

Sufism and Travel Literature: Soul Captivity in Ḥājj Sayyāḥ's Knowledge-Seeking Journey in *Safarnāmah-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang*

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Abstract. This paper explores Sufi method of being enlightened through deep reflection in reading a Persian travelogue written by Ḥājj Sayyāḥ entitled, *Safarnāmah-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang* (SHS). After introducing the author and the travelogue background, this study presents the concepts of captivity awareness, knowledge and ignorance which become the basis of the journey in SHS. It then proceeds to the discussion on taming the soul through six ways; physical hardship, renunciation (*zuhd*), poverty, loneliness, illness and the experience of near death in order to escape the idiocy imprisonment. Finally, this paper explains the journey of freedom in SHS according to the framework of Sufi concepts about human conditions in an odyssey towards God. In conclusion, high level of captivity awareness enhances motivation to seek for an escape path from mind or conceptual captivity. Within the site of travel, the “purification” process of imprisoning the soul is enhanced and it provides a path towards the exceptional kind of liberation.

Keywords and phrases: captivity, freedom, knowledge-seeking, ignorance, travel

Introduction

Captivity and freedom are paradoxical concepts, yet they cannot be completely separated from each other. Freedom might be discovered within captivity and imprisonment might happen amidst liberation. In other words, both concepts are always intertwined with each other in any type of journey, either physical, mental or spiritual. Therefore, is it possible to obtain an authentic freedom without having a connection to any notion of captivity? Both concepts are philosophical, and therefore, the validation will be indefinite. Thinking about other mediums of

captivity such as the body, the mind and the nation, they do not have complete power to control either captivity or freedom. In general, external help is needed in order to obtain freedom for the mediums, such as assistance from a master, family members, friends, society and leaders.

However, it is different with the soul as outside intervention is not required to control the notions of captivity or freedom within it. It is completely under the power of the individual, yet it is the most difficult mission compared to the other mediums. This is because the biggest enemy to battle is the self/soul, which is the most personal and significant essence of a human being. Hence, we can say that the ability to control one's own soul provides a genuine freedom that overthrows other notions of captivity.

This paper will examine a Persian travelogue written by Ḥājj Sayyāḥ, entitled *Safarnāmah-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang* (thereafter, SHS), which presents a journey of escaping “ignorance” captivity and heading towards absolute liberation by disciplining the soul. However, to make the regimen effective, the awareness of being in invisible imprisonment is essential. With the achievement of captivity awareness, the soul can be trained with discipline, and only then, will the path towards freedom be available. Firstly, this paper will introduce the author and his travelogue, and then will explain the concepts of captivity awareness, knowledge and ignorance.

The Author and Travelogue Background

Ḥājj Sayyāḥ, whose real name was Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Maḥallātī, was born into a family who emphasised religious education. When he was young, he was sent away to a clerical scholarship in various locations, including Tīhrān (in Iran), Karbalā and Najaf (in Iraq), but did not complete it in the end. His perpetual eagerness to learn and discover new things was stunted by a lack of opportunities. The prospects of an arranged marriage with his own cousin, a pre-determined life path as a typical cleric and the unstable Iranian political conditions that caused the people unwarranted misfortune (Ferdowsi 1982a, 1982b), culminated in his decision to pursue a personal journey, despite insufficient funds and preparation. Staying true to his known name, Sayyāḥ, which means “traveller”, he undertook intermittent voyages around the world over a 20-year period (Sayyāḥ 1984, 10; Ferdowsi 2015, 126)¹ and successfully penned a number of travel diaries (Sayyāḥ 1984, 1967).² His domestic and foreign expeditions were significant as they marked the meeting of an Iranian with the outer world, especially with the West, hence the importance of his travel narratives in the study of Iran in the 19th century (Ferdowsi 2015, 123–126). Sayyāḥ was also the first Iranian to become naturalised

as an American citizen, whilst also being the pioneer of modernist travel writers and contemporary jail diary authors. Furthermore, Sayyāh experienced physical imprisonment for 22 months between 1891 and 1893 due to political issues (Ferdowsi 1982a, 1982b).

SHS is not particularly a Sufi manuscript, however the tropes and ambience of the Persian travelogue mirror the characteristics of Sufism, or Islamic mysticism (Ferdowsi 2015, 123), as it portrays the way in which Sayyāh deals with worldly and spiritual constraints. It depicts Sayyāh's spontaneous travel adventure while being ill-equipped in preparation and experience. With dependence on God, he interprets his poor state as being unrestricted by any form of worldly captivity. The early stages of his journey were centred on the concept of *zuhd*, a period of extreme simplicity during which he travelled mostly by foot, slept where he could and ate whatever was available. However, he felt contented and enjoyed his freedom from being bound to tradition and society's expectations. His body, constantly subjected to pain from fatigue and hunger, put him in a position to strengthen his reliance on, and relationship with, God. He pushed against his physical boundaries to pursue his dream of *ṭalab al-'ilm*. This copied the image of a dervish in Sufism, who led a life of extreme minimalism. Therefore, Sayyāh represented the essence of Sufism, which was tolerating scarcity by fully submitting to God and achieving completeness through selflessness (Al-Qushayri 2007, 290).

The later part of the travelogue shows a tendency towards modernity through a focused description of the Western advancement. This inclination does not correspond with the typical Sufi element, which only emphasises spiritual matters. Peter Avery (1998, 12) claims that the obvious paradoxical Sufi style in SHS highlights the misconception in Sufism concerning the neglect of realistic elements. This might be a reason for Sayyāh to consider himself as a liberal dervish, as he did not fit the criteria of a typical Sufi. Nevertheless, the concept of Sufism is portrayed in a particular style through the dialogical display of active perseverance in eschewing dependence on worldly matters and a high level of contentment in extreme conditions.

The Critical Reception of the Travelogue

Since Sayyāh is considered to be one of the most influential people in the history of modern Iran, due to his political activities (Ferdowsi 1982a, 1982b),³ his writings attract researchers. This is especially true of SHS as it describes the first encounter of a modern Iranian with the Western world. With major self-revolution apparent throughout the journey, SHS has mostly been studied through the concept of transformation. Therefore, the evolution of a “zero” into a “hero” might have led

SHS to be perceived not only as a travel narrative, but also as a Bildungsroman piece (Ferdowsi 2015, 124; Pedersen 2012, 82). Kamran Rastegar (2007, 9) in his book *Literary Modernity between the Middle East and Europe*, emphasises Sayyāḥ's skill of incorporating the ideas of personal growth within the travel narrative framework. Despite the odyssey being one of individual developments, in general Sayyāḥ is "silent" about his private matters but focuses instead on the theme of transformation. Therefore, Rastegar (2007, 84) commends SHS as one of the pioneers in breaking the author-focused context in travel narratives by presenting a subject-focused travelogue.

