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HOSPITALITY IN ISLAMICATE CIVILIZATION: *FUTUWWA* IN IBN BATTUTA'S TRAVELOGUE

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ABSTRACT

HOSPITALITY IN ISLAMICATE CIVILIZATION: *FUTUWWA* IN IBN BATTUTA'S TRAVELOGUE

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Hospitality is a familiar and valued ethic across times and civilizations. It has been worked upon as an ethical concept by ancient and modern philosophers. Hospitality is also a very broad term, starting with its familiar every-day usage and extending to topics such as migration, refugees, the other, the stranger and moving on to include the modern commercial hospitality sector. My aim is to take a holistic look at the concept of hospitality in the Islamicate civilization, in its normative and practical dimensions. This involves normative dimensions of hospitality in Islamic thought and the practical dimension, which is a case study of the great traveller Ibn Battuta's travelogue in terms of the hospitality that he was received with along his vast journeys.

The normative dimension includes hospitality in primary Islamic sources of the Quran and the *Sunnah*, which provides the base for all Islamic ethical system. Moreover, it also includes the codification of Islamic ethics with the formation of *futuwwa* thought and organization in the ninth century Islamicate world. Here, I look at the principles of *futuwwa* in the *futuwwa* books, *akhi*sm and and *zawiyas*. In the practical dimension I want to answer the question of how these hospitality norms were applied in real life Islamicate civilization, a case study to look at the overlap between the normative and the practical. The time range set for the practical dimension is Marshall Hodgson's "Middle Periods" of the Islamicate civilization (950-1500 A.D.). These were flourishing times of Islamicate civil networks and institutions. The aim in this part is to look at how some of these institutions embodied the ethical notion of hospitality in their practices. In order to analyze this, I chose Ibn Battuta's travelogue as it is considered one of the most important books representing the society and the living conditions of the time. In this part I analyze Ibn Battuta's travelogue the *Rihla,* in terms of his experiences of being hosted as a traveller around the Islamicate world.

Keywords: *Futuwwa*; Hospitality; *Ibn al-Sabeel*; Ibn Battuta; Travelogue; *Zawiyah*.

ÖZ

İSLAM MEDENİYETİNDE MİSAFİRPERVERLİK: İBN BATTUTA'NIN SEYAHATNAMESİNDE FÜTÜVVET

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Tarihin farklı çağları ve medeniyetlerinde misafirperverlik oldukça meşhur ve önem verilen bir değer olagelmiştir. Antik ve modern filozoflar tarafından ahlaki bir kavram olarak ele alınmıştır. Bununla beraber misafirperverlik gündelik hayattaki kullanımının dışında göç, göçmenler, öteki, yabancı gibi kavaramlara alakalı olup; bunun da ötesinde günümüzdeki ticari konaklama sektörüne kadar uzanan oldukça geniş bir kullanım alanına sahiptir. Bu çalışmadaki amaç İslam medeniyetindeki misafirperverlik kavramını normatif ve pratik boyutlarıyla bütüncül bir bakış açısından ele almaktır. Normatif boyut İslam düşüncesi üzeriden; pratik boyut ise meşhur seyyah İbn Battuta'nın seyahatnamesindeki yolculuklarında karşılaştığı misafirperverlik örnekleri üzerinden incelenecektir.

Misafirpervelik normatif açıdan, İslamın temel kaynakları olan ve Islami etik sistemin temelini oluşturan Kuran ve Sünnet baz alınarak incelenecektir. Buna ek olarak normatif kısım on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İslam dünyasındaki fütüvvet düşüncesi ve teşkilatının oluşumu sürecinindeki ahlaki değerleri kapsar. Bu kısımda fütüvvet kitaplarındaki temel ilkeler, ahilik ve zaviyeler incelenmektedir. Pratik kısımda ise, örnek bir çalışma üzerinden bu misafirperverlik kurallarının İslam medeniyetinde gerçek hayatta nasıl uygulandığı sorusuna yanıt aranmaktadır. Pratik boyut için belirlenen tarihi dönem Marshall Hodgson'un İslam medeniyetinin "Middle Periods"u olarak tanımladığı 950-1500 yılları arasını kapsar. Bu dönem İslami sivil ağların ve kuruluşların gelişip yaygınlık kazandığı bir zaman dilimidir. Buradaki amaç bu kuruluşların misafirperverliği uygulamalarında nasıl içselleştirdiklerini incelemektir. Bunun için dönemin toplumsal yaşam şartlarını en iyi şekilde temsil eden kitaplardan birisi olan İbn Battuta'nın seyahatnamesini ele almaktayım. İbn Battuta'nın Rıhle'sini, İslam dünyasının önemli bir seyyahı olması açısından kendi misafir ediliş deneyimleri üzerinden analiz etmekteyim.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fütüvvet; Misafirperverlik; Ibnü's-sebil; Ibn Battuta; Seyahatname; Zaviye.

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Introduction

Hospitality is a well known concept, a positive ethical value which has its cultural, ethical, political and religious undertones. In its simplest meaning, it is "the act of being friendly and welcoming to guests and visitors"[1],"the friendly and generous reception and entertainment of guests, visitors, or strangers"[2].Henry Nowen states that "if there is any concept worth restoring to its original depth, and evocative potential, it is the concept of hospitality." [3]If we look at the etymology of the word host, it derives from the Latin *hospes* meaning "host, guest, stranger". *Hospes*is a person connected with a Roman by ties of hospitality and was deemed even more sacred and had greater claims upon the host than a person connected by blood or affinity. *Hospes* is rooted from *hostis,* which means "stranger, foreigner, outsider, enemy". For instance, the word hostile is also derived from it, as are hospital and hostel, which mean "a guest-chamber, an inn" and "host, hospitality, hospice, hostel, hotel".[4] The word guest also has the same meaning in its etymology: "guest, stranger, enemy".

The guest and the host have the same meanings in their etymologies because of the reciprocation, someone could be a host one time and a guest on another and also both possess the meaning of stranger and enemy because it implies that a stranger could potentially be an enemy. Hospitality is also centred on the relationship between the host and the guest. Usually, throughout cultures and religions there are ethics and manners that a host and a guest are expected to follow. Apart from referring to the relationship between a host and a guest, hospitality is also an infinitive noun; a word used to describe

[1]*Cambridge Dictionary*, s.v. "hospitality", accessed May 19, 2019. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hospitality
[2]*Oxford Living Dictionaries*, s.v. "hospitality", accessed May 19, 2019, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/hospitality
[3] Mona Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam: Welcoming in God's Name,* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2015), 17.
[4] See. the etymologies of the mentioned words in Merriam Webster, s.v. "host", accessed May 19, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/host#etymology

the set of ethics and values that is to be followed in the relationship between a host and a guest.

Hospitality played an important role in cultures of most ancient societies around the world and the traditions and practices of hospitality are also seen in the teachings of many religions. In Ancient Greece, hospitality was a divine right and a status symbol and in classical times hospitality was seen as a sign of civility and liberality:"hospitality is a characteristic of the person who is *eleutheriotes*, a person of liberality."[5]"These traditions can be seen in literary works such as The Odyssey , by Homer where guests received a host's hospitality for weeks, months, or even years, and a person's ability to honour these hospitality traditions where a sign of his or her nobility or social standing." The Greek words "xenia, xenios" stand for guest-friendship, which means the generosity and courtesy shown to those who are *xenoi* (plural of *xenos* meaning "strangers, foreigners"). Moreover, the term *theoxenia* means God in strangers. Despite this importance given to hospitality in ancient Greece there were also some city-states like Sparta which excluded all strangers except some friends and allies, all other strangers were to go under a body of laws known as *xenelasia* which means "expulsion of strangers".[6]

Celtic and Nordic societies also had hospitality traditions where, for example, a host who granted a person's request for refuge was expected not only to provide food and shelter for their guest, but to make sure they did not come to harm while under their care. In Biblical teachings, hospitality was given importance to through the stories of Abraham and Lot. Christian hospitality is a continuation of either Greco-Roman or Jewish traditions of "universal brotherhood" and the Christian church was the main agent of hospitality. Because of hospitality being the sign of nobility and a religious duty it has maintained a virtuous status across time and space of western antiquity.[7]In the late Medieval era, the strengthening of a clearly territorially demarcated state undermined

[5] Maria Fotou, *Ethics of Hospitality: Envisaging the Stranger in the Contemporary World,* PhD Thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 35.
[6] Ibid, 37.
[7] Ibid, 35.

the customs of religious provenance and involved exclusionary tendencies in treatment of Others.[8]

Hospitality in the Modern West

In the modern world, hospitality is mostly associated in minds with the commercial hospitality sector and tourism industry. This is also observed when looking up the word hospitality in the most common searching engines on the internet. Hospitality, in its simplest meaning of "friendly treatment of guests" with its cultural and religious undertones, is also present with cultural and societal variances. Although in the modern times we rarely see hospitality as a matter of survival and protection as in the antiquity, hospitality is closely related to the matters of the massive human migration flow of the modern world and the ethical and political questions that it arises. Acceptance, tolerance and hospitability are crucial terms in the context of migration and is directly related to the ethic of hospitality.

> In the case of hospitality connected to sovereign, territorial nation-state, there are ethical questions linked to unconditional hospitality or borderless hospitality which calls for an unqualified welcoming of the 'other' who has been neither invited nor expected.[9]

Hospitality is a contested and delicate notion which calls to mind not only the positive images of a generous hospitality but "embodies its own impossibility, calling to mind images of exclusion, closure and violence: walled borders, gated communities, asylum detention centres, and race riots."[10]The questions that the subject of hospitality poses have been eloquently summarized in the following:

> Hospitality is a phenomenon that, even in its failure, evokes the ancient and persistent question: how should we welcome the stranger, the sojourner, the traveller,the other? Where might hospitable encounters occur, and what kinds of spaces doeshospitality produce? Who is able to perform the welcoming host, and who canbe admitted as a guest? And in extending hospitality to the other, how should wedefine our individual, communal, or national self?[11]

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[8] Lundin, L. L. "Hospitality." *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2019. http://offcampus.ihu.edu.tr:2060/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ers&AN=89677568&lang=tr&site=eds-live.
[9] Mona Siddiqui, *Hospitality in Islam: Welcoming in God's Name,* 6.
[10] Jennie Germann Molz, Sarah Gibson, *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World,* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 1.
[11] Ibid.

The famous Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant saw hospitality as a "natural right" of all humans "by virtue of their communal possession of the earth's surface". Alasdair MacIntyre sees hospitality as a universal practice, central to the proper functioning of society:

> It is important to the functioning of communities that among the roles that play a part in their shared lives there should be that of 'the stranger, someone from outside the community who hashappened to arrive amongst us and to whom we owe hospitality,just because she or he is a stranger.[12]

As Mona Siddiqui says in *Hospitality and Islam: Welcoming in God's Name,* there is a vast body of literature on hospitality in the western tradition which comes from a religious angle or the philosophical and political debates on identity. Thinkers such as Jacques Derrida and Emmanuel Levinas have theories around the notion of hospitality, "for both Levinas and Derrida, hospitality with all its challenges and nuances must be seen as a part of the human condition, a human virtue, where hospitality must precede hostility." [13] According to Levinas and Derrida, hospitality is defined in two perspectives. First, in terms of the privacy of one's home, welcoming others into one's home and one's being, Levinas being inspired by the Jewish ideals of brotherhood in this. Studies of hospitality from this perspective deal with the questions of subject and identity formation through welcoming others and being welcomed. Second, is the cultural and public perspective on hospitality i.e. how a social body welcomes strangers, immigrants and refugees into one's territory.

> For Derrida, hospitality is ethics, and ethics is hospitality, 'culture itself and not simply one ethic among others'. It is about crossing boundaries, including between self and other, private and public.For Derrida, hospitality stands for culture, deconstruction, and a radical alternative to current European politics and treatment of its 'others': ethnic minorities, immigrants, refugees, visitors."[14]

The possibility of Derrida's "unconditional hospitality" in the context of the modern nation-state has been disputed among thinkers. Mona Siddiqui states Doty's argument that to make unconditional hospitality possible it is necessary to look beyond the

[12] Mona Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam: Welcoming in God's Name,* 2.
[13] Ibid, 4.
[14] Ibid, 5.

governmental realms of law and policy, for in most of the analyses around this subject there is an inherent tension in the effort at bringing together the unconditional theoretical claim of hospitality and the practical societal state and political needs. The possibility of unconditional hospitality is also related to the issue of the tension between the moral person and the legal person.[15]

Hospitality also involves the theoretical and practical notion of tolerance and the various discussions around the other. Hospitality is born from tolerance. There can be tolerance without hospitality but there cannot be hospitality without tolerance. Therefore, hospitality is a higher virtue in human relations. It is also a timely and spatial concept because despite being a theoretical, philosophical concept, it is a very practical notion, which loses its meaning if not applied to real human situations, thus practiced in the space and time being. It is a timely concept because hospitality cannot be applied towards the passed away people or cultures and it is a spatial concept because hospitality basically means to open up and welcome one into own space and borders. Opening up your private space to others, welcoming them with generosity and kindness, sometimes putting them before yourself; self-giving, cannot be without, first of all, having tolerance and open, accepting mindset towards others, which in its turn does not come forth without the faith that makes one see God in the person before them and the concrete laws and normative base provided as to how this hospitality is to be shown and the impetus given to perform it. As hospitality, besides being a mindset, is also a concrete human interaction, it entails some concrete actions. Therefore, hospitality as actions is a manifestation of this open mindset and faith in the normative aspects that provide the rulings for hospitality.

This is a very brief and general outline of the Western concept of hospitality in antiquity and modernity, a detailed account of which is beyond the scope of this study as it concentrates on the concept of hospitality in the Islamic tradition and practice.[16] A

[15] Mona Siddiqui, *Hosptiality and Islam: Welcoming in God's Name,* 7.
[16] For further inquiry see. Maria Fotou, *Ethics of Hospitality: Envisaging the Stranger in the Contemporary World.* Maria Fotou gives a comprehensive account on the history of the concept of hospitality in the Western antiquity and modernity.

comparative and comprehensive study of the historical evolution of the concept of hospitality between the Western and Islamic civilizations could be an intriguing topic for further research.

Hospitality in Islam

As Mona Siddiqui states:"Islam holds hospitality as a virtue that lies at the very basis of the Islamic ethical system".[17]As mentioned above, hospitality is a virtue that was given importance to across cultures and religions, including Islam. In all these cultures and religions, hospitality as an ethic (a set of values) is provided by the cultural and religious teachings and the mindset that these teachings shaped. Similarly, in Islam, this faith and mindset is provided by the dogmatic teachings of the Islamic religion. These dogmatic teachings are primarily derived from the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad i.e. the *Sunnah*. These two, being the primary sources of Islamic religion, provide the normative dogmatic base for all actions, interactions and beliefs in a Muslim life. The normative aspect also includes the various interpretations from authorized scholars on these primary sources. In the experience of the Islamicate civilization, when these teachings were practiced and put to life, they were obviously to be practiced individually, but they also formed the impetus for the creation of various public institutions. Therefore, many institutions that were formed in the Islamicate civilization were an embodiment of certain Islamic ethical values. An example for this is the institution of *waqf* (pious endowment). These were similar to what was later in Europe called as "civil society institutions" and were great sources of public funding. One of the principles that it was built upon is the Islamic concept of *sadaqah jariyah* (continuous charity).

One of the factors that stimulated these institutional and individual endeavours on providing hospitality was the importance given to travel in Islamicate civilization. As travelling was an emphasized and important part of Islamicate culture and civilization, thus was the hosting of these travellers. The most important and obligatory travel, which is also a pillar of Islam, is the pilgrimage to Mecca i.e. the *Hajj*. Therefore, from early

[17] Ibid, 11.

on in the history of Islamicate civilization and up until now, many efforts have been put into making this journey easier, more comfortable, affordable and realizable for Muslims around the world. Any participation in the matters of *Hajj* such as hosting the pilgrims or providing them with food and water was considered as sacred in Muslim societies as was conducting the pilgrimage itself. A lot of sources were spent, for instance, on building wells along roads which the pilgrim caravans passed and many great travellers of the Islamic history such as Ibn Battuta were initially setting off for *Hajj* before continuing with their globe-trotting.

Another type of travel which was widespread in Islamic civilization was travelling for seeking knowledge. Travelling for seeking knowledge was a very characteristic aspect of the Islamic civilization because the distinctive feature of Islamic knowledge tradition is that it is passed on from a person to person face to face. It is transmitted by the method of *sama'* (hearing, listening), which necessitates being present with the teacher and taking the knowledge from them one to one or in a class. For example, a student of knowledge in the early Islamic history could travel thousands of kilometres in order to hear and learn a single saying of the Prophet Muhammad. This tradition of seeking knowledge and travelling for it necessitated the building of *madrasa*s (educational complexes), which were complexes were students took classes and those who travelled for seeking knowledge could be accommodated and provided with food, drink and other necessities. As these seekers of knowledge are also travellers I consider those places that were built to accommodate them as a manifestation of hospitality ethic besides being the manifestation of the value given to knowledge in Islamicate civilization. Another type of travelling which was present in Islamicate civilization was trade by sea and land. These naturally necessitated the building of caravanserais and other places where merchants could stay on their trips. There were also other types of travellers in Islamicate civilization, such as wanderers and solitary Sufis.

There were also other institutions such as *zawiya*, *khankah* and *ribat* which were quarters of Sufi and other brotherhoods. They had a multiple social functions and were also used as guesthouses for hosting travellers and visitors in general. These institutions

show us how Muslim societies in the medieval world conceptualized hospitality and the treatment of the stranger-guest as a divine imperative.

The Aim, Methodology and Value of the Study

My aim in this study is to take a holistic look at the ethic of hospitality in Islamicate civilization in its normative and practical dimensions. In the normative dimension I aim to answer the question of what the normative foundations of hospitality ethic in Islamicate civilization are. The normative dimension involves primary and secondary Islamic sources of the Quran, the *Sunnah*(tradition of the Prophet Muhammad) and the principles of *futuwwa*, as presented in *futuwwa* books, as these were codifications of Islamic ethical principles. In the practical dimension I aim to answer the questions of how these normative ethics where applied in real life in the history of Islamicate civilization and how these Islamic notions of hospitality were conceptualized as a divine imperative by Muslim societies of the Medieval era.

In order to analyze this I choose the particular case of Ibn Battuta because he is one of the most travelled and famous travellers of the Islamic history considering that he had travelled to almost all (if not all) the lands under Muslim rule in his time (the fourteenth century) and beyond. Moreover, he had recorded his experiences in a detailed and vivid travelogue, the *Rihla*. Ibn Battuta's travelogue is considered an important historical source on much of the inhabited Eastern Hemisphere in the fourteenth century: "written in the conventional literary style of the time, Ibn Battuta's Rihla is a comprehensive survey of the personalities, places, governments, customs, and curiosities of the Muslim world in the second quarter of the fourteenth century."[18] Considering that my aim is to look at the practice of Islamic hospitality ethic in Islamic history, Ibn Battuta's style of detailed description of where he stayed during his travels and whom he was hosted by and how is an important factor in making it suitable for the study. Furthermore, the scope of his travels gives a clearer and more comprehensive picture of the practice of hospitality in the whole of Islamdom of the fourteenth century.

[18] Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*, (University of California Press, 2012)

In the normative dimension I analyze the concept of hospitality by looking at how the notion of hospitality is dealt with in the primary sources of Islam in relation to its related concepts such as generosity. In the practical dimension I use literary analysis and close reading of Ibn Battuta's *Rihla*in its general historical framework. I also have to note that I am assuming that the primary sources that I use in this study are to some degree reliable.

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, hospitality is an important and widely studied term which touches upon many important and contested issues such as the treatment of the stranger and the other, limitations and possibilities of acceptance, tolerance and coexistence among other issues such as migration and asylum. Hospitality has been a subject of many disciplines such as philosophy, anthropology, history, politics, tourism and it has ethical, philosophical and political aspects. In *Hospitality and Islam: Welcoming in God's Name* Mona Siddiqui states that the particular theme of hospitality has been rather neglected in systematic writings in Islamic tradition and "its presence has been felt rather in the vast resources in Islamic thought and piety which speaks of charity, neighbourliness and giving as a divine command.*"* [19] The theoretical and practical questions that the concept of hospitality poses go beyond disciplinary boundaries. As hospitality is an interdisciplinary subject, the study of hospitality in one disciplinary context gives insights for the others. In this study, I aim to contribute to the general body of hospitality research by providing an insight into the Islamic perspective on hospitality. Moreover, by studying the concept of hospitality systematically in the primary sources of Islamic tradition and analyzing Ibn Battuta's *Rihla,*I aim to contribute to the hospitality research within the field of Islamic studies. By the Islamic perspective on hospitality I mean the normative foundations of the hospitality ethic in Islam in the main two sources of the Islamic tradition: the Quran and the *Sunnah*. In addition, by analyzing Ibn Battuta's travelogue in a hospitality context, I aim at showing how Islamic norms and hospitality mindset were manifested in the actions of people within Islamdom, which is the practical application of the Islamic hospitality ethic.

[19] Mona Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam: Welcoming in God's Name,* 2.

Literature Review

As the primary subject of this study is Islamic hospitality specifically, a detailed review on the Western or other literatures is beyond the scope of the study.

Hospitality in Islam

Firstly, in this study I use the two main sources of Islamic tradition: the Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad. The exegesis of the Quran that I use is *Tafsir al-Qurtubi*. When explaining a verse, the author *al-Qurtubi* gives various interpretations and includes *hadith*s (Prophetic sayings), comments of the *sahabah* (Prophet Muhammad's companions) and Islamic legal opinions on a subject mentioned in the verses. I chose the exegesis of *al-Qurtubi* because of its comprehensiveness in explaining the verses and because he put emphasis on legal aspects. For example, in the Quranic verses which treat the story of the Prophet Ibrahim with his guests, *al-Qurtubi* gives and extensive commentary on the subject of hospitality and the legal opinions and rulings surrounding it.

Because the concept of hospitality in the Quran is mentioned in the contexts Prophetic stories, I use Ibn Kathir's *Kisas al-Anbia*, which is a book on the stories of the Prophets in Islamic tradition. There are many books on the stories of the Prophets in Islamic literature but I specifically choose Ibn Kathir's book because his method in explaining the stories of the Prophets is that he puts together all the Quranic verses that are related to the story of a certain Prophet and relates between those verses by explaining them and mentioning the *hadith*s (Prophetic sayings) and other narrations related to the story. This is helpful in this study because the hospitality of the Prophet Ibrahim is of major importance in Islam (as well as Christianity and Judaism) and Ibn Kathir's bringing together of all these verses, interpreting them and bringing together of all the Prophetic narrations about the story gives a comprehensive picture about hospitality in the context of Ibrahim's story, in addition to the stories of the Prophets Lut and Musa.

As to the *hadith* (Prophetic sayings) literature, I mostly use the sayings that are high in authenticity. I use the compilations of the Prophetic sayings of *Sahih al-Bukhari,* Imam Nawawi's *Gardens of the Righteous, Sunan Ibn Majah* and *Manners in Islam, and al-Adab al-Mufrad.* The most authentic and famous collections of Prophet Muhammad's sayings are these six books: *Sahih al-Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Sunan al-Nasai, Sunan Abu-Dawud, Sunan al-Tirmidhi* and *Sunan Ibn Majah.* Prophetic sayings on hospitality are usually mentioned in the chapters about manners in all of them and the sayings are repeated or are very close in meaning, therefore, I only used a *hadith* once if it is somehow repeated. Because most of the Prophetic sayings regarding hospitality in this study is from the book of *Sahih al-Bukhari,* I use *Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* in which Ibn Hajar explains the Prophetic sayings of *Sahih al-Bukhari.* I also give examples of hospitality from the early Islamic history for which I use the book of Prophet Muhammad's biography al-Nadawi's *al-Sira al-Nabawiyyah.*

As to the modern literature on Islamic hospitality, in *Deciphering Islamic Hospitality: Developments, Challenges and Opportunities* Marcus L. Stephenson looks into principles of Islamic hospitality in terms of their relation with the hospitality industry and implementing these principles in order to improve the Muslim dimension of the hospitality sector. In *Two Responses to "Interreligious Dialogue and Spiritual Hospitality", Hospitality in Islam* Snjezana Akpinar describes the importance of hospitality in Islam and also pre-Islamic Arabic society through the examples of three figures: Hatim al-Ta'i, Hagar the wife of the Prophet Ibrahim and Ismael, their son. Akpinar gives a short description of the stories of Hatim al-Ta'i and his hospitality, Hagar and how she was welcomed by Bedouins in a desert were she was abandoned, and the story of Ismael. In *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Quran* Toshihiko Izutsu analyzes the concept of generosity, among other concepts, as an ethical concept in pre-Islamic Arab society and how Islam adopted it, adapting it into the Islamic worldview.

In the following two studies, Islamic dimension of hospitality is not included, but are related to the subject of hospitality in its historical and religious dimensions.In

*Interreligous Dialogue and Sacred Hospitality,*Fr. Pierre-Francois de Bethune writes about inter-monastic dialogue and the different traditions of hospitality among religions and argues that hospitality is a superior model of interaction among religions as opposed to dialogue. In *Dimensions of Hospitality: Exploring Ancient Origins,* O'Gorman looks into the origins of hospitality in the Greek and Roman traditions, etymology of hospitality in the Western tradition, mythology related to hospitality, domestic, public and commercial hospitalities in Ancient Greece and Rome, hospitality in the Old and New Testaments and extracting five dimensions of hospitality by looking into these traditions.

Futuwwa

The primary sources on the subject of *futuwwa* are the books of *futuwwa* which were written as codifications of Islamic ethics into a sort of a chivalry code. These were called *Kitab ul-Futuwwa* in Arabic and *Fütüvvetname* in Turkish. There is a section in chapter two of this thesis specifically about these *futuwwa* books, therefore I will not elaborate on this here.

