha Kudsieh, "Cultural Encounters Between East and West: Analyzing Travel and Encounter Accounts from a Postcolonial Perspective", PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2008, pp. 44-45.
[98] Franz Rosenthal, "The Stranger in Medieval Islam", in *Arabica*, Vol. 44, Issue 1 (1997), p. 41.
[99] Ibid., p. 42.

Turks even preferred the *Rūmī* identity to their own and chose to affiliate themselves to *al-Rūm*:

> It is the seat (capital) of the *Bilād al-Rūm* and the basis of their country and the city of the *qayṣar* (Caesar). Even today, there are still some Muslims in this city who attributed themselves to *al-Rūm* and they prefer that origin. Even for the good calligraphy they call *khaṭṭ rūmī*.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.113)

Although a discussion of the Ottomans' self-identity falls beyond the scope of this chapter, it is nevertheless important to mention that the concepts of Rum and Rumi had once been used to denote the Byzantine Christian rivals of the Muslims, and yet were adopted by the Muslim Seljuks and Ottoman newcomers to the land.[100] Thus, when the Turks came to Anatolia, they adopted the Byzantine term Rum to refer their own domains to claim that they had inherited the lands of *al-Rūm*. As Kafadar notes, "Rumi identity was differentiated but not necessarily detached from its Turkish counterpart".[101] It is not evident whether al-Tamagrūtī understood these nuances in the complex Rumi concept, but we can see that for him Ottoman Istanbul still bore the traces of *al-Rūm*. As we shall see in the next section, he also mentions that the Ottoman sultans use the title *qayṣar* or Caesar, a term Mehmed II adopted by after his conquest of Constantinople. As conqueror of the Byzantine capital, Mehmed II saw himself as the heir to the Byzantine imperial legacy.[102] As we see throughout al-Tamagrūtī's travelogue, the Ottoman sultan(s) were addressed repeatedly without any honorific titulature (*alqāb*) or religious title but only referred as "al-Sulṭān" (or *sulṭānuhum*/their sultan) or "the ruler of *bilād al-Turk* and *al-Rūm*", "*ṣāḥib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*" (sovereign of Constantinople) and "*Khāqān*", while o the other hand he persistently refers to Aḥmad al-Manṣūr as *al-khalīfa* or *amīr al-mu'minīn al-sulṭān mawlānā Aḥmad al-*

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[100] Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Khan, Caliph, Tsar and Imperator: The Multiple Identities of the Ottoman Sultan", in *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History,* Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.183.
[101] Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own", p. 11.
[102] Hasan Çolak, "Tekfur, fasiliyus and kayser: Disdain, Negligence and Appropriation of Byzantine Imperial Titulature in the Ottoman World", in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey,* Marios Hadjianastasis (ed.), Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015, pp.7-28; Kołodziejczyk, "Khan, Caliph Tsar and Imperator", p. 183.

sharīf.[103] It seems from al-Tamagrūtī's chosen terms of reference to the Ottoman sultan that he acknowledges the Ottoman claim to the legacy of Rum or Byzantium rather than recognising the Ottoman sultan's claim to the caliphate, as is detailed in the next section.

4. Ottomans as *Mamālīk* and *Mawālī*

Although the Ottomans did not pursue a systematic policy to revive the universal caliphate until the end of the nineteenth century, they claimed to be the leaders of the Muslim world. Whereas, inside the Islamic world, the Saʿdī sultans, (as well as the Mughal rulers in India), challenged the supremacy of the Ottoman sultan and posed as the *sharifs*, caliphs, and *mahdīs*.[104] I would suggest that al-Tamagrūtī's emphasis on Islamic eschatology, his quotations of specific hadiths from al-Qurṭubī's *al-tadhkira* in his Istanbul section, as discussed earlier in this chapter, provided a foundation for his claims about the *mahdī* allowing him to deduce that Aḥmad al-Manṣūr was the long-awaited *mahdī* and therefore a legitimate ruler.

Al-Tamagrūtī's analysis of rulership comes at the end of the journey, just before his section of return to Morocco. Before coming to his conclusions regarding the 'righteous ruler', al-Tamagrūtī discusses the origins of the Turks:

> The Ottomans are in the same category as the Mamluks and clients (*al-mamālīk wa-l-mawālī*) through the agency of whom God protected Muslims. He made them the bastion and the rampart of Islam: 'Verily Allah helps this faith even by a sinful person (al-*rajul al-fājir*)'. However, they were only entrusted with power and authority as proxies for those who are more entitled and more qualified for such power and authority. Those are our lords and patrons, the kings of our country Morocco (*bilādinā al-Maghrib*), the *Sharifs* with whom the supreme leadership (*imāma*) and the *khilāfa* are honoured…There is a consensus among Muslims that the *imāma* is only valid when held by a genuine offspring of Quraysh.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 165-166)

[103] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 36, 122-126, 129.
[104] Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018, pp. 5, 221.

In this passage, al-Tamagrūtī firstly emphasises that the Ottoman sultan was not the true caliph of the Islamic world; rather he identifies the Ottomans as *mamluks* and *mawālī* whom God had charged with defending Muslims. That was their sole task, and they thus had no right to bear the title of caliphs and rule the whole Muslim world, since the claim to be the caliph was only for descendants of the Prophet and offspring of the Quraysh. Al-Tamagrūtī clearly positions the Ottomans as warriors whom God had entrusted with the duty of protecting Muslims against the infidels, and by implication they could only be the agents of Saʿdī sultans, who were more entitled to, and qualified for, such power and authority. He continues, "Those are our lords and patrons, the kings of our country, the *sharifs* with whom the status of imamate caliphate are honoured".[105]

The term *mawlā* (pl. *mawālī*) refers to a non-Arab convert to Islam and has different meanings depending on era, region and social context.[106] In the early period of Islam, *mawlā* could be translated as both patron and client which contains the meaning of patronage referring to conversion at the hands of another (a patron) and clientship (*walāʾ*) non-Arab new Muslims who "either voluntarily left their native societies to join" the conquerors or "been involuntarily removed from them by enslavement in the course of the conquests".[107] During the Abbasid period the "slave soldiers" recruited from the frontiers of the state were described as Turks or as *mawālī* (freedmen or ex-slaves), and were skilled warriors and mounted archers, as al-Tamagrūtī refers here.[108] The term *mamlūk* was rarely used to refer the soldiers of slave origin except in the early Islamic histories.[109] However, after visiting the Ottoman capital, al-Tamagrūtī concludes that "the Ottomans are *al-mamālīk* and *al-mawālī*", clearly reminding the readers about the origins of the Ottomans and the roles of

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[105] Al-Tamagrūtī, pp. 165-166; El Moudden, "The Idea of the Caliphate", p. 107.

[106] In the Umayyad State, *mawālī*, clients or freedman of an Arab tribe, usually referred to new converts to Islam, see Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East From the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*, Abingdon, Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016, p. 81; see also Patricia Crone, "Mawlā" in P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition,* vol. VI (1990), 874a–882b; *Mawlā* could be translated as both patron and client. The volume *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam* contains fourteen articles that discuss the complicated concept of the *mawālī* from several angles. For example, while *mawālī* was used for non-Arab communities that had converted to Islam, in al-Andalus these converts of non-Arab origins were identified as *muwalladūn*; see Maribel Fierro, "Mawālī and Muwalladūn in Al-Andalus (Second/Eight-Fourth/Tenth Centuries)", in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, Monique Bernards and John Nawas (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 211-218.

[107] Michael Cook, *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014, p. 10.

[108] Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 137-138.

[109] Ibid., p. 137, 342.

Turkish soldiers as slaves, in other words, "*al-rajul al-fājir*", who were mere fighters and warriors. As his predecessor Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) had already argued, al-Tamagrūtī too maintains the fact that the caliph should come from the offspring of Quraysh, whereas other pretenders such as in Cairo (the Mamluks) were "puppets" who had no real right to claim the title.[110]

The background for this formulation can be traced to the aftermath Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's victory at the Battle of Wādī al-makhāzin in 1578, when he decided to declare his success to the Eastern Muslim world and sent several emissaries with letters to the Ottoman Sultan. To support his claims to caliphal legitimacy, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr drew attention to his position as a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad and employed historians, poets and scholars at court to write panegyrics to support his assertion.[111] Al-Tamagrūtī's own travelogue supported al-Manṣūr's claim and his righteous rule in several respects. As already demonstrated, he subtly undermined the Ottomans' conquest of Constantinople by foregrounding the (quasi) conquest by the Arab Muʿāwiya. Further, in his account of the Arab provinces under Ottoman rule al-Tamagrūtī argued that every member of the Tunisian and Egyptian elites he met in Istanbul yearned to be ruled by al-Manṣūr:

> We were very surprised to see that they [the people of North Africa] were yearning and longing for the rule of our Sharifian Rulers and for all comfort, justice, courteous and prosperity that the Moroccans [live] in it. By God, those with whom we spoke from the elites and nobles (*aʿyān*) of Egypt and Tunis that we met in Constantinople were weeping and lamenting, saying that if only they could have found a way to move to the Maghrib they would have been willing to give up all the world. May Allah relieve them and make permanent what he has given to (us) the people of the Maghrib, and perpetuate the reign of our rulers, *descendants of the Prophet*, God's peace and prayer upon him, until the end of time.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 97)

In addition, al-Tamagrūtī mentioned that when his ship stopped off in Tripoli en route to Istanbul, they encountered sixty ships coming from Istanbul anchored in the harbour. The man responsible for these sixty ships was the Pasha in charge of the

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[110] Hugh Kennedy, *Caliphate: The History of an Idea*, New York: Basic Books, 2016, p. 250.
[111] Cory, *Chosen by God to rule,* p. 3-4.

business of sea and all ships. Al-Tamagrūtī narrates the mistreatment of this Pasha in detail. He also writes of a revolt that took place in Tripoli, and maintained that the Ottomans had oppressed the the city's inhabitants: "They devastated the country with their cruelty, depriving people of part of their lands and houses and ransacking their wealth."[112] He asserts that the Ottomans had forced young Muslim girls to marry them, and proceeds to claim that the North African people possess an overwhelming desire to be ruled by the Sharīfs and enjoy their peace, their equity, their kindness and benefits.[113]

Al-Tamagrūtī visited Istanbul and wrote *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, in the aftermath of the Reconquista, when Ottoman-Moroccan relations were sensitive. His criticism of the Ottomans relates to three themes: their religious practices, worldly preoccupation, and marrying Christian concubines and preferring *mamluks* to their children.

The final part of al-Tamagrūtī's description of Istanbul takes the form of a discussion of the religious and legal practices of the Turks or Ottomans in ways that, yet again, emphasise their wordliness. While recounting the style of Ottoman sermons and recitations in mosques, al-Tamagrūtī gives the example of a preacher (*khatīb*) whose prayers to the Prophet Muḥammad and recitations on the Prophet appeared strange to him. He mentions that he found Ottomans' way of reciting *ṣalawāts* "exaggerated" and "strange" (*ʿajīb*) and was astonished:

> The preachers of this city deliver short, clear [pure Arabic] (*faṣīḥ*) sermons with eloquent in speech. I have marvelled (*yuʿjibunī*) at their exaggeration in sending prayers (*ṣalāt*) upon the Prophet [Muḥammad], Peace and Blessings be upon Him. When praying for the Prophet, the preacher turns [sways] to his right and faces the people on his right and sends prayers upon the Prophet [Muḥammad] (PBUH) with a powerful hankering voice awestruck and in submission, and then follows the same manner to his left. [After the *ṣalawāts* to the Prophet Muḥammad] when they pray for their sultan, [the preachers] step down from where they sermon, mention the [name of] sultan and pray for the sultan in a lower voice than the sermon. The muezzins (*muʾadhdhinūn*) recited verses from the Quran in a soft, yearning, and clear voice in repeated tunes. When the people, even the imam, enter the mosque on Fridays, someone hearing their voices without seeing them would think that they were small children. When the imam's

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[112] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 97.
[113] Ibid., pp. 96-97.

time of entry to the mosque comes, a man stands up and speaks in their language, Allah knows the best, [maybe] he prays for their sultan and mentions his and his predecessors' good deeds and prays for them. Then, when the imam climbs the minbar, the muezzins recite the call for prayer right there, inside the mosque.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 124-125)

While not orientalizing, this description can be called othering: al-Tamagrūtī is describing a very familiar religious practice and yet defamiliarizes it (they are too loud, their voices are like children, their prayers are excessive). While the tone is not wholly negative, the use of the term *yuʿjibunī*, from the root *ʿajaba*, and the comment "Allah knows best", which often accompanies mentions of strange and surprising events or phenomena, convey a sense of unfamiliarity and estrangement.

A similar sense of alterity recurs in al-Tamagrūtī's account of his meeting with Islamic jurists (*fuqahā'*) and scholars (*ʿulamā'*) in Istanbul. While most of them belonged to the Hanafī School, some of the Egyptian jurists were Shafiite. As a Maliki scholar, al-Tamagrūtī reports with some predictable astonishment that, "as for the Maliki *madhhab*, it is not even mentioned there, and they do not know it". To which he adds:

All the people of this country adhere to the *madhhab* of Abū Hanifa, so much so that among them there are some people who have come there (Istanbul) from different *madhhabs* and converted to the Hanafi school of law, forsaking their own *madhhabs* in search for fame and livelihood.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 125)

Throughout this passage, al-Tamagrūtī employs both demonstratives and adjectives when referring to Istanbul, alternating between "here" and "this" and "there" and "that". This shift could be due to the fact that al-Tamagrūtī wrote down this passage only after his return to Morocco, when "here" in Istanbul had already become "there". Another reason could be his marking the intellectual and religious distance between his own Maliki *madhhab* and those practised in Istanbul. The sense of alterity becomes even more explicit in a passage concluding his representation of Istanbul. Here al-Tamagrūtī decries the people he encountered in Istanbul for their worldly ambition: "I

have never seen anybody more ambitious or greedy than them. One takes care of another [only] to gain advantage over him".[114] To al-Tamagrūtī, all the trading activity he saw and described in the port of Istanbul was as a result of this greediness:

> [one who seeks worldly fortune and desires] travels across dangerous seas and lands towards remote realms and leads his ambition and greediness, not for anything else. If someone gives a present to somebody, which is equivalent (even) to one dirham, he stands on his knees and takes it all in his hands and puts it on his head in reverence to the present and the person who gave the present.

> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 125)

Al-Tamagrūtī becomes even more vocal in his criticism of Ottoman Turks. Not only are they greedy, they consume rich foods and fine clothes and prefer Christian concubines to Muslim wives:

> They give attention to the world [worldly attachments] and are acquainted with its value; they take pleasure in delicate clothes and varied food. As for marriage and the demand for children, these people have abandoned them. Rather, they have concubines or slave girls from Rūm, Circassia, Slavic countries and from among the heathen[s]. For them, slaves (*mamluks*) are superior to their children, and many of them value greatly marriage with concubines. Even the sultan himself does not give his daughters to marry off with anyone, but with his *mamluks*.

> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 125)

These comments are followed by a brief description of the *devshirme* system, in which the sultan recruited Christian boys, gave them an Islamic education, after which these young men, whom he calls *mamluks,* could gain access to high posts in the Ottoman system.[115] Al-Tamagrūtī ends his section on Istanbul with a brief, quite neutral, account of the Ottoman system of fratricide.[116]

Finally, al-Tamagrūtī's comments on the difference between Arabic and Turkish contribute to the sense of alterity. Even before he arrived in Istanbul, right from the beginning of his travelogue al-Tamagrūtī noted differences and grammar rules. In fact,

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[114] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 125.
[115] Ibid., pp.125-126.
[116] Ibid., p. 128.

even before his departure from Tetouan, when he mentions the name of Arnavud Memi, the governor of Algiers and admiral of the North African fleet, al-Tamagrūtī explains that:

> Arnawūd (in Tur. Arnavud, Albanian) refers to a tribe name in the Turkish realm, as for 'Memi' it means Muḥammad in their language. Like this, [in] their language they put the adjective before the noun and put the noun after. God knows the best, likewise all foreign, Non-Arabic (*ʿajam*) languages are different from Arabic in this respect.

> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 38)

He often explains a word by noting that "in their language this means X in Arabic", or that "they put the adjective after the noun". When giving an inventory of the buildings damaged in the large fire, he notes, "It was found that, twenty-eight mosques and masjids, twenty-two thousand houses, caravansaries, bazaars which they call *bedesten*, fifteen thousand shops, and nine public baths were damaged in the fire".[117] And notes that *bedesten* is the Ottoman equivalent of *al-qaysāriyya,* a building located in markets where luxury goods are stored and sold.[118] As we shall see in the next chapter, our second traveller, al-Miknāsī, will build on these linguistic comments.

Al-Tamagrūtī's description of Istanbul can be usefully compared with that of the cities, especially Tunis and Bijāya, he visited while travelling along the coast of North Africa en route to Istanbul and on his way back to the Maghrib. Although these regions were under Ottoman dominion in al-Tamagrūtī's time, they were much closer, both geographically and culturally, to the Maghrib. As al-Tamagrūtī writes, before the Ottomans the north African coastline had been ruled by the Hafsid dynasty (1229-1574), which had initially been loyal to the Almohad State, the Aghlabids, Umayyads and *al-Khulafā al-Rāshidūn* (The Rightly Guided Successors of the Prophet Muḥammad).[119] By focussing on the past history of this region, al-Tamagrūtī linked the Saʿdī dynasty with earlier caliphal sovereigns, especially the Almohads, and

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[117] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 117.
[118] Semavi Eyice, "Bedesten", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5 (1992), pp.302-303.; Halima Ferhat, "Merinid Fez: Zenith and Signs of Decline", in *The Islamic City in the Islamic World*, Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Antillio Petruccioli, and André Raymond (eds.), Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008, Vol. 1, p.255.
[119] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 165.

thereby suggested the continuity of caliphal authority. Al-Tamagrūtī's description of these cities also shows how Ifriqiyya appeared to him a more familiar place than Istanbul.

5.   In the Ruins of Ifrīqiyyā

After al-Tamagrūtī sailed from Tetouan towards Istanbul the 28th Ramaḍān 997/ 10th of August 1589, he stopped off and spent time in several coastal cities of North Africa: Bijāya, Tunis, Tripoli (Ṭarāblus al-Gharb), Sousse, Monastir and Algiers. Writings about these cities, he particularly highlights their architecture and fortifications. Each description of a city starts with an observation of the extent of its fortifications. Al-Tamagrūtī then recalls the history of the city, using extensive quotations of previous travellers' accounts. Borrowing mostly from Abū'l-Baqāʾ Khālid al-Balawī (d. after 767/1365), Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and ʾAbd Ibn Rabbih (d.246-328/860-940), al-Tamagrūtī produced a fragmented text which deviates from the linearity of his travel to and from Istanbul.

Although al-Tamagrūtī visited Tunis, Bijāya and Sousse himself, he prefers to transmit information mediated through al-Balawī's *riḥla*, *Tāj al-mafriq,* rather than offering his own observations. His sections on Tunis and other cities on the North African coast such as Bijāya are drawn almost verbatim from *Tāj al-mafriq*.[120] For example, after stating that Bijāya was in ruins when he visited, he borrows from al-Balawī, who tells us how prosperous and green Bijāya was.[121] As he writes:

> I have taken the whole (passage) from Khālid al-Balawī, so that those who come later will know this city's civilization, prosperity and its ʿulamāʾ and virtuous men, and those who saw the present (today's) state of Bijāya do not think that it had always been in ruins (before).

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.50)

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[120] Abū'l-Baqāʾ Khālid b. ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Balawī (d.after 767/1365) was an Andalusi traveller who went on pilgrimage from his hometown al-Qantūriyya (Cantoria near Almeria in al-Andalus) between the years 736–40/1336-40 and written his travelogue in which he mainly focused on the scholars he met in North Africa and the Mashriq see, Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur,* vol.2, p.393; Pfeifer, *To Gather Together*, p. 93.
[121] Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 44-50, 151-158. Al-Tamagrūtī devotes nearly fifteen pages to Bijāya, which he visited both on his way to and from Istanbul, and most of the information comes from al-Balawī, see *Tāj al-mafriq*, vol.1, pp. 153-158; vol.2, pp. 151-158.

It is as if he could not portray the cities as he saw them himself, and rather than describing their present state of decline he prefers to linger on their glorious past. On entering Honanie, Bijāya, Tunis and Sousse, he repeats: "In the past, it was a city flourishing with scholars and seekers of knowledge, but now there is nothing left".[122]

Henri De Castries has argued that al-Tamagrūtī's borrowing of long excerpts and poems from previous authors makes him seem less creative, a "mere compiler".[123] By contrast, as already mentioned in the Introduction, Fred Donner suggests the term "strategies of compilation" to argue that compilation is not slavish imitation but can carry specific meanings and create particular effects.[124] In al-Tamagrūtī's case, I would argue that using long passages from earlier travellers shifts the temporal gaze and makes the formerly flourishing cities overlap with the present ones. It also directs attention to the causes behind their present decline, namely Christian incursions and Ottoman rule.

This is also the focus of al-Tamagrūtī's direct observations on those North African coastal cities that were threatened by Christians. For example, in Monastir he writes that there was a building, called the *ribāṭ,* that in the past had functioned as a madrasa and residence for students and scholars of the city, but "[n]ow it has changed, diminished, and is being used as a shelter from the attacks of the Christians".[125] This description simultaneously highlights the status of the building and the city as a centre of "learning, commerce, and virtue" and its more recently diminished state:

> Tunis is a great and well-populated city, a centre of learning, commerce and virtue. It succeeded al-Qayrawān as the capital of the kingdom of Africa [at the end of the ninth century], and it is full of mosques praising God and markets abundant with goods from God's bounty. At present, however, it has been weakened by internal strife. The Turks seized it from the last Hafsids, but then the Christians conquered it with the help of those Hafsids who had remained there. The Christians divided the city in half between themselves and the remaining Muslims.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 55-56)[126]

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[122] Al-Tamagrūti, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp.41-42, 44, 87, 96-102,135-137.
[123] De Castries (tr. and ed.), *al-Nafḥat el-Miskiya fi-s-sifarat et-Tourkiya*, pp. 1-2.
[124] Donner, "ʿUthmān and the Rāshidūn Caliphs", pp.46-47.
[125] Al-Tamagrūtī, al-*Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p.85.
[126] The translation is taken from Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes*, p. 149.

As this passage shows, al-Tamagrūtī highlights the presence of the Christians and the power struggle between Christians and Turks as the causes of the decline of Tunis and other cities of North Africa. Since they were no longer centres of knowledge and scholarship, al-Tamagrūtī prefers to reflect on their earlier glorious times through al-Balawī's eyes. Interestingly, al-Tamagrūtī relies particularly heavily on the sections devoted to the scholars, shaykhs, virtuous people that al-Balawī had met and mentioned.[127] The depiction of Tunis and Bijāya as cities formerly teeming with learned and virtuous men conveys how they are now "*kharāb*" (ruined) cities, and no longer the seats of knowledge they had once been in al-Balawī's time.

Beyond borrowing lengthy excepts from *Tāj al-Mafriq* about the ʿulamāʾ of Tunis, al-Tamagrūtī has very little to say about the present state of the city. Yet what he does relate, as well as what he chooses to omit, is worth mentioning here. Having named the city at which they arrived on the coast of North Africa; he immediately notes that what he has seen are mere ruins. The only remains of former buildings are remnants of its walls or some mosques. In Tunis al-Tamagrūtī visited the tombs of the ʿulamāʾ and virtuous people such as Shaykh Abī Fāris Sīdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khalīf al-Qusanṭīnī[128], his uncle Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, and other ʿulamāʾ and *awliyāʾ* (saints) buried in Tunis, from whom he sought blessings.[129] As a result, Tunis or Ifriqiyya emerges in al-Tamagrūtī's *al-Nafḥa* as a familiar place, a hub of connections, with the scholars and the imams he met or to whom he was introduced, their piety and the knowledge they bestowed. His Tunis section reads like a biographical dictionary of the ʿulamāʾ of Tunis, both past and present, alive and (mostly) dead, an inventory of the sacred topography of the city, with the tombs of Sufis and shaykhs. By contrast, for al-Tamagrūtī, Istanbul was a foreign place, where the names of the ʿulamāʾ and shrines were unfamiliar, other than Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (d.49/669), the companion of the Prophet.[130] Istanbul was a place where al-Tamagrūtī could not compare the past with the present, nor a city where he could feel longing for the past. Rather, as we have seen, there al-Tamagrūtī focused predominantly on the

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[127] See e.g. the list of the names of the local scholars and shaykhs mentioned al-Balawī in the section on Bijāya ; al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 45-49. See in al-Balawī, *Tāj al-mafriq*, vol.1, pp. 153-157

[128] Who was the master of al-Tamagrūtī's uncle, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī as we learn from al-Tamagrūtī, see *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 56.

[129] Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[130] Al-Tamagrūtī visits the tomb of Ayyūb al-Anṣārī in Istanbul see, ibid., pp. 118-120.

urban landscape, palaces, the abundance of food and goods at the market, and the administrative system of the state.

6. Back Home from *Ghurba*

Al-Tamagrūtī ends his account with a portrayal of the court culture of al-Manṣūr that is much more comprehensive than that of Istanbul. Invited by his Sultan, the author remained in Marrakesh for nearly three months, during which time he attended and provided an account of the Saʿdī ceremonies held in al-Badīʿ Palace and al-Manṣūr's celebration of the *mawlid* and Eid al-Fitr, the festivity of breaking the fast.[131] Al-Tamagrūtī depicts the ceremony with a wealth of details that contrast with his laconic and lacklustre description of the reception at the Ottoman sultan's palace:

> Different companies of soldiers marched behind him in splendid uniforms, surrounded by commanders on horseback. These men, as numerous as the grains of sand, filled the area and swayed like waves in a steel sea […] the sultan's perfect beauty was without parallel, and his qualities worthy of admiration. He inspired the liveliest sentiments among those who travelled with him […] all of the army knew the liveliness and sharpness of his sprit. A crowd of spectators lined the route travelled by the sultan, pressing in upon one another, so that they might be able to gaze upon him. […] In all eyes and ears the Sultan was regarded and listened to with benevolent attention. Every so often he would stop his march, sometimes smiling or testifying to his sincere affection through his actions. […] The purity of the Sultan's happy face reminded those who saw it of the full moon. The respect that he inspired was that which a lion inspires in the midst of his lionesses… all hearts throbbed with affection for him.
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp. 175-176)[132]

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[131] In view of his return dates to Morocco and the period he stayed in Marrakesh (from 10 Rabīʿ I 999/6 January 1591 to 1 Jumādā II 999/27 March 1591, when he entered Tamegroute) it is likely that this was the Eid al-Fitr celebration before he set off on his journey. Additionally, he mentions that "I attended the Eid al-Fitr in which the sultan went to *musallā* (the open area for the large number of worshippers who gather to pray together, especially the Friday and Eid prayers) on the morning of the first day of Shawwāl followed by his army of innumerable heroes and mounted upon a royal horse"; See Corry, *Reviving the Islamic Caliphate*, p.144, where the relevant passage from *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* is translated.

[132] Tr. in Stephen Cory's *Reviving the Islamic Caliphate*, pp. 144-145; see al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya,* pp. 175-176.

Al-Tamagrūtī had been in Istanbul during the *mawlid* celebrations but, unlike al-Miknāsī, made no mention of the mawlid festivals in the Ottoman capital, except from commenting, as already highlighted, on the excessive *ṣalawāt* in the mosques, which indicates that he indeed took part in *mawlid* ceremonies.[133] In Marrakesh, instead, al-Tamagrūtī describes the stages of al-Manṣūr's *mawlid* celebrations through *saj'* prose:

> On my return home in [1591] from Turkey, I attended one of the festivals to commemorate the Prophet's birthday. [Sultan] al-Manṣūr invited the people to come to his fortunate courtyard, and summoned them to enter his amazing palace, called al-Badī'. [It is a palace] composed of lofty domed edifices. Silk carpets were spread out and pads lined up, covering the paving. [The rooms] were adorned with hanging veils, curtains and canopies all encrusted with gold. It was on each arch, every dome and all seats. The walls around were covered with hanging silk material outlined with patterns resembling flowers in a parterre. [Such amazing beauty] had never been seen in earlier times. The flanks of the domed rooms were raised aloft. [These were] based on foundations and columns from marble of diverse colours with capitals heavily gilt. The major portion of the ground was paved with white marble mixed with black. In between the marble paving, fresh water flowed. The public entered [the palace], each person according to the class to which he belonged: judges, learned scholars versed in the religious sciences, devoted men of piety, ministers of state, senior officers, clerks, hosts and soldiers. Each one imagined that he was in Paradise.
>
> (Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp.172-173) [134]

Unlike his description of the sultan's reception at the Topkapı Palace, which we saw omitted all the details that the book illustration (and later Moroccan travellers) provided, al-Tamagrūtī's description of the *mawlid* celebrations at Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's palace are rich in visual details of objects, people, and actions:

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[133] If we calculate al-Tamagrūtī's stay in Istanbul from Ṣafar 6 998/ mid-December 1589 to Shaʿbān 7 998/ June 11 1590, he was there during the month of Rabīʿ al-awwal, during which the celebrations of the birth of the Prophet (*mawlid*) would have been held in the Ottoman palace and in the Friday mosques in Istanbul.