On the other hand, Ali Ferdowsi, in his article "Hājī Sayyāḥ: Fashioning a Self by Exploring the World", claims that Sayyāḥ is silent in expressing his personal transformation. Instead of telling, he "presents" his progress through his encounters with the modernity of the foreign world. Therefore, Ali suggests that Sayyāḥ incorporates the notion of performativity by relaying his development process through modernisation. Nevertheless, Sayyāḥ is not easily affected by culture shock, instead he "interprets" the alien modernity to fit his audience's capacity by fashioning himself accordingly (Ferdowsi 2015, 125–126).

Meanwhile, in the article "Pre-Modern and Early Modern Persian Literature: Written While Travelling?", Claus V. Pedersen asserts that Sayyāḥ voices his contradictory ideas boldly (compared with other Iranians of his time), for instance, in his preference towards the systemisation and freedom of human rights as the keys to a developed society (Pedersen 2012, 80). His evolution, from being a traditionalist to becoming a modernist, led to a wider perspective of freedom. Moreover, since he had no expectant readers, such as a patron, he was not forced to restrict himself in expressing his reflections and his literary style. The mission of gaining freedom from the prison of ignorance served as an inspiration for the distinctive narrative style in SHS. Perhaps this is why the information in SHS appears raw and lacks proper organisation in its relevance. At times, Sayyāḥ mentioned an event without any significance, as if he was recording a travel report by gathering extensive information. His friend even criticised his hastiness in visiting so many places in such a short period of time. There seems to be a pattern of short visits in SHS, where Sayyāḥ visited a location briefly, recorded his experience there and left. Despite the brief visits, he documented everything for his travelogue. From this perspective, SHS can be viewed as a very passionate knowledge seeker's notebook, a travel guidebook that contains a plethora of information or a "thesis" that proves that travelling can be a tool to escape ignorance and to gain a more meaningful freedom.

Consequently, this sparks curiosity about the interaction between freedom and captivity in SHS, because the fight for, and focus on, freedom usually originate from the pressure of being stuck in notions of captivity. Unfortunately, there is still a lack of studies that focus on the interplay between captivity and freedom, especially ones that involve spiritual and mental aspects. Although, later in his life, Sayyāh eventually falls into physical captivity due to political controversy, this paper will focus on the interrelation of conceptual captivity and freedom specifically within the soul.

The Concepts of Captivity Awareness, Knowledge and Ignorance⁴

گفتم آقای من، من اگر صاحب علم وفهم بودم چرا بهر دیار سرگردان می گشتم
و بقدریکه میدانستم از معنی آن گفتم وبعد عرض کردم وضع مملکت ما این
است که شخص باید زحمتهای بکشد و تصدیق نامه بگیرد آنوقت به ایالت به او
خدمت رجوع میشود و من بنده را حالت جوانی و تن پروری مانع از تحصیل
گردید، بعد از آنکه قبح نادانی را دانستم دیگر روی ماندن و تکلم با مردم نداشته
فرار کردم، الحال نزد اهل علم نمی توانم صحبت بدارم ولی چون اینجاها
غریب کسی نمیداند که من نمیدانم.

(Sayyāh 1984, 224–225)

“If I had knowledge, sir, I wouldn’t be wandering in the countries of the world,” and added, “In my country, one should study with effort and get a certificate. Then in accordance with his ability he can have a position, but laziness prevented me from studying in my youth. When I realized the defects of ignorance, I was ashamed to encounter people, and I escaped. Even now I cannot speak with an intellectual. But, as I am a foreigner, nobody knows that I am uneducated.”

(Sayyāh 1998, 167)⁵

During a conversation with a wise Swedish man who knows Arabic, Hājī Sayyāh revealed his awareness of the “prison houses” in his life: the entrapment in negligence, in his inferiority complex, and particularly, in ignorance. In light of this realisation, Sayyāh looked for a path to liberation, which he found in travelling. The word *farār kardam*, which means “I escaped”, signifies his withdrawal from interacting with people who made him feel ashamed of his inadequacy. From another perspective, it connotes his attempts to free himself from the captivity of ignorance. This escape mission is reinforced by the active voice of captivity awareness in the Persian travelogue, *Safarnāmah-i Hājī Sayyāh bih Farang*, as Sayyāh continuously lamented his entrapment in a prison of idiocy. He was

determined to set himself free by surviving through numerous layers of escape gateways. Firstly, he left his own community to avoid its suffocating traditions, particularly the arranged marriage to his cousin. Secondly, he fled from his homeland, which was restrictive in terms of a lack of opportunities and resources.

‘Alī Dihbāshī, the editor of SHS, asserts that, despite the active escape theme demonstrated by the fleeing from home, family, conventional customs, stereotypical study styles and Iranian politics, Sayyāḥ did not actually abandon self as he tried earnestly to promote his individuality (Sayyāḥ 1984, 14). How did Hājī Sayyāḥ’s escape mission to being a liberated individual, influence his narrative? What is the role of travelling in his mission towards liberation? Before continuing with the analysis, this paper will discuss the concepts of knowledge versus ignorance for a better understanding of the ignorance prison and efforts of escaping it.

According to William C. Chittick, in his book entitled *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn Al-‘Arabi’s Metaphysics of Imagination*, knowledge can either be referred to as ‘ilm or as *ma‘rifah* in the Sufi world. ‘Ilm is gained through Islamic or Sufi coaching, therefore, it is naturally translated as “sciences” and “doctrine”. On the other hand, *ma‘rifah* is comparable with the uninterrupted wisdom gained through revelation, observation and experience, so Sufis mostly consider *ma‘rifah* to be more privileged than ‘ilm, and therefore, the common translation for *ma‘rifah* is gnosis (knowledge of spiritual mysteries) (Chittick 1989, 148–149). In the case of SHS, the focus is on seeking ‘ilm rather than *ma‘rifah*, as frequently narrated, for instance:

به زبان ارمنی پرسید چه می کنی؟
گفتم: نقد عمری بهای کرایه نشستن بر زمین صرف می کنم.
گفت: چه مرضی بر شما عارض شده؟
گفتم: نادانی

(Sayyāḥ 1984, 55)

He asked me in Armenian what I did.
I said, “I spend my life as rent for living on earth.”
He asked, “What is your illness?”
I answered, “Ignorance.”

