

1 Introduction

After a final battle, Boabdil, the king of Granada, had to surrender his city to the conquering Catholic kings in 1492, bringing to an end more than seven centuries of Muslim rule over Andalusia. On his way to exile, pausing on the hills surrounding the city, he looked back one last time on all he had lost – the Alhambra, the gardens, his kingdom, and his place in life – and heaved a deep sigh. His mother, Ayxa, remonstrated with him: “You do well to weep as a woman over what you could not defend as a man.” To this day, the place is known as the *Puerto del Último Suspiro del Moro*: the gate of the Moor’s last sigh.

I cannot remember a time when I did not know this story. My father told it multiple times, and it seemed to be something that everyone knew about: a floating trope, which would weave its way into our conversations in different countries and contexts. Many threads come together in this small vignette: it is a moment of intense emotions for the king and his mother – of loss, longing, and nostalgia, of anger and shame. It is also a moment in which times become blurred. The story is told from the vantage point of the historical present, from the moment when the king is standing on the hill and looking back. The intensity of the emotions, however, is predicated on the anticipation of the future, which can no longer be avoided, when the Alhambra, still visible now, will have disappeared from sight and become part of an unattainable past. Finally, the narrative of this moment gained a global currency in the nineteenth century, becoming part of the history and the memories of the past Muslims claimed as their own.

If it was as a floating trope that many people first encountered the story, it also had its more stable textual incarnations. The modern narrative of Boabdil (Abu Abdallah Muhammad XII in Arabic) was first told in the West. In 1807, Chateaubriand, the French nobleman and poet, exiled to Spain during the French revolution, wrote a novel, published in 1821, on the fall of Granada, in which he related the above vignette (2006). The topic was taken up again almost immediately by Washington Irving, an American romantic writer, who in 1826 spent several months living in the Alhambra and looking for hidden treasures and folktales related to the rule of the Moors. *The Tales of the Alhambra*, which he published in 1832, gained worldwide fame and was translated into many languages. Irving was interested not only in folklore, but also in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of Andalusia, which he read and summarized as a fictional account by a Spanish monk in his *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* in 1828 (2017a, 2017b). The sigh of the king and the reproach of his mother feature prominently in both books. From there, the story

entered the European romantic imagination, Edward Bulwer Lytton leading the way with his novel *Leila or the Siege of Granada* in 1838, with other writers and painters following in his steps.

In this form, we can read the tale as a story of Orientalist imagination, born in the West and adapted by Muslims, and partly this is true. But there is also another side to it. Medieval Arab literature knew a number of poetic genres to express the feelings of exile and the yearning for the lost city. The Muslims banned from Andalusia – before and after 1492 – wrote their stories into these genres (Masarwah & Tarabieh, 2014). The longing for Andalusia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was certainly partly mediated by novels and history books from the West, but it also drew on Arab sources, both poetic and historiographic, and on traveler accounts, both medieval and modern (Civantos, 2020; Molina, 2020; Noorani, 1999). Even more than a history of entangled texts and references, this was a history of entangled emotions, which we can no longer clearly separate into their Western and Eastern components. The admiration for the Moors fighting for their kingdom was not limited to Muslims but was also voiced by Western novelists, in spite of their occasional Orientalism. In the fight between the Spanish Catholics and the Andalusian Muslims, their sympathies were more often than not on the Muslim side. The depictions in Western texts, in turn, resonated with Muslims and shaped the way they would later narrate their own stories of Boabdil and Andalusia.

Novelists and their writings, in turn, fed back into nostalgia. This was no homogenous feeling, neither across languages nor within them. It could refer to very different moments in history, which brought forth a plethora of emotions. In the nineteenth century, the empathy for the sighing king tapped into contemporary Muslim feelings of loss. Even more texts, however, dwelt on Andalusia at the height of its political and cultural power, depicting its patronage of the arts and sciences, its economic prosperity, and the beauty of its architecture (Hali, 1997). Here, nostalgia was tinged with pride in what had once been, and with hope that the traits of character, which had brought forth those times, still slumbered in the breasts of Muslims and could be reawakened. Other histories went back even further, to the conquest of the land by the Arabs and Berbers in 711, adding military valor to the civilizational achievements and recovering the masculinity Queen Ayxa had denied her son (Eksell, 2011; Sharar, 1899; Zaidan, 2010). Toward the end of the twentieth century, the Andalusian memories changed once more. What marked novels such as Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh* (1995), but also literary explorations in the Maghreb and in Syria, was the search for a different, a cosmopolitan and tolerant Islam. This would not only counter the present-day fundamentalist homogenizations, but

also constitute a model for the future not borrowed from the West (Granara, 2005; Hirschkind, 2020).