[134] This translation is taken from Yehoshua Frenkel's article, "Mawlid al-Nabī at the Court of Sultan Aḥmad al-Mansūr al-Saʿdī," in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 19 (1995): 157-172 pp. 162-163.

Then the crowd was let in. The diverse tribesmen entered according to their race, and with them soldiers and students of Islam. At times the flow of visitors stopped, then various foods were served, brought into the hall in Malaga style bowls, Valencia design golden plates, Turkish dishes and Indian vessels. Water jugs and basins were brought in, and water was poured on people's hands. Then burning fumigators were set up containing amber and aloe wood. Silver and gold cups filled with rose water and orange water were brought forward. Fresh branches of myrtle were handed to them in a fashion that covered the traces of perfumes. Then poets recited the verses and the *amīr* treated them generously. The ceremony ended with a prayer in honour of the Sultan. On the seventh day of the feast was celebrated with even more amazing pomp. This was the whole ceremony.

(Al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, pp.174-175)[135]

This lengthy description shows how carefully Al-Tamagrūtī employs ornate language and sonorous expressions to narrate the *mawlid* ceremonies at home. As well as his use of rhetorical elegance in these passages, al-Tamagrūtī's strategy of detailing court protocol and *mawlid* celebrations in the Saʿdī palace is striking, given that neither al-Miknāsī nor Al-Zayyānī's texts depict ʿAlawī ceremonies.[136] The Saʿdī ruler al-Manṣūr likely appreciated the impact of public ceremonies on his subjects and rival states. The *mawlid* celebration was particularly important for the Saʿdī dynasty's claim to be the sharifian descendent, and to establish and reinforce its political legitimacy. Thus, we can argue that al-Tamagrūtī's sumptuous depiction of al-Manṣūr's *mawlid* celebrations, whether he attended them in person or not, formed part of the confrontation between the Saʿdī dynasty and the Ottomans in the sixteenth century. At the end of his travelogue, al-Tamagrūtī returns to al-Qurṭubī's al-*Tadhkira* to conclude with a hadith on the appearance of the *mahdī* in the Maghrib.[137]

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[135] Tr. in ibid., p. 163.

[136] His contemporaries al-Fishtālī and al-Maqqarī also supply similar detailed descriptions of al-Manṣūr's receptions, see al-Fishtālī, *Manāhil al-ṣafā*, p. 236-237. Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī also quotes from al-Fishtālī in his *al-Muntaqā al-maqṣūr*, see vol 1., pp.367-372; al-Maqqarī, *Rawḍat al-ās*, pp.13-14.

[137] For example, he cites: "Even if there was only one day left of this world, Allah would make it last until a man from my household took possession of [the mountain of] Dailam and Constantinople"; al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 167. Reported in Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, hadith no: 2779. https://sunnah.com/urn/1276280 (accessed 13/05/2017) in al-Qurṭubī, *al-Tadhkira*, p. 1109.

Conclusion

Although al-Tamagrūtī came from a house of learned people, he was a local scholar and, unlike al-Zayyānī, he produced no voluminous histories or biographies. Nonetheless, his *al-Nafḥa* holds unique importance as being the earliest known account of the Ottoman Istanbul and the North African provinces written by a Maghribi author.

Despite the fact that *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* is considered a *riḥla ṣifāriyya* or diplomatic travelogue, al-Tamagrūtī's section on Istanbul is actually quite short, ca. 20 out of 180 pages of this work. This raises the question of why the rest of his travelogue takes up more textual space. As I have argued, particularly in the section on his journey through North Africa and the beginning of the Istanbul section, al-Tamagrūtī's journey is as much through space as through time, and with respect to time, pre-Ottoman, "Arab" and Berber Almohad times are highlighted. Al-Tamagrūtī's choice to rely less on his personal observations and more on the testimony of earlier writers enabled him, I argued, to describe the past and lost fortune of those cities and their notable pious men, which he contrasted the cities' present decay under Ottoman rule and constantly threatened by Christians.

In his section dedicated to Istanbul, as we have seen, al-Tamagrūtī followed the structure of earlier accounts, starting from the sea and the city's fortifications, which prompted him to look further back than the Ottomans to the earliest attempts of conquering the city. He then gave a tour of the city's main mosques and markets, which filled al-Tamagrūtī with wonder but also gave him a keen sense of the wordliness of the city and its inhabitants. Although he was part of an official diplomatic mission to the Ottoman Sultan, he offers only a brief description of the royal palace and the reception ceremony. In his encounter with the Ottoman sultan and the officials in his palace, al-Tamagrūtī highlighted rather the system of *devhsirme* and contrasts the Ottoman sultan with the Saʿdī Sultans, which he distinguished as the true caliphs, whereas the Ottomans were only "clients". As we have seen, al-Tamagrūtī pursued this claim about the Maghribi Saʿdīs as the righteous rulers of the Muslim world, especially the Muslims of the North Africa, when he claimed that North Africans in the cities of Ifriqiyya but also in Istanbul longed to be ruled by the Saʿdīs.

Though brief, al-Tamagrūtī's description of Ottoman Istanbul arguably provides a blueprint for the later Moroccan travelogues, which do not directly quote

or mention it but show ample traces that they read this text, as we shall see. For this reason, my treatment of his account in this chapter has been more descriptive, because in describing what al-Tamagrūtī wrote about I have been actually laying down the blueprint for the other travelogues as well.

If we read al-Tamagrūtī's travelogue through the prism of familiarity and alterity, we note that his praise of the city's monuments and bazaars is counterbalanced by more laconic comments on the administrative system and downright surprise at religious and recruitment practices. Contrastive demonstrative pronouns underline the difference between Ottoman and Maghribi practices. As for the prism of the righteous ruler, I underscored al-Tamagrūtī's use of the terms *mamālik* and *mawālī* for the Ottoman rulers, which placed them at a lower rank than the Sharifian ruler of Morocco. As this example shows, a close reading of even a phrase or a term can be quite significant and help us formulate larger arguments about political discourse in and through the genre of the *riḥla*.

I have already mentioned al-Tamagrūtī's "strategy of compilation" with regards to pre-Ottoman Istanbul and North African cities. Rather than simple citation, these quotes convey a particular sense of history and politics, but also a lack of what al-Tamagrūtī felt was a necessary part of a *riḥla*, i.e. meeting with Sufis and *'ulamā'*. By the same token, the mention of only one such meeting with unnamed Hanafi *'ulamā'* in Istanbul is significant and suggests a higher degree of alterity. Al-Tamagrūtī's sense of alienation or *ghurba* in the Ottoman Istanbul is in fact highlighted by what he does *not* speak about, namely scholars and pious men, whom he instead invariably sought out and mentioned in his descriptions of the cities along the coasts of North Africa. In Istanbul, by contrast, even Muslims appeared strange, whether as jurists, as preachers in the mosques, or as self-described Rumis. By comparison, as we shall see, later Moroccan travellers to Istanbul will mention more meetings and name their acquaintances in the Ottoman capital.

Chapter 2

Gathering soil from travelling through lands: Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī in Istanbul

When we met the vizier, we handed him the letters that our master and lord, commander of the faithful, had sent with us to the sultan. That was their custom: letters were first given to the vizier before they were forwarded to the sultan in order to have them translated from Arabic to their language; also, to learn of their content and know the purpose of the journey and thereby apprise the sultan. *This custom of theirs was similar to the custom of the Christians and their ʿajamī [non-Arab] rules.*

(Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, pp. 62-63)[1]

Introduction

In the final quarter of the eighteenth century, almost two hundred years after al-Tamagrūtī's visit to Istanbul, several diplomatic envoys travelled from Morocco to the Ottoman capital, as part of Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh's (r. 1757-1790) extensive diplomatic efforts.[2] Two of them left accounts of their travels: Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī (d. 1213/1799) and Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī, the focus of the next chapter. Al-Miknāsī embarked on his journey to the Abode of Islam, which included Ottoman Istanbul, Bilād al-Shām and the Hijaz, his third diplomatic mission, on 2 Rajab 1200/1 May 1786. He arrived in Istanbul on 4 Shawwal 1200/31 July 1786 and remained there

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[1] Translation in Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 142, slightly changed.
[2] Muhammad Menouni and M'hammad Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account of Constantinople", in *Actes du VIe Congres du C.I.E.P.O tenu a Cambridge sur: Les Provinces à l'époque Ottomane,* Abdeljelil Temimi (ed.), Zaghuan: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes et Morisco-Andalouses, 1987, p. 41.

for nearly ten months (4 Shawwal 1200-23 Rajab 1201 /31 July 1786-11 May 1787) before departing overland for the hajj.[3] The *riḥla* he penned after his travels in mid Dhū-l Ḥijja 1202/ September 1788, entitled *Ihrāz al-muʿallā wa-l-raqīb fī ḥajj bayt Allāh al-ḥarām wa ziyārat al-Quds al-Sharīf wa-l-Khalīl wa-l-tabarruk bi-qabr al-Ḥabīb* (The Attainment of High dignities from Hajj to the Sacred House of Allah and visiting the Noble Jerusalem and Hebron and seeking the blessing of the tomb of Dearly Beloved [Prophet Muḥammad]), henceforth referred to as *Ihrāz al-muʿallā,* highlights the pilgrimage rather than the political aim of the mission.[4]

Unlike al-Tamagrūtī, prior to his trip to the Ottoman lands al-Miknāsī, had already been in charge of an embassy in Spain in 1193/1779 and had led a mission to Malta, Naples and Sicily between 1195/1781 and 1197/1783. In comparison with al-Tamagrūtī, then, al-Miknāsī was an experienced diplomat with more extensive knowledge of foreign lands—as Nabil Matar puts it, he is the only Moroccan, indeed Arab, traveller who left accounts of both Europe and Ottoman lands.[5] Moreover, since he stayed in Istanbul for almost a year, al-Miknāsī had ample opportunity to gain access to, and observe, courtly culture and ceremonies, as is evidenced in the epigraph. He had an audience with Sultan Abdülhamid I and was received by his viziers. In addition to detailing court ceremonies and providing the customary topographical descriptions and accounts of the monuments, al-Miknāsī's account of Istanbul in his *riḥla* includes a section dedicated to the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ,* their institutions and hierarchy, their libraries, mosques and their scholarly functions in the city. Although he claims that his descriptions are first-hand, he also occasionally cites local voices and various written sources. His principal acknowledged textual source was al-Qaramānī's (d. 1019/1611) history of the Ottomans and the conquest of Istanbul, but a careful reading reveals that he also likely read al-Tamagrūtī's *riḥla*.[6] Al-Miknāsī's

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[3] See Appendix 2 for the map of al-Miknāsīʾs Journey (in 1200/1786-1787).

[4] Nabil Matar has converted the lunar calendar, 2 Rajab 1200 to 19 May 1785, according to the Gregorian calendar, but the accurate Gregorian date is 1 May 1786. Like other Maghribi travellers, al-Miknāsī set off by sea from Tangiers on a Spanish vessel; after waiting for six months for favourable weather he sailed for three days to Cartagena in Southern Spain in an attempt to transfer to a bigger vessel, a battleship with fifty cannons, five hundred sailors and soldiers. From Cartagena, Al-Miknāsī's ship stopped in Syracuse, where they spent nearly one month before heading towards the Ottoman capital; Miknāsī, Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān and Muḥammad Bū Kabūt, (eds.), *Rihḷa al-Miknāsī: Ihrāz al-muʿallā wa-l-raqīb fī Ḥajj Bayt Allāh al-ḥarām wa-ziyārat Al-Quds al-sharīf wa-l-Khalīl wa-l-tabarruk bi-qabr al-Ḥabīb, 1785*, Abu Dhabi: Dār al-Suwaydī li-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2003, pp.50-51.

[5] Matar, *An Arab Ambassador,* 'Introduction'.

[6] Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Sinān b. Aḥmad al-Dimashqī al-Qaramānī's (d.1019/1611) universal history has been edited: *Akhbār al-duwal wa athār al-uwal,* (eds) Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ and Fahmī Saʿd, 3 vols., Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1992.

and al-Zayyānī's visits partly overlapped. Yet while al-Miknāsī is silent about his contemporary, al-Zayyānī has instead quite a lot to say about al-Miknāsī, as we shall see in the next chapter. As such, it is useful to read the two accounts contiguously, and over these next two chapters I will explicitly draw out comparisons between them.

Al-Miknāsī's travelogues have been the subject of several studies. Menouni and Benaboud usefully present the political context and contents of *Ihrāz al-muʿallā*: al-Miknāsī's reception at court and his description of the celebrations for the wedding of the Sultan's niece and for the birth of the Prophet (*mawlid*); his measuring of the city; the security arrangements in the city as well as the bureaucratic and administrative hierarchy of the Ottoman state, and so on.[7] In his *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean*, Nabil Matar provides selected translations of all three travelogues by al-Miknāsī. His introduction that highlights how unique these are for their triangulation between Catholic Europe, Ottoman Islam, and Morocco and for what they reveal of al-Miknāsī's adaptation to his horizons so dramatically broadened by his travels.[8] Matar notes how al-Miknāsī wrote "with an empiricist's language", fulfilling his patron's charge to describe all that he saw but also carefully balancing his wonder and admiration for the technological and administrative innovations he saw— machinery, water parks, roads and bridges, the postal service, museums and buildings—with praise for his Sultan and comparisons with Morocco, though 'as the "wonders" grew more amazing, such comparisons declined'.[9] Although he had been impressed by Spain and Naples, al-Miknāsī forgot them entirely when he reached Istanbul, which "stunned him, not by its innovations and *gharā'ib,* but also by its magnificent mosques, libraries, opulence, commercial wealth, and safety", as we shall see.[10]

Although al-Miknāsī came to Istanbul on a friendly mission, to extend his patron's financial and moral support in the war against the Russians, he also felt alienated, Matar argues, describing him as "an Arab (among the Turks) and a Muslim (among the Christians)".[11] As such, Matar suggests that al-Miknāsī felt alienated in

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[7] Menouni and Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account".

[8] 'his are the only writings about the Islamic and Christian sea of the Rūm (the name Arabs used for the "Mediterranean") by an Arab writer until the *Naḥda* in the nineteenth century'; Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 2.

[9] Ibid., pp. 10, 14. Al-Miknāsī also urged Muslim travellers to adapt to the customs and habits of the lands they travelled to; at first shocked to see women play a role in public receptions in Spain during his first journey, al-Miknāsī grew more accustomed to their presence, and to men and women publicly singing and dancing together.

[10] Ibid., p. 25.

[11] Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 11.

Naples and Spain on account of his religious and cultural disparity, but also in Istanbul due to the cultural differences within Islam: Ottoman Turks "were Islamic but not Arabic, and al-Miknāsī realized that much as religion could unite people, cultural and linguistic differences could separate them".[12] Menouni and Benaboud, by contrast, stress only al-Miknāsī's "unconditional admiration for Constantinople and the Ottoman empire".[13]

While I agree with Matar, I would further qualify his statement by suggesting that in Istanbul al-Miknāsī was a "Maliki-Maghribi among the Turks": in other words, his expression of alterity underlined not just his Arab, but specifically his Maghribi, political and religious identity. As Matar also argues, the fact that al-Miknāsī identified as a Maghribi emerges powerfully in his earlier travelogue to Spain, which, unlike the account of his journey to Ottoman lands, resounds with nostalgic, "familiarising" references to the traces of al-Andalus, as Hermes has also identified.[14] In the travelogue to Istanbul, a small "textual trace" of al-Miknāsī's self-identification as a Maghribi comes in his resume of al-Qaramānī's History of the Ottomans, where he substitutes the phrase "ṣāḥib al-ʿArab", al-Qaramānī's term for the Arab ruler(s), with "ṣāḥib al-Maghrib" (the Moroccan ruler/owner).[15] In addition, in the section on Mecca he wrote a qaṣīda on Maliki hajj practices.[16]

In terms of wider political context, we need to consider the two major projects of al-Miknāsī's patron Sīdī Muḥammad when he acceded to power: the "consolidation and modernization of the ʿAlawī state", and his establishment of better relations with European powers and the Ottoman states around the Mediterranean while acquiring up-to-date knowledge about their innovations.[17] The liberation of captives enabled him to do so, albeit by violent means in a forceful manner. Moreover, it has been claimed

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[12] Ibid., p. 28.
[13] Menouni and Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account", p. 58. They argue that 'His Moroccan nationality did not affect his praise and admiration for the Ottoman Empire as the most powerful and prosperous Islamic state in the World. His pan-Islamic concept overides [sic] his narrow nationalistic sentiments', ibid., p. 61. Terms like 'nationalism' and 'pan-Islamism' seem anachronistic and too clear-cut in this context. Matar is more tentative and writes: "Whether a sense of "pan-Arabism survived from the late sixteenth century in his mind is unclear"; Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 28.
[14] Nizar Hermes, "Nostalgia for al-Andalus in early modern Moroccan Voyages en Espagne: al-Ghassānī's Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr (1690–91) as a case study", *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 3 (2016), p. 434. As I explore explore in this chapter, for example, while labelling certain practices of Ottoman courtly protocol as ʿajamī (foreign, non-Arab) practices, al-Miknāsī draws comparisons between them and those he had seen during his earlier travels to Spain and Naples.
[15] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p.81; al-Qaramānī, *Akhbār al-duwal*, vol.3, p. 30.
[16] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, pp. 267-279.
[17] Harrak, "State and Religion", p. 229.

that Sīdī Muḥammad, in order to control *ʿulamāʾ* appointments and assert state control to counter the power of the religious elite, took inspiration from the Ottoman state. As Amira Bennison has suggested, Sīdī Muḥammad undertook "a radical reassessment of the relationship between the Makhzan and the *ʿulamāʾ*", which "entailed Makhzan assertion of the sultanʾs religio-political right to determine the curriculum offered in *madāris*, to categorise the educational achievements of students coming out of them and to control scholarly appointments and payment of salaries to the *ʿulamāʾ*, an approach seemingly inspired by Ottoman precedents."[18] As such, al-Miknāsī's detailed account of Ottoman practices and regulations regarding the *ʿulamāʾ* arguably constituted an importance source of knowledge and an example of knowledge exchange between the two states.

At the same time, from the twelfth century onwards, in the face of territorial losses and political instability Maghribi Muslims began to assert their orthodoxy compared with their eastern Muslim coreligionists. The *riḥla* genre became an important platform through which Maghribi intellectuals could maintain Morocco's central role in preserving Muslim orthodoxy.[19]

By the time of al-Miknāsī and Sīdī Muḥammad, the second Ottoman-Russian war had ended with the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), resulting in the Ottoman loss of the Muslim territory of the Crimea. Al-Miknāsī mentions witnessing the preparations in Istanbul for the third Ottoman-Russia war before he left for hajj.[20] The Ottomans sought financial help from Morocco for this conflict.[21] Coming from the

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[18] Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations*, p. 26.

[19] Hendrickson, "Prohibiting the Pilgrimage", pp. 207-208; Amira Bennison, "Liminal States: Morocco and Iberian Frontier between the Twelfth and Nineteenth Centuries" in *North Africa, Islam and the Mediterranean Worlds: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War*, Julia Clancy-Smith (ed.), London: Frank Cass, 2001, p. 18.

[20] In the eighteenth century, Ottoman supremacy in the Black Sea was threatened and the two Empires confronted three times: the first Ottoman-Russian war from 1735-1739, the second Ottoman-Russian war from 1768-1774 and the third Ottoman-Russian war from 1787-1792. As Hümeyra Bostan's recent study shows, the rise of Russia as a commercial and political rival to the Ottomans constituted a threat to the Straits and also to Istanbul, see Hümeyra Bostan, "Defending the Ottoman Capital Against the Russian Threat: Late Eighteenth Century Fortifications of Istanbul", PhD Thesis, İstanbul Şehir University and École Pratique Des Hautes Études, 2020, pp. 4-6. I am deeply grateful to Dr Bostan for sharing her PhD thesis with me.

[21] El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 286-292. El Moudden relies on both the official documents in the Ottoman State Achieve and contemporaneous Moroccan chronicles. However, according to the short report by Ahmed Azmi Efendi, the Ottoman ambassador to Morocco in 1787, Sīdī Muḥammad would only provide the financial support that the Ottomans had requested if there were a positive response from the Sublime Porte regarding his complaints about the Beylik of Algiers, see Merve

Maghrib, which had historically experienced significant territorial losses, al-Miknāsī offers solidarity with the jihad of the Ottomans and prays for the victory of the Ottoman sultan, as will be detailed. Yet, despite their shared religion, both in Istanbul and on his journey to the hajj, al-Miknāsī found himself estranged from his fellow travellers, as is testified by his occasional use of the terms *gharīb* or *ʿajamī*.

Does the description of Ottoman Istanbul by al-Miknāsī, a scholar and experienced traveller, differ much from that of al-Tamagrūtī's? In *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* there is no mention of al-Tamagrūtī nor of his *riḥla*, but at times we can see the parallels between the two texts, among other things in the physical descriptions of Istanbul, the *boğaz* or Bosporus, the bazaars of Istanbul. As we shall see, al-Miknāsī's text is more factual and detailed, while shifting the axis of alterity towards a greater familiarity. This chapter juxtaposes the descriptions of Istanbul and of the Ottomans in al-Miknāsī's *Ihrāz al-muʿallā* and al-Tamagrūtī's *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya*, while the next chapter offers a detailed comparison of *Ihrāz al-muʿallā* with the contemporary account by al-Zayyānī's account. In order to analyse al-Miknāsī's combination of familiarity and alterity in Istanbul, I will pay particular attention to his description of the sultan's protocol and of the *mawlid* celebrations in the Ottoman capital. In order to explore the Moroccan travellers' insistence on the issue of the Moroccan sultan as the righteous ruler, I will analyse al-Miknāsī's characterization of the Ottoman sultan and compare it to the terms he employs to describe his own patron. Finally, I will argue that al-Miknāsī's interest in the Ottoman *ʿilmiyye* structure can be read in the light of knowledge transfer, i.e. to aid the transformation and consolidation of the Moroccan Makhzan.

Before delving into al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* however, let me introduce the author's biography and earlier travels to Europe so as to identify the continuities and discontinuities with his account of Ottoman Istanbul, particularly with regard to the themes of both familiarity and alterity.

Karaçay Türkal, "Ahmed Azmi Efendi'nin Fas Elçiliği", in *Mavi Atlas*, 4 (2015), p. 33; Faik Reşit Unat*, Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1968, p. 148.

1. Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī's Life and Travels

Like the other *riḥla* authors discussed in this thesis, Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī came from the ranks of the *'ulamā'*. Unlike the more provincial al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī was born in Meknes, a royal capital at the time of Mawlay Ismā'īl (r. 1672-1727) and home to famous jurists, scholars and men of letters. Al-Miknāsī was the son of a prominent Miknāsī family reputed for learning and knowledge. [22]

Figure 2: Al-Miknāsī's house in Meknes (Author's photograph, 2016)

He therefore grew up in a confident intellectual environment before continuing his education at the Qarawiyyīn in Fes, where he mastered literature, philology and religious sciences such as hadith and *tafsir* like the majority of scholars versed in law in the Maghrib. Following in his father's footsteps, when he returned to Meknes, he first became a library scribe, after having spent a few years travelling within Morocco in pursuit of knowledge and experience. Shortly after having preached sermons in one of Meknes' mosques, like most of his peers, he entered the Makhzan circuit. He was taken into courtly service by Sīdī Muḥammad (r. 1757-1790), initially as a librarian and then a scribe in the Makhzan administration. where he gained experience of

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[22] His exact date of birth in the first half of the eighteenth century is unknown, but we know that he died on 1 Muḥarram 1214/ 5 June 1799. See Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-mu'allā,* pp. 11-39; Menouni and Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account", p. 39; Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 3; Muḥammad Bū Kabūṭ, *Sifārat Muḥammad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī wa-mushāhadātih fī Istānbūl wa-l-Shām wa-l-Hijāz, 1786-1789,* Fās: Jāmi'at Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, 2004, p. 57.

administrative affairs and government correspondence, to which he added diplomatic skills in his next appointment as a jurist in Tetouan.

In 1779 al-Miknāsī was appointed head of an embassy to King Charles III of Spain, sent in order to liberate Muslim captives, develop peaceful relations, and bring back Sultan Mawlāy Zaydān's (r. 1016– 1036/1608–1627) manuscript collection, which had been seized at sea and taken to the El Escorial library.[23] With the exception of the last task, al-Miknāsī was successful in this mission, and his negotiations resulted in the Treaty of Aranjuez in 1780. Upon his return he was appointed vizier, and in 1782 he was entrusted with another mission to Malta and Naples to rescue Muslims held there, about whose captivity he had learned while in Spain. He arrived in Naples in 1782, and in exchange for financial compensation he retrieved Muslim captives who had been captured while sailing to Tripoli.[24] On his third journey, in 1785 al-Miknāsī accompanied the Sultan's son-in-law, ʿAbd al-Mālik, to Ottoman Istanbul and had an audience with Sultan Abdülhamid I. Afterwards, he joined the *Surre alayı*, the imperial hajj caravan from Istanbul that brought gifts from the Ottoman Sultan as the Protector and Servant of the *Ḥaramayn* (two shrines) of Mecca and Medina.[25] During this long journey al-Miknāsī had the opportunity to visit the cities of Damascus, Jerusalem, Tunis, Tlemcen and Constantine, before returning to Meknes on 29 Shaban 1202/4 June 1788. [26] He subsequently continued his diplomatic missions: after negotiating in Algeria on behalf of Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad, towards the end of 1790 he was again sent to Spain, this time by the new ruler Mawlāy Yazīd (r. 1790-1792).

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[23] For a detailed information on the captured library of Mawlāy Zaydān, see Daniel Hershenzon. "Traveling Libraries: The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library", in *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 18, Issue 6 (November 2014) pp. 535–558. Also, Nabil Matar "Europe through Eighteenth-Century Moroccan Eyes," in *Alif: Travel Literature of Egypt and the Middle East*, Vol. 26 (2006), pp. 204-205.

[24] Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, pp. 5-16; "Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, P. Bearman et al (eds.), Brill Online, 2016.

[25] *Surre* literally means purse and *Surre* Caravans carrying money and gifts to the Hijaz were first sent with Sultan Mehmet I (r.1413-1421). This was the annual procession considered both the most prominent and the most royal of the vast numbers of other pilgrimage caravans that transported pilgrims to the Holy lands, see Syed Tanvir Wasti, "The Ottoman Ceremony of the Royal Purse", *Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 41, Isssue 2 (2005), pp. 193-194. For more information on *Surre* caravans; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683*, London: I. B. Tauris, 1994; Munir Atalar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Surre-i Humayun ve Surre Alayları*, Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Baskanlığı Yayınları, 1991.

[26] On his way to the pilgrimage, al-Miknāsī took the land route. He travelled through Anatolia and followed the Syrian hajj route, stopping in several cities such as Hama, Homs and Damascus before he reached the Hijaz. From Damascus he visited Nablus, Jerusalem and Hebron and returned to Acre, from where he sailed to Cyprus, and after a short stay on the island, his ship went on to Tunis, and from there overland to Fes.

However, this mission failed to restore the treaty and peace between Morocco and Spain. Yet the failure of this mission does not seem to have obstructed al-Miknāsī's career. On the contrary, under Mawlāy Sulaymān (r. 1793–1822) he was appointed governor of Tetouan and also became the Sultan's personal representative on foreign affairs in Tangier. He was equally involved in the external and internal affairs of the Sultanate, receiving foreign emissaries and negotiating with unruly administrators. Indeed, al-Miknāsī played a central role in promoting the authority of his patron, Mawlāy Sulaymān. In 1799 he was tasked with preparing another treaty with Spain, and shortly after signing it he died in June 1799 of the plague in Marrakesh.[27]

Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī produced an account after each of his first three missions: *al-Iksīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* (The Elixir to Ransom the Captive) after his first travel to Spain in 1779-1780; *al-Badr al-sāfir li-hidāyat al-musāfir ilā fikāk al-asārā min yad al-'aduww al-kāfir* (The Unveiled Full Moon for the Guidance of the Traveller in Ransoming the Captives from the Hands of the Unbeliever Enemy) subsequent to his visit to Malta and Naples, while *Ihrāz al-mu'allā* is a more comprehensive account of his arrival from the Mashriq; Istanbul and the hajj.

Figure 3: Al-Miknāsī's house courtyard (Author's photograph, 2016)

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[27] Ibrahim Harekat "İbn Osman el-Miknâsî", in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 20, Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 1999, pp. 237-238; Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 7.