(Sayyāḥ 1998, 44)

The awareness of being stuck in ignorance makes the mission to seek knowledge throughout the travel become clear and persistent. In SHS, the *ṭalab al-‘ilm* journey was notably focused on the effort of learning numerous languages,

which then led to amassing information on anthropology, geography and psychology. Although Sayyāḥ's target knowledge did not seem to fit the typical Sufi category of knowledge, it was still reasonable to classify it in the "*ilm*" group.

Being incompetent in the science of languages makes Sayyāḥ felt useless and helpless. The condition built an invisible prison of ignorance that made him feel suffocated, hence his persistence in finding a way to break through. According to Ibn 'Arabī, knowledge will only become compatible with the soul and generate pure happiness with every level of development through its constant application with faith (Chittick 1989, 152). In Sayyāḥ's case, after fleeing from a series of challenging circumstances in his homeland, he was finally alone; however, he was still imprisoned in ignorance and this ignited an internal confrontation. How can a battle with his own soul help him to gain freedom? His soul was deemed as being spoilt, in the comfort zone of ignorance, due to past laziness. It was incompatible with knowledge, and therefore, he planned paradoxically to achieve freedom from the prison of ignorance by choosing the imprisonment of the soul.

Captivating the Soul

In Sufism, the soul (*nafs*) is not considered as the body or the being. Similar to the spirit (*rūḥ*), the soul is an exquisite essence in the physical body. In binary opposition, the spirit stores the positive attributions, while the soul records the negative aspects. These components are constantly battling each other, signifying the characteristics of a human being (Al-Qushayri 2007, 109). Referring to SHS, apart from the lack of opportunity, Sayyāḥ admitted that laziness was the weakness that contributed towards his idiocy. Laziness resides in the *nafs* and hinders development. Therefore, the *nafs* has to be tamed and managed so that it does not overthrow the *rūḥ*. A renowned Sufi master, Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, listed the hardships required to achieve the noble level of managing the *nafs*.

No one will ever attain the degree of the righteous until he has overcome six obstacles: first, that he shut the door of bounty and open the door of hardship; second, that he shut the door of vainglory and open the door of humility; third, that he shut the door of response and open the door of earnest striving; fourth, that he shut the door of sleep and open the door of night vigil; fifth, that he shut the door of wealth and open the door of poverty; sixth, that he shut the door of hope [for a better future] and open the door of readiness for death. (Al-Qushayri 2007, 119)

Correspondingly, SHS depicts these difficulties in Sayyāḥ's spontaneous expedition to Europe, which indicated his determination in the inner battle. In other words, Sayyāḥ purposely puts his soul in captivity during his significant mission towards

his freedom from ignorance and then the captive soul was trained vigorously at the travel site. In Sufism, travel (*safar*) is classified into two categories: the physical journey, which involves movement through spaces, and the spiritual voyage, which is linked to inner improvement. Physical travel is optional in Sufism but a few people, such as Ibrāhīm ibn Adham and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, spent their whole lives in a state of travel during their missions of “finding” God (Al-Qushayri 2007, 297). In SHS, Sayyāḥ single-mindedly disciplined his soul during the expedition, which was like the analogy of taming a pet by chaining it. The effort to break free from the “prison of ignorance” proves that the travelogue transcends the typical elements of physical travel. In general, SHS displays six chains in capturing the soul, namely physical hardship, renunciation, poverty, loneliness, illness and being on the verge of death, which are particularly intense during the travel’s early phase.

Physical Hardship

هر چه اصرار کرد سوار نماید قبول ننمودم. بالجمله رفتیم تا به کاروانسرای رسیدیم. قدری که آسوده شدم پاهایم گرفت بنحوی که نمی توانستم حرکت کنم. چند تا ول هم از زیر انگشتها بروز کرد. دیدم سایر پیاده ها گردو را گرفته بر پا می مالند و از پشکل شتر دود می دهند. خواستم گردو بگیرم پول سیاه نداشتم، صاحب گردو هم پول سیاه نداشت. ناچار به همان پشکل شتر دود داده شب را روز آوردم.

بنای رفتن رسید. دیدم قوه حرکت ندارم. باز تصور کردم در راه مردن بهتر است از عاجز بودن. بالجمله بهر مشقتی که بود رفتم. قدری که رفتم پاهایم باز شد، چنانچه جلو قافله می رفتم. رفته رفته آبله پاها بهتر شد.

(Sayyāḥ 1984, 26–27)

He insisted that I should ride with him, but I refused. When I wanted to get up I had cramp in my legs and could not move. I also noticed that a few blisters had appeared under my toes. I saw that travellers on foot rubbed walnuts on their feet and held their feet in the smoke of burning camel dung. I did not have any change to buy walnuts, so I spent the night by keeping my feet in the smoke of the burning dung.

The next morning, at the time of setting off I was not able to move, but I preferred to die on the road than to stay disabled. Therefore, with great difficulty I started walking. After a short distance, my legs warmed up, and I was in front of the caravan. The blister on my toes got better too.

(Sayyāḥ 1998, 20).

In this excerpt, Sayyāḥ preferred walking in harsh conditions even though, in the beginning, he was offered a place in a caravan. This marked the first chain for the soul, which was “physical hardship”. In fact, during the journey’s early stages, almost all kinds of travel facilities were rejected, despite their availability. Any form of comfort during the travel might become a distraction from the mission. Cramps and blisters were not a hindrance as they became an encouragement and achievement in the journey. Physical pain served as a “whip” that stopped the soul from going wild and ensured its focus on the goal.

Renunciation (*Zuhd*)

Sayyāḥ maintained his lifestyle of extreme minimalism, especially at the beginning of his travel, indicating the second chain for the soul, which was “renunciation” (*zuhd*). Ibn al-‘Arabī indicated that *zuhd* might be useful in the early stages of a journey, as Sayyāḥ went through, but it could not be maintained to the extreme, since the world was the most notable indication of God’s power. He did not recognise it as an indicator of excellence in the path towards God, because renouncing the world might lead to a decrease in knowing God through His creations (Chittick 1989, 157).

Nevertheless, *zuhd* played an important role as the chain for the soul in Sayyāḥ’s mission since it made him concentrate on *ṭalab al-‘ilm*, instead of being indulged in comfort. Ibn Jallā’ explained that renunciation highlights worldly matters as temporal and leading to nothing, therefore easing the process of abandoning life’s mundane issues (Al-Qushayri 2007, 135). SHS displayed great perseverance in extremely unsatisfactory conditions.