The story of Boabdil, thus, is both things at the same time: It is a historical motif, whose movements can be traced over time and whose transformations can be analyzed with precision – be it the colors that nostalgia, shame, or pride take, or the depictions of the temporalities. But it is also a floating trope, contextualized and adapted every time we retell it, sometimes feeding on the texts and sometimes moving at its own rhythm, from conversation to conversation.

1.1 The Aim of *Emotions and Temporalities*

In this Element, I aim to bring together the history of emotions with research on temporalities and global history. This can be broken down into three arguments. First: Studies in emotions and affect have, for a few years already, aimed at overcoming the dichotomy between emotions as a phenomenon taking place inside subjects and the external world in which they move. For this, they emphasized the relations between subjects and between them and the world. Emotions are no longer conceived inside neatly delineated and bounded subjects, but in the in-between. In the process, these studies have developed a number of tools for thinking with and through relations. *Emotions and Temporalities* aims to replicate this movement for the connections between the past, the present, and the future. Instead of looking at the past and the future (only) as a creation or an imagination of the present, I want to focus on their relations. At the center of attention is the way the past, the present, and the future coconstitute each other to a degree of embroiling not only the linear conception of time, but also the possibility of sharp distinctions between times, because the past and the future are not safely gone or yet to come, but haunt the present with their presence.

Second: Emotions and temporalities – that is, the relations between the past, the present, and the future as imagined and experienced by the actors – are closely interwoven. The experience of time and the way subjects situate themselves within time is imbued with, if not defined by, emotions, and vice versa. Exploring the potential of *Stimmung* (mood, atmosphere), I argue that temporalities create a basic emotional undertone that modulates and shapes individual and distinct emotions. This moves beyond the association of progress with hope, to give just one example, and looks at how the temporalities captured in the concept of progress transform the whole plethora of emotions that subjects experience, from patriotism to spousal and parental love, from compassion to disgust and anxiety, from piety to ambition and boredom. It is through these

emotions – through feeling progress, doing progress, and becoming a progressive subject – that knowledge about progress is rendered plausible. Obviously, this is not meant to obliterate differences in emotional experiences and to use the concept of atmosphere to reintroduce homogenized ways of feeling – atmospheres need not pervade an entire society (they can, however, do so at specific times), nor do they affect everyone in the same way.

Third: Global history has produced excellent works on the relation between geographical spaces and between micro and macro scales. Its interest in temporalities has so far been less extensive, focusing on the introduction of global time (Ogle, 2015) and the history of clock time (Barak, 2009; Frumer, 2018; Wishnitzer, 2015), rather than on concepts of temporality as the experience and interpretation of relations between the past, the present, and the future. In this Element, I argue that the emotions at the core of temporalities have to be read from a global perspective. They float globally through a number of tropes (“degeneration,” “the new man/the new world,” etc.), which resonate with subjects living in different contexts without necessarily being the “same” emotions. Thus, they create emotional communities, which might be based on existing social relations and run parallel to existing connections, but could also transcend them.

The focus in this Element is on conceptual reflections. I envision it as a think piece rather than an elaborate piece of historical writing. I draw the core of my empirical material from my own regional expertise on the North Indian Muslims from 1850 to 1950, while also, whenever I feel the need, reaching out for studies from the larger Islamic world and, where required, Europe as well. Literature on emotions, whether linked to temporalities or not, is still scarce for this region. This Element does not aim at satisfying this need; I am in no position to offer new interpretations of Ottoman or Egyptian history or to revise existing ones. If the questions and reflections I raise here resonate with the regional experts, they will take it forward, as I will do in my ongoing empirical studies of North Indian Muslims and their emotions and temporalities.

Still, offering theoretical reflections from the perspective of North Indian Muslims – considered peripheral not only from a Western perspective, but from the majoritarian Indian and from the Arabo-centric Islamic viewpoints as well – remains unusual in academia. Thus far, the only scholars permitted to omit geographical references from their titles and advance arguments beyond the scope of their empirical material are those working on Western and Central Europe. The debates on the need for Europe’s provincialization do not seem to have changed much; this Element is an attempt not to rehearse those arguments again, but instead to “just do it.”

