The Early Modern Travel Book as an Autobiographical 'Genre of Genres'

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The present paper uses an interdisciplinary approach between genre analysis, comparative philology, and historical pragmatics to highlight the early modern travel genres (1400-1700). The paper adopts a cross-cultural and a cross-linguistic perspective on the English travel journal and the Arabic *rihla* genres. These travel genres are **problematic texts**. They are hybrid genres. They have been, traditionally, studied either as an ethnographic record or as a historical document. However, the aim of this paper is to pinpoint the English and Arabic travel genres as autobiographical texts, self-narratives, or *ego-documents*.[1]

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This paper is part of an Ph. D thesis entitled "Discourses on Emotions: Communities, Styles, and Selves in Early Modern Mediterranean Travel Books (Three Case Studies)", Supervised by Prof. Donna Landry -University of Kent, Uk & Prof. Dr. phil. Sabine Schülting - Freie Universität Berlin, Germany.

[1] The term *ego-document* was originally coined by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser in the 1950s. After Presser, the notion found less acceptance among historians until the late 1980s, when Rudolf Dekker and a group of Dutch historians launched a project to inventory Dutch early modern ego-documents (1500 to 1814). Recently, the term *ego-document* (Gr. *Egodokument*) has become an umbrella term for all kinds of self-narrative genres. However, many early modern historians reject the term *ego-document* because "[t]he lexeme *ego* evokes "the inevitable association with Sigmund Freud's work". Therefore, in many recent studies, the term *self-narrative,* and its variants: *ego-document, personal narrative*, and sometimes, *self-testimony* are used interchangeably.

See: Kaspar von Greyerz, "Ego-Documents: The Last Word?", *German History* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2010):273-282 (p. 275); Rudolf Dekker, "Introduction", in Rudolf Dekker (ed.), *Egodocuments and*

The present study employs a pragmaphilology approach, one of the two main branches in historical pragmatics: pragmaphilology and diachronic pragmatics. The present study uses Irma Taavitsainen and Susan Fitzmaurice theoretical definitions as a starting point.

> **[H]istorical pragmatics** focuses on language use in past contexts and examines how meaning is made. It is an empirical branch of linguistic study, with focus on authentic language use in the past.[1]

> **Pragmaphilology** has been described as consisting of largely synchronic descriptions and studies on pragmatic aspects of historical texts in their sociocultural context. Examples of such studies include new readings of medieval texts, analyses of Chaucerian dialogues or Shakespearean scenes, or new communicative interpretations of documentary evidence. Even if the approach is not explicitly informed by a present-day perspective, the insights offered about, say, acts of courtship in domestic situations in Shakespeare's time are inevitably shaped by a present-day reading of the past. According to the pragmatic approach, texts – both literary and non-literary – are regarded as communicative

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History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002, 7-20 (p.7); Rudolf Dekker, "Egodocuments in the Netherlands from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century", in Erin Griffey (ed.), *Envisioning Self and Status: Self Representation in the Low Countries, 1400–1700*, Hull: Crossways, 5, 1999. 255-284, available online at <http://www.egodocument.net/pdf/Egodocuments_in_the_Netherlands.pdf >

[1] Irma Taavitsainen and Susan Fitzmaurice, "Historical pragmatics: What it is and how to do it." *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007, p. 13

events in their own right.[1]

Pragmaphilology is highly interdisciplinary in nature; it draws upon social and cultural history, and anthropology for the study of texts from the past.[2]

This paper has two objectives. First is to project the pragmaphilological approach as a systematic methodological approach suitable for close textual analysis of different literary and non-literary genres across different cultures and historical contexts. Second is to stimulate ideas on early modern autobiographical genres, including travel books, as fertile classroom material for teaching courses on the early modern history of English/ Arabic languages, the history of ideas, mentalities, and discourses on emotions and the self.

1- The Travel book: A Problematic 'Genre of Genres'

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the travel book genre closely interacted with other fictional and non-fictional related genres including ʺchronicles and histories, geographical and cosmographical treatises, and political reports. This is as

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[1] Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice, ʺHistorical pragmatics: What it is and how to do it.ʺ p. 13-14

[2] The present study follows a recent wave of research by a group of German historians working under the title *Selbstzeugnisse in transkultureller Perspektive* (*Self-narratives in transcultural perspective*). This group has been founded in 2004 at Freie Universität Berlin. See for examples, the official website of the Berlin research group on <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/fg530/index.html>; Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer, *Mapping the 'I': Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland,* Leiden: Brill, 2014. A list of their publications is available on <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fg530/_media/pdf/Literaturliste_FG1.pdf>. The list shows an impressive number of research projects on Arabic and Ottoman self-narratives.

true of travel within Europe as it is of travel outside Europe. More subtle, but also important, were the links with chivalric and picaresque romances, with utopian and anti-utopian literature, philosophical works, and educational treatises".[1]
The travel book borrowed from the genre conventions of the private diary, the essay, the short story, and the prose poem.[2]

Similarly, within Arabic textual traditions, *rihla* is a travel genre that conventionally cross-bred with other narrative genres, such as *Masālik wa Mamālik* (routes and kingdoms),[3] *Maqāmāt* (picaresque narrative),[4] and *ta'rīkh* (historiography). It also holds many features of the *tarjama* (autobiography, self-interpretation) genres, as well as the satire, humour, wit and derision genres.

Early modern travellers in these two cultures (English and Arabic) used the tropes available to them in the poetry, drama, theological and political prose of the period. They embellished

[1] Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.10.

[2] Jonathan Raban, *For Love & Money:Writing – Reading - Travelling 1968-1987*, London: Picador, 1988, p. 253-54.

[3] Rihla and al-masālik wa l-mamālik are kin Arabic literary genres. They are classified in most libraries and archives in the Arab world as geographical literature. Both genres describe cities and the habits and customs of peoples. The only difference is in the autobiographical aspect. In the Masalik wa Mamalik genre, the author says nothing about himself. See Ch. Pellat, "al-Masālik Wa 'l-Mamālik", in P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. 02 August 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-masalik-wa-l-mamalik-SIM_4994>

[4] Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Maqama: A History of a Genre. (Diskurse der Arabistik Vol. 5). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.

their narratives with imagery, metaphor, allusion to myths, and symbolism to enhance the rhetorical modes of their travel journals. They freely braided their travel experiences into any generic form that they chose: interfaith polemics, mystic anecdotes, folk stories, or dream narratives, as shown in the last section of this paper.

