



حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

دورية علمية محكمة تتضمن مجموعة من الرسائل وتعنى بنشر الموضوعات التي تدخل في مجالات اهتمام الأقسام العلمية لكليتي الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

نماذج الرحلات في رواية أمين معلوف: ليو الأفريقي

د. أنطوني جوهي

قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدابها - جامعة الكويت

١٤٢١ - ١٤٢٢ هـ
٢٠٠٠ - ٢٠٠١ م

الرسالة ١٦٣
الحولية الحادية والعشرون

مجلس النشر العلمي

جامعة الكويت

تأسس سنة ١٩٨٦

مجلة كلية الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية (١٩٧٩-١٩٧٣)، مجلة العلوم الاجتماعية ١٩٧٣، مجلة الكويت للعلوم والهندسة ١٩٧٤، مجلة دراسات الخليج والجزيرة العربية ١٩٧٥، لجنة التأليف والتعريب والنشر ١٩٧٦، مجلة الحقوق ١٩٧٧، حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية ١٩٨٠، المجلة العربية للعلوم الإنسانية ١٩٨١، مجلة الشريعة والدراسات الإسلامية ١٩٨٣، المجلة التربوية ١٩٨٣، مجلة الأسس والتطبيقات الطبية ١٩٨٨، المجلة العربية للعلوم الإدارية ١٩٩١

ثمن العدد

الكويت ٥٠٠ فلس	البحرين دينار واحد	قطر ١٠ ريالات
الإمارات ١٠ دراهم	السعودية ١٠ ريالات	عمان ريال واحد
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ليبيا ديناران	الجزائر ١٠ دنانير	تونس دينار واحد
المغرب ١٥ درهماً		

الاشتراك السنوي لعدد (١٢) رسالة

سنوات الاشتراك	نوع الاشتراك	الكويت	الدول العربية	الدول الأجنبية
سنة واحدة	أفراد	٤ دنانير	٦ دنانير	٢٢ دولاراً
	مؤسسات	٢٢ ديناراً	٢٢ ديناراً	٩٠ دولاراً
سنتان	أفراد	٧ دنانير	١٠ دنانير	٣٧ دولاراً
	مؤسسات	٣٧ ديناراً	٣٧ ديناراً	١٥٠ دولاراً
٣ سنوات	أفراد	١٠ دنانير	١٤ ديناراً	٥٢ دولاراً
	مؤسسات	٥٢ ديناراً	٥٢ ديناراً	٢١٠ دولارات
٤ سنوات	أفراد	١٣ ديناراً	١٨ ديناراً	٦٧ دولاراً
	مؤسسات	٦٧ ديناراً	٦٧ ديناراً	٢٧٠ دولاراً

جميع المراسلات الخاصة بشروط النشر أو أية استفسارات أخرى توجه إلى رئيس تحرير حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية - ص.ب: ١٧٣٧٠ الخالدية - الكويت: 72454 - ت: ٤٨١٠٣١٩ - فاكس ٤٨١٠٣١٩

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حوايات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

تصدر عن مجلس النشر العلمي - جامعة الكويت

دورية علمية محكمة تتضمن مجموعة من الرسائل
وتعنى بنشر الموضوعات التي تدخل في مجالات اهتمام
الأقسام العلمية لكليتي الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

الحوالية الحادية والعشرون

الرسالة الثالثة والستون بعد المئة

١٤٢٢ هـ - ٢٠٠١ م

هيئة التحرير

د. نسيمة راشد الغيث

رئيسة التحرير

■ أ. د. سمير محمد حسين

(قسم الإعلام).

■ د. عبدالرضا علي أسيري

(قسم العلوم السياسية).

■ د. عثمان حمود الخضر

(قسم علم النفس).

■ د. فهد عبدالرحمن الناصر

(قسم الاجتماع).

■ د. فيصل عبدالله الكندري

(قسم التاريخ).

■ د. ليلى حكمت المالح

(قسم اللغة الإنكليزية وآدابها).

■ أ. د. محمود سليمان ياقوت

(قسم اللغة العربية وآدابها).

■ أ. د. ميشيل حنا متياس

(قسم الفلسفة).

الهيئة الاستشارية

■ أ. د. أحمد عثمان

(قسم الدراسات اليونانية واللاتينية - جامعة القاهرة)

■ أ. د. إسماعيل صبري مقلد

(قسم العلوم السياسية - جامعة أسيوط)

■ أ. د. جيهان رشتي

(قسم الإذاعة والتلفزيون - جامعة القاهرة)

■ أ. د. حياة ناصر الحجي

(قسم التاريخ - جامعة الكويت)

■ أ. د. عبدالعزيز حمودة

(قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها - جامعة القاهرة)

■ أ. د. عز الدين إسماعيل

(قسم اللغة العربية وآدابها - جامعة عين شمس)

■ أ. د. محمد غانم الرميحي

(قسم الاجتماع - جامعة الكويت)

■ أ. د. محمد محمود إبراهيم الديب

(قسم الجغرافيا - جامعة عين شمس)

■ أ. د. محمود رجب

(قسم الفلسفة - جامعة القاهرة)

■ أ. د. محمود سيد أبو النيل

(قسم علم النفس - جامعة عين شمس)

■ أ. د. محمود فهمي حجازي

(قسم اللغة العربية وآدابها - جامعة القاهرة)

حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

- ١ - حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية دورية علمية محكمة تنشر مجموعة من الرسائل في الموضوعات المدرجة تحت اختصاص الأقسام العلمية بكليتي الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية.
- ٢ - تنشر الحوليات البحوث والدراسات الأصلية باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية، على ألا تتجاوز صفحات أي بحث ١٥٠ صفحة ولا يقل عن ٤٠ صفحة.
- ٣ - تقدم البحوث مطبوعة على مسافتين من ثلاث نسخ على ورق مقاس ٢٩ × ٢١ سم (A4) وعلى وجه واحد فقط وترقم جميع الصفحات بما في ذلك الجداول والصور التوضيحية، ويراعى التصحيح الدقيق للمطبوع في النسخ جميعها.
- ٤ - يرفق الباحث ملخصاً باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في حدود ٢٠٠ «مئتي» كلمة يتصدر البحث.
- ٥ - ترسم الخرائط والأشكال والرسوم بالحبر الصيني على ورق «شفاف» لتكون صالحة للطباعة. أما الصور الفوتوغرافية فتطبع على ورق لامع، وإذا كانت ملونة فلا بد من تقديم الشريحة الأصلية.
- ٦ - يراعى وضع خطوط متعرجة تحت العناوين الجانبية، والألفاظ والعبارات التي يراد طبوعها ببنط ثقل.
- ٧ - تكتب في قائمة المصادر التفاصيل المتعلقة بكل مصنف من حيث اسم المؤلف كاملاً مبتدأ باللقب أو الاسم الأخير، وعنوان المصنف تحت خط متعرج وذكر الأجزاء أو المجلدات واسم المحقق أو المترجم ورقم الطبعة، ومكان النشر ثم اسم المطبعة أو دار النشر، ثم سنة النشر، ويتبع في قائمة المصادر النظام الآتي:
- الطبري، أو جعفر محمد بن جرير.
- تاريخ الرسل والملوك، تحقيق محمد أبو الفضل إبراهيم، ط٣، مصر، دار المعارف، دت.
- جامع البيان في تأويل القرآن، تحقيق محمد محمود شاكر، ط٢، دار المعارف بمصر، دت.

- الشايب، أحمد، تاريخ النقائض في الشعر العربي، ط٣، القاهرة، مكتبة النهضة المصرية، ١٩٦٦.

٨ - تثبت الهوامش على النحو التالي:

يذكر لقب المؤلف ثم الجزء ثم رقم الصفحة، وإذا كان للمؤلف أكثر من مصنف في البحث فيذكر لقب المؤلف ثم عنوان المصنف، ثم يليه الجزء، ثم رقم الصفحة، ويتبع في الحواشي النظام الآتي:

- الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج٣، ص ٩١.

- الطبري، جامع البيان في تأويل القرآن، ج٢، ص ١٢٠.

- الشايب، ص ٤٠.

٩ - توضع أرقام التوثيق بين قوسين وترتب متسلسلة حتى نهاية البحث، فإذا انتهت أرقام التوثيق في الصفحة الأولى عند الرقم (٦) يبدأ التوثيق في الصفحة الثانية بالرقم (٧) وهكذا.

١٠ - أصول البحوث التي تصل للحواليات لا ترد ولا تسترجع سواء نشرت أم لم تنشر.

١١ - لا تقبل الحواليات البحوث التي سبق نشرها، كما لا يجوز نشر البحوث في مجلات علمية أخرى بعد إقرار نشرها في الحواليات إلا بعد الحصول على إذن كتابي بذلك من رئيس تحرير الحواليات.

١٢ - تمنح إدارة الحواليات لمؤلف كل بحث منشور ثلاثين نسخة مجانية من بحثه.

١٣ - ترسل البحوث وجميع المراسلات الخاصة بالحواليات إلى:

رئيسة تحرير حويات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

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نماذج الرحلات في رواية أمين معلوف: ليو الأفريقي

د. أنطوني جوهي
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها - جامعة الكويت

حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية - الحولية الحادية والعشرون - ١٤٢٢هـ - ٢٠٠١م

المؤلف:

د. أنطوني جوهي

أستاذ مساعد، قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها،
جامعة الكويت

الإنتاج العلمي:

- * شهادة الدكتوراه في الأدب المقارن - سنة ١٩٨٠، جامعة إسكس، المملكة المتحدة.
- * درس في إنجلترا، ألمانيا، غانا، تونس والكويت.
- * نشر المقالات في الولايات المتحدة، كندا، المملكة المتحدة، هولندا والكويت.
- * من مواضيع بحوثه: كولريديج، ديكنز، أرويل، سوفيت، سونيك، تروتسكي، زامياتن، دستويوفسكي، كافكا، توماس مان، غنتر غراس وأمين معلوف.

نماذج الرحلات في رواية أمين معلوف: ليو الأفريقي

ملخص

ليو الأفريقي هي الرواية الثانية لأمين معلوف، كتبت أصلاً باللغة الفرنسية تحت عنوان ليون الأفريقي ونشرت عام ١٩٨٦. تعتمد الرواية على حياة حسن الوزان، وهو رحالة عاش في أوائل القرن السادس عشر، حولها أمين معلوف إلى سرد روائي متخيل للسيرة الذاتية لهذا الرحالة.

أقوم في البداية بتحليل استخدام الكاتب لفن السيرة الذاتية وربطه بالرواية سواء الرئيسيين منهم أم الثانويين، كذلك بالمستمع المتخيل وقارئ الحكاية. بعد هذا أنتقل إلى تقفي المسار الجغرافي لرحلات الوزان ابتداءً بخروج المسلمين من غرناطة عام ١٤٩٢، وهجرته إلى المغرب ومن ثم رحلاته عبر جبال الأطلس والصحراء الكبرى حتى تيمبوكتو ومن هناك إلى مصر، تتلوها مهمته التي حملته إلى القسطنطينية، والحج إلى مكة المكرمة وإقامته المؤقتة في روما التي دامت ثمان سنوات.