1.1. In the Abode of Harb: al-Miknāsī in Spain, Malta and Naples

As already mentioned, before al-Miknāsī travelled to the Ottoman Capital he had travelled to Christian lands. Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad's enthronement (in 1757) brought a degree of political stability to Morocco. He sought to improve relations with Christian powers and establish closer relations with the Ottomans, while at the same time contending with ongoing competition in the Mediterranean. The efforts he made to free Muslim captives, both Maghribi and others, who had been captured by Christian Corsairs in the Mediterranean, represented a form of jihad.[28] To that end, he sent several missions to Spain, Malta and Naples, particularly towards the end of his thirty-three-year reign, to negotiate the ransom or exchange of Muslim for Christian captives in. In 1767 he sent the diplomats Aḥmad b. al Mahdī al-Ghazzāl to Spain, and in 1777 Ṭāhir al-Fannīsh to France.

In 1779, as already stated, it was al-Miknāsī who was sent on another mission to Spain, and then to Malta and Naples. Comparing al-Miknāsī's travelogues of Spain and Naples with that of Istanbul helps us nuance our understanding of his depiction of the Ottoman capital.[29]

In his *riḥla* about Spain, al-Miknāsī combines nostalgia with admiration and wonder tempered by religious distancing. Prior to embarking on his journey, al-Miknāsī prepared himself by reading the history of al-Andalus and the Reconquista by Aḥmad ibn al-Maqqārī and al-Ghassānī's account of the year 1690, which Hermes calls a foundational text of "post-Reconquista Arabic Andalūsiyyāt".[30] The title of the account al-Miknāsī wrote on his return, *al-Iksīr fī iftikāk al-asīr*, directly echoes Ghasānī's *Rihlāt al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr*.[31] Al-Miknāsī's *al-Iksīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* is rich in content: in addition to describing the Muslims of Al-Andalus and the remnants of Andalusi families, the text covers a broad range of topics, from buildings to

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[28]El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 300-301; Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations,* pp. 25-26.

[29] See Matar, *An Arab Ambassador.*

[30] Nizar F. Hermes, "Nostalgia for al-Andalus", p. 434.

[31] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī (d. 1707) went on a mission to Spain in 1691 on behalf of Mawlay Ismāʿīl (r. 1672-1727) and composed his account, *Rihlāt al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* (The Travel of the Vizier to Ransom Captive); see Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī, and Jarrāḥ, Nūrī (eds), *Rihlat al-Wazīr fī Iftikāk al-asīr 1690-1691*, Abu Dhabi-Beirut: Dār al-Suwaydī li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ al-Muʾassasah al-ʿArabīyah lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 2002. Nizar Hermes, "Nostalgia for al-Andalus".

institutions of government, from trade to farming, from daily life to local customs.[32] As well as citing previous historical sources, al-Miknāsī includes updated and direct observations and, unlike in his account of Istanbul, he details his diplomatic negotiations with Spanish dignitaries.

Like the works of other Maghribi travellers to Spain, al-Miknāsī's *riḥla* is replete with nostalgic references to Muslim Spain or al-Andalus. Everywhere he searched for the vestiges and legacy of Islamic Spain, and in each city he entered he invokes the prayer, "may Allah return it to (the) abode of Islam".[33] In Ecija, for example, he asked a Spanish dignitary who brought him some old coins whether any trace (*athār*) remained of Muslims in those lands.[34] The very mature olive trees he saw on his way to Seville struck al-Miknāsī as traces of the Muslim past: "It is obvious that, the olives had been planted by Muslims, because the trees looked old".[35] In Seville, al-Miknāsī and his companions wandered around the city noticing the monuments left by the Muslims. He wrote of the Alcazar palace that, "there is a vast amount of Arabic inscriptions, in prose and verse, on the walls. It was not strange that Christians wrote in Arabic, for at that time they used Arabic openly".[36] His guide also informed him that the Tower of Ghiralda was similar to the minaret of the Kutubiyya mosque in Marrakesh, and on seeing it he was unable to conceal his astonishment: "we climbed the minaret, and it was climbed like the Kutubiyya minaret, without stairs." He added with disdain: "More than one Christian informed me that they had climbed it on horseback", and that "the infidels who live there spoilt it with their urine and dirt".[37]

In Cordoba, al-Miknāsī was mesmerised by the Cathedral, the former Great Mosque. On his first visit it was so crowded that he could not properly see the mihrab. Expressing his anger at the Christians ("May God destroy them"), he decided to return again at night, when he was awestruck by the mihrab's structure and ornamentation.[38]

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[32] For example, he mentions similarities between Spain and Morocco in harvesting specific products such as artichokes; Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, p. 31.

[33] Ibid., p. 39, 52-53, 55, 60, 69, 89, 146.

[34] Ibid., p. 52.

[35] Ibid., p. 33.

[36] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, pp. 37-38; See also Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 40.

[37] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, p.39.

[38] Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 46. When he saw the crucifix inside the Cathedral, al-Miknāsī could not restrain himself and argued with the friar stating the Islamic point of view, i.e. that the Prophet Jesus was not crucified but was protected by God and raised to heaven: "This is a pure untruth and falsehood, nothing like as they implied had happened to the Prophet of God, on the contrary God prevented [him from such thing] and raised him towards Himself". He concludes by providing verses from the Qur'an, 'They did not kill him, nor did they crucify him, though it was made to appear like that to them' [Qur.

Whenever he referred to the Muslims of Spain and their vestiges in the text, he never omitted to include the invocation, "May Allah mercy on their souls".[39] During his journey al-Miknāsī encountered a considerable number of Andalusi descendants who approached him to express their kinship with Muslim ancestors. He recalls that even high-ranking dignitaries would deliberately come up to tell him that they were the descendants of Muslims.[40]

Compared with *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, then, the travelogue to Spain conveys a strong sense of familiarity, albeit with a vanished past. The combination of traces, memories, and descendants of Muslims appears to have offered al-Miknāsī some consolation for the loss of al-Andalus. The focus on a Muslim past also features in al-Miknāsī's account of his second trip, to Naples and Malta, where he provides a brief history of Malta and its first Muslim conquest, although since he had lost his manuscript he could not remember the details.[41]

None of this implies that al-Miknāsī was not pleased or impressed with the appropriate respect shown to him during his audience with the Spanish king. In fact, the language he employs to describe his exchange with the king are terms of affection or *maḥabba*. [42]At each stop along the way he unfailingly narrates how well received he was by dignitaries at every opportunity. Whenever they stayed overnight in a town, he recounts how the house provided for them was lavishly decorated, and the lengths his hosts went to in order to ensure his and his companions' comfort.[43] In Cadiz, for example, he was impressed by the city's buildings and describes how he and his retinue were welcomed in a four-storey building, where, he wrote, "we saw wonders beyond description".[44]

In Spain, al-Miknāsī writes about the grand plazas and maritime schools, the statues and museums, and the paper factories and postal services, as previous Maghribi travellers to Spain, like al-Ghassānī (travelled between 1690-1691) and al-Ghazzāl (1766-1767) had done. Although al-Miknāsī does not comment explicitly in favour of what he observed in the non-Muslim world, he nonetheless transmits to his readers his

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4:157; trans. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, *The Qur'an*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, p.60.
[39] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, pp. 15, 31-34, 43,52, 69, 125, 146, 166.
[40] Ibid., pp.182-183.
[41] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-sāfir,* pp. 143-144.
[42] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, pp.138-139.
[43] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, p. 31.
[44] Ibid., p. 23.

evident admiration for some of the achievements. In marvelling at the wonders of Malta and Naples during his second trip, he demonstrates his appreciation for new discoveries and technological innovations, architectural achievements, church charities, and the preservation of the ruins of previous civilizations. [45] While comparisons with Morocco may have remained implicit, as Matar has argued, by describing in great detail what he saw that was totally new to him, al-Miknāsī enlightens his readers about what was happening on the other side of Muslim world.[46]

Al-Miknāsī's account of his second trip to Malta, Naples and Sicily, entitled *al-Badr al-sāfir li-hidāyat al-musāfir ilā fikāk al-asārā min yad al-'aduww al-kāfir* (The Unveiled Full Moon for the Guidance of the Traveller in Ransoming the Captives from the Hands of the Unbeliever Enemy), concentrates more on the specific aim of his mission.[47] In line with his patron's view of the ransoming of Muslim captives from the Christian corsairs' hands as jihad, al-Miknāsī represents himself as pursuing jihad against infidel capturers, and his account is full of anger and hostility towards them.[48]

By the time of his second journey, then, al-Miknāsī had become an experienced traveller, adept at writing a *riḥla* on what he saw in infidel lands, which by this time appeared less foreign to him. But while he describes with fascination the technological and institutional innovations he saw in Malta and Naples, from the lodging houses to the postal system, acrobats climbing the ropes, the lavish palace that the "tyrant" (*ṭāghiya*) filled with countless marvels, he is at the same time mindful of his audience, firstly his patron, Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad, and then the Maghribi *'ulamā'*. As a result, wherever he describes non-Islamic cultural and social innovations, he immediately follows his observations with condemnations or critiques on how far astray the Europeans had gone, emphasising thereby the religious superiority of the Maghribi sultan.[49] He also always refers to the king of Spain or Naples as "tyrant" (*ṭāghiya*).[50] So while al-Miknāsī admires what he witnessed in the infidel land, he never fails to

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[45] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-sāfir*, p. 202.

[46] Matar, *an Arab Ambassador*, p. 17.

[47] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-sāfir*, p. 109.

[48] Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 18.

[49] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, pp. 120-121; al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-sāfir*, pp.184-185.

[50] Al-Miknāsī calls Carlos III and Ferdinand IV "tyrant"; *al-Iksīr*, pp. 15, 41, 48, 54, 84-85 et al, and *al-Badr al-sāfir*, pp. 155, 160-161, 167, 171-181. The term "tyrant or *ṭāghiya*" here refers to a non-Muslim ruler; as Javier Albarrán points out, although it refers to someone who behaves tyrannically, unjustly, oppressively or rebelliously, it frequently occurs with a connotation of "insolence and arrogance, of contempt of the law of God and hostility towards the apostles of God" in the Qur'an: "It implies therefore, an excess of infidelity"; Javier Albarrán, "Holy War in Ibn Khaldūn: A Transcultural Concept?" in *Journal of Medieval Worlds*, Vol. 1: Issue 1 (2019), p. 67.

articulate his distance from it. After watching a show by musicians and women dancers in Sicily he was careful to temper his enthusiasm, maintaining that initially he had hesitated but was compelled to watch the show since it was performed in honour of his sultan:

> The governor of the city informed us through some dignitaries that they had prepared a performance for us that night and that they wanted us to attend. l found that difficult to attend but then I realized that the people were doing everything to entertain us and to celebrate the glory of our master, the victor, our imam. So, l thought it best to accommodate them and not to act contrary to their practices, otherwise, they might say things that could be offensive for which we would be to blame.
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> (Al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-sāfir*, pp. 231-232)[51]

In stark contrast, in Istanbul al-Miknāsī describes Ottoman institutions and the educational system without any such reservations. As already mentioned, although al-Miknāsī draws no explicit comparisons between what he observed in the Ottoman lands and what he had seen in his previous journeys to Europe, as we might perhaps expect, his use of terms like '*ajamī* (as the epigraph shows) nonetheless suggests some implicit comparison between Ottoman and 'foreign' European customs.

Al-Miknāsī's travelogues are expansive works. In addition to his own observations, he includes previous travellers' impressions, and sometimes historical and geographical data. In fact, even when in *al-Badr al-sāfir* he informs the reader that he lost his notes on the history of Malta, he is nonetheless able to expand his narrative and include a "*maqāmāt*" section in rhymed prose at the end, in which he gives a vivid portrayal of the tensions between one of his Muslim companions and himself, and urged Muslim travellers to adapt and accommodate to to the behaviour of their hosts while, at the same time, advising them to maintain their own cultural traditions.[52] His third travelogue, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* is even more expansive and replete with passages in rhymed prose, as we shall see.

Finally, already in *al-Iksīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* al-Miknāsī measures the distance and time taken to travel between locations. In Cordoba, for example, he tried to take the

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[51] Tr. in Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, p. 128.
[52] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Badr al-sāfir*, pp. 259-309.

architectural measurements of the Great Mosque; when the friar accompanying him saw his effort, he brought recorded details of the building, enabling al-Miknāsī to transmit structural data such as the length and width of the mosque to his readers.[53] When giving information on the houses they resided in, he adds precise measurements in feet to his descriptions. As we shall see, he exhibits the same effort at precise measurement in his account of Istanbul.

2. Constantinople the Great: "Do not say city, it is the World"

The section on Istanbul occupies a quarter of al-Miknāsī's third travelogue, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* which runs for over 350 pages. The rest of the work is devoted to the stages of his journey to the city, followed by the stages to the hajj, his homeward journey, ending with his meeting with Sultan Muḥammad in Fes. Throughout the work, al-Miknāsī's personal observations are interspersed with descriptions in rhymed prose and ample quotations from other scholars, all the while exhibiting his notable writing skills.

His Istanbul section begins with the ceremonial welcome to his mission as they disembarked at the pier. This is followed by a detailed account of his meeting with the grand vizier, which enables al-Miknāsī to provide information about the titles of administrative positions and the functioning of the Ottoman state, despite his meeting with the Sultan being disappointingly brief. After a fairly detailed summary of al-Qaramānī's History of the Ottomans, al-Miknāsī then proceeds to a description of the city, which includes further discussion of the hierarchy of the ʿulamāʾ. The section on Istanbul ends with a detailed, almost ethnographic, description of the *mawlid* and other ceremonies. In this section I focus on the section devoted to the city to highlight the parallels or suggest continuity with al-Tamagrūtī's earlier text.

Al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* representation of Istanbul's urban space shares features with al-Tamagrūtī's, while at the same time expanding it with personal experiences. He follows al-Tamagrūtī in terms of content, with a few changes in the order of presentation though adding information on how the urban landscape has changed in the two centuries since al-Tamagrūtī's visit, but unlike al-Tamagrūtī, he

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[53] Al-Miknāsī, *al-Iksīr*, p. 55-58.

employs the artistic device of rhymed prose or *saj'*.[54] He also stresses direct observation, pulling readers into a scene: "If you could see" (*fa law tarā*), he sometimes tells his readers.

Particularly at the beginning of his section on Istanbul al-Miknāsī adheres closely to al-Tamagrūtī', without however ever acknowledging it. So, as he describes his ship's entry into Turkish territories ("the land of the Turks"), the narrow shores of the strait and the high fortified walls and fortresses built on both sides, al-Miknāsī's text largely follows al-Tamagrūtī:

> This city is founded on the juncture of the two seas; the *Rūmi* [Sea] and the *Akḥāl Sea* (Black Sea), which they call it *Kara Deniz* in the Turkish Language. The Sea bends along the city, and the city bends with the Sea too. The buildings are adjacent to each other. On the other eastern side is Galata, where the buildings are alike in Constantinople [side]… It [the Strait] is such narrow that a cannon shot can cross it [it can reach from one side to the other]. Along the Strait there are many reinforced fortresses on both sides armed with cannons. [Both sides of the Strait] are furnished with houses and markets until the end of that *Boğaz* (Bosporus).

> (Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 73)

Al-Tamagrūtī had pointed out the canons at the Dardanelles; al-Miknāsī, too, refers to these cannons in his description of the Bosporus, but reorders the description in order to highlight the narrowness of the Strait.[55] To this inherited information al-Miknāsī also adds further details, measurements, and experiences, as he had done in Spain. He set out on a three-hour "Bosporus tour":

> One day I had traversed to see [buildings surrounding the Strait] by myself, I embarked a boat and sailed near the shore nearly for three hours. All of it was built with houses and markets, but the sea overwhelmed me and I returned, because this strait is very narrow and the flow that comes from the Black Sea into the *Shāmī* Sea [Marmara Sea] like a strong flood that nothing can resist against the strength of its current; so much so that in some places the sailors could not move ahead with paddles therefore we took on lease people on the shore who got accustomed to this, so they would pull our boat with ropes until they make pass us from this place. We

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[54] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p.72. Al-Tamagrūtī had highlighted the early Arab quasi-conquest of Istanbul by Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī; Al-Miknāsī, refers at length to al-Anṣārī's shrine and comments on how it confers dignity and glory on the city, quoting from the same source as al-Tamagrūtī; See Ibid., pp. 82-84.

[55] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 58, 73. Compare with al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya*, p. 109.

did that several times. The large vessels, too, cannot move across unless in this manner which is why you see them [these vessels] staying inside longer than usual wherever they wanted to enter this sea [Black Sea], when it comes to getting out of it to *Shāmī* Sea it is easy due to the sea current.

(Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* pp. 73-74)

This detailed scene closely described in the first person also suggests that al-Miknāsī may have been alone rather than accompanied by an official guide, as was usually the case, and that he wanted to corroborate written knowledge with his own, direct experience.

As already mentioned, al-Miknāsī successfully embellishes the material of his predecessor and transforms it into a more eloquent text. If al-Tamagrūtī had written that, "This city, yet the whole country is extremely cold so that this situation necessitates them to set a fireplace in their houses, day and night continually during the winter, and even no one can move away from the fireplace",[56] al-Miknāsī adds in *sajʿ* (rhymed prose): "This city's cold is rough, and its chilliness cannot be described. Neither blanket nor fireplace can prevent you [from feeling cold] (*ʿāṣif-wāṣif, dithār-nār, maṣbūb-junūb*)".[57]

Equally, al-Miknāsī follows al-Tamagrūtī in his praise for the abundance of goods in the city's markets. Al-Tamagrūtī had noted that, "during the winter they always have all (kind) of fruits: grape, apple, pear, melon, and so on (these fruits are never cut off even during the winter)".[58] Al-Miknāsī's almost paraphrases this passage: "As for summer and autumn fruits and vegetables; such as apple, pear, melon, watermelon, grape are never lacking [in the markets], throughout the year they remain available until the new ones come".[59] In the winter the meat becomes fatter, he continued, and one of the "strangest thing" was that prices remained stable in spite of the higher demand.[60] Al-Tamagrūtī had mentioned that goods were frequently

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[56]Ibid., p. 121.
[57] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 72.
[58] Al-Tamagrūtī, *Nafḥa al-Miskiyya*, p. 121.
[59] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 74. Al-Tamagrūtī had paid considerable attention to the description of a fire that had broken out in the dense neighbourhoods of wooden houses. Even though there is no indication that al-Miknāsī witnessed a similar fire, he nevertheless writes that, "In their residences and markets the fire breaks out frequently because its houses were built from wood" (p. 72). To this he adds that the main reason why people in Istanbul use wood in the construction of their houses is earthquakes, since nothing else can withstand them. As a result, Istanbul is a paradise surrounded by calamities; Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 72.
[60] Ibid., p. 74; See also Menouni and Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account", p. 48.

transported by boats across the city, and listed the types of ships.[61] Al-Miknāsī also notes with surprise that all the goods are brought to Istanbul by sea, leading to a description of his personal visit to city's harbour and the number of boats and ships: "One day when we were sailing in their boat I asked some of the bargees how many boats there were, but they told me that they did not know". He eventually is told that at the time of Sultan Mustafa (r. 1757-1773) the number of boats reached nearly eighty thousand, a number he confirms ("There are many reports like this").[62]

To al-Tamagrūtī's description of the markets of Istanbul, al-Miknāsī adds a notice of the security system: one of the indications of the greatness of Istanbul for him was its guards who were stationed across the markets and the streets night and day, "In order to prevent anybody from hassling or oppressing each other and from stealing someone's property". Shopkeepers leave their shops full of goods and stuff without closing them and nothing goes missing. [63] Al-Miknāsī was clearly both intimidated and impressed by the number of guardsmen appointed for "this service" (40.000, he has been told), half of which worked by day while the other half worked by night. He goes into further detail: these guards are scattered in every corner of the bazaars and streets, so that one cannot hide from them. They "are allocated to specific areas and are directed by their chiefs, so that despite its hugeness and vastness of the city", no one notices any brawl or even shouting, and whoever creates a trouble is arrested and punished. It is their presence all over the capital that guarantees an environment free of trouble, otherwise, "If these guardsmen were not scattered in this manner, people would extort [goods of] each other, especially in countries where all kinds of races are mixed with one another (*wa-l- bilād mukhalliṭa bi-jamīʿ al-ajnās*)".[64] Like al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī uses a neutral descriptive tone for the fact that in Istanbul people of many different races and/or types (*ajnās*), Muslims and Christians and Jews, lived together. Whether we can read the emphasis "especially in such countries" as including Morocco or marking a difference from it (since in Moroccan cities the Jewish quarter was at some distance) remains unclear.

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[61] Al-Tamagrūtī, *Nafḥa al-Miskiyya*, p. 121.
[62] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 75
[63] Ibid., p. 98.
[64] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 97-98.

Already al-Tamagrūtī had noted the city's covered bazaar, which in Morocco was called *al-qaysariyya,* which Turks "call the *qaysariyya*, *bedestan*".[65] Al-Miknāsī goes further and emphasises the hugeness of Istanbul's covered markets:

> As regards to the bazaars of silk clothes and fabric, gold, silver, gems, weapons, they were countless, like the bazaar that in the Maghrib is called *al-qaysariyya.* When a person gets separated from his friend, because of [the bazaar's] greatness, the crowd, and wide alleys, it becomes impossible for him to meet up with his friend again unless they arranged the meeting place and time beforehand.
>
> (Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 75)[66]

In al-Miknāsī's view, it was due to its regular, daily markets that Istanbul had become a civilized and well-organised city: "Even for the earwax cleaners there are specific quarters in the market, whose members do nothing but that. To the point that there is even a particular market for insects visited by people in medical science".[67]

Finally, as with other places he visits, al-Miknāsī is keen to provide the exact measurements of the circumference of Istanbul: "with the intention of experimenting, from one gate to the other", he rode through centre at steady speed for two hours, and circled the city wall on land in an hour and fifteen minutes "from sea to sea".[68] Al-Miknāsī concludes his description of Istanbul's urban environment with a quote from

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[65] Al-Tamagrūtī, *Nafḥa al-Miskiyya*, p. 117; al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 75.

[66] See also Menouni and Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account", p. 51.

[67] Ibid., p. 75.

[68] According to his calculation, crossing the walled city lengthwise took two hours, which constituted "one-third of the circle" of the city walls. If one quarter of the circle could be covered in one hour and fifteen minutes, the whole circle could be covered in nearly five hours. He concludes his complex calculation by noting that the seaside walls constituted perhaps over three-quarters of the city, since one third of five hours took up one hour and forty-five minutes. Al-Miknāsī further describes the walls of Istanbul and notes that the city had three walls with moats behind them. From the land side he counts seven gates with vaulted terraces on top of them, while the sea walls had twenty-four gates, each with its own port. He emphasises that these numbers and measurements were valid for the walled peninsula, except for Galata and Üsküdar. Though al-Miknāsī makes great effort to explain the city's contours for those who had not been to Istanbul, his account remains unclear since he neither reveals his precise route nor names his start and end points. It is also possible that al-Miknāsī drew the topographical details of the city from previous accounts, most likely local Ottoman sources. For example, the renowned seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Çelebi, who dedicated the entire first volume of his ten volumes travelogue to the city of Istanbul, also provided the circumference of the city: he paced from the land wall starting from Yedikule Gate to the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī for a total 8.810 paces, and provides the total number of the round of the walled-city; Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu, Dizini*. 5. baskı, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996, vol. 1, pp. 27-28. There is no indication of any direct intertextual relationship between al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz* and Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travel*, though.

al-Qaramānī about its topography, as if to signal to his readers that his narrative was corroborated by an Ottoman source.[69]

Al-Miknāsī had opened his *riḥla* with the line, "A man is revered in his country when the soles of his shoes have gathered enough soil from travelling the lands".[70] In the light of his careful measurements of the city on foot, the line appears now more than a mere rhetorical flourish. Moreover, it confirms that even while he employs the conventions of the genre and sometimes follows the pattern of previous travellers, like al-Tamagrūtī, to Istanbul, al-Miknāsī wants to experience things personally for himself, in addition to his acquired knowledge, and thus combines his readings and oral reports with his own experiences. He likely did travel along the walls of Istanbul— if not the whole walled city—in order to deserve the title of "a revered traveller, a man of letters".[71]

The majority of al-Miknāsī's account focuses on Ottoman protocol and the administrative and religious structure of the Ottoman state. It was arguably this section that would have held the most interest for his patron and readers back in Morocco. As already pointed out in the previous chapter, codes of protocol were after all an important aspect of knowledge exchange among early modern powers, and Ottoman protocol was particularly formalised, so al-Miknāsī's detailed account would have been a precious source.[72]

2.1.   In the Seat of the Ottoman State

As for other Moroccan visitors, al-Miknāsī's first cultural encounter with the Ottomans was his ceremonial reception. In *Iḥrāz al-muʿalla* he provides a detailed record of the Ottoman preparations on the shore upon their arrival. The Sultan would send complimentary food and drinks to the ship, and al-Miknāsī enumerates them one by one, noting that, "[he sent us] desserts with numerous glass plates".[73] The day following their arrival, Ottoman dignitaries sailed aboard their numerous boats to the Moroccan mission's ship anchored offshore and brought them into shore, where al-

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[69] "From the book of al-Qaramānī, which repeats what we have already said"; al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 76.
[70] Ibid., p. 48.
[71] See al-Qaramānī, *Akhbār al-duwal*, vol.3, p.433; al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 76.
[72] For example, towards the end of his reign Aḥmad al-Manṣūr received his official guests behind a screen or paravane, see Stephen Cory, *Reviving the Islamic Caliphate*, pp. 149-152
[73] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 61.

Miknāsī refers to a number of gold-saddled horses waiting for them.[74] The procession moved forward surrounded by the "inhabitants of Istanbul", with Ottoman dignitaries marching ahead, to the ambassadorial residence.[75] Ottoman dignitaries then presented the Moroccan guests with diverse gifts, and following five days of rest in their residences, the Moroccan retinue was received by the grand vizier prior to their audience with the sultan.

Unlike al-Tamagrūtī's, al-Miknāsī's description of complex Ottoman protocol rituals runs over several (five and-a-half) pages. He seems intent on providing an accurate understanding of courtly and ceremonial culture to his readers and often repeats the phrase, "as was their custom". For example, he explains that it was customary for foreign emissaries to be received by the grand vizier first, and to deliver their letters to him in order to be translated into Turkish before the day appointed for the audience with the sultan. He adds that it was "similar to the customs of the Christians", and called it the "code (qānūn) of all of the 'ajamī".[76] The use of the term 'ajamī is noteworthy: al-Miknāsī had used it in Naples to refer to court protocol there. Using it again here aligns Ottoman court protocols with those of Spain, Malta and Napoli.

The arrival and departure of foreign diplomats offered a forum for a succession of complex court protocol in the Topkapı Palace. The initial phase of the ceremonial reception of newly-arrived envoys, a few days after their arrival, would begin with an the audience of grand vizier, first at his home and subsequently in his office in the Topkapı Palace. The envoy and his retinue would ride on horseback to the Sublime Porte escorted by a cavalry regiment. There the envoy would be received by the dragoman of the imperial council and taken to a reception room, where he was kept waiting for some time. In order not to be standing waiting when the visitors entered

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[74]Al-Miknāsī states that as soon as they arrived in Istanbul and their ship dropped anchor in the harbour, Ottoman officials came to investigate and question the Moroccan mission, "as was their custom"; then the officers returned on land and delivered the information about the Moroccan retinue to the Sultan, who then ordered residences to be prepared for them; Iḥrāz al-muʿallā, p. 61. This matches Karateke's account of Ottoman court protocol: the incoming envoys to the Sublime Porte were taken by officials on a small boat from their vessels, and after disembarking and before mounting horses to enter the city they were stopped for a while in a chamber called "Kireççibaşı", which was located on the south side of the Golden Horn, somewhere near present-day Sirkeci. In this chamber the 'chief sergeant-at-arms' received the emissaries and served them fruit and sherbets; Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, p. 9. Al-Miknāsī does not mention the name of the place where he disembarked, and we do not know whether he was received at "Kireççibaşı" or was made to wait there.

[75]Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 61.

[76] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

the audience hall, the grand vizier moved to another room, where he wore his ceremonial costumes, and re-entered the audience hall with his cortege. When the grand vizier arrived, the envoy would rise and exchange greetings with him.[77]

In the case of al-Miknāsī, too, the first stage of the imperial reception ceremony took place at the house of the grand vizier, before he was received at the Palace. The prolonged preparations and meeting with the are in stark contrast with al-Miknāsī's narrative of the brief meeting with the Sultan. The Moroccan mission was taken ceremoniously from their residence to the grand vizier's house through the streets of Istanbul accompanied by a squadron mounted on gold-saddled horses, preceded by horses and surrounded by the city's? inhabitants. The vizier's house was full of high-ranking state officials and servants, and when after crossing several rooms they finally found the vizier, he stood up to greet the Moroccan emissaries and enquired after their journey. Al-Miknāsī tells us that the vizier stood up in deference to the Moroccan Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad, the "*amīr al-muʾminīn*" (Commander of the Faithful). In fact, it is unclear from the text whether the vizier explicitly referred to Sīdī Muḥammad or whether al-Miknāsī used the vizier's gesture as a way of mentioning his patron's pious appellation in the face of the sumptuous Ottoman ceremonial reception, perhaps a deliberate ambiguity by the experienced diplomat.[78]

It was only eighteen days later, in the early hours of the 27th of Shawwāl 1200 [August 23, 1786], and two days after receiving a memorandum notifying them of the date of the meeting, that the Moroccan mission was finally taken to meet Sultan Abdülhamid. Al-Miknāsī's detailed description matches closely what we know of Ottoman ceremonial practices.[79] The ceremony lasted all day. The journey to the imperial palace started at dawn, first stopping on the way to perform *fajr* prayer in a mosque and then reaching the grand vizier's residence, where they were made to stand

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[77] Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, pp. 45-46.