As to the secondary sources, there are plenty of books written on the subject of *futuwwa*. There is plenty of modern Turkish literature on the subject of *futuwwa* but they usually are about *akhism,* which is the name by which *Futuwwa* brotherhoods were known in Anatolia and have differences with the other *Futuwwa* brotherhoods. In *Türk-İslam Medeniyetinde Ahilik Kültürü ve Fütüvvetnameler,*the author Cemal Anadol talks about the concept of *futuwwa*, how *futuwwa* originated and was institutionalized, the spread of *futuwwa,* mentions some *futuwwa* books, talks about the organizational aspects of the *futuwwa* institutions, how *futuwwa* became *akhism* in Anatolia, the principles of *akhism* and the aspects of *akhism* related to it being a union of artisans. Similarly, in *Tarihte Fütüvvet ve Ahilik: Siyasi, Dini ve Sosyal Yönleriyle,*the author Umut Güner divides the book into two sections one on *futuwwa* and the second on *akhism.* In *futuwwa* section, he looks into the analysis of the concept of *futuwwa,* the historical formation of *futuwwa* organisation, and *futuwwa* as a social, religious and political institution. In *akhism* section, he looks into the concept of *akhism,* its historical formation, the relationship of

akhism and *futuwwa, akhism* as an institution and Ibn Battuta's experiences of *akhi*s. In *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* Ebubekir, Aytekin looks into the *futuwwa* and *akhi* brotherhoods, their historical formation, the organizational details of the *akhi* brotherhoods, books of *futuwwa* (the *fütüvvetname*), principles of *futuwwa*, which are also priniciples of *akhism* and *akhism* through Ibn Battuta's experiences. In *Islam Fütüvveti ve Türk Ahiliği: Ibn Battuta'ya Zeyl,* Muallim Cevdet looks into the meaning of *futuwwa, futuwwa* organization's history, different examples of famous figures of *futuwwa* in Islamic history and their benevolences, lists the charitable institutions that members of *futuwwa* established in different countries, lists the *akhi* groups in different cities of Anatolia, some details of the organizational and educational aspects of *akhi* brotherhoods and most importantly Ibn Battuta's experiences of the *akhi* brotherhoods. Noticeably all the above mentioned sources on *futuwwa* and *akhism* have similar or close contents, treating *futuwwa* and *akhism* in their principles and organizational aspects, and so is most Turkish literature on the subject of *futuwwa* and *akhism.* In *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran,*Lloyd Ridgeon also examines the concept of *futuwwa* and the related concept of *muruwwa*, the historical formation of *futuwwa* groups in Iran, the relationship between Sufism and *futuwwa*, history of the institutionalization of *futuwwa*, some organizational aspects of *futuwwa* brotherhoods and the history of *futuwwa* until the modern era.

These books on *futuwwa*, whether the primary sources of *futuwwa* books or the secondary sources contain the subjects of hospitality within the principles of *futuwwa* in contexts of generosity and altruism which are central to the *futuwwa* thought and when giving examples of the generosities of people known for their *futuwwa*. Some of these books also mention Ibn Battuta's experiences of *futuwwa*brotherhoods and how they hosted him. But these books do not contain a separate section for hospitality. Ibn Battuta's travelogue is also considered and important source of information on the *akhi* brotherhoods.

Ibn Battuta

The primary source here is Ibn Battuta's travelogue, the *Rihla.* There are several editions of the *Rihla* in Arabic and the edition that I will use in this study is *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta* by Prof. Abd al-Hadi al-Tazi which is an unabridged full version of the travelogue. In this book the author also comments on the *Rihla* and elaborates on the issue of the credibility of the *Rihla* in which he concludes being positive about its credibility. The author also comments on the *Rihla* with an extensive introduction. There are also several translations of the *Rihla* into English almost all of which are abridged. One the most famous of these is Gibb's *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa* which is a book of selections from Ibn Battuta's travelogue. Gibb does not only give the account of the *Rihla* but explains the *Rihla* and comments on it. Another famous edition of the Rihla in English with a commentary is *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* by Ross E. Dunn, in which the author tells the Rihla like a story, from a third person perspective rather than using Ibn Battuta's words. In *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa,*Said Hamdun and Noel King present the accounts of the East African and West African Journeys of Ibn Battuta in the *Rihla,* dividing the account with subheadings and adding maps and pictures. There are also similar books that translate and edit parts of the *Rihla* on a certain geographic area such as *Ibn Battuta's Journey in the North-Eastern Balkans, Ibn Battuta's Account of Bengal, The Travels of Ibn Battuta to Central Asia, Antalya and Alanya in the Late Medieval Period from the Descriptions of Ibn Battuta and El-Omeri, Ibn Battuta Çağında Dest-i Kıpçak ve Türkistan,* and others.

Outline of Chapters

As the aim of this thesis is to take a holistic look at the concept of hospitality in Islamic civilization in its theoretical and practical dimensions, I divide my thesis into two sections. In section one, I look into the normative foundations of the hospitality ethic in Islamicate civilization, and in section two, I look into the real practice of these norms in Islamic history.

In section one of my thesis, I discuss the normative foundations of hospitality ethic in Islamic civilization. The normative foundations include the ethic of hospitality in the primary sources of Islamic religion, the Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad, some examples from the early Islamic history and the codification of Islamic ethics in the *futuwwa* chivalry code.

In chapter one, I look into hospitality in the first and second primary sources of Islamic religion i.e. the Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad, in addition to the pre-Islamic Arab hospitality and some examples of hospitality from early Islamic history. When the religion of Islam emerged, it did not appear into a vacuum but into a society with established traditions. Some traditions and norms that were in-line with the basic objectives and principles of Islam and did not contradict Islamic teachings were kept and adapted. Therefore, I find it important to generally discuss the themes of hospitality in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Generosity and hospitality were directly linked to chivalry and honour and was something that they took pride in. As Islam came, it adopted this importance given to hospitality but purified it from the extravagance and boastfulness and redirected the underlying motives of generosity.

I look into the concept of hospitality in the Quran by looking at the word *dhiyafa* (hospitality) and its derivatives. The contexts in which derivatives of *dhiyafa* are mentioned directly in the Quran are in the stories of the Prophet Ibrahim, the Prophet Lot and the Prophet Musa with Khidr. The notable hospitality of the Prophet Ibrahim is well-known in the three monotheistic religions. There are several etiquettes of hospitality that could be derived from the story of the Prophet Ibrahim in the Quran, such as greeting the guest and welcoming them in a best way, offering them the best kind of available food in a quick manner and without intimidating the guest and welcoming the guest even if they were total strangers. Then come the stories of the Prophet Lot and the Prophet Musa with Khidr, the story of the Prophet Musa and Khidr portraying inhospitability.

After looking at the concept of hospitality in the Quran, I look at hospitality in the second primary source of the Islamic religion, the *Sunnah* (tradition) of the Prophet Muhammad. There are many sayings of the Prophet Muhammad encouraging hospitality and giving importance to the guest. There are sayings which indicate etiquettes of hospitality and the rights and obligations of the host and the guest such as entertaining the guest for three days and on the guest's part, not being a burden on the host, for example. An important concept to analyze in the context of hospitality is *ibn al-sabeel*, which literally means "the son of the road" i.e. the traveller. *Ibn al-sabeel* has been given a special status and special rights in Islamic tradition and is considered a guest, a traveller-guest. *Ibn al-sabeel* is an important term to elaborate upon in this thesis because *ibn al-sabeel* i.e. a traveller is usually a stranger, and the rulings related to *ibn al-sabeel* in Islamic tradition demonstrate how the stranger or the stranger-guest is treated in Islamic tradition.

After mentioning the rulings and norms related to the treatment of the guest in Islamic tradition I give some examples of how hospitality was understood and practiced by the first receivers of the Islamic religion i.e. the companions of the Prophet Muhammad because they are considered the exemplar of the practice of Islamic tradition. I also give some main examples of hospitality in early Islamic history which is the hospitality of the cities of Taif, Abyssinia and Medina. These are related to some events in early Islamic history. The most important is the example of Medina, which is the example of how the residents of Medina received the Prophet Muhammad and other emigrants from Mecca, in one of the most important events in early Islamic history, the *Hijra*(emigration) to Medina.

Around the ninth century A.D., during the Abbasid reign, a codification of Islamic ethics in a chivalry code named *futuwwa* came forth. Books of *futuwwa* which codified Islamic ethics were written as guidebooks for the *futuwwa* brotherhoods, which were one of the most important associations in the Islamic history. In the second chapter I talk about the moral code of *futuwwa* and the historical formation of the *futuwwa*brotherhoods. Hospitality, generosity and altruism were of the main foundations of the ethical code of

futuwwa and the *futuwwa*brotherhoods that adopted this ethical code are considered practical manifestations of the hospitality ethic in Islamic history.

In section two of the thesis, I aim to answer the questions of whether and how these Islamic hospitality norms were practiced in real life in Islamicate history and the scope of the Islamic practice and mindset of hospitality. For this, I choose to analyze Ibn Battuta's famous travelogue the *Rihla*, in terms of the hospitality that he was received with. I find Ibn Battuta suitable for analyzing in this context because he is one of the most travelled travellers of the Islamic history covering most (if not all) of the lands under Islamic rule of his time and beyond including territories of Northern Africa, Andalusia, Central Africa, the Horn of Africa, Arabian Peninsula, Anatolia, Constantinople, Central Asia, Indian Peninsula, China and South Asia and writing down his experiences in a detailed account. I also choose Ibn Battuta because as a traveller he falls into the category of *ibn al-sabeel* i.e. the traveller-guest, whose experiences show us the treatment of *ibn al-sabeel*in Islamic history. Because of the wide range of his travels and the detailed manner of his accounts Ibn Battuta's experiences serve as an invaluable source of information on the real-life of different Islamic societies around the Islamicate world of his times.

In chapter three, I talk about the political and social background of the world that Ibn Battuta lived in, introduce Ibn Battuta's travelogue generally, define my reason for choosing it and mention some arguments around the credibility of the *Rihla*. Ibn Battuta lived in the twelfth century A.D. which falls into the time range of what Hodgson in *Venture of Islam* named as "Middle Periods" of Islamic history, 950 to 1500 A.D. These periods are known for political disunity and a high diversity of cultures and people within Islamdom, due to the rapid and huge expansion of Islam across continents at the time. During these times, unity within Islamdom was maintained by different social networks such as the Sufi brotherhoods, networks of students and scholars and other networks. The common social Islamicate pattern enabled the residents of Islamdom anywhere across the continents to feel that they are a part of Islamdom wherever they were within it. This common ground and patterns between all the Muslims around

Islamdom were the Islamic teachings and norms set by the Quran and the *Sunnnah.* One of these being the Islamic norms related to hospitality and tolerance. These Islamicate social networks that contributed to the unity of Islamdom were also based on these Islamic norms.

In chapter four, I discuss briefly some of the institutions in Islamic history that were manifestations of Islamic ethics and norms of hospitality. I mention them because these institutions flourished in the "Middle Periods" and were a part of the networks which held the Islamicate world together and because they are mentioned in Ibn Battuta's travelogue. These are *waqf, zawiya, tekke, imaret, khankah, ribat*, caravanserai, *funduk* and *khan. Waqf* means a continuous charitable endowment set for a certain charitable purpose and there are examples in the Islamic history of *waqfs* that were set for *ibn al-sabeel*(the traveller-guest). Ibn Battuta also mentions *waqfs* in several places in the *Rihla.* Waqf endowment are set by individuals but because it is set for funding public purposes I put it together with the other institutions. *Waqf* is the most important of all these institutions because all these institutions were funded by the *waqf* endowments. *Zawiyas* and *tekkes* were lodges and quarters of Sufi and *futuwwa* brotherhoods. They were also used as guesthouses for hosting guests and especially travellers like Ibn Battuta. Ibn Battuta mentions being hosted in *zawiyas* in many places in the *Rihla.Khankahs* were also lodges and quarters of Sufi dervishes and Sufi orders. Ibn Battuta also mentions *khankah*s in his travelogue. *Ribat*s were also used as guesthouses and Ibn Battuta also mentions some in his travelogue. Caravanserais, *funduks* and *khans*, among these institutions, were built specifically for hosting travellers. Ibn Battuta also mentions them in his travelogue. One of the institutions that I do not elaborate upon but was also mentioned in Ibn Battuta's travelogue as a place where travellers could stay were *madrasa*s, which were centers for seeking knowledge and were usually used for accommodating students but in Ibn Battuta's travelogue we can see that *madarsa*s are used interchangeably with *zawiyas* in parts of the Islamicate world.

In chapter five, I look into the types of hospitality in Ibn Battuta's travelogue, which I classify as: providing shelter and protection, providing food and water, providing gifts,

clothes, provisions, money and bath, honouring the guest and receiving them with joy. These are general patterns of hospitality based on the analysis of the *Rihla*. I ordered them according to the level of need, starting with the basic needs and going on to the complementary. I also mention some customs and traditions of hospitality that Ibn Battuta mentions and are not general but specific to local traditions. Lastly, I talk about the geographic scope of Ibn Battuta's experiences. Because the aim of the thesis in this practical section is to look at the practice of hospitality in the Islamicate world, the scope of Ibn Battuta's experiences gives us a look at how the hospitality mindset of the Islamic tradition was practiced all over Islamdom.

SECTION ONE

Normative Foundations of Islamic Hospitality

1.Hospitality in the Quran, the *Sunnah* and Early Islamic Scholarly Tradition

1.1. Pre-Islamic Arab Hospitality

Hospitality is a basic virtue of the Islamic ethical system. It was a very important virtue in pre-Islamic Arabic society as well, connected directly to existence, honour and chivalry. After Islam emerged in the Arabian peninsula, it adapted many of the virtues and social norms already present in the society. Therefore, to look at the hospitality in Islam it is important to mention its significance and its themes in pre-Islamic times.

First of all, let's look at the word hospitality and its derivatives in Arabic. The closest and most used word in Arabic for hospitality is *dhiyafa*, *dhayf* which means guest being derived from it. A word inevitably connected to hospitality is generosity, one of words for which is *karam.* The adjective *kareem* is a combination of generosity and nobility: "*Karim*, in other words, is a man who is acknowledged by everybody to be 'noble' just because he proves his own noble birth concretely in his acts of limitless generosity."[20]The original word *karam* means honour and also means generosity. In Arabic, it is also used for describing earth, as Arabs say *ardun karam* which means a "good, fertile land". And it is also used for clouds if they are heavy with rain. One of the derivatives of the word *karam* is the word *karaamah*, which means dignity.[21] The words *adhafa* (hosted) and *akrama*(honoured) are often used together in Arabic literature. For instance, Ibn Battuta uses *akramani wa adhafani* (honoured and hosted me) very often in his travelogue. All this indicates a strong relationship between honour and hospitality in the Arabic language and usage.

[20] Toshihiko Izutsu, *Ethico Religious Concepts in the Quran*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 76.
[21] Al-Khalil Al-Farahidi, *Kitab Al-'Ain,* Ed. Mahdi Makhzomi, Ibrahim al-Samirai, (Dar wa Maktabat al-Hilal), 5: 368-369.

Generosity was directly linked to chivalry and honour in the pre-Islamic Arab society:

> For a pagan Arab, charity was not simply a natural manifestationof his feeling of tribal solidarity, for very often it extended beyondthe members of his own tribe to the strangers who happened tobe there. Nor was it always dictated by the motive of benevolenceand kindness. It was first and foremost an act of chivalry. A manwho could make a royal display of his generosity was a true dandyof the desert.[22]

Dhiyafa was largely present in Arabia in pre-Islamic *Jahiliyah* society. *Karam*, goodness and liberality were of the most important values that Arabs held pride in and of the main themes in pre-Islamic *Jahiliyah* poetry and literature. The importance they gave to hospitality was first and foremost necessitated by the harsh desert conditions prevailing in their lands, especially if we think about semi-nomads or Bedouins. Hospitality plays a vital role in these rough environments: "The virtue seems an ineluctable product of the landscape…to refuse a man refreshment in such a place is to let him die, to threaten the open-handedness nomadic people must depend on to survive."[23]

There are some themes of hospitality in the pre-Islamic Arabic literature. Poets were giving accounts on people who were famous with their generosity and mentioning symbols of hospitality such as the hugeness of jars and pots which were used to host numerous guests. There are different names for cooking jars and pots according to their material and size, most of which are huge in size as we can see that poets largely use the simile of basins to describe their enormousness. They were used to refer to the generosity and hospitality of their owner and the abundance of his guests and visitors. Poets also spoke a lot about meat cooked in these pots and considered it as manifestation of hospitality. There are for instance verses of poets boasting about the generosity of their tribe by describing pots boiling with meat, and how they serve their guests by their own hands. And some other accounts on how the pots of a certain tribe are set up in open for everyone and all the time with food boiling in it in the harshest days of winter. And accounts on how these pots were never hidden, but open for everyone and how those in need would find their provision in them. For example, we can see a poem of a

[22] Izutsu, *Ethico Religious Concepts in the Quran*, 76.
[23] Mona Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam; Welcoming in God's Name, (*Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2015), 33.

poor woman mourning a generous man whose pots she and her orphan children used to feed from.[24]

Another important theme of hospitality in *Jahiliyya* poetry is the guidance of a guest. As mentioned above, the Arabic peninsula is known for its vast arid desert lands, which makes passing through them a burdensome task. And as many lived a nomadic Bedouin life, and those who did not had to pass these vast deserts for trade and other reasons, getting lost in a desert was not uncommon. Moreover, we know how hot can the days and cold can the nights in a desert be. Thus having guidance in a desert was a matter of life and death. Under this necessity the Arabs developed some interesting traditions. One of these was lighting a camp fire, these were of the things they took pride in and boasted about in their poems. They lighted fires outside their huts or homes at nights so that anyone who is lost and in need of shelter or food would be able to take shelter, warm up and get food and as lighthouses for travellers and lost people. For example, there is a poem of a man vividly describing the suffering of a guest, lost in the wilderness of the desert in a raining, stormy night, in a desperate need of safety, food and warmth. And likening a fire which he noticed from a distance to a guiding star which he followed and was warmly received, even mentioning the words *ahlan wa sahlan* (welcome) and *marhaban* (hello) to indicate the warm reception by his hosts in the poem.[25]In addition to all this, some generous people in pre-Islamic period used to go as far as to put essence to their fire or burn some good smelling wood and incense in order for their fire to spread out a pleasant odour for the guests to come.[26]

[24] Hamdi Mahmud Mansur, "Adab al-Dhiyafah Fi al-Shi'r al-Jahili", *Dirasat al-'Ulum al-Insaniyah wa al-Ijtima'iyah,* ('Imadat al-Bahth al-'Ilmi, al-Jami'yah al-Urduniyah, Vol.33, 2006), 819-822.

[25] The original poem by *Al-Mithqab al-Abdi* in Arabic:

وسارتعناه المبيت فلم يدع له طامس الظلماء والليل مذهبا
رأى ضوء نار من بعيد فخالها لقد أكذبته النفس, بل رأى كوكبا
فلما استبان أنها إنسية وصدّقَ ظناً بعد ما كان كذبا
رفعت له بالكف ناراً تشبُّها شآمية نكباء أو عاصف صبا
وقلت ارفعاها بالصعيد كفى بها مناد لسار ليلة إن تأوبا
فلما أتاني والسماء تبله فلقّيتُه أهلاً وسهلاً ومرحبا

[26] Ibid, 822-823.

Nevertheless, it is not always possible for the fire to stay light the whole night as the owner might fall asleep. Therefore, there was another strategy for this situation. The person lost at night in the darkness would howl like dog, so that if there's anyone in the distance , their dogs would respond to that howling with another howl and they follow the dogs sounds. When the owner hears his dogs howling he would wake up to light his fire and prepare food for the guest. Sometimes, the lost person might get tricked by the eco of their own howling thinking that it's a dog's response. Thus, if an owner hears a human howling in the distance they immediately wake up to make a fire to make their place known, so that the guest would not get lost by following their own echo. There are also many poems on this tradition, too.[27]

Moreover, we can see from the poetry that among their etiquettes was to take care of the guest's animals along with their own animals. There is a poem in which Hatim al-Taii, a famous icon of hospitality, was telling his son to take good care of their dog, as he was very thankful for helping his guests to find their way to him at nights.[28]

Another important point present in the *Jahiliiyah* poetry on hospitality, in addition to the aforementioned physical aspects of hospitality of providing food and guidance, is the moral part of welcoming the guest. Which was welcoming the guest with a cheerful face, a smile and greetings. There are poems mentioning the words *ahlan* (welcome) and *marhaban* (hello) referring to the kind welcoming of a host. These things were considered the rights of a guest and were praised in the poems. The host had to keep company to his guest and entertain them in a joyous manner. These good manners were also of great importance as one couldn't imagine providing food and shelter with a scowling face and a gloomy manner and consider that a good hospitality. We can observe through the *Jahiliyah* poetic literature that when speaking about hospitality, the guest's wellbeing and happiness was the main and first consideration in the hosts' minds. It can be seen through many poems that giving a pleasant hospitality to a guest was a priority to them. They sometimes gave their own beddings for the guest, and the

[27] Mansur, "Adab al-Dhiyafah Fi al-Shi'r al-Jahili", 824.
[28] Ibid, 826.

guest was given the best of everything, the best place in the house and the best food. It is also important to notice that hospitality and generosity was not tied to the wealth of a person. Of course, the more wealthy could give more but it was not a condition.[29]

Especially appreciated and praised was the hospitality in times of drought and scarcity of provisions. We can see many poems praising those who stayed generous and open handed in these harsh conditions, hurrying to welcome anyone who might pass by. Being quick to attend to guests and offering them food without any delaying was praised in many poems. Also a praiseworthy factor mentioned in the poems was the fact that the dogs won't bark when seeing a stranger was an indicator of the generosity and hospitality of a man and abundance of his guests as even his dog was used to seeing so many strangers thus never barked when seeing one in their houses. Moreover, we can see through some poems that they considered these demonstrations of hospitality as a guest's right and their obligation rather than a mere act of philanthropy. [30]

Another common etiquette of hospitality in pre-Islamic society was to welcome and receive the guest without interrogating them and asking them of their name and reason of coming. It did not matter who the stranger was or what they wanted, they were a stranger who came as a guest and the host's obligation was to welcome and receive them. Even if there was a necessity to ask, the host would ask them after they have eaten and taken their rest, as not to embarrass them or put them in an awkward position.[31]

On the other side, we can also see that misers and those not providing hospitality were an object of satire and mocking in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry.[32]There are many poems and examples of hospitality in pre-Islamic era and there are some individuals who were very famous for their generosity and stories of their generosity passed on in Arabic culture. One example is an icon of hospitality named Hatim al-Ta'i. In his well-known *adab* (literature) compilation, the "Unique Necklace", Ibn Abd Rabbih writes that Hatim

[29] Mansur, "Adab al-Dhiyafah Fi al-Shi'r al-Jahili", 826.
[30] Ibid, 827.
[31] Ibid, 828.
[32] Ibid, 830.

was the one who would order his slave to light a fire on a hill when the winter was very harsh, so that anyone who lost their way, would be guided to him :

> Kindle the fire for the night is severely cold
> And the wind is gusty and biting, O kindler.
> Perhaps your fire will be seen by a passer-by;
> If it will bring a guest to me, you will be free.[33]

He even killed his beloved horse in an year when crops did not grow well, in order to feed his poor neighbour and her children. Although Hatim was not a Muslim he was honoured for his generous deeds and hugely respected among Muslims afterwards.

In addition to being necessitated by the living conditions, hospitality was also an etiquette, a value connected with the Arab sense of honour and chivalry. Generosity and hospitality was equated with nobility.To add to this was the appreciation and love of praise that was present in pagan Arab culture, as praise and complimenting was an important genre in Arabic poetry. Therefore, as generosity and liberality were considered of the main praiseworthy traits, hospitality was a field of competition between people and especially among those who had a status and wealth. It brought honour and glory for the person and his tribe, and immortal honour that was recorded in poems and passed on as legacy.[34]

One of the instants of hospitality in *Jahiliyya* times was *Hilf ul-Fudul* (League of the Virtuous). The story is like this: a Yemeni merchant from Zabid had sold some goods to a notable member of the clan of Sahm. Having taken possession of the goods, the man from Sahm refused to pay the agreed price. The wrong doer knew very well that the merchant had no confederate or kinsman in Mecca, whom he could count upon for help. But instead of letting it pass, the merchant appealed to the Quraysh tribe to see that justice was done. Then, some Quraysh clans gathered and made a pact in which they agreed to uphold justice and help those who have been oppressed.[35]Although the pre-Islamic Arabic society was a tribal society, in which almost everything was based and

[33] Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam; Welcoming in God's Name,* 34.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Martin Lings, *Muhammad; His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, (Inner Traditions International, 1987), 32.

dependent on kinship, in this pact they agreed upon defending anyone who has been treated wrongly, whether from Mecca or not, whether they have a tribe to stand up for them or not, in other words, a vulnerable stranger who has no one in that town to back him and support him to take his rights.

Another example of the important status of the virtue of hospitality in pre-Islamic tradition is in the story of when the prophet Muhammad was given the first revelation and was afraid of what had befallen him. In order to reassure him, his wife Khadija said these words: "Allah will never disgrace you. You unite uterine relations; you bear the burden of the weak; you help the poor and the needy, you entertain the guests and endure hardships in the path of truthfulness."[36] By this, she is telling him his good characteristics in order to reassure him that he is not a man upon whom an evil would befall, entertaining the guest being among these characteristics.

It is very interesting how these seemingly uncivilized tribal Arab societies had these delicate and elaborate manners regarding hospitality. And despite being a very tribally affiliated society in which lineage mattered the most, these manners and feelings of hospitality were often directed to total strangers and passers-by with whom the host had not had any blood relation.

Hospitality and generosity, among many other ethical values present in the pre-Islamic Arabic society, were adopted and assimilated by Islam. Islam also placed a high value upon hospitality and generosity, but there were some differences in the approach to hospitality in pre-Islamic Arab society and Islam. The main fundamental difference in these two positions was that Islam denied value to any act of generosity originating in the desire to make a show. "What is important is not the act of generosity, but the motive underlying it. All acts of generosity are absolutely valueless that come from the source of vainglory and pride".[37] Moreover, generosity and hospitality in Islam were purified of the boastfulness and excessiveness of the pagan Arab generosity "thus the

[36] Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar; Biography of the Noble Prophet, 69.*
[37] Izutsu, *Ethico Religious Concepts in the Quran*, 77.

duty of almsgiving was offered to the Muslims as the most suitable mold into which they might pour their natural generosity without being led into the satanic vices of haughtiness and extravagance".[38] The obligatory alms and the encouraged charity are one of the fields of generosity in Islamic tradition. In addition, there are certain etiquettes, rights and obligations of the host and the guest and special rulings regarding the traveller-guest in Islamic tradition.

1.2. Hospitality in Quranic Narratives.

In order to analyze the concept of hospitality in Islamic tradition we have, first of all, to look into the Quran, the first primary source and base of Islamic tradition. As mentioned above, the closest and most common translation of the word hospitality in Arabic is *dhiyafah.*The derivatives of the word *dhiyafah* itself are mentioned in the Quran in three contexts, in the stories of the prophets Ibrahim, Lut and Musa. But throughout the Quran we can see other places where hospitality is mentioned indirectly in contexts of generosity and charity. The derivatives of the word *dhiayafah* (hospitality): *yudhayyfuuhumaa* (show them hospitality) is mentioned once in the story of the Prophet Musa, *dhayf* (guest) is mentioned twice both in the stories of the Prophet Ibrahim, *dhayfihi* (his guest) once in the story of the Prophet Lut, *dhayfii*(my guest) twice both in the stories of the Prophet Lot, in the Quran.[39]

1.2.1. Hospitality of Ibrahim

The figure of Ibrahim and his notable hospitality is the common ground between the three monotheistic religions. The story of Ibrahim as a context of hospitality is more used by Jewish and Christian writers than by Muslim writers. The Islamic tradition does not speak of theories of hospitality through these motifs, they are rather derived from Islamic literature which deals with generosity, giving charity…etc.[40] But it gives the

[38] Izutsu, *Ethico Religious Concepts in the Quran*, 78.
[39] Muhammad Abdulbaki, *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras Li-Alfadh al-Qur'an al-Kareem*, (Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, 1944), 424.
[40]Mona Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam; Welcoming in God's Name, (*Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2015), 21-22.

stories of theses prophets to derive some lessons and to set examples. Therefore, we can see the exemplary hospitality in these stories.