تحدد رحلات الوزان تبعاً لنمط السفر الذي اتخذته والذي يتماشى مع جذوره الثقافية وتُصنّف كالتالي: الهجرة، وهي هجرة قسرية. الزيارة، وهي زيارات طوعية إلى الأضرحة المقدسة للأولياء المسلمين. الرحلة، وهي السفر لأغراض دبلوماسية أو تجارية أو تربوية. والحج، وهو الحج إلى مكة. هناك أنماط أخرى من السفر في الرواية يمكن أن تسمى «سفرًا عقابياً» كالطرد والنفي إضافةً إلى الاختطاف الذي يؤدي إلى العبودية وما يترتب على ذلك من إيقاف لعملية السفر والترحال.

أما على المستوى النظري فيمكن رؤية الرحلات هنا على أنها سلسلة من العلاقات النمطية المتغيرة مثل: الأنا والآخر، المركز والهامش، الوطن والجهة المقصودة، دار الإسلام ودار الكفر.

مَجَلَّةُ الشَّرِيعَةِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ

نُصْلَبَةُ عِلْمِيَّةٌ مَعْلُومَةٌ نَصْرًا عَنْ مَجْلِسِ النُّشْرِ الْعِلْمِيِّ بِعَاصِمَةِ الْكُوَيْتِ
تُعْنَى بِالْبَحْثِ وَالدراساتِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ

رئيس التحرير الأستاذ الدكتور: **عجیل جاسم النشیر**

صدر العدد الأول في رجب ١٤٠٤ هـ - أبريل ١٩٨٤ م

- ※ تهدف إلى معالجة المشكلات المعاصرة والقضايا المستجدة من وجهة نظر الشريعة الإسلامية.
- ※ تشمل موضوعاتها معظم علوم الشريعة الإسلامية: من تفسير، وحديث، وفقه، واقتصاد وتربية إسلامية، إلى غير ذلك من تقارير عن المؤتمرات، ومراجعة كتب شرعية معاصرة، وفتاوى شرعية، وتعليقات على قضايا علمية.
- ※ تنوع الباحثون فيها، فكانوا من أعضاء هيئة التدريس في مختلف الجامعات والكليات الإسلامية على رقعة العالمين: العربي والإسلامي.
- ※ تخضع البحوث المقدمة للمجلة إلى عملية فحص وتحكيم حسب الضوابط التي التزمت بها المجلة، ويقوم بها كبار العلماء والمختصين في الشريعة الإسلامية، بهدف الارتقاء بالبحث العلمي الإسلامي الذي يخدم الأمة، ويعمل على رفعة شأنها، نسأل المولى عز وجل مزيداً من التقدم والازدهار.

جميع المراسلات توجه باسم رئيس التحرير

ص ب ١٧٤٣٣ - الرمز البريدي ٢٢٤٥٥ الخالدية - الكويت هاتف ٤٨١٢٥٠٤ - فاكس: ٤٨١٠٤٣٤
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مركز دراسات الخليج والجزيرة العربية

جامعة الكويت

إنشاء المركز:

أنشئ مركز دراسات الخليج والجزيرة العربية كأحد مراكز البحوث والدراسات المتخصصة التي تعمل تحت مظلة جامعة الكويت - ومقره الرئيسي بجامعة الكويت - في ٢٩ فبراير ١٩٩٤م بقرار من وزير التربية والتعليم العالي والرئيس الأعلى للجامعة .

أهداف المركز:

- إبراز الخصوصية البنية للمنطقة الخليجية وإجراء البحوث والدراسات المسحية التي تستهدف التعرف على معيّنات البيئة ومواردها .
- متابعة قضايا التنمية بأبعادها الحضارية الشاملة وفي ضوء المتغيرات العالمية المتلاحقة .
- رصد مشكلات التحول الاجتماعي والثقافي المتسارع الذي تشهده المنطقة الخليجية في توجهاتها الإقليمية والعربية والإسلامية والعالمية .
- متابعة الأحداث الجارية بالتقصي والتحليل العلمي الدقيق .
- جمع الوثائق التاريخية والحديثة وكافة البيانات والمعلومات المتعلقة بالمنطقة الخليجية وبناء قاعدة راسخة لتسليّمتها تعين الدارسين والباحثين .
- اتسوع في النشر العلمي بمختلف صورته للبحوث والدراسات الخليجية والاهتمام بالترجمة .
- تحفيز الاهتمام بالدراسات الخليجية بتقديم المنح الدراسية وإقامة المسابقات والإعلان عن الجوائز .

سجل الأحداث الجارية لمنطقة الخليج والجزيرة العربية:

يعنى بالوثائق واليوميات وهو رصد للأحداث الجارية في منطقة الخليج والجزيرة العربية وتجميع الوثائق ذات الأهمية الخاصة بالوقائع والأحداث الجارية في هذه المنطقة ووضع القارىء المتابع لأحداث المنطقة أمام تصور شامل . يصدر كل ثلاثة أشهر .

المراسلات

جميع المراسلات باسم مديرة المركز
أ. د. ميمونة خليفة العديبي الصباح
ص. ب. ١٧٠٧٣ الخالدية - الكويت
الرمز البريدي (٧٢٤٥١)
هاتف: ٤٨١٦٧٩٩ - ٤٨١٦٨٠٧ - ٤٨١٦٨٢٤

الاشتراكات

- ١- داخل الكويت: الأفراد: ٢٠ د.ك.
- المؤسسات: ١٢٠ د.ك.
- ٢- الدول العربية: الأفراد: ٢٠٠ د.ك.
- المؤسسات: ١٢٠ د.ك.
- ٣- الدول الأجنبية: الأفراد: ١٢٠ دولارا
- المؤسسات: ٦٠٠ دولارا

من أهم أعمال المركز:

- ١- مشاريع الدراسات والأبحاث المتعلقة بقضايا الخليج المختلفة وعلى وجه الخصوص الحيوية والهامة .
- ٢- المؤتمرات والندوات لخدمة قضايا الخليج ودوله .
- ٣- حلقات نقاشية دورية بالموضوعات المتعلقة بقضايا دول مجلس التعاون الخليجي .
- ٤- إصدارات خاصة بالدراسات التي تمنى بشئون الخليج وقضاياها الهامة .

إصدارات المركز:

- وقائع الندوة العلمية الرابعة لدول مجلس التعاون الخليج (وحدة التاريخ والمصير وحنينة العمل المشترك) الفترة من ١٥-١٧ نوفمبر ١٩٩٣ (في مجلدين) .
- وقائع المؤتمر العالمي عن آثار العدوان العراقي على دولة الكويت - الكويت ٢٦ أبريل ١٩٩٤ في ثلاثة مجلدات .
- الأبعاد النفسية لآثار الغزو العراقي على دولة الكويت - ١٩٩٦ .
- رحلة مرتضى بن علوان من دمشق إلى الأماكن المقدسة والأحساء والكويت والعراق ١١٢٠ - ١١٢١ هـ / ١٧٠٩م - ١٩٩٧ .



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بتاريخ ١٣ / ١٠ / ١٩٧٦

* أهداف اللجنة :

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- ٣- دعم وتنشيط عملية التعريب التي تعد من الأهداف الضرورية التي ينبغي انعقد عليها الإجماع العربي .

* مهام اللجنة :

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الأبواب الثابتة

- ◆ البحوث (باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية).
- ◆ عرض الكتب ومراجعاتها.
- ◆ التقارير: مؤتمرات - ندوات.
- ◆ البيبلوجرافيا العربية والإنجليزية.
- ◆ ملخصات الرسائل الجامعية (الماجستير - الدكتوراه).
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والممارسات الادارية على مستوى الوطن العربي.

• تقبل المجلة الأبحاث الأصلية والمبتكرة في مجالات الادارة،
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والدول العربية:

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داخل الكويت، ويضاف
إليها دينار واحد في الدول
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والدول العربية ١٥ ديناراً
في السنة، ٢٥ ديناراً لمدة
سنتين.

الدول الأجنبية:

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مؤسسات: ٦٠ دولاراً في
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لسنتين.

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المصارف الكويتية ويرسل
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مصرفي لحساب مجلة العلوم
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تنشر

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Notes

- * A shortened version of this article was delivered as a Faculty-of-Arts Lecture at the Keifan Campus of Kuwait University on 19th October 1998; and in the lecture series of *Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah* at the Maidan Theatre, Kuwait, on 15th November 1999.
- 1 - Amin Maalouf, **Leo the African**, trans. Peter Sluglett (London and New York: Quartet Books, 1988) 89, 193, 217, 252, 332, 339, and 348. Page references will follow the citation. For details of the publication and translation of *Descrittione dell' Africa*, see "Leo Africanus," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1986 ed.
- 2 - Muhammed's migration from Makkah to Medina is the event which marks the beginning of the Islamic era, and is, therefore, of crucial significance in the lives of all Muslims.
- 3 - On the connection between *jihad* and *hijra*, see Masud, 32-33.
- 4 - For a modern example, see Tapper 236-55.
- 5 - But for a counter-view, see Morris 25-32 and Morris, ed. **The Virago Book of Women Travellers**. I am indebted to Dr. Piers Michael Smith for drawing my attention to the absented presence of women in European travel literature written by men. I am also grateful to him, and to Dr. Bruce Merry, for editorial advice in the preparation of this article.
- 6 - For the extent of Arab knowledge of geography around the ninth and tenth centuries, and its legacy, see Donini 37-41. See also, the map illustrations in the same book.
- 7 - This perception is best summed up by Eickelman and Pescatori apropos of an argument put forward by Wilfred Cantwell Smith: "Even if it is accepted that Islam is the most 'entity-like' of the world religions, its internal diversity is compelling"(20).
- 8 - For the ancient trade in amber, see Donini 43-47.

9. Valediction

It is worth pointing out, in conclusion, that *rihla* texts, though they may contain a great deal of geographical, climatic, economic, political, anthropological, religious, and educational information are, nevertheless, as El Moudden has pointed out, thoroughly personal records and as such can be seen as autobiographies. He goes on to say that, in the past, such accounts gave those who had never had an opportunity of travel the possibility of ranging in imagination beyond their own world and of taking the place of the traveller in the process of reading (75-76). In a sense, that has been one of my aims in this guided tour of Amin Maalouf's novel, except that for the modern reader it is not usual for opportunities of travel to be lacking, nor for journeys to be undertaken in which a high degree of chance is involved and where the spirit of enquiry is the underlying motive; for as Kowalewski has remarked of modern travel, "Adventure and risk-taking have been transformed [. . .] into commodities that have more to do with status anxieties and utopian longings than a genuine interest in other cultures"(1).

If it has been possible here to make only a journey of the imagination with my readers—one entailing no risk—I would hope that it has at least opened up the cultural space of an epoch and a civilization of the past, many of the customs and codes of which are pertinent to the reconfigured social mores of present-day Islamic society. If so, it will have been an imaginative journey with the semblance of *hijra*: an epistemic undertaking on the part of the reader from which there can be no return to ignorance; a journey, also, in the manner of *rihla* designed to dispel what Kowalewski calls "a post-colonial legacy of cultural ignorance or willful distortion" (9). It will, furthermore, be like *ziyara* in its commitment to the quest for an insight into the spiritual life of the *umma*. And, finally, it will have been a journey to the centre of metaphysical being—as it is for the traveller on *hajj*—where the reader, during imaginary peregrination, is touched by understanding.

her; thus in the following year a son, Guiseppe, is born to them—"that is to say Yusuf, like the father of the Messiah, like the son of Jacob, like Sultan Salah al-Din [Saladin]" (313). This is the son who accompanies his parents on their last migration to Tunis, who is addressed by his father in the account of his life of travel, and who is the primary addressee of the autobiography.