[78] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 62.

[79] Also See section 2.2 in the previous Chapter. In actual fact, according to the dynastic codification of Ottoman court ceremonial in 1676, when the grand vizier received foreign envoys at his residence, he would ordinarily stand up in greeting. In the *Ḳānūnnāme* of 1676 it is written that emissaries coming from Muslim lands and from *diyār-ı kefere* (non-Muslim lands) were not treated equally; while the grand vizier and high-ranked officials stood up to receive a Muslim emissary when he arrived in the Council Hall, they could remain seated when receiving a non-Muslim ambassador. Sometimes the hierarchy was determined by the ambassador's political relations with the Sublime Porte; see Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Bir Diplomasi Merkezi Olarak Yeni Çağ İstanbul'u", in *Antik Çağ'dan 21. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi: Siyaset ve Yönetim I,* Feridun M. Emecen and Coşkun Yılmaz (eds.), İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş and Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM), 2015, p. 378.

in an orderly fashion while waiting for the vizier. As the sun rose, the vizier appeared along with a "great parade".[80] The mission accompanied the procession of the grand vizier and followed them behind until their arrival on the second gate where they dismounted and were seated on benches. Al-Miknāsī wondered why he dismounted and kept waiting at the gate while the grand vizier led through it directly. Perhaps, he mused, "it was meant to increase the dominance and reputation of the grand vizier".[81]

As was the ceremonial custom, al-Miknāsī too noted that the ambassadorial receptions at Topkapı Palace would habitually coincide with the day when salaries were distributed to the army, or when the imperial council met.[82] In fact, according to the ceremonial protocol, having witnessed the substantial distribution of salaries to thousands of Ottoman soldiers, the envoy was taken to the imperial council hall. Here members of the imperial council gathered to discuss administrative matters, passed judgements on juridical issues under the sultan's watchful eye seated behind a curtained window overlooking the imperial council Hall. As already noted, these grand ceremonies aimed not only to display the imperial authority of the Ottomans and produce a feeling of awe in the foreign visitors, they were also significant political tools to reinforce the legitimacy of the sultan and convey a message of dynastic endurance in their creation of a majestic impression of the sultan to both his subjects and his rivals in the West and in Islamic world. After the imperial council was concluded and before the audience with the sultan, a banquet was laid out inside the council hall, and the envoy would eat usually at the same table with the grand vizier, unless he, the envoy, was of a lower rank. [83]

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[80] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 63. According to the same Ottoman protocol registers, Muslim envoys were taken to Hagia Sophia to pray on the morning of the audience day, and were later taken to the imperial gate where they made to wait outside until the grand vizier came along with a huge procession and greeted them; Tarım, "Osmanlılar'da Teşrifat/ Ceremony and Protocol at the Ottoman Court", pp. 469-472; Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, pp. 11-13.

[81] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 63. With reference to the ceremony that the grand vizier performed, Karateke notes that: "The arrangements, for example, enabled the grand vizier to avoid standing up when he met the envoy. During receptions at the Sublime Porte, the grand vizier ceremoniously entered the audience hall with his entourage only after he was informed that the envoy had arrived and already taken his seat there. At the reception in the imperial dome/imperial council (*Kubbe-i humāyūn*) in Topkapı palace, the grand vizier would even go so far as to move from the dome, where he was to receive the envoy, to the chancery hall as soon as he was informed that the envoy was approaching. He would then re-enter the dome a few moments later. In both cases the envoy had to stand up when the grand vizier entered the room"; Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, pp. 11-12.

[82] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 63.

[83] Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, p. 2; also "Illuminating Ottoman Ceremonial", in *God Is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Light in Islamic Art and Culture,* Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (eds.), New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015, p. 289.

Before entering the imperial presence, the envoy and his entourage were offered "robes of honour" which were actually "garments of submission" and tokens of subservience and approval of the Ottoman sultan's supremacy. The envoys were not allowed to enter the sultan's presence without wearing them.[84] The final stage of the reception protocol would take place in the third court of the inner palace, where the envoy was finally granted an audience by the Ottoman sultan in the Audience Room (chamber of petitions). First the grand vizier, then the chancellor, the chief treasurer and other Ottoman dignitaries would enter the audience room in order according to their rank; the envoy could enter the imperial presence and only after them. Visitors were carried inside the Audience Room and into the sultan's presence by two officials holding them under their armpits, stopping at an appropriately respectful distance from the sultan. Meanwhile, the envoys were forced to bow their heads before the sultan so low that they nearly touched the ground. The audience with the sultan lasted just a few minutes, during which the sultan would remain immobile and speak one or two words or stay silent depending on the emissary's rank and importance.[85]

Returning to al-Miknāsī's description of the imperial council meeting, he relates they had been seated in the silk-furnished audience hall and subsequently the grand vizier entered and sat at the very front of the room, maintaining a distance, then the *ḳāżī ʿasker* (chief military judge) sat down. Al-Miknāsī portrayed the interior of the imperial council hall precisely, together with the window—or as he describes it, the hole—located straight above the head of the grand vizier, which symbolised the vizier's status as a mere representative who took commands directly from the sultan:

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[84] The practice of bestowing *khilʿats* was common among Islamic states before the Ottomans. According to historians, it was first performed by the Umayyads, adjusting it from Byzantine and Sasanian rituals. Abbasids used this practice more extensively, and later on so too did the Mamluks and the Ottomans retained it. The semiotics of 'generously' granting these luxurious *hilʿats* to envoys and the act of putting these bestowed robes on in the course of the audience with the sultan, demonstrated the sultan's authority: compelling the visitors to wear an "Ottoman garment" signified his dominance over these representatives of foreign lands /external realms and emphasises the subordinate position of these envoys; Karateke, ibid, pp. 28-29; Amanda Phillips "Ottoman *Hil'at*: Between Commodity and Charisma," in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Festschrift for Rhoads Murphey*, Marios Hadjianastasios (ed.), Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2014 , pp. 115-116; Emecen, M. Feridun, *Osmanlı Klasik Çağında Hanedan, Devlet, Toplum*, İstanbul: Timaş, 2011, pp. 38-39.

[85] Karateke provides useful synopses of these ceremonies which illustrates their order; *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, pp. 48-50; also, Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800*, London and New York: Continuum, 2008, pp. 222-224; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991, pp.82-83.

We saw high on the wall the grand vizier had leaned back against, nearly a human height above his head, an iron balcony with a very narrow hole in it; it is said that from there the sultan supervises the Council Hall [meetings] in which the grand vizier presides, and he watches all that happens down there.

(Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, pp. 63-64)

The detailed description of the court ceremony provides al-Miknāsī with the opportunity to describe and explain the titles, hierarchy and functions of various officials. This "show of bureaucracy" demonstrated how the state was run, how complaints were heard and dealt with, how decisions were taken, all important elements for knowledge exchange. But while al-Tamagrūtī simply described the functions of each official, al-Miknāsī showed them in action: "When the grand vizier received his council, two men, each carrying copper batons, stood at the door of the hall; they are said to be of the rank of the *sāhib al-mushūr* in our country, here called *çavuşbaşı*".[86] He then added:

Then other men came with long white headgears on their heads..., and numerous papers in their hands, two on the left and two on the right side of the vizier and started to read them. As for the vizier, he dictated the responses for each letter. It is said that on these were written the requests (*ʿarż-u aḥwāl*) and complaints of the people. Meanwhile we heard a noise outside the room, it is said that it was a person shouting who had a complaint, so they let him in. All of these things [take place] before the eyes of the sultan.

(Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 64)[87]

As we can see, al-Miknāsī's report is meticulous and chronological, peppered with further information he orally received ("it was said"). It includes details of the

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[86] *Çavuşbaşı* was the chief of the ushers of the palace and who received complaints and lawsuits in the imperial council, İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 100.

[87] The imperial council meeting (*Dīvān-ı Humāyūn*) was an important decision-making body held regularly, usually four times a week, from Saturday to Tuesday, under the chairmanship of the grand vizier, who was appointed by the sultan himself. It was composed of the viziers, *Kāżīʿ askers* (the chief judges), *Defterdārs* (treasury chiefs) and *Nişāncı* (seal-keepers). The sultan was not physically present during the meetings but observed and heard decisions and petitions completely secluded behind a latticed window. After this session, the grand vizier would report to the sultan what had been discussed and petitioned; see Colin Imber, "Government, Administration and Law", in *The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453-1603,* Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 224-226.

correspondence between the sultan and the grand vizier, the imperial decrees stamped with seals (*tugras*) by the *nişancı* (the sealer), and how officers processed the petitions submitted during the divan meeting. His Moroccan readers would thereby have gained a clear insight into the bureaucratic procedures and administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire.[88]

His tone changes when he comes to entering the audience room in his robes of honour. There al-Miknāsī was astonished: "everywhere was full of people with varied and strange (*gharīb*) appearance."[89] This may have been a reference to the palace eunuchs and servants wearing lavish costumes, and to the many people standing in the vestibule of the audience hall. Finally, after witnessing all the ceremonies since daybreak, he and the other Maghribi delegates were escorted into the audience, each held under the armpits by the gatekeepers, in stark contrast with the less formal and more familiar meeting with the Kings of Spain and of Naples.[90]

Al-Miknāsī saw Sultan Abdülhamid I seated on the furnished dais, with the grand vizier standing on his right. After the detailed descriptions of the elaborate ceremonies, the scant report on the audience makes its brevity clear: "We stood before him for a short while and then we departed in the same way as we had come".[91] Interestingly, al-Zayyānī, discussed in the next chapter, devotes considerable space to his encounter with the sultan, and claims that the sultan both spoke to him and let him kiss his hands.[92] Indeed, al-Miknāsī thought that his own reception had been unique in its execution "in that manner, with that kind of ceremony and being conducted precipitately (*'ajala*)" because it took place on the day when Jannissaries were paid

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[88] In contrast with the detailed account of the council meeting, al-Miknāsī's description of the banquet following the divan session is brief; he mentions only that plates filled with various foods were brought in succession to the table, followed by sherbets. He also noted that he was seated at the same table the grand vizier, which he interpreted as a particular indication of respect; al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, pp. 64-65.

[89] Ibid., p. 65.

[90] Al-Miknāsī cites al-Qaramānī's account of section of Murad I in *Akhbār al-duwal* to explain why he was carried (and restrained) that way. He recounts that in 791/1389 after the battle of Kosovo, in which Ottomans defeated the Serbian king Lazar, Sultan Murad I was assassinated by a man of king Lazar who pretended to kiss the sultan's hands. Al-Miknāsī concludes, "For this reason, when an emissary comes and approaches to kiss the sultan's hand, someone on the right and someone on the left seize him by his clothes for security precaution, and this practice still continues up to today"; Ibid., p. 67. Michael Talbot notes that the Habsburg ambassador, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq who was received in the Ottoman Court in the 16th century, also mentioned that the act of restraining visitors in the presence of the sultan had started after the murder of Murad I; Michael Talbot, "Accessing the Shadow of God: Spatial and Performative Ceremonial at the Ottoman Court", in *The Key to Power: The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400-1750*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 121-122.

[91] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 65.

[92] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 125.

their salaries, and he substantiated his impression with what he learned from an imperial council member.[93] Or perhaps his mission had not have brought sufficient gifts for the Ottoman ruler. As if to compensate for the brief account of his audience, al-Miknāsī adds a description of sultan Abdülhamid I's physical appearance:

> The name of this Sultan is ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [in Tur. Abdülhamid], may Allah grant him victory, support him and make his country prosperous. [Abdülhamid is] the son of Sultan Aḥmad [Ahmed III] who is the twenty-eighth sultan amongst their sultans since Sultan Muḥammad al-Fātiḥ [Mehmet II]. His complexion is white with red blemishes, with sightless eyes *(ʿamāʾ)*, aquiline nose and a strong black beard. His age is said to be sixty-six. In this state it is the vizier who is responsible for every affair, as the sultan does not apply himself to any affairs of state.
>
> (Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 66)

Al-Miknāsī's description of the sultan can only be deemed ambiguous. While on the one hand he wishes him victory and prosperity, at the same time he depicts Abdülhamid I, who held a number of titles such as Sultan of the two Lands and two Seas as a blind ruler who does nothing for the imperial affairs of his realms. Al-Miknāsī penned a *qaṣīda* expressing his own and his patron's solidarity with Sultan Abdülhamid I in facing the Russian threat and wishing him victory against the Russians. At the same time, yet both here and elsewhere in the text he comments on the Sultan's seclusion from public affairs and from his people in negative terms.

On the day of his audience with the sultan, preparations for the reception had started at midnight. Official ceremonials had begun at dawn and continued the whole day long, during which the Moroccan emissaries were busy moving from one chamber to the next, sitting down and standing up, waiting, attending the *Dīvān* meeting, sitting at the banquet, having drinks and coffee, while al-Miknāsī's meeting with sultan only took up a few minutes. Even if further states his discomfort with the haughtiness of the Ottoman dignitaries, he did directly not complain about the meeting or comment on the inconveniences of the day, but rather tried to justify the brevity of his reception.

During his prolonged stay in the seat of the Empire, al-Miknāsī observed not only Ottoman court ceremonies but also public festivals. He attended the wedding

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[93] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, pp. 65-66.

ceremony of Sultan Abdülhamid I's niece, the daughter of Sultan Mustafa, and witnessed the festival of *mawlid al-nabī* (the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad). It is when describing these ceremonies, or as he puts it, "their ceremonies", that he at times criticises the excessive worldliness of the Ottomans and expresses his sense of alterity.

3. "*Their ceremonies*"

It is when describing ceremonies other than his courtly reception he witnessed in Istanbul that al-Miknāsī stresses their strangeness and unfamiliarity, marking the difference between Maghribis and Ottomans and criticising the latter.[94]

In the case of *mawlid* celebration in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, for example, al-Miknāsī presents an elaborate description of the ceremony, even recording the seating arrangement, what was served after the ritual, and the presents that were bestowed on the reciters of the eulogies in praise of the Prophet. At the last stage of the ceremony, food and drinks were served to those attending the ceremony, but only to the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuqahāʾ*, and afterwards the drinking and eating vessels were smashed, something that al-Miknāsī criticises. In fact, reading between the lines, it becomes evident that he and his companions were not well-received. It is worthy of note, the use of the third person plural "they" becomes more prominent in this passage, both to refer to the Ottoman hosts but also to their treatment of the guests, including himself and the other Moroccans:

> Large numbers of tables full of varied desserts and colourful drinks were brought and put in front of the grand vizier, *Shaykh al-Islām* (*Şeyhülislām* in Tur.), religious scholars (*al-fuqahāʾ*), statesmen and high-ranked officials. Then, dates from Medina were distributed to (all) people for the blessing. […] After the people left, got perfumed, ate, drank and chanted, they smashed all the dishes after they consumed the food, even though it was still edible. I condemn *their* practice of smashing the dishes and not honouring [taking care of] *their* guests; *they* did not invite them [the guests] to any occasion that they held, nor did *they* send anything to them from it.

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[94] Menouni and Benaboud seem to side with al-Zayyānī's assessment of al-Miknāsī as a "difficult" and irascible character ("A Moroccan Account", p. 44); my assessment is rather that he wrote in a remarkably balanced and cautious way, keeping personal comments to a minimum.

While throughout the text al-Miknāsī employs the first-person pronoun whenever he speaks about himself, the rhetorical use of the third person pronoun here accentuates the gap between the Ottomans and the Moroccans.[96] As if the point was not clear enough, he reiterates:

> Despite their seeing them [the guests] and having been with them in the same mosque, they treated themselves with deference. May Allah restore our and their manners and make their intentions and desires what He would approve of.

This wide gap persists as he shifts his angle of vision upward and turns to the Sultan, who was attending the *mawlid* ceremony from behind a screen. Al-Miknāsī's criticism here becomes broader, directed both at the royal seclusion of the Ottoman Sultan and at the materialistic greed of state officials, echoing al-Tamagrūtī's earlier accusation:

> The sultan is secluded from all of the common people without exception and his administrators are taken up with the transitory world so that they devoted themselves to their affections and they are being examined by their powerful greed along with compliance to their desire (*nafs*).

In fact, the passage ends with the broadest accusation directed at the Ottoman Turks, their ethnic arrogance, particularly towards Arabs. Alterity in al-Miknāsī's text is here at its strongest:

> In their eyes, their lineage/race (*jins*) is superior to all others. They compete in order to gain large numbers of adherents; they are big-headed and only exchange greetings by merely waving their hand in acknowledgement.

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[95] See Ibid., pp. 55-56.
[96] This is made more pointed when we recall how al-Miknāsī spoke so positively about the hospitality he received during his previous trips to Spain and Naples; see above.

In the next paragraph al-Miknāsī refers once more to *jins*—lineage or race—and claims that the codes of behaviour of Arabs and Turks are utterly different:

> There are differences between them [the Turks] and the *jins* of the Arabs in every way: in words and in deeds. They do not come close to them (Arabs) in any circumstances, and if possible, they befriend only among with themselves.

(Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p.104)[97]

To this scathing assessment al-Miknāsī simply adds: "May Allah Almighty save them from this affliction and put us and them into the way of piousness".[98] After this description and comments, he adds a potential explanation for his not having been well-received in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque: one of the members of his retinue had acted improperly during the *mawlid* ceremony by not standing up in reverence when the Ottoman sultan had entered the mosque or for the Prophet.

Al-Miknāsī's explicit criticism of Ottoman haughtiness, distance, and excessive worldliness echoes al-Tamagrūtī's, and like the latter it appears towards the end of his Istanbul section, as by way of conclusion from direct observation. Both Moroccan travellers emphasise that Turks are guilty of personal greed, excessive waste, avarice, love of the world (*dunyā*) and a fondness for luxury; al-Miknāsī also criticised the seclusion of the sultan—two centuries had passed but the overall image and representation of the Ottomans in Moroccans' eyes remained stable.

As discussed earlier, the alterity expressed in these comments by al-Miknāsī relate not simply to a tension, distance, and difference between Arabs and Turks, but also to a specific Maghribi identity and sense of these distinctions and divisions between the Maghrib and the Mashriq. This comes across particularly strongly in an anecdote al-Miknāsī relates about an incident that he claims to have witnessed in Damascus on his from Istanbul to the hajj. Al-Miknāsī records the names of the Mashriqi jurists or scholars he met, and in Damascus he is asked by the mufti of the Hanbalities, Shaykh Ismāʿīl al-Jizāʿī, whose house was near to Al-Miknāsī's lodging and with whom he had developed a close relationship, to intervene in a confrontation between a man and a jurist. Al-Miknāsī relates that the man had been imprisoned by the judge and asked to pay him one-tenth of the amount of the money for which he had

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[97] See also Matar, *An Arab Ambassador*, pp. 147-148.
[98] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 104.

been put on trial. While describing this event, al-Miknāsī breaks off from his description to voice his thoughts on Mashriqi scholars and judges, whom he describes as materially acquisitive:

> They have sold their afterlife for this world and never reflect on their misdeeds, so they have no sense of shame or guilt. No reprimand or reproof or warning can make them change their behaviour, as if such money is theirs by right to collect, which they call income. We witnessed the judge trying to get the money without embarrassment or hesitation and feeling neither dishonour nor infamy. Let us lament for the demise of the noble and just judgements of sharia, for they are ignored and forgotten.

> (Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* pp. 244-245)

Al-Miknāsī adds that what this judge in Damascus did, in asking for a bribe, was customary in Eastern lands. He then lists Mashriqi lands where corruption, a scourge in his view, had become a common practice, starting with the Ottoman seat, "Constantinople and the lands of Turk", continuing with Syria, Iraq, Egypt and "all the Eastern lands".[99] Al-Miknāsī here draws clear boundaries between the Mashriq and himself, as a traveller from the West Muslim lands. This is a depiction of the "Eastern Muslim" that was familiar from previous West Muslim travellers, from Ibn Jubayr to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Like them, al-Miknāsī held the title of scholar or *ʿalim* and *faqih,* was eager to meet with the East Islamic *ʿulamāʾ* engage in scholarly circles to share similar interests and concerns with them. In fact, it was as a Maghribi scholar that he felt the duty-bound to offer occasional criticism towards his Eastern colleagues.[100]

While al-Miknāsī mentions but does not describe other institutions of the Ottoman state, like the Imperial Mint or shipyard, as al-Zayyānī does (See Chapter 3), he devotes several pages to the educational system of the Ottomans, presenting it in an organised and comprehensive manner. Arguably, a description of the workings of the Ottoman juridical and administrative bureaucracy was essential for the Moroccan emissaries, since they themselves were state functionaries and were charged with gathering and transmitting information about the institutions at the seat of the Empire.

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[99] Ibid., p. 244. Al-Zayyānī quotes this whole passage verbatim in his second travelogue to Istanbul and the hajj; *Tarjumān al-kubrā,* p. 275; See also Chapter 3.
[100] See also Mohamed El Mansour, "Magribis in the Mashreq during the Modern Period: Representations of the Other within the World of Islam", *Journal of North African Studies,* Vol. 6, issue 1 (2001), pp. 81-104.

However, al-Miknāsī's writing reveals particularly meticulous care in his structuring of the text while transmitting relevant information to his readers.

4. The *'Ilmiyye* Structure in Ottoman Istanbul

As in the rest of *al- Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, al-Miknāsī studiously organises and provides an extremely elaborate explanation of the educational and *'ilmiyye* (the judicial and scholarly career) organisation and hierarchy of the Ottoman state, relying on several sources whom he mentions at the end of the section—a jurist called Ṣadafī Muṣṭafā Efendi as well as some unnamed "*ʿulamāʾ* of Rum".

Al-Miknāsī broaches this topic during his discussion of the mosques and madrasas of Istanbul, starting with the Fatih Mosque:

> From this mosque [the Fatih Mosque] and other mosques in the Ottoman provinces, teachers (*mudarrisūn*) graduate and then they are promoted to the first level, which is the judiciary. I will mention these levels afterwards, God willing. In this matter [administrative organisation], they have a strange structure and legislation that I consider worthy of mention.
>
> (Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 93)[101]

He begins with the highest rank of the *'ilmiyye*, the *şeyhülislām* whom he describes as "the mufti of the sultanate" (*muftī al-salṭana al-ʿaliyya*). There was no fixed duration for the position of *şeyhülislām*, which depended on the sultan's will: if he so desired, the sultan could remove the *şeyhülislām* after one term or he could keep extending his tenure in office. As for the grand vizier, the *şeyhülislām* was also responsible for the affairs of state. Al-Miknāsī employs the Turkish terminology of *'ilmiyye* ranks, correctly identifies the other members of the *şeyhülislāmlık* position, and carefully notes the salary paid for each office: "the monthly allowance of *şeyhülislām* office is nearly 2,700 *kuruş* and one or two qadis are put under his command through the *arpalık*".[102]

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[101] See also Menouni and Benaboud, "A Moroccan Account", pp. 48-49.

[102] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 93. The *arpalık* was a non-military appanage consisting of benefices assigned to high-rank *'ilmiyye* members; see Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 141.

After devoting most space to the highest rank, the *şeyhülislamlık*, he continues with the other grades of the ʿ*ilmiyye* class: the *ḳāżī ʿasker* of Rumelia, *ḳāżī ʿasker* Anatolia, the qadi of Constantinople; the qadis of the *Ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina); the rank of *arbaʿa*, occupied by the qadis of four districts, namely, Edirne, Bursa, Damascus and Egypt (Cairo); and the qadis of eight districts, that is, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Eyüp, Yenişehir, Salonika, Galata, Izmir and Üsküdar. There follows a list of the ranks held by the professors (*mudarris*, in Ottoman Turkish *müderris*) and he also mentions the five madrasas of the Sülaymaniye built by Sultan Süleyman, two other madrasas built by Sultan Mahmud and the madrasa of Sahn, built by Mehmed II. In addition, he describes the hierarchy of *mudarrises* in the madrasas, while also supplying the numbers of *mudarrises* serving at each level. For each career stage, al-Miknāsī clearly details the office, how many *kuruş* the occupant is given monthly, as well as who could appoint and remove these occupants to and from their positions. In the course of this description, he offers no personal comments, though he occasionally adds some notes. For instance, he reports the requirements, examinations and ratifications one must achieve to become a member of the ʿ*ulamāʾ* class, but adds that he omitted the details about the other ways one could become a *mulazım*—i.e. someone who obtained a licence to become an ʿ*ilmiyye* official—for fear of being tedious.[103]

Unlike al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī seems to have obtained much of this information from an Ottoman official, whom he names as a friend, one Ṣadafī Muṣṭafā Efendi for whom he even composes a poem. He states that they met through a mutual acquaintance and enjoyed a good friendship due to Ṣadafī Muṣṭafā's good moral disposition—his tone is notably affectionate and far from a sense of alterity:

> He [Ṣadafī Muṣṭafā] invited me to his house and I accepted the invitation. He came with a group of students and plentiful food. Afterwards he visited me in my residence, which (this act of him) convinced me that between him and I there is a friendship. One day I was afflicted by some pain, but he did not pay me a visit because he did not know [my state].

> (Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p.97)

While quite critical of some Ottoman practices, then, compared to al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī could feel more at home in the urbane company of Ottoman officials.

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[103] See Appendix 5 for al-Miknāsī's description of the Ottoman ʿ*ilmiyye* hierarchy.

Conclusion

Written two hundred years after al-Tamagrūtī and following a number of diplomatic missions to the Ottoman seat as well as to other European countries, al-Miknāsī's *riḥla* strikes us as a more cosmopolitan text. As we have just seen, al-Miknāsī could feel quite at home with Ottoman officials, just as he could appreciate banquets and performances in Spain and Naples. Although al-Miknāsī's tone in describing Ottoman religious and social ceremonies is less othering than al-Tamagrūtī, it is striking how he used the term *'ajamī* for some of the court protocol, as the epigraph at the front of this chapter showed. Of course, he *could* do so because he had witnessed similar court protocol in Spain and Naples, and it is for this reason that I suggested that the comment was implicitly comparative, though not overtly negative.

El Moudden has argued that Moroccan sources in the eighteenth century, appear less keen to highlight difference and competition between the Moroccan and the Ottoman states, rather formulating a paradigm of mutual assistance or *ukhuwwat* (fraternity) in the face of common external threats, through epistolary exchanges and monetary assistance. [104] My reading of al-Miknāsī's diplomatic career and travel writing rather supports Hakkak's argument that Sultan Siḍī Muḥammad was more interested in proclaiming his role in defending Muslims by rescuing captives, his expanded notion of jihad, rather than practically supporting the Ottomans against the Christian threat. By praising his master's "virtue" of always liberating captives, Al-Miknāsī proudly reminded his readers that Sīdī Muḥammad was the *only* ruler in the Islamic world who rescued Muslim captives, and who in addition provided them with food and drink needs during the course of the travel and the Sultan of Morocco allocated the amount of ten *mithqāl* to be distributed to each one of them. [105] In fact, al-Miknāsī favourably compared Sīdī Muḥammad with the Beylik of Algiers, with whom the Moroccan Makhzan had been struggling with for almost a century. [106] In fact, as to

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[104] El Moudden, *Sharifs and Padshahs*, p.127.

[105] Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, pp. 332, 334. The very next day after their arrival at Tlemcen, the author distributed the money Siḍī Muḥammad had given him among the freed captives. It seems likely that Sīdī Muḥammad desired to impress the public of Algiers not only by rescuing their brothers but also by showing himself as the provider for their all sort of needs in the manner of a true *amīr al-muʾminīn* or protector of all Muslims.