The story of how the Prophet Ibrahim showed hospitality to his guests lays the guidelines on how to take care of the guests. These are the verses of the Quran which narrate the story of Ibrahim with his guests:

> Has there reached you the story of the honoured guests of Abraham?When they entered upon him and said, "[We greet you with] peace." He answered, "[And upon you] peace, [you are] a people unknown.Then he went to his family and came with a fat [roasted] calf.And placed it near them; he said, "Will you not eat?".[41]

These verses tell us several things. First of all, there is no mentioning of these guests asking for a permission to enter. Although this does not mean that the etiquette in this matter is that a guest should not ask for permission before entering a house, this verse does not give the etiquette on this matter, but rather this is mentioned to show the great generosity and hospitable character of the prophet Ibrahim. He received guests with open doors and open hands. According to some stories, prophet Ibrahim's doors were always open for anyone who wanted to come by and that he never ate alone. There is another narration that when Ibrahim wanted to eat he would leave his tent and could walk for miles to find someone to eat with him indicating his hospitality and generosity.[42]

The second is an etiquette of hospitality that we can derive from the story, which is the reciprocation of greeting. "When you are greeted with a greeting, greet in return with what is better than it, or return it equally"[43] is the norm set by the Quran. In the English translation of this verse both greetings, Ibrahim's and his guests' are translated as "peace be upon you". But in the original Arabic text there is a little linguistic nuance between these two. The guests first gave the greeting of *salaman* and Ibrahim answered with *salamun*, with the difference of *a* and *u*, *salamun* being linguistically stronger in meaning than *salaman*.

[41] The Quran 51:24-27 (Trans. Sahih International).
[42] Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali, *Ihya-u 'Ulum Al-Din*, (Jidda: Dar al-Minhaj, 2011), 3:52.
[43] The Quran 4:86 (Trans. Sahih International).

The third point derived from the verse is preparing a feast for the guest and serving them without intimidating them. In addition to being quick in that and not stalling them. After Ibrahim greeted his stranger guests, he "turned to his household secretly". The Arabic verb used here is *raagha* which means "to go secretly". He did not mention to them that he will prepare food for them, but went secretly inside the house and brought it to them as they were unaware of it for a guest might be intimidated or embarrassed if the host asked them or told them that he is preparing food for them. In another verse that related the same story: "And certainly did Our messengers come to Abraham with good tidings; they said, "Peace." He said, "Peace," and did not delay in bringing [them] a roasted calf."[44]Here, it is pointed out that he was quick in serving his guests and did not make them wait.

The forth point to note is that he prepared the best kind of food for them and in a large amount. He prepared a fat, roasted calf to serve it to total strangers whom he had never encountered and might have never encountered again. In some narrations it is mentioned that there were only three guests, and the mentioned amount of food in the verse is a calf.

The fifth point is that after putting the food before them, Ibrahim refrained from ordering them to eat. It seems that it was expected from the guests to eat what the host had served them, thus when Ibrahim saw that the guests did not hesitate to eat he asked them politely "will you not eat?". The exegete of the Quran al-Kurtubi says here that it is an etiquette of hospitality that the guest accepts what the host offers and that the host should look at whether the guests are pleased with what has been offered, but has to do this in an indirect, fast manner, without gazing as to not make the guests uncomfortable.[45]

[44] The Quran 11:69 (Trans. Sahih International).
[45] Muhammad Al-Kurtubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam al-Kur'an=Tafsir al-Kurtubi,* Ed. Ahmad Al-Barduni, Ibrahim Atfish, (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, 1964), 9:62-65.

The sixth point to note is the fact that these guests whom Ibrahim showed so much generosity and hospitality to were total strangers whom he had never encountered and would have never seen again: "you are a people unknown"[46]. In this verse we can see the perfect hospitality of Ibrahim in a detailed account.

There is an anecdote on the hospitality of the prophet Ibrahim. The Arabic name of the city Aleppo(in Syria today), is Halab, which is the same word as milked (in the past tense). It is narrated that when the prophet Ibrahim used to live in that land, he had had many sheep which he would milk and feed the poor, the travellers and the passers-by. Therefore, people would ask each other *halaba Ibrahim?* (has Ibrahim milked his sheep yet?), thence , the city was named Halab.[47]

1.2.2. The Prophet Lut and his Guests

Another story in the Quran that has the words, *dhayf* (guest) mentioned is the story of the prophet Lut. According to Islamic sources he was the nephew of the prophet Ibrahim and was sent as a messenger of God to people of Sodom. He was sent to them because the town was full of evil as they used to rob and kill the travellers and whoever passes by their village and practice sodomy. I will not mention the whole story here but the part that concerns us which is when three of God's angels in disguise as human beings came to him. Now these angels are the same that came to Ibrahim first, therefore this is a sort of a continuation to the past story with Ibrahim. These angels, disguised as beautiful men, passed by Ibrahim and then came to Sodom. According to some sources, the first person who saw these strangers is Lut's daughter, whom they asked for a place to stay. She came to her father, to inform him of this, and his reaction was as following in the verses:

> And when Our messengers, [the angels], came to Lot, he was anguished for them and felt for them great discomfort and said, "This is a trying day." And his people came hastening to him, and before [this] they had been doing evil deeds. He said, "O my people, these are

[46]The Quran 51:24-27, Trans. By Sahih International.
[47] Abd Al-Hadi Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* (Matbu'at Akadimiyah Al-Mamlakah Al-Maghribiyya, Silsilah Al-Turath, 1997), 276.

> my daughters; they are purer for you. So fear Allah and do not disgrace me concerning my guests. Is there not among you a man of reason?"[48]

In another verse: *"*And the people of the city came rejoicing. [Lot] said, "Indeed, these are my guests, so do not shame me. And fear Allah and do not disgrace me."*"*[49]. I will not look into the full exegesis of these verses here but at the general meaning that concerns us. As seen in the verses, Lut was not pleased with these beautiful strangers coming to his town for he was afraid for them from the people of his town, as he knew what evil they could do to them. He had to take these guests in though, and then we can see from the verses that he pleaded them to leave his guests alone and not harm them. He begged them not to force their acts of sodomy on his guests and disgrace him. We can see from this story the importance and concern that the prophet Lut showed his guests. He begged his people to leave them alone and not disgrace him concerning his guests. As a host, he knew that he was responsible for the protection of his guests, thus, he took the harm that was to be done to them as a disgrace and shame on himself because they are under his protection.[50]

1.2.3. The Prophet Musa, Khidr and the Inhospitable Village

Another instance of hospitality mentioned in the Quran is in the story of the Prophet Musa with the wise man, Khidr. As Musa and Khidr set out on a journey they came upon a town, in which they were to stop and take a rest. The verse that explains this is as follows: "So they set out, until when they came to the people of a town, they asked its people for food, but they refused to offer them hospitality. And they found therein a wall about to collapse, so al-Khidhr restored it. [Moses] said, "If you wished, you could have taken for it a payment."*"*[51]Here Musa and Khidr asked for hospitality, which apparently was their right, but were refused. Therefore, the verse condemns the people of this town. The famous exegete of the Quran Katadah says upon explaining this verse that the worst

[48]The Quran, 11:77-78 (Trans. Sahih International).
[49]The Quran, 15:67-69 (Trans. Sahih International).
[50]Ismail, Ibn Kathir, *Kisas Al-Anbia',*Ed. Abd Al-Hayy Al-Farmawi, (Cairo: Dar Al-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr al-Islamiyya, 1997), 249.
[51]The Quran, 18:77 (Trans. Sahih International).

of towns is the one that does not offer hospitality and does not recognise the right of the *ibn al-sabeel*(traveller-guest).[52]

These are stories in which the derivatives of the word *dhiyafa*: *dhaif* (guest) and *yudhayyif* (showing hospitality) are mentioned in the Quran. There are other verses in which hospitality is mentioned indirectly in contexts of charity and alms for example, but without mentioning the word itself. The stories above are the only places in the Quran where the word is mentioned literally. To summarize, in these stories hospitality is related to open-doors, meaning being open to always accepting guests, greeting, offering best kind of food in a quick, non-intimidating manner, showing hospitality to total strangers, taking the guest under one's protection and hospitality being a right that travellers can ask for, in addition to the condemnation of the refusal of hospitality.

1.3. The Host and Guest in Islamic Tradition: Encouragement on Hospitality, Rights and Obligations, Etiquette.

In this part, I will look into hospitality and its related rulings in the second primary source of Islamic teachings, the *Sunnah*of the Prophet Muhammad. In the compilations of the Prophetic sayings i.e. the books of *hadith*, hospitality is treated under the subject of *adab* (virtues and good manners) and so is generosity which is inevitably related to hospitality. Obligatory alms, non obligatory charity and other subjects related to charity are also subjects related to hospitality in Islamic tradition, because one of the groups deserving charity is *ibn al-sabeel*(a traveller-guest, a passer-by). These subjects of alms are treated in the books of *fiqh*(Islamic law) also in addition to the books of *hadith*. In the following I will go through the *hadith*s (Prophetic sayings) which speak about the importance and etiquettes of hospitality. The *hadith*s that are *sahih*(authentic) are taken as a base.

[52] Al-Kurtubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam al-Kur'an=Tafsir al-Kurtubi*, 11:25.

1.3.1. The Importance and Encouragement on Hospitality in the Prophetic Tradition

In Islam, the hospitality relationship is triangular, it consists of host, guest, and God. It is a social act which is at the same time a very individual act of worship to God. The first and most important indication of the status given to hospitality in the Prophetic tradition is linking hospitality to the matter of faith itself as stated in the following sayings of the Prophet Muhammad:

> Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should not hurt his neighbour and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day**, should serve his guest generously**...[53]

> **Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his guest generously**; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should unite the bond of kinship…[54]

There is nothing more important in Islam than the matter of belief and faith in God as it is the very base of Islam. Therefore connecting belief in Allah directly to "serving guests generously" speaks volumes of the status given to hospitality in Islamic tradition.Connecting hospitality to the belief in Allah and the Last Day here is a form of exaggeration used in Arabic rhetoric in order to emphasize the importance of the subject given. The same rule applies here in mentioning hospitality together with "uniting the bond of kinship" and "not hurt his neighbour", for the importance given to both in Islam.

There are countless other sayings of the prophet Muhammad encouraging hospitality and generosity and indicating its virtue. An example is:"There is no good in a person who does not want to entertain guests."[55]Another narration which explains that that the Prophet Muhammad passed by a man who had a lot of cattle but did not host him, and then he passed by a woman who had a few small animals but she slaughtered some in order to offer hospitality to the Prophet Muhammad. Then the Prophet Muhammad said: "look at them, these manners are in the possession of Allah; He bestows good character

[53] Muhammed Ibn Ismail Al-Bukhari, Trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*, (Riadh-Saudi Arabia: Darussalam, 1997), 8:73:158.
[54] Ibid, 8:73:160.
[55] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya-u 'Ulum Al-Din*, 3:51.

upon those whom He wants…"[56] Stating that hospitality is an indication of good character, which is a gift from God.

1.3.2. Etiquettes of Hospitality in the Prophetic Tradition

Most of the etiquettes of hospitality are mentioned in the story of the Prophet Ibrahim above. Here I will only mention the etiquettes and rulings that have not been mentioned so far.In the following saying there are three etiquettes related to hospitality:

> A man asked the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him): "What is the best thing in Islam?" He said, "Feeding others and giving the greeting of salaam to those whom you know and those whom you do not know.[57]

These three are: feeding people, greeting with *salam* (peace) in general and greeting strangers in particular. Note here the mentioning of 'whom you do not know' along with 'whom you know'. Greeting an acquaintance or a friend is a very common, expected and natural behaviour that we do without putting in effort. But in this saying we can see the special mentioning for "those whom you do not know", giving an incentive on greeting the stranger as well. Greeting a person whom one is not acquainted with is not something usual and does not usually come out without conscious deliberation. Therefore, the strangers are especially mentioned in the saying because it might not come into one's mind immediately.

Moreover, the word for greeting mentioned in the saying is *salam* which means peace. This literally means that when we are greeting someone we are offering them peace. When greeting a stranger with a *salam*, we first and foremost offer them peace and show them that they are safe and that we do not have any hostile intentions towards them which makes them feel welcomed.

[56] Ibid, 51-52.
[57] Ibn Hajar Al-'Askalani, *Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, (Dar al-Ma'rifah, Beirut), 1:56.

1.3.3. General Rights and Obligations of a Guest in Prophet Sayings

The following narration of the Prophet Muhammad establishes the rights of the guest:

> Narrated `Uqba bin 'Amir: We said, "O Allah's Messenger (ﷺ)! You send us out and it happens that we have to stay with such people as do not entertain us. What do you think about it?" Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) said to us, "**If you stay with some people and they entertain you as they should for a guest, accept it; but if they do not do then you should take from them the right of the guest, which they ought to give**. [58]

The "right of the guest" which is mentioned here is explained in the following accounts:

> Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his guest generously. **The guest's reward is: To provide him with a superior type of food for a night and a day and a guest is to be entertained with food for three days, and whatever is offered beyond that, is regarded as something given in charity. And it is not lawful for a guest to stay with his host for such a long period so as to put him in a critical position**.[59]

> Whoever believes in the Last Day, let him honour his guest, and grant him reward for a day and a night. And it is not permissible for him to stay so long that he causes annoyance to his host. Hospitality is for three days, and whatever he spends on him after three days is charity.[60]

> Putting up a guest for one night is obligatory. If you find a guest at your door in the morning, then this(hospitality) is (like) a debt that you(the host) owe him. If he (the guest) wants, he may request it, and if he wants, he may leave it.[61]

From these sayings and other sources of Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic jurists extracted rulings related to hospitality, but have minor differences in opinion regarding the ruling of hospitality. They have differed in relation to whether hosting in the manner mentioned in the previous sayings is a *fard*(legal obligation) in the Islamic law or is a commendable act. Scholars of *fiqh* (Islamic law) have also differed in opinion in relation to the addressees of these hospitality rulings. Some have said that this hospitality is an obligation upon residents of towns, cities and rural areas or Bedouins but some have said that it is an obligation upon the residents of rural areas only and not the residents of towns and cities because in scarcely inhabited rural areas it is more difficult to find food and shelter and in towns there are usually institutions where guests can stay such as hotels, reserving the obligatory right to hospitality and accommodation which is

[58] Al-Bukhari, Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*, 8:73:159.
[59] Ibid, 73:156.
[60] Ibn Majah, , *Sunan Ibn Majah,* Ed. Muhammad Abd al-Baki(Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-'Arabiya),2:1212.
[61] Ibid.

mentioned in the previous sayings to the traveller or stranger guest.[62]The majority of the Islamic legal scholars have said that generally hospitality is not a *fardh* (obligation) but a *sunnah mu'akkadah'* (recommended emphatic act[63]) and have interpreted the previous saying of the Prophet Muhammad: "…If you stay with some people and they entertain you as they should for a guest, accept it; but if they do not do then you should take from them the right of the guest, which they ought to give." That it is for those guests who are in distress and need, for example if they stop by a house or a village in the middle of an uninhabited land or in a desert where they cannot find food or shelter otherwise, it becomes an obligation upon the residents to host them.[64]

The general opinion is that the right of a guest is to be accommodated and fed for three days and nights. In the first day the host must accommodate the guest with the best of what he has, the best food and care, in the next two days he must share with the guest whatever is the norm for himself and his own family. After three days, hospitality comes out of being an obligation to being a charity and a favour. It is no longer an obligation upon the host, but is encouraged. It is the right of the guest to ask for hospitality in the first three days, but after that he must be sensitive and not be a burden on his hosts.[65]

The importance and emphasis that is given to this right of the guest is also mentioned in the exegesis of this Quranic verse: "Allah does not like the public mention of evil except by one who has been wronged..."[66]The exegesis of the Quran explains it as following: this verse disapproves of declaring evil in public, with the exception of the case where a person has been wronged, then they can openly say that they have been wronged. The original word in the verse for wronged is *dhulim*,which means "was treated unjustly". Some of the exegetes of the Quran such as al-Mujahid explained that this verse is about hospitality, if a man saw another in a barren land and did not host him. Al-Mujahid says that if a man passes by another and is not hosted by him, he is permitted to declare

[62] Al-Kurtubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam al-Kur'an=Tafsir al-Kurtubi*, 9:64-65.
[63] In Islamic jurisprudence *sunnah mu'akaddah* is an act performing which"leads to spiritual reward from Almighty God while its neglect is merely blameworthy but not punishable.". See. M.H. Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence, 283*.
[64] Al-'Askalani, *Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, 5:108.
[65] Ibid, 10:533.
[66] The Quran 4:148 (Trans. Sahih International).

publicly that he was treated inhospitably. Al-Kurtubi, in his exegesis of the Quran, says that some scholars take this verse as an evidence for the *wujuub* (legal obligation) of hospitality. [67] Here we can see that acting inhospitably is considered as an act of injustice.

1.4.The Stranger in Islam: *Ibn al-Sabeel*

Definition of *Ibn al-Sabeel,* His Importance in Islam and His Rights

As mentioned previously, there are some differences in opinion among scholars regarding the due of hospitality and its addressees with the majority opinion that the accommodation and feeding for three days which is mentioned in the Prophetic sayings is obligatory regarding the traveller-guests who arrive at rural or Bedouin settlements and are in need of shelter and food and a *sunnah mu'akkadah* (emphatic commendable act) in general, regarding the non-traveller guests. It is observable that the traveller-guest who is entitled to this hospitality is a traveller whom the host might or might not be acquainted with i.e. a stranger. This part is particularly about the traveller-guest i.e. *ibn al-sabeel* as along with the right to hospitality of three days which has been mentioned, there are other rights and a certain status that *ibn al-sabeel*(the traveller-guest) is given in Islamic tradition. Moreover, I have to mention that as Mona Siddiqui says that despite the references to the stranger in different cultures and religions "in Islamic thought the conept of stranger, with an unknown identity, seems relatively less problematic and discussions of hospitality focus largely on the host\guest relationship and host\traveller relationship rather than that of host\stranger."[68] Accordingly, a stranger is seen as *ibn al-sabeel* (traveller-guest) and is looked upon as as guest in Islamic tradition.

The word for stranger in Arabic is *ghareeb* and in a more modern context the word foreigner is *ajnabi*. None of these words is used in the Quran to describe a stranger or a traveller. The word used mostly in Islamic literature to describe the stranger who is a traveller, or a passer-by is *ibn al-sabeel* which literally means "son of the road", and the stranger who has come for permanent residence i.e. a refugee, is indicated by the term

[67] Muhammad Al-Kurtubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam Al-Kur'an = Tafsir Al-Kurtubi,*Ed. Ahmad Al-Barduni and Ibrahim Atfish,(Dar a-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1964), 6:2.
[68] Mona Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam: Welcoming in God's Name,* 10.

muhajir (immigrant). To come to the definition of *ibn al-sabeel*, one of the scholars said that "the wayfarer is called ibn al-sabeel (lit. "son of the road") because he sticks to the road, and the one who sticks to something is described as its son in Arabic." [69]When explaining the groups that deserve alms, the Hanafi jurist al-Quduri says that *ibn al-sabeel*(traveller, wayfarer) is one "who has wealth in his own land but he himself is currently in another place in which he has nothing". [70] Therefore, the status, the background or the wealth of the traveller do not affect what they are due. It is the simple fact, that of his current homelessness and being a stranger in a foreign land that gives him that status and the rights accordingly.Most importantly, this traveller *ibn al-sabeel* is considered a guest. When explaining the Quranic verses regarding *ibn al-sabeel* exegetes explain *ibn al-sabeel* as a *dhayf* (guest).*Ibn al-sabeel* is not just a traveller, but a traveller who is considered a guest.

The first right of *ibn al-sabeel*(the traveller) was mentioned in the previous section, which is being accommodated and fed for three days. Another five of the rights of *ibn al-sabeel* can be derived from the eight verses of the Quran where *ibn al-sabeel* is mentioned.

The second right is to be treated with *ihsan* (good, perfection):

> Worship Allah and associate nothing with Him, **and to parents do good**, and to relatives, orphans, the needy, the near neighbour, the neighbour farther away, the companion at your side, **the traveler**, and those whom your right hands possess…[71]

The verse above indicates that one of the rights of *ibn al-sabeel* is doing *ihsan* (good) to them. *Ihsan* is a term meaning perfection or excellence. It is a matter of taking one's *iman*(faith) and showing it in both deed and action, a sense of social responsibility born from religious convictions. This verse puts the traveller in the general context of those who deserve one's good treatment the most. Scholars say that *ihsan* to *ibn al-sabeel* is doing the best in being a company to them and guiding them.[72]

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[69]See. Al-Kurtubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam Al-Kur'an = Tafsir Al-Kurtubi,* 5:189.
[70]See. Ahmad al-Kuduri, *Mukhtasar al-Kuduri fi al-Fikh al-Hanafi,* (Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1997), 59.
[71]The Quran 4:36 (Trans. Sahih International).
[72] Al-Kurtubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam Al-Kur'an = Tafsir Al-Kurtubi,* 5:189.

The third right is the right to charity :

> ...but [true] righteousness is [in] one who believes in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, the Book, and the prophets and **gives wealth, in spite of love for it**, to relatives, orphans, the needy, **the traveler**, those who ask [for help]…[73]

> They ask you, [O Muhammad], what they should spend. Say, "**Whatever you spend of good is [to be] for** parents and relatives and orphans and the needy and **the traveler…**[74]
> And give the relative his right, and [also] the poor and the **traveler**, and do not spend wastefully.[75]

In these three verses the traveller is mentioned in the groups that deserve charity. We can see in the first verse that spending on the mentioned groups is very encouraged especially by mentioning that righteousness is spending on them "in spite of love" for one's wealth. We can also observe that Islamic law and tradition has been concerned with the vulnerable groups, either originally in need like the poor or who are temporarily in the situation of vulnerability such as the wayfarer. He is not in his homeland, detached from his previous social and familial life and local bonds. He might be a person of wealth and strata but the mere fact of temporary dislocation puts them in the condition of vulnerability with rights according to that. The Quranic command puts them all together and in these verses puts them into one type of treatment. We can see that in the first verse the traveller is put together in the same grouping with the neighbour, the rights of the neighbour being strongly emphasized in Islam. There are many verses and traditions of the Prophet Muhammad that demonstrate the importance that Islam gives to the neighbour:

> The Prophet said :"Gabriel continued to recommend me about treating the neighbours kindly and politely so much so that I thought he would order me to make them as my heirs.[76]

> The Prophet said to Abu Dharr : when you prepare broth put plenty of water in it and take care of your neighbours.[77]

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[73]The Quran 2:177 (Trans. Sahih International).
[74]The Quran 2:215 (Trans. Sahih International).
[75]The Quran 17:26 (Trans. Sahih International).
[76] Al-Bukhari, Trans. Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*, Vol. 8, 73:43.
[77] Imam Nawawi, *Gardens of the Righteous*, Trans. Muhammad Khan, (Curzon Press Ltd, London, 1975),72.

> He is not a Believer who eats to a full stomach but whose neighbours is hungry.[78]

Similarly, we can see that the traveller is grouped together with parents and relatives, which indicates the significance and the weight of the laws related to the traveller. Mona Siddyqui reflects here that despite the emphasis given to the neighbour, the distinction between neighbours and other guest can be blurred. Thus the result being one of universalizing of the neighbour and universalizing of benevolence. And that the Quran often blurs the distinctions between various groups, because of their general vulnerability which makes it an obligation to help them. She also mentions Christine Pohl who states that:

> The practice of hospitality forces abstract commitments to loving the neighbour, stranger and enemy into practical and personal expressions of respect and care for actual neighbours, strangers and enemies. **The twin moves of universalizing the neighbour and personalizing the stranger is at the core of hospitality**. Claims of loving all humankind, of welcoming "the other", have to be accompanied by the hard work of actually welcoming a human into a real place.[79]

She also states that the Quran remains silent of the details of poverty and need, and the question of who exactly the poor are; the dominant command is to give.

The fourth right is the right of a share in the booty:

> And know that anything you obtain of war booty - then indeed, for Allah is one fifth of it and for the Messenger and for [his] near relatives and the orphans, the needy, and the [**stranded] traveler…**[80]

> And what Allah restored to His Messenger from the people of the towns - it is for Allah and for the Messenger and for [his] near relatives and orphans and the **[stranded] traveler** - so that it will not be a perpetual distribution among the rich from among you.

The fifth right is that travellers are one of the groups that deserve *zakat* (obligatory almsgiving):

> Zakah expenditures are only for the poor and for the needy and for those employed to collect [zakah] and for bringing hearts together [for Islam] and for freeing captives [or slaves] and for those in debt and for the cause of Allah **and for the [stranded] traveler** - an obligation [imposed] by Allah.

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[78]Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Manners in Islam; Al Adab Al Mufrad*, Trans. Rafiq Abdur Rahman, (Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2015),129-130.
[79] Siddiqui, *Hospitality and Islam:Welcoming in God's Name,* 41.
[80]The Quran 8:41 (Trans. Sahih International).

In this verse, we can see that giving to the estranged traveller is not just encouraged among acts of righteousness and charity but rather put forth as a command of obligation. *Zakah* (the obligatory almsgiving) is one of the five pillars of Islam, thus we can see the importance of *ibn al-sabeel* in Islam by giving them a share in the obligatory alms.The scholar Ibn Zaid says that when *ibn al-sabeel*, whether poor or wealthy, does not have enough provision to continue he must be given from the obligatory alms. The famous exegete of the Quran Ibn Katheer says that *ibn al-sabeel* must be given what would suffice him until he goes back to his homeland, even if he had wealth. He also added that a person should be given provision to go and come back if he needs to travel but cannot afford it.

The fifth right of *ibn al-sabeel* is to be guided if he needs to. This is derived from the following saying of the Prophet Muhammad on the etiquette of the road :

> It is narrated by Abu Hurayra that the Prophet disallowed anyone to sit on thorough fares. The Muslims said that they were unable to observe that (ban). The Prophet said, "If you cannot do that then give its rights". They asked, "What are its rights?" The Prophet said, "Keep your gaze down, **guide the traveller**, respond to the sneezer when he says al-Hamdulillah, and offer salam.[81]

This generous and delicate treatment of *ibn al-sabeel* is also a type and means of social solidarity in Islam. This can also be called a custody of *ibn al-sabeel*, this wayfarer is in a way under the custody of his host and obliged to be taken care of.

Not only encouragement but also intimidation is used in relation to the hospitality and generosity to travellers and guests. The following saying of the Prophet Muhammad is an example:"There are three persons whom Allah will not look at on the Day of Resurrection, nor will he purify them and theirs shall be a severe punishment. They are: 1. A man possessed superfluous water, on a way and he withheld it from travelers…"[82]

[81] Al-Bukhari, *Manners in Islam; Al Adab Al Mufrad*, Trans. Rafiq Abdur Rahman, 642-643.
[82] Al-Bukhari, Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*, 3:40:547.