It can be seen how Hasan al-Wazzan's eight years in Italy, which began ignominiously in a state of slavery, have rapidly been transformed into what is effectively a journey in search of knowledge (*rihla*); for once given his freedom, the characteristic thought that comes into Hasan's mind is that he can again continue his travels: "A few weeks of heavy chains, a few months of soft servitude, and lo and behold I had become a traveller again, a migrant creature, as in all the lands where I had sojourned and obtained, for a while, pleasures and honours" (298). But he is not straight away to become a traveller in the literal sense, although he does make visits to the cities of Bologna and Florence; rather, he is to complete the writing of his **Description of Africa** and is to begin the planning of his next (ad)venture—his autobiography—before setting sail for Tunis.

his Creator has ordained for him? [And Hasan concludes]
The Prophet has not said otherwise to the Muslims. (295-96)

In spite of this perceived rapport between the two religions, it is clear that the humanistic ethos of Pope Leo X's Rome is much more conducive to Hasan's creative and enquiring temperament than the religious fundamentalism espoused by his pupil, Hans, or the philistinism of Adrian VI, appropriately known as Adrian the Barbarian. As Hasan says of Pope Leo X:

I had been obliged to flee the most powerful empire of Islam to protect a child from the vindictiveness of a bloodthirsty monarch, and I had found in Rome the caliph under whose shadow I would so much have liked to live in Baghdad or Cordova. My mind delighted in this paradox, but my conscience was not appeased. (317)

In the final qualifying part of this statement, one can sense Hasan's resistance to assimilation, or even acculturation, as though in spite of the tyranny of the sultan, Salim, and the generosity of the pope, Leo X, he ultimately will not allow his Muslim identity to be eroded by his exposure to a foreign culture. This is why on being involuntarily baptized with the pope's Christian name and family name—Jean-Leon de Medici—he wastes no time in asserting his *Arab* identity by transforming them into "Yuhanna al-Asad," the signature he puts to the works he writes in Italy (297).

Hasan's resistance to being drawn further into what sometimes appears to him a decadent culture may also partly explain why he at first resists the offer, put to him by Julius de Medici (the pope's cousin, later to become Pope Clement VII), to marry a girl whom Julius has apparently abducted from a convent. Apart from the scandal with which she is (falsely) associated, Hasan may also inadvertently have been misled into thinking that he would have nothing in common with a girl who had spent the greater part of her life in a convent. Her Christian name, furthermore, gives him an erroneous clue to her identity, for although she is introduced to him as Maddalena, he is to discover that her given name was Judith, that her Jewish family had originally come from Granada and that, like his family, they had migrated to the Maghrib. Her story, and the power of her Andalusian beauty, overcome his resolve to disdain

too the popes had once governed Christendom in the name of the cross, but had been overtaken by emperors and kings who now ruled by the sword. But such comparison is not restricted to similarities; the differences stare Hasan in the face in the form of the figurative artefacts which surround him in the papal court and in the basilica of St. Peter's. On the day of his obligatory baptism, the painter, Raphael, asks Hasan if it is true that there are no sculptors or painters in his country. Hasan replies: "Some people do paint or sculpt, but all figurative representation is condemned. It is considered as a challenge to the Creator" (305). Although over a period of time Hasan becomes accustomed to representational paintings and sculpture, he cannot accept that pictures of nudes should decorate the interior of sacred buildings, and he is completely in accord with Leo X's puritannical successor, Adrian VI, who on entering the Sistene Chapel, and seeing Michelangelo's ceiling for the first time, cries out: "This is not a church, but a steamroom crammed with naked bodies!" (312). Adrian then threatens to have what he calls "these blasphemous figures" painted out with whitewash, a judgement with which Hasan fully concurs.

In such matters as the ornamentation of sacred buildings, Hasan is also in agreement with one of his pupils, a monk from Saxony, Hans (or Brother Augustine), who has become an adherent of Martin Luther, and for whom the adornment of churches with effigies is anathema to the Christian spirit. This complaint has its echo in Hasan's mind because he is forcibly struck by the similarities between the tenets of the new Lutheran Protestantism and those of his own religion; notably in their shared iconoclasm, their advocacy of minimal governance, the precedence which both religions give to the Book, their rejection of celibacy for the pastor or the *imam*, and their belief in predestination.

Does Luther not commend the removal of all statues from places of worship, considering that they are objects of idolatry? [. . .] Does Luther not say that Christianity is none other than the community of the believers, and ought not to be reduced to a Church hierarchy? Does he not affirm that the Holy Scripture is the sole foundation of the Faith? Does he not hold up the celibacy of the priesthood to ridicule? Does he not teach that no man can escape from that which

In Rome Hassan probably saw the truth of this statement however unjust it may have seemed to him at the time, for it is he, the scholar, who has become the slave, while those in positions of power remain free to exploit his talents. But Hasan's period of servitude is not to be as penal as he at first supposed, because although called upon to teach, he is also required to study, which is why he is able to conclude at the end of his first year in Rome that it "was without pain for the body and highly profitable for the mind" (294). Indeed, Hasan soon feels comfortable in the atmosphere of learning and artistic creation which surrounds the papal court of Leo X, to such an extent that one could say that his state of bondage is rapidly transformed into a sojourn having all the characteristics of the search for knowledge. He becomes noted as a person of learning, and as a teacher, and is made to feel that he is making a worthy intellectual contribution to the creative outburst which was later to be called the Italian Renaissance. He is respected for both his desire for knowledge and for the way in which he disseminates it, a respect which has the effect of negating his status as a slave and of equalizing the relationship with his masters. All this bears a remarkable resemblance to what the *hadith* literature has to say about the search for religious knowledge (*rihla or talab al-'ilm*) which states that teachers and scholars ought to be considered as the most highly valued of people, that travel is an essential activity in the life of a scholar, that there is great merit in both the acquisition of knowledge and the spreading of it, and, too, that those in possession of knowledge are gifted with a divine grace which has the effect of breaking down mundane barriers of both birth and rank (see Gellens 53).

It is in Rome that Hasan has his first lesson in comparative religion. He is quick to realise an analogy between the patronage offered by the pope to painters, sculptors, writers, musicians, and artisans and the halcyon days of the caliphs when, according to Hasan, "Islam was radiant with culture" (292). The analogy can be extended if it is remarked that just as the popes were regarded as heirs to St. Peter upon whom the Christian Church was founded, so too the caliphs, the spiritual leaders of Islam, were believed to be successors to the Prophet Muhammed. Hasan gains Pope Leo X's immediate favour by recognizing that just as the caliphs, as overseers of Islam, had once mediated peaceably through religion, but had been ousted by the sultans who now ruled by force, so

8. Abduction

Only a short account is given of Hasan's stay in Makkah. This is no doubt because, as he himself aptly explains, his month in the holy city "passed by more quickly than a night of love" (280). But his pilgrimage is not yet complete because, having visited the Prophet's birthplace, he travels on with his wife and children to Medina, the town to which the Prophet migrated (*hijra*) and where he died and was buried. Hasan then continues overland to Tabuk, Aqaba, and Gaza from where he takes ship for Tunis to join his mother and Sarwat, his elder daughter, both of whom he left while on his diplomatic mission to Constantinople. But on this journey Hasan is never to reach his destination, because while calling in at the island of Jerba, he and the captain of the ship are abducted by a band of Sicilian sailors and transported to Rome where Hasan is handed over as a gift to the Roman pontiff, Pope Leo X. As Hasan philosophically puts it when addressing his son in the prologue to "The Book of Rome": "Had I not left the right hand of God at M[akkah]? At Rome I was going to live in the hollow of his left hand!" (288).

After a month incarcerated in the Castel San Angelo, Hasan is informed by Master Francesco Guicciardini, an associate of Pope Leo X, why he is to be presented to the pontiff: he has been chosen first of all because he is a Moor which justifies his status as a slave; secondly, because he is a traveller and can give an account of his many adventures in regions which few Europeans would visit; he has also had experience of foreign diplomacy and will be able to give advice to the Holy See, particularly in its relations with the Grand Turk; and, finally, he has been chosen because he is a scholar and will be called upon to teach the Arabic language as well as to throw light on Islamic culture. There is a curious paradox here if one recalls the cynical remark cited by Hasan's adversary in Fez, the Zirwali, in a conversation with Hasan's father:

'Don't you know, you who have read so many books, what the mother of one of the sultans of long ago said when her son was born? "I do not want you to be endowed with intelligence, because you will have to put your intelligence at the service of the powerful. I want you to have good fortune, so that intelligent people may serve you." ' (132-33).

the notion of periphery becomes a relativized concept of overlapping sets. Finally, there is the view of the perennial traveller for whom the relationship between centre and periphery is a shifting one precisely because he is constantly on the move. His centre, as I have already suggested, may be the caravan itself because it represents "home," so that each journey could be regarded as a journey not to the centre, but to the periphery. On the other hand, because the traveller moves from one cosmopolitan centre to another (e.g. from Cairo to Constantinople), from one trading centre to another (e.g. from Fez to Timbuktu), from one centre of learning to another (e.g. from Fez to Cairo), from one diplomatic mission to another (e.g. from Tunis to Constantinople), or from one place of pilgrimage to another (e.g. from Makkah to Medina), or a combination of these, there can be no concept of periphery except as those places on the map which have not yet been visited. Such is the case with Hasan al-Wazzan whose self-introduction in the opening page of his autobiography makes it abundantly clear that at the same time as he feels himself to belong nowhere, he at the same time knows himself to belong everywhere: "I come from no country, from no city, no tribe. I am the son of the road, my country is the caravan, my life the most unexpected of voyages" (1).

himself with the village, the town, the region, or the nation, from which he has come even though on his return he may perceive home differently because the *hajj* has in some sense profoundly changed the way he perceives the world. It may even be, as Robert Launay has shown in his study of the Dyula of the northern Ivory Coast, that travel, be it the *hajj*, *ziyara*, or *rihla*, can lead to a change of political awareness in the traveller which can result in a discontented, or actively subversive, posture towards the society to which he has returned (175-199).

One might here draw on a paradigm used to illustrate Muslim perceptions of themselves and the "other": that of the centre and the periphery. As has already been pointed out, Makkah as sacred centre figures at least five times a day in the ritual prayers of Muslims. In this respect, those who are geographically placed far from Makkah are made especially aware of their position on the periphery of the Islamic community, a remoteness which is more than ever brought home to them when undertaking the *hajj*, for it should be remembered that, in the centuries before modern transport, the journey to Makkah was extremely hazardous: it was very slow and often meant crossing dangerous terrain such as desert; the pilgrim might fall sick and even die before reaching the holy city; the caravan might be attacked by bandits; or if a voyage by sea was undertaken, the ship might be boarded by pirates or caught in a storm. It was also an expensive undertaking which made it impossible for all Muslims to go on the *hajj*, and is why travel accounts of the pilgrimage (*rihla hijazyya*) figure so importantly in the literature of Islam. Those unable to travel, either because of some infirmity, or because the journey was too costly, could read about the experience of pilgrims and could, at least, make the journey in their imaginations mediated by the written word.