من به سکو بر آمده پاره آجری بالین نموده عبا را نیمی فرش و نیمی لحاف،
 خوابیدم. ولی باطنا خوشحال بودم که چندان از کسی منت نکشیدم. ولی پارس
 سگها و سرمای زمستان و فریاد شاگرد داروغه ها نگذاشت لحظه ای بیاسایم.
 به علاوه موش هم در زیر عبایم به اقسام مختلف آزارم می کرد. گاهی هم
 سگی حمله می آورد ولی به حکم (غیر تسلیم و رضا کوچاره [ای])، از هر
 جهت آسوده بودم.

(Sayyāḥ 1984, 37–38)

I climbed the platform. I used a brick for a cushion and as usual used half of my robe as a mattress and the other half for covering myself and tried to sleep. Deep in my heart I was glad that I was under nobody’s obligation for a place for the night. But the barking of the dogs, the cold weather, and the shouting of the night watch boys did not let me have

any peace even for a second. Also, there were mice wandering in my robe. Once in a while a dog attacked me. I could not help it and had to be content.

(Sayyāh 1998, 29)

The excerpt demonstrates Sayyāh's utterly simple sleeping conditions, with a brick as a pillow, a platform as a bed, cold weather as a heater, barking dogs as music and mice as sleeping partners. Moreover, the only garment that Sayyāh had was the robe on his body, which also served as a blanket. Nevertheless, he maintained his hygiene by washing and drying his clothes at the lake every week. The various shortcomings in his life boosted his passion for knowledge, eliminated any possible distractions and constantly alerted him about his captivity.

Poverty

The third chain was poverty, which led to extreme hunger. Its high importance in training his soul led SHS to dedicate a section to the issues of poverty and starvation.

دیدم بسیار گرسنه ام. بحدی که بتکلم قادر نیستم. بخیال افتادم که نزد بعضی از آشنایان بروم باز پشیمان شدم. دیدم مردن بهتر است از التجا به خلق بردن. باز خود گفتم حفظ بدن واجب است. چاره ای باید کرد. باز بدلم گذشت که روزی دهنده می بیند که تو گرسنه و به چه حالتی. ناچار به همان وضع راضی شده و خود را مشغول به کتاب داشتم؛ باز بخیالم رسید که تو نزدیک به مردنی و می خواهی چیز بیاموزی؟

(Sayyāh 1984, 51)

I was very hungry, so much so that I could not speak. It came to my mind that I could go to some people I knew, but I then thought dying was far better than begging. Still I thought that protection of the body was compulsory, and I had to do something. But I said to myself that the Benefactor knew in what condition I was. So, I resisted and kept busy with my book. I realized that I was close to death. How could I learn?

(Sayyāh 1984, 51)

Notably, intense hunger significantly weakened the body. However, Sayyāh would not resort to begging as he considered that the action would potentially distract from the training of his soul. His stubbornness was parallel to the concept of servanthood (*'ubūdīyah*). According to al-Nibājī, "the root of servant hood was

in three things: you must not oppose any of His rulings; you must not withhold anything from Him; you must never be heard asking for something from someone other than Him” (Al-Qushayri 2007, 212). In this case, Sayyāh refused to seek for help from others, despite his hunger, as he only depended on God. However, this did not mean that he did not have to exert any effort. At one point, he used the barter system by exchanging small handkerchiefs made from his turban for yogurt and bread.

Loneliness

As a solo traveller who embarked on a solitary journey in distressing conditions, Sayyāh did feel isolated. Despite the pain of isolation, he shackled his soul with the fourth chain, which was “loneliness”. Remarkably, Sayyāh found a travel companion (*ṣaḥabah*) who was willing to undergo both the hardship and the good times with him during several parts of the expedition. Even so, he was still alone for the majority of the travel period, accompanied purely by solitude. This occasionally transformed into homesickness.

از آنجا به اردو باد معاودت نموده و از اردو باد به جانب نخجوان. چون راه هموار است سوار عراده گردیده روانه شدم. در عرض راه که می رفتم ایران نمایان بود زیرا که نیم فرسخ مسافت داشت به رود ارس. آنجا به دلم گذشت که سیاحت بس است، بیایم به ایران. رفته رفته دیدم خیال قوت می گیرد، چشم از ایران گردانیدم و به خود گفتم حال که قدم در وادی سیاحت نهادی، جهد کن بلکه بعون الهی بیشتر آبادی عالم را تماشا کنی، هر چه مقدر است خواهد شد، اگر قسمت مراجعت به ایران داری بعد از سیاحت برو که کور نباشی و اگر عمرت بسر رسد خدای هر دو جهان یکی است و همه جا ملک اوست. به همین خیالات خود را سر گرم داشته تا از دره ای که ایران از نظر محو شد گذشتم.

(Sayyāh 1984, 382–384)

I returned to Ordubad and then to Nakhichevan. I went by cart. The road was smooth. As the cart moved on, at one point, my country Iran came in view. It was only three kilometres away from the Aras River. The view of Iran tempted me to go back to my country. I thought it was enough traveling. Gradually the idea of going back to Iran became stronger, As a traveller I should try to see more of the world and then go home with a better knowledge of the world; and if I don't survive there is no difference where I die. I believe that God is unique and all the world is His. With those reflections, I amused myself until I passed the valley and there was no more sight of Iran.

(Sayyāh 1998, 282)

As he moved closer to Iran's border, his homesickness led him to think about terminating the journey. Nevertheless, his self-assurance and determination to be free from the grip of idiocy allowed him to ignore the temptation and to continue the expedition. In later parts of his travel, he appreciated the "sweetness" of loneliness, as it provided him with the "chance to live his dream and is like a friend who never offends him" (Sayyāh 1998, 346).

Illness

"Illness" was the fifth chain for the soul when the journey's harsh conditions caused Sayyāh's health to deteriorate rapidly.

ولی من چنان در ضعف بودم که گمان به منزل رسیدن نداشتم و بسیار دلتنگ
بودم که اینقدر ذلت چرا. چرا نمی میرم. اجل مرا می گذارد و جوانهای با
وجود را می برد. در اینحال گفت شما را چه می شود. گفتم اگر قدری بیاسایم
خوبست و سر را بر میز نهادم. نفس شمار ، چنانچه گویا الان تسلیم می کنم.