According to Joan-Pau Rubiés, the pre-modern travel book is a "genre of genres".[1] This "hybrid" generic nature has made the early modern travel book a text with several functions: a historical document, an ethnographic record, a literary text, and a self-narrative.[2] However, a review of the scholarship on western and non-western pre-modern travel genres reveals more scholarly attention to their functions as historical and ethnographic documents, compared to their being literary and self-narrative texts.[3] The genre was approached as largely factual, rather than fictional, and that the travellers themselves were generally reliable, objective, and well-organized sightseers.[4] As a historical document, the travel book is very often seen as a valuable eye-witness account for empirical, or even raw data, for the culture about which it spoke or the time of which it was a trace.[5] The authenticity of the journey and

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[1] Rubiés, 'Travel Writing as a Genre', p. 6.

[2] Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology", in Glenn Hooper and Tim Younges (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing,* Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003, 13-26 (p. 13).

[3] Valerie Wheeler, "Travelers' Tales: Observations on the Travel Book and Ethnography". *Anthropological Quarterly* 59.2 (1986): 52–63.

[4] Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing", *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol.16. No.1 (1989): p. 7-29.

[5] Hayden White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", in Kuisma Korhonen (ed.), *Tropes for the Past, Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate,* Amsterdam; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2006, p. 26.

the truth of its events could supposedly be verified by making a comparison to other related historical evidence. Once verified, those events become a window to the past. As an ethnographic document, early modern travel books are read as primary sources of information on exotic cultures, or particular ethnic groups.[1] They provide descriptions of peoples, their habitations, fashion, customs, religion, forms of government, and language, among other cultural phenomena.[2] Those ethnographic descriptions were "valued parts of the narratives of travel that proliferated after the Renaissance".[3]

Nevertheless, this hybridity between fact and fiction has made the pre-modern travel book a problematic document for many "scientifically motivated historians"[4] and "realist anthropologists".[5] The question as to whether the travel book is a 'fictional text' or a 'factual document' appears in several major analyses of early modern travel books.[6] Hayden White argues that such deliberate eschewal of the fictional aspects of pre-modern texts in general is a purely modern phenomenon.[7]

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[1] Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", p. 243.
[2] Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", p. 242.
[3] Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography", p. 243.
[4] White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", p. 25.
[5] Wheeler, "Travelers' Tales", p. 52.
[6] Percy Adams. *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, p. 11-12.
[7] Hayden White, "The Fictions of Factual Representation", in Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, 121- 134 (p.122). Roxanne L. Euben, however, argues that the question of the fictionality of the travellers' tales was an issue during Classical and late Medieval times, in both the Western and the Islamic contexts. She argues that both Herodotus's *Histories* (c.440 BC) and Ibn Battuta's *Rihla* (c.1354) were judged as lies and largely fictional by their contemporary scholars. See Chapter 2 "Liars, Travelers, Theorists:

It started in the nineteenth century among western scholars when "the concept of history was reformulated, historical consciousness was for the first time theorized, and the modern scientific method of historical inquiry was inaugurated".[1]

According to White, scientific historians consider rhetoric and fiction to be the "enemies" of historical objectivity: "Rhetoric because, according to the doxa philosophica, it seeks to seduce where it cannot convince by evidence and argument; and, fiction, because, according to the same doxa, it presents imaginary things as if they were real and substitutes illusion for truth".[2]

Similarly, many twentieth century anthropologists have disputed the status of the travel book genre as "a species of ethnography".[3] They quibbled about the centrality of the autobiographical element in the travel book and about the travellers' subjective, unsystematic observations.[4] Just like nineteenth-century historians, anthropologists aspired to an ethnographic document with "a neutral, tropeless discourse that would render other realities 'exactly as they are,' not filtered through [the traveller's] own values and interpretive schema".[5]

Herodotus and Ibn Battuta" in Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008.

[1] White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", p. 25.

[2] White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing", p. 25.

[3] Wheeler, "Travelers' Tales", p. 52.

[4] Mary Louise Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places", in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, p. 35.

[5] Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places", p. 27. For an unequivocal example of this opposition between ethnography to travel writing, See Claude Levi-Strauss' seminal book, *Tristes Tropiques,* on the Amerindian tribes in Brazil. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, John Russell (Trans.) London: Hutchinson & Co, 1961, p. 17.

This positivist attitude towards pre-modern travel books led many scholars "to peel away the fictive elements in [their] documents so [they] could get the real facts"[1] and to undermine the significance of the subjective, the symbolic, the mythic, and the literary narratives.[2] Therefore, 'the marvels and the miracles' as well as the subjective narratives in the travellers' tales were "killed by Science".[3]

2- The Travel Book as a Self-Narrative

From another perspective, many scholars differentiate between two travel sub-genres: the ʿimpersonalʾ travel writings, such as: travel guidebooks or ship's logs, and the ʿpersonalʾ travel books which were written on personal initiative. Unlike diplomatic reports or ship's logs, personal travel books exhibit autobiographical generic structure. They have unique forms, language, and style. The journeys were written in innovative manners: in rhyme, comic vein, or biblical style. Likewise, these personal travel books "often begin by introducing the travelling companions, in one case even listing a pet, […] a baggage list, [...] a list of the clothing and books […], a list of

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[1] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Introduction", in *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*, Revised Edn. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 3.

[2] Ian Richard Netton, "Myth, Miracle and Magic in the Rihla of Ibn Battūta", *Journal of Semitic Studies* Vol. 29, No. 1 (1984): 131-40 (p. 131); Ian Richard Netton (ed.). *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam,* London: Routledge, 2005, p.xiii; C.F. Beckingham, "The Rihla: Fact or Fiction?", in Ian Richard Netton (ed.). *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam,* London: Routledge, 2005, 72-79.

[3] Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places", p. 27; Pratt quoted this phrase from Bronislaw Malinowski. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: E. P. Dutton, [1922] 1961, p. 11.

the ladies [the traveller] had met", etc.[1]

Paul Fussell defines the personal travel book as,

> a sub species of memoir in which autobiographical narrative arises from the speaker's encounter with distant or unfamiliar data and in which the narrative – unlike that in the novel or romance – claims literal validity by constant reference to actuality.[2]

According to Sabine Schülting, sixteenth-century travellers, and to a higher degree the seventeenth-century travellers, emphasized their self-narration through various rhetorical and narrative strategies. They

> embellished the chronological accounts of their journeys by adding details and providing background information [...], by autodiegetic anecdotes or by embedded narratives of vicarious experiences. Additionally, the traveller/narrator becomes increasingly prominent and more self-conscious. The record of events recedes and makes way for the traveller's consciousness, his emotional reactions to the events, and, frequently his metafictional remarks on the narrative itself.[3]

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[1] Rudolf Dekker, "Dutch Travel Journals from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries", Trans. Gerard T. Moran, in Lias. *Sources and Documents relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas* 22 (1995): 277-300); online edition available at <http://www.egodocument.net/pdf/Dutch_Travel_Journals.pdf> (p.4). Dekker's study is a special report on his inventory of travel journals in the Dutch archives and the libraries of the period, c. 1500-1814.