But if for Muslims there is an appeal in the notion of the centre as sacred space, as Eickelman and Pescatori have put it (12), this does not mean that Makkah forms the only "centre." There may be other sacred spaces which have become invested with such spiritual value as to become holy shrines, forming centres in out-of-the-way locations which might otherwise have placed them on the margin. There are also centres of power such as Cairo or Istanbul, where the boundaries of empire cannot be drawn along the same lines as those of the Islamic community; or centres of learning as far apart as Fez, Medina and Nishapur where

sustained throughout this part of the narrative: "My spirit was simply open to the spirit of God as a flower to the morning dew," he writes, "and I felt such well-being that all words, all gestures, all looks became futile" (280). It is only much later, when writing his autobiography, that Hasan is able to find the words to express the transforming nature of the experience. At the time, it was only verses of the Qur'an coming into his mind which made complete sense of what was happening to him:

'Say: We believe in God and in that which has been sent down to us from Heaven, to Abraham and Ismail, to Isaac, to Jacob, to the twelve tribes, to the books which have been given to Moses and to Jesus, to the Books delivered to the prophets from their Lord; we make no distinction between them, and we are Muslims, resigned to the will of God.' (280)

Although the spontaneous recollection of these words, learned as a boy at the *madrasa* in Fez, has reminded Hasan of the origins of his Islamic identity, they have also given him an insight into the fundamental unity of religious thought and, particularly, of the organic relationship of the three major religions of the Mediterranean world, apprehended through time (diachronically) as Judaism (the root), Christianity (the stem), and Islam (the flower), and across time (synchronically) as different branches of the same tree. It is perhaps not too much to say that such an insight would have been a necessary prelude to Hasan's eight-year sojourn in Rome which is soon to overtake him, for it has prepared him mentally for his first journey outside the territory of Islam, and has given him the tolerance and forbearance needed for his encounter with the lands of the non-Muslim "other" (*dar al-Kufr*).

This notwithstanding, it is clear that, like all pilgrims to Makkah, Hasan's sense of identity with the Islamic community (*umma*) is reinforced by his commitment to the *hajj*; it is an experience which, when it is being lived out, overcomes all differences of race, tribe, class, and nation because of the mingling of the many peoples of Islam from widely diffused areas in the one city of Makkah. Of course it is also the case that once the *hajj* has been completed, the traveller turns his face in the direction of home and is immediately reminded of the differences which separate him from other Muslims. He will then begin re-identifying

high Atlas, or the high seas. And now he comes face to face with the city which in the past he could only imagine:

With every step I took I felt myself transported into a world of dreams; this city, built on this sterile soil, seemed never to have had any destiny other than contemplation [. . .]. It is there [in the Black Corner] that the Black Stone is embedded. I had been told that in touching it I was touching the right hand of the Creator. Usually, so many people were pressing themselves against it that it was impossible to contemplate it for any length of time. But as the great wave of pilgrims had passed I could approach the Stone at leisure, covering it with tears and kisses. (279-80)

It is, I think, interesting to note here the kind of language Hasan uses to evoke his experience of religious ecstasy: When he says that he feels himself "transported" by the city, he is, paradoxically, employing a metaphor drawn from his own perennial movement from one place to another. I say "paradoxically" because Hasan has come to rest in Makkah, if not in the sense that he will make a permanent home there, at least meaning that he has found spiritual rest. His dreamlike perception of the city is connotative of this restfulness.

There is a further paradox in the dream-like quality of Hasan's experience, because although Muslims would, so to speak, "dream" of travelling to Makkah in order to reach the culminating point of their religious lives, once arrived they would experience the city in its substantive reality, whereas for Hasan the experience itself has the quality of a dream: it is perceived as something unreal, unearthly, imagined; and it is worth noting that "contemplation" ("*recueillement*"), the word used to characterize the city, denotes a meditative stillness of the mind which is the very antithesis of Hasan's physically active life as a traveller.

If it is the case that Hasan touches the Black Stone and covers it with "tears and kisses," he is also himself *touched by* it as evidenced in the strong emotion which contact with it stirs in him. He apprehends the Black Stone as though the right hand of the Creator had indeed stretched itself out to him. The language which Hasan uses to convey the impression of one who is ontologically transported by religious ecstasy is

of ambition which spurs on the Princess Nur to have her son installed as the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. He, on the contrary, has lost any political ambition he may have had, and has not been made greedy by his success in commerce; nor has his learning left him with an inflated sense of his own worth. It is as though the process of travelling has given him the religious knowledge which lies at the foundation of *rihla*, creating in him a spiritual resignation which allows him mentally to relinquish power and possessions. He has arrived at the position of a mystic for whom physical motion means very little ("I go nowhere"), but for whom the journey with meaning is the movement of the soul through the stages of life.

Hasan, nevertheless, has to go on playing his part and makes for Cairo, accompanied by Nur and Bayazid, where he discloses the Grand Turk's imperial ambition to Tumanbay, the Sultan Qansuh's secretary of state. This, however, does not prevent the city from falling to Salim's advancing army, and Hasan and Nur, together with Bayazid and their newly-born daughter, Hayat, take flight once more. They travel up the Nile to Qina where they disembark and continue overland to the Red Sea, crossing from Yanbu' to Jidda:

We stayed only two days in Jidda [Hasan writes], time to make contact with a caravan leaving for Makkah. Halfway between the two cities I took off my clothes to put on the *ihram* of the penitents, two long seamless strips of white material, one worn round the waist, the other round the shoulders. My lips repeated tirelessly the cry of the pilgrims: '*Labbaika, Allahuma! Labbaika, Allahuma!*, Here am I, Lord! (279)

Having escaped embroilment in the political machinations of the Grand Turk and having survived the slaughter in Cairo, Hasan does not remain for long a refugee, for he has now entered upon the *hajj*, pilgrimage to Makkah, the birthplace of the Prophet Muhammed. This is the direction towards which he would have set himself five times a day to make ritual prayer wherever he was: in Fez, in Timbuktu, Cairo or Constantinople—or in the middle of the desert, the

7. Hajj

It is not long before Hasan al-Wazzan removes with Salma, his mother, Sarwat, the daughter of Fatima his deceased first wife, Princess Nur and her son, Bayazid, to the port of Jijil (between Constantine and Algiers). Here they join Mariam and her husband, Harun the ferret, who has become a lieutenant to the corsair, Barbarossa, campaigner against the territorial encroachments of the Castilians.

But Hasan does not remain long in Jijil, preferring to remove with his family to Tunis in order to set up in business there. This attempt at settling again, as he did in Cairo, is very quickly frustrated by a request made by Barbarossa for Hasan to travel as an ambassador to the Grand Turk in order to secure an alliance with him against the Castilians. Thus,

I, who ran across the world to save Bayazid from the vindictiveness of the Ottomans, found myself, that year, with wife and child in the very heart of Constantinople and in the most extraordinary position possible: bending over the outstretched hand of Salim the Grim, who was favouring me with a protective nod of his head and the suspicion of a smile. It is said that the prey is often attracted by the fangs which are preparing to destroy it. Perhaps that was the explanation of my insane rashness. (255)

It is not long after this ambassadorial audience that Hasan also finds himself unintentionally in the position of a spy when he discovers that the Sultan Salim has no intention of going to the help of Barbarossa, but of taking Cairo instead, and of assassinating the Circassian Mameluke. But Hasan is reluctant to be drawn into political intrigue, for as he explains to Nur:

'Between the Andalus which I left and the Paradise which is promised to me life is only a crossing. I go nowhere, I desire nothing, I cling to nothing, I have faith in my passion for living, in my instinct to search for happiness, as well as in Providence.' (261)

It can be seen here how detached Hasan has become from the kind

spirit of misguided pride and is very soon humbled by the elements; he suffers the loss of his fortune, but finds that he is capable of acquiring one again; he has to part with his Numidian concubine, Hiba, but ends up winning a Circassian wife, the Princess Nur. In short, he starts out young and irrepressible and returns a few years older and a good deal wiser. The extent of his journey, then, is not simply geographical but mental, for not only have his experiences "on the road" changed him, but his altered state has changed the way he feels about home. With his father dead, Warda (his father's concubine) returned to Castile, and the palace, which before his exile he had proudly been in the process of building, incomplete, he concludes: "At Fez I possessed nothing more than a half-completed building, a ruin inhabited by regrets and empty of memories" (252).

irreparable loss. This loss can affect not only one's monetary assets but one's very life or sanity. Or one can simply lose one's way, since the possibility of there being no return is always implied in travel. Every voyage is potentially a voyage into exile, a voyage to the 'end of the night.' (xvii)

It is worth taking up a further point made by Van Den Abbeele about the etymology of the word "economy," since I am concerned with the economic aspect of Hasan's journey. He remarks that the Greek word *oikos*, meaning house or home, directs attention to the defining locus of travel—both its starting point and its termination—which gives it the structure of Aristotelian plot: beginning (home), middle (destination), and end (home) (xviii). In this sense travel with an economic purpose, whether it results in profit or loss, can be seen as paradigmatic of narrative closure. The ultimate success of a business trip depends on this enclosed pattern of movement, unlike journeys where those who feel obliged to migrate (*hijra*) set off never to return.

Another aspect of Hasan's journey which would give it the character of *rihla* is the spirit of adventure with which the traveller undertakes it. A business *venture*, as the word connotes, involves risk, but in Hasan's case his preparedness to take risks goes beyond commercial speculation, as is demonstrated by his willingness to run the gauntlet with Princess Nur's oppressors, and which turns his sedentary and established way of life in Cairo into a travelling adventure once more.

Finally, there is the scholarly aspect of Hasan's enterprise which is not featured in his account of this journey, but which, as I have already suggested, could hardly have been excluded from Hasan's interests bearing in mind his scholarly background and the importance of Cairo as a centre of learning. Hasan no doubt bought books with the gains he had made from his business ventures and carried at least some of these with him on his return journey to Fez, where in all probability he presented them to the teachers at the *madrasa* Bu Inania in token of his appreciation of the education he had received there. In fact, following Arab custom he would have been loaded with presents of all kinds to give to the members of his family, the notables of Fez, and the Sultan himself.

Quite apart from the scholarly substance of his journey, it could be said that Hasan discovers a great deal about himself: he sets out in a

Indian crepe and spices for the benefit of a Jewish merchant in Tlemcen [between Algiers and Fez] conveyed in a camel caravan chartered by some Maghribi traders. At my request, he sent back a casket of amber from Massa. (229)⁽⁸⁾

Hasan goes on to say: "I felt this city was mine and it gave me a great sense of well-being. Within a few months I had become a real Cairene notable" (232). This sense of belonging does not last long when he befriends, and then marries, the beautiful Princess Nur, widow of the Amir 'Ala al-Din, estranged nephew of the Grand Turk, who had died in exile a victim of the plague. After a few meetings, she asks Hasan: "Would you be ready to come with me, without asking the slightest question?" To which he replies enthusiastically: "As far as China, if I must!" (240). It is not long before Hasan finds himself drawn into the larger political struggle of the Ottoman empire involving Princess Nur's baby son, Bayazid, the only remaining heir to the Grand Turk, Salim the Grim, who has had the rest of his relations either assassinated or driven into exile. In order to protect her son from the Sultan's agents, Nur asks her new husband to take them away from Cairo, and thus they embark on a ship sailing from Alexandria to Tlemcen, and thence they travel overland to Fez.

