Fatih University
The Graduate School of Social Sciences
Doctor of Philosophy in
Comparative Literature

THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO MODERNITY IN EGYPT AND TURKEY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NAGUIB MAHFOUZ'S *THE CAIRO TRILOGY* AND ORHAN PAMUK'S *CEVDET BEY AND SONS*

by
Özlem ULUCAN

January 2016

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To my supportive parents, and my beloved husband…

APPROVAL

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This is to certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy.

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It is approved that this thesis has been written in compliance with the formatting rules laid down by the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences.

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of

   Comparative Literature, World Literature, Postcolonial Literature as well as encompassing the study of New Historicism and Modernization.

3. Research Methods: This dissertation incorporates a variety of researching methods with a focus on intertextuality and the comparative method, as suitable analysis forms to shed light on the modernization process of Egypt and Turkey through two distinguished literary works: *Cairo Trilogy* by Naguib Mahfouz and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* (*Cevdet bey ve Oğulları*) by Orhan Pamuk.

4. The primary sources in this dissertation are inevitably *Cairo Trilogy* of Naguib Mahfouz and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* (*Cevdet bey ve Oğulları*) of Orhan Pamuk. However, for a better insight into their work and the communities they represent, studies and analyses that contributed to the founding of this field of study were incorporated. In addition, reviews, essays, interviews, and articles focusing on both Egypt and Turkish literature and the two analyzed authors were of extreme interest. The secondary sources include studies in

other disciplines i.e. historical, sociological, geographical, political, and anthropological sources; dissertation style guideleness of Turkish and international universities were taken into consideration as well.

Özlem ULUCAN
January, 2016

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ABSTRACT

THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO MODERNITY IN EGYPT AND TURKEY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NAGUIB MAHFOUZ'S *THE CAIRO TRILOGY* AND ORHAN PAMUK'S *CEVDET BEY AND SONS*

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The objective of this thesis is to analyze the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey from the beginning of the 20th century through two distinguished literary works: *The Cairo Trilogy* by Naguib Mahfouz and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* (*Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları*) by Orhan Pamuk. The analysis will be held utilizing a comparative method based on new historicism and postcolonial theory. These works of the two Nobel Prize-winning authors project the stories of three generations, reflecting the historical, social, and cultural transformations Egypt and Turkey went through. The way each succeeding generation prefers in the process of transition from conservatism to modernity in Egypt and Turkey will be analyzed by contextualizing the works to shed light on the process of modernization experiences in these two countries.

Key Words: Comparative Literature Theory, New Historicism, Postcolonial Literary Theory, Postcolonialism, Modernization, Egypt, Turkey, Naguib Mahfouz, *The Cairo Trilogy,* Orhan Pamuk, *Cevdet Bey and Sons.*

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ÖZET

MISIR VE TÜRKİYE'DE MODERNLEŞMEYE GEÇİŞ SÜRECİ: NECİP MAHFOUZ'UN *KAHİRE ÜÇLEMESİ* VE ORHAN PAMUK'UN *CEVDET BEY VE OĞULLARI* ADLI ESERLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ARAŞTIRMASI

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Bu tezin amacı Mısır ve Türkiye'de 20. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren modernleşmeye geçiş sürecini iki güzide eser olan Necip Mahfouz'un *Kahire Üçlemesi* ve Orhan Pamuk'un *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları*'nda incelemektir. Söz konusu araştırma yeni tarihselcilik ve postkolonyal teoriye dayanarak karşılaştırma metodu kullanılarak yapılacaktır. İki Nobel ödüllü yazarın bu eserleri, modernleşme sürecinde olan Mısır ve Türkiye'deki tarihi, sosyal ve kültürel dönüşümleri, üç kuşağın hikâyesi vasıtasıyla yansıtmaktadır. Mısır ve Türkiye'de birbirini takip eden nesillerin geleneksellikten modernleşmeye geçiş sürecinde tercih ettikleri yöntem, eserlerin ülkelerin modernleşme serüvenleri ile bağlantısı kurularak analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karşılaştırmalı Edebiyat Teorisi, Yeni Tarihselcilik Postkolonyal Teori, Postkolonyalizm, Modernleşme, Mısır, Türkiye, Necip Mahfuz, Kahire Üçlemesi, Orhan Pamuk, Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları.

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Last, but not least, I would like to thank my lovely parents for being a continual source of support and encouragement. Special thanks also go to my husband, who has contributed in immeasurable ways by giving me good reasons to take time off and for making that time so enjoyable.

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this thesis is to analyze the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey through two literary works: *The Cairo Trilogy* by Naguib Mahfouz and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* [*Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları*] by Orhan Pamuk. These works project the historical, social, and cultural transformations from traditionalism to modernization in Egypt and Turkey through fictions that reflect the stories of three generations. During the time span depicted in the two works (*The Cairo Trilogy* between 1917-1944, and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* between 1905-1970) not only in Egypt and Turkey but also in a world in the process of convulsive change.

In nineteenth century Egypt, the influence of Europen culture was felt more profoundly under the rule of Muhammed Ali's grandson Ismail (1863-1879), who planned to turn Egypt into a modern state. This was also influenced by British indirect rule in Egypt, which lasted from 1882 to 1952 and ended abruptly with the Egyptian Revolution of the time. Regarding the 1798 French invasion of Egypt followed by that of British, it can be claimed that the colonial imprints were of crucial importance for Egyptians in the process of modernization. Indeed, the nineteenth century was also a downturn for the Ottoman Sultanate as well because of its economic crisis and, because the interventions of European countries put the state in a semi-colony status (Bayer 2010, 32). In addition, the collapse of the Ottoman Sultanate and the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923 was another major change. As the social, economic, technological, and historical backgrounds of Egypt and Turkey are different from European countries, the developments in the world at the time compelled the peoples in these two entities to be stuck between their own culture and Europe, a process which can best be expressed in Homi Bhabha's "ambivalence."The majority of the population of both the Ottoman Sultanate (whose fall was followed by the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923) and Egypt were Muslims. However the new way of life that was intended to was a form of Western modernity. The political situation of Egypt and Turkey, together with the previously mentioned developments in Europe, caused Islam to be re-adjusted to meet the exigencies of modernity. Modernity was misunderstood as external

mimicry, especially by some intellectuals in both Egypt and Turkey, and resistance was regarded as unavoidable for people who feared to lose their own cultural and religious values.

The intellectual and historical transformations that have taken place in Egypt and Turkey have been successfully portrayed by Naguib Mahfouz and Orhan Pamuk through the stories of three generations. Both Mahfouz and Pamuk portray extended families that have close relationships which fade away in time, as each new generation moves away from traditional life styles and tries to adopt a new way of life under the social and economic conditions of their countries. Mahfouz depicts the story of the three generations of the Abd al-Jawwad family, from 1917 to the 1919 Egyptian Revolution, continuing to 1944. During this time Egypt experienced two world wars, and the 1919 Revolution was put down by the colonial regime of Britain in a brutal way, even though partial independence was gained. The national struggle of Egyptian youth represented in the novel through the personality of Fahmi, the second son of the Abd al-Jawwad family, and his friends were for total freedom of their nation.

In Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy*, the first generation of Abd al-Jawwad and Amina, represents the past, and the second generation of Kemal's, represents the conflict of past and present. Because of the strict discipline and tyranny of Ahmad al- Jawwad, nobody dared to contradict his decisions. It was unthinkable, for example, for his wife and daughters to go out of the house without his permission. Born into such a family, the younger son of the family, Kemal, lives through the duality of values due to modernization process of the country and the education he has gone through. The third generation, however, openly opposes the system implemented in the family and in Egypt: Of the two grandsons of Ahmad al- Jawwad, Ahmet becomes a Marxist/Socialist while Abd al-Munim joins the Muslim brotherhood. Because of their ideologies, the brothers are ironically called "the believer and the apostate" by their father.

The members of the three generations in Orhan Pamuk's *Cevdet Bey and Sons* [*Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları*] undergo similar experiences in terms of the inner conflicts and ambivalence during the process of transition to modernity. Through the story of three generations, Pamuk describes the process of transition to modernity in Turkey. Beginning from the final years of Abdulhamid II's reign, the novel narrates about

sixty-five years of a family that enables the reader to observe the historical, social, and cultural structure of Turkey. The process of adaptation to the new developments by Cevdet Bey is depicted in an ironic way by Pamuk. Graduated from military medicine in France, Cevdet Bey's brother Nusret is part of the Young Turks, (Turkish nationalist reform party in the early 20th century), which favored reformation of the present system of the Ottoman Sultanate. Nusret criticizes everything in his country, looks down on his people, and has a blind faith in everything French and European. Cevdet Bey's younger son, Refik, is constantly searching for the meaning of life but his struggles in this direction fail to satisfy him. Ahmet, as the representative of the third generation is a painter who puts art in the center of his life and isolates himself from other people, but he is uneasy and dissatisfied with his life.

Of all the characters of Mahfouz's *Trilogy* and Pamuk's *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, it is most probably Husayn Shaddad of the *Trilogy* and Ömer of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* who have most in common. Educated abroad, Husayn Shaddad and Ömer return to their countries despising everything about them. As a result of their European educations, both Husayn Shaddad and Ömer have internalized the Eurocentric metanarratives toward their countries, which in this dissertation will be referred to as *self-Orientalization.* Derived from Edward Said's concept of *Orientalism*, self-Orientalization refers to the internalization of Orientalist discourse in understanding ones own country, just like some Orientalists. It is also ironic that, contrary to their expectations from life and their condescending attitude toward their countries, both Husayn Shaddad and Ömer are obliged to be satisfied with ordinary jobs in their respective countries that they look down upon.

My comparative analysis of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey in Naguib Mahfouz's *The Cairo Trilogy* and Orhan Pamuk's *Cevdet Bey and Sons* is based on comparative literature theory. In order to understand comparative literature theory, the term "world literature" has a significant role which paves the way for comparative literature. When Goethe defined the term "world literature" in the nineteenth century, he considered it to be "the literary standard of modern times" (Damrosch 2003, 1). However, the obstacles for a truly world literature didn't let it to develop in accordance with its context for a long time, as world literature was regarded "a canon of masterpieces or an established body of classics" (Damrosch

2003, 15). According to Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, the famous novelist, theorist of post-colonial literature and distinguished Professor of Comparative Literature and English, the system of "linguistic or aesthetic feudalism" involving the hierarchy of languages and cultures and the maintenance of Eurocentric approaches prevented world literature from extending its limits to its true meaning. (Wa Thiong'o 2012, 60-61). Either world literature has achieved the standards that Goethe wished it to be or it still encounters the impediments that Ngugi mentions is a matter of discussion but in this work it will be assumed that comparative literature enables world literature to reinvent itself "to encompass all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin" (Damrosch 2003, 5). Closely related to this redefined concept of world literature, comparative literature enables one to compare literary works from any nation across borders, history, language, culture, and tradition. The interdisciplinary nature of comparative literature paves the way for understanding one's own national culture besides foreign cultures. In *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction,* Susan Bassnett underlines this fact and proposes that, "we do not know ourselves when we know only ourselves" (Bassnett 1993, 23). Taking into consideration these aspects of comparative literature theory, this work intends to compare Egypt and Turkey in the process of transition to modernity as reflected in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons.*

Besides comparative literature theory, post colonial theory is another theory that was relied upon in the undertaken research. In the time frame that Mahfouz fictionalizes in *The Cairo Trilogy*, Egyptians are directly or indirectly confronted with the impact of British occupation. The impact of the occupation on the Egyptians in the novel requires the analysis of the novel in terms of postcolonial theory, which interrogates the influences of colonialism on societies and cultures. The term "post-colonialism" was used by historians after the Second World War, referring to a chronological period that was based on post-independence of former colonies. However, from the late 1970s, the literary critics used postcolonialism to discuss multidimensional cultural influences of colonization (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2000, 168). Based on the definitions of the literary critics, *The Cairo Trilogy* will be analyzed from a postcolonial perspective in addition to comparative literature. New historicism which will be defined in the second chapter together with the relationship between literature

and history, is another literary theory this dissertation makes use of in order to provide a more thorough perspective on the analyzed fiction.