(Sayyāh 1984, 56)

I was so weak, I imagined I would never be able to reach home. It was very sad that I had to bear so much suffering. Why didn't I die? How could it be explained? I lived despite my condition while healthy capable youths died. My host asked me what was wrong with me. I put my head on the table and told him that I had better rest for a while. It was hard for me to breathe, and I thought my life would end there and then.

(Sayyāh 1998, 45)

Consequently, the weakness ignited Sayyāh's sadness and doubts; his questions echoed tones of regret and surrender. Loneliness and helplessness, coupled with little to no strength, made him feel stuck between life and death. However, the comparison between his weak, yet living, self and the healthy, yet dying, youth indicated his undying spirit. Weakness encouraged him to be more passionate about knowledge.

The Verge of Death

In SHS, the concept of death was never portrayed as something frightening. This was because the "brink of death" was the sixth chain for the soul. Sayyāh faked his death to his family members in order to gain the freedom to pursue his dreams and to save them from the misery of waiting. A few times in the travelogue, dying was

shown to be preferred over living as an ignorant person or a flatterer. Apart from that, his awareness about captivity usually increased when he anticipated death.

با هزار زحمت خود را بسرا رسانیده با نهایت صعوبت از پاه ها بالا رفتم به نحوی که دستی به زانو و دستیم به دیوار بود. در را گشوده به روی تختۀ مرحمتی دربان افتادم و ابدأ خیالی به غیر مرگ متصورم نبود. لهذا در را بستم که کسی نیاید و آزارم نکند و خیال می کردم که منتهای زندگی من در این عالم چند ساعتی خواهد بود و دلم را به محسنات مرگ خوش می کردم و شکر می نمودم. چون عالم غریبی آنوقت مشاهده می نمودم و با خود گفتگوها داشتم. شرح آن مطالب بی لطف نیست، شاید دیگران را تجربیتی حاصل آید. بالجمله همه خیالام متوجه مرگ بود و فوائد آنرا بخاطر می آوردم. مثلا خیال می کردم احتیاج بهتر است یا مرگ؟ حبس بودن بهتر است یا مرگ؟ حمل بار گران کردن بهتر است یا مرگ؟ به این خیالات رفته رفته شوق بی اندازه ای به مردن بهم رسانیدم.

(Sayyāḥ 1984, 54)

I climbed the stairs by having one hand on my knee and the other on the wall. I opened the door and fell on the board that the gatekeeper had given me. I had nothing in mind but waited for death. I locked the door so that nobody would bother me. I thanked God and consoled myself in considering good points of death. I imagined a strange world at that time. I believe it is proper to mention my experience for others. All I had in mind was death and the benefits of dying. I compared, for instance, indigence versus dying, and which was preferable; imprisonment or dying; carrying heavy burdens or dying. These comparisons gave me an eagerness of death.

(Sayyāḥ 1998, 42)

The vivid description provided the melancholic tone of someone who was simply waiting for death. Even though the condition was depressing, the feelings of contentment and serenity were evident. The comparisons of death with other elements highlighted Sayyāḥ's preference towards the former. This also connotes high levels of captivity consciousness, which made him willing to sacrifice anything for liberation. In other words, death was more desirable than letting himself become a prisoner of any condition or ideology.

Overall, SHS presented six chains for the soul in preparing for refuge from idiocy. In no particular order, they were physical hardship, renunciation, poverty, loneliness, sickness and the verge of death. Notably, the physical body played a

vital role, as each chain tested the physical body to its extreme limits. Tarek El-Ariss in his book, *Trials of Arab Modernity: Literary Affects and the New Political*, also viewed the haggard body of a traveller as depicted in Arabic travel narrative as a site to solve and create the complicated modernity encounter between the East and the West. For him, “The body signifies, performs, and breaks down by collapsing as well as dismantling the master narratives of European civilization and of Arab modernity alike” (El-Ariss 2013, 176). In the case of SHS, both the body and the soul were training hard to prepare for breaking out from the prison of ignorance, before the mind was ready to absorb all the wisdom. In other words, the six chains were in harmony in using the body as a training tool in the path towards freedom.

From another perspective, the chains of the soul, which portrayed acute hardship, were similar to the stages in Sufism known as *maqām*. The “stage” (*maqām*) was gained through actions, as opposed to the “state” (*ḥāl*), which was linked to supernatural gifts (Cyprian 2012, 32). In order to experience the light of God, Sufis undergo several stages, in an orderly manner, namely: (1) repentance, (2) fear of the Lord (*warāʿ*), (3) detachment (*zuhd*), (4) poverty (*faqr*), (5) patience (*ṣabr*), (6) trust or self-surrender, and (7) contentment (*riḍā*) (Shah 1990). Similar to a Sufi master, Sayyāh also experienced numerous difficulties, or stages, while heading towards the light of knowledge. However, his version of stages was different and was not in a particular order, as he did not fit the characteristics of the common Sufi.

No specific rules or numbers were set for the criteria of *maqām* or *hal*; however, practically, the number was known to be seven. For instance, ‘Attār – the distinguished Persian Sufi poet – introduced his version of stages in his famous piece, *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (The Conference of Birds). He combined the states and stages, presenting seven valleys for the birds’ journey which were: (1) questing and seeking, (2) the value of love, (3) the value of knowledge, (4) detachment, (5) pure unification, (6) bewilderment, and finally (7) poverty and utter loss of self (*fanāʿ*) (Cyprian 2012, 36–38). Attar incorporated Sufi elements in his narrative, but he creatively blended them into his version. Similarly, SHS integrated the Sufi elements of stages in its journey towards freedom, in its own particular style.

The Journey Towards Freedom

Al-Qushayrī defines freedom (*hurīyah*) as not allowing oneself to become a slave to others, with the exception of God (Al-Qushayri 2007, 230). SHS displayed extreme determination in gaining independence from being a slave to ignorance. Its narration of an escape route from conceptual captivity, in the form of actual

physical travel, could be linked to the Sufi concept of the human conditions in the odyssey towards God. No specific names were available for each condition, but they were generally represented in four parts (Shah 1990, 12): (1) humanity (the common condition), (2) discipleship (the presence on the path), (3) actual capability (the beginning of advancement), and (4) unison with the Almighty (the absolute circumstance).

In SHS, these four stages of the journey to freedom can be symbolised by the elements of earth, water, air and fire, which is further explained below. Throughout the expedition, Sayyāḥ had the opportunity to taste fragments of freedom, before he experiences his full version of freedom as a wise man in the final stage. SHS's portrayal of a journey towards knowledge might not be similar to a voyage towards the divine. However, from another perspective, both journeys signified a mission towards liberation from conceptual captivity by striving meticulously to achieve the goal.