For Hasan this marks the end of a journey which, though it was imposed on him as a term of banishment, has taken on all the characteristics of a voluntary journey undertaken in the spirit of *rihla*. One of these characteristics is that it has proved to be a trading venture rather than one of abject flight. In economic terms, Hasan profits from his travels, both while on the move in caravan and when settled in Cairo. This satisfactory economic outcome is by no means a foregone conclusion if it is recalled how Hasan not only lost his entire caravan in the Atlas, but on the same occasion came near to death himself. If the traveller in his autobiography tends to minimize the anxieties which he must have felt crossing the waste or entering a city struck by plague, he must secretly have faced them with a good deal of trepidation. The words of Van Den Abbeele no doubt sum up what would have been Hasan's attitude:

Now, if there is an insecurity or anxiety associated with travel, it is that insecurity associated with the menace of

Hasan's "most treasured memory [of Hiba] was consumed in flames" (216). Nevertheless, on reaching the River Nile, Hasan is struck by an unexpected wave of optimism. "I was suddenly certain," he writes, "that after the tempest which had destroyed my fortune a new life was awaiting me in this land of Egypt, a life of passion, danger and honour. I hastened to seize hold of it" (218). Little did he know at the time, however, that he would become embroiled in a city struck by a devastating plague, hit by an earthquake, and later destroyed by the raping, pillaging, and genocide of an invading army. These are further hazards which not only have to be negotiated, but which prevent the traveller from settling for long, and which precipitate a continuation of his journey. But Hasan does feel at home in Cairo:

In no other city does one forget so quickly that one is a foreigner [he writes]. The traveller has scarcely arrived before he is caught up in a whirlwind of rumours, trivialities, gossips. A hundred strangers accost him, whisper in his ear, call him to witness, jostle his shoulder the better to provoke him to the curses or the laughter which they await. From then on he is let into the secret. He has got hold of one end of a fantastic story, he has to know the sequel even if it means staying until the next caravan, until the next feast day, until the next flood[ing of the Nile]. But, already, another story has begun. (226-27)

There are other explanations for Hasan's remaining in Cairo, in spite of the presence of the plague. In the first place, he shares the same language as the inhabitants of the city, which facilitates communication of the kind he describes. This was not the case in the southern-Saharan and sub-Saharan towns he had visited, where the languages spoken were not of Semitic origin and which, therefore, bore no resemblance to Arabic. Another reason for his staying would almost certainly have been that, like Fez, Cairo was traditionally known as a city of learning which meant that there were scholars with whom Hasan could consult, and libraries which could be visited. He would also have found Cairo a good place to conduct business, as is evident from the speed with which he completes his first transaction:

Already in the first month I arranged to have a load of

down of the city (215-16). Hasan then joins a caravan of merchants which, following the River Niger, takes him to the town of Gao and from thence through the kingdoms of Wangara, Zagzag, Kano, Bornu, and Gaoga. Although Hasan does not give details of what he undertook in these places, it is clear from his account that his main interest lay in the trading prospects which they offered. He recalls that in Bornu the king had accepted merchandise from foreign merchants without paying them, whereas the master of Gaoga had fully recompensed his visitors:

I was in the palace paying my respects [. . .] when an Egyptian merchant from the town of Damietta came and presented the king with a fine horse, a Turkish sabre, a coat of mail, a blunderbuss, several mirrors, some coral beads and some chased knives, worth altogether some fifty dinars. The sovereign accepted this gift politely, but in return he gave the man five slaves, five camels, about a hundred huge elephants' tusks, and, as if all this were not enough, he added the equivalent of five hundred gold dinars in the money of his country. (217)

It can be surmised that in recording the contrasting behaviour of the two rulers, Hasan, with his intellectual training, also wanted to understand the differences between himself and the peoples with whom he was coming into contact: differences of race, language, customs and tradition, all of which made the journey much more than a trading venture. It was also a learning experience very much in the spirit of travel undertaken by scholars to places within the Islamic community, the effect of which was to alter the scholar's perception of Islam as a single entity to a pluralistic view of differing cultures and communities sharing the same religion.⁽⁷⁾ It would also have sharpened the traveller's own sense of identity, for as Eickelman and Piscatori have remarked: "The encounter with the Muslim 'other' has been at least as important for self-definition as the confrontation with the European 'other'" (xv). Nor is it only the encounter with other societies sharing the same religion which has this effect; exposure to the dangers of the journey would also play their part in forming, or even transforming, the character of the traveller. We have observed how Hasan loses his entire caravan in a snow blizzard on the Atlas and how he endures the searing heat of the Sahara crossing. We have also seen how, with the burning down of the city of Timbuktu,

6. Banishment

Hasan's next journey does not take him far at all when compared with the fourteenth-century traveller: a ten-day business trip to Tafza on which by a peculiar set of circumstances he makes a fortune. But his *good* fortune does not last, for he gets caught up in an intrigue concerning the Zirwali, the man to whom his half-sister had been betrothed, and who has been murdered by Mariam's husband, none other than Harun the ferret, his childhood friend. Although not directly involved in the affair, Hasan is banished from Fez, because as the sultan tells him "justice lies in appearances" (209). This is a journey which fits into none of the categories I have thus far considered as characteristic of Muslim travel, for whereas *hijra*, in particular, is a form of self-exile resolved on in a spirit of pride so as to avoid the humiliation of the suppression of one's religion, banishment on the other hand, because it is an externally imposed exile, is inherently humiliating because it is apportioned as punishment. This does not prevent Hasan al-Wazzan from putting a good face on things as he leaves the city:

My departure from Fez was flamboyant. I decided to go into exile with my head high, dressed in brocade, not at night but right in the middle of the day, passing through the swarming alleys, followed by an imposing caravan: two hundred camels, loaded with all sorts of merchandise, as well as twenty thousand dinars, a treasure protected by some fifty armed guards, dressed and paid for out of my own pocket, in order to discourage the bandits who roamed the roads. (209)

Such hubris does not augur well for the journey because the entire retinue is lost in a snow blizzard while passing over the Atlas mountains (211-12), leaving Hasan with only Hiba, whom he has taken with him into exile with the intention of returning her to the village from where she had originally been abducted. This is to be the first call on the long journey which is to follow. There, Hiba is given her freedom, and Hasan, having been amply compensated by the village elders, reluctantly leaves her to continue his journey, once again to Timbuktu, the setting of his first union with Hiba, but where, by contrast, he is to witness the burning

and where he is also called upon to teach Arabic (293); secondly, by visiting the tombs of saints on his journey, he has incorporated the religious function of *ziyara* into his diplomatic mission (*rihla*) which was secular in character; thirdly, he is already in a position to write an account of his travel (*rihla sifariya*) as indicated by his "copious notes." and is spurred on by the example of the renowned Berber traveller from Tangier, Ibn Battuta (c1304-c1377), who wandered for twenty-five years as far afield as Constantinople to China and from the Crimea to the Maldives Islands, eventually settling in Fez.

[T]he scholarly class of the Islamic world was an extraordinarily mobile group. In the Maghrib of the later Middle Period the learned, like modern conference hopping academics, circulated incessantly from one city and country to another, studying with renowned professors, leading diplomatic missions, taking up posts in mosques and royal chanceries. (qtd. in El Moudden 75)

It should be noted here that, as well as for purposes of learning, *rihla* could include missions and embassies, and that it is on a diplomatic mission that Hasan al-Wazzan makes his first long journey independently of his father. The occasion for this is the accession of a powerful new sovereign, Askia Muhammed Touré, of the Sudan ("the land of the Blacks") to whom the Sultan of Fez sends Hasan's uncle in order to cement good relations between the two kingdoms. On the way out, Hasan is sent on a separate embassy to a Numidian lord, and it is on this occasion, at the age of seventeen, that he is presented with a fourteen-year-old slave girl, Hiba, with whom the relationship is consummated on arrival in Timbuktu after the desert crossing (166). It is a maiden voyage, for not only is this his first journey in which he is able to prove his "adult" intelligence and skills as an ambassador of his people, but he is also initiated into manhood and the fire of passion.

On his return to Fez, Hasan goes back to the *madrasa* Bu Inania where he becomes a student again, and also takes on the role of teacher:

I was asked to talk about my travels to my fellow students, and in particular to describe to them some of the mosques which I had seen in the land of the Blacks, as well as the saints' tombs which I had visited. Since I had taken copious notes, I was able to speak for two whole hours, and the professor was delighted. He invited me to his house and encouraged me to write down my observations, as Ibn Battuta and other famous travellers had done before me. (174-75)

There are several points worth noting here: first, the close association with the *madrasa* prefigures Hasan's later roles as both student and teacher in Rome where he is to be instructed in languages (Latin, Hebrew and Turkish) as well as the catechism and the Gospels,

5. Rihla

It should not be forgotten that Fez was for a long time one of the main educational centres of the Muslim world, a city of learning which, according to Hasan, "seems to have been constructed around the schools, the *madāres*, just as some villages are built around a fountain or a saint's tomb" (136). During his adolescence Hasan attends the famous *madrassa* Bu Inania, and it is here that he is taught to value scholarship and the literature of numerous disciplines.

In spite of their knowledge and their apparel [he recalls], teachers were for the most part friendly men, patient in explanation, and mindful of the talents of everyone. Sometimes, they would invite us to their homes, to show us their libraries; one had five hundred volumes, another a thousand; yet another had more than three thousand, and they always encouraged us to pay careful attention to our calligraphy in order to be able to copy the most precious books, for it was thus, they said, that knowledge was spread. (144)

Books had to be acquired, so scholars often had to travel great distances in order to obtain a particular volume for their collection. This was particularly the case for those coming from the territories which were geographically on the periphery of Islam, such as the Maghrib and Andalusia (see Gellens 61-62) and who regarded travel towards the centre of the Islamic world as an essential part of their education, as in their daily prayers they looked east in deference to that centre. For scholars, that probably also meant Cairo and Medina, which with Fez formed the great hubs of Islamic learning, as much as did the holy city of Makkah, for although they would certainly have endeavoured to make pilgrimage to Makkah (*hajj*) to uphold one of the five pillars of their faith (the others being ritual prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and profession of faith), they would also have desired to undertake the journey known as *rihla*, the motive for which was the search for knowledge, whether for religious or secular reasons. As Dunn has remarked:

Eickelman and Piscatori have called "the vital connection between religion and imagination" to be denied (4). One could say that Hasan's writings, especially in the case of his autobiography, are re-imaginings or re-configurations of his experiences of travel informed by a sense of moral and religious purpose, the foundation of which has been an education received in the extended family network and in the religious schools of Fez. In his case, such knowledge does not have the effect of closing down his mind but of extending it in the spirit of the Prophet's reported saying: "Those who go out in search of knowledge will be in the path of God until they return" (qtd. in Gellens 50). It is interesting, here, to note that the quest for knowledge is metaphorically associated with a path which once trodden will also provide the way back; in other words, it is like a journey which starts out from home, reaches its destination, and then returns to its starting point. This does not mean to say that the metaphoric traveller who goes in search of knowledge returns unchanged: once he is able to recite the Qur'an, learns how to behave by following the examples of the Prophet (*sunna*), takes heed of the sayings attributed to him (*hadith*), and passes through the gate of independent reasoning (*bab al-ijtihad*), an alteration takes place in the scholar—a transformation even—which changes his perception of the world and which draws him towards the study of further disciplines: medicine, mathematics, astronomy, geography, philosophy and the arts.

appreciation is summed up when, having been presented with the book, Hasan--

bent to kiss [the pope's] hand. He pressed me to himself and embraced me like a real father. By God, I have loved him since that moment, in spite of the ceremony [baptism] which he had just inflicted upon me. That a man of such power, so venerated by Christians in Europe and elsewhere, should be so moved at the sight of a tiny book in Arabic, produced in the workshops of some Jewish printer, seemed to me worthy of the caliphs before the age of decadence, such as al-Ma'mun, the son of Harun al-Rashid, may the Most High bestow His mercy upon the one and the other. (297-98)

This brings to mind a complaint (told to Hasan by his father), made by the hedonist, Abu Amr (called Abu Khamr, or "Father of Wine"), a doctor and scholar of Malaga: He is reported by Hasan's maternal grandfather, Suleiman the bookseller, as having lamented the fact that "the Muslim lands produced fewer books than they used to, and that they were mostly repetitions or summaries of older books" (37). Sulaiman, who had ordered rare books for the scholar from as far afield as Isfahan or as close as Barcelona, has a similar criticism to make:

[I]n the first centuries of Islam, he would say bitterly, one could hardly count the treatises on philosophy, mathematics, medicine or astronomy. The poets themselves were far more numerous and innovative, both in style and content.