Embarking from North Indian Muslims, I will follow their global references – be it to the Hindus of the Bengali Renaissance; to their comrades in the struggle for revolution; to Iranian, Ottoman, or Arab intellectuals; to the protagonists of Young Ireland or Young Italy; or to British or German writers on decline and decadence. Not in every case, and perhaps not even in the majority of cases, will it be possible to trace these references exactly. Similar to the story of Boabdil, a trope such as rebirth appears more or less simultaneously in conversations all over the Islamic world and beyond, with people picking up on fleeting mentions in a conversation or a newspaper article rather than in an elaborate book translated into multiple languages. However, even if tropes are floating, they do not indistinctively float in every direction, nor does every trope resonate with every audience.

Beyond the regional focus, I claim my freedom to bring in any texts through which I find it helpful to analyze this material, without aiming to cover all the debates in the three fields comprehensively. That does not mean that I have lost sight of the problems involved in bringing European interpretations and concepts into the discussion. The strategy I suggest in this Element is to try to overcome the traditional division between historians, conceived as active and in sole charge of the analytical framework, and the interpretation of the historical subjects, providing the empirical material and the source concepts, but otherwise ensconced in a past safely divided from the present. If the past and the present are conceived as embroiled to the extent that they are no longer distinguishable, then interventions do not proceed unilaterally from the present toward the past – historical subjects talk back, they bring their own interpretations to the conversation. The theoretical frame, hopefully, will be the result of such a dialogue (more on this theoretical approach in Section 3.1 on hauntology).

1.2 Time and Temporalities

Let us return to the trope of Boabdil's last sigh. The moment the king casts one last gaze upon Granada and sighs brings together times that often are imagined as neatly distinct: The past, in which he ruled his kingdom, and which is still visible in front of him; the future, in which all of this will only be a painful memory, and which will begin as soon as he turns around and follows the path to exile; and the present, in which the past and the future meet with emotional intensity.

Reinhart Koselleck has declared temporalization to be one of the central characteristics of the “saddle period” (2011), the decades that mark the onset of modernity. Like other concepts, the past and the future, as well as the relation

between them, now have a history, and the historical subjects are aware of this history (Hölscher, 2016; Koselleck, 2004c, 2011). More recently, François Hartog has developed these insights further, claiming that each present is marked by a different set of relations to the past and the future, which he calls regimes of historicity (2015).¹ However, in his work and in that of Koselleck, the focus on relations does not destabilize the temporal categories as such: The past, the present, and the future remain clearly distinguishable from each other and follow in a given, unshakable order. The past can be interpreted, but once it is gone, it cannot be brought back; the future can be imagined, but it is not there yet and will arrive in its own time. In a way, the presentism that Hartog bemoans, the contemporary inability to develop meaningful relations to the past or the future, is already inbuilt into his core assumptions: Only the present can reach out to the past or the future and initiate relations through their interpretations and anticipations – the past and the future are perceived as passive. It is no wonder that the image of temporal layers that Koselleck used to depict the contemporaneity of the past was borrowed from geology. The past may be there, but in most cases it will be hidden and in need of an intervention by present-day archeologists for its excavation (Koselleck & Gadamer, 2000; Hoffmann & Franzel, 2018). Much as this seems natural to us today, historically this was not the only way to think about temporalities, nor need it be the only way we can conceive of time.

The end of the linguistic turn comes with a desire for an experience and a presence that go beyond representation in language, an immediacy that can be felt at the level of the body. A “presence-based relationship to the world” (Gumbrecht, 2004: xv) is as much a spatial as a temporal category. In the field of temporalities, this has given rise to inquiries that focus on the presence of the past – that is, on relations that no longer emanate from the present and lead to a social construction of the past, but in which agency rests with the past itself. These attempts moved in different directions. Koselleck, rather tentatively, explored experiences that “pour into one’s body like fiery lava and congeal there” (2020: 2), remaining present as a frozen block of the past that can neither be wholly translated into language and communicated to other people, nor reimagined and changed by the present. Trauma studies focus on how the past continues to act on the present (Leys, 2000), forcing people to constantly relive

¹ I prefer “temporalities” to “regimes of historicity,” in order to avoid the misunderstanding that the past is at the center of the current investigation. I use the plural to underline the multiple temporalities at work at the same time, and I forgo the use of “regimes,” as a number of the temporalities I will focus on were developed from the margins of the state, rather than by groups in power.

scenes from the past. Psychoanalytical reflections, in turn, show how the past moves the present and intrudes into history writing (Runia, 2014).