[2] Paul Fussell, "Travel books as Literary Phenomena", in Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p, 203.

[3] Sabine Schülting, "Travellers' Tales: Narrativity in Early Modern Travelogues", in Bernhard Reitz and Sigrid Rieuwerts (eds.), *Anglistentag 1999 Mainz. Proceedings of the Conference of the German Association of University Teachers of English*, Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2000. 429-438 (p. 430).

This paper aims to illuminate these subjective and autobiographical elements in the early modern travel books. The travel book is approached as a form of 'self-narrative' or "a source or 'document' — understood in the widest sense - providing an account of, or revealing privileged information about, the 'self' who produced it", as well as the community and intended audiences of the text.[1]

3- The Travel Book: A pragmaphilology Approach

Many historical pragmaticians and cultural historians have reversed the positivist attitude towards the study of early modern travel books by using a pragmatic approach to the text.[2] The works of Hayden White,[3] Natalie Zemon Davis,[4] Carlo Ginzburg,[5] Quentin Skinner,[1] Jonathan P. A. Sell,[2] and

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[1] Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack, "In Relation: The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents", *German History* Vol. 28, No. 3 (date):263–272 (p. 263).

[2] Tuija Virtanen, "'Then I saw to antique heddes' Discourse Strategies in Early Modern English Travelogues", in in Andreas H. Jucker (ed.). *Historical pragmatics: pragmatic developments in the history of English,* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co, 1995, pp:499-513.

[3] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism,* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978; and *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore, MD.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

[4] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France.* Redwood City, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1987; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: The Search for Leo Africanus,* England: Mackays of Chatham Ltd, [2006] 2008.

[5] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller.* John and Anne Tedeschi (Trans.). Baltimore, MD.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, [1980]1992.

and many others have introduced "methodologies that have arisen in philosophy, literary criticism, and linguistics and that offer new ways of conceiving the tasks of historical [cultural and textual] hermeneutics".[3]

These textual and philological methodologies have illuminated the textual and the sociocultural significance of the fictional events, the figurative language, the cultural constructs, as well as the subjective elements of emotions, dreams, companionship, and humour. The main interest in these methodologies has shifted from constructing the past "as it actually happened", using Leopold von Ranke's famous phrase ("wie es eigentlich gewesen"),[4] to interpreting "what the individuals thought was happening, and the ways in which their feelings, perceptions, and narratives of events either influenced, or were influenced, by the realities they faced".[5]

The 'fictional' aspects of these factual documents became focus of analysis by emphasizing the pragmatic meaning of

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[1] Quentin Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts", *New Literary History* Vol.3. No.2 (1972): p. 393-408; Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", *History and Theory* (1969): p. 3-53.

[2] Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006; Jonathan P. A. Sell, "Embodying Truth in Early Modern English Travel Writing", *Studies in Travel Writing* Vol. 16, No..3 (2012): 227-41 (p. 227).

[3] Hayden White, "The Context in the Text", in *The Content of the Form,* p. 185.

[4] Elizabeth A. Clark, "Defending and Lamenting History", in her *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009 *,* p. 9. Clark discusses the nineteenth-century debate over historical positivism.

[5] Brian Stock, "History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality", *Yale French Studies* (1986): 7-17 (p.7).

literary tropes and the "crafting of the narrative" in pre-modern texts.[1] The 'subjective' aspects can still bear "consensual truth" value because they tell about the shared values in the traveller's community and the expectations of his readers.[2] The travel book, or any early modern text, becomes a 'quasi-fiction' and a 'quasi-history' text.[3]

In her seminal study on fifteenth and sixteenth centuries autobiographical texts from the German-speaking regions,[4] Gabriele Jancke argues that any self-narrative is a reaction to a certain social situation.[5] She approaches self-narratives

> as a special form of agency, practiced by autobiographical writers in their respective personal situations and cultural contexts. In this way, the focus

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[1] Davis, *Fiction in the Archives,* p.3.

[2] Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder*, p. 23 and p. 32; Sell, "Embodying Truth in Early Modern English Travel Writing", p. 227.

[3] Kuisma Korhonen, "Introduction", in Kuisma Korhonen (ed.), *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate,* Amsterdam; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2006, 9-20 (p.16).

[4] Gabriele Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts: Acting within a Network Observations on Genre and Power Relations in the German-Speaking Regions from 1400 to 1620", in Ulbrich et al., *Mapping the'I'*, p. 118-165. The study's first publication was in German in 1996: "Autobiographische Texte – Handlungen in einem Beziehungsnetz berlegungen zu Gattungsfragen und Machtaspekten im deutschen Sprachraum von 1400 bis 1620," in Winfried Schulze (ed.), *Ego-Dokumente. Annäherungen an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit, vol. 2, Berlin, 1996, 73–106. Cited here is the English version.

[5] Jancke uses a corpus of 200 autobiographical texts. This large corpus includes autobiographies, chronicles, diaries, and travel narratives. She emphasizes the manner in which "the authors prove to be highly creative in the way they draw on various genre models for their autobiographical undertakings". See Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.120.

lies on the writing and producing of these texts, and *egodocuments* are seen as ways of communicating and acting in society. Consequently, we [i.e. the Berlin research group] try to develop an understanding of *egodocuments* as a social and cultural practice.[1]

The pragmaphilological analysis takes into consideration three main concepts: (i) writing the self is a social practice in which narrators display their membership and affiliations to one or more network of social relations; (ii) writing the self is a communicative act between the narrator/author and these network of relations;[2] (iii) the self-narrative does not display the inner self of the narrator, rather it is a deliberate representation of the narrator's ʿsocial self' or *person*.[3]

i. Writing the travel book is a social practice

Autobiographical writers should be seen as ʺsocial beings, belonging to certain social, professional, religious and gender groups, moving in certain contexts and relationships".[4] Therefore, the first step to contextualize any self-narrative is to closely look at these relational networks. She asserts that "the sources reveal which relationships provided the decisive impetus for each author to undertake writing her or his autobiographical text".[5] In order to interpret early modern self-narratives, it is necessary to contextualize the sources not only in their larger historical and socio-political context, but

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[1] Gabriele Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse in transkultureller Perspektive", Zeitenblicke Vol. 1, No. 2 (2002) [20.12.2002], URL: <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2002/02/jancke/jancke.pdf>; para. <5>.