Let's look at the practice of this tradition by the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. It is narrated that the second Caliph after the Prophet Muhammad,Umar ibn al-Khattab, arranged a special place which he named 'the house of flour', during his reign. It was intended that wheat, barley, figs, grapes and other necessary food items be kept there so that anyone who is in need would be able to take from it. And especially those who were passers-by and in need of provision.[83]

During the reign of the fifth of the Umayyad Caliphs Umar bin Abdulaziz, he asks the Imam Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri to teach him the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad related to the recipients of charity. The imam writes him a long letter, in which he divides it share by share. On the share of *ibn al-sabeel* he wrote:

> and the share that goes to *ibn al sabeel* must be divided upon all the roads according to the number of passers on it, and for every man who is *ibn sabeel* and does not have a shelter or kin to accommodate him, must be fed until they find ashelter or become no longer in need. It (the share) must be given to certain noted houses and handed to trustworthy people, who will give shelter and food to any *ibn al-sabeel* in need and take care of his animal, as long as they have the money given to them. [84]

Here, the public responsibility of taking care of *ibn al-sabeel* is emphasized. The charity and its distribution are mentioned as an official public responsibility here, undertaken by the government.

1.5. Examples from Early Islamic History: Hospitality of Cities, Taif, Medina and Abyssinia

1.5.1. Examples of Taif and Abyssinia

The hospitality of a city means the hospitality of its dwellers. There are two prominent examples of a hospitality of a city in the beginnings of Islamic history. In the tenth year after the beginning of the Islamic call by the prophet Muhammad and with the increase in the abuse and rejection that him and his companions were subjected to in Mecca, the Prophet Muhammad decided to seek asylum in the city of Taif and invite them to his

[83] Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabakat Al-Kubra*,Ed. Muhammad 'Ata,(Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1990), 3:214.
[84] Al-Kasim bin Sallam, *Kitab Al-Amwal*, Ed. Khalil Haras, (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr), 690.

call. Taif was a city second in importance to Mecca in the area and they were contesting with Mecca for the religious and mercantile leadership, which is one of the reasons he went there. Another reason is that he had kin there, and was expecting their support. Contrary to his expectations, the general atmosphere was very hostile. First of all, he approached a family of the nobility there and put forth his message to them, but as it is narrated in the books, the three brothers from the chieftains of Taif to whom he went accepted him with ridicule and hostility. He stayed there for 10 days approaching several people but was faced with rejection. Following the chieftains, normal people rejected him as well, in a very merciless manner. When he walked past the streets of the city the people stood on either side of the road and threw stones on him mercilessly, shouting and cursing at him, chasing away the guest who came to seek refuge.[85] This is an example of an inhospitable city, the dwellers of which, instead of at least showing the minimum hospitality to the stranger seeking refuge, met him with rejection and merciless, open hostility. Not to mention the fact that he was from their kin people. Moreover, the fact that the Prophet Muhammad came to them not as a mere refugee but to spread his message and religious beliefs did not give them the excuse to mistreat him, because, he is first of all, before his other layers of identity, was a human being seeking refuge and a guest who was expecting a welcome.

To come to the example on the opposite spectrum of hospitality, I will give the example of Abyssinia and its king. Five years before the incident of Taif, in the fifth year of the Prophet Muhammad's call, and as the persecution of his followers had come to an intolerable level, they were given permission by the Prophet Muhammad to seek refuge in the Christian country of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), across the Red sea. A group of about 16 people emigrated to Abyssinia, the king of which was known for his justice. This was the first time when migration because of religious persecution had been given permission upon in Islam. They were accepted openhandedly by its Christian king, who accepted these refugees from the Arabian peninsula and followers of another religion. When the chieftains of the Quraish tribe of Mecca heard of this, they sent two

[85] Abu Al-Hasan Al-Nadawi, *Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya*, (Dar Ibn Kathir, 2013), 214-215.

ambassadors to the king of Abyssinia, to convince him to expel these Muslim refugees on the ground of their religion, and that they had abandoned the religion of their forefathers and are the persecuted minority in Mecca and should be returned back to them. Although the ambassadors who were sent had a prior good relation and friendship with the king and they came with gifts and reasons to convince him, he did not make any action before listening to the other side, the Muslims refugees. Therefore, he summoned them to inquire about the issue of their new religion because of which they had gotten into so much trouble. After listening to both sides he justified the refugees' side, and took over their protection against the will of his friends, as this is what his justice and hospitality values entailed.[86]

1.5.2. Hospitality of Medina and its People: the Example of the *Hijra*

Another example, a very important and a very prominent one, is the example of Medina, the city to which the Prophet Muhammad emigrated after thirteen years of preaching in Mecca. When the Prophet Muhammad started preaching beyond the realm of Mecca to other tribes in the peninsula, he came across Medinese tribesmen who accepted his call and went back to Medina to teach their people this new religion. Consequently, some of the Medinese tribesmen came to the Prophet Muhammad to pledge him upon accepting Islam and following him, which was came to be known as the "First *Aqaba* Pledge". The year after that, a bigger group of new Medinese converts came to give an oath to the Prophet Muhammad to follow him and protect him, which came to be known as the "Second *Aqaba* Pledge". After these pledges of allegiance many of the people of Medina converted to Islam and there had formed a fertile and safe land for the formation of the a new Muslim community in Medina. In a short while, a permission was given to Muslims to emigrate to the city of Medina, and slowly Muslims started migrating to Medina, most of them under harsh conditions and danger of being caught by their Meccan enemies and most of the time leaving all their belongings and wealth in Mecca. Therefore, in terms of personal interests, this migration was a sacrifice of wealth and leaving homeland for personal safety. After a while, the Prophet Muhammad himself, emigrated

[86] Al-Nadawi, *Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya,* 196-201.

to Medina, which in Islamic history is known as the *Hijra*(emigration) to Medina.Before entering Medina, along with his companions, he stopped at the village of Quba, where he was hosted by a hospitable chief of a tribe for four days and established the first mosque in Islamic history. When he finally arrived in Medina, he was temporarily hosted by a Medinan Abu-Ayyub and started building a mosque there. The mosque was built as a place in which not only the prayers were held but a headquarter in which councils were held, and the affairs administered. By the side of the mosque, a place in the North of it was build for Muslims with neither home nor family, thus making it an abode in which the homeless could stay and also those who temporarily did not have a home, such as travellers. This is the second and one of the most important mosques in Islam and the fact that it was built in such a way as to even accommodate the homeless speaks volumes about the intended hospitable nature of a mosque and its underlying philosophy of open-handedness.

After constructing the mosque, the Prophet Muhammad turned his attention towards building the new community of Muslims in Medina. Medina was a new land in which Muslims could finally have a community and a land, therefore, this new community also needed construction in all its matters. Now, as a society, at this stage Medina mainly constituted of Jewish tribes, pagan Arabs and Muslims. Moreover, there was a huge flow of Muslim refugees from Mecca, who were jobless, penniless and homeless. Consequently, the Muslim community was constituted of two divisions, the *muhajirs* (Muslim refugees from Mecca) and *ansar* (lit. supporters, i.e. Muslims of Medina). One of the first things that the prophet Muhammad did in Medina was establishing a mutual brotherhood between *muhajirs* and *ansar*. A gathering, which Mubarakpuri names as "unique in the history of the world", was held in which 90 men, half *muhajirs* and half *ansar,* participated. The Prophet Muhammad paired each *muhajir* with an *ansar* as brothers. At first, the brothers even inherited each other when one passed away, until other rulings were given regarding inheritance.[87] The example I intend to give here is on the generosity and altruism of *ansar* and the hospitality that they showed to their new

[87]Safi-ur-Rahman al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar; Biography of the Noble Prophet,* (Saudi Arabia: Maktaba Dar-us-Salam, 1996), 176, 187-188.

migrant brethren. For instance, there is a narration that the *ansar* approached the Prophet Muhammad with a request that their orchards of palm trees should be distributed equally between the Muslims of Medina and their brethren from Mecca. But the Prophet Muhammad was reluctant to put this heavy burden upon them. Thus, it was decided that the *muhajirs* would work in the orchards along with the *ansar* and the yield would be divided equally amongst them. Another example: when the brotherhood was established between each *ansar* and *muhajir*, Sa'd bin Ar-Rabi'from the *ansar* said to his fellow brother Abdurrahman bin Awf: "I am the richest man amongst the ansar. I am glad to share my property half and half with you…"But Abdurrahman bin Awf kindly asked him to direct him to the market where he could make his fortune by himself.[88] These and many other examples point to the spirit of altruism and generosity of the Medinan Muslims and accordingly the gratitude and self-respect of the emigrant Muslims. This attitude of theirs is praised in the Quran, in the verse that speaks about the distribution of the booty, which is also mentioned above in the part about *ibn al-sabeel*. Upon mentioning the *ansar*, the Quranic verse describes them as following:

> And [also for] those who were settled in al-Madinah and [adopted] the faith before them. They love those who emigrated to them and find not any want in their breasts of what the emigrants were given but give [them] preference over themselves, even though they are in privation. And whoever is protected from the stinginess of his soul - it is those who will be the successful.[89]

This verse mentions the *ansar's* characteristics that are praiseworthy. They are praised for their demeanour towards the emigrants as loving them and not being jealous of them if they were given any preference or any privilege. On top of all that, they were giving the emigrants preference over themselves even when they themselves were in need, for some of the *ansar* were wealthy but some were not. The praiseworthy characteristic here is the utter altruism, giving preference to the guest, the emigrant, over oneself even when in need. Accordingly, at the end of the verse stinginess is criticized. Here we can see that in Quran, as the primary source of Islamic teachings, generosity of the soul is praised and stinginess disapproved in general, and this case generosity towards the newcomers in particular. Because of such an absolute altruism that the Medinan Muslims exhibited,

[88] Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar; Biography of the Noble Prophet*, 189.
[89]The Quran 59:9 (Trans. Sahih International).

there are a lot of sayings of the Prophet Muhammad praising them, that even the major *hadith* (prophetic saying) collector *al-Bukhari* put a separate chapter named "Merits of al-Ansar", in which he collected the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad about their merits. Moreover, there are also many poems written about them and their absolute open-handedness in receiving the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslims who came to them as emigrants.

I give examples of the hospitality of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad because if we want look at the real practice of hospitality in Islamic tradition, first of all after the practices of the Prophet Muhammad himself we should look at the practices of his companions because they were the first receivers and practitioners of his teachings and are considered to be exemplary in their piety and practice of Islamic teachings. The practice of a *sahabi* (a companion of the Prophet Muhammad) is even considered as one of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence upon which Islamic laws were legislated. Moreover, their age is considered to be the "Golden Age" of Islam, in terms of its practice as the Prophet Muhammad said:"**The best of my followers are those living in my generation and then those who will follow the latter…" [90].** Therefore, to understand the essence of Islamic hospitality we have to look at its practice by the companions of the Prophet Muhammad and some generations that followed them. Here is another example of the altruism of the *ansar* :

> A man came to the Prophet. The Prophet (ﷺ) sent a messenger to his wives (to bring something for that man to eat) but they said that they had nothing except water. Then Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) said, "Who will take this (person) or entertain him as a guest?" An Ansar man said, "I." So he took him to his wife and said to her, "Entertain generously the guest of Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) " She said, "We have got nothing except the meals of my children." He said, "Prepare your meal, light your lamp and let your children sleep if they ask for supper." So she prepared her meal, lighted her lamp and made her children sleep, and then stood up pretending to mend her lamp, but she put it off. Then both of them pretended to be eating, but they really went to bed hungry. In the morning the Ansari went to Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) who said, "Tonight Allah laughed or wondered at your action." Then Allah revealed: "But give them (emigrants) preference over themselves even though they were in need of that And whosoever is saved from the covetousness. Such are they who will be successful."[91] .

[90]Al-Bukhari, Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari* , 5:57:2.
[91]Ibid, 58:142.

I would also like to mention another story of hospitality, although it is not about the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, but an example of the virtue of hospitality in society of the desert Arabia. When the Prophet Muhammad set out on the tiresome and dangerous journey through the desert to Medina, he and his companion came across a solitary tent of a woman named Umm Ma'bad. In the story, she is described as a gracious lady who sat at her tent-door with a mat spread out for any chance traveller that might pass by the way.[92] From this little description we can see the importance given to hospitality in the desert Arab society and an example to the non-Arab hospitality mentioned previously. The story continues with the Prophet Muhammad and his companion, tired and thirsty, taking a rest at her tent and taking refreshment from the milk of her goats.

[92] Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar; Biography of the Noble Prophet, 173.*

2. Codification of the Hospitality Ethic: The Rise of *Futuwwa* Literature and *Futuwwa* Organisation: an Example of an Islamicate Network that Embodied the Notion of Hospitality

In the previous chapter, the normative aspects of hospitality ethic in Islam from its primary sources of the Quran and the *Sunnah*were elaborated upon. The Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad are considered a primary source and a base for all Islamic thought and tradition. Some examples of how these hospitality norms were practiced by the Prophet's companions i.e. the first receivers of the Islamic teachings was also mentioned. In this chapter, I look at how Islamic ethics and morals, on top of which is hospitality, were codified to form a sort of a chivalry moral code named *futuwwa*. The moral code of *futuwwa* was the base for forming the *futuwwa* brotherhoods in the medieval Islamicate world. *Futuwwa* is important to mention in the context of hospitality here because *futuwwa* is a codification of Islamic ethics with a strong emphasis on hospitality and altruism. Moreover, *futuwwa* organizations that formed on the basis of this moral code were examples of how hospitality was given importance to and practiced in Islamicate civilization. The quarters of these *futuwwa*orders were called *zawiya*s.*Zawiyas* are a prominent manifestation of the practice of hospitality in Islamicate civilization. In this chapter I will look at the definition of the words *fata, futuwwa, akhi and akhi*sm (because they are related to *futuwwa*), shortly about the historical development of *futuwwa*organizations, their roles and dynamics, the *futuwwa* books and the principles of *futuwwa* mentioned in them and some examples of *futuwwa* hospitality.

2.1. Defintion of *Futuwwa, Fata* and *Fityan*.

The word *futuwwa*originates from the word *fata* in Arabic. *Fata* linguistically means a young man, a hero. Its plural is *fityan* or *fityah* and the word *futuwwa*is its infinitive noun. Ancient Arabs used to refer by the term *fata* to "man in the complete and true sense of the word", an ideal person in a sense.[93] There is another term that is used for

[93] Abu Abd Al-Rahman Muhammed Ibn Al-Huseyn Al-Sulemi, Çev. Doç. Dr. Süleyman Ateş, *Tasavvufta Fütüvvet*, (Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Ankara, 1977), 3.

this ideal human in Islamic literature, which is *al-insan al-kamil,* an Arabic word which is used in Sufi terminology and is used as the honorific title of the Prophet Muhammad and which literally means "the complete person\man\human", in a sense "a prototype human being", a "perfect human being". It is the ideal and perfection to which one must strive to develop to. In Islamic literature, *futuwwa* is also closely related to the notions of *muruwwa* (prowess) and *ukhuwwah*(brotherhood). *Muruwwa* is the basis of futuwwa and *futuwwa* is the summit of *muruwwa*.[94] *Futuwwa* is associated with *muruwwa,* the approximate English translation of which can be bravery, heroism, generosity, prowess…etc.*Muruwwa* is the base of *futuwwa,* and *futuwwa* is the final stage of *muruwwa,muruwwa*being the base stage and *futuwwa* the perfection.[95]

Futuwwa was thus associated with certain values and characteristics such as bravery, brotherhood, altruism, self-sacrifice, that are to be found in a *fata* (the ideal human).[96]Therefore, *futuwwa* is basically a set of manners and characteristics that form a kind of an ethical canon, in a sense a chivalry code. Therefore, Sulemi's important book of *futuwwa* principles *Kitabul Futuwwa* was translated into English as "The way of Sufi Chivalry".[97]The famous Islamic scholar al-Kushairi says that the base of *futuwwa* is continuously being in the service of others.[98]*Futuwwa* is considered the highest state of generosity and self-sacrifice.[99] Effort to being generous, altruistic and forgiving is predominant in *futuwwa* thought. There is an interesting definition of *futuwwa* that is given by early Islamic scholar Jaafar al-Sadiq:

> A man named *Shaqiq al-Balkhi* asked him : "What is *futuwwa*?", he said: " What do you think?", the man answered: " If God gives me something, I thank him, if He does not I remain patient". *Jaafar* answered: "Dogs also do the same". Then the man asked him about the meaning of *futuwwa* again, then he said: "If God gives us, we bestow on his slaves (meaning people), and if He does not we thank him".[100]

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[94] Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı*, İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı*,(Istanbul Ticaret Odası, Akademik Yayınlar, Istanbul, 2011), 17.
[95] Ibid, 2.
[96] Gölpınarlı*, İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı*, 16, 94.
[97] Al-Sulemi, Ateş, *Tasavvufta Fütüvvet, 4.*
[98] Muallim Cevdet, *İslam Fütüvveti ve Türk Ahiliği:Ibn Battuta'ya Zeyl,* Trans. Cezair Yazar, (İşaret Yayınları, Istanbul, 2008), 48.
[99] Ibid, 3.
[100] Gölpınarlı, *İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı*, 18-19.

Some of *futuwwa* principles such as self-sacrifice and altruism entered the *Naysabur* Sufi School, where *futuwwa* acquired a Sufi nature and thus from being a social ideal it also became a spiritual ideal.In Sufi terminology, *futuwwa* is a spiritual state which is manifested in different areas, thus it is difficult to define it in a single word. In general, the chosen, emphasized characteristic of *futuwwa* in Sufism is to "think of others higher than of yourself", in other words, altruism, which also,according to the famous scholar *al-Ghazali,* is the highest stage of virtue.[101] There is another Sufi definition which defines *futuwwa* as being similar to a tree, its origin (root) is an attribute of Allah, the branches are the Prophets and the leafs are the characteristics of the believers. According to this belief, monotheism and sincerity are the roots of the *futuwwa* tree, the water that it feeds from is the mercy of Allah and its fruit is *marifatullah* i.e. true knowledge of Allah.

According to the *futuwwa* literature, *futuwwa* is an ethical path which came down from the Prophets[102], who are considered as exemplars of *futuwwa*. There are some figures in Islamic history that were prominent as exemplars of *futuwwa,* the most prominent of whom is Propeht Muhammad's cousin, companion and the fourth Caliph after him, Ali bin Abi Talib.[103]

The use of the concept of *futuwwa* is very old. It can be traced back to the pre-Islamic *' jahiliyyah'* periods.

> Pre-Islamic poetry reveals that the term '*fata'* conveyed the meaning of a man who "personifies in the most perfect manner the qualities which the tribe asks of its sons- a high degree of solidarity to secure cohesion, courage in war to insure adequate defence, and hospitality to maintain the tribal reputation among the neighbouring tribes.[104]

[101] Cemal Anadol, *Türk-İslam Medeniyetinde Ahilik Kültürü ve Fütüvvetnameler*, (Ankara, 1991), 2.
[102]Ibid, 4.
[103] Ibid, 17.
[104] Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran,* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2010),6.

Fata was a title of heroes in the society and *futuwwa* as a quality and the one who carried it were commended.[105] For instance, Hatim al-Taiwas a hero of *futuwwa* for his generosity.[106] Those characteristics that are expressed by the word *futuwwa* were as commended and admired in other societies as they were in the Arab societies, such as in Turkic societies, for instance.[107] At those pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, individuals who carried those *futuwwa* characteristics were referred to as the *fata* of a certain region, so these were individuals known for those chivalry characteristics.

As I will explain in the following sections in more detail, these *futuwwa* ideals and principles were codified in *Futuwwa* books for the first time in the ninth century A.D., during the Abbasid reign. Around these times also, this chivalry code of *futuwwa* made a base for forming groups. With time, these groups became official, organized and formed chains and networks of brotherhoods of futuwwa accross the Islamicate world and especially in Anatolia, where they had a distinct name of *akhi* brotherhoods.

As seen above, *futuwwa* was a social and spiritual ideal. *Futuwwa* ethical principles are similar to Sufi principles with slight differences which were projected on the organisational mechanisms of their brotherhoods. The similarity of *futuwwa* association to the Sufi *tarika* (brotherhood) is that both of them are based on spiritual ideals, but the main difference is the importance given by futuwwa to the worldly matters. Winning one's bread in a lawful way, having a profession and being an altruistic person and helping brethren are of the main conditions of *futuwwa.* While most of the Sufi *tarika*s put stronger emphasis on ascetic life,*futuwwa* encourages its followers to worldly gains as well. But the goal being not a personal gain but helping the brethren and support for the public. The mystic base of *futuwwa* has strengthened the principle of contentedness and satisfaction within the *futuwwa*circle, as for instance there was an all-encompassing rule that no one should bear more than 18 dirhems of accumulated wealth.[108] Therefore, Lloyd Ridgeon calls *futuwwa* brotherhoods as 'Semi Sufi' brotherhoods. Some of these

[105] Mehmet Sarıkaya,8-*9. Asırlardaki Anadolu'da Fütüvvetnamelere Göre Dini Inanç Motifleri*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara),27.
[106]Ibid, 3.
[107] Sarıkaya,8-*9. Asırlardaki Anadolu'da Fütüvvetnamelere Göre Dini Inanç Motifleri*, 27.
[108] Sarıkaya,8-*9. Asırlardaki Anadolu'da Fütüvvetnamelere Göre Dini Inanç Motifleri*, 27.

futuwwa principles based groups formed in Anatolia and came to be known as *akhi* brotherhoods. These were based upon *futuwwa* principles but had slight organizational differences. Because of the fame and importance of *akhi* brotherhoods especially in the Middle Ages periods, which will be discussed in the second section of this thesis, I will talk more in detail about them in the following parts. In the following section I will explain these *akhi* brotherhoods of Anatolia because they were also concrete manifestations of *futuwwa*principles put into practice as a philosophy of an organisation.

2.2. Definitions of *Akhi, Akhiya* and*Akhi* Organizations

As for the linguistic meaning of the words, there are two opinions on the origin of the word *akhi*. The first is that it comes from the Arabic word *akh* which means brother plus the i at the end (*akhi*), which is the singular possessive pronoun my, making it "my brother". The second opinion is that it originates from the Turkic word *aki*,the linguistic meaning of which is "generous, brave, open-handed". Ebubekir Aytekin prefers the first opinion over the second because of the prevalence and importance given to brotherhood in the *akhi* organizations. Moreover, *akhi* organization was built on the principles derived from the Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad and was directly linked to the *ukhuwwa* (brotherhood), which is given utter importance in Sufism, therefore making *akhi*sm easily spread and accepted in the Anatolian and Balkan lands. Thus, it most likely originates from the word brother.

Akhi organisations are originally a continuation of the *futuwwa* organisations. But there is a little difference between the two: having a craft or a trade was one of the conditions of becoming a member of the *akhi* brotherhood, but it was not a condition for becoming one of the *futuwwa* brotherhood.[109] The *futuwwa* brotherhoods evolved into *akhi* associations in Antolia, as will be explained later.[110] The philosophy of *futuwwa* was adopted by the Seljuk empire in Anatolia and by integrating some other Turkic cultural and traditional values it became a base for forming *akhi* brotherhoods.

[109]Ibrahim, Arslanoğlu, *Yazarı Belli Olmayan Bir Fütüvvetname*, (Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1997), 65.
[110]Anadol, *Türk-İslam Medeniyetinde Ahilik Kültürü ve Fütüvvetnameler,* 1-2.

As an organisation, the *akhi* association has been defined as a religious-economic association in which young artisans unite and choose a leader among them.[111] They were craftsmen guilds that were formed in the thirteenth century Anatolia, Balkans and Crimea. They were non-profit civil society institutions that operated to maintain the unity, welfare and order in the society and meet society's material and non-material needs. They were mainly formed as craftsmen guilds or what today is called as trade unions. Researchers on *akhi* organizations say that other similar organizations could be found in other countries but that there are some differences between those and the *akhi* organizations of Anatolia.[112]

2.3. The Historical Development and Institutionalization of *Futuwwa* and its Transformation into *Akhi*sm in Anatolia

As seen above, *futuwwa* was a known concept in Arabia even before Islam. It was mainly used in terms of heroism and chivalry. After the spread of Islam also and as early as the second century A.H, *futuwwa* thought became wide-spread, especially in the areas of Transoxania and Khorasan. Before the formation of the official *futuwwa* organisation in the tenth century, there were some groups in the Umayyad and Abbasid times, especially in the Middle East, who called themselves *ayyarun*, *shuttarun* and associated themselves with the ideals and principles of *futuwwa*.[113] The principles of *futuwwa*were later codified in what is known as *kitabul futuwwa* i.e. *futuwwa* book. The first piece that contained all the principles of *futuwwa* was written by the Khorasanian Abu Abdurrahman al-Sulemi in the ninth century A.D. And as mentioned earlier there was a strong relation between the *futuwwa* brotherhood and the Sufi *Tarikah*s and most books that were written on *futuwwa* were written by Sufi ascetics. [114]

The historical formation of *futuwwa* as an official organisation can be traced back to the tenth century (the late Abbasid period), and more definitely to the Abbasid caliph

[111] Ibid, 95.
[112] Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* , 13-15.
[113] Ibid, 27.
[114] Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* , 95.

Nasirlidinillah(1180-1225) who established the formal *futuwwa* organisation in 1211[115] and became a part of it, associating it with himself and making it an official government institution. Amidst the deteriorating political and social conditions he intended to strengthen the state authority and bring back social peace by making the *futuwwa* brotherhood an official institution linked to the political authority.[116] As Caliph Nasir became a part of the *futuwwa* organisation, he also ordered and invited the emirs and rulers of the Islamicate world who recognised his Caliphate to become a part of the *futuwwa* organisation too, with all the rituals that come along with that. Following this order and invitation, many rulers across the Islmicate lands, starting with the Seljuk Sultan Aladdin Keykubat, the rulers of Hind, Shiraz, Halep, Gazne became a part of the *futuwwa* organisation.[117] Also, the sending of the Caliph Nasir the important Sufi master Shihabaddin Suhreverdi to Anatolia at those times played an important role in the establishment of the *akhi*organisations.[118] Famous scholars and Sufi mystics such as Suhreverdi, Ibn Arabi, Evhaduddin Kirmani…etc worked to guide people in Anatolia.[119]*Futuwwa* came from Khorasan to the Middle East, to Baghdad and Anatolia and was a lively institution. In the times of the Seljuk Beyliks in Anatolia *futuwwa* took another dimension and became known as *akhi* organisations.[120] Therefore, *akhism* had become a new title of the *futuwwa* movement in Anatolia. Especially with the joining of the Seljuk sultan Aladdin Keykubat, the establishment of *akhi* organisations around Anatolia became completed.

Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were times when Anatolia was under a political chaos. In the thirteenth century there were four ruling states in Anatolia: Seljuks, Ilhanids, Byzantine Empire and Trabzon Rum empire, Seljuks being the strongest. After 1243 when Seljuks where defeated by Mongols several little Beyliks where formed in Anatolia, each declaring independence. After that, these Beyliks(states) started warring with each other until one of them, the Osman Beylik became stronger than the others

[115] Ibid, 35.
[116] Ibid, 18,-19,66, 94.
[117] Ibid, 35.
[118] Ibid,36.
[119] Ibid, 66.
[120] Ibid, 19-20.

and thus the birth of the Ottoman empire in 1299. In order to avoid the Mongol invasion in Turkmenistan and Khorasan masses took refuge in Anatolian states and started spreading the Sufi thought.[121] During the political instability of the times peace was maintained through the spiritual authority which was built on the Sufi lifestyle and teachings. The rulers of the states used to turn to the Sufi sheikhs, making the Sufi brotherhoods an important source of authority in Anatolia. The spreading of *akhi*sm was similar to these Sufi brotherhoods.[122] As also mentioned earlier, Abbasid Caliph Nasir had made relations with the Seljuk Empire in Anatolia in the times of First Giyaseddin Keyhusrev in 1204, which made the spread of Caliph Nasir's *futuwwa*organisation later in Anatolia easier. Later, with the joining of the Seljuk ruler First Alaaddin Keykubat the official *futuwwa* organisation, the formation of *futuwwa* order in its new name *akhism* became completed in Anatolia.[123]

An important figure to mention here is Ahi Evran, the Islamic Sufi scholar who had formed the first *akhi* association in Kayseri town of Anatolia in 1205 with the support of the Seljuk sultan First Giyaseddin. He was a tanner, and firstly formed a tanners union, then unions of other artisans formed and so on until this became wide spread. Ahi Evran's educational philosophy in forming these associations was directing everyone to a craft so that everyone was busy with a profession of their own. In the *akhi*association he stressed the importance of educating and cultivating the members in a holistic way, by giving importance to their religious, professional and ethical development. As the concept of *futuwwa* in itself is strongly related to Sufism, *akhi* associations worked on the base of integrating spiritual and moral values with the economic efforts.

2.4. Roles and Dynamics of *Futuwwa* and *Akhi* Organisations.

The *akhi* unions of Anatolia, which were based on the principles of *futuwwa*, not only had the purpose of training good artisans, but more than that had the goal of cultivating the "perfect human being" i.e. *al-insan al-kamil,* the *fata*. Members of *akhi* associations

[121] Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* , 24.
[122] Ibid,28.
[123] Ibid,36.

were to be highly religious and moral, loving to work, generous and idealist people.[124] These associations provided team spirit and solidarity between the *akhi* members, making them a source of social power in towns and villages. More than being just a union of artisans with a chivalry code, *akhi* organisations could interfere in political affairs. In the Seljuk and early Ottoman times, when the central authority weakened, *akhi* organisations provided and maintained order and security in the society. Especially after the Mongol invasion of Anatolia and the weakening of the central political authority, *akhi* organisations played an active political role in the society.[125] Moreover, because of the political chaos, order was mostly maintained through the spiritual guidance provided by Sufism in general. Therefore, *akhi* organisations, which were based mostly on Sufi principles (the *futuwwa* principles), provided spiritual order in society. This information is also confirmed by Ibn Battuta who wrote about the Anatolian lands that he visited in his travelogue. Ibn Battuta says that it is the custom of Anatolia that in towns that are not the residence of a Sultan, the head of the *akhi* union acts as a governor, exercising the same authority and appearing in public with the same retinue as a king.[126]

As the *akhi* organisations were craftsmen guilds, they had a very important role in maintaining the economy of the society as well. In Seljuk times, trade was carried out by these associations which were based on *futuwwa* and *akhism* principles.*Akhi* associations were highly esteemed in villages as well as in the cities.[127] The subject of *futuwwa* books i.e. the *fütüvvetnames*, was not professional education but rather ethical education. Therefore, we can see that what they believed in was that for one to be a good professional one must first undergo an effective and sufficient ethical education.[128]

As mentioned earlier, Ahi Evranhad started the first *akhi* union, which was a union of tanners, later groups of different craftsmen formed *akhi* unions, and all these were *akhi* organizations. Each had a master and they built hubs for their activities named *zawiya*

[124] Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* , 25.
[125] Ibid,37.
[126] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 131.
[127] Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* , 37.
[128] Arslanoğlu, *Yazarı Belli Olmayan bir Fütüvvetname,*65.

and followed guidebooks called *fütüvvetname* in which principles of *futuwwa* and *akhism* that must be followed by the members were scripted.

Akhi members pursued their professional education during the day with the masters of the craft that they were learning and during the evening and night used to have ethical and religious educational activities in *zawiyas*. They were taught how to serve guests and elderly, how to ride a horse and use weapons, how to cook, clean, manners…etc. All the *akhi* unions in Anatolia were attached to Ahi Evran's*zawiya* in Kirsehir. The hierarchic authority in the *akhi* association was built on spiritual authority and had three stages of being a *fata*, then an *akhi* and finally a *sheikh* and was based on total submission to the rules and principles of *akhi*sm and *futuwwa* and submission to the master and the higher in rank. *Fata*s were newcomers, an *akhi* was the head of a *zawiya*and a *sheikh*'s representative in it, who was responsible for managing the *zawiya*according to the *futuwwa* principles and distributing tasks between *fata*s. A *sheikh* was a head of several *zawiyas* and responsible for keeping the administrative unity between them.[129]

2.4.1. Ibn Battuta on the *Akhi Fityan*

I find it important to look at the testimony of Ibn Battuta on the *akhi* brotherhoods as a live experience from a traveller who had lived at those times and reported his experiences. I will analyze Ibn Battuta's travelogue in more detail in section two of the thesis but here I will mention two of his testimonies on the *akhi* brotherhoods in terms of their functions and dynamics. In his travelogue Ibn Battuta uses the word *akhiya fityan* for the *akhi*brotherhood and its members. Gibb, the translator of Ibn Battuta's travelogue, translates it as "Young Brotherhood". Ibn Battuta says that in every district, town and village of Anatolia *akhis* could be found. His description of them is as follows: "Nowhere in the world will you find men so eager to welcome strangers, so prompt to serve food and to satisfy the wants of others, and so ready to suppress injustice and to kill (tyrannical) agents of police and the miscreants who join with them."

[129] Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümuze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* , 163-166.

We can see that a distinct and prominent aspect of the *akhi* brotherhoods was the importance given to serving guests and being altruistic and generous. Ibn Battuta further explains the *akhi*organization:

> A Young Brother, or *akhi* in their language, is one who is chosen by all the members of his trade (guild), or by other young unmarried men, or those who live in ascetic retreat, to be their leader. This organization is known also as the Futuwwa, or Order of Youth**. The leader builds a hospice and furnishes it with rugs, lamps and other necessary appliances.** The members of his community work during the day to gain their livelihood, and bring him what they have earned in the late afternoon. With this they buy fruit, food and the other things which the hospice requires for their use. **If a traveller comes to the town that day they lodge him in their hospice; these provisions serve for his entertainment as their guest, and he stays with them until he goes away."**[130]

In this paragraph, Ibn Battuta explains the dynamics of the *akhi* brotherhoods. He states that they are also known as *futuwwa*order, which is because they are based on *futuwwa*principles, as mentioned earlier, and are extensions of the *futuwwa* organisations. The word hospice in the paragraph is *zawiya* in the original Arabic text. We can understand that each brotherhood had a leader and a *zawiya* in which they gathered in the evening, after their work. He also states that they used to spend on the*zawiya*from their earnings. An important point here also is that he mentions that these*zawiyas* were lodges for travellers and that one of the most important functions of the *zawiya* was to serve travellers, Ibn Battuta himself being a traveller-guest.

2.5. *Futuwwa*Books: *Kitabul Futuwwa*, Fütüvvetname

Kitabul futuwwa in Arabic or *futuvvetname* in Persian[131] are books that were written as codifications of some Islamic ethical principles and served as guidebooks for *futuwwa* and later *akhi*organisations. *Futuwwa*principles were first a part of Sufi books because *futuwwa* was seen as synonymous to Sufism, and later, as *futuwwa*separately became widespread as a thought, separate chapters and books were written codifying *futuwwa* principles. Later, as the *futuwwa* organizations became institutionalized and widespread,

[130] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 125-126.

[131] There is a slight difference between the two names as the Arabic name *Kitabulfutuwwa* was usually used for the *futuwwa* in the classical Sufi books while *futuvvetname* was usually used for the guidebooks written for the *akhi* and *futuwwa* organisations after the 13th century. But it is also important to remember that the source of these later guidebooks was also the *futuwwa* of the Sufi books from earlier ages.

and *akhi* organizations appeared, *futuwwa* books started containing more than the ethical principles, they were statute books that deal with the idea of *futuwwa* on an ethical basis and also contain the organizational principles of *futuwwa* insitutions that were meant for the members of these order. These were basic principles of artisanship, conditions of becoming a master, the relationship between a master and an apprentice and other institutional traditions of the *futuwwa* order.[132] According to another definition *futuvvetname*s are religious and ethical books which explain the basic principles of *futuwwa* and *akhi* organiations and explain how people must behave in the society. These books were written in a simple language, addressing everyone and directing their social life.

The first *futuwwa* books were the Sufi *futuwwa* books that were written in ninth to thirteenth centuries. Great Sufi mystics such as Ahmad bin Hadrawayh, Haris al-Muhasibi and Juneyd Bagdadi considered *futuwwa* as synonymous to Sufism. Only towards the end of the tenth century when *futuwwa* became widespread as a concept, that Sufi books started having separate parts on *futuwwa*. In the early books, *futuwwa* had almost the same meaning as Sufism. Sometimes those Sufi writers explained the concept of Sufism through the concepts of *futuwwa* and *muruwwa*(prowess).[133] From twelfth to thirteenth centuries,*futuvvetname*s written especially for *futuwwa* organizations appeared. Early books of *futuwwa* were written in Arabic and Persian according to the literary tradition, but with time, *futuvvetnames* in Turkish language started to appear.[134]

The first of *futuwwa* books is *Risalat ul-Futuwwa* written by the Sufi mystic Shihabuddin al-Suhrawardi who wrote it on the order of the Abbasid caliph Nasir Lidinillah. This *futuwwa* book was a source for the writers of futuwwa books after him. In his books of *futuwwa,* Suhrawardi writes about the characteristics that should be present in a *fata* and emphasises the role of the Prophet's cousin and companion Ali as being a leading ideal of *futuwwa*. Another *futuwwa* book which was written in similar

[132] Sarıkaya,*8-9. Asırlardaki Anadolu'da Fütüvvetnamelere Göre Dini Inanç Motifleri,* 1.
[133] Ibid, 22.
[134] Sarıkaya,*8-9. Asırlardaki Anadolu'da Fütüvvetnamelere Göre Dini Inanç Motifleri,* 1.

times and was a source for later writers is *Tuhfetul Vasaya*by al-Nakkash al-Hartburti, in Arabic. He talks about the *futuwwa* of the prophets starting with Adam and those who have been mentioned in the Quran with the word *fata* and then gives the conditions and principles of *futuwwa* afterwards. He also mentions the chain of *futuwwa* starting from Ali to Caliph an-Nasir.[135] There are also some important *futuwwa* books which have Shiite inclinations such as *Miftahur Rakaaiq*(1524) by *Seyyid* Muhammad bin Seyyid Alaeddin, which is also known as *Futuvvetname-i Kebir*. There are many other *futuwwa* books, with known and anonym authors. Another famous *futuwwa* book is Haliloglu Yahya Burgazi's book which he wrote in the thirteenth century as the first known *futuwwa* book in Turkish language, and in which he deals with the subjects of being an obedient servant of God, loving everyone regardless of their religion, being kind, altruistic, generous and hospitable and so on.[136]

The oldest known and first separate book speaking about *futuwwa* is Muhammad bin Huseyin al-Sulami's (1021A.D.) *Kitab ul-Futuwwwah*. He discusses *futuwwa* as an ethic, as a body of courtesies, the correct one having to be manifested at the appropriate moment.[137] It can also be considered the most famous *futuwwa* book known because it has reached our times. In this *futuwwa* book he lists the *futuwwa* principles each in a paragraph and roots each of the principles in a Prophetic saying or a saying of the early great scholars of Islam.[138] The teachings of this book reveal the true meaning of compassion, friendship, generosity and hospitality and the right actions associated with these virtues. Sulemi treats *futuwwa* ethic mostly from a spiritual perspective.

[135]Sarıkaya,*8-9. Asırlardaki Anadolu'da Fütüvvetnamelere Göre Dini Inanç Motifleri*,4.
[136]Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik*, 22.
[137] Lloyd Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi, a Sufi Code of Honour*, Edinburgh University Press, 2012,16.

[138] Sarikaya,*8-9. Asirlardaki Anadolu'da Futuvvetnamelere Gore Dini Inanc Morifleri,* 2.

2.5.1. Common Points of *Futuwwa* Books[139]

As seen above, each author wrote about *futuwwa* in a different order of contents, different emphasises and styles. Some emphasized the ethics, some spirituality and some the institutional traditions of *futuwwa*, depending also on the time in which they were written. But there are certain points in the contents of *futuwwa* books that are common between all *futuwwa* books, early and late:

1. *Futuwwa* generally is a set of good virtues: struggling with one's ego, obeying God's commands, being good and devoted to others, especially being generous, loving guests, showing love to everyone regardless of religion and sect, and see oneself lower than everybody else.
2. *Futuwwa* is a legacy of the Prophets, especially those mentioned in the Quran with the word *fata:* Ibrahim, Yusuf, the "Men of the Cave" and the companion of the Prophet Musa.
3. *Futuwwa* came down from the other Prophets to the Prophet Muhammad. He then praised his companion and son in law Ali for being a *fata.*
4. The conditions of being a *fata* are: loyalty, righteousness, credibility, generosity, humbleness, advising friends, having a profession…etc. In addition to being an adult and being religious.
5. **A *fata* must be generous and knowledgeable, his eating table must be open to all, he must obey God's commands, should not keep more than 18 dirhems in his possession,** should not beg the wealthy, must be modest and of good character, must always be in the service of his brethren, must have a craft and a chain of *futuwwa* that goes back to Ali.
6. Followers of *futuwwa* have a strong support among each other and are brothers to each other. They shouldn't offend their brothers and be ready to help them with all they own.
7. There is a tradition in *futuwwa* of "tying the waist", that was passed down from Prophet Muhammad's son in law, Ali. It is said that he tied the waist of certain people and this went on as a tradition. The tradition of "tying the waist" is done to those who enter the

[139] Gölpınarlı , *İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı*, 31- 34; Arslanoğlu, *Yazarı Belli Olmayan Bir Fütüvvetname,* 19-21.

order of *futuwwa*and is a symbol of these things: his stomach is tied from eating the unlawful, his tongue from gossiping, lying and speaking nonsense, his hands from hurting people, his legs from going to unlawful places, and his soul from greed.

8. Infidels, polytheists, astrologers, those who drink, those do not keep their promises, thieves, oppressors, those who want harm for people like monopolists and dodgers cannot enter the order of *futuwwa*.

From these common points of the *futuwwa* books it can be observed that there is a main emphasis on personal and social moral values especially altruism, brotherhood and generosity.

2.6. Examples of *Futuwwa* Hospitality

Here I want to give an example of *futuwwa*in Islamic history.In *Islam Fütüvveti ve Türk Ahiliği: Ibn Battuta'ya Zeyl* Muallim Cevdet gives many examples of *futuwwa* from Islamic history. He gives examples of people who were famous for their chivalrous *futuwwa* character of being brave, sacrificing, building different *waqfs* (pious endowments) for helping certain public purposes and so on. One of these examples is of a governor named Gökbörü Baytekin who lived in the tenth century. He was known for his generosity and building orphanages, hospitals and many other public services. One of these was the *konukevi*(guesthouse) where anyone regardless of identity could stay and the guests were fed twice a day in the afternoon and in the evening, and when one of them was setting off on a journey they were given some provisions. [140]

[140] Muallim Cevdet, *Islam Futuvveti ve Turk Ahiligi: Ibn Battuta'ya Zeyl,* 90-92.

SECTION TWO

The Practice of Hospitality in Islamicate Civilization: Experiences of Ibn Battuta and Hospitality Institutions[141]

The previous section was about the theoretical foundations of hospitality ethic in Islamic civilization. How hospitality and the related concepts of generosity were treated in the primary sources of Islamic tradition, the Quran and the Prophetic *Sunnah* (tradition) was examined, in addition to the codification of Islamic ethics in the form of *futuwwa* ethical code. In this section I will look into how these norms of hospitality where practiced in real life Islamicate civilization. I chose Ibn Battuta's travelogue, the *Rihla* to analyze in this context because Ibn Battuta falls under the category of *ibn al-sabeel* (the traveller-guest) that has been discussed in chapter one and because of the broadness of his travels and the detailed nature of his travelogue. I analyze his travels in terms of the hospitality that he was received with in the vast lands of the Islamicate world that he covered along his journeys. I will also look briefly into some of the institutions in the Islamicate history which were expressions of the hospitality values and mindset of the Islamic tradition, these institutions being also mentioned in Ibn Battuta's travelogue.

3. Hospitality in Ibn Battuta's Travelogue

3.1. The Political and Social Background of Ibn Battuta's World, the Islamicate Networks of the Middle Ages

The period that I mean by 'middle ages' here is the period which Marshall Hodgson in *The Venture of Islam* names as 'Middle Periods'. It begins by the end of the classical Abbasid 'High Caliphate' age around 950 A.D. and continues to around the sixteenth century. This time period is divided by Hodgson into 'Earlier Middle Period' before 1250 A.D. and 'Later Middle Period' to about 1500 A.D. depending on cultural, political and economic factors. The High Caliphal Abbasid age, which is also widely known as

[141] Note: When describing *zawiyas*, almost always Ibn Battuta uses the description of "with food for all travellers". As this is mentioned very often, I omitted it in many places. Moreover, he almost always uses the description "of a sheikh..." when talking about zawiyas, which I also omitted in most places for its frequent repetetiveness. In addition, the words *zawiya*,*khanqa* and *madrasa* are used interchangeably in many places in the travelogue.

the 'Golden Age' of the caliphate, is considered to be the age of centralized political authority embodied in the figure of a strong caliphal court and this is a period the cultural patterns of which later in middle periods came to be seen as normative. The age of the high caliphate is also seen by Hodgson as a period of formation of the Islamicate culture. This classical period, later gave way to a constantly expanding and linguistically and culturally international society ruled by various independent governments.[142]

One of the main reasons for this grand diversity and political disunity, as mentioned by Hodgson, was the rapid expansion of Islam across continents, resulting in a huge diversity of people and cultures within the borders of *dar al-Islam*(abode of Islam). Another reason is the weakening of the Caliphal power which lead to political disunity within Islamdom. Naturally, because of the new size and diversity there was not a one cultural and political center in *dar al-Islam.* Rather for instance, in the far West of Spain and Morocco, there was a unification under Berber tribes, developing their distinct art and philosophical school. Egypt, Syria and other Arab lands were usually united under the rule of Cairo courts, the Iranian countries developed Persian as a medium for literature and poetry, the Muslims of the Eurasian steppes or the Muslims of South-East all had their own cultures and worlds which they lived in.

But all this does not mean that the Islamicate civilization had broken up and separated, but rather it was held together by a common Islamicate social pattern which enabled the members of the Islamicate world to be accepted as members anywhere else in Islamdom, as Hodgson states: "Muslims always felt themselves to be citizens of the whole *dar al-Islam*."[143] Therefore, these distinct cultures and polities were all together mutually interrelated.

One of these social networks that kept such a diverse Islamicate civilization united is the network of scholars and knowledge seekers. Two aspects of the tradition of seeking knowledge made it an effective factor. The first is that it was very encouraged in Islam,

[142] Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization,* (The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 2.
[143] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah, 9.*

there are many sayings of the Prophet Muhammad encouraging seeking knowledge, such as: "Allah makes the way to *Jannah* easy for him who treads the path in search of knowledge."Ibn Khaldun states that "A scholar's education is greatly improved by traveling in quest of knowledge and meeting the authoritative teachers (of his time)".[144] The second is that knowledge was transmitted by the method of listening from the teacher face to face, which made it a necessity that one must travel in order to meet the scholar he wishes to learn from. With this strong encouragement on seeking knowledge students used to travel vast distances in order to learn something from the expert in the field. At the beginning of the Islamicate history this knowledge-seeking was rather an individual act, but by the end of the High Caliphate seeking knowledge became institutionalized. The institutionalization of seeking knowledge was manifested in the building of *madrasas,* where students from around Islamdom could live while seeking knowledge, which resulted in a big network throughout Islamdom. Scholars of different fields could pass anywhere freely, to find suitable patronage for instance, and if a man had a stature somewhere he would be recognized easily anywhere else. Ross Dunn states that:

> The 'ulama of the medieval centuries might collectively be described as the best-traveled and most cosmopolitan intellectual class in world history up to that time. Their primary loyalty was not to state, nation, or tribe, but to the dar al-Islam. Dar al-Islam extending across the Eastern hemisphere, thus had a better universalist vision and broader understanding of the inhabited regions of the world than any others of their time.[145]

We can also observe that one of the places that Ibn Battuta lodged in mostly during his travels, besides *zawiya*s, were *madarasas.* This is because Ibn Battuta was also a judge and Islamic scholar. In his *Rihla* he also mentions the teachers that he sought knowledge from during his visits.

Another social network that kept the unity of Islamdom were the brotherhood associations. This Hodgson explains as the institutionalization of piety. Similar to the institutionalization of seeking knowledge, piety was rather sought individually in earlier

[144] Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Trans. Franz Rosenthal, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London), 1958.
[145] Said Hamdun and Noel king, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, (Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 1998), 13.

Islamicate history, but by the end of the High Caliphate, maybe starting even earlier than that, this piety was institutionalized and codified in the form of Sufi brotherhoods, the *tariqas* and other semi-Sufi brotherhoods, such as the *futuwwah* brotherhoods. The networks of Sufi and *futuwwa*brotherhoods provided a shared sense of identity and a moral guidance in society as well as providing physical shelters in the form of *zawiyas* or *khanqahs*. These brotherhoods provided the Islamicate world with a local cohesion and a trans-local connectedness. *Futuwwah* and ideas of Sufism which legitimized it served as a vehicle of leadership of the caliphate in a third sphere, the public sphere.[146] These Sufi brotherhoods and other networks were supported and funded by *waqfs*. *Waqfs* were pious endowments which were sponsored by individuals. These brotherhoods formed a vital collective power, and as they were funded by *waqfs* they were important public spheres which held the Islamicate society together and with the moral legitimacy provided by Sufism they were independent of the rulers.

From all this, we can conclude that the conditions of the days were in favour of those wanderlusts such as Ibn Battuta, for in the whole of Islamdom, which contained the vast areas from the border of China to Morocco and from Caucasus to the Sub-Saharan Africa, anyone could travel under the identity of a Muslim without feeling as a stranger anywhere within these lands, regardless of the difference of political affiliations or cultural diversity of these regions. Moreover, there were obvious facilities for Muslim travellers all over the Islamicate lands such as *waqf*s, established for spending on strangers and travellers and welcoming them.[147]

3.2. About Ibn Battuta, his Travelogue and the Reason Behind Choosing it.

To see how hospitality was practiced in Islamicate civilization and its norms applied we need to look at the experiences of someone who had been to almost all the lands that were under Muslim rule or with majority Muslim population at the time, and had a written record of these experiences. Ibn Battuta is this person. Ibn Battuta is a very famous traveller of the Islamicate civilization. There could hardly be found any book on

[146] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam; Conscience and History in a World Civilization,* 2.
[147] Shakir Khasbak, *Ibn Battutah wa Rihlatuhu,*(Dar Al-Adab, Beyrut), 28.

Islamic geographers of the Middle Ages which does not mention Ibn Battuta. He travelled for 29 years and covered more countries and territory than did Marco Polo. And in fact, it covered almost all the land under the Muslim rule at the time.[148] He travelled from 1325 to 1354. Ibn Battuta is also considered as an icon of globalization and his recorded experiences are a valuable source of information on the Muslim societies of the fourteenth century. Ibn Battuta's travels are recorded in his travelogue the *Rihla*, in which he describes his vast journeys covering the whole Islamic world of his time, from his native Tangier to China and even further off to Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. His detailed and interesting observations are very important as an insider's view on the Medieval Islamicate world. The original name of his book as translated into English is "A Donation to those Interested in the Curiosities of the Cities and Marvels of the Ways", which is simply abbreviated into *Rihla*.[149] He was born in 1304 and started his journey in 1325, twenty one years of age.

Seeing his devotion to travelling, one cannot help but wonder about the source of his finances. We can assume that he came from a very wealthy family, which sponsored him throughout his journeys, but depending on the textual analysis of the *Rihla*, for instance on the fact that Ibn Battuta does not mention his family much, as he gives the news of his parents' deaths without any comment, Dr. Shakir Khasbak definitely assumes that his family was not of a great status, or else this would not have gone unelaborated upon, as he has the habit of mentioning anyone of great social or religious status and boast about meeting them, let alone if they wereof his own kin. Ibn Battuta loves to boast about the great rulers and religious scholars that he met and the gifts and hospitality that they showered him with along his journeys. Therefore, it can be assumed that originally Ibn Battuta was not from a family of a great wealth or position, but was an ordinary young man when setting off on his journey for the pilgrimage. But setting out on a journey, he still must have had some money and provisions in his possession, which sufficed him at least for a while. So when setting off on his journey, he was not afraid

[148] Amikam Elad. "The Descriptions of the Travels of Ibn Battuta in Palestine: is it original?" *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 2* (1987): 256-272. Cambridge University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25212152

[149] The original title of the travelogue in Arabic is: تحفة النظار في غرائب الأمصار و عجائب الأسفار which is abbreviated into رحلة ابن بطوطة.

that his provisions would run off. Transportation was not easy at the time, and if his money would have finished somewhere on the way, his family would not have been able to easily provide him with it. Rather than being concerned about financing his journeys we can see that he actually gained wealth while travelling, which is also an indication of the generosity that he was hosted with in many places. Although he had been through some catastrophes which led to loss of all his possessions, he still had acquired his wealth back each time. He states that, when setting off, his goal was to perform the *Hajj* and visit the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad.[150]

3.3. The Credibility of the *Rihlah*

There are different opinions among the researchers on the credibility of the *Rihla*. These debates came forth for different reasons. First of all, the *Rihla* was not written by Ibn Battuta simultaneously with his travels but rather, after he came home after journeying for some 29 years, Sultan Abu 'Inan ordered him to write down about his journeys and assigned him a professional writer, Ibn Juzayy. Ibn Juzayy wrote Ibn Battutas travelogue as dictated by him or edited Ibn Battuta's writing, as he states at the end of the *Rihla* that he summarized what Ibn Battuta had written.[151]

Ibn Juzayy had his share of editing, and there were reader expectations to be met, such as the popular belief of his times that when one travels to far-away lands, he must encounter marvels. It is sometimes impossible to discern what is true of the stories and what is exaggeration, or fiction. But even if Ibn Battuta allegedly had made up some of these stories, we cannot blame him as this does not contradict the spirit of his times in this kind of literature genre of travel writing.[152] There are also contributions of Ibn Juzayy, as the writer of the story and a professional man of letters, therefore it is natural to assume that he was looking to add eloquence and improve the text. Dr. Shakir finds Ibn Battuta's stories generally reasonable and truthful. This does not mean that it is totally free of exaggerations, but the degree of fabrication is very low, especially

[150] Khasbak, *Ibn Battutah wa Rihlatuhu,* 18-19.
[151] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 4: 280.
[152] Khasbak, *Ibn Battutah wa Rihlatuhu,* 25.

compared to other travellers of his times, such as Marco Polo or al-Mas'udi, says Dr. Shakir.[153]It seems that it was the custom of travel writers of those times to exaggerate in order to make their tales more interesting.