[106] See footnote 104 above.

the question of relative status of the Moroccan and Ottoman as "righteous rulers", there is an interesting textual trace that shows how slippery and fraught this symbolic political issue remained: in one manuscript copy of *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, the author uses the dual term "great Sharifian rulers" (*al-amīrayn al-ʿaẓīmayn al-sharīfayn*). In another copy, however, the phrase was amended to "great, famous rulers" (*al-amīrayn al-ʿaẓīmayn al-shahīrayn*), signalling that the Ottoman sultan was *not* Sharifian.[107]

Finally, we have seen that al-Miknāsī's text was at once more invested in the transmission of factual information, whether in terms of dimensions, dates, or organisation of the Ottoman administrative system, and at the same time more expansive, ornate and elegant than al-Tamagrūtī's, as his use of rhymed prose shows. However, we have also noted how he followed al-Tamagrūtī's blueprint throughout, and his *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* is a good example of prefiguration, to use Nünning's term. Compared to al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī inserts himself more directly into the text, corroborating received information through personal observation and experience, as well as cautiously inserting his views and reflections. As we shall see in the next chapter, his contemporary al-Zayyānī would go even further in the direction of producing an "ego-document", the broad rubric used for texts "with an ego talking about himself" even though they may not be narrowly describable as autobiographies.[108]

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[107] See Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 49.
[108] Elger and Köse, *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self*, p. 8.

Chapter 3

In the Mirror of the Self

Ibn al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī in Istanbul

I proceeded towards him and kissed his knee as he was sitting cross-legged on his couch. I seized his right hand and kissed it, then I took a step back, whereupon he beckoned me to have a seat. And I sat down with my eyes on the ground. He pointed to the dragoman, saying: 'Ask him: how is my brother Sīdī Muḥammad'? to which I replied, 'He is fine and asks for your prayers, for you are the *amīr al-muslimīn* (Commander of the Muslims) and *khalīfa sayyid al-mursalīn* (Successor to the master of the prophets). He [Sīdī Muḥammad], furthermore, tells you [Sultan Abdülhamid I] that had it not been for the sea that separates us, he would have come to [see] you in person.' The dragoman translated this, and [Sultan Abdülhamid I] said to the dragoman: 'Tell him [al-Zayyānī] that I love him [Sīdī Muḥammad], because he is the descendant of Prophet Muḥammad.

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 125)

Introduction

The third traveller discussed in this thesis, Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī (1147-1249/1734-1833), occupies a somewhat different position from the other two authors. A contemporary of al-Miknāsī, al-Zayyānī had a more chequered career and seems to have had a more conflicted relationship with the Moroccan state and the *'ulamā'*, as we shall see. Al-Zayyānī lived under five ʿAlawī rulers and held government positions under the three of them, Sīdī Muḥammad (r. 1757-1790), Mawlāy Yazīd (r. 1790-1792) and Mawlāy Sulaymān (r. 1792-1822). Sīdī Muḥammad, who reigned for thirty years, promoted stability within Morocco, and it was during his reign al-Zayyānī achieved recognition, serving as the head of the *dīwān*, advisor, tutor to the sultan's sons and ambassador to the Ottoman State. As he himself wrote in his account, the Moroccan Sultan had already sent numerous statesmen with gifts to both the Ottoman

ruler Sultan Mustafa III (r.1757 – 1774) and his brother Sultan Abdülhamid I (r.1774-1789), and good relationships had been built between him and the Ottomans,[1] and before al-Zayyānī, two other emissaries had led diplomatic missions to Istanbul on behalf of Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad.[2]

Al-Zayyānī visited Istanbul twice (out of a total of three trips to "the East"), once as a member of an official mission in 1200/1786 and the second time, eight years later in in 1208/1793-94 in a private capacity, possibly looking for employment with the Ottoman state, as will be detailed in the following sections.[3] He wrote about Istanbul in two of his works, a comparative history of the ʿAlawī dynasty and the Ottomans entitled *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī dawla awlād Mawlāy al-Sharīf* (The Elegant Garden in the Rule of Mawlāy al-Sharīf Offspring, completed in 1817)[4] and his encyclopaedic-*riḥla, al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā fī akhbār al-maʾmūr barran wa baḥran* (The Great Guidebook on the News of the [Inhabited] World by Land and Sea, completed in 1818).[5] In both works al-Zayyānī inserts himself as a subject, and his narrative is rich in personal encounters and even details of conversations. As the

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[1] As already stated in the Introduction to this thesis, Sīdī Muḥammad not only developed his diplomatic ties with the Ottomans but also promoted contact with European countries and foreign trade. After the failure of the siege of Melilla, Sīdī Muḥammad also accepted the status quo of the Spanish enclaves, Ceuta and Melilla, and pursued a policy of "peaceful coexistence" with European powers. However, as Fatima Harrak suggests, "the obligation of jihad incumbent on him as *amīr al-muʾunīn* had to be translated into other forms, such as the liberation of Moroccan and Muslim captives in Europe, or assistance to the Ottomans' jihad against Russia"; Harrak, "State and Religion", pp. 241-242.

[2] The previous mission, whose members were ʾAllāl al-Drāwī, Qaddūr al-Barnūsī and the *kātib* Sayyīd Muḥammad al-Ḥāfī, had headed to Malta to rescue Muslim captives held by the Knights of Malta, but they had been unsuccessful. Despite the Moroccan mission offering 274,000 riyals, which was the amount the Knights of Malta had demanded, they then refused to release the Muslim captives. When this mission failed, Moroccan Sultan sent the mission with the sum of money to the Ottoman Sultan with a letter asking him to rescue the captives in Malta and complaining about the Algerian provincial officials, which was his primary concern. Referring to the captives in Malta, al-Zayyānī writes that "these captives were of Turkish origin/ *ajnās al-Turk*", but actually the captives were from the Ottoman provinces of Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli. In writing this, al-Zayyānī reveals his concern for projecting an honourable image of the Moroccan Sultan by showing his enthusiasm for rescuing Muslim, and Turkish captives in particular. Al-Zayyānī's own mission was the third to the Ottoman Sultan; MʾHammad Benaboud, "Authority and Power in the Ottoman State in the Eighteenth Century", in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, Caesar Farah (ed.), Kirksville, Mo.: Thomas Jefferson Northeast Missouri State University, 1993, p. 69; Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā fī akhbār al-maʿmūr barran wa-baḥran*, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Fīlālī (ed.), Rabat: Dār Nashr al-Maʿrifa, 1991, p. 83. Reference to the text are to this edition.

[3] See Appendix 3 for the map of al-Zayyānī's journey in 1200/1786 and Appendix 4 for the route of his journey in 1208/1793.

[4] Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī, *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī dawla awlād mawlāy al-sharīf*, Rashīd al-Zāwiya (ed.), Rabat: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūth al-ʿAlawīyya, 1992.

[5] Although al-Zayyānī travelled to Istanbul in 1200/1786 and 1208/1793-94, the writing of *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* was finished at the end of Dhū-l Ḥijja in 1233/ 30 October 1818; see al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 582.

epigraph shows, al-Zayyānī tended to magnify his importance, and in his account of the meeting with the Ottoman Sultan, for example, he boasts of having enjoyed a particular closeness with him. So, although al-Zayyānī is better known for his historical works and his approach is predominantly historical, his travel account(s) are interesting "ego-documents" even as they follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. This chapter analyses al-Zayyānī's accounts of his stay in Istanbul as an official as well as a private visitor and pilgrim, focusing in particular on his meeting with Sultan Abdülhamid I, and his comparative assessment of the Ottoman Turks. While al-Zayyānī's account of Istanbul follows in the footsteps of his predecessors, it diverges noticeably in terms of structure, style, and personal position.

1. Al-Zayyānī's Life and Works

Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Zayyānī came from a Berber family that had migrated from the Middle Atlas to Meknes, and from there to Fes, where he was born in 1147/1734. His grandfather, ʿAlī ibn Ibrahīm, had moved to Meknes at the behest of Sultan Ismāʿīl (r. 1672-1727) to be a private imam in his service.[6]

Like all Muslim scholars, al-Zayyānī began his education by learning the Qur'an and then furthered his education by learning on basic sciences, grammar and Islamic law principles. He attended lessons at the madrasa of the al-Qarawiyyīn mosque with the most prominent scholars of the time. Al-Zayyānī's interest in history and genealogy outweighed that in the religious sciences, which would have befitted his position as a member of a family in the Sultan's religious employ. His education made him a graduate rather than a scholar of Islamic law, and his background in Islamic jurisprudence was not considered sufficiently complete or sound.[7] The author of several important historical works, al-Zayyānī claimed to have received a certificate (*ijāza*) as a historian in Istanbul from the statesman and scholar, Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha, as will be detailed in the third section.

Existing scholarship on al-Zayyānī has argued that his conflicted relationship with the Moroccan state and *ʿulamāʾ* was not due to his Berber identity but rather to

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[6] Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī, al-Zayyānī's father, had consequently left his hometown with the family and spent his childhood in Meknes; upon the death of Sultan Ismāʿīl in 1727, he decided to move Fes; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 57-58.
[7] Mohamed El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber: Paths to Integration in Pre-Colonial Morocco", in *Berbers and Others: Beyond Tribe and Nation in the Maghrib,* Katherine E. Hoffman and Susan Gilson Miller (eds.), Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010, pp. 66-67.

his personality. El Mansour, for example, acknowledges that several Berber ʿulamāʾ had in fact integrated within the Moroccan elite through Islamic scholarship and Sufism but argues that al-Zayyānī was unable to do so, and thus tried to bridge his Berber background with wider society through service in the Makhzan.[8] He first proved his loyalty by playing a role in suppressing the rebellion against the Berber confederation of Ayt Umālū and thereby gained the trust of Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (r. 1757-1790).[9] In 1758, al-Zayyānī joined the ʿAlawī state's service as a *kātib* (court scribe). He was discharged from the post ten years later but, as we shall see, his exile from the Makhzan did not last long, and he was subsequently readmitted to court as head of the *dīwān*.[10]

Certainly, as a Berber, al-Zayyānī could not prove his descent from the Prophet, the Quraysh or any of the Prophet's companions, so like most Berbers he drew a genealogical connection to the Prophet Noah. In *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, before recounting his travels he inserts his family's genealogy and descent from Noah through Ham's son. Elsewhere in the book he emphasises the role of Berbers in the history of Morocco: immediately after his family genealogy, in a section on the origins of the Berbers in the Maghrib, he provides a chart with the genealogies of Berber tribes and brief historical summaries about them. In his accounts of the battles of the early period of conquest and Islamisation of the Maghrib, he highlights the tribes' closeness to the Prophet's lineage.[11]

Al-Zayyānī undertook three trips in his life and wrote about them in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*. The incentive for the first trip was the long period of instability following the death of Mawlay Ismāʿīl in 1727, when tribal unrest and a succession struggle led to a prolonged economic crisis with civilian casualties.[12] In 1169/1756, at the age of 23, al-Zayyānī first set out on a pilgrimage with his family, although the real motivation of the trip, according to al-Zayyānī, was his father's intention to settle in the eastern Islamic lands, and specifically in Medina.[13] Al-Zayyānī father sold two houses in Fes and his father's library to finance the trip and sustain his family both al-Zayyānī and his mother accompanied him. The trip was marred by a series of

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[8] Ibid., p.66.
[9] E. Lévi-Provençal, "al-Zayyānī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, P. Bearman et al. (eds), Brill Online, 2020.
[10] El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber", pp. 68-71; Lévi-Provençal, "al-Zayyānī".
[11] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 69-71.
[12] El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber", p. 69.
[13] Ibid., p. 58.

unfortunate incidents, which al-Zayyānī narrates in considerable detail.[14] The first calamity occurred on their arrival at the port of Yanbu on the Red Sea: their boat cracked and sank, destroying their possessions that they had bought for merchandise.[15] Luckily, his mother had 300 dinars stitched into her waistband, "When we stopped by [the port of] Yanbu, she brought out this money and told my father, 'This is what I saved from my personal livelihood for my son'".[16] Once they had paid for their lodgings in Jeddah and Mecca, however, they realised that they had spent all their money.[17] When they reached Medina, they saw a large number of poor people around the tomb of the Prophet, and his father decided to return to the Maghrib. While they prepared to do so, in Egypt, they learned that Sultan ʿAbd Allāh (6th reign between 1748-1757) had died and his son Sīdī Muḥammad had secured the oath of allegiance.[18] The news appeared to have encouraged them to return home, with the expectation that the new sultan would be able to bring stability to the Maghrib.

The narrative of their homeward journey shows the intertwining of the personal and the historical that characterises al-Zayyānī's writings. Where in Cairo, al-Zayyānī spent time with the son of his father's companion, who was versed in the science of alchemy and geomancy. Al-Zayyānī learned about the qualities of minerals and their secrets which, he wrote, take a person to the highest status.[19] When they arrived in Alexandria to board their ship, they realised that there were in fact no ships setting out towards the west because of the war between France, Spain and England. No one was making the journey to Arab lands in fear of pirates, and, as a result, the Zayyānī family boarded a French ship; after stopping in Marseille, they travelled on to Barcelona and stayed in what he refers to as "the Andalusi land", until peace was restored. After spending several months in Barcelona, the Zayyānīs returned to the Maghrib with only 7 *mithqāls* remaining.[20]

On his return in 1758 from his first travels, al-Zayyānī found a new sultan in power in Morocco and most of his own friends ensconced in administrative positions. Despite his father's warnings, al-Zayyānī was keen to enter the Makhzan's service.[21]

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[14] In fact, he refers to seven misfortunes throughout his life, Ibid., p. 59.
[15] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 59.
[16] Ibid., p. 59.
[17] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[18] Ibid., p. 60.
[19] Ibid., p. 59.
[20] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 60. Nabil Matar notes that "in that period the *mithqāl* was worth 29 grams of silver"; *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World*, p. 32.
[21] El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber", p. 69; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 61.

After ten years as a court scribe (*kātib*), he was dismissed – he called it the second calamity of his life – but was subsequently reappointed to various positions under the rule of Sīdī Muḥammad.[22] It was one of these roles that he embarked on his second trip to the Mashriq, as part of the 1200/1786 official mission to Istanbul sent by Sīdī Muḥammad to reciprocate the visit of the Ottoman ambassador to Morocco. This mission to Istanbul was designed to improve between Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad's and the Ottoman Sultan, after tensions developed between the Maghrib and Ottoman Algiers.[23] Its main intention, on the Moroccan side, was to secure plenary power for Morocco over Algiers and Tunis. In return for this, the Ottomans demanded financial support from Morocco to counter the threat of war with the Russians.[24] This embassy to the Sublime Porte in 1786 followed closely on the heels of al-Miknāsī's mission, who, as al-Zayyānī claimed, was ignored by the Ottoman sultan and his officials.[25] Al-Zayyānī remained in Istanbul for 100 days, in addition to being received at court he became friends, as we shall see, with a number of Ottoman officials.

Al-Zayyānī's Makhzan career suffered a setback when, after Sīdī Muḥammad's death in 1790, his son Mawlāy Yazīd came to throne. He, however, only remained in power for two years. Mawlāy Yazīd who diverged from, and disapproved of, his father's policies, dismissed al-Zayyānī, his father's loyal chief minister, and had him imprisoned in Rabat and Meknes – this represented the third calamity in al-Zayyānī's life. [26] Al-Zayyānī was only released after Mawlāy Yazīd's death, and he resumed service in the Makhzan shortly after the new sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān ascended to throne.[27] Al-Zayyānī was appointed governor of Oujda, a place of strategic importance because it shared a border with the Ottoman province of Algiers, but he was attacked

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[22] During Sīdī Muḥammad's time al-Zayyānī served in many positions including court scribe, advisor, tutor to the sultan's sons, ambassador, chief minister, and he served as a governor in several regions of Morocco: ʿArāʾish (1179/1765), Sijilmāsa (1198/1784-85), Tāza (1201/1788), Oudja (1206/1791), Tādlā (1800/1215); "Introduction", Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī, *Tuḥfat al-hādī al-muṭrib fī rafʿi nasab shurafāʾ al-Maghrib*, Rashīd al-Zāwiya (ed.), Rabat: manshūrāt wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-shuʾūn al-Islāmiyya bi-l-mamlaka al-Maghribiyya, 2008, p. 23. When al-Zayyānī returned from his third travel he received the title of *Dhū-l Wizāratayn* (The Bearer of the two offices), Levi-Provençal, "al-Zayyānī".
[23] Benaboud, "Authority and Power", p. 69.
[24] Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1968, pp. 138-140; El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", pp. 296-297; El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber", p. 73; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp.121-122.
[25] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 98, 121; Benaboud, "Authority and Power", p. 68.
[26] Bennison, *Jihad and its Interpretations*, p. 28. However, the claimed reason was Mawlāy Yazīd's accusations of al-Zayyānī's neglect of his duties and failure to repress uprisings in Marrakesh; see İsmail Ceran, "Zeyyânî", *Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 44, Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 2013, p. 384.
[27] El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber", p. 71.

on his way to Oujda to take up the position, and his possessions were seized by local inhabitants. After this dramatic incident – the fourth calamity in his life –, al-Zayyānī decided to leave his service in the Makhzan, and he recounts how he retreated to a contemplative life in remote regions, first in Oran and then in Tlemcen, where he remained for a year and a half, pursuing his studies. He then decided to move to the Mashriq, as his father had done 37 years earlier. In 1793, al-Zayyānī embarked on his third journey, which was a purely private undertaking, and after arriving in Istanbul in early December 1793, there he joined the *Surre alayı*, the imperial hajj to Mecca. He considered his resignation from the service of the government as a blessing from Allah, and in visiting the Ka'ba and the Prophet's shrine he wanted to purify himself from the sins of his involvement in politics.[28] After his second pilgrimage he stopped once again in Cairo and Tunis and finally arrived in Algiers, where he intended to settle permanently. But after spending seven months there, al-Zayyānī returned to the Maghrib at the invitation of Mawlāy Sulaymān. He was to serve again for the next five years, becoming the head of the Makhzan, bearing the title, *Dhū-l Wizāratayn* (The Bearer of the two offices/vizierates) before he was ultimately dismissed.[29] Al-Zayyānī died nearly at the age of almost 100 in 4 Rajab 1249/ 17 November 1833 in Fes, where he was buried in the Zāwiya of the Nāsiriyya in Fes at the order of the sultan of the time.[30]

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[28] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 168.
[29] Lévi-Provençal, "al-Zayyānī"; El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber", p. 72. Al-Zayyānī wrote most of his works after 1224/1809-10, when he was dismissed by Mawlāy Sulaymān; Mohamed El Mansour, "Political and Social Developments in Morocco During the Reign of Mawlāy Sulaymān 1792 – 1822", PhD. Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1981, p. 18.
[30] Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās wa muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uqbira min al-ʿulamāʾ waʾl-ṣulaḥāʾ bi-Fās*, ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Kattānī, Ḥamza bin Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Kattānī, Muḥammad bin Ḥamza bin ʿAlī al-Kattānī (eds.), 4 vols., Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2004, vol. 1, p. 296.

Figure 4: Interior of al-Zāwiya al-Nāsiriyya (Author's photograph, 2016)

Al-Zayyānī is largely known as a historian. He wrote most of his works after 1224/1809 when he was dismissed from the Makhzan by Mawlāy Sulaymān. [31] According to ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Filālī, the editor of *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, he wrote nearly 30 works between 1224/1809 and 1249/1833, although not all of them have survived.[32] His first, and one of the best known, is his world history *Al-Tarjumān al-*

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[31] El Mansour, "Political and Social Developments in Morocco", p. 18.

[32] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 35. Several of his works remain in manuscript form in Morocco, including *Alfiyya al-sulūk fī wafayāt al-mulūk* (K 224, Bibliothèque Generale in Rabat), *Takmīl al-tarjumāna fī khilāfat Mawlāy ʾAbd al-Raḥmān* (Ms. 2751, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasanīya/ Bibliothèque Royale Rabat), *al-Rawḍa al-Sulaymāniyya fī dhikr mulūk al-dawla al-Ismāʾīliyya* (Ms. DAL 1275, Bibliothèque Generale,Rabat), *ʿAqd al-jumān fī shamāʾil al-sulṭān sayyidnā wa mawlānā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* (Ms. H40, Bibliothèque Generale and 126, Bibliothèque Royale, Rabat). In *ʿAqd al-jumān,* al-Zayyānī provides a detailed chronicle of Mawlāy ʾAbd al- Raḥmānʾs early years, covering the ʿAlawī stateʾs religiopolitical institutions during the 1820ʾs. A list of al-Zayyānī's works is given in O. Houdas (tr.), *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812: extrait de l'ouvrage intitulé Ettordjemân elmoʿarib ʿan douel elmachriq ou ʿlmaghrib / de Alboulqâsem Ben Ahmed Ezziâni*, Paris: Leroux, 1886, pp. 167-168; see also Ceran, "Zeyyani", p. 385.

muʿrib ʿan duwal al-Mashriq wa-l-Maghrib (The Eloquent Interpreter about the Dynasties of the East and West [Islamic Worlds]1228/1813), which follows the classical tradition of Islamic history of al-Ṭabarī. It starts with the Prophet Adam, details general Islamic history, covers the history of the Saʿdī and ʿAlawī dynasties before moving on to the contemporary period, Mawlāy Sulaymān's 1218/1813. The history also covers the families of the *shurafāʾ* in Morocco, the various ethnic groups, and includes a description of the region. Unlike other ʿAlawī historians, in his work al-Zayyānī focuses particularly on the Saʿdī sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr 's sixteenth century invasion of West Africa and his negotiations with the kingdom of Bornu, citing the complete text of Bornu's oath of allegiance.[33] By contrast, he pays little attention to the Saʿdīs' relationship with the Ottomans and makes no mention of the rivalry regarding who was the true caliph.

Five years later, in 1233/1817, writing the universal history, *al-Tarjumān al-muʿrib*, al-Zayyānī completed *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī dawla awlād Mawlāy al-Sharīf* (The Elegant Garden in the Rule of Mawlāy al-Sharīf Offspring) to which he owes his reputation as a historian.[34] Upon finishing *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf,* al-Zayyānī wrote a revised version of *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf* and extended it by including the final years of Mawlāy Sulaymān under the title: *al-Rawḍa al-Sulaymāniyya fī dhikr mulūk al-dawla al-Ismāʾīliyya* (The Sulaymāniyya Garden in the Remembrance of the Ismāʾīli State's Rulers). This work is considered particularly important for his revised and detailed observations made during his service in the state.[35] Chronologically his third work is *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā fī akhbār al-maʾmūr barran wa baḥran* in which al-Zayyānī interspersed a narrative of his three voyages to the East with biographical information about himself and his family, geographical descriptions of the places he visited, and Islamic history. It is this latter work that I focus on this chapter.

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[33] *Al-Tarjumān al-muʾrib* was partially published and translated into French by O. Houdas as *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812.* Whilst al-Zayyānī devoted most of *al-Tarjumān al-muʾrib* to the history of the ʿAlawī dynasty, he also included a section on the Saʿdī dynasty, which was translated into French by Roger L. Tourneau, and after his death published by L.Mougin and H.Hamburger. Le Tourneau claims that al-Zayyānī made crucial errors in dating and chronology, jumped from one subject to another, and provided uneven information, Cory, *Reviving the Islamic* Caliphate, pp. 231-232

[34] El Mansour, "Political and Social Developments in Morocco", p. 18.

[35]Ibid.; al-Zayyānīʾs interest in genealogy is reflected in another work, *Tuḥfat al-ḥādī al-muṭrib fī rafʿi nasab shurafāʾ al-Maghrib*, Rashīd al-Zāwiya (ed.), Rabat: Manshūrāt wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-shuʾūn al-Islāmiyya bi-l-mamlaka al-Maghribiyya, 2008.

2. *Al-Tarjumāna al-Kubrā*: Structure and Themes

> Then this poor servant, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Zayyānī says: as fate flung
> me around, and as I travelled many a country, saw many a city, inland and
> across the seas, learning a multitude of things, meeting with a host of righteous
> emirs and of great and erudite scholars [*'ulamā'*]; and as I learnt from them
> what God wished of knowledge, and recorded everything I saw in my books,
> returning to where I am full of news, from the old and the young; and as we
> ceased our journeying, settling under the protection of this great and
> magnificent *Imām* [Mawlāy Sulaymān], I collected what I recorded over the
> course of my three journeys, what I saw in the cities and across the seas, and
> what I experienced in my encounters with the dignitaries, making it into one
> whole *riḥla* […] and I named it, *al-Tarjumāna   al-Kubrā* (The Great
> Guidebook on the News of the [Inhabited] World by Land and Sea) in which I
> compiled the news of the world by land and sea.

<div align="right">

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-Kubrā*, pp. 52-53)

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Many scholars have used *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* as a source of historical information,
given its rich descriptions of contemporary events.[36] For example, al-Zayyānī recounts
Mawlāy Sulaymān's expedition against the Berbers in 1234/1818, his own diplomatic
activities in Istanbul and meeting with Sultan Abdülhamid I, and describes Egyptian
caravans setting off on pilgrimage. In addition to its varied content, *al-Tarjumāna al-
kubrā* stands out from other works of the time for its style. Here and in *al-Bustān*, al-
Zayyānī combines the historical background and geographical information of the
places he visited with his own first-hand experiences in a simple prose style, thereby
producing a kind of gazetteer for his readers and patrons, the ʿAlawī Sultans.[37] The
result is no simple *riḥla*: in addition to describing cities and buildings and recounting
meetings with elites and scholars, it also contains samples of political memoirs,
geographical notes on historical events and Islamic geography, direct observations of

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[36] For example, Fatima Harrak and El Mansour rely on al-Zayyānī's works for accounts of events in the
reigns of Sīdī Muḥammad and Mawlāy Sulaymān in their PhD dissertations: Harrak, "State and
Religion"; El Mansour, "Political and Social Developments in Morocco".

[37] In *al-Bustān,* for example, al-Zayyānī lists streets, markets, and cemeteries in Istanbul and provides
the topography of Istanbul, the names of its neighbourhoods, statistics about the number of shops,
mosques, etc, see *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, pp. 461-464; *al-Tarjumā al-kubrā*, is full of expressions of praise
for Sīdī Muḥammad and Mawlāy Sulaymān. Even while writing about Istanbul, he occasionally
digresses and inserts anecdotes that relate to Morocco and the sultans. For example, while describing
an ascetic he saw in Istanbul, he remembers a story from the time of Mawlāy Sulaymān about an ascetic
who did not accept anything from the public, not even from Mawlāy Sulaymān. Mawlāy Sulaymān's
son wanted to visit this ascetic and went to the Andalus mosque with a great number of gifts: this ascetic
left the mosque and did not come back; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 102.

customs and folklore, and even inventories of gifts al-Zayyānī received from Ottoman officials, and much else.[38]

Arguably, al-Zayyānī was following the style of *belles-lettres* eclecticism that was common among Maghribi authors, simultaneously more wide-ranging and personal than al-Tamagrūtī and al-Miknāsī. Muḥammad Hajjī calls it "a unique type of traditional Moroccan writing of varied subject matter in which the writer moves from one topic to the next through the smallest connection", in which digressions often overshadow the main topic.[39] For example, once in Istanbul after visiting the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, one of the companions of the Prophet, al-Zayyānī encountered a blind and disabled person "with neither legs nor buttocks except his stomach" begging by the seafront, who was "reciting poems in Arabic, Turkish and Persian". Al-Zayyānī and his guide stopped and spoke to him in Arabic, and the beggar replied with an eloquent Arabic verse by the Cairene Sufi Ibn al-Fāriḍ: "He replied to me and said: 'If others were satisfied by dreaming His reflection, even union with Him will not satisfy me".[40] Al-Zayyānī and his companion rewarded him with gifts, and al-Zayyānī remarks how he was reminded of an anecdote about the great seventeenth-century Moroccan Berber scholar of the Middle Atlas, Sufi al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (d. 1102/1691).[41] He returns to Ibn al-Fāriḍ later, when he recounts a fragment of a story

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[38] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumā al-kubrā*, pp. 99-100.

[39] Quoted in Gretchen Head, "Moroccan Autobiography: The Rhetorical Construction of the Self and the Development of Modern Arabic Narrative in Al-Maghrib Al-Aqṣā", PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2011, p. 131. I am deeply grateful to Dr Head for sending me her PhD thesis which she is currently rewriting as a book.

[40] This line is from the poems of ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. al-Murshid b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576/1181-632/1235) who is considered one of the most famous Sufi poets in the Islamic history. In his poems he uses "profane themes and imagery taken from love poetry"; see Geert Jan Van Gelder, *Classical Arabic Literature: A Library of Arabic Literature Anthology*, New York: New York University Press, 2012, p. 79; Th. Emil Homerin, "Ibn al-Fāriḍ", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition*, Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe et al. (eds.), Brill Online, 2020.