Earth

Earth is the first stage, as it is a traveller's regular condition. The earth also connotes immobility, where a person is stuck in a state without any progress, as it is the notion of captivity in an unwanted condition. Referring to SHS, it was displayed in the condition prior to the start of Sayyāḥ's impromptu expedition, when he became aware of his own imprisonment and decides to travel the world.

In addition, he realised that the education system and tradition dialogically strengthen his captivity. Sayyāḥ was educated at schools that were limited to religious matters only, therefore he felt that knowledge diversity was not achievable. Meanwhile, he perceived the tradition in his society of marrying a cousin as limiting and interfering with his intention to find freedom in knowledge. To that end, he was determined to escape his community to undergo a journey towards liberty, with a mission to gain plenty of knowledge and experience.

Water

The second stage is water, which is defined as being on track. This is displayed when "fluidity" towards capability building begins to happen. In this stage, the process might be represented as a plant that starts to grow flowers. The Sufis view this level as "the vegetable stage", depicting the process of vegetable growth from the earth (Shah 1990, 13). This level was illustrated in Sayyāḥ's lonely journey when he was faced with various difficulties. During this journey, Sayyāḥ imprisoned his soul with the six chains explained in the previous subchapters.

Notably, he expressed hints of depression several times throughout the journey and he even contemplated drinking poison if he reached his limit.

First liberation

The tone of the narration of this phase in SHS was a juxtaposition of melancholy and dejection; however, it was gradually lifted upon entering the next phase. In fact, through the intense discomfort, he got his first taste of freedom.

دیدم باز پاها پر آبله شده. حالت سابقه ام مجسم شده قدری با خود صحبت داشته از جهت یادآوری زمان گذشته. بعد برخاسته روانه براه اولسبرخ شدم راه ہماری بود.

قریب نیم فرسخ راه در دو طرف خیابان و باغات و اشجار و انهار و جنگلهای فراوان. ولی تعریف کلی آزادی آنجاست که ابدأ کسی را با کسی کاری نیست. شب و روز و بیابان و آبادی همه یکسان بودند. فی الواقع لذاتی داشت قدم زدن و تنها روی. بشخصی رسیدم، قدری میوه خریدم و آنرا شام خود قرار داده، در نهایت امنیت در همان بیابان بدون بالا پوش راحت خوابیدم.

(Sayyāh 1984, 103)

I noticed that I had blisters on my toes, and this reminded me of my condition in the past. After resting I continued walking to go to Adelsberg. The road was level and smooth. On the two sides of the road for about three kilometres there were garden, streams, and woods. What should be mentioned was the freedom I enjoyed there. Nobody bothered me. Night or day, in wilderness or town, it was the same. It was such a pleasure to walk there all alone. It was so safe that I slept in the open air without any bedding.

(Sayyāh 1998, 83)

No tones of regret or sadness are present, despite the hardships of travelling in a worn-out physical state. On the contrary, the voices of happiness and contentment were clearly demonstrated. His observation of his surroundings became sharper and he managed to enjoy and appreciate nature better. The limitations in his getaway expedition provided a paradoxical reward, namely the serene loneliness, which was an intoxicating freedom that he had never tasted before. He was no longer bound to any tradition, expectation or worldly need, since he was committed to his journey, where only God mattered. With a little taste of freedom, his determination to face all hardships was increased and he strove to maintain this momentum throughout the voyage.

Air

The third level is air, where the real potential evolves and, compared to the previous stages, this is where the progress increases rapidly. This position is symbolised by the animal, which has more active and complicated movements compared to the vegetable (Shah 1990, 13).

Second liberation

Specifically, Sayyāh's main concern was to be knowledgeable and his ultimate strategy in achieving this was by learning various languages. He openly confessed his weakness:

بالجمله بجز جهت زبان ندانی از همه بابت آسوده بودم.

(Sayyāh 1998, 35)

My only handicap was the ignorance of the language.

(Sayyāh 1984, 55)

Sayyāh regarded language as a vital tool in an individual's development; therefore, illiteracy was seen as a chronic disability by him. This explains his dedication to learning as many languages as he could, in whatever circumstances. He repeatedly promoted the importance and benefits of multilingualism. As a dervish who could not afford classes, he adopted a tutorship exchange, where he traded teaching one language for being taught a new language. In the air stage, one of his amazing advancements was his ability to master different languages, including Turkish, Armenian, Russian, Ottoman Turkish, French and English. This achievement might be perceived as Sayyāh's second taste of a freedom fragment, due to its significance in escaping the prison of ignorance.

Third liberation

Travelling became a platform for Sayyāh to gain experiences that shaped his maturity and intelligence. The rate of evolution improved rapidly during the learning and experimenting process, and therefore, Sayyāh experienced the third fragment of freedom through his observational maturity. This was shown through the choice of the discussion themes in the text. Sayyāh always had his own way of viewing the world, be it unpleasant or pleasurable. During his journey to Paris, he described:

در تمام آن شهر یک نفر با لباس چرکین ندیدم. در دل خود شکرها داشتم که البته هر گاه سلطان بودم بدان خوبی سیاحت نمی نمودم زیرا که سلاطین را به مقام گدایان راه نیست ولی درویشان می توانند سیاحت حالات ایشان بنمایند، چه سلاطین را مقصود نمود خود است به مردم و فقرا را منظور دیدن مردم است بحدّ مقصود، بی ترس و بیم بهر جا ه خواهند می روند کسی ایشان را نمی بیند و ایشان همه کس را چنانچه باید می بینند.

(Sayyāh 1984, 159)

In all Paris, I did not see anyone with dirty clothes. I thanked God that I could watch and see everything the way I wanted. This is the advantage of being a common man. If I were a king, I could never see things that way, because kings cannot be in the society of the poor, but the dervish can observe everything well. The reason is that the purpose of the king is to show his appearance to the people, but the purpose of the poor is to see the people the way they are. They move about freely without fear. Nobody notices them, but they see everything and everybody.

(Sayyāh 1984, 55)

The journey to opulent Paris had put Sayyāh in awe of the city's modernity and advancement. The experience deepened his gratitude towards God and his perspective of freedom was represented by the hidden voice underlying his comparison between a dervish and a king. To him, detachment from worldly links provided him with the flexibility to become a unique individual. This enlightened perspective upon life was the result of the challenging voyage that had steered him towards sophistication. With the knowledge and experience he had gained, Sayyāh was eventually put to the test through his observations. The people he met become "case studies" for him to analyse. As he became more insightful, the narration of his perspectives presented a deeper meaning, triggering the readers' interests and thoughts.