Another point of suspicion is that it is assumed that Ibn Battuta had relied on his memory when narrating his stories to Ibn Juzayy. This is if we assume that he had not taken any notes on his journeys. This leaves a great suspicion in the mind of the modern reader, but as L.P. Harvey states that for a well-trained memory of the medieval Islamic scholar, this is more than possible. This also explains the kind of language he used in the book, for these are notes from what remained in his memory from what he saw and experienced. He clearly was not after geographic or any scholarly research on his journeys, as we can seldom find descriptions that rely on analysis, comparison or any scientific language.[154] This also explains the fact that Ibn Battuta's sequences of related geographical information are sometimes accurate but sometimes not and he did not give the most importance to geographical landmarks and accuracy anyway. There is also unanimously among the researchers, the problem of inaccurate chronology in Ibn Battuta, which might also be explained by the fact that he dictated it from his memory.

Some researchers have noted that some of Ibn Battuta's stories have been taken from other books, because his descriptions of some places match exactly the descriptions of other travellers before him. Therefore, this had raised some suspicions among the researchers about whether he himself had visited some of the parts or had just relied on the accounts of previous travellers. He might as well have travelled to those places but used both his own observations along with the descriptions from other travelogues. This, again, was also the scholarly and literary tradition of the time in Islamicate civilization, that went along with the accumulative aspect of the knowledge. In their writings, scholars used to build upon previous knowledge on the field, usually citing other scholars' writings without reference. As noted by researchers in the field, the *Rihla*had been certainly influenced by another traveller Ibn Jubayr's (1145-1217) travelogue,

[153] Ibid, 234.
[154] Khasbak, *Ibn Battutah wa Rihlatuhu*, 232.

indescription of the rituals of the *Hajj*for instance, and of descriptions of some other places.

There are some Oriental scholars who have doubt about some parts of Ibn Battuta's book, such as his travels to China or Constantinople. The Oriental researcher Yule, asserts that Ibn Battuta did not enter Constantinople and Ferrand is convinced that he did not go to China. On the other hand, there are other researchers like Gibb, who's English translation of the *Rihla* is mostly used, who defend Ibn Battuta's credibility. The famous academician and Arabist Ignaty Krachkovsky says that Ibn Battuta's stories are generally trustworthy.[155] Another Oriental researcher, Dozy was very enthusiastic about Ibn Battuta and believed that he was trustworthy. Such are the ranges of opinion among the researchers on Ibn Battuta's credibility, but Dr. Shakir Khasbak says that no matter the differences in opinion among the researchers on the extent of his truthfulness, we must accept that some of his stories are completely and unacceptably mythical. [156]

Regardless of the inaccuracies in chronology, names or places and some mythical stories, scholars generally do not dismiss or undermine Ibn Battuta's travelogue, but accept its general credibility, especially if we take into consideration the amount of places visited and information provided.[157] In addition, consider his references to known historical events that occurred in his times and the hundreds of personages that he met. The researcher Hrbek for instance, tried to establish Ibn Battuta's credibility by the independent identification of the many men of religion and other people that he met, which are known to have lived in Ibn Battuta's times. Moreover, some scholars find the precise and detailed description of certain social and economic data such as mentioning the goods produced at a certain locale with their local names, a proof of the general authenticity of the work.[158] When describing some places he might as well have borrowed from other sources but had also added his own experience.

[155] Ibid, 235.
[156] Khasbak, *Ibn Battutah wa Rihlatuhu*,235.
[157] Elad, The Descriptions of the Travels of Ibn Battuta in Palestine: is it original?, The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 2 (1987).
[158] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 261.

Of the examples that the modern editor of the *Rihla*, Abdulhadi al-Tazi, presents on the honesty of Ibn Battuta are these instances: the first is that at some point in the *Rihla*, Ibn Battuta mentions stopping at a certain place, but mentions that he does not remember the name of it. In another instance also he mentions that they had reached a certain place but does not remember the exact time.[159] Moreover, when describing his trip to Hagia Sophia, Ibn Battuta states at the beginning that he will describe its external because he did not see its inside. Al-Tazi also defies one of the claims against Ibn Battuta in mentioning the number of priests and monks there.[160] In addition, when describing the great generosity of Sultan Muhammad Shah of India, before mentioning some examples of his generosity Ibn Battuta states that he mentions only what he has witnessed and saw: "...and Allah knows the sincerity of what I say, in addition to the fact that what I mention is *mutawatir*[161] and wide-known, and the neighbouring countries know of these stories".[162]

As a famous sociologist, scholar and a contemporary of Ibn Battuta, its relatable to present Ibn Khaldun's opinion on him and his stories, in addition to Ibn Khaldun's theory on approaching such stories:

> In the times of the Merinid Sultan, Abu 'Inan, *a shaykh* from Tangier, by name Ibn Battutah,came(back) to the Maghrib. Twenty years before, he had left for the East and journeyed through the countries of the 'Iraq, the Yemen, and India. He had come to the city of Delhi, the seat of the ruler of India, the Sultan Muhammad Shah, (The ruler)esteemed Ibn Battutah highly and employed him as Malikite judge in his domain. He then returned to the Maghrib and made contact with the Sultan Abu 'Inan. He used to tell about experiences he had had on his travels and about the remarkable things he had seen in the different realms. He spoke mostly about the ruler of India. He reported things about him that his listeners considered strange. That, for instance, when the ruler of India went on a trip, he counted the inhabitants of his city, men, women, and children, and ordered that their requirements for (the next) six months be paid them out of his own income… Ibn Battutah told other similar stories, and people in the dynasty (in official positions) whispered to each other that he must be a liar.

[159] Ibid, 248.
[160] Ibid, 254-255.
[161] *Mutawatir* is a term mostly used in *hadith* terminology in the following meaning: "A successive (mutawatir) narration is one conveyed by narrators so numerous that it is not conceivable that they have agreed upon an untruth thus being accepted as unquestionable in its veracity." This meaning of *mutawatir* is also used for other stories, in this sense. Meaning that the story is so widespread and well-known that its probability of being true is very high.
[162] See. Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta, 3:166.*

> During that time, one day I met the Sultan's famous wazir, Faris b. Wadrar. I talked to him about this matter and intimated to him that I did not believe that man's stories, because people in the dynasty were in general inclined to consider him a liar. Whereupon the wazir Faris said to me: "Be careful not to reject such information about the conditions of dynasties, because you have not seen such things yourself. You would then be like the son of the wazir who grew up in prison."

Here he narrates a story of a certain vizier's son, who had grown up in prison and had not seen the world outside. So when the vizier wanted to explain what a sheep was to his son, he couldn't imagine what it was, because he had never seen such an animal. The morale of the story is not to disbelieve whatever has been narrated, even if it does not suit one's experienced reality. Here also Ibn Khaldun gives his general rule on accepting the narrated stories:

> It often happens that people are (incredulous) with regard to historical information, just as it also happens that they are tempted to exaggerate certain information, in order to be able to report something remarkable... Therefore, a person should look at his sources and rely upon himself. With a clear mind and straightforward, natural(common sense) he should distinguish between the nature of the possible and the impossible. Everything within the sphere of the possible should be accepted, and everything outside it should be rejected.[163]

Ibn Khaldun clearly states his theory on accepting narratives. Shortly, he comes to the conclusion of not disbelieving anything unless it is in the realm of naturally impossible. Regardless of its shortcomings, the *Rihla* remains an invaluable source of information on the economic, political and social systems of many territories of the medieval world. It is characterized by an inclusiveness and comprehensiveness not found in any of the other travelogues of the time. Travelling to so many territories also gave him the ability to assess different aspects of the places that he visited comparatively, providing us with a detailed report of the mentioned places at that age.

[163]Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah,* 242-243.

4. Some Institutions of Hospitality in the Middle Ages, Islamicate World and Ibn Battuta's Experiences

In this chapter, I will discuss briefly some of the institutions of the Islamicate history which embodied the concept and norms of hospitality. The institutions that I will talk about are *waqf,zawiyah* and *tekke*, *imaret*(the public kitchen),*khankah, ribat, funduk,* caravanserai and *khan.* These institutions are important to mention in this thesis because they are practical manifestations of hospitality mindset and norms of the Islamic tradition. In addition, most of these institutions are mentioned in Ibn Battuta's travelogue. These institutions have had extensive social, economic and political roles in Islamic societies but for the purpose of the thesis I will only look into their functions in terms of hospitality.

I have to note that I will not elaborate upon the *madrasa* institution, but I will mention it because Ibn Battuta has mentioned staying in *madrasas* several times in his travelogue. In short, *madrasas* were institutions of education with places for lodging students. These, too, were funded by the *waqf* endowments, which I will talk about henceforth.

4.1. Charitable Endowments: *Waqf*

Waqf linguistically means 'to stop, to preserve'. In its Islamic legal usage, it means to preserve something (i.e. a property) as an endowment for the purpose of donating its benefits.[164] I will not go into the legal discussions of this matter by Islamic jurists, as it goes beyond the scope of this thesis, but will discuss briefly and generally in its relation to hospitality. *Waqf* is based on the general encouragement on charity in Islam and has its rules and regulations in the *sharia*: a continuous kind of charity. *Waqf* is very important because it was the vehicle of financing all aspects of Islamicate societies including the other institutions such as caravanserais and *zawiya*s which played a major role in representing the spirit of hospitality in Islam. *Waqf* is an individual act of charity and contribution to the public. Most of the public establishments such as mosques,

[164]Abdullah bin Mahmud, Al-Hanafi, *Al-Ikhtiyar Lita'lil Al-Mukhtar,* (Matba'at al-Halabi, Cairo, 1937), 3: 40.

hospitals, *zawiyas*, *madrasas*, water supply systems…etc were built as *waqf*endowments. The endower could choose from a broad range of legitimate beneficiaries.[165] The following narration shows one of the earliest *waqfs* in Islamic history and which the legitimacy of *waqf* in Islam is based upon:

> Umar bin Al-Khattab got some land in Khaibar and he went to the Prophet to consult him about it, saying, "O Allah's Messenger I got some land in Khaibar better than which I have never had, what do you suggest that I do with it?" The Prophet said, "If you like you can give the land as endowment and give its fruits in charity." So 'Umar gave it in charity as an endowment on the condition that it would not be sold nor given to anybody as a present and not to be inherited, but its yield would be given in charity to the poor people, to the kith and kin, for freeing slaves, for Allah's Cause**, to the travellers and guests**…[166]

In this story, Umar bin Al-Khattab donates a land and sets a condition that its yield be donated as charity to the groups which he specified. One of the groups is "travellers and guests" (originally: *ibn al-sabeel* and *dhayf*, respectively), therefore I consider this as an individual act of hospitality. Similarly, all the other *waqf* endowments which were set up for funding travellers, guests, institutions such as *zawiyas, khans,* caravanserais and etc. are individual hospitality mindset manifested in these institutions.

4.1.1. Ibn Battuta on *Waqf* Endowments.

Ibn Battuta mentions *waqf*s in several places in his travelogue. First of all, Ibn Battuta mentions that the tradition in Egypt and the countries of Eastern Mediterranean regarding *waqf* endowments which are devoted to *ibn al-sabeel* (travellers) is that they are in the hands of the *qadi* (judge) of the town, who take care of the administration of these *waqf*s. Therefore, when a traveler comes to a town and wants to benefit from the *waqf* provisions, they can go to the *qadi* (judge) to take what is due for them from the endowment.[167]

In several places in his travelogue, when mentioning *zawiyas* or other institutions where he stayed, Ibn Battuta characterizes them as being an endowment of someone. For

[165]*The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies,* 128.
[166] Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari*, 3:540.
[167]Abd Al-Hadi Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* (Matbu'at Akadimiyah Al-Mamlakah Al-Maghribiyya, Silsilah Al-Turath, 1997),1:266-267.

example, when speaking about areas of modern Syria and Palestine, he characterizes one of the *zawiyas* as being a *waqf* endowment of Sultan Saladin.[168] In Latakia, Ibn Battuta talks about a man who was praised for his charities and endowments, who built *zawiyas* with food for all visitors and travellers.[169] Ibn Battuta mentions that there are many *waqf*s in Damascus, each for a certain purpose, including *waqf*s for providing for *ibn al-sabeel*(travellers).[170]

In the areas of Iran, which were under the rule of Sultan Atabeg, after mentioning some *zawiyas* and their functions, Ibn Battuta says that all of them are from the *waqf*endowments of Sultan Atabeg. One third of the revenues of the state is devoted to the maintenance of these hospices.[171] In Isfahan, in Iran, Ibn Battuta mentions a *zawiya* with a bath furnished with marble, which is free of charge because it is a *waqf* charity. In Maldive Islands, Ibn Battuta explains a story of how a ruler and people of these Islands became Muslims after encountering someone who had come as a traveller, after which the ruler of the Islands devoted one third of the income of the state for *ibn al-sabeel* (travellers), in honour of this man.[172]

Ibn Battuta mentions several examples of *waqf* from different lands of the Islamicate world. *Waqf* was important to elaborate upon because it is the base and sponsoring vehicle for *zawiyas, tekkes, ribats, khans, khanqahs* and caravanserais that I will mention henceforth as institutions that embodied the Islamic values of hospitality. *Waqf*s, which were designated for providing for travellers, pilgrims and all kind of guests, therefore, were also an embodiment of hospitality values, on individual and institutional levels.

[168] Ibid, 262; H.A.R. Gibb, Translated and Selected by, *Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354, (*George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, 1929), 59.
[169] Ibid, 1:292.
[170] Ibid, 330.
[171] Ibid, 2:25; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 91.
[172] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 4:63.

4.2. *Zawiyas* and *Tekkes*: Hubs of *Futuwwa* Hospitality

Zawiyas were mentioned previously when speaking about the *akhi* brotherhoods and their quarters. *Zawiya*s are one of the institutions that were funded by the *waqf* endowments.[173]*Tekke, hangah, ribat, imaret, madrasa* and some other words were used interchangeably with *zawiya* in different places and times of the Islamicate world, as these institutions had overlapping and sometimes similar functions. *Zawiya* has been defined as following:

> *Zawiya* lit. 'corner, nook [of a building]', originally the cell of a Christian monk and then, in the Islamic context, a small mosque, oratory or prayer room. In late mediaeval times, particularly in North Africa, the term came to designate a building designed to house and feed travellers and members of a local Sufi brotherhood. As the number of disciples increased, the units were incorporated into larger complexes that not only provided space for teaching and accommodation for the devotee but also served as centres of pilgrimage, gathering, and retreat for the community at large. In addition, a *zawiya* may function as an intellectual centre, a sanctuary offering asylum, and a political focus…[174]

Zawiyas and *tekke*s were originally retreats and quarters of Sufi brotherhoods for a sheikh and his disciples but as the definition above also states, these institutions served several functions, besides their original role. One of these functions was their usage as hostelries for pilgrims and travellers in general. A definition of the *zawiya* which emphasizes its function as a hostelry is that *zawiyas* are **guesthouses** that **were built in order to provide free food, drink and accommodation for travellers and guests**.[175] Moreover, Gibb, the translator of Ibn Battuta's travelogue, translates *zawiyas* as "religious houses in which all travellers were entertained".[176]

*Zawiya*s were built everywhere, in cities and towns, for providing social service on uninhabited roads and rural areas where big caravans passed and in frontiers, for paramilitary activities. In Seljuk times, a *zawiya* was built beside each mosque, *madrasa* and *caravanserai*. When new lands were conquered, one of the first things that were built on the new land were a central mosque, a *madrasa* and a *zawiya*. Building *zawiyas*

[173] Ebubekir Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümüze Fütüvvet ve Ahilik*, (Kayihan Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2017),53.
[174] K.S. Vikor, The *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol.11, "Zawiya" (Leiden, Brill, 2002), 466-467.
[175] Aytekin, *Tarihten Günümuüe Fütüvvet ve Ahilik* , 53.
[176] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah*,262; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 59.

also continued in the Ottoman empire. In Anatolian lands *zawiyas* were institutions or quarters of *akhi*and *futuwwa* associations. Religious, ethical and general education was given in *zawiyas*. As will be mentioned later in Ibn Battuta's observations, *zawiyas* were often built around tombs of important figures in Islam or the founder of the *zawiya.*[177]

4.2.1. Ibn Battuta on *Zawiya*s

Ibn Battuta mentions *zawiyas* in several places of his travelogue. Whenever Ibn Battuta mentions a *zawiya,* he mentions a *sheikh* along with it. "The *zawiya* of the sheikh so and so(name of sheikh)" is the phrase that he always uses when talking about a certain *zawiya.* He almost always uses the word *zawiya* in ownership of someone, usually a sheikh or the founder of the *zawiya* and also one sheikh can be the administrator of several *zawiya*s. Another point is that *zawiya* is almost always mentioned with the description of "with food for all visitors" attached to it. Or "with food for *ibn al-sabeel*". There are also a couple of places were Ibn Battuta mentions bath services in *zawiyas*. Moreover, he also mentions the endowers of the *zawiya*s in several places, too.

The first time Ibn Battuta mentions a *zawiya* in his travelogueis in the Egyptian town of Fawwa. He explains that when he arrived at the *zawiya,* the sheikh raised to embrace him, welcoming him, and offering him food. When describing Cairo, Ibn Battuta mentions the famous mosque of Amr bin al-'As and says that there was a *zawiya* on its Eastern side. Ibn Battuta says that there were many *zawiya*s in Egypt and that they were called *khanka*. About *zawiyas*, he says that these are lodges of ascetics from different lands, and each *zawiya* has a sheikh.[178] Almost in each town on the way from Egypt to the territory of Eastern Mediterranean Ibn Battuta mentions staying at a *zawiya*.[179]

In many places, especially in the territories of Eastern Mediterranean, Iraq and Iran, Ibn Battuta mentions *zawiyas* built beside tombs of important(pious) people and with food

[177]Vikor, The *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol.11, 466.
[178]Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 1:203-204;Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 50.
[179] Ibid, 232; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 54.

for all visitors.[180]In a Abbadan, in Iran, there are many mosques and *ribats*. There is a *ribat* by the seaside with a *zawiya* by its side where four poor people live with their children in the service of the *zawiya* and the *ribat*. Ibn Battuta stays in this *zawiya* and is hosted and fed by the *zawiya's* caretakers.[181] When moving from modern Iraq to Iran, Ibn Battuta has to journey for three nights across plains inhabited by Kurds. At the end of each *manzil* (stopping station) there is a hospice, at which every traveller is supplied with bread, meat and sweets.[182] In each *zawiya* there is a *sheikh*, an *imam*, a *mu'azzin*, a servant and cookers of food.[183]

In Shushtar, in Iran, Ibn Battuta mentions a *sheikh* who owns a *madrasa*and a *zawiya* in which he employs four of his *fityan* (pl. of *fata*). One takes care of the *waqf* endowments i.e. administrates the budget of the *zawiya*, the second deals with the daily expenses, the third deals with the distribution of food for the guests of the *zawiya* and the fourth is the head of the cooks and other workers of the *zawiya*. Ibn Battuta praises this *sheikh* for his great organization and generosity, he serves food for each man which would suffice four, of cooked rice, fried chicken, bread, meat and sweets.[184]

Still in Iran, from Shushtar he travels for three nights through lofty mountains and at every station there is a *zawiya*.[185] In Idhaj, he meets a *sheikh* who is a chief of several *zawiyas*, and hosts Ibn Battuta in one of them.[186] In these areas which are under the rule of the Sultan Atabeg, there are *zawiya*s at each station, which they call *madrasas*. Therefore, these two words will be used interchangeably when discussing the areas of the rule of Sultan Atabeg. When a traveller comes to a *zawiya* he is given a suffice of food for him and his animals whether he asks for it or not, their custom is that the servant of the *zawiya* comes each day to count the number of the guests in the *madrasa* and gives each two loaves of bread, meat and sweets.

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[180] Ibid, 260, 266-267, 291.
[181] Ibid, 2:18.
[182] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 89.
[183] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah*, 2:20.
[184] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah*, 2:22.
[185] Ibid, 23 ;Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 89.
[186] Ibid, 23-24.

Henceforth, I will present some stories in which Ibn Battuta presents us with some detail on the hospitality that he and his companions had encountered in Anatolia, which give us some insight on the life and the treatment of strangers in *zawiyas* and in Anatolia in general.

On the second day of their arrival at Antalya one of the *fityan*(pl. of *fata*) comes to the *sheikh* of the *madrasa* in which Ibn Battuta stays and invites Ibn Battuta and his companions to have a meal with them. Ibn Battuta thinks that he is a poor man, who would not be able to host them, but the *sheikh* explains that the man is one of the *sheikhs* of the *akhi* order and is a cobbler and a man of generous disposition. The man's companions, about two hundred men belonging to different trades, have made him their leader and have built a *zawiya* to entertain guests. All that they earn by day they spend at night.[187] In the evening, the man comes again and takes Ibn Battuta and his companions to his *zawiya*, which Ibn Battuta describes as following:

> We found ourselves in a fine building, carpeted with beautiful Turkish rugs and lit by a large number chandeliers of Iraqi glass. A number of young men stood in rows in the hall, wearing long mantles and boots, and each had a knife about two cubits long attached to a girdle around his waist…In the center of their hall was a sort of platform placed there for visitors. When we took our places, they served up a great banquet followed by fruits and sweetmeats, after which they began to sing and to dance. We were filled with admiration and were greatly astonished at their open-handedness and generosity. We took leave of them at the close of the night and left them in their hospice.

In Burdur, where Ibn Battuta and his companions are hosted by the imam, the *akhi fityan* come to Ibn Battuta and invite him to stay at their *zawiya* but the imam refuses that his guests be taken from him, thus the *akhi-fityan* prepare a banquet for Ibn Battuta and his companions in one of their gardens. Ibn Battuta says that "it was marvellous to see the joy and gladness with which they received us, though they were ignorant of our language and we of theirs, and there was no one to interpret between us. We stayed with them one day and then took our leave".[188]

[187] Ibid, 2:165; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 126.
[188] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 127.

When Ibn Battuta reaches Denizli, some men take their horses' bridles and some other men come and object them and they almost started fighting, which frightens Ibn Battuta. But then Ibn Battuta learns that these are two *fityan* groups, each of whom want to host Ibn Battuta and his companions. Ibn Battuta says that he was amazed at their generosity. They solve this issue by casting lots. The winner party takes Ibn Battuta and his companions to their *zawiya* and bring them different kinds of food and then take them to a bath and the *akhi* serves Ibn Battuta by himself. After the bath they are brought a lot of food, sweets and a lot of fruit. The next day Ibn Battuta meet the sultan of the city and in the evening he finds the other *akhi* group, waiting for him. They took him to their *zawiya* and entertained him in the same way or even better than the other group, and he stays with them for several days.[189]

From this it can be observed that providing a guest with a bath was also a common act of hospitality. It is also observable that in some places Ibn Battuta mentions that the *akhi* or the head of the *zawiya* himself served them as a sign of honour. In Erzurum they are hosted in a *zawiya* of a very elderly sheikh, who serves them food by himself and his children serve them in the bath and when they want to leave the next day the *akhi* insists that they stay for three days, saying that the least of hospitality is three days. About another *zawiya* Ibn Battuta says that there is a bath built for travellers, and anyone visitors can enter it without fee. In Bursa, there are thermal establishments to which people from far distances come for healing and there is a *zawiya* for the visitors where they stay and are fed for three days.[190] In a mountain full of snow, Ibn Battuta and his companions find a *zawiya*. Everyone in the village come together and bring any food that they could offer and feed Ibn Battuta and his companions.[191]

In Bolu, they also stay at an *akhi zawiya* where they keep fire always lit in winter. When Ibn Battuta enters the *zawiya* and sees the fire lit, he takes off his clothes and puts other clothes on, warming around the fire, then the *akhi* comes with food and fruit.

[189] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 2: 170.
[190] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 2: 196.
[191] Ibid, 202.

4.3. *Imaret:* The Public Kitchen

Ibn Battuta does not mention *imaret* in his travelogue but *imaret* or *imarethane* is a very important institution of hospitality in the Middle Ages Islamicate civilization, mostly in the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries Ottoman empire. It was a *waqf* built for distributing food to certain groups of people. Literally the word in Arabic means "built, building." It was used to refer to a whole complex which includes a mosque, a *madrasa*, a caravanserai, a mausoleum…etc and was also used to refer to one of the complex's units, the public kitchen. Those who were primarily fed in these kitchens were guests, employees of the complex and students.Scholars and students were fed because of their devotion to study, merchants and travellers because of their situation as strangers, staff because of their service, the poor because of their material poverty…etc. This tradition of *imarets*as host-houses for travellers comes from a long-standing tradition of hospitality rooted in Turkish and Arab cultures and the teachings of the Islamic religion.[192] It was mainly located in cities and on main routes to Anatolia and the Balkans, and hosted huge numbers and kinds of travellers, but there were imarets in small towns and villages as well. The menus mostly comprised of bread and soup, the ingredients of which varied according to region, season and economic conditions.[193]

For example, there were huge imarets in the capital city of Istanbul. In an imaret that was built by Mehmet the Conqueror in Istanbul, approximately 1500 people were fed twice a day by the mid-sixteenth century. Travelers who came to stay at the caravanserai of the Fatih complex in Istanbul received honey and bread at the *imaret* immediately upon their arrival, to revive them after their journey.[194] As to the order of service, the guests were served food first, followed by scholars, students and staff.[195]

> Small details stress how important the function of host was in the imarets. In Kastamonu, for example, travelers who arrived too late for the regular cooked meal received snacks (cold but nourishing) of walnuts, honey, and cheese. The extent of the hosting functions

[192] Amy Singer, "Serving Up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*,35:3, (Winter, 2005), 498-499.
[193] Singer, "Serving Up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen", 492.
[194] Ibid, 487.
[195] Ibid, 488.

> depended on whether the town was on a main or secondary route, and whether it had some special attraction. Unlike the regulars, however, travelers could expect only the traditional three-day welcome.[196]

Another example is the imaret of "The table of Abraham" (*simat al-Khalil)* which was established in pre-Ottoman periods for hosting and feeding travellers in Hebron.

> According to the eleventh-century Persian traveler Nasr-i Khusrau, anyone who came to Hebron received one round loaf of bread, a bowl of lentils cooked in olive oil, and raisins every day. The Mamluk sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–1496) restored the Hebron simat during his reign, taking it as a model when he stipulated that wheat be sent annually to his own college in Medina for the poor and visitors, no matter what their status.[197]

4.4. *Khankah*

Khankah is defined as buildings or quarters of the Sufi dervishes. They were monastic retreats of individual Sufi dervishes and after the formation of Sufi brotherhoods they became quarters of Sufi brotherhoods. It was used synonymously with *zawiya*, *ribat* and *tekke* in different areas and times of the Islamic history.[198] In addition to being quarters of Sufi brotherhoods, foreigners, travellers and sick people were served in *khankahs*. [199] This is the function of the *khankah* that concerns us here.