[41] Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (1040-41/1631-1102/1691), who came from the Amazigh (Berber) tribe of Ait Yūsī in Fezāz, Middle Atlas of Morocco, was a prominent scholar, saint and Sufi intellectual of the seventeenth century. According to al-Zayyānī, al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī was a student of al-Zayyānī's grandfather, Sīdī ʿAlī Ibn Ibrāhīm; see al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 57-58. After studying in Marrakesh, Sijilmāsa, Tarudant and Tamagrūt, al-Yūsī returned to the Middle Atlas and settled at the Dilāʾ zawiya, where he stayed for fifteen years during a period of political strife in Morocco, from 1653-1668. In 1668, the first sultan of the ʿAlawī dynasty, Mawlāy Rashīd (r.1664-1672) brought al-Yūsī and other scholars to the centre, Fes. For the next fifteen years al-Yūsī travelled taught in Fes, Tetouan and Marrakesh. He wrote a letter openly criticising Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (r. 1672-1727) for his policies and for disarming the tribes in Morocco. Like al-Zayyānī, al-Yūsī was also not fully accepted by the Fesi ʿulamāʾ; Justin Stearns, "'All Beneficial Knowledge is Revealed': The Rational Sciences in the Maghrib in the age of al-Yūsī (d. 1102/1691)", in *Islamic Law & Society,* Vol/ 21, issues 1/2 (February 2014), p. 52. For an analysis of al-Yūsī's letter and his clash with Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, see Henry Munson Jr., *Religion and Power in Morocco*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 27-31. For a recent study on al-Yūsī and the translation of his book*: al-Muḥāḍarāt fī l-adab wa-l-lugha* (The Discourses on Language

from his grandson and compiler of his work, in which Ibn al-Fāriḍ extolled his asceticism and refused the sultan's offer of a thousand dinars and an invitation to the court.[42] He then moves on to another story about an ascetic and pious person, this time set in his hometown of Fes in the times of Mawlāy Sulaymān. He even titles it, "A Witty Story in the Times of Mawlāy Sulaymān".[43] In other words, the *ziyāra* (pious visitation) to the holy tomb established a mood of piety, and the encounter with the pious and eloquent blind beggar led to a two-and-a-half-page digression about ascetic Sufis.

As already mentioned, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* begins with a short autobiographical section (pp.56-65) in which al-Zayyānī recounts his birth and education, and provides the genealogy of the Zayyān family, a result, he says, of his early interest in historical texts and *ansāb* and of his Berber origin.[44] Unlike the other travelogues discussed in this thesis, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* includes a fifteen-page section on the boundaries, topography, localities, regions, physical features and even the flora of the Maghrib, interspersed with historical information.[45] As he puts it: "When I decided to record my travels to the East, the first, the second and the third travels, *I had to present acquaintance regarding the frontiers/boundaries of our Morocco*, its cities and its builders before and after the rule of Berbers, and after Islam."[46]

Al-Zayyānī starts from the Mountain of Daran (Grand/High Atlas Mountain) and its environs, the city of Algiers, Constantine, and continues along the eastern coast of Mediterranean Sea to Tripolitania. Drawing on various scholars and historians including Ibn Ibn Khaldūn, he writes briefly about the first Berber tribes that settled in the Maghrib before moving to Mawlāy Sulaymān's military expedition against the Berbers in 1234/1818-19.[47] After more anecdotes about the turbulent political events

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and Literature), see Al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, *The Discourses: Reflections on History, Sufism, Theology, and Literature*, vol. 1, Justin Stearns (ed. and tr.), New York: New York University Press, 2020.

[42] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumā al-kubrā*, p. 101.

[43] "Just like that [referring Ibn al-Fāriḍ's anecdote], *"In our own times in Fes, there was an ascetic worshipper called Mawlāy ʿUmar, and he would never accept anything from people, not even from the amīr al-muʾminīn, [Mawlāy Sulaymān]"*; Ibid., p. 102.

[44] Ibid., p. 58.

[45] He uses the toponym Maghrib for both the whole area west of Egypt and for Morocco: it extends from the Nile to the west coast of the Atlas Ocean in the valley of Nūl, and its borders are the Mediterranean in the north, the Atlas Ocean in the west, the Nile in the east and the desert in the south. Here, al-Zayyānī applies the toponym of the "Maghrib" to the whole North Africa region; Ibid., p. 66.

[46] Ibid., p. 66.

[47] Ibid., p. 70.

of his own time, al-Zayyānī returns to the issue of "the first settlers of the Maghrib", starting with the pre-Islamic period and the earliest inhabitants of the country's coastal regions even before the Berbers, who were the sons of Yāfes b. Nūh (Japheth, the son of Noah).[48]

This insertion of the Maghrib and its geography and history within a narrative of his travels suggests that al-Zayyānī may have had a foreign reader in mind. In fact, he recalls meeting scholars and officials in the East who knew nothing about Morocco.[49] The published editions of the work include a handwritten map, allegedly drawn or reproduced by the author himself, with place names from the top of Africa to the Nile of the Sudan. In fact, the map extends far beyond North Africa, and includes India and a large part of the Indian Ocean.[50]

Only after these two sections does al-Zayyānī embark on the narrative of his trip to Istanbul in 1200, including a nostalgic notice of al-Andalus on the way.[51] His actual description of Istanbul and its monuments owes a lot to previous accounts, as will be detailed. On his second journey to Istanbul, his accounts of Algiers and Tunis [52] are followed by a section on his stay in Istanbul, his travel through Anatolia and Bilād al-Shām to the Hijaz, his pilgrimage and meetings with the *'ulamāʾ*, his stay in Egypt, a description of Jerusalem and many anecdotes.[53] Then he provides long sections on the macro-geography of the seven climes[54] and a description of the seas and mountains of the seven climes.[55] A list of his own works[56] is followed by a section of the genealogy of Mawlāy Sulaymān which he links to the account of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad[57] and other prophets of antiquity, Noah. Enoch, etc.[58] At the end of his book, al-Zayyānī provides a list of regions and alphabetically listed cities mentioned

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[48] Ibid., pp. 75-77.
[49] Ibid., pp. 109,168.
[50] See Boguslaw R. Zagorski, "Late Appearance of Early Arab Cartography: A 19th century Manuscript Map by az-Zayyani: Its Toponomy and its Vision of the World", in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny/Yearbook of Oriental Studies*, Warsaw: The Committee of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and The Publishing House ELIPSA, Vol. LXV, Issue 2 (2012), pp. 49-54.
[51] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 87-96.
[52] Ibid., pp. 142-167.
[53] Ibid., pp. 167-282.
[54] Ibid., pp. 288-308.
[55] Ibid., pp. 309-355.
[56] Ibid., pp. 412-415.
[57] Ibid., pp. 421-438.
[58] Ibid., pp. 438-454.

in the course of his *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* starting with Azemmour in the Maghrib *al-aqṣā*.[59]

Throughout *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, al-Zayyānī's travels are framed through his own life and through historical scholarship. While describing the places he visits, he occasionally inserts snippets of information relating to his own life or to the history of the ʿAlawīds, al-Andalus, Bilād al-Shām, and to biographies of their rulers. As such, entry to the harbour in Malaga after embarking at Essaouira "led us to recall the cities of al-Andalus as they were the beauties of our Maghrib".[60] He then proceeds to describe the topography of Malaga and of the region, adding a general description of its cities in Islamic times such as al-Qurṭuba and Toledo, and a concise history of Al-Andalus from Roman times to the Reconquista, listing the dynasties of Islamic Spain. [61] Thus, while al-Zayyānī did not tour al-Andalus beyond Malaga, like many other writers both before and after him, he nonetheless dwells on the ruins of Al-Andalus and concludes his account with the formula: "[These dynasties] ruled over it until the infidels, may God destroy them, occupied it".[62]

As a result, the structure of the *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* is less linear than the accounts of al-Tamagrūtī's or al-Miknāsī's *riḥlas*. Unlike them, al-Zayyānī does not begin with a chronological narration of his journey or itinerary but rather with his own life story, education and teachers. His accounts of conversations and encounters and his many anecdotes draw the reader into the experience/narrative and feel closer to him, as I will discuss below.[63] Moreover, al-Zayyānī often relates what other people think of him, drawing the focus further onto himself.[64] As such, his work is a good example of an "ego-document".[65]

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[59] Ibid., pp. 475-500.
[60] Ibid., p. 87.
[61] Ibid., pp. 87-95.
[62] Ibid., p. 96.
[63] By comparison, his text contains fewer poetic quotes than al-Tamagrūtī's, and particularly al-Miknāsī's.
[64] For example, he claims that Sultan Abdülhamid I, praised him of being the best envoy in the mission: "Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [Abdülhamid I] sent one of his servants with gifts to the sultan [Sīdī Muḥammad], and he, may Allah make him victorious, said to me: 'I sent this servant with you only as a formality. Our reliance is on you.' He wrote a letter to the sultan [Sīdī Muḥammad] relating to me with praise and beautiful commendation. Like this, the vizier Yūsuf Pasha wrote [a letter] about me. A sentence from the letter of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd is: "From your [Sīdī Muḥammad's] honourable abode (*maqāmuka al-sharīf*) twenty envoys had arrived to us, publicly and secretly the best of them, intellectually and morally was [al-Zayyānī]. He left us with decency, if you need to send someone [again] this would be [al-Zayyānī]"; al-Zayyānī, *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, pp. 458-459.
[65] Elger and Köse, *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self.*

As al-Zayyānī himself explains in the opening passage, he compiled in a single *riḥla* his three travels that he undertook to Istanbul, Bilād al-Shām, Egypt and the Hijaz, from 1756 up until 1794, and embellished it with history, geographical information, excerpts and anecdotes from earlier travellers and scholars. The journeys are not separated into three different narratives but are arranged by place or topic, and al-Zayyānī simply shifts between them and between topics with "*rujūʿan li-khabar …*" (Back to the report on).[66] In fact, although he refers to it as a *riḥla* (see epigraph) al-Zayyānī wrote *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* over a period of thirty years.[67] Nor does al-Zayyānī begin his entries with a date, unlike his predecessors, suggesting that although he kept a record of his travels and meetings in diary form while he was on the road, he did not do so on a daily basis.

In fact, in his introduction al-Zayyānī mentions that he drew upon a range of authors and details the methodology he employed throughout. Specifically, he explains how he greatly benefitted from the transmission of news (*akhbār*) and did not limit himself to details on *amsār* (metropolises), seas and barren deserts, and *ʿajāʾib* (marvels) of the islands, springs, wells and rivers but also embellished his account with events and *nawādir* (entertaining or illuminating anecdotes) narrated by great scholars.[68] Al-Zayyānī drew on a number of classical works of travel, history and geography. The lists he presents of the scholars whose works he used in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* includes: Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), Ibn al-Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374).[69] However, al-Zayyānī does not explicitly mention other works cited in his own, first and foremost al-Miknāsī's *riḥla*.

Al-Zayyānī wrote about Istanbul in two works – *al-Tarjumāna* and in the chronicle *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*. In the former he follows his predecessors by writing about the main monuments of the city, its scholarly networks and religious bureaucracy (*ʿilmiyye*), and his audience with the Sultan. In *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, by contrast, he lists and describes other features of the city, such as the names and number of coffee shops,

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[66] He informs the reader of the shift by writing: "*rujūʿan li-khabar riḥlatinā li-Istanbul*" (Back to the report on our Istanbul travel); e.g., al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 87.
[67] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 52, 288, 422, 544, 582. Some of the prominent Maghribi *ʿulamāʾ* whose comments on al-Zayyānī's work are included at the end of *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* also refer to it as "al-riḥla"; Ibid., p. 548.
[68] Ibid., p. 52.
[69] Ibid., pp. 53-55.

and Ottoman politics.[70] In order to compare his descriptions with those of his predecessors, in the sections that follow I discuss his general descriptions of the city and the Ottoman state, his wonderfully detailed account of his meeting with Sultan Abdülhamid I, and the rather more indirect way he deals with the issue of Arab-Ottoman (Rumi) *'ulamā'*. As I argue, al-Zayyānī mostly adds personal details to familiar topics and descriptions, and is generally more positive in his assessment of the Ottomans.

3. Al-Zayyānī in Istanbul

The spectre of Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī (Chapter 2) haunts al-Zayyānī's account of Istanbul. Al-Zayyānī's relatively concise section on his stay in the Ottoman capital begins with al- Miknāsī and follows his *riḥla* in its range of topics, order of description and even in his turn of phrases, although al-Zayyānī does not acknowledge it.[71] Like al-Miknāsī, al-Zayyānī provides an account of Ottoman bureaucracy, including the organisational structure of the *'ulamā* in Istanbul and their monthly wages, although, in his case, translating from an Ottoman register, as well as the levels and salaries of the military.[72] He also reports on the classification of the religious colleges and the examination process in the Ottoman education system, noting, for instance, that exams take place on the first day of the year. Although al-Zayyānī does not mention the source of this information, he either depended on a local informer and/or source or on al-Miknāsī, who, as we saw in Chapter 2, also reported on the administrational and

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[70] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, pp. 461-473.

[71] For example, al-Miknāsī had measured distances around the city on foot and by boat with some precision (see Chapter 2); al-Zayyānī does the same, although to a lesser extent. He gives the distance between "Istanbul" and the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī: "It takes one and a half hour for those who travel by land and one hour for those who set out by boat on the sea", *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 100. By "Istanbul" al-Zayyānī may have meant the walled city of Istanbul (old Istanbul) as a touchstone; Ayyūb (Eyüp) district regarded as being outside the city.

[72] Like al-Miknāsī, al-Zayyānī details the Ottoman bureaucratic structure and established hierarchy of the *'ilmiyye,* from the top rank of the Şeyhülislâm (*Shaykh al-Islām*), whom he also describes as being the mufti of the sultanate only dismissible by the sultan. At the second level stood the *ḳāżī 'asker* (chief military judge) of Rumelia and then the other posts were respectively: the *ḳāżī 'asker* of Anatolia, the qadi of Istanbul, qadi of the *Ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina), the qadis of each of the four cities Edirne, Bursa, Damascus and Egypt; at the bottom were the qadis of eight cities: Alexandria, Sultan Ayyub, al-Quds al-Sharif, Aleppo, Yenişehir, Selanik, Galata and Izmir; Ibid*.,* pp. 111-112. For al-Zayyānī's description of the Ottoman ruling class and the *'ilmiyye* see also Appendix 5. The amount of detail that al-Zayyānī and al-Miknāsī provide supports Fatima Harrak and Amira Bennison's arguments that the Moroccan Sultans were keen to learn about Ottoman administrative structures; Harrak, "State and Religion", p. 243; Bennison, *Jihad and its Interpretation*, p. 25. See also Chapter 2.

educational systems of the Ottoman State. The two works largely use the same source material.

In general, the Istanbul section in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* is far less systematic than al-Miknāsī's in *Iḥrāz al- mu'allā* (See Chapter 2). It is also more concise in terms of topics and urban descriptions – for example, of Hagia Sophia – and it contains fewer quotes. In *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, al-Zayyānī recounts both of his visits: the first official and the second private. With regard to the first, his reception at court occupies almost of a third of the section, and he dwells on the close relationships he develops with his Ottoman hosts, and he returns to this more private insight into Ottomans' homes in the narrative about his second stay (See below). In comparison with al-Miknāsī, then, al-Zayyānī's account is shorter on urban description but richer in human contact.

Al-Zayyānī begins the narrative of his arrival in Istanbul with a sense of al-Miknāsī's presence there. Al-Miknāsī and his retinue were still in Istanbul, and according to al-Zayyānī, had overstayed their welcome: their prolonged stay in Istanbul had resulted in Ottoman officials' neglect of them. By contrast, al-Zayyānī emphasises how warmly Ottoman officials welcomed him and his companions. The vizier reserved a lodging for their residence and sent them a horse-drawn carriage to convey them there.[73]

Al-Zayyānī mentions the position of every official he encountered and includes information about the manner in which he was met, the kinds of food he was offered, and every gift he received and offered. On each occasion he enthusiastically emphasises the hospitality shown to him, such as when they were first taken to the residence of the grand vizier:

> Then we left for the (vizier's) deputy *Kāhya Bey* (chamberlain), We greeted him, and he asked how were and was happy to welcome us. We moved, after that, to visit the chamber of *Ra'īs Efendi* (*Reīsülküttāb*, the chief scribe). We exchanged pleasantries and he asked how everything was. He was nice to us and gave us coffee as the previous person had done. Then we went out and entered the *Defterdār*, the residence of *Sāḥib al-amwāl* (the treasurer), who, upon saluting him, inquired about us with delight and cheerfulness, and offered us perfume and coffee, after which

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[73] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 98.

we walked to the office of the *Teşrifatçı* (master of protocol), who, when we entered, accompanied us to the house of the grand vizier, where we had sat until he informed the vizier of our arrival.

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 98)

According to Ottoman custom, the vizier presented them with official robes. While al-Zayyānī's companions received kaftans and long tunics (*farjiyyāt*), he was instead given a fur coat and a shawl by the vizier (*khalaa' 'alaynā al-kūrk wa-l-shāl*), thereby highlighting his own privileged status.[74] He is as fastidious about his own presentation of gifts, and to the feasts that each of the Ottoman officials gave them in return.[75] While devoting substantial space to the great respect shown to him and his retinue, al-Zayyānī misses no opportunity to point out that members of the former mission had not been similarly treated, and that Ottoman officials "had not given them any rewards, feasts or taken them to the hammam".[76] When his fellows, al-Miknāsī and Lūzīrk saw how al-Zayyānī and his men were treated, they blamed two other diplomats who had offered poor gifts: "They said that it's ʿAbd al-Mālik and ibn Yahyā, who dragged us into this humiliation, after bestowing a gift on the high officials, who ridiculed it."[77]

Al-Zayyānī makes a point of detailing the particular care his Ottoman hosts continued to bestow upon him. An Agha was appointed as his guide to the significant places of Istanbul, and was responsible for them from their arrival onwards. With this guide, al-Zayyāni visited the *Bayt al-Māl* (the imperial treasury*,* in Tur. *Hazīne-i ʿĀmire*), *Dār al-Ḍarb* (the imperial mint house, in Tur. *Żarbhāne-i ʿĀmire*), *al-Ṭarsāna* (the imperial shipyard, in Tur. *Tersāne-i Āmire)* and silk and glass ateliers:[78]

Every day we would set out, and [the Agha] would take us to one of those [aforementioned] places. Upon arrival, the head of the place and its servants would greet us with respect and exaltation. They were happy to

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[74] Ibid.

[75] "The following day we sent the gift to the vizier and his state officials with the translator and the scribe who had accompanied us. Each one of them had his own gift, based on their designated ranks and customary law. When we finished handing out the gifts and after they read our letter, they informed us about their custom of the hammam. In return for the gifts, the vizier and each of the officials of the state sent us an invitation to welcome us in their houses. And the next day, he [the grand vizier] took us for a walk in his garden, and then we returned to our residence. The following day, he rewarded us for our gifts, each according to his rank. And after him came the second [official], then the third and so on until the last one"; Ibid., p. 99.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 98-99.

welcome us. They would show us some of the handicrafts they make and, after observing them, they would offer us the "*sufra*" (dining table), couches and various drinks. And before we departed, they would send us, via their servants, gifts of their own making. After that, they would take us to visit [the shrine of] Shaykh Abī Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, which is located in a city they call Ayyūb Sultan (in Tur. Eyüp Sultan).

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 99-100)

Once again, al-Zayyānī misses no opportunity to present himself as a "more welcomed" guest than previous Moroccan envoys, particularly al-Miknāsī.

Only after having related all of the visits paid and received and all the gifts exchanged does al-Zayyānī go on to present the city, under the heading "Some of the wonders (*ajā'ib*) of the city of Istanbul".[79] Accompanied by the Ottoman officials who were responsible for hosting them, al-Zayyānī and his companions visited the ten "*masjid al-mulūk*" or imperial mosques, where he was astonished at the great libraries housed in each of them.[80] He recounts:

in every mosque we entered, they took us to *khizānat al-kutub* (the library), which is a huge building with a door that opens to the courtyard of the masjid. The library had so many seats, and a number of students beyond measure; some of them were transcribing and some others were studying. After mid-afternoon, the students would leave the library. Books could not be borrowed or taken out of it in order to preserve and protect them.

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p.103)

Betraying his historical bent, al-Zayyānī's account of the library inside the Sülaymaniye Mosque moves from a general description to a historical account:

When we went to the Süleymaniye mosque and entered its great library, the caretaker [of the library] brought us a box which contains the *fihrist* belonging to the Sultan Sulaymān, their greatest and the most learned ruler. The *fihrist* was written on silver sheets in the form of tin sheets inscribed in Turkish engraved with golden letters. The caretaker of the library told us that [written in these silver sheets is] his [Sultan Sulaymān's] genealogy to his grandfather Sulaymān Shāh, and his brothers in *bilād al-Rūm*. This

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[79] Ibid., p. 103.
[80] In Ottoman Turkish imperial mosques are known as *selāṭīn* (sultans) mosques, which means literally "the mosques of the sultans", al-Zayyānī here translates into Arabic as "*masjid al-mulūk*".

was in the era of Seljukid Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and in the times of Abbasid Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, in the year 616, and his lineage goes back to Yāfath b. Nūh, peace be upon him… [When a new Sultan is enthroned, the *fihrist*] is carried on a carthorse-drawn carriage to *dār al-salṭana* (Istanbul), and they carry it on their heads, all the while publicly invoking the name of Allāh. They eventually hand it over to the Sultan, and the *Shaykh al-Islām* (Şeyhülislām), the judges, the *ʿulamāʾ*, the viziers and the *amīrs* for a blessing. Then *Shaykh al-Islām* writes the oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*).

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 103)

Al-Zayyānī obtained further details about the enthronement ceremony from the vizier, who also enabled al-Zayyānī to acquire and study a book on the history of the Ottomans by Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha and to even meet its author.[81] This is the subject of an interesting anecdote, which underscores al-Zayyyānī's ability and authority as a historian and also manages to belittle al-Miknāsī. It further shows him actively engaged in trying to penetrate scholarly networks, which were also networks of patronage, and is perhaps why he was keen to obtain Ottoman books and meet well-placed scholars, and why he relates the complaint of the Arab *ʿulamāʾ* about the difficulty in their securing positions in the Ottoman *ʿilmiyye* system, which will be discussed in further detail below.

Al-Zayyānī recounts how he studied and summarised this particular book before meeting its author, Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha, in order to recite the work to him. As with most of the cities and regions he visited - Tunis, Algiers, Damascus, Cairo and the Hijaz, so too in Istanbul al-Zayyānī includes the names of the *ʿulamāʾ* he met. Furthermore, he attended exclusive social gatherings (*majālis*) held in Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha's home during his stay. He expends much effort in showing how much Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha appreciated his summary, quoting an entire passage of Kamāl al-Dīn

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[81] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 103. Al-Zayyānī claims that Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha was the author of a book entitled *Taʾlīf al-Rūḥ* (The Book of the Soul) on the history of the Ottomans. However, as El Moudden states, there is no information available about either Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha or his *Taʾlīf al-Rūḥ*. Regarding the title of the book, it has been claimed that al-Zayyānī might have mistakenly recorded the title or the author; L.C. Brown suggested that the title may have been *Taʾlīf al-Rūm* (The Book of the *Rūm*) instead; quoted in El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", p. 249. In either case, throughout my research in the Ottoman sources; biographical works, manuscript libraries and archival records, unfortunately I have not come across *Taʾlīf al-Rūḥ/Rūm* or/and its author Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha as al-Zayyānī asserts. However, it is also possible that this work might have been in a *majmūʾa* which is yet to be discovered.

Pasha's letter in which the Pasha approved of each section of al-Zayyānī's summary as he recited it aloud, while also acknowledging that al-Zayyānī explained to him the ancient and present realms of the West (Maghrib).[82] Al-Zayyānī mentions that when he went to Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha's home, they discussed the "wonders of Istanbul", and it was there that he met al-Miknāsī and explicitly accuses him of jealousy:

> When I came the first day to Shaykh Kamāl's house to recite him the summary of his book, I found our friend Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān [al-Miknāsī] already there with him, because [news of] my summary of the *Taʾlīf* had reached him and he did not have access [to it]; so he envied me and wanted to see Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha when the interpreter informed him of my upcoming visit on Thursday. So, he had come before me to give the impression of an accidental meeting.

> (Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 104)[83]

Whereas al-Miknāsī never mentions al-Zayyānī in his *riḥla* (See Chapter 2), al-Zayyānī vents his feelings towards his rival over seven pages, describing al-Miknāsī as an envious and arrogant man who spoke out of turn and tried to demean al-Zayyānī in front of Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha and other scholars during this scholarly gathering:

> Later, when our meeting (sitting) took a long time, shaykh [Kamāl al-Dīn] said to me, '*Bismillāh*, [let us start] the recitation of the book'. I took [the

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[82] After several days of the two men meeting and al-Zayyānī's reciting his summary to him, Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha wrote (a letter) "in his own hand" in which he praised and granted him an *ijāza* or certificate to transmit his work. Al- Zayyānī quotes the whole letter: "When Allāh [...] has decreed for us to meet in this sacred gathering and in this seat [Istanbul] which is built on the basis of religion and jihad [...] with the noble and learned Abūʾ al-Qāsim Efendi al-Zayyānī, may Allāh protect him, who came as an ambassador from the king of Morocco to this Ottoman kingdom [...] He [al-Zayyānī] showed me what he recorded and summarised from the book I authored on the basis of accessible as well as difficult sources, and which I dedicated [to the Ottoman dynasty] until [the era of] the sultan Abdülhamid Khān. He [al-Zayyānī] requested to recite to me what he gathered and summarised from my book, and so I answered (to) his request and responded to his call [...] And he recited it out loud to me, in several sessions, chapter after chapter, and reign after reign. I found out that he is adequate, and I was impressed by his excellent talent, his arrangement [in compiling] and his intelligence [...] So, I came to know that he was from the eminent learned men and people of nobility. He informed me about the Kingdom of the West [the Maghrib], past and present, its closeness to us as well as its distance. He corrected my knowledge the dynasties of the West. [....] So, I grant him the *ijāza*, of what he gathered and arranged from my book". After the quotation, there is a note with the date of the letter which reads: "Written by ʿAbd Allāh Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Efendi ibn Rukn al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Efendi ibn Khayr al-Dīn ʿAlī Efendi" (*katabahu ʿAbd Allāh Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Efendi ibn Rukn al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Efendi ibn Khayr al-Dīn ʿAlī Efendi, fī Jumāda al-ʿūlā min ām miatayn wa alf* (Jumāda I 1200/ March 1786); al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 109-110.

[83] Benaboud also mentions the tension between al-Zayyānī and al-Miknāsī in the house of Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha, see "Authority and Power", p. 74.

summary] out from my underarm, whether the 'envious one' [al-Miknāsī], who belongs to my own origin (*jins*) and people, wanted it or not. When I started the recitation and read the first page, he [al-Miknāsī] wanted to accuse me of a mistake and grammatical error. So I responded to him what once al-Hāshimī[84] had said to Ibn Nuḥās [in a similar situation] when Ibn Nuḥās intended to accuse [al-Hāshimī] of a mistake [in his work] in front of other people: "Do speak about only what you know, and remain silent about what you do not know".

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 104)[85]

Al-Zayyānī then further digresses, recounting a number of stories about comparable rivalries between scholars, all under the title "What has been said about jealousy in prose and poetry", alluding primarily to al-Miknāsī. [86] The Tunisian scholar Aḥmad al-Nūmaylī al-Tūnusī had also been present at the gathering (see Section 3.5 below), and, according to al-Zayyānī, al-Nūmaylī and Kamāl al-Dīn Pasha supported him against al-Miknāsī.[87] Despite this outburst against al-Miknāsī, al-Zayyānī does not avoid using him as a source, for example quoting the same passages on the conquest of Istanbul from al-Qaramānī's history *Akhbār al-Duwal* that al-Miknāsī (see Chapter 2 above) had used.[88]

Another example of the care al-Zayyānī' takes to acknowledge written as well as living sources and to display his knowledge of, and contacts within, the Ottoman scholarly and administrative world, arises with his crediting a treasurer called Shaykh Süleyman as a principal source of information:

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[84] According to al-Zayyānī this figure is al-Quwayqiʿ al-Hāshimī who was originally from Tunis and settled in Egypt; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 104.
[85] When al-Zayyānī went into a digression about the discussion between al-Hāshimī and Ibn Nuḥās, al-Miknāsī asked him "whose speech was it" that al-Zayyānī had quoted. According to al-Zayyānī, al-Hāshimī appeared to have made a grammatical mistake, indeed he was competent of linguistic nuances which could only be understood by those who were qualified scholars, Ibid.
[86] Ibid., pp. 108-109.
[87] Al-Zayyānī claims that Aḥmad al-Nūmaylī, who commented on *al-Kashshāf*, had had a similar experience: he became the target of envy by Turkish scholars (ʿulamāʾ al-Atrāk) because he was an Arab. It is most likely that by "*al-Kashshāf*" al-Zayyānī was referring to Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) famous Qurʾan commentary, *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʾwīl* (The discoverer of the Truths of the Hidden Things of Revelation and the Choicest Statements Concerning the Aspects of İnterpretation). I have used Andrew J. Lane's translation of the title; Andrew J. Lane, "'Reclining upon Couches" in the Shade' (Q 35:56): Quranic Imagery in Rationalist Exegesis", in *Roads to Paradise: Eschatology and Concepts of the Hereafter in Islam*, Sebastian Günther and Todd Lawson (eds.), Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2017, vol. 1, p. 221.
[88] For al-Zayyānī's passages from al-Qaramānī's *Akhbār al-duwal*, vol.3, pp. 4-7, see *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, pp. 127-129.