[2] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.119.

[3] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.160; Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <24>.

[4] Jancke, "Autobiography as Social Practice", p. 70.

[5] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.161.

also important to look at the author's immediate culture and the social situation in which s/he wrote his/her text.[1]

This view on the relationship between the self-narrator and his social networks goes back to a study on the construction of the self in sixteenth-century French self-narratives by Natalie Zemon Davis.[2] In this study, Davis argues against Jacob Burckhardt's claims that the Renaissance witnessed a development in the concept of individuality; that the Renaissance man stopped defining himself as a member of a social group (a race, a family, or a religious group); and that the development of the Renaissance individual led to a rise in the individual's ability and willingness to write his life.[3]

Contrary to Burckhardt's thesis, Davis maintains that sixteenth-century French self-narratives were mostly written with "conscious relation to the groups to which people belonged".[4] She argues further that "virtually all the occasions for talking or writing about the self involved a relationship: with God or God and one's confessor, with a patron, with a friend or a lover, or especially with one's family and lineage".[5] Davis focuses her discussion on "the family's role in shaping the

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[1] Jancke, "Autobiography as Social Practice", p. 72.
[2] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France", in T.C. Heller, M. Sosna and D.E. Wellbery (eds.), *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1986, 53–63.
[3] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore, Vienna: The Phaidon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, [1860] 1937. Cited here is the Etext, available on: <https://archive.org/details/civilizationofth005644mbp>, p. 70, p. 147, and p. 173-176.
[4] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 53.
5 Davis, "Boundaries", p. 53.

individual".[1] However, she points out that the "line drawn around the self was not firmly closed",[2] but still, early modern self-narrators found creative ways through which they represented themselves as unique members in their communities, i.e. "embeddedness did not preclude self discovery, but rather prompted it".[3] Therefore, Davis' ideas have inspired medievalist and early modern scholars to approach premodern ideas of the self as a social practice in which the author/narrator registers, negotiates, and constructs, his/her community and group affiliation.[4]

ii. The Travel book is a Communicative Act

The pragmaphilological approach considers the social functions of autobiographical texts. Any form of self-narrative, be it a diary, an autobiography, a family chronicle, a letter, a journey account, etc., is "a discrete communicative act".[5] Autobiographical writing is viewed through the lens of "speech act theory",[6] therefore it heavily draws upon the ideas of J. L. Austin and John R. Searle,[7] and defines autobiographical writing as "a social practice that has an audience in mind, the action itself occurring at a certain time, in a certain personal

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[1] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 54.
[2] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 56.
[3] Davis, "Boundaries", p. 63.
[4] Greyerz, "Ego-Documents", p. 277; See also Kaspar von Greyerz, "Observations on the Historiographical Status of Research on Self Writing", in Ulbrich et al., *Mapping the 'I':* 34-57.
[5] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.122.
[6] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.121, footnote no. 8.
[7] John Langshaw Austin, *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [1962] 1975; John R. Searle, *Speech Acts. An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: University Press, 1969.

situation and being part of a certain social context".[1]

The analysis of ʿthe autobiographical communicative actʾ focuses upon several aspects of the text.[2] The analysis identifies the topic of the communicative act is where "the writer's person appears as a subject being described, not just as narrator or commentator".[3] It also identifies "contexts, then languages and audiences, and finally ways of acting in relationships".[4] Context refers to "the situation of writing and communicating" which urged the writer to produce a text of him/herself.[5] The context also involves the social networks of the autobiographical writers, "as well as the concepts they make use of in perceiving themselves".[6] The "language and audience"[7] of the text are supposed to be the keys to understanding the autobiographical performative act. The language that the writers use reveals "the social group they belonged to as well as the audience they addressed".[8] The form of the language with which they wrote their texts, that is, a high form, such as Latin or Classical Arabic, or a vernacular, such as German, English, Aljamiado (Spanish language in

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[1] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <13>.

[2] Janke identifies the components of "the autobiographical communicative act" in a close textual analysis of three texts in three different languages: "The Hebrew memoir of the Jewish politician Josel of Rosheim, of the German-language 'Letter to the Entire Citizenry of the City of Strasbourg' by the clergyman's wife and Strasbourg resident Katharina Zell, and of the Latin autobiography "Vita Jacobi Andreae" by the theologian and church politician Jakob Andreae of Württemberg", Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.124.

[3] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <17>.

[4] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <14>.

[5] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.160.

[6] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <7>.

[7] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <20>.

[8] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <21>.

Arabic script), etc., reveals some information on the writer's education, knowledge of languages, social networks. It also tells about the writer's intended or expected audiences.[1] The audience of a text is sometimes also a part of the writer's social network, for example, for those who write for their families, or their patrons.

Finally, the analysis should look at the ways in which the author used his/her text to integrate him/herself into the social contexts of their time, into their social networks, and into their communities.[2] Autobiographical writers produced their texts to perform certain social roles within their communities.[3] As examples, some autobiographical writers aimed "to influence the collective memory of those to whom the text is passed on, and hence also their social relationships".[4] Other self-narrators narrators wrote their texts to fulfil their social roles as fathers or heads of family households. Their texts were written "from a position of authority" and were meant "to communicate useful information as well as an exemplary life to the next generation".[5] Others wrote to document and reinforce their professional/career roles within the society. Meanwhile, those who wrote for and about their patrons did so in order to describe their patronage relationship, to project their indebtedness to their patrons, and to "honor" them.[6]

iii. The Travel book is a display of the narrator's social self
The key element in studying early modern self-narratives is to acknowledge that the texts reveal neither "an autonomous

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[1]   Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse", para. <22> and <23>.
[2]   Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.122.
[3] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.161.
[4] Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.161.
[5] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse', para. <25>.
[6] Jancke, "Selbstzeugnisse', para. <26>.

individuality", nor "an authentic experience", but rather they reveal the author's "social self" or a socially constructed image of the author's *person*.[1] The pragmaphilological approach searches into the notion of 'the person' as a historical, a sociopolitical, and an ideological construct. It does not search into the notion of 'the self' as a bio-psychic entity and philosophical category.[2]

Accordingly, Gabriele Jancke and Claudia Ulbrich suggest that the best way to define a self-narrative comes from the Arabic word *Tarjama*, which literally means translation or interpretation. *Tarjama* also refers to the Arabic self-narrative genre (Biographical Notice).[3] Accordingly, self-narratives should be approached as "interpretations or translations (of life as experienced physically and psychically), transferred into another medium, that of (verbal) language and writing".[4] The authors' self-portrayals of themselves in a text are social performances and cultural practices in which they present

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[1] Fulbrook and Rublack, "In Relation", p. 267; Claudia Ulbrich, "Person and Gender: The Memoirs of the Countess of Schwerin", *German History* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2010): 296–309 (p. 297).