Ibn Battuta mentions *khankah* in two places in his travelogue. First, When describing Cairo, Ibn Battuta says that there are many *zawiya*s, which are called *khankah* and the nobles of Egypt compete within each other in building them.[200] Second, Ibn Battuta speaks about Najaf, in Iraq, saying that there are many beautiful *zawiyas, khankahs* and *madrasas* around the tomb of the fourth of the righteous caliphs, Ali.[201] He does not give any detail about their function but only confirms the information that *zawiyas* were called *khankah* in Egypt and that there were multitude of them in Iraq.

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[196] Ibid, 491.
[197] Ibid, 493.
[198] 'Abd Al-Kadir Badran, *Munadamat Al-Atlal wa Musamarat Al-Khayal,* (Al-Maktab Al-Islami, Bayrut, 1985), 272; Mujamma' Al-Lughah Al-'Arabiyyah Bi l-Kahirah, *Al-Mu'jam Al-Wasiit,* (Dar Al-Da'wah), 260; P. Schwarz, The *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, "Khankah". Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1997, 1025.
[199]Süleyman Uludağ, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "Hankah",Vol.16, 1997, 42-43. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hankah#1
[200] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 1:203-204;Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 50.
[201] Ibid, 421.

4.5. *Ribat*

Ribats were originally fortifications built for military purposes in early Islamic history. Later, with the expansion of Islamicate lands, *ribats'* functions started changing throughout the Islamicate world. Those that were built on main trade routes were changed into caravanserais and someothers were changed into places that were used as *zawiyas* for Sufi dervishes and guesthouses for hosting pilgrims, travellers and the homeless. It is also said that some *ribat*s were originally built as hospices for travellers and some for military purposes, but what concerns this thesis is their functions as hospices whether originally built for that purpose or changed later on.[202]

Ibn Battuta mentions *ribat*s in several places. When Ibn Battuta leaves Egypt he stays overnight at a *ribat* (translated by Gibb as a monastery) which he says was built by someone pious and in which there was food for all visitors.[203] The *ribat* that Ibn Battuta mentions here clearly has a function as a guest-house, with food for all visitors and it is also a *waqf* endowment, as it is built by 'someone pious'. Ibn Battuta also mentions that he stayed in a *ribat* while being in Mecca and he describes it as being the greatest of *ribat*s. He also mentions that there is a house of the Prophet Muhammad's uncle in Mecca which was turned into a *ribat* where *mujawirs* (those who stay in Mecca close to the Ka'aba for several years) and other guests can stay.[204] He mentions staying in a *ribat* in Basra also.[205] He also says that there are many *ribat*s in Abadan, in Iran. He says that there is a *ribat* by the seaside with a *zawiya* by its side where four people live with their children in the service of the *zawiya* and the *ribat*.[206] Here Ibn Battuta mentions a *ribat* together with a *zawiya* and mentions that both have caretakers, who later shelter Ibn Battuta and feed him. When mentioning the areas of Iran, Ibn Battuta mentions staying

[202] Ismail Yigit, *TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi*, "Ribat", Vol. 35, 2008, 76 -79. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ribat ; Schacht, The *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 8, "Ribat", 501.
[203] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 1:223 - 224.
[204] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 1:378 - 380.
[205] Ibid, 2:11.
[206] Ibid, 18.

in a *ribat*, which he describes as being extremely safe and fortified with an iron gate and inside of which there are many shops from which travellers could buy what they need.[207]From this description it can be assumed that this *ribat* is probably from those *ribats* that were changed to function to caravanserais, being extremely safe in order to provide safety for the caravans.

4.6. Caravanserai and *Funduk*

The word caravanserai is made up of two words: *caravan*, which means "a group of traders, pilgrims or other travellers, engaged in long distance travel" and *saray*, which means palace. A caravanserai is a *waqf* structure which is built on the main caravan roads for the safety and accommodation of caravans. The word *funduk* was used synonymously with caravanserais in some areas of the Islamicate world, such as in North Africa. These were places were caravans with travellers could stay together with their animals and baggage. These were built in the shape of courtyards surrounded by buildings on all four sides. Caravanserais were *waqf* endowments, usually of rulers and sultans. Here, guests could stay for three days free of charge. They were also used as prisons and shelters for the armies during campaigns. Caravanserais were built and organized in such a way as to be fortified and safe and to meet all the needs of caravans. Besides facilities for food and accommodation, there were baths, mosques, pharmacies and when needed there were services like doctors, footwear for poor travellers, food for animals, blacksmiths, veterinarians and carriage repairing.[208] Ibn Battuta does not mentions caravanserais in his travelogue.

[207]Ibid, 37.
[208] P.M. Holt, The *Encyclopaedia of Islam,*Vol.2, "Funduk"(Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1991), 945; Eryavuz, Sebnem, *TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi,* "Kervansaray", Vol.25, 2002, 299, 302. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kervansaray

4.7. *Khan*

Khan is a word of Persian origin and which is translated as *funduk* in Arabic dictionaries.[209] These were also mostly *waqf* endowments. *Khan'*s are synonymous to caravanserais, with caravanserais mostly used for those inns that were built on the roads especially or those that were used to host big caravans.[210] Similarly to caravanserais and *funduks, khans* were staying places like inns, especially but not exclusively to accommodate travelling merchants with their merchandise. Some *khan*s were charged and some *khan*s were free of charge. An Austrian delegate, Busbecq, who visited the Ottoman empire during 1554-1562 explains that he stayed in a *khan* and liked it more than a caravanserai. He explains that the *khan* which he stayed in was very big and no one, regardless of religion or status was rejected from staying there. Travellers could stay here for three days free of charge and were fed for three days free of charge, but had to leave after three days. He also says that he was very comfortable there.[211] As *khans* were also fortified and safe, they were also called *ribat*s in some places of the Islamicate world. In Damascus, the *khan* of Murad Chelebifunctioned as an *imaret* (public kitchen), serving food twice a week during the four months when pilgrims passed through the city.

Ibn Battuta says that on the way from Egypt to Eastern Mediterranean there are several stopping stations, in each of which there is a *khan* where travellers and their beasts can stay. Each *khan*has a water fountain outside of it for supplying water and a shop for the travellers to buy what they and their animals need.[212] Ibn Battuta also mentions that after leaving Mosul he stops in a village by a river bank with a big *khan* in it.[213] As Ibn Battuta observes, *khan*s had to have a constant supply of water, such as big wells or streams.

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[209] Ibn Mandhur, *Lisan Al-'Arab,* Dar Sadir, Beyrut, 3rd Ed. 1994), 10: 313; Mujamma' Al-Lughah Al-'Arabiyyah Bi l-Kahirah, *Al-Mu'jam Al-Wasiit,* (Dar Al-Da'wah), 1:263.
[210]Ibrahim Sa'di, *Khanat Baghdad Fi l-'Ahd Al-Uthmani,* (Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyyah, Baghdad, 2013), 26.
[211]Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiyede Hanlar, Kervansaraylar, Oteller ve Cesitli Barınma Yerleri,* (Yılmaz Basım, İstanbul, 2013),56.
[212] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battutah,* 1: 232;Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 54.
[213] Ibid, 2:84.

Anyone, Muslim or not, rich or poor, foreigner or local, could stay in a *khan* or a caravanserai and was fed and accommodated free of charge at least for three days. Moreover, there were huge numbers of *khan*s and caravanserais across the Islamicate lands.[214] This means that they most probably accommodated thousands of people with their beasts in total. In addition to being a social and economic necessity of land trade these institutions were also a big expression of hospitality and benevolence, most being *waqf* endowments.

[214] Ergin, *Turkiyede Hanlar, Kervansaraylar, Oteller ve Cesitly Barinma Yerleri*, 89-91.

5. Types of Hospitality in Ibn Battuta's Travelogue

In this chapter, I will mention the types of hospitality that Ibn Battuta encountered in his travelogue. It can be induced from the *Rihla* that the types of hospitality that Ibn Battuta encountered can be categorized as following: provision of primary needs of shelter and protection, provision of food and water, supplementary provision of money, gifts, bath and etc., friendly service and honour showed to the guest. These are the general patterns of hospitality in the *Rihla*, which I categorized on the basis of the need, starting from the basic needs to the complementary. Apart from the general patterns of hospitality, there are some traditions and customs of hospitality which Ibn Battuta mentions and which are specific to a certain locale. Lastly, I will mention the geography of Ibn Battuta's travels, in order to see the complete map of hospitality in the *Rihla*.

5.1. Providing Shelter and Protection

I will start with this type because it is the most primary type of hospitality of providing the basic need of shelter and protection for the guest and especially the traveller guest. Everywhere where Ibn Battuta mentions staying, whether hosted by an individual or in an institution, he is provided with shelter and refuge. Those *khan*s and *zawiyas* that were built on roadsides and uninhabited areas demonstrate the importance given to providing the travellers with shelter and other necessities. Along with the other necessities, shelter is the most needed facility that a traveller ,especially in the middle ages, could need. The *manzil* (stopping stations on the roads) are mentioned several times in the *Rihla*. He mentions that at each *manzil* between Egypt and Syria there is a *khan* for the travellers to stop in. He also mentions that his caravan stopped in many *manzil*s between Mecca and Iraq. When moving between Iraq and Iran Ibn Battuta has to journey for three nights across plains inhabited by Kurds. He mentions that at the end of each station there is a *zawiya.*Similarly, when he travels in Iran, he mentions travelling for three nights through lofty mountains with a *zawiya* in each stopping station.[215]In another place, Ibn Battuta travels for ten days in high-mountainous areas, stopping each day at a *madrasa*(in these lands *madrasa* is used instead of *zawiya* says Ibn Battuta) for food and accommodation.

[215] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 2:23; *Gibb, Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 134-136.

In India too, on a road which is six month in length, there is a *zawiya* in each station.[216] Similarly, in Malabar region, Ibn Battuta says that at every half a mile there is a wooden house with shops where all visitors can stay, Muslims and non-Muslims.[217]

When Ibn Battuta set out on his journey he mentions being hosted for the first time in Constantine in modern Algeria where Ibn Battuta and his companions are forced to abandon their tents outside the city due to heavy rain and take refuge in some houses in the city.

The right of the traveller guest for three days of hospitality, which was mentioned in detail in chapter one, is ensuring the guest that they would be provided with shelter for three days as their right which they can demand (the details were mentioned in chapter one) and if extended it is considered an act of charity from the host to the guest. Ibn Battuta mentions the number of days he was hosted in several places in his travelogue. In Damascus, Ibn Battuta befriends a scholar, Nur al-Din al-Sakhawi, who hosts him for four days and when Ibn Battuta falls ill he hosts him until the latter becomes in a better health.[218] In Najaf, in Iraq, when mentioning the *madrasa* by the side of the tomb of the righteous Caliph Ali, he says that every visitor has the right of hospitality for three days.[219] In Shushtar Ibn Battuta says that he stayed for sixteen days in a *madrasa*. In Shiraz, Ibn Battuta speaks about a *zawiya* where he stays overnight explaining that their custom is to not let a traveller guest leave before they stay for three days.[220] Ibn Battuta says that in Bursa, in Anatolia, there were thermal establishments to which people from far distance came for healing and there was a *zawiya* were visitors could stay for three days.[221] In Anatolia also, after explaining a *zawiya* Ibn Battuta states that he wants to leave the next day but the *akhi* insists that they stay for three days, saying that it is the least of hospitality. In Darmapattanam, in South India, in which there is no Muslim

[216] Ibid, 3: 134-136.
[217]Ibid, 4: 36.
[218] Ibid, 332.
[219] Ibid, 421.
[220] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 52.
[221] Ibid, 2: 196.

population, there is a mosque where stranger Muslims stay when they come.[222] In Bengal Ibn Battuta sets out o visit a saintly sheikh in mount Kamaru, who hosts him for three days in his *zawiya*.[223] We can generally observe that three days is the amount that Ibn Battuta mentions the most. This must be going back to the Islamic norms on the right of the guest for hospitality of three days, which was elaborated upon in chapter one.

This hospitality of providing accommodation and shelter is not only restricted to institutions but Ibn Battuta mentions being hosted by many individuals, whether high ranked or ordinary people. For example he mentions that the governor of Mosul invites him to stay in his house and that he was hosted by the chief judge of Mardin.[224] In Yemen, in Hali Ibn Battuta is hosted by the governor for several days and is treated generously. In Sarja, he stays for one night as a guest of some merchants.[225] In Zabeed he gets acquainted with some scholars and is hosted by them. In Jibla he stays for three days in a *zawiya*. In Taiz, the residence of the Sultan of Yemen, he is hosted for three days by the chief judge and gets acquainted with the Sultan who also hosts him generously.[226] In Aden he is hosted by a merchant and the judge of the city. There he also mentions being hosted by a judge. In Oman, in Kalhat Ibn Battuta meets the Sultan and is hosted by him for several days.[227] In Anatolia, when Ibn Battuta and his companions reach Birgi he asks a man for the whereabouts of a *zawiya*, but the man takes them to his own house and hosts them.[228] In Maldives, in the first island that Ibn Battuta reaches, the Kannaluus, he is hosted by a pious man and a scholar. He also mentions being hosted by an ordinary man in two places here and when Ibn Battuta and his companions reach the island which is the residence of the queen, they are hosted and accommodated by the queen and her vizier. In another place in Maldives he mentions being hosted by a Sultan.[229] In Andalusia, in the first town that Ibn Battuta visits, he

[222] Ibid, 4: 43.
[223] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 269.
[224] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 2: 83-87.
[225] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 207.
[226] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 2: 107-110.
[227] Ibid, 136.
[228] Ibid, 183-187.
[229] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta; Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 262.

mentions staying with the town's judge.[230] In Granada, he mentions meeting a pious *sheikh* and staying in his *zawiya* for some days.[231] In Central Africa, in Iwalatan Ibn Battuta mentions staying for fifty days and says that the inhabitants hosted him and honoured him.[232] In Gao he is hosted by an ordinary man and a judge. In Bardama he mentions being hosted by a Moroccan sheikh and a judge and an ordinary man.[233]

Along with providing shelter, providing protection is also as important. This is manifested in the fortification of the hostelries and in the concept of *ijara*. For instance, Ibn Battuta mentions stopping in a *ribat* which he describes as being extremely fortified, having an iron gate. These were done for the safety of the travellers and their belongings. The word *ijara*basically means seeking protection or giving protection. Ibn Battuta mentions protection three times in his travelogue. In Yemen, outside of Dhafar there is an important *zawiya* which people take *istijara* (refuge, protection) in. If a person takes refuge in it, even the Sultan himself does not have the right to touch him. Ibn Battuta then narrates a story of a person who stayed in that *zawiya* for years under the *istijara* (protection) of the *zawiya*and the Sultan couldn't do anything to him.[234] When leaving Mecca he says that "on the 17 May I left Mecca with the commander of the Iraqi caravan, who hired for me at his own expense the half of a camel litter as far as Baghdad, **and took me under his protection."**[235] Ibn Battuta also narrates that when he requested permission from Sultan Uzbeg Khan to accompany one of his wives in her travel to Constantinople and the Sultan demurred, fearing for Ibn Battuta's safety, Ibn Battuta told him that "I shall go under your patronage and protection and I shall have nothing to fear from anyone". After which the Sultan gives him permission to travel there. Constantinople was not under Muslim rule or under the ruler of Sultan Uzbeg Khan, therefore he was fearing for the safety of his guest Ibn Battuta if he travels there.

[230] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 4: 221.
[231] Ibid, 4: 226-227.
[232]Ibid,255.
[233] Ibid, 274.
[234] Ibid, 2: 125-126.
[235] L. P. Harvey, series editor Farhan A. Nizami. "Ibn Battuta", *Makers of Islamic Civilization, (*I.B. Tauris, London, 2007), 80.

But being under the protection of the Sultan and his wife, who was the daughter of the kind of Constantinople, Ibn Battuta was guaranteed safety in his journey there.[236]

5.2. Providing Food and Water

As was elaborated upon in chapter one, serving food to the guest is considered one of the important etiquettes of hospitality. The importance of food in the context of hospitality can be seen throughout the pre-Islamic and Islamic traditions, starting from pre-Islamic poetry, the story of the Prophet Ibrahim, the Prophetic traditions and including the books of *futuwwa.*

As hospitality cannot be imagined without food it is mentioned many times in Ibn Battuta's travelogue. Wherever he stays he is always served food and water. When he speaks about *zawiyas* especially, he always attaches the description of 'with food for all visitors' to it. Whenever he mentions staying at a *zawiya,* and elaborates upon that, he mentions being given food. In Egypt, in Fawwa, when Ibn Battuta enters a *zawiya* and greets its *sheikh*, the latter raises and embraces Ibn Battuta, offering him food. Here we can see the promptness with which the sheikh offered him food.[237] When mentioning a *ribat* where he stayed Ibn Battuta says that there is food for all visitors in it. On the way from Egypt to Eastern Mediterranean, he says that there are *khans* with water fountains outside each for supplying water. When praising the people of Mecca, Ibn Battuta says that when one of them makes a feast, they first feed the poor and the *mujawir*s (those who come from other countries and stay in Mecca for several years). He says that they invite them pleasantly and offer them food.[238]*Mujawirs* are considered strangers and guests for the local people of Mecca and offering them food is considered an act of hospitality. As mentioned earlier, when speaking about *zawiyas* of certain places Ibn Battuta almost always adds "with food for all visitors in it" or 'with food for *ibn al-sabeel*.

[236] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 151.
[237] Ibid, 48.
[238]Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 387.

In several places he also elaborates upon the type of food that is served in the *zawiya*. In a *madrasa* in Iraq, which is constructed by the tomb of the Caliph Ali, Ibn Battuta says that every visitor has the right of hospitality for three days with twice a day meal consisting of bread, meat, dates and figs.[239] When travelling from Iraq to Iran through plains Ibn Battuta says that at each stopping station there is a *zawiya* where each traveller is supplied with bread, meat and sweets.[240] In Shushtar Ibn Battuta stays for sixteen days in a *madrasa* and praises the *sheikh* of which by saying that he is very generous regarding food and serves each man food that would suffice four, of cooked rice, fried chicken, bread, meat and sweets.[241] In another *zawiya* Ibn Battuta says that when a traveller comes to the*zawiya* he is given a suffice of food for him and his beasts whether he asks for it or not. Their custom is that the servant of the *zawiya* comes each day to count the number of the guests in the *zawiya* and gives each two loaves of bread, meat and sweets.[242] In another place, he mentions that at the moment of his arrival at the *zawiya* the *sheikh* sent him food and three melons, which Ibn Battuta was very delighted with.[243] In Tabreez Ibn Battuta stays in a *zawiya* in which there is food for all visitors, consisting of bread, meat, cooked rice and sweets.[244] In Mogadishu he is lodged at a student house where he stays for three days and is fed three times a day.[245] When Ibn Battuta talks about the people of Anatolia he says that their custom is to cook bread once a week and offer the fresh bread to the guests with some delicious viands.[246] When explaining an *akhizawiya*, Ibn Battuta says that when him and his companions took their places upon entering it, they were served up a great banquet followed by fruits and sweetmeats.In another town in Anatolia an ordinary man hosts Ibn Battuta and brings him different kinds of fruit and gives food to his beasts.[247] In Burdur, in Anatolia, where Ibn Battuta and his companions were being hosted by an imam, a group of *akhi fityan* came to invite Ibn Battuta to their *zawiya* but the imam would not let his guests be taken from him. Therefore, the *akhi fityan* prepared a banquet for Ibn Battuta and his

[239] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 421.
[240] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 89.
[241] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 2: 22.
[242] Ibid, 25; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,*91.
[243] Ibid, 31-32.
[244] Ibid, 77-78.
[245] Ibid, 117.
[246] Ibid, 161-163; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 124.
[247] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta, Vol.2,* 183-187.

companions in one of their gardens.[248] Still in Anatolia, Ibn Battuta explains how two groups of *akhi fityan* got into a fight of who will host Ibn Battuta's group. After one of them won by casting lots they took Ibn Battuta and his companions to their *zawiya* and brought them different kinds of food and offered them a bath, after which they were brought a lot of food, sweets and fruit again.[249] In Anatolia, in a mountain full of snow, Ibn Battuta and his companions find a *zawiya* and everyone in this village come together and bring any food that they could offer to feed Ibn Batttuta and his companions.[250] In another instance, after Ibn Battuta starts warming around a fireplace, an *akhi* comes with food and fruit.[251] When Ibn Battuta travels to Kafa which is inhabited by Christians, he stays at a mosque and the next morning, upon hearing that there is a traveller in the mosque, an *akhi* comes and entertains him to food.[252] In another place Ibn Battuta says that he lodged at a *zawiya* of a certain governor and mentions that he made them a lot of food. When they reach Azov, Ibn Battuta mentions meeting an *akhi* who gives food to all visitors.[253]

There are different customs regarding food that Ibn Battuta mentions also. For example, when speaking about the lands of Uzbeg Khan he says that the highest of honour and hospitality in their custom is serving the guest a cup of *qumiz*(horse milk), which Ibn Battuta is served at each of his visits there.[254] In India, Ibn Battuta says that there is a road which is six month in length and that there is a *zawiya* in each station with food for visitors, to save the traveller the trouble of carrying provisions.[255] A story which indicates the importance given to feeding in the context of hospitality is a story which Ibn Battuta narrates. He says that there was a man who had a very fruitful melon farm, with melons sweeter than anywhere else. One day when the Sultan was passing through this town and tasted one of the man's melons he liked it and told the man to built a

[248] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 127.
[249] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 2: 170.
[250] Ibid, 202.
[251] Ibid, 204; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 104.
[252] Ibid, 215-218.
[253] Ibid, 221.
[254] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*,149.
[255] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 3:134-136.

zawiya in which visitors would be fed.[256] When the Sultan saw that the melons are of a very good quality he wanted these melons to be shared with other people who would come to the *zawiya* after building it, mostly the poor and the travellers. In the Malabar region Ibn Batttuta says that every half a mile there is a wooden house with shops where visitors can stay and beside each there is a well for drinking. And at every station there is a Muslim house where Muslims can buy goods and where they cook them food.[257] He says that in Eli there is a big central mosque which is respected by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and which is given funds and vows to. In this mosque there is a school and there is a kitchen where food is made for visitors and for poor people. In Darmapattanam, which is a land with a non-Muslim population there is a water well outside it for the visitors to drink from.[258] Another place where Ibn Battuta mentions the kind of food he was served is when he speaks about a town in Maldives where the inhabitants host him properly and serve him food consisting of buffalo calves.[259] When speaking about Mali, he mentions that a Sultan sent him a gift of food consisting of three loafs of bread, one piece of fried meat and some milk.[260]

5.3. Providing Gifts, Clothes, Provisions, Money and Bath

In this section, I would like to talk about the hospitalities that are lower in terms of necessity than shelter, food and water. Inducting from the Rihla, in Ibn Battuta's experiences these were providing him with a bath, money, clothes and other gifts. I would like to note here that Ibn Battuta got acquainted with many Sultans and governors and received multitude of gifts from them. Due to the nature of their status that requires the generosity of their gifts, it does not represent a common hospitality trend. Nevertheless, I will mention most of these gifts because they give an overview of how Ibn Battuta was received as a guest and the hospitality trend at the level of Sultans.

[256] Ibid, 4: 23.
[257] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 4: 36.
[258] Ibid, 43.
[259] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 255-256.
[260] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 4: 255.

Henceforth, I will mention the places in the Rihla where Ibn Battuta mentions being provided with this hospitality as a guest.

The first place in the *Rihla* that Ibn Battuta mentions being pleasantly hosted is in Constantine in Algeria. After Ibn Battuta and his companions are forced to abandon their tents due to heavy rain and take refuge in some houses of the city, the following day the governor comes to visit them and orders that Ibn Battuta's clothes be washed and dried, and that he be given new clothes. After receiving the clothes Ibn Battuta finds gold dinars tied to them. He says that this is the first alms that he received on his journey. Here Gibb says that "because Ibn Battuta was falling eminently into the category of wayfarers who were to be given obligatory alms i.e. ibn al-sabeel, he was for the next several years seen his welfare assured".Here he was offered clothes and money.

In Egypt, Ibn Battuta is continued to be offered some gifts along the way. In a *zawiya* in Fawwa, in Egypt, when the bed-time comes the *sheikh* of the *zawiya* offers Ibn Battuta to sleep on the roof because these were days of strong summer heat and the roof was the best place to sleep. Ibn Battuta says that there was a straw mattress, a leather mat, a water vessel for ritual ablutions and a jar of water with a drinking cup beside the mattress. When departing the *sheikh* gives him a travel provision of small cakes and money.[261] Here the *sheikh* of the *zawiya* i.e. the host offers his guest the best place in the *zawiya* to sleep in and when departing gives him money and some food as a travel provision. In Egypt, in Damietta, Ibn Battuta befriends a governor who had built the *madrasa* that he was staying in. Shortly after leaving Damietta, a horseman sent by the governor catches up with Ibn Battuta and hands him a number of coins, a money gift from the governor.[262]

In Damascus, Ibn Battuta is hosted by a local scholar who, upon hearing that Ibn Battuta's provisions had finished, hires him camels to take him through the desert to Mecca and gives him money and provisions for this journey.[263] From the viewpoint of it

[261] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 48.
[262] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 4:200.
[263] Ibid, 332.

being a need, provisions for Ibn Battuta in this situation was a basic need to continue his journey but as a host, the local scholar was not obliged to provide him with all these provisions of camels and money but it was a voluntary act of charity and a delicacy from a host to assure the welfare of the guest even after the guest had left.

About leaving Mecca after pilgrimage Ibn Battuta says that "on the 17 May I left Mecca with the commander of the Iraqi caravan, who hired for me at his own expense the half of a camel litter as far as Baghdad, and took me under his protection".[264]

In a place in Iraq, Ibn Battuta is hosted by a *sheikh* who gives him provision of dates and money.[265] In Isfahan Ibn Battuta stays at a *zawiya* in which there is a bath furnished with marble, which is free of charge because it is a *waqf* endowment The *sheikh* of this *zawiya* gives Ibn Battuta good clothes.[266] In three places in Anatolia Ibn Battuta also mentions being provided with a bath in a *zawiya*, he says that there is a bath built for travellers and anyone of the visitors can enter it free of charge.[267] Another place where he is given clothes is in a student house in Mogadishu where he lodged for three days and on the fourth day was given clothes.[268] In Hurmuz also, he meets a pious *sheikh* who hosts him generously and gives him clothes.[269]

In Sarja which was inhabited by Yemeni merchants whom Ibn Battuta praises for being generous and open handed, he says that they help pilgrims by transporting them from their ships and providing them from their own wealth.[270] After explaining a custom of how somewhere in the Maldives they receive the newcomers in ships, he says that the host takes the luggage of the newcomer to his house as if they were one of their relatives.[271]

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[264] Harvey, "Ibn Battuta", *Makers of Islamic Civilization,* 80.
[265] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 2: 9.
[266] Ibid, 31-32.
[267] Ibid, 170.
[268] Ibid, 117.
[269] Ibid, 141-142.
[270] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 107.
[271] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 4: 59.