Another key concept that will be used in this work is modernization as it has been defined and described in political science and development studies. Referring to the developments that stem from advanced industrial technology including structural and cultural changes besides economic growth, modernization theory basically focuses on the following characteristics;

> The common characteristics that societies tend to develop, as they become modern, may differ from one version of modernization theory to another, but in general, all assume that institutional structures and individual activities become more highly specialized, differentiated, and integrated into social, political, and economic forms characteristic of advanced Western societies.[1]

Related to the basic features of modernization theory, there are many different definitions of the terms modern and modernization. Bedri Gencer defines modernization as "the process of establishing a new way of life" (Gencer 2012, 116-17). Samuel Huntington in his *Political Order in Changing Societies* makes a similar definition of modernization as "a multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity" (Huntington 1968, 32). In *Modernity Versus Postmodernity,* Jürgen Habermas notes that the term "modern" has a long history which dates back to 5th century. According to Habermas the word "modern" in its Latin form "modernus" was for the first time used to distinguish the present Christian from the Roman and Pagan past in the 5th century. He adds that the variable content of the term "modern" repeatedly infers its relationship with the past to assert that it is the result of "a transition from old to new" (Habermas 1981, 3). Habermas believes the term is too narrow to restrict the concept of modernity historically to the Renaissance and he proposes that the people regarded themselves as modern in the period of Charles the Great, in twelfth century, and also in the France of the late seventeenth century. To him, this means that the concept of modern "appeared and reappeared exactly during those periods in Europe when the consciousness of a new epoch formed itself through a renewed relationship to the ancients" (Habermas 1981, 3). To Habermas, the tie between ancient and later times with which "modernity" defined itself changed with French Enlightenment ideals and "with the belief inspired by modern science, in the infinite progress of knowledge and in the infinite advance toward social and moral betterment" (Habermas 1981, 4). The Age of

[1] http://what-when-how.com/sociology/modernization-theory/ 6 January 2016.

Enlightenment, in which some philosophers in Europe emphasized reason and rather than tradition, was regarded as an essential period for the process of modernization. Theories were established about how technological advancement led to social advancement which was in turn connected with many different facets of development. As the norms of Enlightenment required the replacement of divine providence with the rational human mind, and abandoned the prestige of tradition, the philosophy of establishing "a rational organization of everyday social life" (Habermas 1981, 9) was unavoidable (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2000, 132). Anthony Giddens, on the other hands underlines the period of the source of the term "modernity" and describes it accordingly: "modernity refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence" (Giddens 1990, 9). The following concepts, defined by Peter L. Berger as the characteristics of modernity may be regarded as some of the modes that modernity refers to:

> Abstraction (especially confrontation of life with bureaucracy and technology, rationalization of life);
>
> Futurism (life is arranged according to time);
>
> Individualism (separation of the individual from society and emergence of alienation);
>
> Freedom (not fate but choices reigned the life);
>
> Secularization (Reasonableness of religious belief is under threat of mass) (Berger 1977, 70-82).

The concepts Peter L. Berger refers to as the characteristics of modernity reveal that though modernism was defined by many simply as adaptation to the necessities of the time, the values of the Renaissance, the Reform and the Enlightenment play the major roles in the process of modernization. In other words, the developments and the different approaches that stem from Europe made an overwhelming impression throughout the globalized world. The spreading cultural mores and ideas in the modern age paved the way for a homogenized world. However the process of modernization influenced each country in a different way because the countries had different cultural, economic, historical and social backgrounds. Regardless of this fact, modernization was directly related with communication, urbanization, industrialization and education all over the world. In accordance with this understanding, with the expansion of European power, the perception of superiority of the present versus inferiority of the past transformed into "a sense of superiority

over those pre-modern societies and cultures 'locked' in the past – primitive and uncivilized peoples whose subjugation and 'introduction' into modernity became the right and obligation of European powers" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2000, 131). Taking into account the different definitions of modernity and modernization it can be proposed that modernization is used in two different meanings: the first, based on ethymological origin from Latin as *modernus*, which can simply be defined as the replacement of the past values with contemporary ones. Second, based on some basic characteristics of modernism in terms of historical origin, usually dates back to the Renaissance, Reformation and the Enlightenment. According to the second meaning of modernity, being "modern" requires certain characteristics like individulism, secularization, and rationalism which are closely related to the basic characteristics of the Renaissance, Reformation and the Enlightenment.

In the process of transition to modernity, either willingly and directly or reluctantly and indirectly, all countries got into the running to reach Europe's level of prosperity. Among the former, Turkey and Egypt were aware of the superiority of Europe in terms of science, technology and economy. For Egypt this awareness dates back to Napoleon's 1798 invasion accompanied by a number of scientists from France. For Turkey, during the nineteenth century, the last years of Ottoman rule can be regarded as a turning point in terms of modernization. Beginning from these years, industry and science, fabrics and schools were considered significant by Muhammed Ali of Egypt and Mahmud II of the Ottoman Sultanate. Observers and students were sent to Europe from Egypt and the Ottoman Sultanate in order to research developments at first hand and to be educated in the Western style. Through the support of the leadership who were open for change, not only in technological developments, but also cultural and social attitudes from Europe were imported because the observers and students associated developments in the West with the society and culture of their host countries. As a result, the process of transition to modernity divided the intellectuals into two: confronted with the values of modernity, some were in favour of total Westernization, while others approached the new developments cautiously, taking into account their own values which had been labeled as "backward." The two groups were aware of the technological superiority of Europe, but the issue that divided the intellectuals was that together with technological developments, the new parameters of modernism could result in the rejection of cultural and spiritual values.

All in all, the process of transition to modernity became adversorial in both Egypt and Turkey since the developments in Europe were the results of grassroots movements that grew out of the social unrest, in Egypt and Turkey the process began as a result of the awareness of superiority of Europe after military defeats and gradually extended to all areas of life. The comparative analysis of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* will be undertaken in the context provided above and it is expected to shed light on the way these two countries went through this process, as well as on the affect it had on their peoples and cultures.

Based on Edward Said's affiliative reading as a new sort of criticism, the first chapter of this dissertation is on the lives and literary careers of Naguib Mahfouz and Orhan Pamuk in order to enable the reader to read their works within the network of the socio-cultural structure of the societies they grew up in. Moreover, both writers reflect themselves in the personality of the characters in their novels which I will analyze. In the analysis of the novels, the autobiographical knowledge of the writers will be useful to comprehend the intellectual crisis of Kamal of *The Cairo Trilogy*, and the imitation passion of Ahmet of *Cevdet Bey and Sons.*

The second chapter of this dissertation is about the first attempts at modernization in Egypt and the Ottoman Sultanate, and the historical allegories in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* based on new historicism as a literary frame due to the close relationship between history and literature. Regarding the continuity of history, historical knowledge of modernization in Egypt and Turkey (or the Ottoman Sultanate) is thought to enable a better analysis of these novels set during critical periods: *The Cairo Trilogy* is set during a time when Egypt was under British occupation and includes the 1919 revolution. Mahfouz focuses on the historical, social, political, and cultural structure of Egypt through a middle class Egyptian family caught in the clash of tradition and modernity. Pamuk starts *Cevdet Bey and Sons* in a critical period as well, as the book opens with the last years of the Ottoman Sultanate and the assassination attempt on the last Sultan, Adbulhamid II. The large measure of continuity that exists between the socio-historical, political, and cultural developments of these countries, the first attempts at modernization in Egypt and Turkey, from Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, which follow the attempts of Muhammed Ali and his successors to the modernization attempts of Selim III and his

successors. As a continuation of the developments mentioned, the historical allegories in *The Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* were analyzed in reference to the historical realities of the time and the modernization experiences of Egypt and Turkey.

The third chapter of this dissertation contextualizes the modernization process of Egypt and Turkey through *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* within the framework of the proper meaning of modernity. Considering the time frames of the novels (1917-1944 for the *Cairo Trilogy*, and 1905-1970 for *Cevdet Bey and Sons*,) it can be proposed that the citizens of both Egypt and Turkey were anxious about the future of their countries at the beginning. Egypt was under the British protectorate in 1917 during World War I, and the Ottoman Sultanate was in political, and social uncertainty. While this was the case, some students were sent to Europe to observe the technological developments abroad and to train according to the curricula of the countries they were sent to so that they could make up the deficiencies of their countries through their experience. Associating modernization with the imitation of the European host countries, these students adopted a point of view that evaluated the world in terms of binary oppositions based on the idea of the backward East versus the modern West. Both Mahfouz and Pamuk give wide publicity to the attitudes of their characters in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* which is a common characteristic of the process of modernization in Egypt and Turkey. The first generation in both of works is the one on whom the influences of a traditional life style are felt heavily. Both Mahfouz and Pamuk narrate the social, political, and cultural conflicts of Egypt and Turkey in the process of transition to modernity especially in the life experience of second generations. Kamal of *The Cairo Trilogy* and Refik of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* are the representatives of the conflict between past and present. When it comes to the third generation, an absolute break from the past is unavoidable and finds its epitome in the life experiences of Ahmad Shawkad of *The Cairo Trilogy* and Ahmet of *Cevdet Bey and Sons.* The analysis hold in this study will reveal how the parallel intellectual and historical transformations that have taken place in Egypt and Turkey have been portrayed by Naguib Mahfouz and Orhan Pamuk through their stories of three generations in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*.

CHAPTER I

TWO CONTROVERSIAL NOVELISTS: NAGUIB MAHFOUZ AND ORHAN PAMUK

Beginning this dissertation with a chapter focusing on the backgrounds of the authors of the works that will be analyzed intends to shed light on the deep relationship between the literary works and their authors. This approach is inspired by Edward Said's theory of *worldliness* or material context of the text which begins by asking the question "who addresses us in the text" (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia 2001, 16). Besides a range of circumstances including the role of the author, the historical moment in which the text was written is crucial also in analyzing a text. As Said underlines in his *The World, The Text and The Critic,* it is an advantage that enables the critic to release the text from isolation and "imposes upon the scholar or critic the presentational problem of historically recreating or reconstructing the possibilities from which the text arose" (Said 1991, 174-5). *Worldliness,* or the material context of the text, enables one to understand the position of the writer in the world, as the texts are "a part of the social world, human life and of course the historical moments in which they are located and interpreted" (4). According to Said, the text's worldliness can be possible by *affiliative reading* that refers to "a process of identification through culture" (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia 2001, 25). Affiliative reading which enables one "to make visible, to give materiality back to, the strands holding the text to society, author and culture" (175) is made possible by a wide range of circumstances including "status of the author, historical moment, conditions of publication, diffusion and reception, values drawn upon, values and ideas assumed, a framework of consensually held tacit assumptions, presumed background, and so on" (174-75).

The status of the author has an important role according to Edward Said's affiliative network. In this approach, it is implied that the text can't be considered apart from its

author, the social context in which the author grew up, and the cultural dynamics of the society from which the text came into being. Based upon these aspects of Said's affiliation, basic knowledge about the lives of Naguib Mahfouz and Orhan Pamuk and the events which are regarded as significant in terms of their literary careers will provide the opportunity to analyze their works in multidimensional way.

Apart from growing up in different social classes and family structures the two experimental and revisionary novelists, the Egyptian 1988 Nobel Laureate Naguib Mahfouz and the Turkish 2006 Nobel Laureate Ferit Orhan Pamuk have a lot in common. On the one hand, the Nobel Prizes they won caused them to be regarded as respective cultural representatives of Egypt and Turkey; on the other hand, they somehow remained on the agenda of Egypt and Turkey, due to their striking views for which they were heavily criticized. Most probably, one of the most notable events, due to which the authors from two Muslim countries, Mahfouz and Pamuk, come across, is their denouncing of the fatwa issued by Ayetollah Ruholla Khomeini, Iran's supreme leader, condemning Salman Rushdie to death for blasphemy against Islam in his novel *The Satanic Verses.*[2] Additionally, the controversial attitudes of Mahfouz and Pamuk changed the course of their lives; while the former was stabbed in the neck outside his home Cairo[3] after his publication of *Children of Gabalawi*, the latter was claimed to be "The Most Hated Turk" (McGaha 2008, 1) in an interview after the publication of his seventh novel, *Snow*. It is also important to note that in their generation novels (*The Cairo Trilogy and Cevdet Bey and Sons*), which are the subjects of this study, both Mahfouz and Pamuk reflect their personalities in their fictional characters, respectively Kamal and Ahmet. Taking these into consideration, it can be proposed that if there is no knowledge about the authors and the circumstances under which their works came into being, the analysis of those works can't go beyond personal assumptions or structural inertness. As this is the case, it will be proper to have a look on the lives of these authors and the cultural context of the societies they grew up to make a multidimensional analysis from a broad perspective rather than bursting into the structural inertness of the text.

[2]For Naguib Mahfouz's case see, Rasheed El-Enany. *Naguib Mahfouz: The Pursuit of Meaning.* (New York: Routledge Inc., 1993), p, 239. For Orhan Pamuk's case see Michael McGaha, *Autobiographies of Orhan Pamuk: The Writer in His Novels*, (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2008), 31.
[3] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5297470.stm 19 November, 2014.

Naguib Mahfouz

The contemporary Egyptian writer, Naguib Mahfouz is considered to be one of the most distinguished authors of the Arab world. His distinction stems not only from the Nobel Prize he won in 1988, but also from his extraordinary ability of portraying the common lives of the Cairo middle class, in their daily routines. As there is no official (auto) biography of Mahfouz to date, important information about the Egyptian writer's life and literary career is to be learned from Gamal al-Ghitani's *The Mahfouz Dialogs.* This work was highly regarded by Mahfouz himself, not only because it remains a loyal reflection of the truth regarding his life, but also because of the close relationship between Ghitani and himself: "This book has relieved me of the need to think of writing an autobiography because of the essential and basic data that it contains concerning the course of my life, not to mention the fact that the author is himself a pillar of the latter" (Al-Ghitani 2007, 65).