[2] Ulbrich, "Person and Gender", p. 299-300; Jancke, "Autobiographical Texts", p.123, footnote 11. Jancke is referring to the following anthropological studies: Michael Carrithers, Steven Collins and Steven Lukes (eds.), *The Category of the Person. Anthropology, Philosophy, History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, Cambridge: Polity, 1990; Grace Gredys Harris, "Concepts of Individual, Self, and Person in Description and Analysis", *American Anthropologist*, (1989) 91:599–612.

[3] Gabriele Jancke and Claudia Ulbrich, "From the Individual to the Person: Challenging Autobiography Theory", in Ulbrich et al., *Mapping the'I'*, 15-33 (p. 33).

[4] Dwight Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Univ of California Press, 2001, p. 42.

themselves within their own communities and their network of relationships.[1]

Within this pragmatic understanding of the concept of a person, narratives on emotions and the self become an aspect of the traveller's person or his social self. It becomes a rhetorical strategy for his self-presentation to his community, as well as a key to reading the social networks in which he embeds himself.

4- A survey on Early Modern Arabic and English Self-narratives

Most important about the above-discussed approach to early modern self-narratives is its "shift away from a more diachronic approach to a more synchronic one".[2] So, instead of tracing the changes in the notion of the person from one historical period to another, the analysis focuses on the sociocultural variations and meanings of personhood, within the same culture, and across cultures and communities.[3] This transcultural perspective is critical to the design of the present study. The three travel books under-study in this study provide various possibilities of describing the self across cultures; the travel books are from three cultures and languages: Arabic, Andalusian and English. This focus on the diversity in Western and non-Western conceptions of the self and person refutes the Burckhardtian fallacy of the uniqueness of the Western notion of individuality.[4] Recent studies acknowledge that "autobiographical writing has been existing in various forms

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[1] Jancke and Ulbrich, "From the Individual", p. 31.
[2] Greyerz, "Ego-Documents", p. 277.
[3] Jancke and Ulbrich, "From the Individual", p. 30-31.
[4] Greyerz, "Observations", p. 56-57.

and literary traditions since well before modern times".[1]

This section is a discussion and a survey of the studies which addressed English and Arabic early modern self-narratives. The review is further narrowed down to specific studies which employ textual and pragmaphilological approaches to self-narratives, particularly the studies by Peter Burke on self-presentation in English Renaissance autobiographies and by Dwight Reynolds on Arabic *Tarjama* and *Sira* (autobiographies).[2] These previous studies have enlightened the present study with observations on the recurrent themes, social and textual conventions, and culturally specific issues which are related to autobiographical writings in the English, the Andalusian and the Arabic West and the Ottoman cultures.

4.i. English Renaissance Self-narratives

In his studies on Anglophone and European self-narratives in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Peter Burke emphasis to rhetorical strategies of self-presentation in English autobiographical writing.[3] In his list of sources, Burke

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[1] Jancke, 'Selbstzeugnisse', para. <5>; See for examples: Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (eds.), *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2012; Olcay Akyıldız, Halim Kara, and Börte Sagaster (eds.), *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 6). Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007.

[2] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 26; for example, see: Edward Said, *Beginnings,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

[3] Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes", in Roy Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, London: Routledge, 1997, 17-28; Peter Burke, "The Rhetoric of Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century", in Marijke J. van der Wal and Gijsbert Rutten (eds.), *Touching the Past: Studies in the Historical Sociolinguistics of Ego-documents.* Amesterdam: John Benjamin Publishing. 2013. 149-164.

includes plays, essays and dialogues, as well as "biographies, autobiographies, diaries, travel journals, [and] letters".[1] He also includes material cultural objects, such as "portraits and self-portraits".[2] In his studies, Burke traces down the changes in ideas on the self in the English Renaissance culture.[3]

Parallel to the discussed-above studies by Davis, Jancke, and Ulbrich, Burke's work argues against Burckhardtian assumptions "that this modern idea of the self goes back to the Renaissance" and "that autobiographies and diaries are a uniquely occidental genre".[4] Burke finds these claims to be "problematic from at least three points of view: geographical, sociological and chronological".[5] From the geographical perspective, these claims overlook non-Western traditions.[6] From the sociological perspective, Burckhardt derived his sweeping generalizations from the self-narratives of "a tiny minority of Italians, generally upper-class males".[7] From a chronological perspective, Burckhardt's comparison between the notion of individuality in Middle Ages and the Renaissance was overplayed;[8] he "underestimated" the sense of individuality in the Middle Ages, and "exaggerated" it in the Renaissance.[9] Burke argues that in the Renaissance people defined themselves as members of communities and social groups "as Florentines (say), as Italians, as Chinese, as males,

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[1] Burke, "Representations", p. 20.
[2] Burke, "Representations", p. 24.
[3] Burke, "Representations", p. 20.
[4] Burke, "Representations", p. 27.
[5] Burke, "Representations", p. 17.
[6] Burke, "Representations", p. 18; See also Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.
[7] Burke, "Representations", p. 18.
[8] Burke, "Representations", p. 17.
[9] Burke, "Representations", p. 18.

as soldiers and so on. Identities were not single but multiple".[1]
multiple".[1]

Although Burke agrees with Burckhardt's observation on the rise of autobiographical writing during the Renaissance, he dismisses Burckhardt's correlation between this early modern upsurge in autobiographies and self-portraits and "the rise of self awareness or subjectivity".[2] He explains this increase in "the autobiographical habit" as the result of social and political factors. "The sixteenth century was an age of urbanization. It was also an age of travel, and travel encourages self-consciousness by cutting off the individual from his or her community […] The sixteenth century was also the first century in which print became part of everyday life".[3]
He also lists religion as a possible factor, because Renaissance autobiographical writers in England "sometimes evoked the spirits of Protestantism and Puritanism"; autobiographical writers confessed their "pride, cowardice and other sins and weaknesses".[4] These "introspection and self-examination" narratives were also common among Catholic writers, but to a lesser degree.[5] These sociocultural factors are keys to the historical contextualization of early modern English self-narratives.