Religion

For instance, Sayyāh touched on the concept of religious captivity through his conversation with a Frenchman.

بعد از من پرسید از عجایب چه دیده ای؟ گفتم علی النقد اینکه کلیساها فراوان می بینم و هیچ مدرسه ای مرئی نمی شود. معلوم می شود این مخلوق چندان در فکر تحصیل هنر و علوم نیستند. مثل گل شکفت و گفت نوعی کشیشان اینان را در قفس محبوس کرده اند که ابدأ فرصت اطلاع این امتیازات ندارند می گویند

دنیا ابدأ لازم نیست، باید به فکر آخرت بود و بهشت را می فروشد و سند می دهند. چنانچه حدود آن خانه ها مرقوم است. از این مقوله سخنان خیلی گفتگو کردیم، اما در نهایت آهستگی که مبدا کسی بشنود.

(Sayyāḥ 1984, 275)

In conversation, he wanted to know what I had visited there worth mentioning. I answered: "I have seen many churches and no schools. It seems that the people do not care for education, arts, and science."

Hearing this, he looked at me with delight and said: "The priests have imprisoned them in cages and have made them believe that life in this world is useless. So, they only think about life after death. The priests sell them paradise and give them written documents for it."

We spoke about this subject, but in very low voices for fear of being heard.

(Sayyāḥ 1998, 205)

On the surface, the excerpt provides an impression about the misunderstood dogma of religion as being a prison that oppressed and restricted people's development. However, the double-voices emphasised that it was not religion that was the problem. In fact, it was those who were in charge of spreading and leading ambiguous religious ideologies who should be responsible for the misery caused. Furthermore, the abundance of churches became one of the factors that contributed towards the image of a religious monopoly. Therefore, Sayyāḥ emphasised the idea of building more educational institutions, which could offer a variety of knowledge, rather than only building churches. Religion should not become the solitary driving factor of knowledge seekers. Moreover, the dialogue, which was represented with low voices, denoted another notion of captivity, which was the limitations in freedom of expression.

Gender

As well as the above, Sayyāḥ also addressed the gender issue:

از حالاتش جويا شدم معلوم شد معلم اطفال است و در هر درسی پنج فرنگ حق الزحمه می گیرد و نیز مذکور داشت که هیچکس را ندارم، از ولایتش پرسیدم، گفت بازل و نیز گفت ساکن زوریخ می باشم و گذرانم از همین مشغله می شود و از تکلم آن شخص نیز مشخص شد که دختر است. بسیار حیران و افسرده شدم از وضع آنجا و وضع ملک خودم که او در آن مملکت تنها و بی کس بدون

قراسوران و مستحفظ راه و صاحب مشخص در نهایت اطمینان و آسودگی در آنجا ها گردش می کرد و با کمال جمعیت حواس تحصیل و تدریس می نمود.

(Sayyāh 1984, 245)

In conversation with her I found out that she taught children and that she earned five francs for every lesson. She didn't have any close relatives. She was from Basel but lived in Zurich and her only income was from teaching. From her talk, it was obvious that she was still unmarried.⁶ Again, I thought of the people in my country and felt sad. In Europe, a girl was safe and secure and lived and travelled freely, unlike the poor women of my country.

(Sayyāh 1998, 182)

He identified Western women as being independent, intelligent and brave, indicating the milestone of the nation's advancement and success. This was different in comparison to Iranian people, particularly women, who had fewer opportunities and facilities. In contrast, Western women were exposed to education that helped shape them into becoming intelligent and sophisticated. Sayyāh's acknowledgement of being sad while thinking about his people indicated his awareness of the captivity that shackled the women of his native country.

Additionally, SHS displayed difficult tests for Sayyāh, when he fell hopelessly in love. He admitted:

وقتی از یکی راه عمارات بالا می رفتم، دختری قریب به سن هفده یا هیجده سال داشت از بالا به پائین می آمد، تبارک الله احسن الخالقین، تا آن ساعت در هیچ جا صورتی بدان تمامی و زیبائی و طنازی ندیده بودم، با کمال و ارستگی و آزادی، چنان حالتی به من دست داد که قدرت رفتار از زانوی من رفت نتوانستم خود را نگاه دارم تکیه به دیوار کردم تا از من گذشت، هر چه خواستم از خدمه او جویای نسب و حسب او شوم که اسمش را در سیاحت نامه خود بنگارم ممکن نشد به این معنی که زبانم از گفتار بسان پیام از رفتار مانده شده بود، دیر گاهی به هکان حالت ماندم بعد کم کم به بالا رفتم. ولی آنروز تا شام محو و متحیر بودم سبحانه اللهزآب و گل چنین صورت که بسته تعالی خالق الاشیاء من طیناز سلاطین زادگان و معارف نیکوان عالم که شنیده و دیده بودم کمال امتیاز داشت.

(Sayyāh 1984, 241)

When I was taking a road uphill one day I encountered a girl of seventeen or eighteen years of age, who was walking in the opposite direction. I had never seen such a beautiful face before. She walked freely and coquettishly like a bird. Her beauty had such influence on me that I could not continue walking. I felt weak and leaned against the wall watching her. I wanted very much to ask her name from the maid accompanying her to put in my travel account, but I was tongue-tied and could not open my mouth and speak. There are many beautiful faces in the world, faces of princes and princesses, but none was comparable to the beauty of that girl.

(Sayyāḥ 1998, 179–180)

The exaggerated description of the lady and his mesmerised condition implies his deep attraction towards women. Similar to the story of Shaykh Ṣan‘ān and the Christian maiden, which was famous in Sufi literature, Sayyāḥ also faced obstacles during his journey towards freedom, in the form of the opposite sex. Despite the intensely disciplined regime, as a normal human being, he still could not deny the feelings of attraction. Nevertheless, unlike Shaykh Ṣan‘ān, who left everything for the girl and became a swineherd, Sayyāḥ successfully passed the test. The expression of love towards the opposite gender appeared only a few times in SHS and was expressed as a temporary and trivial distraction that faded away.

Fire

The final stage is fire, which indicates arrival at the destination. The element symbolises the human being, after passing the previous levels of the animal and the vegetable. It is where a traveller gains unity with God, which is the final condition in the odyssey.

Genuine liberation

In SHS, Sayyāḥ was finally enlightened with wisdom that liberated him from the prison of ignorance that he utterly despised and feared. He developed into a wiser person through his improved knowledge and experience, as well as the constant tests that he had faced during the journey. In other words, he tasted the complete version of freedom (for this particular travel) through his establishment as a wise man. This is evident in his description of the greater amount of respect and recognition that he received.