Kazım Ürün, who had the opportunity to interview Mahfouz and report it in *Naguib Mahfouz and His Socio-Realist Novels* (*Necip Mahfuz ve Toplumsal Gerçekçi Romanları)* is another primary on Mahfouz's life. Except the abovementioned secondary sources, those who make research on Mahfouz's life and literary career have to focus on the limited interviews made by Mahfouz. In many occasions and interviews, Mahfouz was asked about writing his own autobiography, and the answer to this question came in the article he wrote to *Al- Hilal* magazine under the title of "Ana ufakkir idhan fa anaa ghayr mawjuud" [I think, then, I do not exist]:

> The idea of writing an autobiography does not occur to me occasionally. Sometimes, I think of writing it as a strictly autobiographical novel. But because of the adherence to the truth required in such work, I find it a serious dilemma and a crazy adventure. This is especially true since I have gone through a long period of transformation in which all our values have been rocked, falsehood become prevalent, and every individual has been split in two: one part is social and televisionary whereas the other part breathes a different life in the dark. No my dear, I think, then, I do not exist (Elsaadany 1999, 7).

Mahfouz was born in 1911 during the worldwide economic crisis, just before the First World War, in al-Jamaliya, one of the oldest regions of Cairo, as a child of a middle class family. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Cairo seemed like a modern Europe city, as it was getting rid of its mediaval life style (Ürün 2012, 59). Being the youngest of his four brothers and two sisters with a period of ten year difference between them, Mahfouz is deprived of a true fraternal friendship, whose absence seems to have affected him deeply. It also seems that Mahfouz's close

relationship with his friends is due to his lack of significant sibling affection. The age disparity between Mahfouz and his siblings is the biggest obstacle for Mahfouz to share his ideas with them. He asserts the case to Ghitani as follows:

> I did not have the kind of brother or sister that I could play with, go out with, or confide my secrets in. There was between me and them the kind of barrier which existed between a child and his parents [...] Because of this, friendship played a very important role in my life from a very early age. It provided the necessary substitute for the missing fraternity (Al-Ghitani 2007, 80).

The childhood of Kamal Abd al-Jawad in *Cairo Trilogy* and his close relationship with his friends may be interpreted as that of Mahfouz's personal experience, which will be described in greater detail, later. Mahfouz himself asserts the reason of his narrating brotherly relationships among siblings in his works, as a result of his being deprived of such relationships; this is obviuos in *The Cairo Trilogy, The Beginning and the End,* and *Khan al-Khalili* (Al-Ghitani 2007, 67).

As mentioned above, due to the economic crisis and the First World War that followed it, the period Mahfouz was born in was a critical one for Egypt in microcosmos and for the rest of the world in macrocosmos. Due to its strategic position, Egypt was exposed to many colonial enterprises including that of French and Britain.[4] Mahfouz had the opportunity of observing his country under British occupation, in the struggle for independence and as an independent country. As a result, all these developments turned into literary materials in the analytic eyes of Mahfouz. He somehow succeeded to reflect the political, and historical affairs of his time via literature. To understand how the political events turn into familial affairs in Mahfouz family, it will be proper to look at namely the stories of 14, 15, 18, 19, and 23 in *Fountain and Tomb*. Story 23 may be a good sample of how intermingled the matters of nation with that of family are:

> One morning I awaken with sudden harshness. A dark grip grabs and jerks me from the land of dreams. A flood of jangling noise engulfs me. My hair stands on end with horror: voices wail from the hall. Terrible thoughts rip at my flesh and the specter of death rises up before my eyes. I jump out of bed and dash to my closed door, hesitate a moment, then throw it open to face the unknown. My father is seated, my mother leans against the sideboard, and the servant stands in the doorway. They are all crying. My mother sees me and comes to me. "We scared you… Don't be afraid, son." Through a dry throat, I ask, "What […]?" She whispers hoarsely in my ear, "Saad Zaghloul […] May he live on in you!" I cry from my soul, "Saad!" I go back to my room. Gloom hangs everywhere (Mahfouz 1998, 36).

[4]Detailed information about the occuption of Egypt, the struggle of independence and the reflection of these historical realities within the context of the process of modernization in Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy* will be analyzed in the next chapter.

When Mahfouz is asked how he viewed his childhood, he himself asserts that: "My life as a child is reflected to some extent in *The Cairo Trilogy* and even more in *Fountain and Tomb*" (Mahfouz 1998, 73). Although when he was 12, his family moved to al-Abbasiya, a new Cairo suburb, Mahfouz seems to adhere strictly to al-Jamaliyya. Mahfouz proposes that only by writing could he find relief from the heartfelt emotions and obscure feelings of the strange bond between the area (al-Jamaliyya), the people there, the historic monuments and himself (75). Mahfouz explains the importance of Jamaliyya as his source of inspiration thus: "It seems to me that there has to be some link to a specific place, or a specific thing that is the starting point for one's feelings and sensations. […] The writer needs something that shines and inspires" (77). Ghitani records Mahfouz's stating the indispensability of al-Jamaliyya or "the world of hara" that:

> Even when, later on, I shifted to treating intellectual or symbolic topics, I would also return to the world of hara. What engages me is the reality of that world. There are some whose choice falls on a real, or imaginary place or on a historical period; my preferred world is that of the hara. The hara came to the background of most of my works, so that I could go on living in the area that I love (Al-Ghitani 2007, 77-78).

Jamaliyya, as the setting of much of Mahfouz's works, is the subject matter of many researchers including Rasheed El-Enany. He claims: "Jamaliyya continues to haunt his work in various mantles of disguise and lends to it many of its typical characters and physical assets" (El-Enany 1993, 1). Borrowing from the third edition of *The Mahfouz Dialogs* which contained a new introduction added by Gamal al-Ghitani, El-Enany notes that: "*Khan al-Khalili, Midaq Alley* and *The Trilogy* are accurate documentations of the features of the area during the period of their events" (El-Enany 1993, 1-2). Cairo's being the cornerstone of Mahfouz's daily life and literary formation has won Mahofuz a reputation for being "a living repository of memories of Cairo" (Al-Ghitani 2007, 64). Jamaliyya's rich socio cultural context enabled Mahfouz to observe different people from diverse countries. As Mahfouz himself reports, there were not only Egyptians but also Turks and Persians in Jamaliyya (Ürün 2002, 62). This can be the underlying reason of the fact that he describes the life styles of Egyptians together with different nations in his works. To give an example, he refers to Turkish life style in some occasions in *The Cairo Trilogy* (Mahfouz 1994a, 226, 302-3)

Before joining primary school, Mahfouz's education, in common with his generation, began at the Kuttab (Qur'an School) where he learnt religion and the principles of literacy (Ürün 2002, 11). Mahfouz claims that the Kuttab taught him how to be naughty, but it also taught him the principles of religion and the principles of reading and writing (Al-Ghitani 2007, 70). Mahfouz's going to mosque school at an early age, as a result of the decision of his devout Muslim parents, not only "influenced the prose style of the adult writer," but also "probably contributed to his portrayal of many characters with an interest in Sufism, which he uses to represent a desire to withdraw from a world embroiled in conflicts and sick with divided loyalties" (Mahfouz 1998, 2).

The 1919 revolution was one of the most significant events that left a mark on Mahfouz. He proposes that "one thing which most shook the security of my childhood was the 1919 revolution. We saw the British, and we heard the shooting, and I saw the bodies and the bounded in Bayt al-Qadi Square" (Al- Ghitani 2007, 73). During the revolution, the writer was only seven years old; in that tender age, he observed and experienced the popular uprising of Egyptians against the British:

> I used to look at the thugs who came to Al-Jamaliyya Police Department after their fights in the desert. From a small room on the roof I used to see the demonstrations of the 1919 revolution, to see women's demonstrations in which low-class women take part in on donkey-drawn carts, and to see bullet firing [English soldiers firing at the demonstrators […] My mother used to pull me back away from the window, but I wanted to see everything (El-Enany 1993, 52).

The main pillar of Mahfouz's writing was the interlinking of the politics and social conflicts with the ordinary lives of Egyptians. *The Trilogy* is the most obvious example of this reality, in terms of reflecting the 1919 events and the nationalist feelings of the time. When asked about the importance of *The Trilogy*, Mahfouz says that *Palace of Walk* expresses the awakening of a society from its deep sleep by the advent of a revolution; *Palace of Desire* shows how caste and class are one of the factors that led to the failure of this revolution; and in *Sugar Street* new revolutions start with the appearance of new young men (Elsaadany 1999, 4).

To a large extent *The Trilogy* reflects Mahfouz's own experiences. The sharpest example of this is the similarity between Mahfouz and one of the protagonists of *Cairo Trilogy*, Kamal Abd-al Jawad, as previously mentioned. Mahfouz proposes that "Kamal [the main protagonist of The Trilogy] reflects my intellectual crisis that was a generation crisis, as I think. Indeed, Kamal's intellectual crisis in *The Trilogy*

was the crisis of all our generation" (Elsaadany 1999, 48). However, a close consideration of the author's life reveals that Mahfouz's father and mother are quite different from the tyrant father figure, Ahmad Abd-al Jawad and the obedient mother figure Amina Abd-al Jawad of *The Trilogy*. While relating his mother's passion for the ancient monuments and their walks around Egyptian museum or Pyramids where the Sphinx is, Mahfouz stresses that his mother enjoyed a relative freedom, unlike Amina in *The Trilogy*, who wasn't allowed to go out without the permission of her husband (Al-Ghitani 2007, 70-71). Mahfouz contends that portraying the kind of family context in which the father is a strict disciplinarian and the mother is an absolute subservient he was inspired not by his own family but by one of the families which lived opposite to them:

> I remember a family that used to live opposite us. The house was always closed, the windows were never opened and the only person who ever came out of it was its master, a Levantine called Shaykh Radwan, a man of imposing appearance. My mother would take me to visit this family and I would see that the man's wife was forbidden to go outside. We used to visit them but she never visited us. She used to implore my mother to come and see her (Al-Ghitani 2007, 71).

One of the most crucial points in Mahfouz's family that influenced him and became the subject matter of *The Trilogy* is Mahfouz's father's obsession with the political events and politicians of the date. While relating his father, the first thing Mahofuz confides to Ghitani is how his father associates every event in their daily life, great or small, with some public matter so much so that "he would discuss household matters in the same breath as those of the nation, as though they were one and the same" (Al-Ghitani 2007, 71).

Mahfouz grew up in a religious family, as can be figured out from his being sent to Quran School at an early age. The religious family and the political issues in which he found himself due to his father's manners influenced him very much. When he talks about the context of his house, Mahfouz notes that their house gave the false impression that no one with any connection to art could possibly emerge from it.

Mahfouz sees the religious nature of their house as the only culture to be available. As for the political order, he regards it the only thing to connect the house to public life (Al-Ghitani 2007, 72). At the time, Mahfouz had no concern with literature, or any one in his family engaged in literary activities. Indeed, there were no other books in the house, with the exception of a copy of the Quran and *The Tale of 'Isa Ibn Hisham*, which had been given as a present to his father by one of his friend. The

reason of this present was obviously not related to his father's interest in literature; it was a token of the friendship (Ürün 2012, 65).

Ghitani proposes that Mahfouz disappointed his father and teachers by declaring his intention to attending the department of philosophy because, while he was weak in literary studies, he was strong in math and science. In fact what young Mahfouz wanted above all was getting a job through soccer that would enable him to remain in Cairo. Being good at math and science caused him to think about becoming a doctor or an engineer, but when he started reading articles on philosophy, he discovered that some philosophical questions rose in his mind which helped him to determine his direction about his future occupation (Al-Ghitani 2007, 82). Eager to find answers to his questions, Mahfouz pursued his education in the philosophy department of Egyptian University in Cairo. During his university education Mahfouz applied for two French scholarships in the branches of language and philosophy. He especially felt the urge to getting the one on language. By means of this scholarship he would learn advanced French and become a university professor instead of a civil servant. Staying in France would also enable him to focus on literature and art. Yet, although he ranked number two, he lost the chance of getting the scholarships due to the political tendency and prejudice of the election board (Ürün 2012, 75).

When he obtained his undergraduate degree from the department of philosophy, Mahfouz was again at a crossroad. He had to decide whether to continue his studies in the field of philosophy or literature, which he describes as a disease getting out of control. Mahfouz proposes that it was Dr. Adham Rajab, his lifelong friend who first directed his attention to literature:

> I am obliged to Dr. Adham who guided my steps toward literature… I only graduated from the school of Philosophy, and therefore all my studies were merely philosophical. I never realized that I had the ability to be a writer until two years after my graduation. I needed Dr. Rajab to give me an idea about the modern English Literary School. Thanks to his library; it was of great help… (Ata Elyas 2007, 82).