Moving back from psychology to history, Achim Landwehr has suggested the category of *chronofERENCE* as a way of referencing the creation of relations between times that are absent and those that are present. The flow of relations moves in both directions, thus undermining the dualism (and the well-defined boundaries) between the present and the past and the present and the future, and creating what he calls the “absent presence of the past.” This brings together the traditional absence of the past – once past, it can never return – and its ongoing presence. The focus, Landwehr elaborates, can thus be neither on the past nor the present, but only on their relation (2016: 149–65).

These studies have opened up our conceptions about possible relations between times to an extent that the temporalities of North Indian Muslims can now be brought into the picture. Former disciplinary belief in the naturalness of the boundaries between the past, the present, and the future, and in their linear sequence, risked making any alternative imaginations look quaint or Oriental at best, or point to a failure to understand properly the flow of history at worst. Here, the recent focus on relationality between times (less of a new idea in philosophy and anthropology than for empirical history writing), which might be initiated from the present, but also from the past or the future, creates a meeting ground.

At least until the middle of the nineteenth century, the ubiquitous presence of the past was a common experience for the Muslims of North India. Not only were Sufi saints known for their longevity – at times extending to several hundred years, allowing them to bridge epochs – even their death did not put an end to their presence and their possibilities of interacting with their devotees in the present. Thus, the character of a city space was marked not only by the living, but also by the presence of those, holy or less so, who had lived there earlier (Pernau, 2019b). What held true of people also applied to poetry and other works of art: They were not regarded as documents of the past, but shared time with the present. These perceptions were embedded in religious time, in the trajectory from the eternity before creation (*azal*) to the eternity after the Day of Judgment (*abad*). Even more important is the copresence of eternity and secular time, as manifested in the revelation and in the person of the Prophet Muhammad, whose existence as the divine light preceded the creation of the world, and who still graces certain gatherings with his presence, but also in the many wonders, great and small, through which God intervenes in the world (Faruqi, 1995).

Taken together, what this allows us to do is to flip the question of temporal relations: Most Western tradition has long thought of times as neatly, even

naturally, separated from each other. Work was needed to create relations between previously unrelated entities. What if it were the other way round? What if the present, the past, and the future already existed in synchronicity, and the work of modern subjects was directed to establishing their difference and guarding the boundaries between them, preventing the past and the future from spilling over into the present? What if it was not asynchronicity that was the given, the natural state to be overcome by synchronization (Jordheim, 2017), but the overcoming of a synchronicity, which could no longer be accommodated in linear thinking? These reflections constitute the core of *Emotions and Temporalities*.

1.3 Global Emotions, Global Temporalities

From its beginning as a self-described field in the 1980s, the history of emotions, and even more so the anthropology of emotions, had a strong tendency toward studies that were locally bounded, whether the locality was as small as a village or a tribe or as large as a modern nation. At the time, this seemed the only way to counteract the universalizing claims of experimental psychology, to emphasize the historicity of emotions, and to embed them in culture (amongst others, see Abu Lughod, 1986; Lutz, 1988). This came at a price: The local had to be stripped of its connections to the outside world and became incommensurable. The history of encounters and relations largely fell outside the purview of these studies; if it was brought in at all, it was not given much of an explanatory status.

This changed with the rise of transnational and global history, bringing to the fore a focus on the movement of people and of texts. The trajectory of the history of Boabdil's sigh, moving between Granada, France, the United States, the Arab World, India, and back, shows that following emotions beyond the local need not mean subscribing to a universal take on emotions. The anticipated nostalgia of the king, to which so many could relate over the centuries, was not a basic emotion or one that is wired in the brain, but a historically and culturally specific emotion, which could and did change its meaning over time and space.

Global exchanges intensified the flow of temporal tropes and the emotions linked to them. Travels brought about a face-to-face encounter with unfamiliar emotions, which found their reflection in travelogues, an increasingly popular genre in the Islamic world since the nineteenth century (Gammerl, et al., 2019; Majchrowicz, 2015). Travels, moreover, went hand in hand with increased access to written sources: Libraries, publishing houses, and the offices of journals were frequent stopovers for travelers, who brought home not only

books, but also the knowledge of how to access them in the future. From the 1860s onwards, recent English publications, novels, and volumes of poetry, as well as scholarly treatises, increasingly found their way to North Indian libraries and private collections (Joshi, 2002; Pernau, 2019a: 179–86); the same held true for books, journals, and newspapers in Persian and Arabic, and to some extent even in Ottoman Turkish.