The treasurer Shaykh Sulaymān [Süleyman in Tur.] Efendi told me that the number of Friday mosques in Istanbul is over two hundred seventy, and that the number of the madrasas exceeds that of the mosques. Endowed mosques, on the other hand, are uncountable; inside them are markets, handicrafts ateliers, hand mills, mills, windmills, ovens, dinghies, coffeeshops, and an abundance of stuff beyond measure. Indeed, I acquired that information from the register of the *defterdār*, the head of finance department, and I followed it throughout the compilation of *al-Tarjumāna*, and what I record here is only related with religion and *ʿilm* and the *ʿulamāʾ*.

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 116)

In this passage, al-Zayyānī demonstrates the reliable source of his information. He highlights how he accessed the *official document(s)* of the treasurer, an Ottoman dignitary, making him both a successful emissary, a reliable author, and a scholar who legitimises his narrative through local Ottoman sources. In this respect, he easily bests al-Miknāsī, whose reference source was an unknown *mudarris* or "some people". The information he supplies, however, was far from inaccessible, as he simply rounds up the numbers that al-Miknāsī had already provided. He appears to have combined what he heard in Istanbul and what he read from al-Miknāsī's account, attributing all this information to an allegedly high-ranked Ottoman official, Shaykh Süleyman Efendi. In concluding his report, al-Zayyānī is careful to claim that all his writings conform to those of the "learned elite and religious and scholarly matters", clearly demonstrating his interest in gaining the approval of the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Al-Zayyānī opens the section on the "Conquest of Istanbul" with a description of Hagia Sophia. As with other writers, the monumental structure was for him the emblem of dominion over the earlier Byzantine Christian empire, and it is in describing Hagia Sophia's conversion into a mosque that the Ottomans' *Muslimness* is first addressed in al-Zayyānī's text:

One of the greatest buildings [of Istanbul] is Hagia Sophia mosque, which was a church at the times of the infidels. When Sultan Muḥammad b. Murad [Mehmed II] conquered [Istanbul] in the year 857, he turned it into a a mosque for the Muslims that bore the name of its builder, Sophia: "Āya Ṣūfiya" [was] the mother of the tyrant Constantine, the king of Rūm [the Byzantines]. When its construction was completed, she donated plenty of

property to it […] The shape of its structure is strange (*gharīb*), unusual, and unknown in the East, the Maghrib or al-Andalus. This is because it has one dome, whose length, which spans from the door to the mihrab, is 325 paces, all of which I have crossed on foot. Its width, from one vault to the other, is 130 paces, and it has two columns on the right and on the left, the width of the each is 75 paces. Above it are two columns supported by a large marble pillar. These two columns contain ladders coming down from the dome, which overlooks the prayer space (downstairs). Behind these two columns, there are two other columns, the doors of which are on the right and the left sides of the dome and the width of each is 50 feet…

(Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 114)

While for European visitors the fact that this originally Byzantium basilica now served as a mosque evoked a feeling of loss, to al-Zayyānī it is obviously a matter of pride, as evidenced in his effusive descriptions of the triumph of the possessor of Hagia Sophia. He recounts the construction history of Hagia Sophia in Byzantine times, gives details and features of its construction, and notes its strange shape using the same words al-Miknāsī had used before him ("The shape of its structure is strange (*gharīb*), unusual. It is not like those in the East, neither in the Maghrib nor in al-Andalus, because it has one dome").[89] Al-Zayyānī's description of Hagia Sophia offers a clear example of his strategy of compilation (or interpolation) with regards to al-Miknāsī's text. Sometimes he borrows *verbatim*, while on other occasions he paraphrases the narrative. In some places, he adds his own measurements, while at other times he copies al-Miknāsī even using the latter's first-person conjugated verbs.[90]

Al-Zayyānī's description of the mosque's interior is equally enthusiastic: he was impressed by the white marbles in the building, and when he climbed the upstairs and saw the images, inscriptions and surviving from Byzantine times he called them

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[89] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 114; see al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 86.

[90] For example, al-Zayyānī's description of the courtyard of Hagia Sophia (*al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 115) follows al-Miknāsī's (*Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p. 86) *verbatim*: "Outside this dome, which is the masjid, the splendid, transparent white marble-furnished courtyard surrounds the dome [masjid]. In its middle there is a fountain with a dome made from brass grids, surrounded by many pipes. Those who want to perform ablutions or drink water turn the taps of pipes and this meets their needs, which they finish by turning off the faucet"; al-Zayyānī even uses al-Miknāsī's conjugated verb "we entered into" (*dakhalnā*); from there al-Zayyānī excludes the latter part of phrase and continues with a direct description of the features of ablution foundation. He then returns to al-Miknāsī's description of the candles inside Hagia Sophia, simply replacing the word of *"shamʿatān"* (two candles) with *"ḥasakatān"* (two chandeliers), this time eliminating the statements al-Miknāsī had made in the first person. He takes out al-Miknāsī's sentence: "I saw a ladder before each of them", and changes it into: "They light it (these candles) from the maghrib to the night prayer (*al-ʿishāʾ*), and from *fajr* to the rise of sun, and ladders were leaned against each of the chandeliers at seventeen degrees in order to light the candles. These two candles are changed every night; the leftovers are brought to the residence of the sultan for the blessing"; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 115.

strange (*gharība*). Once again, his account closely mirrors al-Miknāsī's, adding only a few details.[91] He was amazed at seeing the fountain for ritual ablutions in the courtyard of Hagia Sophia, a characteristic element of Ottoman architecture called *şādirvān* (*şadırvan*) in Turkish, with an internal unit that operates as a reservoir, with an eight-sided polygon base of inlaid marble and multiple ablution (*wuḍū'*) units, each with individual taps, sinks and seats, that would have been different from the ablution pool in Moroccan mosques.[92] As he puts it, "indeed the vastness of this Istanbul is the masjid of Hagia Sophia".[93] By comparison, other mosques in the city are given much less attention and are often compared to Hagia Sophia. He concludes his brief survey of the Istanbul mosques by simply saying that there are innumerable masjids in Istanbul and quotes from the register of Süleyman Efendi, the treasurer (*defterdār*), according to whom there were more than 270 mosques in which the Friday sermons were delivered.[94]

In fact, the description of Hagia Sofia and the other imperial mosques constitutes the majority of the section on the "Conquest of Istanbul", which is followed by one on the "History of the Ottomans" that draws, just as al-Miknāsī's does, on al-Qaramānī's History.[95] Al-Zayyānī's assessment is even more positive, indeed enthusiastic: "The Ottomans are one of the greatest rulers in the world in regard to magnificence, majesty, strength, power and their monuments".[96] In his chronicle *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, when he briefly discusses Ottoman practices, al-Zayyānī mentions the practice of fratricide and argues that it is useful in preventing strife among claimants

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[91] Like al-Miknāsī, he also provides accurate measurements and tells us that the length of its dome from the door to the *mihrāb* is 325 steps, according to his own measurements. He also tells us that the space between two columns measures 130 steps; Ibid., p.114

[92] "[The foundation is] surrounded with many pipes/ducts for ablution (*wuḍū'*) and drink encircled with marble seats for those who perform ablution. Whoever wants to take ablution or drink [water], he would turn the handle of the pipes [faucet] to meet his needs. Once he finishes, he would turn back the handle and then the water is cut off"; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 115.

[93] Ibid., p. 127.

[94] Ibid., p. 116. For instance, he describes Sultan Mehmed II's Fatih mosque as: "the most similar mosque to Hagia Sophia in shape, being entirely made of marble, with a single dome and no upper floor". Of the Süleymaniye Mosque, he writes: "and the Süleymaniye is smaller than Hagia Sophia in size and design"; Ibid., p. 115. Similarly, al-Tamagrūtī also had considered that Hagia Sophia "was stronger and on a grander scale than the Süleymaniye Mosque"; al-Tamagrūtī, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*, p. 116. However, he had judged the Süleymaniye superior to Hagia Sophia in its spiritual and aesthetic aspects as well (see Chapter 1).

[95] This short, two-page section focuses on the foundation of the empire, on Osman Bey and his victories, and ends with a short paragraph on the conquest of Istanbul; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 129.

[96] Ibid., p. 127.

to the throne.[97] But as a further example of al-Zayyānī's tendency to digress, the topic of the "the greatness (ḍikhāma) of the Turkish State in *al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*" leads to one on the "greatness (ḍikhāma) of the Arab State/State of the Arab (*dawlat al-ʿArab*) from the region of Iraq, which is the centre of the world, superior and the fairest -, in other words, the Abbasid state.[98] The reason behind this particular digression is unclear – is it designed to highlight an Arab dynasty in juxtaposition to the Ottoman Turkish one, or to glorify the Ottomans as on a par with the Abbasids? Al-Zayyānī returns to the subject of Ottoman rule in yet another section on the seven climes, in which he briefly discusses India and Persia before enumerating the cities and regions under Ottoman rule and those that were *not* under Ottoman rule or those, like Yemen, that were only briefly so. Interestingly, he points out that the Yemenite rulers (imams) were also *shurafāʾ* (descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad) who announce their names as rulers during the Friday prayer sermon (*khuṭba*) like the Moroccan Sultans.[99]

As already mentioned, al-Zayyānī returned to Istanbul for just over a month in a private capacity in 1208/1793-94 and wrote briefly about his visit in both *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* and *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*. In both works, he focuses largely on personal encounters enabled by his past acquaintance "al-Agha", who helped him meet other mid-level officials. [100]

Comparing al-Zayyānī's narrative of his visits to Istanbul with those of al-Tamagrūtī and al-Miknāsī, we find that he largely follows his predecessors in terms of topics, merely adding further details or personal notes. Where he does deviate is in the detail of encounters and conversations with a greater number of Ottoman officials than the other two, thereby conveying a deeper sense of familiarity in the strange capital.

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[97] "They [Ottoman sultans] marry whenever they wish to marry. And when their offspring grow and the number of the sultan's children increases, chaos among each other augments. This caused the war between them until Sultan Muḥammad conquered Istanbul"; al-Zayyānī, *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, p. 464.

[98] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 117.

[99] Ibid., pp. 355-356.

[100] When al-Zayyānī visited Istanbul for the second time in 1208/ 1793-94, eight years after his first journey, he stayed in the house of his "old friend" al-Agha, the *mihmandār* or host whom he had met in his first visit. Al-Zayyānī mentions that he found that the Agha was now the *amīr* of Sanjak this time, whereas previously he had led "the whole the army" [he means the *aġa* of the Janissaries], nearly four thousand soldiers; Ibid., pp. 167-168.

4. "When I met the Sultan"

Almost a third of al-Zayyānī's section on Istanbul in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* is devoted to meeting Sultan Abdülhamid I, in a separate section entitled "The author with the Sultan". Al-Zayyānī praises him as "one of the righteous (*min al-ṣāliḥīn*), who endeavours to do righteous deeds, loves good and religious people".[101] In this section, al-Zayyānī *repeats* the narrative of his first arrival to Istanbul, including his warm reception by the Ottoman chamberlains, and the vizier's invitation, and also adds new details before proceeding to a lengthy description of the protocol involved in meeting the Sultan. Although he may have made notes at the time, the account of the meeting was actually redacted in *al-Tarjumā al-kubrā* a quarter of a century later.[102]

Just why does al-Zayyānī devote so much space to this meeting, even the generic small talk with the high officials, and the ceremony, and why does al-Zayyānī enjoy the ceremony so much, while others found it unbearably formal? I argue that in this section, we see al-Zayyānī trying to emphasise in every possible way the very particular intimacy and regard bestowed upon him, whether through smalltalk, or the privilege granted to kiss the Sultan's hands, or the letter in which the Sultan ostensibly acknowledged al-Zayyānī's mission as the most successful ever, as we shall see.

As we have seen, the Sultan was surrounded by impenetrable barriers and the ceremony to meet him involved complex protocol. As such, foreign envoys to the Ottoman court often expressed their distaste at the long protocol-heavy ceremonies.[103] By contrast, al-Zayyānī's description indulges in a profusion of visual and sensory details. He describes the spaces, the rooms, passages, and halls, the rituals and, as the epigraph to the chapter already showed, the exchanges with the dignitaries and with the Sultan himself. This makes this section one of the most immersive of the book.

Al-Zayyānī had to wait a month before being received in the presence of Abdülhamid I, since, as mentioned, the Sultan only had audiences with foreign envoys

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[101] Ibid., p. 121. The meeting takes up 8 ½ pages out of 28 in total, compared to 2 pages out of 40 in al-Miknāsī's account (see Chapter 2).

[102] In the course of the audience, Sultan Abdülhamid introduced his two sons, Mustafa and Mahmud to al-Zayyānī, and immediately after Mahmud's name al-Zayyānī notes that "and he is the sultan in our day, which is the year 1226 [1811-1812]"; al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p.125.

[103] The reception of foreign envoys in the Ottoman court differed from period to period. Until the mid-nineteenth century the Sultan was not easily accessible, and envoys were supposed to follow strict protocol rules in order to reach him. These diplomatic receptions exhibited the strength and power of the empire, and the longer an envoy was kept? waiting for the meeting with the sultan the more the Ottoman ruler's authority was reinforced. For details on rituals and ceremonies of Ottoman receptions for ambassadors and statesmen, see Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman* Sovereignty, pp. 66-71.

on *Dīvān* days, which corresponded with festivals like *Eid al-fitr* (the annual feast breaking the fast of Ramadan), *Eid al-adha* (feast of sacrifice) and the *mawlid* (festival of the Birth of the Prophet) or to the distribution of the soldiers' salaries once every three months (see Chapter 2). [104] In his account, al-Zayyānī does not hide his astonishment at the rules of protocol for receiving visitors, and strives to detail the complex reception practices. As we shall see, his descriptive narrative of the protocol follows al-Miknāsī's while also using his own experience to explain the positions and roles within the Ottoman system. Where al-Zayyānī deviates from al-Miknāsī is in the extraordinary description of his meeting with the Sultan.

As we saw in al-Miknāsī's description, the protocol for gaining an official audience consisted of a whole sequence of stages and meetings that culminated at the very end in contact with the Sultan. Al-Zayyānī reports this complex sequence in great detail, polite smalltalk included. First, he and his companions met the grand vizier at his home and were taken to the sultan's palace. [105] When they reached the third gate, *Bābüʾs-Saʿāde* (Gate of Felicity), the Moroccan delegation was welcomed and accompanied to the third court where the sultan's residence is. From there, another gatekeeper led the mission through the "marble stairs" to another chamber where the *kızlar ağası* (the chief eunuch) at the top who, as al-Zayyānī explains, was "the head of the servants". [106] The *kızlar ağası* and a group of his servants standing behind him greeted and embraced al-Zayyānī and his companions with much ceremonial fanfare. Then the eunuch took them into another domed room, where they were served coffee and food, and from there they were entertained by the harem eunuch who made polite conversation: as al-Zayyānī notes, he "sat down in front of us and asked about our

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[104] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 119. Although he does not explicitly say so, the fact that al-Zayyānī opened the section with how the Sultan distributed military salaries, just before he related his meeting with the sultan, suggests that his meeting fell on such a day and that he was able to observe the ceremony; Ibid., pp. 120-123.

[105] Whereas al-Tamagrūtī and al-Miknāsī use Turkish terms, al-Zayyānī tends to use Arabic ones at times, and for example calls the Topkapı a "castle" (*qalʾa*); Ibid.*,* p. 119.

[106] Ibid., p. 123. As al-Zayyānī explains, the *kızlar ağası* also known as *Dārüʾs-Saʿāde ağası*, was the chief eunuch of the imperial Harem. Indeed, the Topkapı Palace housed two separate corps of eunuchs; the *Dārüʾs-Saʿāde ağası* who controlled the harem and the eunuchs who served at the threshold of the third court The eunuchs were also responsible for the interior of the whole Court, and they played important roles in regulating the ceremonies of ambassador/foreign visitor receptions; Jane Hathaway, "Ḥabeşī Meḥmed Agha: The First Chief Harem Eunuch (Darüssaade Ağasi) of the Ottoman Empire", in *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*, Asad Q. Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi, and Michael Bonner (eds.), Leiden: Brill, p. 181. Also, Henning Sievert, "Favouritism at the Ottoman court in the eighteenth century", in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung (eds.), London-New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 276.

journey, country and the sultan until an hour had passed".[107] The eunuch then took them to another chamber where al-Zayyānī and his mission were introduced to the Sultan's personal dragoman (*tarjumān al-sulṭān al-khāṣ*). As he was taken from room to room inside the Topkapı palace, al-Zayyānī was particularly impressed by the sheer number of domes.[108] Inside the "hammam" he mentions the *"streams and gurgles"* and was amazed by the construction of its windows, "over a mould framed with lead and tin plating; the sunlight comes but it is impermeable to rain and snow."[109] Through his description one can almost visualise the hammam, and he offers specific architectural details, for example describing the hexagonal or octagonal roof lantern situated at the top of dome and decorated with star-shaped windows, which allowed light to enter during the day.[110]

As already hinted, in addition to a description of these spaces, al-Zayyānī relates in full his conversations with Ottoman officials. For example, after they exchanged greetings, the eunuch asked, via the Ottoman Sultan's private dragoman, after Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad's health:

> He [the eunuch] asked the dragoman to 'tell Efendi [al-Zayyānī] that the Sultan is greeting you and is grateful that you are safe and sound and he, furthermore, asks you: "How is my brother Sīdī Muḥammad and his children? How many children does he have?"' "And when I had answered the question, he [the dragoman] directed it [al-Zayyānī's answer] to him.

> (Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 123)

The eunuch then asked, again through the dragoman, "What is the distance between us and his [al-Zayyānī's] country by land and by sea, and is his country similar to ours or better? Is it greater than ours? What is the width and length of it? What is the distance between your country and Sudan?"[111] And after receiving an answer, the eunuch turned again to the dragoman and asked, "how old is Sīdī Muḥammad?". When al- Zayyānī replied, the eunuch told the dragoman: "'Tell him that my age and his [Sīdī

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[107] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 123.
[108] E.g., Ibid., p. 124.
[109] Ibid.
[110] For detailed information on the architectural characteristics of lighting lanterns, windows and light cupolas in hammams' domes see, Kader Reyhan, *Architectural Characteristics and Construction Techniques of Domes in a Group of Ottoman Bath*s, PhD Thesis, Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences of Izmir, Institute of Technology, Izmir, 2011, pp. 106-108.
[111] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 123.

Muḥammad's age] are the same."[112] Since the eunuch was likely in possession of this information, it is likely that it was polite smalltalk, but al-Zayyānī's inclusion of it in his narrative creates a sense of closeness and of his own importance.

When, after praying, al-Zayyānī and his retinue, who were dressed in their burnouses, were given royal robes of honour (*khilʿat*),[113] al-Zayyānī is once again at pains to underline his special status: while "the Ottoman officials brought caftans for our members and clothed us, [they gave me] fur (*kurk*) and put shawls on my head".[114]

As the epigraph to this chapter already demonstrated, al-Zayyānī's description of his encounter with the Sultan highlights how he was able to cross the lines of protocol, acting according to "our [Moroccan] customs", and enjoy a direct and close exchange with the sovereign:

> Then they walked away with us towards the sultan, whilst the *Silahdār* (palace sword bearer) and the dragoman put their hands on our shoulders, as is their custom. When we met with him and were close to him, they all stopped. I attempted to greet him according to our custom with our sultan, [i.e.] when we came close to him, we kissed the ground, which is considered a prostration (*sujūd*) of gratitude. As I bowed down, they wanted to prevent me [from doing so], but he [Sultan Abdülhamid I] motioned them to let me.

> (Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 125)[115]

In al-Zayyānī's account, the Sultan actually appears pleased by this breach of protocol and initiates a friendly conversation, in the course of which the questions of the relative titles and status of the two monarchs and their friendly relationship in the face of the European (Russian) Christian threat are raised. After al-Zayyānī acknowledges the Ottoman Sultan's high – though not equal – status as *amīr al-muslimīn* (Commander of the Muslims) and *khalīfa sayyid al-mursalīn* (Successor to the lord of the prophets), Abdülhamid I reciprocates by referencing Sīdī Muḥammad's Sharifian ancestry. Abdülhamid I also emphasises the religious brotherhood between the Ottoman and

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[112] Ibid., p. 124.
[113] Burnouses are North African wooden robes with hoods.
[114] Similar to al-Miknāsī, after being interviewed by the eunuch, al-Zayyānī and his retinue were taken to a dining table, where they ate a meal followed by desserts and coffee. Afterwards, the eunuch took al-Zayyānī and the dragoman to afternoon prayer through a small door from where they could see the Sultan, and informed al-Zayyānī that this was the place where the interview would take place with the sultan, Ibid., p. 124.
[115] As we saw in Chapter 2, guards carrying ambassadors/visitors under their arms into the sultan's presence was the Ottoman custom; see also Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, pp. 67-71.

Moroccan Sultans in the face of the Russian unbelievers, something that al-Zayyānī is happy to confirm:

> 'I ask for his [Sīdī Muḥammad's] prayers that Allah will make us victorious against this infidel enemy [Russians], who detracts us from our religion, and wants to extinguish the light (*nūr*) of Allāh'. The dragoman translated this to us, and I said to him: 'undoubtedly all of the Muslims are looking for your triumph and pray for you, indeed may you by the grace of God be victorious over the enemy of God'.
>
> (Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* p. 125)

Al-Zayyānī goes the furthest of the three Moroccan travellers in his praise of the Ottoman Sultan. As we have seen, al-Zayyānī calls Sultan Abdülhamid "one of the righteous (*min al-ṣāliḥīn*), who endeavours to do righteous deeds, loves good and religious people".[116] While his account is similar to al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, his prolonged exchange with the Sultan casts a positive light on both the author and the Sultan, who appears gracious and speaks courteously of al-Zayyānī's patron. Indeed, his very "brotherhood" with Siḍī Muḥammad is emphasised. El Moudden has argued that al-Zayyānī uses the terms of highest respect for Sultan Abdülhamid as a "righteous ruler" and recognizes him as "the most prominent ruler among Muslims", but, in fact, as we have seen, al-Zayyānī is careful to maintain the difference in status as *amīr al-muslimīn* (Commander of the Muslims) and *khalīfa sayyid al-mursalīn* (Successor to the lord of the prophets), yet not *amīr al-muʾminīn*.[117]

5. Maghribi, Berber, Arab and Rumi

El Mansour has underlined the positioning of al-Zayyānī's identity as a Berber in the Maghrib and a Maghribi Arab in Ottoman Istanbul.[118] Does this mean that al-Zayyānī shared al-Tamagrūtī's and al-Miknāsī's criticism of the Ottomans? As we have seen, he was more effusive in his admiration and boasted of his close relations with officials, indeed with the very Sultan himself. His views on the Arab-Rumi tension, particularly among the *ʿulamāʾ*, are less overt. Fred Donner notes that "compilers seldom offer an

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[116] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 121.
[117] El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", p. 256.
[118] El Mansour, "The Makhzan's Berber", pp. 73-74.

explicit declaration of their own viewpoint" or "almost never speak with one voice", and he suggests that although it is difficult to comprehend the intention of the authors, it is their strategies of "selection, placement, repetition and manipulation" that enable us to grasp their "religious and political agenda".[119] In the case of al-Zayyānī, this is most evident in his indirect inclusion of a petition by Arab jurists in Istanbul, by means of an anecdote that crops up in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* during a discussion on the importance of keeping written records. The anecdote is narrated in a separate section entitled "the Arab jurists' demand to the Ottoman state".[120]

The anecdote is as follows: during his first visit to Istanbul in 1200/1786, the Tunisian scholar Aḥmad al-Numaylī told al-Zayyānī that, in the office of the Ottoman *Şeyhülislām*, he had seen a complaint petition submitted by the "Arab jurists" in Istanbul to the Grand vizier and Shaykh al-Islam. Al-Zayyānī proceeds to quote the petition (*ʿarżuḥāl*) in full, ostensibly as an example of a written petition registered, recorded, and answered in writing. The Arab jurists had come together to write in protest against the ethnic discrimination against non-Arab (Rumi?) scholars in Ottoman empire, as a result of which they could not obtain high positions.

The petition starts by reminding the Grand vizier and Shaykh al-Islam that God had chosen the Prophet Muḥammad "among all others – both human and Jinn, black and white, Arabs and non-Arabs (*ʿajamuhum*)". After his reign, his successors [the four Caliphs] and then Arab rulers [the ʿUmayyads and Abbasids] had carried the Prophet's inheritance and spread Islam to the furthest lands and treated non-Arab Muslim subjects unselfishly by sharing administrative and judicial positions with them, regardless of their ethnic origin or colour.[121] When power had come into the hands of the non-Arabs, the *ʿajami*, however, they had demoted the Arabs from their ranks, and degraded and humiliated them. In fact, "if they had found a way, they would have even snatched the knowledge (*ʿilm*) from their hearts"[122]. The petition ended by

[119] Donner, "ʿUthmān and the Rāshidūn Caliphs", pp. 46-47.
[120] Al-Zayyānī records that he took the copy of this petition, which dated back to the year of 1151/1738, from a register (*defter*); al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* pp.361-362. Since al-Zayyānī relates that he had accessed a *defter* / register, I pursued a research in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul in order to cross-check this petition mentioned by al-Zayyānī. Since he refers to the text as a petition, *Mühimme Defter* series (Registers of Important Affairs) was my first stop, where the copies of statements for petitions, decisions taken in the imperial council (*dīvān*) in Istanbul, and decrees were kept. I carefully examined the volumes of 145 and 146, which take up the years of 1150-1152 (1737-1740). However, I have not come across any record regarding this complaint and petition.
[121] Ibid., p. 361.
[122] Ibid.

demanding a response to this situation in accordance with the *sharia*.[123] Here al-Zayyānī interrupts the text and explains:

> When the vizier read the petition, he summoned the judges and the head of the *ʿulamāʾ* and informed them about the content of the petition. They said, 'we will reply to you tomorrow'. Then the *majlis* (council) left. The judges (*al-quḍāt*) and jurists (*al-fuqahāʾ*) gathered around the *muftī* [*Şeyhülislām*] to [discuss the] response. They agreed upon [a response] and wrote it register under the petition.
>
> (Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 361)

He then quotes the response, according to which non-Arab *ʿajami* rulers had taken over when the Arab rulers had become too weak, had continued to spread the message of Islam and to defend Muslims from enemies and threats, and that the Arab *ʿulamā*' should therefore be content with whatever they had.[124]

In light of Donner's argument, although al-Zayyānī does not express a clear view here but chooses to remain silent, the very fact that he quotes this petition counts as a "strategy of compilation/citation" and suggests that he shared the grievances of the Arab *fuqahāʾ*. In fact, a few pages before he copied this petition, al-Zayyānī explicitly mentions that before he travelled, when he was in Morocco he used to disregard and deny the existence of the "*shuʿūbīyya* community, who preferred *al-ʿajam* (non-Arabs) over the Arabs".[125] But after observing the attitudes of the Ottomans he had to conclude that, "The Turks despise the *jins* of Arab as much as they are generous with strangers (*ghurabāʾ*), the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), and the *ʿulamāʾ*".[126]

Al-Zayyānī's inclusion of the petition by the Arab jurists in Istanbul shows that he was aware of the ongoing debates between the Arab, and particularly Damascene,

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[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid., p. 362.
[125] Ibid., p. 356. The *Shuʿūbīyya* is known as a movement among Non-Arab (usually the Persian-speaking administrative class in the Abbasid Caliphate, but also refers to other non-Arab speaking groups) officials and elites who claimed that non-Arabs were superior to the Arabs; the movement reached its height in the eighth-nineth centuries; see H.T. Norris, "Shuʿūbiyyah in Arabic Literature", in *Abbasid Belles Lettres,* Julia Ashtiany, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 31–47.
[126] The full quote reads: "The Turks despise the Arabs as much as they are generous with strangers, the *ahl al-bayt*, and scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). A while ago I used to judge and deny the *shuʾbiyya* community who preferred foreigners over Arabs. But when I became familiar with the Turks and observed their traits, I realized that most of them share this hatred. And since their numbers are significant, whereas earlier in Morocco I had heard that the *shuʾbiyya* were a minority and I had disregarded their presence, I now decided to dismiss what I had heard in Morocco"; al-Zayyānī*, al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 356.

'ulamā' and the Ottoman state. Read together with the other statement, it may also be interpreted as a muted criticism of the Ottoman state for withholding opportunities from non-Turkish scholars to rise through the *ilmiyye* hierarchy. Interestingly, when an Ottoman official asked al-Zayyānī whether he was a *sharif,* he had replied no, that he was a Berber.[127] His observation of the discrimination against Arab *'ulamā'* in the Ottoman empire may have resonated with what he had likely witnessed in Fes - the Arab *'ulamā'* claiming *sharif* lineage in Fes, exercised over Berbers like him.