When Mahfouz became aware of his inclination toward literature, the idea of studying literature together with philosophy came to his mind. However, the reaction against this idea was clear: the secretary of faculty Abbas Mahmud told him that would be in violation with the prevailing system for him to study philosophy together with literature (Al-Ghitani 2007, 82-83). Deciding to read philosophy, Mahfouz set way to prepare an MA thesis titled *"The Concept of Aesthetics in the Philosophy of*

Islam." In this study, he considered comparing French philosopher Bergson to Muslim philosophers but soon after (upon publishing some philosophical articles), he dropped this idea due to his tendency for literature. The question of whether he would prefer philosophy or literature occupied his mind night after night (Ürün 2012, 7). Mahfouz contends that this milestone of his life pushed him to the other way:

> I handled the book of philosophy in one hand and, the book of Tevfiku'l Hakim, Yahya Hakkı or Taha Huseyn on the other. On the one hand there were philosophical ecoles in my mind on the other hand the fictitious characters were appearing in my mind at the same time. [...] I had to decide. Otherwise, I would go mad. The characters of Ehlu'l Kehf that Tevfiku'l Hakim described, the postman that Yahya Hakkı portrayed, the little farmer in the *el-Eyyam* of Taha Huseyn and many characters in Mahmud Teymur all occurred simultenously in my mind. Then I gave up philosophy and joined the walk of the characters that occurred in my mind (Ürün 2012, 77).

By preferring literature Mahfouz would take the plunge because the leading writers and intellectuals of the time were giving weight to thought rather than art; art was a kind of rest area for them that they spared not a long time. In that period there was no one among intelligentsia who devoted himself to literature (Ürün 2012, 73-74). In spite of everything, Mahfouz insisted on his decision and set the course. When in 1936, he found his way by deciding to study literature he came across another significant problem: catching up with everything he had missed. Mahfouz states his struggle in this process thus:

> Time was limited and I had much to do. This is why after I graduated and taken up my duties, I continued working at home. It was as though I was still a student, and this made my father worry about me. He used to say to me, "It is as though you hadn't graduated. I see you sitting at your desk day and night and I ask you, 'Are you going to get a doctorate?' and you tell me no. So why are you wearing yourself out?" My father was worried because I was working such long hours. I felt that time was limited, and at the same time I wanted to read in literature, in science, in history. I wanted to listen to music and at the same time to write, to write seriously (Al-Ghitani 2007, 84).

Upon abandoning the study of philosophy for a lifelong devotion to literature Mahfouz took *The Outline of Literature* by John Drinkwater as a guide to have an overview on world literature and provide him guidance on what to read and which materials to select for writing. In the *The Outline of Literature,* Drinkwater "reviews world literature down the ages and across nations, which afforded Mahfouz an overall view rather than immersing him in the literature of a certain period or nation" (El-Enany 1993, 16). Mahfouz had to be selective because, as he himself maintains, his time was limited and he had much to do. In this process Mahfouz had the advantage of knowing English and French, as his university education enabled him to

learn these languages. Hence, besides in Arabic, he had the opportunity to also read literature in French and English. In an interview, he says that his literary formation was a result of his reading of so many Arab and foreign writers' works. He proposes to have learned literature from reading Taha Hussein, El Akad, Salama Moussa, El Hakem and El Mazni. Whereas, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, James Joyce, Kafka, Shakespeare, Ibsen and Shaw are the foreign writers he was influenced by (Sallam 1973, 258). Among these, one of the most influential figures shaping Mahfouz's worldview was Salama Moussa. Besides translating Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* into Arabic, Moussa had written thirteen literary works. While acknowledging Moussa's considerable impact on him, Mahfouz underlines the fact that besides tolerance he had learned two concepts from Moussa which he never forget; science and socialism (Ürün 2012, 92-4). Kazım Ürün proposes that the reason why science is the core point of many of Mahfouz's works including *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Children of Gabalawi* is Indeed the influence of Moussa on him. Ürün also reports that as a socialist Salama Moussa plays a crucial role in Mahfouz's reading of Darwin, Freud, Marx, Kant and Tolstoy (Ürün 2012, 94). A detailed research on Mahfouz's literary career reveals that he was not satisfied with the writers above. It is possible to see his inclination toward Western literature from his long and varied list of writers and their masterpieces:

> The writers who influenced me are the ones I liked. I liked Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, Chekhov and Maupassant. […] Of modernist writers I liked Proust and Kafka. As for Joyce…he was just a writer that you had to read[…] *Ulysses* was a terrible novel, but it created a trend. […] In the theatre I liked Shakespeare immensely. […] Both his grandness and ironies entered my soul and made me feel at home with him. […] Next to Shakespeare I liked Eugene O'Neill much and also Ibsen and Strindberg. In the contemporary theatre I was truly shaken by Beckett's Waiting for Godot. As for Chekhov's theatre, I found it flaccid and boring. In American literature I rate Melville's *Moby Dick* among the world's greatest novels if not the greatest. Out of Hemingway's work I only liked *The Old Man and the Sea*. His other work left me surprised at the fame he has acquired. I did not like Faulkner; he is too complicated. I also liked Dos Passos, but none of them has written a *Moby Dick*. I very much admire the all-encompassing outlook in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. The novel offers a very realistic story but contains at the same time a broad universal view (El-Enany 1993, 17).

Though Mahfouz preferred literature to philosophy after a troubled period of choice, he never broke away from philosophy. Over half of his forty seven articles which were written between 1930 and 1945 deal with philosophical and psychological subjects. "Pragmatism," "The Philosophy of Love," "The Philosophy of Bergson," "Scientific Philosophy," "What is Philosophy?" "Philosophy and Philosophers," "The

Concept of God," "The Concept of God in Philosophical approaches to Literature," and "Love and the Sexual Drive" are only some of the articles he published in the Al-Majallah Al-Jadeedah (The New Magazine) with the encouragement of the editor of the magazine, Salama Musa. It is not only Mahfouz's articles but also his literary works that prove his indissoluble bond to philosophy. Researchers are of one mind regarding the prominent place of the thought of the French philosopher Henri Bergson in Mahfouz's philosophical and literary life. Confirming this, Rasheed el-Enany highlights that Professor Badr is also among those who defend that Bergson influenced Mahfouz's work. After briefly referring to Bergson's ideas on the duality of body and spirit and his elevation of intuition over scientific reasoning as a way of knowing, Badr states the necessity of these ideas in understanding of Mahfouz's work (El-Enany 1993, 14). El-Enany himself asserts that Mahfouz has been explicit about the philosophy of time by insisting on the historicity of time. Nonetheless, Bergson is not the sole philosopher from whom Mahfouz was influenced. In her *The Shadow of Hegel in the Cairo Trilogy,* Clara Srouji-Shajrawi proposes that it is better to interpret Mahfouz's philosophy of time in terms of Hegel's view of history rather than Bergson's perspective of time. To confirm this idea, Srouji-Shajrawi asserts that a detailed analysis of the beginning and ending of every part of *The Cairo Trilogy* will reveal that the structure clearly reflects the spiral form of time and not that of linear time, which points to a Hegelian style (Srouji-Shajrawi 2014, 2).

When he started work, in 1934, Mahfouz, as a government employee, had to work in two different jobs at the same time. On the one hand, his government job provided him the possibility of meeting a large number of people who contributed to enrich his fiction. On the other hand, the time he devoted to literature was very limited due to his working conditions. He tells Ghitani that the time when he worked in the ministry of religious endowments was the most fruitful period of his government service, as there he could see a wide range of people from different classes: "One used to see the beneficiaries, and many different types, from the grandson of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid down to the poor peasant who had a right to a portion of an endowment" (Al-Ghitani 2007, 138-39). Besides this advantage of his job Mahfouz wasn't satisfied with the time he devoted to writing. Because he had to work all day, he could only write at night. In a speech to Ahmad Abbas Saleh, Mahfouz cites the obstacles he faced as an employee, in the 1930s:

> Hemingway used to live his life first, and then he would present it to his readers with its details. Whenever he lacked a certain kind of experience, he would search for and fly to it wherever on earth it exists, so that he could live it and write about it. But for me, writing is a process of torture. My job in the government takes all of my daytime. Only at night do I hold my pen and write for no more than two hours. People call this kind of writing "literature," but I call it "the literature of employees."[5]

From his graduation (1934) to his retirement (1971) Mahfouz served in a wide variety of government departments, in different positions, under various political regimes. Thus, until retiring from service at the age of 60 Mahfouz was not able to devote himself entirely to literature (El-Enany 1993, 29). In 1945 he was voluntarily transferred to al-Ghuri Library in Jamaliyya, thereby rejoining his birthplace, which was his source of inspiration. From there Mahfouz moved on to manage The Good Loan Project. He asserts that it was a period of his life that he enjoyed fully by spending all mornings chatting with lower class women who came to apply for loans. After realizing that many of those women populated his fiction, it will be proper to propose that the chatting with the women was not totally idle chatter (El-Enany 1993, 30).

Mahfouz's literary career can be divided into four basic stages: the historical (1939-1944), socio-realistic (1945-1960), neo-realistic (1960-1970s) and traditional (1970-1980s). After resolving his literature-philosophy dilemma, Mahfouz thought about what to write. He confirms the fact that at that period, nationalistic feelings were at its peak, along with the call for a return to the glories of the pharaohs. That is why he had read Egyptian history and decided to dedicate his life to writing history of Egypt in novel form (Al-Ghitani 2007, 89). *The Game of Fate,* (1939), *Radubis* (1943), and *The Struggle of Theba* (1944) were his historical novels, which Mahfouz confessed to have modeled following the examples of Sir Walter Scott and Alexander Dumas' historical novels. The lesson of Sir Walter Scott is obvious in the attempts to portray Ancient Egyptians in their daily life and old customs (Al-Sarayreh 1998, 19). Even though Mahfouz seems to use ancient Egypt as a setting in his historical phase, there is implied criticism of King Faroukv in *Radubis* and a pronounced feeling of nationalist resentment against the foreign (and hence British) occupation of Egypt in *The Struggle of Thebe* (Badawi 2007, 167). Mahfouz proposes that the desire of writing the history of Egypt died after he had finished *Thebes at War,* which was the reflection of the circumstances Egypt was going through at the time. Indeed,

[5] His Speech to Ahmad Abbas Saleh in a newspaper called Al-Jumhuriya, Cairo, October 28, 1960.

Mahfouz admits that he was unable to understand the death of history for himself (Al-Ghitani 2007, 89).

In his socio-realistic stage Mahfouz seems to appear as a great writer with his advanced novelistic techniques and critical abilities. Compared with his historical phase, in this one, Mahfouz seems to deal more directly with the social and political context of his time. Malak Amin proposes that in this period Mahfouz's writing style differs from others' due to "his blending of symbolism with realism, of sly irony with harsh political satire, of nationalism, all this while remaining always lucid and accessible to the average educated reader" (Malak 1992, 2). In about twelve years Mahfouz indited eight novels: *Khan El-Khalili* (1945), *Cairo Modern* (1946), *Midaq Alley* (1947), *The Mirage* (1948), *The Beginning and The End* (1950), and *The Trilogy*, which consists of three novels: *Palace Walk* (1956), *Palace of Desire* (1957) and *Sugar Alley* (1957). In these works, Mahfouz generally portrays the daily life of the middle class people in his beloved city, Cairo. The time spans of these works include the period after the 1919 Revolution and before the 1952 Revolution. In this period, Mahfouz aims to depict the negative influences of WWI and WWII on the people of Jamaliyya. Egypt's social and political miseries of the forties and fifteens are depicted successfully in the novels of this phase. Due to his unique ability of portraying Egyptian society, many critics called him the Egyptian Dickens, Zola, Dostoyevsky or Balzac. In *Modern Arabic Literature and the West* (1985), for instance Badawi proposes that:

> Unlike Lawrence Durrell's Alexandria, Mahfouz's Cairo has more than mere romantic imaginative validity: it is a recognizable physical presence; its powerful impact upon the lives of characters is as memorable as that of Dickens's London, Dostoyevsky's St Petesburg or Zola's Paris (Badawi 1985, 168).

Perhaps one of the most significant works that contributed to Mahfouz's literary career is *The Cairo Trilogy* which is the subject matter of this study, as well. In this novel, Mahfouz uses minute detail which is a characteristic of the socio-realistic period of his literary career. Like Tolstoy, or Zola, Mahfouz uses a technique which allows him to talk about one particular incident in one chapter and another, completely different, in the next chapter(s). Only after a few chapters have passed, does the author return to the first incident, or idea (Ata Elyas 1979, 11-12). A detailed description of places and people that enables Mahfouz to reveal social and political context of Egypt is another characteristics of this phase. After *The Trilogy* Mahfouz recessed writing fiction, due to the fact that he thought he had already

written all he could about the status quo of his country via fiction. In an interview in 1957 Mahfouz talks about this stage as follows:

> I am now going through a stage of absorption and meditation […] I do not know when I will resume writing. But when I do I will not go back to realism because I am bored with that mode of writing. I had enough of the tones of realism with which I filled my novels. I am aware of changes occurring in me. This will ultimately lead me to a new way of writing that I will use when I take hold of my pencil and paper once more (Mikhail 1992, 13).