Burke maintains that sixteenth and seventeenth-century English self-narratives reveal a large diversity in the English Renaissance conceptions of the self. These self-narratives were not limited to "social elites", as Burkhardt had assumed. They come from a variety of social groups, including "northerners

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[1] Burke, "Representations", p. 18.
[2] Burke, "Representations", p. 17.
[3] Burke, "Representations", p. 22.
[4] Burke, "Representations", p. 27.
[5] Burke, "Representations", p. 27.

and southerners, men and women, nobles and commoners"; a significant number of these self-narratives come from merchant and artisan classes, including "apothecaries, tailors, carpenters and even peasants".[1] Self narratives coming from these non-elite social groups have invited questions on early modern autobiographies as a popular culture phenomenon.[2] This wider currency of self-writing among any community, or any other social group, can be "valuable testimonies to the kind of self image current in [this] particular milieu".[3]

Early modern English self-narratives, according to Burke, were meant to be outward expressions of the writers' social selves. Most writers display deliberate "strategies and conventions of 'self-presentation', 'self-stylization' and 'impression management'. They are not only interested in the person but also in the 'persona', the mask which the individual wears in public, the role which he or she is playing".[4] Therefore, Burke draws upon several analytical notions which addressed these early modern strategies of self-invention, including: Stephen Greenblatt's concept of *self-fashioning,*[5] Erving Goffman's concepts of *self-presentation* and *impression management*,[6] and Michael Mascuch's concept of the autobiography as *performance.*[7] All these notions, in different ways, argue that

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[1] Burke, "Representations", p. 26-27.
[2] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* Reprint edition, Hants, England: Wildwood House, 1988.
[3] Burke, "Representations", p. 21
[4] Burke, "Representations", p. 18.
[5] Burke, "Representations", p. 18; Stephen Greenblatt. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press [1980] 2005.
[6] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p. 152; Goffman Erving, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.
[7] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.152; Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-*

the concept of the self is a historical, cultural and linguistic construct and that the early modern English writers reconstructed and invented themselves according to the sociocultural norms of their time and social milieus. These notions about Renaissance self-fashioning have helped the present study to better see the rhetorical function of emotion narratives in travel books, as is later discussed.

Burke maintains that this diversity in the notions of the self sometimes exhibits itself in individual texts. Most, if not all, English Renaissance self-narratives are polyphonic, in Mikhail Bakhtin's term, they display different *voices* in the same text and different conflicting egos among which the writer moves.[1] These voices are not only limited to the fictional or historical characters in the narratives; they also include the participants in the autobiographical communicative act, including those who may have helped in writing the text, such as editors, confessors, secretaries, scribes, and intended/expected audiences.

It is conventional among sixteenth and seventeenth-century English autobiographical writers to explicitly state their authorial motivations for self-writing.[2] "Occasions for writing are often described in the opening passage, taking the form of what rhetoricians describe as the *captatio benevolentiae*".[3]

1791, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997.

[1] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150; Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1981.

[2] Burke, "Representations", p. 22

[3] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.154; The definition of the term *captatio benevolentiae* is "Of the rhetorical methods essential to convince and persuade listeners, the *captatio benevolentiae* is one of the most effective. Cicero saw it as one of the pillars upon which the entire edifice of oratory art is based (De or. 2,115). It is concerned with a

Burke classifies these authorial motivations into two types. A very common one is what Burke calls the "modesty formula", where the writer professes that he wrote his text upon the request or the order of someone, a son, a disciple, or a patron.[1] The second type is the "immodest formula", it is rare among English writers to state that they wrote their texts out of pride in their abilities or achievements.[2] In the memoirs of prisoners, or those living in the country, "life writing is justified by the need to avoid boredom or pass the time".[3] A significant motive in many texts is writing for family and children. Burke interprets these authorial "formulae" as the signs for "the survival of a prejudice against writing about oneself". Writers, especially those from marginalized groups, like "the case of artisans" and "that of women", had to provide strong reasons for writing down their lives. This also explains why "so many texts remained in manuscript and circulated only among family and friends".[4]

Burke argues that self-representations in English texts are neither "transparent" nor "self-revealing".[5] He argues that the language and rhetoric of the text are essential cues to reading the notions of the self in an autobiography.[6] Therefore, he

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moderate incitement of feelings, with particular emphasis on the ethical qualities of the orator and his *cliens*". Source: Lucia Calboli Montefusco, "Captatio benevolentiae", *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and , Helmuth Schneider. Brill Online, 2015. <u>Reference</u>. 18 February 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/captatio-benevolentiae-e226810>

[1] Burke, "Representations", p. 22; Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.154
[2] Burke, "Representations", p. 22.
[3] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.155.
[4] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.155.
[5] Burke, "Representations", p. 18; Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.152.
[6] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.

asserts that historical contextualization is not sufficient to unfold the self-representation patterns in early modern English self-narratives. Linguistic contextualization, by looking closely at rhetorical strategies and "the language used during the period itself", is a necessity as well.[1] In the early seventeenth century, there was a wide circulation of "manuals teaching readers how to write a good letter", "books on the art of travel explained how to keep a record of new experiences", but "there were no treatises on the art of self-writing".[2] This left autobiographical writers with a space for literary creativity. They chose between a variety of styles of "prose" or "verse"; "formal" or "private"; "elaborate" or "plain".[3]

According to Burke, "the teaching of rhetoric formed an important part of education in the seventeenth century" England.[4] Therefore, one should be attentive to the rhetoric of of self-representation in English autobiographies which exhibit elaborate narrative structures and convoluted plots.[5] Burke distinguishes four popular narrative models in the seventeenth century: (1) "the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar" model; (2) "the book-keeping" model, which was common among merchants and artisans; (3) "the romance" model, which includes chivalric and picaresque romances; and (4) the "religious" model, which was influenced by the lives of saints, monks, and the biblical narratives on Job, Jesus, and Paul, as the models for "suffering".[6] These narrative models

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1   Burke, "Representations", p. 19; Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.
[2]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.155, he cites one "possible exception of John Beadle's *The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian*, published in 1656".
[3]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.156.
[4]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.150.
[5]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.157.
[6]   Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.157-8.

influenced the seventeenth-century English writers' self-representation modes in two ways. First, they complicated the plots of their life-stories.[1] For example, in the "spiritual" texts, "the most common plots included conversion, the progress from sinner to saint, and the overcoming of trials and tribulations";[2] "in secular texts, the plot of unjust disgrace is a recurrent one; while the movement from captivity to freedom is a major theme in [...] the sub-genre of captivity narratives".[3] Some, or all, of these narrative models can work together in one text. Second, writers idealised and mythologised their self-representation, "in terms of a more general model, of glory, disgrace, innocence and so on [...], or even of the life of another individual in history or fiction". [4]All above-reviewed observations on the genre conventions, language, and rhetorical strategies of sixteenth and seventeenth-century English self-narratives are cues to the analysis of English travel books as self-narratives.