قریب عصر هشت نفر اهالی مدارس به منزل آمدند، خیلی صحبت کردیم، خاصه از جغرافیای بلاد وممالک مختلفه. اگر اختلاف قوی به میان می آمد در نهایت ادب وانسانیت تصدیق به قبول حقیر می نمودند ودر کمال مهربانی ومحبت می گفتند حق با شماست، زیرا که ما شنیده ایم وشما دیده اید. البته شنیدن که بود مانند دیدن. بعد متفق القول گفتند برخیزید برویم به تفرج باغچه ای در شهر قدری گردش کنیم. قبول کرده سوار به کالسکه شدیم. دیدم به راهی می روند که دیده ام، گفتم بهتر آن است از راهی برویم که ندیده باشم. روانه شدند، به باغچه ای رسیدیم که ندیده بودم. در حین تفرج به سخنان دلکش ومحبت انگیز متکلم بودند. هنگام مراجعت رسید، هر یک از بغل خود دفتری بیرون آوردند، در تمام آنها اسم خود را به زبان های مختلفه نوشتم.

(Sayyāh 1984, 474)

In the afternoon eight school teachers came to meet me. We spoke together on different subjects especially on geography – the cities and countries of the world. If there was any difference of opinion about a subject they would politely agree with me and tactfully say, “You are right. We have only heard about it but you have seen it.”

Afterwards, they suggested that we all go to the park. While roaming about in the park we had a pleasant conversation, and I listened to their fascinating and amicable way of speaking. At the time of returning home each one of them gave me a notebook and asked me to write my name in the different languages that I knew.

(Sayyāh 1998, 342)

The respectful treatment shown by the teachers, and their requests for Sayyāh to demonstrate his multilingual ability, denoted their admiration of him and proved his freedom from ignorance. Sayyāh no longer felt afraid or ashamed to mingle with people, especially intellectuals, and proceeded to learn from them. In fact, he was acknowledged and recognised as a credible, wise person due to his extraordinary ability to master many languages. He managed to finally find his ultimate liberation by becoming wiser, more knowledgeable and more mature. In general, the link between Sayyāh’s voyage towards freedom and the Sufi concept of humanity’s journey can be summarised as in Figure 1.

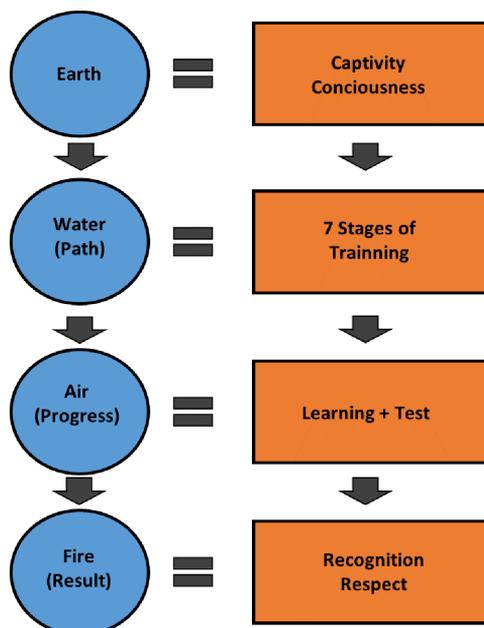


Figure 1. Comparison between the Sufi concept and SHS's journey towards freedom

The two sets of individual development are in conversation for the constructive progress towards the main mission. Although the two journeys are dissimilar, they still demonstrate the identical theme of escaping their own version of captivity to gain liberation. A Sufi master fights through various notions of inner captivity to gain the freedom of loving God at the highest level that can be achieved. On the other hand, Sayyāḥ broke out from the prison of ignorance by imprisoning his soul to achieve the freedom of being knowledgeable.

Conclusion

Undeniably, freedom is an abstract concept that is open to unlimited interpretation. Nevertheless, this study features the ways of liberation by returning to its basic essence, which is the inner self. When the inner self is liberated, any notions of captivity just appear to be mere distractions. This study features the Persian travelogue, *Safarnāmah-i Ḥājj Sayyāḥ bih Farang*, which portrays the journey to self-freedom in a Sufistic way. Before the expedition starts, the protagonist's awareness of his own captivity is already high, hence the decision to immediately pursue a journey, without sufficient preparation.

The main captivity in this narrative is ignorance, and therefore, the author embarked on a journey of knowledge, seeking to gain freedom. Interestingly, the narrative demonstrates the training towards liberation by imprisoning the soul using a vigorous routine of disciplining the self. The soul is chained, and the body becomes the training site, through six conditions, namely physical hardship, renunciation (*zuhd*), poverty, loneliness, illness and the verge of death. The knowledge-seeking journey to Europe is interpreted as travelling towards freedom, which passes through four stages, which are the earth, water, air and fire. In between, the author tasted fragments of freedom and was frequently tested through his observations of the world. Finally, he experienced his most personal and authentic liberation by becoming a wise man. In other words, travel provides opportunity to discover, express or demonstrate captivity from various perspectives. Therefore, travel writing becomes a potential site to discover and understand various concepts of captivity either directly or indirectly.

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Notes

1. 'Alī Dihbāshī claims that Hājī Sayyāḥ spent 20 years travelling around the world while Ali Ferdowsi suggests that Sayyāḥ travelled for 18 years (Sayyāḥ 1984, 10; Ferdowsi 2015, 2:126).
2. To read his travel diaries, see Sayyāḥ (1984) for his travels to Europe; and Sayyāḥ (1967) for his expedition to America.
3. Sayyāḥ is deemed as influential in politics of Iran. For more information, read section "Role in the Constitutional Revolution" in Ferdowsi (1982a, 1982b); available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hajj-Sayyāḥ>.
4. The ability to recognise/acknowledge notions of captivity.
5. See Sayyāḥ (1998, 167). For this paper, all English translations for the Persian quotes from *Safarnāmah-i Hājī Sayyāḥ bih Farang* are taken from this book. For clarification, Deyhim's translations are not always accurate as she employs a lot of condensing. However, her translations are still very useful for text analysis in this paper.
6. For this sentence: *واز تکلم آن شخص نیز مشخص شد که دختر است* I inserted my own translation: "From her talk, it was obvious that she was still unmarried". The original translation from Deyhim was: "She worked as a teacher and at the same time studied, and no one bothered her".

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