Two years later, with the publication of *Awlad Haritna (The Children of Gebelawi, 1959)* Mahfouz seems to begin his neo-realistic phase. In this phase, Mahfouz's main focus is ideas and concepts rather than the depiction of daily life of Cairo. The difference in Mahfouz's style drew the attention of the critics. In her two articles, "Naguib Mahfouz and the Development of Arabic Novel" and "Alexandria and the latter Novels of Naguib Mahfouz", Fatma Mussa appreciated Mahfouz's style and "his breaking away from the old technique of meticulous details and panoramic narration" (Mahmoud 1973, 63). Fatma Mussa also proposed that by using stream of consciousness technique, Mahfouz "has attempted something much more complex, more modern and what is more, highly artistic" (Mahmoud 1973, 51). In the introduction to his translation of Mahfouz's sensational work *Midaq Alley,* the critic Trevor LeGassick, who was well acquainted with Mahfouz's novel, proclaims that with *The Thief and the Dogs* Mahfouz "has changed from realist to impressionist and he used 'the stream of consciousness' technique to pursue the thoughts and motivations of his central characters…" (Mahfouz 1975, VI). This phase can be described as a philosophical one, in which one character is placed in center and through his eyes the other events and characters are presented and judged. The language of this term is described as "much denser and more evocative than before, using image, motif and association to depict emotional tension and to hold together in a powerful unity the entire fabric of the work" (El-Enany 1993, 101).

The fourth phase of Mahfouz's literary career is labeled "the phase of indigenous or traditional form" (El-Enany 1993, 101). Beginning with *Mirrors* (1972) and *Fountain and Tomb* (1975), in this phase, Mahfouz uses the fragments of his life and times as the background of his new form (*Ibid.*). When al-Ghitani asks him about the content and form of this new phase, Mahfouz explains how he formed his own style after freeing himself from the dictated style of the time:

> When we started novel writing, we used to think that there is a correct and incorrect form. […] namely, the European form of the novel was sacred. With

> age, you start to change your outlook and try to free yourself from what is dictated upon you in a natural and traditional way; not just for the mere breaking of the form intentionally. You start searching for a tune that stems from within yourself. Whatever this tune is, whether it gets you back to the old, or leads you to modernism. This is as if you are saying: what are the forms that they [Europeans] wrote in? Aren't these artistic forms they created? Why don't I create the form I like? As for myself, regarding my revolt against what is European or classical, increased during the last fifteen years. I became more confident, started to look for an internal tune by which I write more. The tale was one of the landmarks of this stage (Al-Ghitani 2007, 107).

As it is clearly seen from Mahfouz's words, in his last phase he gets rid of the dictated stereotypes and finds his own writing style. Indeed his revolt against the status quo of uniqueness of "European style" may be interpreted as Ngugi's *linguistic feudalism* in which he proposes that a few European languages (principally English, French, Russian, German, Italian, German and Spanish) are the patricate, and those from Asia, Africa, Latin America, indigenous America, and the rest are ranged in a descending order in terms of power and prestige.

According to Ngugi, that's why literature and culture are in tendency to be valued in accordance with position their language of composition occupies in the hierarchy. Ngugi thinks that the aesthetic feudalism within and between nations is the result of the hierarchy mentioned above (Wa Thiong'o 2012, 60-61). Mahfouz's revolt against the uniqueness of European form of the novel brings to mind the experience of Ngugi. In the first chapter of *Globalectics* with the title of *The English Master and the Colonial Bondsman,* Ngugi, as a member of English Department at the University of Nairobi, argues the necessity of abolishing the English Department. With regard to this, Ngugi describes his colonial experience and bravely shows the courage of speaking the unspeakable by asking the crucial question:

> "How could my study of four and half centuries of English literature, from Beowulf to Virginia Wolfe (or as Abiola Irele of Ibadan once described it─probably more mellifluously─ from Spenser to Spender), speak to my colonial situation and the changes I was witnessing? My world was not reflected in any of those centuries into which the study of English had been periodized; it was certainly not the subject of the selected writers and the literary texts. At least not directly" (Wa Thiong'o 2012, 10).

What Mahfouz and Ngugi as the writers of different regions suffer from is directly related with the hierarchy of languages mentioned above. The issue of the translation of "Third World" books Said mentions in his *Cruelty of Memory* is another example of the case. In 1980, before Mahfouz won the Nobel Prize, Said had attempted to convince a New York publisher to translate Mahfouz's works. In the prologue of his article, Said narrates how his idea convincing the publisher looking for "Third

World" books to publish several of the great writers' books in first-rate translations was refused (Said 2001, 1). Said's inquiry of the reason for the refusal again reveals the reality of the hierarchy of languages; the reason the publisher puts forward was that Arabic was a controversial language. However, it is clear that the underlying reason of such kind of excuses is the 'aristocracy' of languages.

To go back to the phases of Mahfouz's literary career, it can be argued that although the classification of Mahfouz's literary career may be useful for tracing his development as a writer, it is difficult to draw a demarcation line between the phases. El-Enany defines the problems in attempting to order Mahfouz's works in terms of chronology. According to El-Enany, the very variety and unpredictability of the aesthetics of Mahfouz's work has in fact always defied neat classification. El-Enany claims that critics and academics who talked for long about a romantic/historical phase of Mahfouz's work surprisingly found him writing historical novels again forty years later and this time without a trace of romanticism. Demonstrating how some of Mahfouz's specific works can be classified differently by different critics, El-Enany finds the solution in disregarding the principle of absolute chronology in his examination of the author's work (El-Enany 1993, xii).

As for Mahfouz's success; he was able to be the author of some 40 novels, more than a hundred short stories, more than two hundred articles, 30 screenplays and many plays all despite his limited time and difficult life conditions. In his speech after being awarded the Nobel Prize, Mahfouz claimed: "I am the son of two civilizations that at a certain age in history have formed a happy marriage. The first of these, seven thousand years old, is the Pharaonic civilization; the second, one thousand four hundred years old, is the Islamic one."[6] As all of his compariots born in Egypt, Mahfouz was fortunate in having such a rich cultural background but what makes him the only Arab writer to win Nobel Prize had to do with his unique talent which enables him to weave that rich cultural heritage with the universal human themes. Mahfouz's speech on that occasion of in 1988 is evidence to his universality. Whether he reflected the realities of his society in an objective manner is a matter of debate but though the setting of Mahfouz's writing doesn't exceed Cairo in the

[6] http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1988/mahfouz-lecture.html , 28.December.14.

microcosmos and Egypt in macrocosmos, he succeeds to bring Egypt, the so-called Third World together with the universal. [7]

Orhan Pamuk

> "All my books are made from a mixture of Eastern and Western methods, styles, habits and histories, and if I am rich it is thanks to these legacies. My comfort, my double happiness, comes from the same source: I can without any guilt, wander between the two worlds, and in both I am at home" (Pamuk 1997, 264).

Ferit Orhan Pamuk, the first Turkish writer to win the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2006 was among the youngest of Nobel Prize winners. The Nobel Committee deemed him worthy of the Prize due to the fact that Pamuk "in the quest for the melancholic soul of his native city has discovered new symbols for the clash and interlacing of cultures."[8] Though the reason of Pamuk's winning the Prize seems to stem from his ability of discovering new ways of intercultural engagement, what is worth mentioning is the result of the Prize; Pamuk's success enabled him to have books translated into more than sixty-five languages and as a result he was called as "cultural representative" of his country. Each of Pamuk's nine novels (*Cevdet Bey and Sons, Silent House, The White Castle, The Black Book, The New Life, My Name is Red, Snow, The Museum of Innocence* and *A Strangeness in My Mind*) somehow deals with the representations of identity within an Ottoman or Turkish historical context. As one of the world's most famous living writers, Pamuk's success in terms of reaching so many readers from different countries is inevitable.

As for the circumstances under which Pamuk grew up, he was raised in a wealthy secular Istanbul household headed by his grandfather, who ran a factory and made a fortune building railways. The Pamuk home was a typical Ottoman household, with relatives on every floor (Stone 1994, 19). Being a member of such a wealthy, educated, Westernized, secularist ruling class, which is regarded as privileged compared with the average religious and middle-low income families in Turkey, Pamuk felt alienated from his countrymen due to the drastic measures took by

[7] On Mahfouz's life, his literary context and literary criticism, see Michael Beard and Adnan Haydar. (eds.) *Naguib Mahfouz: From Regional Fame to Global Recognition*. *Syracuse*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993.), Matti Moosa, The *Early Novels of Naguib Mahfouz*. (University of Florida Press: Gainesville, FL, 1994.), Muhammad Salmawi , Andy Smart, and Nadia.Fouda-Smart *The Last Station: Naguib Mahfouz Looking Back*. New York: The American University in Cairo Press: Cairo 2007.)

[8] Nobel Prize, "The Nobel Prize in Literature 2006, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2006 / 10 February 15

founder of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, to diminish the influence of religion in the lives of people which he regarded as the major obstacle to Turkey's modernization. So, the Pamuk family regarded both religion and Turkish traditional literature as primitive (McGaha 2008, 18). Growing up in such a family, Pamuk's only encounter with Islam in his childhood was going to mosque with the family maid. In an interview with Fernenda Eberstadt Pamuk admitted that, "it was a place where the servants met to gossip, and I was so Westernized I felt naked to taking off my shoes" (Eberstadt 1997). This mentality was instilled in him from his early childhood by his grandmother who taught him to read, who also recited almost atheistic poems to him. As he narrates to Judy Stone: "In my childhood, religion was something that belonged to the poor and to servants. My grandmother used to mock them" (Stone 1994, 19). The influence of his grandmother on Pamuk is realized best in the scene of the funeral of Cevdet Bey. During the funeral of his father, Refik pretends to pray as if he performed ablution and remembering to come to the mosque with their servants or with his father during the festivals; he thinks that performing prayer is something that suits gardeners and doormen (Pamuk 2013, 223-24).

Analyzing his life and his works enables one to see that not only his grandmother but all of the family members have great influence on Pamuk in his literary career. In his Nobel Lecture, entitled "My Father's Suitcase", Pamuk tells that in his youth in late nineteen-forties his father had wanted to be an artist and had translated Valéry into Turkish and as he had a comfortable life as a child and a young man due to his wealthy family, he didn't want to bite the bullet for the sake of literature, for writing.[9] Pamuk states that although his father had wanted to be an artist and couldn't be one, "he projected into my spirit the idea that being an artist is a good thing."[10] Pamuk's father's contribution to his predilection toward literature is indisputable. He narrates that his father had a large library with about fifteen hundred volumes and, like himself, Gündüz Pamuk enjoyed being alone with his books and his thoughts.[11] Pamuk is so grateful to his father due to the fact that "he had never been a

[9] Pamuk, *My Father's Suitcase*, Nobel Lecture, Translated by Maureen Freely. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2006/pamuk-lecture_en.html 13.March 15

[10] Interview with Nuriye Akman, February,6, 2004. http://www.todayszaman.com/news-5332-literature-is-my-spirituality.html 13.March 15

[11] "My Father's Suitcase", Nobel Lecture, Translated by Maureen Freely. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2006/pamuk-lecture_en.html 13.March 15

commanding, forbidding, overpowering, punishing, ordinary father."[12] Pamuk states that, if he freely draws his imagination it is because he doesn't fear his father unlike other children. It is clear that although Pamuk spent less time with his father compared with ordinary children, instead of complaining the absence of a father figure in the family, Pamuk always underlines the special place of Gündüz Pamuk in his life:

> I grew up in a house where everyone read novels. My father had a large library and when I was a child, my father would discuss the great novelists I mentioned earlier – Mann, Kafka, Dostoyevski, and Tolstoy – the way other fathers discussed famous generals and saints.[13]

When Orhan was seven, he started spending a lot of time painting and drawing. The hostility between his parents and the anxious conversations among adults (as during 1950s, Pamuk's father and uncle had lost much of the family fortune through bad investments) obligated Pamuk to escape from the realities of his life to the dream world of painting. It was also the only point where he was better than his older brother Şevket. They went to the same school and Pamuk was aware of the fact that no matter how hard he tried, he would never be as successful as his brother, Şevket, at school. As his father and uncle, the primary alma mater of Pamuk was Işık School which was an exclusive, private school. In 1966, Pamuk entered high school at the Academy of Robert College which was among the most prestigious institutions of higher education in Turkey at the time. The principal language of the education was English which was of crucial importance in Pamuk's life due to the fact that it provided him the chance of accessing the vast literature either written in English or translated into that language (McGaha 2008, 19-20). However, the distinguished school he was being educated was nonsense for Pamuk; as he narrates to Engin Kılıç that, his image in Robert College was of a person was "lazy, unsuccessful, spoiled, joking all the time but known as painter at school, and so forth […] namely I had an image quite unknown to the public at the present time" (Kılıç 1999, 33). In 1968, Pamuk was painting large canvasses portraying the views of poor neighborhoods in Istanbul in the style of Maurica Utrillo. "I would become someone named Utrillo, who in Paris had once done paintings very much like these" (Pamuk 2005, 242-43).According to Pamuk that's the "imitation" of someone else from which he

[12] Ibid.
[13] Pamuk, *In Kars and Frankfurt,* Translated by Maureen Freely, http://www.nrc.nl/redactie/Doc/pamuk.doc 1 March 2015.

learned one of the most important lessons of his life; forming his own style and identity:

> The almost-but-not quite shameful truth was that I could paint only when I thought I was someone else; I'd imitated a style; I'd imitated (though without ever using that word) an artist with his unique vision and way of painting. And not without profit, for if I had somehow become someone else; I too, now had "my" own style and identity. I would take a faint pride in this version. This was my first intimation of the thing that would nag at me in later years, the self-contradiction- a Westerner would call it the paradox- that we only acquire our own identity by imitating others (Pamuk 2005, 244).