In Qiram, in the territories of Sultan Uzbeg Khan, upon hearing that Ibn Battuta and his team have arrived at the city, the governor Tuluktumur sends them the Imam (head preacher) with a horse, and then when they visit the governor he hosts them and gives them gifts.[272] Ibn Battuta also mentions being given many gifts, money and provisions by the Sultan Uzbeg Khan, his wives and daughter.[273] When Ibn Battuta sets off to Constantinople in the company of one of the Sultan's wives, he mentions that every time she is presented with gifts she gives Ibn Battuta some of what has been given to her.[274] In India also, Ibn Battuta befriends a governor of a city who hosts him generously and gives him many gifts.[275] Somewhere in the Maldives, Ibn Battuta is hosted by a Queen and her vizier,besides food and accommodation he says that "two days later the vizier sent me a robe, with a hospitality-gift of food and a hundred thousand cowries for my expenses." This is the hospitality that he received from a Queen and a vizier before they knew that Ibn Battuta had served as a judge in the court of the Sultan of India as he was hiding this fact at the time.[276] They showed him this much hospitality regardless of his status. In a town in Central Africa he is hosted by a Sultan who gives him gifts of food and gold.

Therefore, what Ibn Battuta mentions in this context can be summarized as gifts in general, money, clothes, bath and the transportation of luggage. Providing food has been mentioned in the previous section in providing the basic needs but food in terms of a feast or a banquet, exceeding the amount of the basic need can also be put into this category. There are some stories that have been mentioned earlier indicating the bountifulness of food which was served in certain *zawiyas*. These are places where Ibn Battuta says that the hosts have prepared a banquet or a feast for him or that the *sheikh* of the *zawiya* provides food which suffices four and etc. These are mentioned in the previous section. Providing these items which exceed the basic necessities of a person and are not obligatory upon the host can be considered as voluntary and delicate acts of hospitality form the host.

[272] Ibid, 2: 215-218.
[273] Ibid, 234; Gibb, 151
[274] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 154.
[275] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 87.
[276] Ibid, 4: 67-68; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 246.

5.4. Honouring the Guest and Receiving Them with Joy

This is a non-material aspect of hospitality which deals with how the host treats the guest and hosts him such as honouring the guest, welcoming and serving them joyfully, making them feel comfortable and etc. Ibn Battuta touches upon this in several places of his *Rihla*. Henceforth, I will mention these instances.

When speaking about a *zawiya* in Egypt, Ibn Battuta says that when he arrived at the *zawiya* and greeted the *sheikh*, the *sheikh* rose and embraced him and offered him hospitality.[277] We can observe a delicate treatment of a stranger newcomer to the *zawiya* by its *sheikh* here. Moreover, Ibn Battuta was a young man and had just set out on his journeys, therefore he was notsomeone with a high status or someone famous.

When talking about a *zawiya* in Shiraz, Ibn Battuta says that one of their customs is to ask the guest of the *zawiya* whether he has any problems or issues, which are explained to the *sheikh* of the *zawiya* who then prays for this man together with the other dwellers of the *zawiya*.[278] This custom shows the thoughtfulness towards the guest.

When describing the people of Anatolia, Ibn Battuta says that they are the kindest folk in creation. Whenever he stopped in this land, whether at a *zawiya* or a private house, neighbours, both men and women, would come to ask after them and when they were leaving they bade them farewell as though they were their relatives and own folk and the women would weep.[279] Again in Anatolia, about the *akhi fityan*, Ibn Battuta says that " it was marvellous to see the joy and gladness with which they received us, though they were ignorant of our language and we of theirs, and there was no one to interpret between us…".[280] In another *zawiya* in Anatolia Ibn Battuta mentions that the *akhi* of the

[277] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 48.
[278] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 52.
[279] Ibid, 161-163; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 124.
[280] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 127.

zawiya served them in the bath by himself as a sign of honour.[281] Ibn Battuta praises the *akhi fityan*for their treatment and hospitality:

> What an excellent body of men these are, how noble-minded, how unselfish and full of compassion for the stranger, how kindly and affectionate they are to him, how warm their welcome to him! A stranger coming to them is made to feel as though he were meeting the dearest of his own folk.[282]

When Ibn Battuta travels to Qiram, in the territories of the Sultan Uzbeg Khan, upon hearing of his arrival the governor Tuluktumur send an Imam(the preacher) with a horse to welcome them. And when Ibn Battuta intends to move on to Azov, the governor Tuluktumur writes to the governor of Azov, commending Ibn Battuta and his companions and telling him to treat them honourably. On receiving Tuluktumur's letter, the governor of Azov comes out to receive them along with the judge and the students of the town. When Tuluktumur reaches this city in several days he is greeted with a huge ceremony, when he dismounts, pieces of silk are laid down for him to walk on. Out of respect and generosity he makes Ibn Battuta precede him in order to show the high esteem which he holds him in and makes Ibn Battuta sit on a chair which is prepared for him, by his side, while his two sons, brother and nephews remain standing respectfully.[283] Here we can clearly see the honourable treatment that Ibn Battuta received from the governor Tuluktumur.

These are the instances where Ibn Battuta mentions in detail the honour that he received and he mentions that he was "hosted and treated honourably" in general in almost all the places in his travelogue. He uses the words *adaafanii* (hosted me) and *akramanii* (treated me honourably) together almost everywhere in the Rihla.

5.5. Different Customs of Hospitality in the *Rihla*

In the previous section we have looked at the types of hospitality in general in the *Rihla*. In this section, I will look at the different customs and traditions of hospitality which are

[281] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 2: 170.
[282] Ibid, *204;* Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 140.
[283] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 2: 222.

mentioned in the *Rihla* and which are particular to certain people or locations. Moreover, there are many places in the *Rihla* where Ibn Battuta praises the people of a certain location or certain people of high rank for their generosity and kindness and there are some places where he belittles or even mocks the hospitality of certain rulers.

When speaking about the virtues of the people of Damascus Ibn Battuta says that none of them breaks his fast alone in the month of Ramadan. The nobles and people of high rank make feasts for the poor and invite their friends. Those who are not wealthy come together in the house of one of them every night, or eat together in the mosque.[284]

Ibn Battuta praises the people of Mosul for having good characters and loving strangers. He also praises the governor of Mosul who hosts Ibn Battuta generously and spends on him the whole time of his stays there. Immediately after Mosul, he also praises the people of another town for being kind and loving to strangers.[285]

In Yemen, Ibn Battuta praises the merchants of Sarja for being generous and open-handed. Their custom is to supply food for travellers and help pilgrims by transporting them from their ships and providing them from their own wealth.[286] He also praises the people of Aden for treating strangers well and being generous.

In Oman, in Nizwa, it is the custom of the people to eat in the mosque yards. Each brings food and all of them eat together and all the travellers are welcome to eat with them. The Sultan of Oman allows anyone including strangers to enter to his quarters and hosts them generously.[287] In Oman also, Ibn Battuta mentions a group of 'Robinhood like' bandits who build *zawiyas* and feed its visitors from the money that they take from people. Still in Oman, he mentions that it is the custom of a certain *zawiya* that its residents roam the city everyday in the afternoon and each house gives them some bread

[284] Ibid, 331.
[285] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 2: 83-85.
[286] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 107.
[287] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*,2: 137-138.

which they feed the guests of the *zawiya* with. The people of the city are used to this custom, therefore they keep this in mind to increase the amount of what they cook.[288]

In Anatolia, in Bolu, Ibn Battuta mentions a *zawiya* where they keep the fire always lit in winter. When Ibn Battuta enters the *zawiya* and sees the fire lit, he becomes very delighted and starts warming around it.[289]

Although Ibn Battuta mentions that he was hosted and honoured by the Sultan Uzbeg Khan, he also says disappointedly that they do not know how to accommodate a guest or provide them him with money, but what they do is send him sheep and horses for slaughter and some drinks, which is their hospitality. The highest of honour and hospitality in their custom is serving the guest a cup of *qumiz*(horse milk). [290] Nevertheless, he mentions that he was honoured and generously hosted, and given gifts and money by the Sultan Uzbeg Khan and his wives. The reason for this inconsistency is unknown to me.

Ibn Battua lived in India for many years and was given a post as a judge there. In his narrative about his life in India, he mostly talks about the Sultan Muhammad Shah, his character and customs. He especially highlights and gives stories about the generosity of the sultan, as he was known for his open-handedness.

Ibn Battuta explains that when someone arrives at the capital of Sind, Multan, he stays there as the intelligence officials write to the sultan telling him the utmost details of the arrived person or group and when the sultan studies this report he gives his orders regarding the entry of these people and the degree of hospitality to be extended to them. He says that a man is honoured in that country according to what may be seen of his actions, conduct, and zeal, since no one knows anything of his family or lineage. The ruler of India, Sultan Muhammad Shah has the habit of honouring and hosting strangers generously and being kind to them, and giving them high official posts. Moreover, he

[288] Ibid, 161-163; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 124.
[289] Ibid, 204; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 140.
[290] Ibid, 229; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* 149.

had issued a decree that foreigners and strangers be called *aziz* meaning invaluable or honourable, making it a proper noun indicating foreigners. Ibn Battuta narrates that the Sultan ordered the foreigners to be called *aziz* (honourable) instead of *ghareeb* (stranger) because it would be very sad and offensive for them.[291]

It is also the custom of this sultan that every newcomer must present a gift to the Sultan and the Sultan rewards them in return with much more than what they had presented. When the subjects of the sultan grew accustomed to this habit of the sultan, merchants from Sind and India started giving each newcomer a loan of money and other gifts and goods that he might want to present to the Sultan or might need himself. And after the sultan rewards him with huge gifts, he returns his loans and thus the merchants and the newcomer gain profit. Here we can see an interesting point of encouraging the strangers to invest their money to make profit.

In Maldives, there is a custom that when a new ship arrives at the island, some people come out in small boats with fruit on them, and each man on the boat gives from these fruits to those whom he chooses from the ship to be his guests. Then he takes the luggage of his guests to his house as if they were one of his relatives.[292]

Another place where Ibn Battuta commented with displeasure on the hospitality that he had received was in Mali, in Central Africa. He mentions this under the title "mentioning their petty hospitality and their glorification of it". After Ibn Battuta meets the Sultan of Mali, the Sultan sends him a gift. Ibn Battuta expects these gifts to be money, clothes or gifts as he was accustomed from the Sultans, but finds out that the gift consists of three loafs of bread, one piece of fried meat and some milk. This surprises and disappoints Ibn Battuta as can be observed. Here he clearly mocks this hospitality and mocks the fact that they glorify it so much.[293]

[291] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 3: 166.
[292] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta,* 4: 59.
[293] Ibid, 255.

5.6. The Geography of Hospitality in the *Rihla*

In this section, I will mention the geographic scope of Ibn Battuta's experiences. In the previous sections I have discussed the various hospitality institutions and Ibn Battuta's experiences of them, the various types of hospitality that Ibn Battuta encountered and some local traditions and customs of hospitality mentioned in the *Rihla.* These were answers to the question of whether the normative Islamic hospitality was practiced and how it was practiced individually or institutionally. In this section I aim to answer the question of whether this hospitality was practiced everywhere in the Islamicate world. Ibn Battuta travelled to almost all the lands that were under Islamic rule in his times in addition to some which were not. Therefore, the *Rihla* is the best source for answering this question. I will mention Ibn Battuta's itinerary and the individual and institutional hospitalities that he encountered in the order of the *Rihla.* Apart from the stories of hospitality which were mentioned in the previous sections and which contain some detail on how Ibn Battuta was hosted, in many places of the *Rihla*, Ibn Battuta just generally and shortly mentions where he stayed by saying that he was hosted in a certain institution or by someone.

Ibn Battuta set out from his home in Tangier at the age of 22 with the aim of performing the ritual of *Hajj* and continued his journey thereafter. Ibn Battuta says at the beginning of the *Rihla*:

> I left Tangier, my birthplace, on Thursday (14th June, 1325), being at that time twenty-two (lunar) years of age, with the intention of making the Pilgrimage to the Holy House and the Tomb of the Prophet. I set out alone, finding no companion to cheer the way with friendly intercourse, and no party of travellers with whom to associate myself. Swayed by an over mastering impulse within me, and a long-cherished desire to visit those glorious sanctuaries, I resolved to quit all my friends and tear myself away from my home.[294]

Ibn Battuta's route led him as following: from Tangiers in Morocco, he went along North Africa, Egypt, the Eastern Mediterranean countries to Mecca. Then from Mecca to Iraq, Iran, Yemen, the Horn of Africa, Oman, the Persian Gulf, Anatolia, Crimea, South Volga Basin, Turkistan, Constantinople, Indian Peninsula, Maldives, Bengal, South-East

[294] Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 43.

Indian Islands, China, then returning back to Morocco. Then he was sent to Andalusia in a political mission from Sultan Abu Inan, then lastly visiting the countries of Central Africa. [295]

Now I will mention the number of institutions that Ibn Battuta mentioned staying at in each territory and the individuals whom he mentions being hosted by individually, in the same order of the countries as in the *Rihla*.

Starting with North Africa, in Constantine (Algeria) Ibn Battuta says that they took refuge in some houses in the city after a heavy rain had destroyed their camp. Here also, the governor showed them hospitality. In Egypt, in Alexandria he was hosted by a scholar, in Fawwa, Burlus, Nastaraw, Maniyyah, Damietta, Asyut and Ikhmim he mentions staying in *zawiyas*. He also says that there are many *zawiyas* and *madrasas* in Cairo without mentioning that he stayed in one of them. In Damietta and Hiw he mentions *madrasas*. In Asna and in another anonymous town in Egypt he is hosted by a judge. In an anonymous place he stays in a *ribat* and in Bahnasa he is hosted by a *sheikh*. On the way from Egypt to the countries of Levant, in every town he mentions staying in a *zawiya* and at every stopping station on the roads there is a *khan*.

In Levant, in Ghawr valley, by the "well of the Prophet Yusuf", in Karak Nuh, in Hisn al-Akrad, outskirts of Homs, in Antakya and in Jabla he mentions zawiyas. In Damascus he mentions he mentions a *mardrasa* and a scholar who befriended and hosted him. Somewhere also he is hosted by a judge.

In Mecca, he mentions a *ribat* and a *madrasa* where he stayed. On the way from Mecca to Iraq Ibn Battuta accompanies an Iraqi caravan, the chief of which takes Ibn Battuta under his protection and provides for him. Ibn Battuta says that on each station on the road that they passed there were water wells or other water providing systems.

[295] Khasbak, *Ibn Battuta wa Rihlatuhu*, 236.

In Iraq, in Najaf, the whereabouts of the tomb of the Companion Ali, there are many *zawiyas*, *madrasas* and *khanqas*. In Basra he stays in a *ribat* and mentions that there is a *zawiya*. In a place he is hosted by a *sheikh*. In Abbadan he says that there are many mosques and *ribats*. Somewhere anonymous, by the seashore there is a *ribat* and a *zawiya* beside each other where Ibn Battuta stays. On the way from Iraq to Iran, on plains inhabited by Kurds, at each stopping stage there is a *zawiya*.

In Iran, in Shushtar, Idhaj, Isfahan, Kaleel, Sarma village, Shiraz, Kazarun, Karbala, Tabreez and Mosul Ibn Battuta mentions *zawiyas*. In Iran, Ibn Battuta mentions twice that he had to pass through mountains and that at each *manzil* (stopping station) there is a *zawiya*. He also mentions that in the areas of Sultan Atabeg, there are *zawiyas* in each *manzil*. In Shushtar and Karbala he also mentions *madrasas*. Outside of Yazdikhwast there is a *ribat*. In the village of Ain Rasd there is a *khan*. In Shiraz he is hosted by a *sheikh*, in Mardin by the governor and a *sheikh*.

In Yemen, the Horn of Africa and Oman, in Hali he is hosted by the governor, in Sarja by some merchants, in Taiz by the Sultan and a chief judge, in Aden by merchants and a judge, and in Zabeed by some scholars. In Jibla he mentions a *zawiya*. In Mogadishu he stays in a student house, in Hurmuz, an anonymous island and Lar in *zawiyas*. In Dhafar he is hosted by a judge and in Kalhat by a Sultan.

In Anatolia, *akhi* organizations were prevalent and almost in all the cities that Ibn Battuta visits in Anatolia he stays in one of their *zawiya*s. The following cities and other places he mentions one by one by name and mentions staying at a *zawiya* in each: Antalya, Golhisar, Denizli, Mugla, Milas, Pechin, Konya, Aksaray, Nigde, Kayseri, Sivas, Amasya, Gumushane, Erzincan, Birgi, Tira, Izmir, Manisa, Bergama, Balikesir, Bursa, Gurle village, Geyve, Tarakli-Venijesi, Mudurnu, Bolu, Gerede, Katamonu, Sinop, an anonymous place and a village. Ibn Battuta also stays for one night at a *zawiya* on a high mountain with no buildings or habitants except the *zawiya* which is built by some of the *akhi fityan*, who made the taxes and income of a certain village for the funding of this *zawiya* and its guests.

In the cities of Antalya, Egirdir and Safranbolu he stays in *madrasa*s, too. In Burdur, Sparta, Denizli, Milas, Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, Birgi, Izmir, Bergama, Iznik, Mekece village, Kastamonu and Sinop Ibn Battuta mentions being hosted either by a *qadi*(judge), an imam (a preacher), the sultan of the province, a sultan's wife, an emir, a scholar of religion, a governor or simply a high-ranked person. In Goynuk, which had non-Muslim population he mentions being hosted by a non-Muslim old woman and in a certain village he just mentions that they were fed.[296]

After Anatolia, in Kafa, which was inhabited by Christians Ibn Battuta stays in a mosque. In the territories of Uzbeg Khan, in Qiram, Sijijan, Azov, Tsarev and Majar he stays in *zawiyas*. In Qiram and Azov he is hosted by the governors. When in the areas of Sultan Uzbeg Khan, Ibn Battuta was a royal guest hosted by the Sultan, his wives and daughter.

In Constantinople which was notunder Muslim rule, Ibn Battuta went under the protection of Sultan Uzbeg Khan and his wife, whom Ibn Battuta accompanied to Constantinople. Therefore, in Constantinople he was a royal guest.

In India, Ibn Battuta served as a judge in the court of Sultan Muhammad Shah for many years. He mentions *zawiyas* in Bhakhar, in an anonymous place, in Burjupur and in Songarh. He says that there is a road of six months in distance and in each stopping station there is a *zawiya*. In a city he mentions staying in a big marasa. In Malabar every half a mile there is a wooden house with where travellers can stay. In Eli there is a big central mosque in which there is a school with kitchen where food is made for visitors. In Darmapattanam, which consists of non-Muslim population there is a mosque where visitor Muslims can stay when they come. In Calicut and Kollam there are *zawiyas*.

In Maldives, he talks about a custom of hospitality that the local people of a certain island have, which I have mentioned in the previous section. In the island of Kannaluus

[296] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 2: 161-163, 167-168, 171-172, 175, 176-181, 183-187, 189-196, 200-201, 205-210; Gibb, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, 124.

he is hosted by a pious man and a scholar. Ibn Battuta also mentions being hosted by ordinary men in two places. In the island where the queen resides he is hosted by the queen and her vizier. He is hosted by the people in the town of Minneri-Mandel. In two other places he is also received by Sultans. In Bengal, in mount Kamaru he stays in a *zawiya*. After Ibn Battuta has gained some fame and status after being a judge in the court of Sultan Muhammad Shah, almost in every island that he visits afterward in the South India he is hosted by Sultans and rulers as a royal guest.

In the lands of China which were not under Muslim rule, Ibn Battuta mentions that in each city there was a Muslim town, with a mosque, a market and a Muslim judge. There Ibn Battuta is also hosted by scholars and ordinary people, who are happy to meet a Muslim coming from Muslim lands.[297] He is also hosted by the non-Muslim ruler of a city and is honoured.[298] In other cities he also mentions staying as a guest in the house of the ruler of the city.[299]

In Andalusia, in Jabal al-Fath he stays with the judge, in Granada he stays in a *zawiya*. He also mentions other *zawiyas* which he visited in Granada. In Bani Riyah village he stays with its *sheikh*. In Central Africa, in Iwalatan he is hosted by the people of the town, in Mali he is hosted by the Sultan, in Gao by an ordinary man and a judge, in Tekda also he is hosted by the Sultan.

[297] Al-Tazi, *Rihlatu Ibn Battuta*, 4:139.
[298] Ibid, 147.
[299] Ibid, 151.

Conclusion

This study describes the ethic of hospitality in Islamicate civilization in its normative and practical dimensions. The aim of the study is to to answer the questions of what is the Islamic conception of hospitality in the primary normative sources of the Islamic tradition and whether and how these hospitality norms were put into practice in the Islamic civilization history.

The normative dimension of the hospitality ethic is the analysis of the concept of hospitality i.e. *dhiyafa* and its derivatives in the Quran and the *Sunnah*of the Prophet Muhammad. Hospitality in the Quran and the *Sunnah* is conceptualized through the concepts of *dhayf*, which means guest in general and *ibn al-sabeel*, which is a traveller-guest. The concept of *ibn al-sabeel* is of special importance in the hospitality context because *ibn al-sabeel* is a traveller and a stranger. The special status and treatment of *ibnal-sabeel* in the Islamic tradition depicts the opennes and hospitable nature of the Islamicate civilization. It can also be generally observed that the good of the guest was the primary concern in the context of hospitality.

Apart from the concept of hospitality in the Quran and the *Sunnah* I looked at the ethic of hospitality in the *futuwwa* tradition, because it was the codification of Islamic ethics, hospitality, altruism and generosity being the base of the *futuwwa* code. The *futuwwa* ethic was the manual of the *futuwwa* brotherhoods. The quarters of these *futuwwa* brotherhoods were named *zawiya*. *Zawiyas* were practical manifestations of the hosptiality in the Islamicate civilization because of their functions as guest-houses for hosting travellers and guests.

The practical dimension of hospitality is how the Islamic norms of hospitality were applied and practiced in the Islamicate civilization. I analyzed Ibn Battuta's travelogue, the *Rihla*, as a case study in this context. The scope and detailed-ness of Ibn Battuta's travelogue makes it a good source for gaining organic information on the real life of the Muslim societies in the fourteenth century. I divided the types of hospitality that he was

received with into four categories depending on the degree of need: protection and shelter, food and water, supplementary gifts, bath etc… and showing honour. These were the general patterns of hospitality that Ibn Battuta mentioned accross his travelogue in addition to some different customs of hospitality pertaining to certain locales. The open-handedness that he was received with along his travels can not be overstated. He was received by individuals individually but was mainly received in institutions such as *zawiyas* and *madrasas.* Across the travelogue *zawias* were the most mentioned institons that he was hosted in, along with *madrasas, khans* and *ribats.* He was welcomed in the *zawiyas* where, as a visitor and *ibn al-sabeel* (traveller-guest), he was accommodated and fed free of charge. I also talk about some of these institutions which , besides having other functions in society, were also used as guest houses were all travellers and visitors were welcomed. These institutions were manifestations and applications of the Islamic values and norms of hospitality on institutional and individual levels.

By analyzing the *Rihla* it can be observed that there is an overlap between the norms of hospitality in the Islamic tradition and the practice. Except for two instances were Ibn Battuta is openly critical of the hospitality that he was received with, he was received with great generosity and open-handedness which he describes in detail, throughout his travels which lasted for 29 years and covered most of the Eastern Hemisphere of the time. It can also be observed that Ibn Battuta mostly mentions staying at *zawiyas* along his travels and gives a certain emphasis on the hospitality of the *futuwwa* brotherhood in Anatolia, this being one of the reasons for the importance of mentioning *futuwwa* in this study. From Ibn Battuta's narrations we can also observe that in the *zawiyas* and other institutions that he stayed at there was always food and accommodation for travellers and guests. He also mostly mentions three days of accommodation, which is the norm of the hospitality in Islam. Thanks to these institutions, Ibn Battuta would never be concerned about where he could stay or eat throughout his travels.

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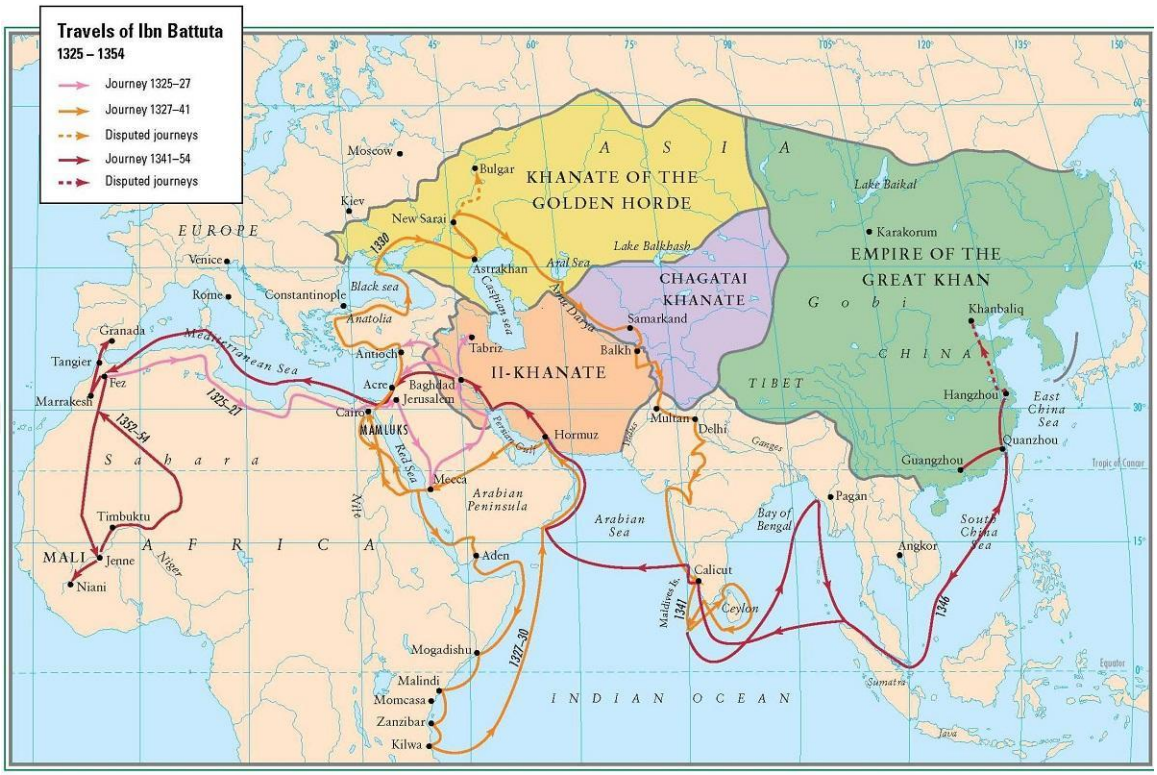

Ibn Battuta's Route