'In Andalus too intellectual activity was flourishing, and its fruits were the books that were patiently copied and circulated among learned men from China to the far West. And then came the drying up of the spirit and of the pen. To defend themselves against the ideas and customs of the Franks, men turned Tradition into a citadel in which they shut themselves up. Granada could only produce imitators without talent or boldness.' (37-38)

Clearly, Hasan al-Wazzan is not one for whom the spirit, or the pen, have dried up. This is partly because he has not allowed what

(259). Hasan also becomes the author of two sections of a lexicon commissioned by a disciple of the Dutch scholar and humanist, Erasmus, a printer from Saxony living in Rome at the time of Hasan's confinement there. It is Hasan's task to translate numerous lexical items from Latin into Arabic and Hebrew, the successful completion of which bears witness to his linguistic prowess, as well as to his intellectual accomplishment (332; 339).

Yet another form of "authorship" might also be his skill as a map maker, for when Hasan is on one occasion introduced as "Master John-Leo, geographer, poet, [and] diplomat at the papal court" (342), the designation "geographer" must refer to his knowledge and practice of cartography as well as to his status as travel writer. In the centuries before aerial photography, map making could only be carried out by those willing to undertake a journey, be they explorer, adventurer or trader, and was an essential aspect of plotting one's course over *terra incognita* so that those who followed might find their way already inscribed for them.⁽⁶⁾ As Spivak points out, the word "script" comes very close in meaning to "roles" (116), an association which would allow us to confirm a liaison between Hasan al-Wazzan in the role of geographer and the "scripts" he makes in the form of maps which are, of course, made to be read. Map making is not an innocent activity, for it is as Susan Bassnett has observed, conditioned by the map-maker's prioritized cultural base from which he has set out to chart, and thus to textualise, the material world (99).

Finally, there is the writer's desire that his works survive, as expressed in this typical ejaculation: "[M]ay the Most High preserve my pages from fire and oblivion!" (161) which is probably why on the day of his enforced baptism in 1520, in the still unfinished basilica of St. Peter's, Hasan, now John-Leo, is impressed when his namesake, Pope Leo, presents him with a small volume in these words: "This is the first book in the Arabic language which has ever come off a printing press" (297). With the advent of the printing press, the author would have realized that the days of laborious handwritten copying of books would soon be over and their reproduction in multiple copies become a reality, thus ensuring the preservation of his writings as he had prayed. This would not have been thought of in a selfish way, but with a largesse in the spirit of the Renaissance which Hasan cherished during his sojourn in Italy. This

4. Inscriptions

It is perhaps worth drawing attention here to a conspicuous leitmotif which threads its way through the text—that of writing—and ask ourselves what special signification it bears in relation to the theme of travel. It is not always the case that the narrator of a fiction makes the reader aware that s/he is in the process of writing, although it is much more likely to be so with a narrative written in the autobiographical mode. There are certainly occasions in Leo the African where the primary narrator draws our attention to all the stages of literary production: his need to write, his intention of writing, the act of writing, the product of his writing, and the necessity to preserve it.

His need to write is expressed when on the retaking of Cairo in 1517 by the Grand Turk, Salim the Grim, from the rebel militias of Tumanbay, Hasan al-Wazzan recalls: "I had no other ambition than to survive, with my family, no other ambition than to go away, in order one day to relate on a piece of glazed paper the fall of Cairo, of her empire, of her last hero" (273). Similarly, his intention of writing is plainly stated in the penultimate chapter of his by now almost completed autobiography: "That year I put the final touches to my Description of Africa. Then, without taking a single day's rest, I decided to set to work on the chronicle of my own life and the events in which I had been involved" (348).

One is also made aware of the actual process of writing by Hasan al-Wazzan's apology when trying to recall the words of his uncle in the year of his self-exile from Malaga: "I would have wished," Hasan writes, "to report each one of his words, but my memory is short and my eloquence feeble, so that many of the illuminations of his story will never, alas, appear in any book" (23). And one is made aware of the completed products of Hasan's craft by the extent and generic range of his writings: apart from his autobiography, he is, as we know, the author of a travel book in Italian, *Descrittione dell' Africa*; Hasan also writes and recites his own poetry for which, on one occasion, he is rewarded with the ravishing slave girl, Hiba (162-63). On another, he is required to recite his own poem, composed at sea, in front of the Grand Turk, Salim the Grim

motion—travel is itself domesticated—whilst the growing remoteness of the old home, the longer (in time) and further (in space) one journeys, precipitates its defamiliarization because it can only be imagined. The caravan itself constitutes a substantive moving centre whilst the old home occupies a space way beyond the horizon somewhere on the invisible periphery; it can only be made "present" again by re-imagining, rather as, with hindsight, the journey can only be reconstructed from the autobiographer's memory; or as extrinsically the author of the novel has to picture the life of his protagonist before re-presenting it through the medium of literary discourse.

undertaken by the women in a family, possibly motivated by a need to assert spiritual equality with their spouses.⁽⁴⁾ This is unlike European travellers who, until modern times, apparently left their wives at home; or if they did accompany their husbands, were hardly represented in the male-authored text. As has been pointed out by Van Den Abbeele, "One need go no further than the prototypical travel narrative that is the *Odyssey* to find a modelling of the sexual division of labour: the domestic(ated) woman, Penelope, maintains the property of the home against would-be usurpers while her husband wanders about." (xxv).⁽⁵⁾ I am not asserting here that among Arab travellers labour was not divided between the sexes, but simply pointing out that wives, concubines, and even children, often accompanied their menfolk as had been the custom during their tribe's nomadic past. To travel in caravan, as Muhammed does with his concubine, son, and daughter, to the shrine in Taghya was not only to travel together as a family, but also as part of a larger entity – a village on the move. The caravan itself would have provided the protection which the home in Fez normally afforded them. This perception of the caravan as home becomes paramount when the traveller is crossing the desert "where men, animals, water, sand and gold all have the same colour, the same worth, the same irreplaceable futility" (54). As Hasan al-Wazzan explains when recalling his first long land journey across the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara bound for Timbuktu ("The Year of the Caravan"):

When the wayfarers know that, for weeks and months, they must proceed in the same direction, confront the same perils, live, eat, pray, enjoy themselves, grieve, and sometimes die, together, they cease to be strangers to each other; no vice remains hidden, no artifice can last. Seen from afar, a caravan looks like a procession; from close to, it is a village, with its stories, jokes, nicknames, intrigues, conflicts, reconciliations, nights of singing and poetry, a village for which all lands are far away, even the land one comes from, or the land one is crossing. (154)

One can see here how the journey by caravan modifies the concept of travel as a movement away from home (the starting point) followed by a return home (the final destination). The normally fixed geographical location of home is transformed by the traveller's need of a domicile in

But Hasan's journey is not to be, because his wish is denied him by his father. "For a whole week," Hasan recalls, "I woke up each morning with my eyes bloodshot and my pillow damp. In an effort to console me my uncle swore that I would accompany him on his next journey; he would keep his word" (117). Before this is to happen, however, Hasan makes a further journey with his father. The occasion for this is a tour of the fertile valley surrounding the city of Meknes where Muhammed al-Wazzan, also accompanied by Warda and Mariam, has gone in search of land suitable for cultivation. During an overnight stop in a village midway between Fez and Meknes, they are threatened by lions. The men, who have been sleeping on the roof of a barn, become aware of the distress of the women inside:

From below we could hear Mariam's screams and Warda's prayers, calling upon the Madonna in Castilian.

In a trembling voice, Muhammed made a vow: if we survived, he would break his journey to make a pilgrimage to the village of Taghya, and place an offering upon the tomb of *wali* Bu 'Izza, a saint famous for his many miracles involving lions. (128)

Thus it is that a journey which has begun as an exploratory business trip is transformed into *ziyara*, a visit to a shrine, one of the exemplary forms of travel in a Muslim culture. But unlike *hijra* where the traveller enters upon the journey because of an obligation to do so, *ziyara* is undertaken voluntarily in order to obtain spiritual, and even material, blessings (*baraka*); or, as in the case of Muhammed al-Wazzan, to offer thanks for the deliverance of his womenfolk from the lions. On such an occasion, it is expected that the rituals, prayers, vows, and sacrifices made by the pilgrim will purge the soul of discontent and take him along the path of happiness and good fortune towards ultimate salvation (see Clancy-Smith 210). But happiness is not to be the reward in Muhammed's case, for, as on their way back from the pilgrimage Hasan experiences apprehension for his half-sister, so disaster is to overtake Muhammed when his business deal with Mariam's fiancé, the Zirwali, comes to nothing and Mariam is herself unjustly put away in the leper quarter of Fez.

It should be noted here that it was quite common for *ziyara* to be

3. Ziyara

Not surprisingly, Muhammed al-Wazzan's sense of alienation, having fulfilled the obligation to migrate, is not shared by his son, Hasan, who was still only a child when his family left the Iberian Peninsula for the Maghrib. Under the adept guidance of his school friend Harun, known as the ferret, Hasan has no difficulty in adapting to his new environment:

At his side [writes Hasan], I was to explore both Fez and my own adolescence. I felt an outsider; he knew the city was his, created for him, only for his eyes, for his limbs, for his heart. And he offered to share it with me. [. . .] God alone knows the number of expeditions we made together after that. (106, 109)

In a sense, Hasan's life of travel has already begun, albeit within the city confines: he explores the streets, squares, alleys and byways of Fez; its markets, shops, and stalls; gets to know the beggars, street performers, itinerant salesmen, and story tellers; and ultimately carries out an investigation of the brothel quarter of the city where, in a tavern, he by chance catches a glimpse of his father accompanied by a prostitute; all these propel him towards adolescence –and beyond to a life of independent travel.

Even before he has reached the age of puberty, Hasan experiences an intense wanderlust when he imagines travelling with his uncle, who is to be sent by the citizens of Fez on a mission to the Grand Turk in Constantinople:

I had always dreamed of Constantinople, and on hearing that Khali [Uncle] was to go there, I could scarcely contain myself. I turned it round and round in my head, asking whether I could possibly hope, at the age of ten, to take part in such a journey. Rather diffidently, I confided in my uncle. Great was my surprise when he replied, his arms open wide in welcome: 'Where could I find a better travelling companion?' (117)

read in several other ways. "The land of rights" could mean secular law as opposed to the laws of Islam (*shari'a*), here signified by "the land of submission to God's will." It might, therefore, be regarded as a political statement having nothing to do with migration, but rather with a transformation of secular society, where only the letter of the law is adhered to, into a religious community where the law is followed in spirit.