In 1970 Pamuk entered the architecture school at Istanbul Technical University upon his father's request who wished him to carry on the family tradition by attending Istanbul Technical University and becoming an engineer instead of being a professional painter. Pamuk was dissatisfied with his classes as he didn't want to be an architect; building the kind of modern apartment buildings that would destroy Istanbul's historic character. Moreover, he was not happy there because the only future he could imagine for himself as an architect was building modern apartments that he felt were destroying Istanbul's historic character (McGaha 2008, 23). His classes were dull, since his professors "possessed the souls of the engineers, had no sense of play, and took no creative pleasure in architecture, their classes began to seem a waste of time" (Pamuk 2005, 310). All these agents caused Pamuk cutting his classes more and more and rediscovering Istanbul's different districts. At this time he also lost his interest in painting. Escaping from the realities of life to the dream world of painting was now replaced by wondering on the streets and reading books all night long. In his *Istanbul*, Pamuk narrates his discussions with his mother who is ashamed of Pamuk's dropping out and a tendency toward painting. After severe arguments Pamuk reveals his intention about his future. He will neither be an engineer nor a painter; he will be a writer (Pamuk 2005, 333). Pamuk also narrates how he gave up his desire of painting and the reason that attracted him to be a writer in one of his essays, *In Kars and Frankfurt:*

> The world to which I wish to belong is, of course, the world of the imagination. Between the ages of seven and twenty-two, my dream was to become an artist, and so I would go out into the streets of Istanbul to paint city views. As I described in my book, *Istanbul*, I gave up painting at the age of twenty-two and began to write novels. I now think that I wanted the same thing from painting as I did from writing: what drew me to art and literature was to leave behind this boring, dreary, hope-shattering world we all know so well, and to escape into a second world that was deeper, richer and more diverse. To achieve this other magic realm, whether I expressed myself in lines and colors as I did in my early

> life, or in words, I've had to spend long hours by myself in a room every day, imagining its every nuance.[14]

Pamuk transferred to Istanbul University and changed his major to journalism, so that he could have a university degree and would be able to get rid of his compulsory military service. Making his way as a writer, he began his first novel *Karanlık ve Işık (Darkness and Light)* the title of which changed to *Cevdet Bey and Sons.* It was the story of three generations; Cevdet Bey, Refik and Ahmet. Indeed, Pamuk attempted to write the story of his paternal grandfather Mustafa Şevket Pamuk, his Father, Gündüz, and himself. Corroborating this, in *Öteki Renkler,* Pamuk has narrated that:

> "the details of the family's life, the family lunches on Sacrifice Holiday, the trips to Beyoğlu, walking in Maçka Park, picking the kids up into the car to go for a drive to the Bosporus on Sundays, and quarreling in the car, the family's arguments, their relationships with their acquaintances and neighbors, those were from my family" (Pamuk 1999, 129-30). [15]

The old stone house in Nişantaşı, where a great deal of events takes place in the novel, is indeed the house Pamuk's grandparents. Pamuk explains that the episode in the novel in which Refik meets Jean-Paul Sartre in Paris in the 1950s is based on Pamuk's father's encounter with Sartre in real life (Pamuk 1999, 129-130). Regarding this, McGaha proposes that, being aware of the importance of 1930s in the formation of modern Turkish state, Pamuk sets the main part of the novel in 1930s, with each generation being the representative of the period from transition to later stages. That's why the characters in the novel are twelve to fourteen years older than the real ones on whom they were based (McGaha 2008, 24). Though Cevdet Bey is a merchant not an engineer like Pamuk's grandfather, the case of building Sivas-Erzurum railroad in *Cevdet Bey and Sons* is indeed derived from the experiences of Pamuk's grandfather Mustafa Şevket Pamuk. Pamuk also underlines the influence of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* as a generation novel on himself upon attempting to write *Cevdet Bey and Sons*. All in all, *Cevdet Bey and Sons* is the result of the wish to write an extended family novel and the attempt of narrating Istanbul from Young Turks to the late 1950s of the Republic era. In an interview Pamuk places his novel

[14] Orhan Pamuk, *In Kars and Frankfurt,* Translated by Maureen Freely, http://www.nrc.nl/redactie/Doc/pamuk.doc 1.March.2015.

[15] Note: I used both the Turkish version and the English version of the book *Other Colors: Essays and a Story (Öteki Renkler: Seçme Yazılar ve Bir Hikaye)* as reference due to the fact that some of Pamuk's anecdotes in the Turkish version of the book are not present in the English version. In such circumstances, I translated the quotations that I used.

among nineteenth century novel in which the characters, saving money and storing, are the result of the relationship of the family to modern capitalism. The novel narrates the story of a family which tries to imitate capitalist Western one. Pamuk states that the wish of "trying to imitate" is hidden between the lines of the book (Pamuk 1999, 130).[16] Though *Cevdet Bey and Sons* is described as a nineteenth century realistic novel in terms of its length, scope and including a large number of characters, there are also some modernist techniques used in the novel such as stream of consciousness and interior monologue.

In his attempts of writing, Pamuk proposes that, contrary to his father's encouraging manners toward Pamuk, his mother sees him so to speak as a hopeless case. As Pamuk says that his first book, *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, was the result of four years of hard and lonely work, and during this process his mother would sometimes stick her head in the door to say "Are you writing? At least don't smoke so much" In his *Öteki Renkler*, Pamuk thinks that "at least" meant "since you are wasting your time anyway[17]" (Pamuk 1999, 27). Pamuk always underlines his mother's discouraging attitude toward him in those days, which still hurts him. There are also familial problems which made Pamuk escape the realities of life by writing as he did by painting in his childhood. The endless quarrels between his father and mother cause them to live separately. Pamuk explains those hard years of his life to Alin Ozinian in an interview:

> During that period my mother didn't attempt to understand me. Imagine that you are writing a novel, and it is the meaning of your life, the only aim in your existence. During that hard work they assure you that it is simply an absurd thing and no reasonable man would gain any profit from it. In other words, those were hard years. One can say that my father was more tolerant, and his approach was more positive as compared with my mother's.[18]

Pamuk seems to have been inspired by his father instead of the negative attitudes of his mother toward himself as he never gives up writing. Being supported by his father for his decision on writing, Pamuk thinks that the starting point of literature is escaping from crowds and shutting himself in a room to listen to the voice of ones own conscience. To Pamuk, this way enables the writer to go on a journey in himself and to improve the skill of telling the story of others' as his own story or telling his

[16]My translation.
[17] My translation.
[18] Alin Ozinian, *Who is Orhan Pamuk*, Part I, December, 30, 2005. https://alinozinian.wordpress.com/2011/09/12/who-is-orhan-pamuk/ 19 March 15

own story as the story of others'.[19] Upon finishing *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, Pamuk planned to write a political novel which he described as "a sort of Dostoyevskian novel, with a mixture of leftist radicalism and mystical demonism."[20] It was about "upper-class or middle-class students who went with their families to summer houses but also played around with guns and Maoist texts and had fanciful ideas about throwing a bomb at the prime minister."[21] The students he described in this novel had a lot in common with his friends at Istanbul Technical University with whom he had spent his summer vacations in Bayramoğlu. Soon, Pamuk realized that it would be impossible for him to publish such a book in Turkey due to the fact that in the coup of September 12, 1980, under the leadership of General Kenan Evren, a military junta seized power.

Pamuk then wrote *Sessiz Ev* (*The Silent House*), which took him three years to finish. The period Pamuk narrates in the novel is the summer of 1980, just before the coup and, the background of the conflict between fascist and communist extremists is his subject matter again. While Pamuk is inspired by the story of his paternal side in *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, and in *The Silent House*, he focuses on his maternal grandparents and their unhappy marriage.

Upon finishing *The Silent House*, Pamuk began writing *Beyaz Kale* (*White Castle*), which is a short novel set in the seventeenth century. For this new style Pamuk states that searching a new style is what makes a novel attractive for the author. He adds that what he narrated in this novel is not the problems of a historical period but placing the story on a historical base to make the story lively (Pamuk 1999, 133). Pamuk states that in *White Castle* he dramatizes the eternal identity problem. What he attempts to get rid of is Ruyard Kipling's cliché; "East is East, West is West" in writing White Castle (*Ibid*.). The motif of traditional doppelganger is used in the form of East and West in White Castle as he explained in an interview:

> There is this other person who is always in a more genuine more heartfelt, more hard-core place than you. Even his failures are more authentic. You love him and you also want to kill him. These are my essential subjects: rivalry, jealousy, problems of domination and influence, revenge. Crucial but unworthy issues that

[19] Pamuk, *My Father's Suitcase*, Nobel Lecture, Translated by Maureen Freely. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2006/pamuk-lecture_en.html 13 March 15

[20] Interview with Lila Azam Zanganeh, May 21,2000. http://www.columbia.edu/cu/alumni/Magazine/Summer2007/PoliticsProse.html 19 March 15

[21] Nicholas Wroe, *Occidental Hero*, Guardian, May 8, 2004, http://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/may/08/fiction.orhanpamuk 19 March 15

> come from growing up in an exclusively competitive childhood with a brother only 18 months older than I, and also of living on the margins of Europe. Turning around this feeling of off-centeredness. Saying, no, I am at the center (Eberstadt 1997, 34-35).

In the fall of 1985, Pamuk got a fellowship at the famous Iowa Writers' Workshop, where he wrote his next novel *Kara Kitap, (Black Book),* in New York where he felt ignorant and insignificant. Feeling as a Westerner in Turkey and associating himself with the great Western writers in nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the past fifteen years, he was so amazed to discover that some of the Americans he admired, such as Victoria Rowe Halbrook, were appreciating the Persian and Turkish tradition of Sufi mystical and allegorical poetry. This case caused him to begin reading three of the masterpieces of the literature which he found boring and antiquated: Faridud-Din Attars's Mantiq ut-Tair (Conference of the Birds), Jelalud- Din Rumi's Mathnawi (Couplets) and Sheikh Galips Hüsn-ü Aşk (Beauty and Love). He saw that all the qualities he admired in Western Literature were present in these works (McGaha 2008, 29-30). So in *Black Book* his source of inspiration was Rumi, Attar and Sheikh Galip. This discovery can be regarded as one of the most important turning points in Pamuk's literary career.

Pamuk was working on *Benim Adım Kırmızı (My Name is Red)* when he decided to write his Yeni Hayat (*The New Life*) with the famous beginning sentence "One day I read a book and my whole life was changed!" (Pamuk 2007, 259). The publicity campaign of the publisher of *The New Life* was an unusual one: There were Pamuk's photos on billboards together with the evocatory beginning line. It served the purpose by making the book the fastest selling book in Turkish history with 164.000 copies in the first year (McGaha 2008, 33). After completing *The New Life*, he returned to writing *My Name is Red* which brought international success him as its American edition was on sale in the week of 9/11 attacks which aroused curiosity in Islam among the reading public in the U.S. Soon, *My Name is Red* was the first of Pamuk's books to be sold more in the West than in Turkey.