4.ii. Arabic Self-narrative Genres

The work of Dwight Reynolds is very important for the study of Arabic self-narratives.[5] His work is now seen to be the classical study of Arabic autobiographical literary genres, of *Sīra* (Exemplary Life Story), *Ṭabaqāt* (Biographical Dictionary), and *Tarjama* (Biographical Notice).[6] Contrary to all the above mentioned studies on self-narratives, Reynolds uses a narrow definition of autobiography, whereby "the text

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[1] Burke, "Representations", p. 23.
[2] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.158.
[3] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.158.
[4] Burke, "The Rhetoric", p.152.
[5] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self.*.
[6] See Chapter 2 "The Origins of Arabic Autobiography", in Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 36-51.

presents itself as a description or summation of the author's life, or a major portion thereof, as viewed retrospectively from a particular point in time".[1] So, in his studies, he excludes any other self-narrative genres. However, recent studies by Torsten Wollina, Ralf Elger, and many others, have broadened the definition of Arabic autobiography to include travel books within their scope of interest, as reviewed in this section.

Arabic autobiographies, according to Reynolds, are ʿorphan texts'.[2] Compared to other literary and non-literary genres, they have received less scholarly attention and have been disfigured by several uncultivated assumptions. First is the assumption that "autobiography is extremely rare in Arabic literature".[3] Consequently, scholars stopped their search for new sources, and treated the already better-known Arabic autobiographical texts as "anomalies rather than as part of a literary genre or historical tradition".[4] Second is, the repeatedly-mentioned, Burckhardtian assumption that autobiography is "a cultural product unique to modern western civilization".[5] However, Reynolds argues that this assumption has not only emerged from the Burckhardtian paradigm, but has also been reinforced through the works of Georges Gusdorf, Georges May and Roy Pascal in the mid-twentieth century.[6] Reynolds also attributes this fallacy to two studies:

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[1]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 10.
[2]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 26.
[3]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 26; for example, see: Said, *Beginnings*, p. 81.
[4]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* p. 28.
[5]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 17.
[6]   Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 17; See: Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography", in James Olney (ed.), *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 29; Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, p.

one by Georg Misch and the other is Franz Rosenthal.[1] These two serious studies on pre-modern Arabic autobiographies were never "superseded in more than half a century of subsequent scholarship".[2] Misch and Rosenthal have introduced the Arabic autobiography genres to the European academia; the texts which they collected, translated, and analysed in their studies "became an accepted canon in scholarly circles".[3] However, they both argued that Arabic autobiographical writing as lacking any sense of individuality or depictions of the writers' personal lives.[4] These scholars created what Reynolds call "the Fallacy of Western origin".[5]

So, in response to this fallacy, Reynolds worked collaboratively with nine co-authors. He compiled "a corpus of roughly one hundred forty Arabic autobiographical texts drawn from a period of just over one thousand years, from the ninth to the nineteenth century".[6] This relatively large corpus enables him

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22; Georges May, *L'autobiographie*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979, p. 17-25.

[1] Georg Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, Trans. E. W. Dicks, 2 vol. London: Routledge [1950], 2002. Original study in German is Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 4 vols, Bern and Frankfurt: A. Francke and Gerhard Schultke-Bulmke, 1949–69. Misch was interested in the ancient Middle-Eastern self-narrative genres, including "the tomb-inscriptions of the Egyptians" (p.20), the "records of deeds of Babylonian and Assyrian rulers" (p. 30), and the "first-personal narrative in ancient Oriental Tales" (p. 46).

Rosenthal presented the first extensive study on Arabic autobiography; Franz Rosenthal, "Die Arabische Autobiographie", *Analecta Orientalia* 14 (1937):. 1–40.

[2] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 25.
[3] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 25.
[4] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 23; Misch, *A History of Autobiography*, p. 19.
[5] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 17.
[6] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 6.

to draw a solid historical study on the autobiographical genre and sub-genres in the Arabic literary tradition, and to identify its significant generic and sociocultural conventions. Out of this corpus he focuses on "a selection of thirteen previously untranslated Arabic autobiographical texts that represent a variety of historical periods and literary styles".[1] He closely studies the textual features and the genre conventions of each text.

Reynolds' survey and analysis of the Arabic autobiographies have largely contributed to the present study in several ways. Initially, he has given significant attention to four late medieval and early modern autobiographies by Fray Anselmo Turmeda, 'Abd Allāh al-Turjumān (1352–1432?),[2] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445–1505),[3] al-'Aydarūs (1570–1628),[4] and Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī (1696–1772).[5] His observations on these texts are relevant to the historical period under study in this thesis.

Furthermore, he attends to the writings of Andalusian and Magharibi autobiographers. His corpus includes the eleventh-century autobiography of Prince Ibn Buluggīn, "the last member of the Berber Zīrid dynasty to rule the kingdom of Granada in southern Spain",[6] in the fourteenth-century autobiography of Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī.[7] His observations on the Andalusian texts are an eye-opener in terms of the recurrent themes, social and textual conventions, and culturally specific issues which are related to al-Andalus and the Arabic

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[1] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 6.
[2] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 194.
[3] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 202.
[4] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 208.
[5] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 216.
[6] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 74.
[7] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 78.

West.

For example, he discusses the autobiography of the Spanish Catholic Fray Anselmo Turmeda, who converted to Islam with the name Abd Allāh al-Turjumān (1352–1432?). Turmeda's *Tuhfat al-arīb*[1] *fī al-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb* (A Treatise of Riposte to the People of the Cross) is a polemical work "that reaffirms in different rhetorical terms the transformation undergone by the author in the conversion narrative itself. Conversion autobiographies have a very intimate engagement both with convincing the reader that the story told is true and with persuading the reader that the path taken is the path of truth".[2]

In addition to his focus on early modern Arabic autobiographies, particularly Andalusian texts, Reynolds' approach to study "personality and self" in Arabic autobiographical writing is deemed sociological. He reaches a conclusion similar to that of all the above surveyed studies by Davis, Jancke, Ulbrich, and Burke on the European self-narratives. His analysis illuminates the relation between the concept of the 'person' and social networks. Early modern Arabic autobiographical writers also "portray themselves both as distinct individuals and as participants in various significant relationships".[3] Among these relations, person-family and teacher-student are the most dominant "vertical" relations in the texts. However, "'lateral' relationships with one's siblings, fellow students, friends, and colleagues" are very few and the

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[1] In Reynolds, the title is transliterated as *al-adīb*. The title of the book is listed in *http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009031751*, and in the British Library catalogue as *al-arīb*

[2] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 194.