At a more esoteric level, "abandoning the soul by not attending to its desires" might mean not only a recommendation to withdraw from the world, as is often the case with those of mystic sensibility, but a withdrawal from life, not in a nihilistic sense, but in recognition of human corruption on the mortal journey through life, or the world ("the land of rights"), and its termination in death and the after-life ("the land of submission to God's will"). There is a curious paradox if one recognizes that freedom of will is what characterizes the passage through life ("the land of rights"), whilst capitulation is the outcome on arrival at one's destination ("the land of submission to God's will"), which is the very opposite of conventional views of *hijra* where the obligation to migrate is regarded as a journey from bondage to freedom—from a land conquered by infidels to one governed by the humane laws of Islam.

In this latter sense, Hasan's father, Muhammed, eventually makes the journey from Granada to Fez with his family. Unlike his son, he is not a compulsive traveller, nor can he conceive of travel as an enlargement of spiritual horizons, nor *hijra* as a movement of the soul from a corrupt state of ignorance to one of divine enlightenment; nor even simply as a journey from unhappiness to happiness; quite the contrary, for he was content in the role of weigh-master in Malaga, a place which he regarded as his home, whilst finding only unhappiness as an émigré in his country of adoption.

freedom. It is in this sense, also, an exodus on a mythic scale since it is a whole people who are involved in the venture. Nor would it have been hard for the remaining Muslims of Granada to envisage Spain as a "prison," especially in view of the excesses of the Inquisition under royal control, first directed against the Jews and later the Muslims. Indeed, its victims would have found themselves thrown into a literal prison, to be flogged, tortured, and even burnt to death if "guilt" were not admitted. It is not hard, therefore, to understand the import of Astaghfirullah's words addressed to a blind old gardener, S'ad, who feels unable to make the journey to North Africa:

'God is good and his patience is limitless. He does not ask the same things from those who can and those who cannot. If you wish to obey Him by emigrating, but find that you cannot, He knows to read in your heart and to judge you for your intentions. He will not condemn you to hell, but your own hell could well be on this earth and in this land. Your hell will be the daily humiliation for you and the women of your family.' (74)

It should be noted that the shaikh's first use of the word "hell" clearly refers to a metaphysical "place", whilst the subsequent references to it are metaphorical only. It is this strategy of transforming hypothetical torment into a concrete reality which is designed to shock the old man into fulfilling his obligation to *hijra*. If at a political level the shaikh's intention is to persuade him to move away from a state of humiliation in submission towards one of dignity in freedom, at a spiritual level he is being invited to make a journey from "hell" to "heaven". This is not so fanciful as it may at first seem if it is recalled that among the Muslim mystics it was believed that physical motion from one place to another did not necessarily constitute *hijra*. It was especially the case among the Sufis who believed that the only "movement" required to fulfil such an obligation was a spiritual one—of emotion rather than actual motion. According to the mystic philosopher, Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri who died in AD 1074, fulfilling *hijra* meant "abandoning the soul by not attending to its desires and then migrating from the land of rights to the land of submission to God's will" (qtd. in Masud 36). Although this appears to include both a spiritual change of heart and a physical movement from a non-Muslim to a Muslim land, it could be

the Prophet—on whom be prayers and peace!—are insulted daily you will give a shameful image of Islam for which the Most High will call you to account on the Day of Judgement. It is said in the Book that on that Day the angel of death will ask you: "Is not the land of God vast enough? Could you not have left your homeland to seek asylum elsewhere?" Henceforth the fires of hell will be your dwelling place.' (71)

The shaikh is here invoking *hijra*, the obligation of Muslims to migrate from places where the practices of their religion are no longer permitted, or are in some way restricted, thus following the example of the Prophet Muhammed, who with his followers migrated to Medina in AD 622 to escape persecution from the authorities in Makkah.⁽²⁾ The case was certainly similar in Andalus where, once the three-year period of grace granted by the Spaniards was over, practice of the Muslim faith was forbidden. As Hasan poignantly relates in the chapter entitled "The Year of the Inquisitors," "[t]he words '*Allahu akbar*' could no longer be pronounced upon the soil of Andalus, where for eight centuries the voice of the muezzin had called the faithful to prayer" (115). Those who decided to remain in Granada would have found themselves not only prevented from practising their religion, but would also have been abjured by the Muslims who had followed the tenets of *hijra* by migrating from what had become a non-Muslim land (*dar al-kufr*) to a Muslim land (*dar al-Islam*). As the Prophet and his followers had cut themselves off from the Muslims who had chosen to stay in Makkah, so, too, the migrants to the Maghrib would have felt an obligation to sever all connections with the remainder of the Muslims in Granada whom they called *mudajjan* or "tamed" (72). As one commentator has reminded us, the literal meaning of *hijra* is not only "to migrate," but also "to abandon" or "to break ties with someone" (Masud 30). This meant, also, that *hijra* was irrevocable and that there could be no question of returning to the old homeland, unless to wage *jihad*, or Holy War.⁽³⁾

There is a further aspect to the notion of *hijra* which needs to be considered in order to establish the deeper meaning of Muhammed al-Wazzan's departure from Spain with his family. He is not obliged to leave simply to distance himself from disbelief and the evil which accrues from it, but to escape from his oppressors. His voyage is to be taken on an existential trajectory from a state of virtual bondage to one of relative

travel are prescribed? Or is the journey precipitated by the subject's spontaneous quest for knowledge of the world and a renewal of the self?

There can be no straightforward answer to any of these questions because the motive for travel may often be mixed or ambivalent. It may be undertaken for an ostensibly altruistic reason but with an underlying ulterior motive; an initially vague wanderlust may be transformed into a thoroughly directed enterprise; a trek with a fixed itinerary may meet with something unforeseen so that the planned route is abandoned; a journey may start out with one destination in mind and end up arriving at quite another; or the sought-after effect of a journey may not result in what is desired, and lead to its opposite.

One might take the migration of Hasan's family from Granada as an example of the ambivalence lying behind the motive for travel. With the surrender of the city to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, the Muslims were given three years to choose between submission or exile. Although some left Spain without hesitation, others, wanting to get the best price for their land, property, and the belongings that they would not be able to take with them, delayed their departures. Others felt too old or disabled to begin a new life elsewhere, whilst there were those who were determined to remain, even at the cost of converting to Christianity. Hasan's father delays because he wants to retrieve his concubine, Warda, and his daughter, Mariam, who have both been reclaimed by Warda's brother, a soldier in the occupying army. The father's choice to leave Spain appears to be a matter of expediency, for in the new order he could never have remained in Granada with a Christian slave at his behest; the only way he can keep her is to take her with him to a place outside the jurisdiction of the Spaniards. However, underlying what would seem an irresponsible postponement of his departure, which puts at risk the safety of the rest of his family, there may be a deeper motivation for Muhammad's eventual embarkation for the Maghrib. It is possible that he is acting on the advice of Shaikh Astaghfirullah who is adamant about the religious duty to leave Spain:

'Go, emigrate, let God guide your steps' [he tells Hasan's father], 'for if you accept to live under submission and humiliation, if you accept to live in a country where the precepts of Faith are held up to ridicule, where the Book and

journey without, however, always returning to the place from where he started. A case in point is his very first journey made in 1494 with his family from Granada to Fez by way of the Mediterranean ports of Almeria and Melilla:

I was your age, my son [Hasan writes years later], and I have never seen Granada again. God did not ordain that my destiny should be written completely in a single book, but that it should unfold, wave after wave, to the rhythm of the seas. At each crossing, destiny jettisoned the ballast of one future to endow me with another; on each new shore, it attached to my name the name of a homeland left behind. (81)

Thus, Hasan is able to introduce himself in the opening page of his autobiography with his multiple names as though the places of his migration had been imprinted on him like a map:

I, Hasan the son of Muhammed the weigh-master [Arabic, al-Wazzan], I, Jean-Leon de Medici, circumcised at the hand of a barber and baptized at the hand of a pope, I am now called the African, but I am not from Africa, nor from Europe, nor from Arabia. I am also called the Granadan, the Fassi [i.e. from Fez], the Zayyati [his tribe of origin], but I come from no country, from no city, no tribe. I am the son of the road, my country is the caravan, my life the most unexpected of voyages. (1)

On the one hand, Hasan states his identity in terms of his tribe of origin and the towns and cities in which he has settled; on the other, he disowns that identity because, for one reason or another, he has always moved on to new places: he migrates from Granada, is banished from Fez (though he returns later), flees twice from Cairo, stays a short time in Makkah and Tunis (the latter where he ultimately settles), slips away from Constantinople, is abducted from Jerba, and finally escapes from Rome.

What is the motivation for so much travel? Do circumstances make it expedient? Is it sometimes undertaken so that commerce can be engaged upon? Or to fulfil religious doctrine in which certain kinds of

2. Hijra

It will be seen from what I have said thus far that the members of Hasan al-Wazzan's family are heavily implicated in his autobiography both as tellers and listeners. They are also involved as participators because their lives are intimately bound up with each other in a closely-knit extended family characteristic of a Muslim community. This can be seen in Hasan's marriage to his cousin, Fatima, at the bequest of his uncle, who has died in the desert on his return journey from Timbuktu to Fez:

Aged twelve at the time of her father's death, Fatima had always seemed sickly, grumpy and entirely unattractive. Khali [Uncle] had never asked me directly to marry her, but I knew that she was intended for me, since it is part of the natural order of things that a cousin should take one of his girl cousins for his own, sometimes the fairest, but often the one who could least easily find another husband. (170-71)

Hasan's sense of family obligation and loyalty to his deceased uncle clearly outweighs any inclination he may feel to avoid a recurrence of the conjugal dilemmas of his father who had also married a cousin but who favoured his slave concubine, Warda. Similarly, Hasan marries a cousin without enthusiasm, and out of duty, whilst glorying in the beauty and passion of his Numidian slave, Hiba, who has been presented to him by the lord of Ouarzazate, a town off the route to Timbuktu (163). "I found myself repeating my father's actions," he writes. "caught between two women, a radiant slavegirl and a cousin in tears" (173).

There is a recurrence also in the pattern of journeying; for example, Hasan's family had been exiled from Granada as he himself is later banished from Fez. Indeed, the journeys themselves are in a sense recurrent, for as Van Den Abbeele has said of the traveller: "His 'mercenary' activity or *revenue* [...] depends upon his return, upon the successful completion of his circular movement, by which the voyage can be counted as such: 'One says that he has made ten *voyages*, twenty *voyages*'" (xvi). Certainly, Hasan al-Wazzan undertakes more than one

written form, in a line of dependable intermediaries. Thus, a degree of cultural synchronicity can be detected in the morphology of the text not only in its outer form, but in its inner structure and the development of its parts in relation to each other, and to the text in its fully integrated configuration. I shall go on to enlarge and further substantiate this idea as we proceed, but for the moment it will be enough to reiterate that at the level of narratology there is a structural compatibility between the dual oral and literary modes of presentation and the dynamic of a culture where the speech act comes second only to the Book.