After 9/11 attacks, which turned into an advantage in terms of the sales of Pamuk's books, Pamuk evaluated the events in the *Guardian Unlimited* on September 29, 2001. He observed the reaction of his fellow citizens in Turkey who condemned the attacks in terms of the slaughter of innocent people with a "but" adding critical sentence on the political, and economic position of America in the world. Pamuk states that arguing the role of America in the world together with terrorism aimed at

the West actually leads to hatred between Islam and Christianity. His advice is that we must make it our business to "understand why the poor nations of the world, the millions of the people belonging to countries that have been pushed to one side and deprived of the right even to decide their own histories feel such anger at America."[22] According to Pamuk it is not Islam or poverty that directly motives the terrorists to such unbelievable actions, "but the crushing humiliation that has infected third world countries as cancer."[23] He adds that, the visa restrictions for the Schengen countries which was applied after 9/11 attacks; the precautions taken against Muslims and the people from poor nations, the bias toward Islam and everything non-Western, and the rude and outraged language which associates the entire Islamic civilization with terror and fanaticism are only sabotaging the process by moving the world away from peace.[24] In an expanded version of this article titled *The Anger of the Damned* published in the *New York Review of Books* on November 15, 2001, Pamuk, determines the state of the rich and poor in the world and underlines the relationship between the two. He argues that:

> At no time in history has the gulf between rich and poor been so wide. It might be argued that the wealth of the rich countries is their own achievement and should not affect the concerns of the poor of the world; but at no time in history have the lives of the rich been so forcefully brought to the attention of the poor through television and Hollywood films. It also might be said that tales of the lives of kings are the entertainment of the poor. But far worse, at no other time have the world's rich and powerful societies been so clearly right, and "reasonable."[25]

In the conclusion of the article Pamuk associates the poor-rich relationship in the world with that of Turkey. According to Pamuk, instead of plumbing the poor and backward sectors of the society, the founders of Turkish Republic who are the members of pro-modernist, wealthy class employed the methods of "law enforcement measures, prohibitions on personal behavior and repression by the army."[26] Pamuk concludes that finally "the modernization effort remained half-finished and Turkey became a limited democracy in which intolerance prevailed."[27] These are indeed the subject matter of Pamuk's next novel *Snow* which is about

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[22] Orhan Pamuk, *Listen to the Damned*, The Guardian, September, 29, 2001. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/29/afghanistan.terrorism7 6 March 2015.
[23] Ibid., 6.March 2015.
[24] Ibid., 6.March 2015.
[25] Pamuk, *The Anger of the Damned*, Translated by Mary Isin, New York Review of Books, November 15, 2001. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2001/nov/15/the-anger-of-the-damned/ 6.March 2015.
[26] Ibid., 6.March 2015.
[27] Ibid., 6.March 2015.

"going over the burning political, philosophical, problems of identities, religion and nationalism, than making a point about implying layers of layers of history in the present moment" (Batur 2007, 10). Taking into account Pamuk's previous works, it seems that together with *Snow*, the theme of man-woman relationships gains importance. An interesting point that draws attention in the literary career of is that he hardly ever touches on the subject of sexuality until *My Name is Red.*

As for the Nobel Prize Pamuk won, it caused great sensation; Pamuk received the news of being awarded Nobel Prize in New York on the morning of October, 12, 2006. Ironically, just one hour before the announcement that Pamuk was the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, France reported that it would be a crime punishable by a five year impirisonment to deny the Armenian Genocide by the Turks during and after World War I. Bülent Arınç, speaker of the Turkish Parliament at the time complimented Pamuk but expressed his sadness about the restrictions on the freedom of expression in France which overshadowed Pamuk's winning the Prize:

> Unfortunately, the Nobel Prize won by Pamuk was overshadowed by genocide discussions in France. A segment of society says that Pamuk won the Nobel Prize not for his novels but the words for which he was tried. Another group calls attention to his literary position. I just congratulate Pamuk for the prize he won. But he (now) has an important responsibility. I would like to say: Seeing that such a discussion is continuing in Turkish society, dear Pamuk should serve as a good example with his remarks and behavior. As a writer, what does he think about the law in France that rescinds freedom of expression? It is a subject of curiosity not only for me and Turkish society but for the whole world.[28]

Pamuk who had annoyed his countrymen by denouncing the Armenian genocide by the Turks in an interview[29], now criticized French Parliamentary vote in a telephone interview broadcast claiming that "this decision, however, is a prohibition, and didn't suit libertarian nature of French tradition" (Arsu 2015). Pamuk's winning the Nobel Prize created reactions in the world and Turkey. While some praised him to the skies, some excoriated the decision. Another striking case about the Nobel Prize of Orhan Pamuk is that; ten months before the prize, Erol Manisalı published an article titled "Orhan Pamuk Ensured the Nobel Prize" which gained currency after the Prize. The

[28] http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/nobel-a-great-honor-a-great-pleasure-says-pamuk.aspx?pageID=438&n=nobel-a-great-honor-a-great-pleasure8217-says-pamuk-2006-10-14 10 March 2015.

[29] http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/nobel-a-great-honor-a-great-pleasure-says-pamuk.aspx?pageID=438&n=nobel-a-great-honor-a-great-pleasure8217-says-pamuk-2006-10-14 10 March 2015. Note:As a consequence of the interview, Pamuk was prosecuted on a charge under the article 301 on the "public denigration of Turkishness," punishable by up to four years in prison. However, the charge was rejected by the court. For a discussion on the role of media in this issue, see Murat İri and Esra Arıcan.. "The Orhan Pamuk Case: How Mainstream Turkish Media Framed His Freedom of Speech", Sosyal Bilgiler Dergisi, 18, 2007: 17-24.

echoes of the Nobel Prize that Pamuk won continued for a while as the Prime Minister of the time personally called Pamuk and extended his congratulations, but as the president of the time, Ahmet Necdet Sezer, preferred to remain indifferent to the case. Besides, the famous historian and journalist Murat Bardakçı documentated that in *My Name is Red*, Pamuk plagiarized from Norman Mailer's *Ancient Evenings* and in his *White Castle* there are exactly the same passages as Fuad Carım's *Kanuni Devrinde Istanbul* (*Istanbul in the Reign of Kanuni*).[30] Orhan Pamuk hasn't made any statement about this subject until today. As for the insistence of the journalists about the political issues Pamuk announced that he would no longer talk about politics in his interviews and his main focus would be on cultural matters. [31]

After the Nobel Prize Pamuk wrote two other novels: *The Museum of Innocence* and *A Strangeness in My Mind.* Set in Istanbul between 1975 and 1984, *The Museum of Innocence* is the love story of Kemal, a wealthy businessman and his poorer relative, Füsun. What is worth saying about this novel is that influenced by the Bagatti Valsecchi Museum in Milan, Italy, Pamuk established a real museum in Istanbul. The museum exhibits a variety of artefacts including clothes, toys, utensils, bus and cinema tickets, bankbooks, paintings, photographs, and various other items from the time in which the novel is set. These objects are exhibited chronologically according to the chapters of the book. An installation of 4213 cigarettes that Füsun has smoked is the first thing that welcomes visitor.[32] The setting of Pamuk's last novel, *A Strangeness in My Mind*, is unsurprisingly Istanbul again. Pamuk attempts to write a modern epic through the love story of Mevlut, a vendor who makes his living from boza (a traditional Turkish fermented beverage) and his beloved. During the time span of over four decades (from 1969 to 2012) Mevlut observes the changes in Turkey and Istanbul while trying to understand the reason of the "strangeness" in his mind which differentiates him from other people.

Analysis of all Pamuk's books reveals the fact that Istanbul is his *Ulysses.* According to Pamuk in order to achieve its goals, the modern mobility escaped from old Istanbul, Topkapı, the historical city and founded its civilization behind Pera and tries to roll back there with historical novels and the interest in modern history.

[30] http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=74394 11 March 2015.
[31] http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/nobel-in-hand-pamuk-exits-political-stage.aspx?pageID=438&n=nobel-in-hand-pamuk-exits-political-stage-2006-12-11 13 March 2015.
[32] http://theculturetricom/europe/turkey/articles/orhan-pamuk-s-museum-of-innocence-opens-in-ıstanbul/ 14 March 2015.

Pamuk sees himself among this new trend (Pamuk 1999, 291). Using Istanbul as a setting, Pamuk achieved "the outlook of the son of Westernized Republic on Ottoman[33]" (*Ibid*.). Defining himself as an "Istanbulite novelist" Pamuk seems himself privileged due to the location of his office the scene of which enables him to see Istanbul as a whole (295).

All in all, Pamuk is somehow able to remain on the agenda of Turkey whether with his interviews, or with his books. Regarding the fact that novels are among the most influential tools in terms of identifying a country's cultural, social and historical realities Pamuk takes on the task of being cultural representative of Turkey. Although he tries to narrate the lives of people from different social classes (as he does in *Snow*, *Museum of Innocence* and *A Strangeness in My Mind*) it doesn't change the reality that he is from an upper-middle class family in Istanbul, which forms a small part of Turkey. What makes him different is most probably this struggle to trying to understand the people from different social classes and to reflect the state matters from their perspective. Keeping in mind Pamuk's wealthy familial background, it seems that he succeeds in this task by drawing the attention of the readers both in Turkey and in most of the world. As the son of a wealthy family who enjoys the luxury of not having to hold a job, Pamuk deals with the economic unjustice in the society:

> "For the last 20 years, the Turkish economy has grown immensely but the division of this wealth has been unjust. The poor are very poor and the two or three percent of Turks are very rich. Now the ruling elite have lost the culture that once held everyone together. The identity of the ultra-elite is now so Westernized that they're not Turks anymore in that [cultural] sense. Their TV, their shows, the way they openly enjoy their life, paved the way for the rise of ultra-fundamentalism" (Stone 1994, 36-37).

Pamuk's in-betweenness and searching for a secure place via painting and literature most probably stem from his being a member of the upper class that he criticizes. In his Nobel Lecture he proposes that "to write, to read, was like leaving one world to find consolation in the otherness of another, in the strange and the wondrous."[34] Pamuk said that as a child and a young man he felt that the West was at the "center" of the world and he was outside that "center" which caused him both pain and hope. It gave pain because they were far away from the "center" with their local values. It

[33] My translation.
[34] My Father's Suitcase", Nobel Lecture, Translated by Maureen Freely. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2006/pamuk-lecture_en.html 13.March .15

caused hope because by reading and writing they might find consolation in this other world. According to Pamuk, what literature needs to narrate is this feeling of inferiority, de-centeredness, alienation.[35] In this feeling of isolation Pamuk takes refuge behind literature. It seems that it is literature that enables him to be aware of the fact that there is not a "center" of the world. Literature also provides him the opportunity of giving cross-cultural messages. As he writes in his *Black Book:*

> Whenever I venture into the endless saga about what the West stole from the East, and East from the West, I think this: If this realm of the dreams we call the world is but a house we roam like sleepwalkers, then out literary traditions are like wall clocks, there to make us feel at home. So:
>
> 1. To say that one of these clocks is right and another is wrong is utter nonsense.
> 2. To say that one is five hours ahead of the other is also nonsense; by using the same logic you could just as easily say that it's seven hours behind.
> 3. For much the same reason it is 9:35 according to one clock and it just so happens that another clock also says it is 9:35, anyone who claims that the second is imitating the first is spouting nonsense (Pamuk 2006, 154).

Thus Pamuk reveals the fact that contrary to the commonly-held Orientalist ideas about the superiority of the West and inferiority of the East, neither West nor East is superior to each other. In his *Cevdet Bey and Sons,* Pamuk gives this message ironically via some characters; as Nusret, as a Young Turk, despises everything in his country and wants "a bloody revolution" like in France; the idealist engineer, Ömer, educated abroad and dissatisfied with what he has, thinks that his underdeveloped country will never catch up with the modern Western countries; Cevdet Bey, on the other hands, always dreams to have a "French family" like in the newspapers he reads. In the end none of the characters are satisfied enough; while Nusret dies in a dark room wandering the bloody revolution he dreams, Ömer lives an ordinary life far beyond the life he dreams and though Cevdet Bey achieves his aims on founding a Western style family, he feels alienated even in his deathbed.

Conclusion

Based on Edward Said's affiliative reading as a new sort of criticism all the information above about the lives and literary careers of Naguib Mahfouz and Orhan Pamuk will enable the reader to read their works within the network of the socio-cultural structure of the societies they grew from.

The main subject matter of this dissertation is to compare the process of modernization of Egypt and Turkey in *The Cairo Trilogy* of Mahfouz and *Cevdet*

[35] Ibid., 13.March .15

Bey and Sons of Pamuk. Still, it should also be taken into consideration that opinions of the writers are formed in the societies they grew up in and as it is more proper to take into consideration the circumstances under which their works came into being, a general knowledge about the socio-cultural background of writers will provide an extensive and multi-perspective approach. As for both Mahfouz and Pamuk, they are from different social classes; while the former is the child of a middle-class family (as the family in *The Cairo Trilogy*), the latter is the child of a wealthy family (as the family he describes in *Cevdet Bey and Sons*). Though both were awarded the Nobel Prize, the cultural levels of the families in which they grew up were as different as chalk and cheese; while the only book Mahfouz remembers in his house is the wholly Quran which was presented to his father, Pamuk is raised in a house full of books. Due to their economic conditions, Mahfouz had to work all day and write at night while Pamuk didn't have such a responsibility.

The settings the writers used are striking; both Istanbul and Cairo (al-Jamaliya is a region in Cairo) are the most crowded cities of Egypt and Turkey that provide the writers with the opportunity of observing many different people at the same place. Morover, both Cairo and Istanbul are the capital cities during the period mentioned in the books[36] which means that these cities were the centers of political, and social mobility of Egypt and Turkey (or Ottoman). So the settings of the books, Cairo and Istanbul, play crucial roles in the transformation process of Egypt and Turkey which increases the reliability of the information about these countries.