[3] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 244.

client-patron relationship is the rarest.[1] A husband-wife relationship is portrayed in the ninth-century text of al-Tirmidhī's.[2]

Moreover, Reynolds' analysis focuses on the modes of self-representation and the authors' rhetoric to construct their selves.[3] He points out four "recurring" devices: "portrayals of childhood failures, portrayals of emotions through the description of action, dream narratives as reflections of moments of authorial anxiety, and poetry as a discourse of emotions".[4] Reynolds points out that pre-modern Arabic autobiographical writers displayed their emotions as an aspect of their persona. Several examples project "overt portrayals of dramatic moments in [the authors'] emotional lives".[5] Most of these examples involve the death of a son, a daughter, or a parent.[6] Other examples include: the autobiography of Al-'Aydarūs, who cites his own poetry on sorrow, pain, and love,[7] love,[7] and the autobiography of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, which has several narratives on anxiety, fear, and grief.[8]

Reynolds argues that emotions in the Arabic autobiographical texts are not limited to vocabularies; writers act out and perform their emotions in the text. For example, sending for "a holy man to come and pray for [someone's] recovery [is] a testament to the state of fear prevailing in the household";[9]

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[1] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 244.
[2] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 79 and p. 119-131.
[3] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 243.
[4] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 243.
[5] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 78.
[6] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 78.
[7] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 209.
[8] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 88.
[9] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 88.

visiting a shrine or reciting a specific Sura (chapter) in the Qurʾan are all performative evocations of emotions.[1] In this respect, emotions, (as will be discussed in details in Chapter 2 of this thesis, are presented as 'performances' and 'rituals' and their interpretations require a shared understanding among the members of the authorʾs community, as well as the readers.

In all the above points, Reynolds only addresses the autobiographical communicative act from the authorial perspective. He does not address the roles of the intended audience, the historical context, or the situation of writing the text in shaping the autobiographical text. He treats the literary conventions and the textual strategies in isolation from their communicative functions. He acknowledges that his study "has not attempted to situate each text deeply within the specific context of the individual life and literary production of each author".[2]

A decade after Reynolds' pioneering and classical study, a group of researchers, most of them affiliated to Dutch and German Institutes, introduced the terms '*ego-document*' and ʿself-narrativesʾ to Arabic self-narratives.[3] Their definition of the term ʿautobiographyʾ is broad; they encompassed "all kinds of texts: stories of a whole life, short personal notices, and everything in between. Authors and narrators who seemingly displayed deep emotional insights were presented along with those who described simple outward aspects of their lives".[4]

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[1] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 87.
[2] Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, p. 241.
[3] Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010.
[4] Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse, "Introduction", in *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self*, p. 7.

Their studies address different Oriental self-narrative genres, including *tarjama*, travel books, "autobiographical *maqāmāt* (little anecdotes in a highly refined style)", and marginalia.[1] They maintain that individuality should encompass "all kinds of egos speaking" in all forms, styles, or genres.[2] Their edited volume includes four studies on Arabic self-narratives, but none of them addresses the early modern period. Elger's study on the medieval Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travelogue discusses the rhetoric and the communicative function of 'lying' in travel writing and the way in which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa' used his 'skill as a plagiariser' to fashion himself to his audience, including the Sultan of Fez.[3] The other three studies are on late eighteenth and nineteenth-century texts, and fall beyond the scope of the present study. The studies also do not focus on emotion narratives or emotions as a rhetorical device for self-fashioning.

One recent study by Torsten Wollina, on the late fifteenth-century diary of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq. The title of his text is *al-Ta'līq*.[4] Wollina states that the narrator constructs himself by showing his involvement with and affiliation to certain social, religious, and political groups. Wollina also points out that these self-representations are intentionally crafted to conform to the norms, values, and conventions of the author's intended audience.[5] He studies Ibn Ṭawq self-

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[1] Elger and Köse, "Introduction", p. 8-9.

[2] Elger and Köse, "Introduction", p. 8.

[3] Ralf Elger, "Lying, Forging, Plagiarism: Some Narrative Techniques in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travelogue," in Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self,* p. 71–87.

[4] Shihab al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Ṭāwq, *At-Taᶜlīq*, Jaᶜfar al-Muhajir (ed.), 4 vol., Damascus 2000–2007.

[5] Torsten Wollina, "Ibn Tawq's Taᶜlīq. An Ego-Document for Mamlūk Studies", in Stephan Conermann (ed.), *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus?: Mamluk Studies–State of the Art*, Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2013, p. 337-362.

representation, in relation to three social networks: the community of the 'ulamā in Damascus, the author's neighbourhood, and the household. Wollina's study, as well as the above-reviewed studies by Reynolds, Elger and Köse, serve to illustrate how methodological approaches and scholarly attitudes towards Arabic self-narratives have begun moving towards a more sociocultural and textual focus. They also project the cultural diversity of concepts such as 'self' and 'individuality' in Arabo-Islamic cultures, a topic that needs more scholarly attention.

Conclusion

The main argument in this study is that early modern travel books, besides their functions as historical and ethnographic documents, can productively be read as self-narratives. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century travellers enriched their travel books with personal narratives on their emotions, mystic dreams, humour, companionship, family relations etc. These embedded subjective experiences qualify travel books to become sources for the study of the early modern history of ideas, mentalities, emotions and the self.

The sociocultural variations and meanings of personhood across cultures and communities is evident in the above-surveyed studies on early modern English and Arabic self-narratives. The classical works of Burke and Reynolds highlight that autobiographical writing has been existing in various forms and literary traditions. The present paper surveys their discussions on recurrent themes, genre conventions, rhetorical and narrative devices, authorial motivations, possible social and power networks in each culture.

This historical pragmatics approach to reading travel books as self narratives stimulates further methodological and conceptual questions on the ways to approach aspects of "a

person" in a self-narrative. As examples, how texts from the past defined emotions, dreams, or attitudes? How to interpret linguistic and pragmatic structures and patterns of these subjective elements in different historical periods? What are the roles played by the authors' bodies, objects, relationships, and bonds? Do early modern writers use these subjective textual elements to construct themselves according to ideal-typical models and hence tell us something about the values and the norms of their communities, or do they present themselves as the antithesis to the existing order in their cultures? Answers to these questions can only emerge from interdisciplinary approaches between philology and historical pragmatics to illuminate the textual and cultural construction of selfhood and subjectivity.

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