Ferdinand and Isabella], when the inhabitants of the city have brought back the practices of the age of ignorance, the customs of pre-Islamic times, such as wailing at funerals, pride in one's race, the practice of divination, belief in omens and the efficacy of relics, and the use of epithets and soubriquets against which the Most High has most clearly given warning." ' (33)

At the end of this simulated sermon, the father addresses his son:

"These words which I have repeated to you, Hasan, were parts of the shaikh's sermon delivered a few months before the fall of Granada. Whether I agree with his words or not, I am still shaken by them, even when I recall them ten years later. You can imagine, then, the effect which his sermons produced on the hard-pressed city of Granada in the year 896 [AH].'" (35)

Again, the reader is reminded that it is the son, Hasan, who was in the first instance the listener, and who writes down the words he heard several decades later on his final sojourn in Tunis. In point of fact, the relationship of listener to speaker is rather more complicated than this, because in the first instance it is Hasan's father who has listened to the preacher; in the second instance, the father becomes the speaker while Hasan takes on the role of listener; and there is a further dimension when we realize that Hasan, in his autobiography, addresses his own son who, even if he is not a listener (although it is probable that Hasan rehearsed his story orally, as his forbears had done, before writing it down), becomes his reader. Extrinsic to the text are the multiple readers of Amin Maalouf's novel (as distinct from Hasan al-Wazzan's autobiography which is addressed only to his son), and this reminds us of the line of communication between the modern author and his modern readers which stretches back correspondingly into the historic past of the narrative to its fictive authors, or story tellers, and to its fictive listeners, or readers.

This traffic of oral and written communication, the function of which is to hand down, is in harmony with Islamic tradition where the Holy Book, the *Qur'an*, is complemented by the *hadith*, the reported words of the Prophet Muhammed, passed on, at first orally and later in

wider political situation of the Muslims in Granada is foregrounded, as opposed to the family drama recounted by his mother involving his father, Muhammed, and his infatuation with a Christian slave, Warda, who becomes the mother of Hasan's half-sister, Mariam. At one point, his uncle, who had been letter writer and calligrapher at the court of the Sultan Boabdil of Granada, recalls the look on the sultan's face as he was told the news of the fall of Basta, a city in Spain governed by his rival, Yahya:

'It is on such occasions,' said my uncle, 'that great-heartedness or small-mindedness reveals itself [. . .]. The sultan's face swelled into a broad indecent and hideous smile. I can still see those fleshy lips opening in front of me, those hairy cheeks which seemed to stretch to his ears, those teeth, spaced wide apart to crunch up the victory, those eyes which closed slowly as if he was expecting the warm kiss of a lover, and that head which nodded with delight, backwards and forwards, as if he was listening to the most languorous of songs. As long as I live, I shall have the image of that smile before me, that terrible smile of pettiness and small-mindedness.' (27)

Hasan, taking up the narrative once more, then goes on to tell of his uncle's migration to Fez near the Atlas mountains of north Africa, a decision taken because his uncle could see that the fall of Granada to the Spaniards was imminent. Here again, there is a balancing of primary and secondary narrators, the former (Hasan) situated in the present in which he is writing, and the latter (his uncle) placed in the past in which he imparts his story by word of mouth.

Following his uncle's narrative and Hasan's indirect account, Muhammed, his father, is allowed to take up the story in the next chapter, "The Year of Astaghfirullah." Here his father gives an account of what was happening in Granada when Hasan was himself still feeding at his mother's breast. In his speech, the father mimics a sermon given by Shaikh Astaghfirullah an arch-opponent of the Sultan Boabdil, and a severe critic of the behaviour of the Granada Muslims:

"Why should God preserve Granada from the dangers which threaten it [i.e. the advance of the Castilians under

first-hand observations and findings, in an autobiography it is possible for the discourse to be mediated by secondary narrators who fill the gaps in the autobiographer's story. This applies particularly to the subject's pre-history, the circumstances of his birth, and the events of his early years where his memory is unable to serve him. Thus, in "The Book of Granada," the autobiographer, Hasan al-Wazzan, hands over his role of narrator, in the first instance to allow his mother, Salma, to tell him of the circumstances of his conception which has been aided by a Jewish soothsayer, Gaudy Sarah, a resident of Granada:

'One morning,' went on my mother, her voice still choking with emotion in spite of all the years that had passed, 'Gaudy Sarah came knocking at our door. Her lips were stained with walnut root, her eyes dripping with kohl, her fingernails steeped in henna, and she was enveloped from head to toe in a riot of ancient crumpled silks which breathed sweet-smelling perfumes. She used to come to see me---may God have mercy upon her, wherever she may be!---to sell amulets, bracelets, perfumes made from lemon, ambergris, jasmine and water lilies, and to tell fortunes. She immediately noticed my reddened eyes, and without me having to tell her the cause of my misery, began to read my palm like the crumpled page of an open book.' (6)

This secondary narrative alternates between direct and reported speech, which reminds the reader that the mother's words have been recollected by the son, as she, in her turn, recollected the events which brought Hasan, the listener (as he was then) and writer (as he is now), into the world. This oscillation between direct and indirect speech has the effect of reinforcing the narratorial dominance of the autobiographer and prevents the secondary narrator from undercutting the authority of the writer.

In the chapter which follows—"The Year of the Amulets"—Hasan al-Wazzan records how when crossing the Sahara on a diplomatic mission to Timbuktu, his maternal uncle, Abu Marwan, who was leader of the embassy, had told him of his self-exile from Granada. In spite of a poor memory, Hasan quotes his uncle's words directly insofar as he is able to remember them. It is in this part of the narrative, too, that the

applies particularly to parts of "The Book of Fez" where, on Hasan al-Wazzan's first journey to Timbuktu in the western Sahara, topographical features of landscape and the customary apparel of the tribespeople are rendered in much the same way as they are in his *Description of Africa*:

Our next stage was through the mountains of Ziz, so called because a river of that name has its source within them. The inhabitants of that region belong to a formidable Berber tribe, the Zanaga. They are sturdy men, wearing woolen tunics next to their skin, and wrapping rags around their legs which serve as shoes. Summer and winter, they go about bare-headed. (157)

One can see here the informative nature of the observations made by the traveller; the focus is not on the observer, but on what has been observed. The writer's attitude here is not that of an autobiographer whose experiences and emotional responses lie at the heart of the narrative, but rather that of an explorer, a geographer, or an anthropologist for whom a detached and objective account of topography or custom is the chief purpose of the journey.

A halting descriptiveness is not, however, the dominant mode of the narrator's discourse in *Leo the African*. If it is the case that on his journeyings the traveller stops to observe and then goes on to describe (Latin: *de*, down; *scribere*, to write) what he has seen, in his autobiography the narrator reaches back into the past, beginning with his family origins and birth, working through childhood, youth, and adulthood, ultimately arriving at the present of his later years in which he has chosen to render an account of the journey of his life. In the fictional autobiography, the literal journey has a potential psychic dimension which it does not usually have in factual travel literature where the journey is solely the means of opening up epistemological space. In travel literature, any existential insight which may be derived from the experience of travel may simply be regarded as a by-product of scientific enquiry; whereas in autobiography, travel may serve as a metaphor for the various stages of a person's life, and is apprehended imaginatively; that is, in the language of art rather than of science, with feeling rather than in a detached manner.

Unlike travel literature where the writer generally records only

1. Perspectives

Leo the African, originally written in French under the title Léon l'Africain, and first published in 1986, is the second of the books by the Lebanese writer, Amin Maalouf. The text is divided into four parts: "The Book of Granada," "The Book of Fez," "The Book of Cairo," and "The Book of Rome." This basic structure determines both the chronology of the narrative and the sequence of its varied locations. Each of these parts is further subdivided into unnumbered chapters representing time units of one Islamic year respectively; thus, for example, "The Year of Saima Al-Hurra: 894 A.H. [or] 5 December 1488 - 14 November 1489." These chapters collectively span the period AD 1488 to 1527, which would indicate that the novel has been plotted around calendar time, unlike a romance where time tends to be apprehended psychologically, and where plot, as a consequence, has a transient and immeasurable quality, the events often occurring in a rush. In *Leo the African*, a carefully controlled organization of material fixed in clearly defined time and space, the maintenance of a continuous cause and effect sequence of events, together with a three-dimensional development of character, and a marked lack of extra-literal symbolic value given to language, ensure the realistic tenor of the narrative. The illusion is sustained by a quasi-archaic use of language which has the effect of reinforcing the evocation of a period remote from the modern reader.

Even if the reader may not at first realize that the protagonist, Hasan al-Wazzan (otherwise known by his adopted name, Jean-Leon de Medici), has been based on an historical figure, Leo Africanus or al-Hasan ibn-Muhammed al-Wezas al-Fasi, this may become clear from the intermittent references to his Description of Africa (originally written in Italian as Descrittione dell' Africa), the manuscript of which remained in the Vatican after the author's flight from Rome in 1527. There are, in fact, no less than seven references to Hasan al-Wazzan's travel book,⁽¹⁾ and this has evidently provided much of the source material for Maalouf's fictionalized account of the traveller's life.

However, it is only in certain sections of the novel that the narrative takes on the descriptive characteristics of a travel book. This

Patterns of Travel in Amin Maalouf's Leo the African

Abstract

Leo the African, originally written in French as *Leon L'Africain*, is the second of Amin Maalouf's novels (1986). Based on the life of the early sixteenth-century traveller, Hasan Al-Wazzan (or Leo Africanus), Maalouf has rendered a fictionalised autobiographical account of the traveller's life.

I first analyse the author's use of the autobiographical mode in relation to both primary and secondary narrators, and to the fictive listeners and readers of the narrative. I then go on to trace the geographical trajectory of Al-Wazzan's travels beginning with the Muslim exodus from Granada beginning in 1492, and migration to the Maghrib; his journeys across the Atlas and Sahara to Timbuktu, and from thence to Egypt; his mission to Constantinople; pilgrimage to Makkah; and eight-year sojourn in Rome.

The journeys undertaken are identified according to forms of travel appropriate to the cultural origins of the protagonist. These are categorised as follows: *hijra*: obligatory emigration; *ziyara*: voluntary visits to the holy shrines of Muslim saints; *rihla*: journeys made for diplomatic, mercantile, or educational purposes; and *hajj*: pilgrimage to Makkah. Penal forms of travel as they figure in the narrative are also accounted for; namely, banishment and exile, and, also, abduction leading to servitude with a consequent curtailment of travel.

On the theoretical plane, travel will be viewed as a series of variable paradigmatic relationships; e.g. self and other, centre and margin, home and destination, *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-Kufr*.

Finally, the synoptic tenor of my exposition is designed to facilitate understanding for those unfamiliar with Maalouf's novel, as well as to aid in recollection those who have read the text.

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The Author:

Dr. Antony Johae, Associate Professor,

Department of English Language and Literature, Kuwait
University

- Ph.D 1980 in Comparative Literature. University of Essex, United Kingdom.
- Has taught in England, Germany, Ghana, Tunisia, and Kuwait.

Publications:

- Has published articles in the U.S, Canada, United Kingdom, Netherlands and Kuwait.
- Fields of publications: Coleridge, Dickens, Orwell, Swift, Soyinka, Trotsky, Zamyatin, Dostoevsky, Kafka, Thomas Mann, and Gunter Grass.

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Leo the African**

Dr. Antony Johae

Department of English Language and Literature
Kuwait University

Consultants

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(Department of English Language and literature - Cairo University)
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Dr. Antony Johae

Department of English Language and Literature
Kuwait University

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