Elsewhere in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, al-Zayyānī muses over the cultural differences between Arabs (and particularly Maghribis) and Ottoman Turks. "They" – by which he meant the Ottomans – "are elegant people who do not ride mules, particularly statesmen, dignitaries, merchants. Even when come to the bazaar, they ride horses, just as the people of desert would ride sheep, mule and cattle". This led to a further set of differences that reproduces the charge against the Ottoman Turks as sophisticated and worldly:

> The temperament of the Arabs does not fit with that of the Turks in every way. We, people of the West (*ahl al-Gharb*), are rough and austere peasants. We do not eat the thin and soft food of the Turks. We need couscous, meat and the coarse food to which we are accustomed (…)

> (Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 172)

Earlier on, al-Zayyānī had drawn a similar comparison between sophisticated Ottomans and simple Maghribis: "We, people of Morocco, are peasants. We do not know this [*kurk,* fur] and the like. When these *kurks* come among the presents of the kings of the Mashriq or Istanbul to the Moroccan sultan, he gives them to navy captains or artillery officers".[128]

Al-Zayyānī's attitude to, and assessment of, the Ottomans is therefore complex. He admires the richness of Istanbul and the splendour of Ottoman courtly protocol, boasts of his familiarity with Ottoman officials and of the good impression he had made upon the Sultan, but does not forget the unequal treatment of Arab

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[127] Quoted from *al-Tarjumān al-Muʾrib,* in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Histories Des Chorfa: Essai Sur La Littérature Historique Et Biographique Au Maroc Du XVI e Au X e siècles*, Paris: Emile Larose, 1922, p. 144.
[128] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 156.

scholars within the Ottoman domain, or the more general cultural differences between the sophisticated and worldly Ottomans and the "peasant" Maghribis.

Conclusion

Istanbul played an important role in al-Zayyānī's chequered career, which is perhaps why he, as a historian, decided to write about it as part of a *riḥla*, emphasising his personal experiences and successes – even though, in reality, he drew much of his material from his predecessor al-Miknāsī. Like the earlier travellers from the Maghrib, al-Zayyānī admired the Ottoman capital and praised Ottoman state and urban management, thereby implicitly setting it up as a model for the Moroccan Makhzan. In this respect, too, we can read his account in terms of continuity with the other travelogues. His warm praise for the Ottoman Sultan also echoes the earlier distinction between the Moroccan Sultan as the *amīr al-muʾminīn* and the Ottoman Sultan as (only) *amīr al-muslimīn* – even if, compared to the other accounts, the friendship between the two countries finds greater emphasis here.

In terms of familiarity, alterity, and identity, al-Zayyānī appears more at ease in Istanbul than al-Tamagrūtī and is eager to underline his greater access to, and success with, Ottoman officials than al-Miknāsī. As El Mansour has already argued, he was a Berber in Morocco and an Arab in Istanbul – though in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* both identities appear. Al-Zayyānī's identity as a Berber, surfaces in his *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* in his account of the geography and history of Morocco, although in terms of cultural comparison he tends to follow the more general juxtaposition of Turks and Arabs.

In thematic and stylistic terms, al-Zayyānī's *riḥla* largely adheres to those of his Moroccan predecessors, and he could build upon an already acquired familiarity with the city of Istanbul and its monuments: accordingly, his descriptions edit and leave out certain parts or monuments, while instead adding details and touches that make his *riḥla* more of an "ego-document".

Conclusions

The historian, André Miquel, notes that, in the military memories of early Muslims who besieged it by land and sea, Byzantium (i.e. Constantinople) was a city of "land and water". Yet the information they provided was often vague and inaccurate, describing Constantinople not as a city but as an image of danger and inaccessibility. This view of danger and inaccessibility found expression in the single, stable image, "the Bosporus/Strait".[1] Further, according to Miquel, medieval Arab geographers represented Constantinople through *monument, institution* and *history*. That is, the city was seen as *monument,* including primarily its "churches", the royal palace, and the Hippodrome, with a focus predominantly on the grandiosity and wealth generously displayed. Constantinople was also viewed as an *institution*, an idea captured and transmitted via the manifestation of the emperor and patriarch's authority rather than 'facts' about the actual distribution and exercise of state power, which were otherwise well-known.[2] Rather, the emperor's power was represented through a set of ceremonial codes in which he appeared flanked by the central administrators. Finally, for medieval Arab geographers, Constantinople was a *history,* the heir to the Greek and Roman empires and the city that had first brought trouble to Islam. Constantinople was portrayed almost without any natural features, no plants or animals other than the horses, Miquel notes, except for the horses in the Hippodrome, equestrian statues and the mules of the imperial post.[3]

As a result, Miquel concludes, Constantinople became "literature", "power" and a "mirror". It became *literature*, for Arab men of letters quickly drew up an *adab* vision of Byzantium that transmitted select images and knowledge about the capital city from one author to the next. As a result, even geographers in the tenth century CE who could have relied upon first-hand observations did not deviate from the Constantinople

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[1] André Miquel, "Constantinople: une ville sans visage", in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome (Moyen-Age, Temps modernes)*, Vol. 96, No. 1, 1984, pp. 397-403. I benefitted from the Turkish translation of this work, for the Turkish translation of the article: André Miquel, *Arap Coğrafyacıların Gözünden 1000 Yılında İslam Dünyası ve Yabancı Diyarlar* (Ali Berktay, tr.), Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003, pp. 71-77.
[2] André Miquel, "Constantinople", p. 400.
[3] Ibid., p. 402.

prefigured in the *adab* tradition. Crucial to that vision were the many confrontations, attacks and sieges by both land and sea between the Byzantines and the first Umayyads and later the Fatimids culminating in a Byzantine victory at the end of the tenth century, enshrining Constantinople as the most powerful of enemies. The first observations about Byzantine Constantinople by Arab envoys or captives returning to the Islamic realms focused on its military defences -walls, bastions and the shipyard. In the eye of medieval Arab voyagers, Constantinople took on the image of a 'horrendous state'.[4] At the same time, other than its Christian church, the state apparatus of Byzantium mirrored for them that of the Abbasid state.

If we conceive of these early Arabic *adab* representations of Constantinople by geographers, historians, and travellers as constituting a "prefiguration" for later writers, how do the travelogues of Moroccan envoys al-Tamagrūtī in the sixteenth, and al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī in the eighteenth centuries, i.e. written between half and almost a millennium later and after Constantinople had become Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman empire, compare? My reading partly supports Miquel's, and it is striking that so many of the basic elements of the description of Constantinople/Istanbul in terms of *monument* and *institution* remain so stable until the eighteenth century, offering an example of what Nünning calls "prefiguration". Maghribi envoys may write about court ceremonies and state systems as part of knowledge transfer, but they also write admiringly about mosques, monumental bazaars and mosque libraries. We also find traces of the early Arab writers' view of Constantinople as a threat in our three travellers' awestruck description of its bastions and the enumeration of the types of ships in its harbour, as if they constituted an imminent danger. In this respect, our three Moroccan travellers very much appear part of the enduring Arabic tradition of writing about the city, although this "conservatism" could also be interpreted as a result of their comparative distance and isolation in the intervening centuries. By contrast, they do not write about women and social life in general (unlike their European contemporaries), and we find no condemnation of coffee drinking or tobacco consumption, that we might expect from stricter Maliki visitors. Nor do they refer to printing or other innovations (apart perhaps al-Zayyānī, who mentions his visit to a paper factory, See Chapter 3).

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[4] Miquel, "Constantinople", p. 402.

El Moudden has argued that earlier *riḥlas* like al-Tamagrūtī's reflect the mutual competition between the Moroccan and Ottoman rulers for the title of Caliph and the claim to be righteous rulers, whereas later travelogues from the eighteenth century were less invested in marking this difference and competition, since by then the Moroccan and Ottoman states had developed a paradigm of mutual assistance or *ukhuwwat* (fraternity). It is true that the tone of the two eighteenth-century travelogues changes when it comes to a political evaluation of the Ottoman Sultan. Whereas al-Tamagrūtī had sharply criticised the Sultan's extravagant lifestyle, seclusion and fratricidal succession, al-Zayyānī mentioned them in a neutral, even affirmative tone and praised the Sultan as a true defender of the faithful. Al-Miknāsī even composed a *qaṣīda* wishing the Sultan victory against the Russians. Nevertheless, I have shown that elements of alterity and competition also persist, and that, for example, the Ottoman Sultan is never accorded the higher title of *amīr al-mu'minīn*.

Alterity, in fact, has been my key concern. "Travel writing", writes İrvin Cemil Schick, "is a technology, a discursive instrument through which identity is constructed and reconstructed, precisely because it relentlessly sets up oppositions between Self and Other, because it explicitly thematises the Other and thereby authorizes definitions of the Self".[5] This may be the reason why, although the two later, eighteenth-century travellers were more experienced and better-travelled, they still set up oppositions when it came to writing about Ottoman Istanbul, whether in terms of "their" ceremonies or festivities or the behaviour of "their" high rank officials. As we have seen, al-Miknāsī even used the same term, *'ajamī,* to connote Ottoman and European protocol that he perceives as similar, while both al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī explicitly mention Ottoman discrimination against *Arab 'ulamā*.

Comparing the Three Travelogues

This thesis has explored *al-Nafḥa al Miskiyya, Ihrāz al-mu'allā* and *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā,* through three main interconnected analytical lenses – of familiarity and alterity, the idea of righteous ruler, and the texts' strategies of compilation. What do we learn from comparing them?

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[5] Schick, "Self and Other", p.15.

To start from the third lens, only al-Tamagrūtī directly quotes his distinguished Moroccan predecessor Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (and mentions the Hippodrome), perhaps because, as far as we know, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was the only Maghribi travelogue to Istanbul available to him. In fact, al-Tamagrūtī's textual sources are mostly "local" and come from the Western Islamic world, i.e. the world familiar to him. This is underscored by the fact that he devotes more space to the travel to and from Istanbul, and particularly to North African cities, than to Istanbul itself: in fact, despite the fact that *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* is considered a *riḥla ṣifāriyya* or diplomatic travelogue, the section on Istanbul is actually quite short and accounts for only 1/9 of this work.

Al-Tamagrūtī's choice to rely less on his personal observations and more on the testimony of earlier writers enabled him, I argued, to describe the past and lost fortune of those cities and their notable pious men, which he contrasted the cities' present decay under Ottoman rule and constantly threatened by Christians.

Al-Tamagrūtī's *al-Nafḥa*, though probably the least well-known among the three texts, became in turn the new model that the two later eighteenth-century Moroccan travellers followed. Paying attention to the strategies of compilation and the acknowledged and unacknowledged citation in the three *riḥlas* shows that the later travellers drew more on one another than on earlier Arab or even Maghribi travellers. Al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* follows al-Tamagrūtī's blueprint throughout—from the approach to the city to the walls, from the markets to the mosques—and is a good example of prefiguration, though his text is more expansive, ornate and elegant than al-Tamagrūtī's. Paying attention to style can also be revealing: as we have seen in Chapter 1, al-Tamagrūtī's style in his *riḥla* was overall relatively impersonal and unadorned; yet the absence of *sajʿ* prose in his Istanbul section (other than when he describes Hagia Sophia, partly drawn from another's description of al-Aqṣā) contrasts with its abundant use in his description of the *mawlid* and Eid al-Fitr's ceremonies at Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's palace back in Marrakesh, as if thereby to temper any sense of awe or admiration for the Ottoman capital and court. By contrast, *sajʿ* is used more regularly in al-Miknāsī's eloquent text, regardless of where he visited or which topic he wrote about. This stylistic exuberance was part of his text's character as an "ego-document", in which the author's personal impressions and experiences were foregrounded in a cosmopolitan and self-assured fashion. Compared to al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī inserts himself more directly into the text, corroborating received information with personal observation of distances and dimensions, as well as

cautiously inserting his views and reflections on the Ottoman administrative system. Finally, al-Zayyānī's *riḥla* largely adheres to the blueprint of his predecessors and can build on the familiarity with the with the Ottoman capital and its monuments: its descriptions edit and leave out certain parts or monuments, while instead adding details and touches that make his *riḥla* more of an "ego-document". Al-Zayyānī's *riḥla* often digresses and includes long anecdotes about his personal meetings. By comparison with al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī quote Ottoman (al-Qaramānī, al-Nabulūsī) and more recent sources (indeed, contemporary authors). In this respect, they appear to come from a less distant frontier than I expected, more clued in and cosmopolitan in their outlook.

My comparative and focused approach has allowed me to show the direct continuities and unacknowledged debts between these texts and authors, thus showing that a close reading of *riḥlas* as texts has much to offer for the cultural and the literary historian. In their description of Istanbul, the three texts share more similarities than I expected, and as a result, al-Miknāsī's *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* is quite different from his more curious travelogues of Southern Europe.

As to familiarity and alterity, in the absence of self-reflective passages, I have drawn on the authors' choices of particular terms, their occasional comments and turns of phrase. In the case of al-Tamagrūtī, despite his praise for the city's monuments and bazaars, his strong sense of alterity (*ghurba*) from Ottoman society is evident in his comments on "strange" religious practices and "extravagant" and ostentation rituals at court such as the acts of courtiers who standing in front of the sultan with their hands clasped as if they were in the prayer during the council meeting. Contrastive demonstrative pronouns underline the difference between Ottoman and Maghribi practices. By contrast, al-Tamagrūtī's journey through North Africa is redolent with emotions and lament for the pre-Ottoman, "Arab" and Berber Almohad times when those were flourishing cities full of pious men.

Unlike al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī strikes the reader as a more confident and cosmopolitan traveller—he had after all crossed the Mediterranean several times by the time he arrived in Istanbul. Only when describing some of the ceremonies he witnessed in Istanbul does al-Miknāsī stress their strangeness and unfamiliarity, marking the difference between Maghribis and Ottomans and criticising the latter. As

I have shown, in the case of *mawlid* celebration in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, for example, al-Miknāsī commented on the fact that at the end of the ceremony, food and drinks were served only to the *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuqahāʾ* and that afterwards the drinking and eating vessels were smashed: "I condemn *their* practice of smashing the dishes and not honouring *their* guests; *they* did not invite [the guests] to any occasion that they held, nor did *they* send anything to them from it"—the repetition of the third person plural "they" is striking in this passage. "There are differences between them [the Turks] and the *jins* of the Arabs in every way, in words and in deeds", he added. "They do not come close to them [Arabs] in any circumstances, and if possible, they befriend only among with themselves. (Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā,* p.104). Al-Miknāsī's explicit criticism of Ottoman haughtiness, distance, and excessive worldliness echoes al-Tamagrūtī's, and as with the latter it appears towards the end of his Istanbul section, as if by way of conclusion. Both travellers emphasise that Turks are guilty of personal greed, excessive waste, avarice, love of the world (*dunyā*) and a fondness for luxury.

It is difficult to say whether these *riḥlas* reflect a more general increased familiarity with Ottoman society, though on the whole we know that many more people travelled to Istanbul in this period from Morocco even though they left no accounts. Only once do al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī mention meeting another Maghribi (person) in Istanbul, but they do not dwell or comment on this traffic or presence. Certainly al-Zayyānī's travelogue reveals greater familiarity with the city and its inhabitants. Al-Zayyānī appears more at ease in Istanbul than al-Tamagrūtī and is eager to underline his greater access to, and success with, Ottoman officials than al-Miknāsī. On occasion, his sense of being from a frontier emerges, as when he recuses praises for his knowledge by claiming that he is only an "utterly destitute, poor Berber".[6] As we saw, he underscored his position also by offering a full historical geography of Morocco at the beginning of his travelogue, and by providing information about it to his Ottoman interlocutors.

The three travelogues I examine in this this were written with their patrons in mind. While praising the Maghribi rulers as more righteous rulers than the Ottoman Sultans, indeed as the ideal rulers in the Islamic world, they also informed the Sharifian

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[6] Al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 105.

rulers in great detail about Ottoman structures and courtly protocols, which as we have seen took up much of their accounts of Istanbul. How the Ottoman Sultans managed to control their powerful *'ulamāʾ* through a system of ranks and central appointments could help the Maghribi rulers, too, counter the constant threat of the religious elites and the *'ulamāʾ* to their authority.

Miquel's argument that Constantinople is an *institution* and *mirror* also resonates in our texts. As we have seen, particularly al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī paid extensive attention to their ceremonial reception at the Sultan's palace (while al-Tamagrūtī was more reticent about it) and all three offered increased detail about the Ottoman administrative systems. While they do not indulge in direct comparisons, Miquel's argument about the *mirror* supports my view that such lengthy descriptions of ceremonies and systems were meant for comparison with, and emulation at home. This is particularly true with regard to the *'ilmiyye* system and the endowment of palace libraries. One example will suffice: both al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī were invited to witness the wedding ceremony of the Sultan's niece with an Ottoman high official. Both pointedly made use of the phrase "the greatness of the state" for what they witnessed. Could this be an implicit reflection on how such inter-marriage between the royal family and elite officials as a state-strengthening act could similarly prove useful in Morocco, where relations between the Sultan, the *'ulamā* and sharifian families often brought divisions and weakened the state? As I have argued, the great interest that two of the three travelogues show in Ottoman court ceremonies and the *'ilmiyye* system – painstakingly detailing the structure, grades, and pay of the various *'ulamā*, supports and extends the argument that historians like Fatima Harrak, Amira Bennison and Mercedes García-Arenal have made in passing, i.e. that the Moroccan state may have modelled its institutions on Ottoman ones through the information provided by the travelogues themselves.

At the same time, the Moroccan travelogues were careful to maintain the symbolic hierarchy between the Sharifian and Ottoman Sultans. I underscored al-Tamagrūtī's use of the terms *mamālik* and *mawālī* for the Ottoman rulers, which placed them on a lower rank than the Sharifian ruler of Morocco. Once again, a close reading of even a phrase or a term can help us formulate larger arguments about political discourse in and through the genre of the *riḥla*. When it comes to al-Miknāsī, he proudly reminded his readers that Sīdī Muḥammad was the *only* ruler in the Islamic world who rescued and provided for Muslim captives. In fact, as to the question of

relative status of the Moroccan and Ottoman as "righteous rulers", an interesting textual trace shows how slippery and fraught this symbolic political issue remained: one manuscript copy of *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā* uses for the Ottomans the dual term "great Sharifian rulers" (*al-amīrayn al-ʿaẓīmayn al-sharīfayn*). In another copy, however, the phrase was amended to "great, famous rulers" (*al-amīrayn al-ʿaẓīmayn al-shahīrayn*), signalling that the Ottoman sultan was *not* Sharifian.[7] Despite his warm praise for the Ottoman Sultan as "one of the righteous (*min al-ṣāliḥīn*), who endeavours to do righteous deeds, loves good and religious people" and the greater emphasis on the friendship between the two countries, al-Zayyānī also retained the distinction between the Moroccan Sultan as the *amīr al-muʾminīn* and the Ottoman Sultan as (only) *amīr al-muslimīn* and *khalīfa sayyid al-mursalīn* (Successor to the lord of the prophets).[89]

Both al-Tamagrūtī and al-Zayyānī comment negatively on the practice of seclusion by the Ottoman Sultan. Al-Tamagrūtī saw Sultan Murad III attend a courtly reception sitting high up behind a screen and noted that "in the presence of the sultan no one can sit down or speak, all stand respectfully with their hands clasped; placing one hand on the other as they were in the prayer". Nor does al-Tamagrūtī refer to the Sultan as a pious or righteous leader but rather calls him a mild-tempered ruler engaged only in his own amusement (*lahw*). As I note, al-Tamagrūtī's choice of the word "*lahw*", which in the Qur'an is generally used to describe a state of amusement, diversion or distraction (from the remembrance of God) is significant and echoes the Qurʾanic verse (29:64): "the life of this world is nothing but distraction and amusement".[10] Al-Miknāsī's criticism of the Sultan's seclusion is more direct and includes a sting at the materialistic greed of state officials overwhelmed by their *nafs*.

By contrast, al-Zayyānī went furthest of the three Moroccan travellers in his praise of the Ottoman Sultan, and almost a third of his section on Istanbul in *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā* is devoted to meeting Sultan Abdülhamid I. His extraordinary account of direct intercourse with the Sultan may have had as much to do with his rivalry with al-Miknāsī than with actual fact, but it shows al/Zayyānī waxing eloquently about the "brotherhood" between the Moroccan and Ottoman Sultans.

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[7] See Al-Miknāsī, *Iḥrāz al-muʿallā*, p. 49.
[8] El Moudden, "Sharifs and Padishahs", p. 256.
[9] Al-Zayyānī*, al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā*, p. 121.
[10] El Said M. Badawi and Muhammad Abdel Haleem*, Arabic-English Dictionary of Qurʾanic Usage*, Leiden: Brill, 2008, pp.853-854.

In the balance of power between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, there is no doubt that the Ottomans were the greater rulers, and that Istanbul was the centre of a huge empire. Yet especially al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī exude what Nabil Matar calls "self-assurance", not just individually as scholars, envoys and authors conveying accurate information, but also because on the whole they do not (yet) take a developmental approach to the Ottoman realm, e.g., they do not measure innovations in Istanbul against lesser developed smaller places in Anatolia that they visit. As we have seen, even in the face of the grand ceremonies at the court of the Ottoman Sultan, the Moroccan travellers were keen to temper admiration and emulation with consideration for the higher symbolic status of their own patrons. In this respect, we can read the *riḥlas* as texts that seek to i.e. try to re-balance actual power.

My contributions in this thesis:

In short, as I anticipated in the Introduction, I see my main contributions as following:
1. Rather than focusing on factual information and authenticity, my emphasis on representation has allowed me to analyse these travelogues in terms of their own conceptual frames and the values that they underlined, such as righteous rule or alterity.
2. As already mentioned, my comparative focus has allowed me to pinpoint very direct continuities between these texts and their intertextual strategies even when they go unmentioned. While the use of prefiguration is common in Arabic travelogues, my comparative angle has allowed me to appreciate even minor shifts and lexical choices and their implications.
3. While none of the authors actually make the point or suggest a direct comparison, the sheer textual space devoted by two of the three travelogues pay toward Ottoman court ceremonials, the *'ilmiyye* system and the structure, grades, and pay of the various *'ulamā'*, supports the argument that some historians have made in passing about the adoption of Ottoman institutions by that the Moroccan state. I venture to argue that when al-Manṣūr and Sīdī Muḥammad fdid adopt Ottoman forms of government, they did so on the basis of the information provided by travelogues such as those by al-Tamagrūtī, al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī.
4. Finally, my focus on the prism of alterity and familiarity has allowed me to confirm and sharpen El Moudden's argument about the Maghribis' identity, which included

admiration for the Ottoman capital, its wealth and splendid buildings, but also a critical sense of their own sometimes Maghribi, sometimes Arab, alterity.

Limitations

At the same time, I am aware that my thesis has encountered the following limitations"

1. It would he been good to find more texts to show direct continuities of contact between the Moroccans and the Ottomans, and I am aware of the gaps between the first and the other two travelogues, and also of their silence about their precise historical mission.

2. Are these really the only three accounts by Moroccan travellers to Istanbul, while other evidence shows that many more travellers did go there? I started out aiming for a broader survey of texts, but after I only found these three *riḥlas* I had to change my approach and opt for a more focused textual study and comparison.

3. I would have liked to obtain more travelogues which were still in the manuscript forms and considered to be lost, but I am aware that they often remain in the hands of the private families and are not documented or recorded in the general catalogues.

Further Research

As I completed this project, I became aware of further avenues of research that it opens:

1. It would be wonderful to find traces of these visits in the Ottoman archives. This would allow me to check the information they provide, but also perhaps to find out other contacts or encounters they had that they decided not to write about.

2. I was keenly aware that much work has been done on European travellers to the Ottoman capital, but I am now curious to find out more about Arab travellers from the provinces of the Empire to Istanbul in order to compare them with Maghribi accounts. This would help sharpen my understanding of relative familiarity and alterity among Muslims from different regions and of different religious orientations.

3. Al-Zayyānī's works are rich and complex, and his universal history *al-Tarjumān al-muʾrib,* and *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf,* a comparative history of the ʿAlawī dynasty with the Ottomans, both deserve further study. Interestingly, he writes about his travels to

Istanbul in both these books, and it would be useful to see what they add to his accounts discussed in this thesis.

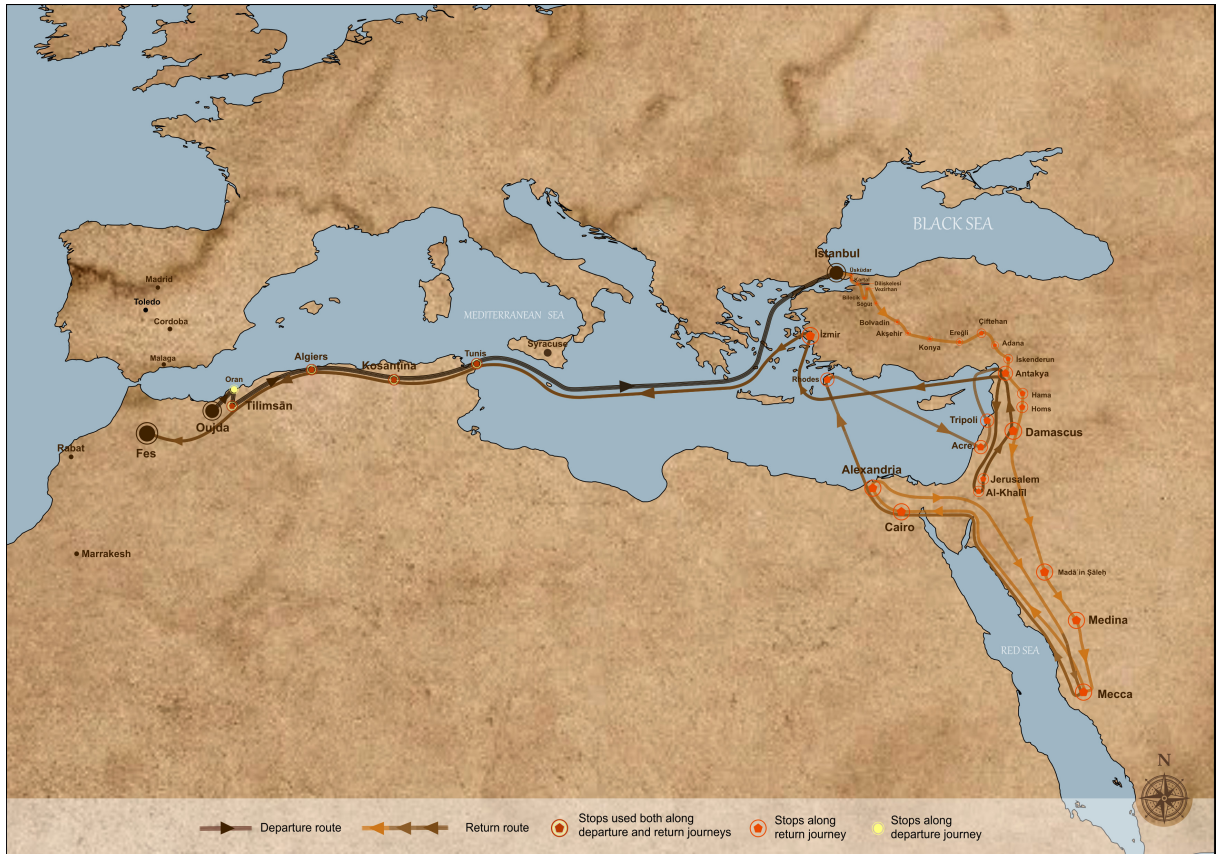# Appendix 1: Map of al-Tamagrūtī's Journey (in 997/1589)

Appendix 2: Map of al-Miknāsī's Journey (in 1200/1786-1787)

Appendix 3: Map of al-Zayyānī's Journey (in 1200/1786)

Appendix 4: Map of al-Zayyānī's Journey (in 1208/1793)

Appendix 5: Ottoman *'Ilmiyye* ranks according to al-Miknāsī and al-Zayyānī

Ranks	**Al-Miknāsī's records of monthly allowances**	**Al-Zayyānī' records of monthly allowances**
Şeyhülislām	2700 *kuruş* *Arpalik*: 1000-3000	2700 *kuruş*
Ḳāżī'asker of Rumelia	1000-2000 *kuruş* or less	2000 *kuruş*
Ḳāżī'asker of Anatolia	After removal: *Arpalik*: less than *Ḳāżī'asker* of Rumelia	1500 *kuruş*
Qadi of Istanbul	After removal: *Arpalik*: less than *Ḳāżī'asker* of Anatolia	1000 *kuruş*
Qadi of *Ḥaramayn*	After the removal: *Arpalik* from 500 *kuruş*	500 *kuruş*
Qadis of *Arbaʿa* (four districts)	Retirement: *Arpalik* from 300-400 *kuruş*	400 *kuruş*
Makhraj (Qadis of eight districts)	Retirement: *Arpalik* from 150-300 *kuruş*	-

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