Intense and scholarly engagement with these texts, in the original or through translation, however, was not the only, and perhaps even not the most important, way tropes and emotions wandered and created global connections. Most ideas reached readers not through entire books, but through conversations, through summaries and digests in journals, or through even briefer references, evoking rather than elaborating a concept, an image, or a narrative. This very brevity, which left much to the imagination of the reader or listener, did not hinder but, on the contrary, facilitated the re-embedding of these allusions into a familiar context. Not much detailed knowledge was needed to feel pride in the rule of the Abbasids or the kings of Andalusia, in their civilizational achievements at a time when Europe was still mired in darkness; to experience a sense of brotherhood with the fighters for Young Italy or Young Ireland; to weep for those who sacrificed their lives fighting for their country's freedom.

I suggest the concept of resonance to capture these transmissions of emotions.² Resonance reproduces and amplifies the vibration of one subject in another. Unlike an echo, it is based on a previous similarity between the subjects. The recognition and acknowledgment of resonance is a strong emotional experience, an experience of community, not through sharing abstract values, but through recognizing one's own feelings and desires in another person, and vice versa. Resonance involves a sensory and affective experience (Böhme 2017: 167–68; Eisenlohr, 2018).

The fluid feeling communities based on resonance could transcend the limits of empires and nations.³ They were not exclusive, but allowed for multiple overlaps. Nevertheless, they were not situated outside the world of power. Encounters, even at this fleeting level, needed material bases. Travelers relied on established routes and on means of transport. Though manuscript texts, too, had circulated widely, the commercialization of print allowed circulation to an extent never previously imagined. Even more importantly, if resonance was based on a previous similarity, this similarity, in turn, was premised on the

² For a different use of the concept, focusing on the creations of relations to the world, see Rosa, 2019.

³ The concept of fluidity was developed in conversation with gender studies and queer theory (for detailed references, see Davis, 2009; Barua, et al., forthcoming [2021]), rather than referring to Zygmunt Baumann's *Liquid Modernity* (2000).

shared experiences of the age of European colonialism, decolonization, and global capitalism. Communities needed common experiences, as well as interpretations of these experiences as shared and as emotionally resonating in their members' own souls.

1.4 Emotions and *Stimmung*

Let us return to Boabdil one last time. Nostalgia, based on the sense of imminent or actual loss, is a strong emotion, and one that resonated with many colonial subjects and their experiences of loss. The moor's last sigh implicated more than that: His mother's cruel taunt, which not only held him responsible for the loss, but also imputed this to a deficiency in his masculinity, is an integral part of the narrative. Rather than only nostalgia, what Boabdil's story shows is a pain shot through with shame, or at least with the effort to induce shame, and, through shame, the desire to not only moan, but to recover an active and honorable role in the world.

Emotions are central to the experience of time, and hence to the analysis of temporal relations. Hardly any text evoking a glorious past, calling for a reawakening and rejuvenation, or sounding the clarion call for revolution fails to mention emotions: hope, despair, pride, honor, and shame most central among them. On one level, this can be explained by the motivational power of emotions: Most of these texts were not abstract philosophical reflections on times and their changes, but wanted to contribute to changing the world. Take Altaf Husain Hali, who exclaimed in *The Ebb and Flow of Islam* that he had only written the poem "in order to make my friends and fellows feel a sense of outrage [*ghairat*] and shame [*sharam*]" (1997: 97). Or take the revolutionary Har Dayal, who exhorted young people: "Mankind anxiously asks if there is a way out of the gloom and horror of to-day into light and life. It is for you to blaze the trail for great movements that will build up a happier world" (1934: 1). The sources themselves guide us to these feelings; our task, as always, is to properly historicize the emotions, and to explore the precise meanings of outrage and shame, or gloom, horror, and happiness, and how they felt for the historical subjects in that precise place and time before using them as an explanation.

Emotions, however, do more than mobilize people to recover the past or to conquer the future. On another level, they create knowledge about time and temporalities, and endow knowledge created through other means with plausibility. Plausibility is usually associated with intellectual investigations, focusing on the coherence of the argument, on its relation to what subjects already know, on the way newly introduced elements support or contradict the familiar