Moreover, both of the writers reflect themselves in the personality of the characters in the novels that will be analyzed. So, in the analysis of the novels, the autobiographical knowledge of the writers will be useful in order to comprehend the intellectual crisis of Kamal of *The Cairo Trilogy*, or the imitation passion of Ahmet of *Cevdet Bey and Sons.* Knowledge about the lives of the authors provides the opportunity of making connection through the events. For instance, the absence of a sibling in Mahfouz's life drives him to fictionalize a crowded family with five siblings. On the other hand, the rivalry of Pamuk and his brother is reflected in the conflict of Cevdet Bey and Nusret. All in all each author reflects the social realities of his society from his own perspective and life experience.The difference is that, concerning *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, Mahfouz portrays the socio-

[36] Cairo remained as the capital of Egypt but after 1924 Turkey changed its capital from Istanbul to Turkey.

political, and socio-cultural facts of Egypt that he observes personally from his own childhood, Pamuk fictionalizes his story on a period that he had read about and gradually extends the time of the story to an episode that he witnesses. Yet, as will be seen in the next chapter, a new historicist approach to their texts reveals how successful they are in reflecting the socio-historical realities of their countries via fiction.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT MODERNIZATION IN EGYPT AND TURKEY AND HISTORICAL ALLEGORIES IN NAGUIB MAHFOUZ'S *THE CAIRO TRILOGY* AND ORHAN PAMUK'S *CEVDET BEY AND SONS*

The Relationship Between Literature and History

The fact that narratives provide us with a sophisticated standpoint, to access other times and cultures, confirm that history and literature intertwine. This approach supports the assumption that to get information about the historical, cultural, social and political background of a country is reading the belles-lettres of that country. In *The Use of Literature,* Italo Calvino describes literature as "one of the society's instruments of self-awareness," (Calvino 1987, 97) due to the fact that the origins of literature are connected with several types of knowledge, various codes and forms of critical thought. So, it could be maintained that what most writers do via their work is portraying the reality of the society in one way or another. As Ngugi wa Thiong'o argues in his *Globalectics*; "the novel, like the myth and the parable, gives a view of society from its contemplation of social life, reflecting it, mirror like, but also reflecting upon it simultaneously" (Wa Thiong'o 2012, 16). According to Ngugi, the novelistic is closer to the scientific outlook in method. Comparing the scientist and the novelist Ngugi comes to the point that:

> The scientist collects data in the lab or in the field. He observes it, tries out different combinations, and comes up with a theory. The scientist may begin with a hypothesis, but that hypothesis may be modified by the logic of the data at hand. Novelists draw from the data of life that they have noted with their senses of touch, sight, hearing, and smell. The novel mimics, contemplates, clarifies and unifies many elements of reality in terms of quality and quantity. It helps organize and make sense of the chaos of history, social experience, and personal inner lives" (Wa Thiong'o 2012, 16-17).

Considering Ngugi's views, it is obvious that examining a work regardless of its author and his social, cultural and historical background can't enable one to understand the work as a whole. It is also Edward Said's theory of affiliation or affiliative reading, mentioned above, that enables the reader to analyze a text taking

in consideration the multi-dimensional elements that play a role in the formation of the text.

Taking into account the significance of the close relationship between history and literature, it would be proper to perceive how new historicism, as a literary theory, paves the way for the evaluation of the text within its historical and cultural context. “I began with the desire to speak with the dead,” (Greenblatt 1988, 1) was the famous opening statement of Stephen Greenblatt in *Shakespearean Negotiations*. This sentence of the first critic and scholar to develop the theory of new historicism somehow summarizes this literary theory. Hence, if someone believes utterly in the veracity of history as it has been written and transmitted, s/he does not need to examine it in the light of the accounts of other witnesses. Unlike traditional historicism that focuses on the objectivity of history, new historicism deals with interpretability of history. As Lois Tyson proposes in *Critical Theory Today:* "[W]e don't have clear access to any but the most basic facts of history [...] our understanding of what such facts mean [...] is [...]strictly a matter of interpretation, not fact" (Tyson 1999, 279). Tyson also focuses on the most significant distinction between traditional and new historicism by revealing these two theories’ different approaches to history: "[...] questions asked by traditional historians and by new historicists are quite different [...] traditional historians ask, 'What happened?' and 'What does the event tell us about history?' In contrast, new historicists ask, 'How has the event been interpreted?' and 'What do the interpretations tell us about the interpreters?'" (Tyson 1999, 278).

Considering the principles of new historicism, it can be claimed that if history is not objective and depends on the interpretations of its narrator, and if considering the text regardless of its author and the social, historical and cultural environment in which the text existed can’t enable one to go beyond structural inertness, one of the best ways of getting information about the culture and history of a society is literature. Evaluating both literature and history together, Peter Barry simply defines new historicism as “a method based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period” (Barry 2002, 172). To Barry, new historicism “refuses ostensibly to 'privilege' the literary text: instead of a literary 'foreground' and a historical 'background' it envisages and practices a mode of study in which literary and non-literary texts are given equal weight and constantly inform

or interrogate each other" (*Ibid*). Barry comes to this conclusion from the definition of new historicism offered by the American critic Louis Montrose, who suggests this 'equal weighting' defining new historicism "as a combined interest in 'the textuality of history, the historicity of texts'" (*Ibid*). Azade Seyhan also affirms the necessity of evaluating literature together with history in her *In Tales of Crossed Destinies: The Modern Turkish Novel*. She underlines that when history is unstable and provides the general information of times and events, it is literature that enables one to get more detailed knowledge:

> Historical, political, and sociological studies record the events and trends of the times, whereas literary texts remember what is often forgotten in the sweep of history. [...] It is precisely because of the unstable and unpredictable nature of life and history that we drew on fiction to lend in retrospect sense, unity and dignity to fragmented lives and times. In a world where tides of globalization threaten the specificity of local cultures and ethnic and religious strife is an all too common occurrence, the question of identity writ large has acquired an unprecedented intensity. Literature, as an institution par excellence of memory and a universally employed mode of human expression, untiringly explores ways of articulating who we are and of understanding both the incommensurability and the interconnectedness of our histories (Seyhan 2008, 1-2).

The historical allusions made by Mahfouz and Pamuk in their literary works will be one of the main focuses of this chapter. This way, it will be attempted to reveal the connections between literature and the historical realities of Egypt and Turkey in their process of transition to modernity. In other words, making use of the principles of new historicism, the purpose of the second chapter is to show that allegorical connections between *The Cairo Trilogy* and Egypt's historical realities as well as between *Cevdet Bey and Sons* and Turkey's historical realities could be made.

To show the transformation of Egypt and Turkey in a more inclusive way, the modernization periods of the countries are analyzed from the early attempts of modernization to the transition of the countries to a new style of life. The aim of beginning from the early attempts of modernization in Egypt and Turkey as a concrete historical background is to contextualize and situate *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* within the historical realities of Egypt and Turkey. It should be pointed out that though it is difficult to find a one to one correspondence between the early attempts of modernization period of Egypt and Turkey, beginning in the eighteenth century and continuing in the successive decades, and that of the novels focusing especially on early twentieth century. The background information about the historical realities of these countries will provide factual references to the arguments that will be developed in the last chapter of this dissertation. The

relationship between the novels and the historical background of Egypt and Turkey will also reveal the interrelatedness of the historical realities before and after the time frames mentioned in the novels. As a result, to what extent the fictional depictions of Mahfouz and Pamuk mirror the socio-historical realities of Egypt and Turkey during the process of modernization will be determined.

From Protectorate to Independence: Egypt

Considering the deep relationship between literature and history, in this chapter, the first attempts at modernization in Egypt and Turkey and the historical realities of the two countries will be analyzed in the contexts of Naguib Mahfouz's *The Cairo Trilogy* and Orhan Pamuk's *Cevdet Bey and Sons*. *Cairo Trilogy* enables Mahfouz to reveal the realities of Egypt from social, cultural and historical perspectives. During the time span depicted in the *Cairo Trilogy* (1917-1944) not only Egypt but also the world was in a process of convulsive change. As mentioned above, in the nineteenth century the influence of European culture was felt more profoundly under the rule of Muhammed Ali's grandson Ismail (1863-1879) who planned to turn Egypt into a country of European standard. It should be highlighted that the British indirect rule in Egypt lasted from 1882 to 1952 Egyptian Revolution. Before focusing on the historical allegories in *Cairo Trilogy*, it will be proper to give brief information about the historical background of Egypt. Quintessential information will be given about the modernization process and historical realities of Egypt and Turkey, so that the relationship between history and the period of transition to modernity for these countries becomes clear via *Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons.*

There is no doubt that Industrial Revolution and French Revolution were among the most important events of world history due to the changes they led to on the world order such as the competition of raw materials among great powers, the social mobility, the emergence of such ideas as freedom, justice, equality and nationalism etc. The ideas of capitalism and imperialism were brought to the agenda with Industrial Revolution which began in Britain, the greatest colonial empire of the time. Bronkhurst- Home proposes in his article *The Age of Imperialism (1870–1914)* that; although the term imperialism became widespread in 1870s in Britain, the period from sixteenth to early nineteenth century was called "old imperialism," since

European nations sought trade routes with the Far East, explored the New World, and established settlements in North and South America as well as in Southeast Asia. Bronkhurst claims that during this time frame, European nations worked with the local rulers but their influence was limited. According to Bronkhust, it was in the age of new imperialism, which began in the 1870s, that the European states established vast empires mainly in Africa, but also in Asia and the Middle East.[37] In the second half of nineteenth century, the primary consideration of European countries was the Eastern Question,[38] the central component of which revolves around the decline and breakup of the Ottoman Sultanate, as the "Sick Man of Europe" of the time. So it is not surprising that the relevance of the "Eastern Question" coincided with the period called "New Imperialism."[39]

Due to its strategic position between Africa and Asia, the possession of fertile land and countless monuments, being the focal point of arts once, Egypt whetted many countries' appetite. After Egypt was seized by the Ottoman Sultan, Sultan Selim the Stern in 1516-1517, his son, Suleyman the Magnificent, expanded the Ottoman sovereignty notably, to the extent that the Mediterranean was regarded as an Ottoman Sea. However, the Ottoman dominance was weakened in the following years, which replaced with the dominance- seeking Britain and France. Egyptians were introduced to the principles of French Revolution with Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt,[40] in 1798, which can be regarded as a preliminary preparation for French influence on the Nile in the future. Since the eighteenth century European trade with Egypt was substantially in French merchants' pocket, so, Egypt could be regarded as a commerce space predimoninatly for France. Egypt's agricultural potential and raw materials were among the reasons that prompted France to invade Egypt, as well. Invading Egypt would also lead to the threatening British commercial interests in the

[37] Bronkhurst – Home, *The Age of Imperialism (1870–1914),* Published by Guset User**,** *03.12.2015, p, 1.* http://fliphtml5.com/qpfs/sdps/basic 30 March 15

[38] The term "Eastern Question" doesn't apply to one particular problem, but a set of issues. John Marley describes this comlexity as; "that shifting, intractable, and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival peoples, and antagonistic faiths that is veiled under the easy name of the Eastern Question." John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, new ed., vol. I (New York: Macmillan, 1911), 476-477. See also M. S. Anderson, The Eastern Question, 1774-1923 (London: Macmillan, 1966).

[39] For detailed information about the relationship between Eastern Question and New Imperialism, see Leslie Rogne Schumacher, *A "Lasting Solution": The Eastern Question and British Imperialism, 1875-1878, A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, 2012.*

[40] For detailed information about Napoleon's invasion of Egypt see Juan Cole's *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.)

region as well as to the prevension of British from using the overland route to India.[41] Taking into account all of these, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt in 1798 with his army and a group of scientists and scholars who were responsible for researching that various aspects of life in Egypt.

Napoleonic Campaign: Providing Modern Knowledge of the Orient

Whether written by Arab or non Arab historians, 1798 is regarded as the beginning of contemporary Arab history. It should be emphasized that Napoleon's invasion of Egypt is not used here to reinforce the canonical status of this paradigm based on the fact that the modern history of the Middle East started with Napoleonic invasion and the previous period was an age of decline. This is obviously an assumption which passes over the deep rooted Islamic civilization in macrocosmos and Egyptian civilization in microcosmos. In other words, as Guy Sorman proposes, this kind of periodization supposes that the intellectual life of Egypt was static until Napoleon's occupation. However, what is much certain is that the Muslim scholars of the age were focusing on traditional education system and their area of investigation was confined to medicine and geography. Moreover they were exchanging information mostly with scholars in Damascus and Istanbul (Sorman 2006, 15). Napoleon's invasion of Egypt paved the way for broadening the horizon of Muslim scholars as the French scholars who accompanied Napoleon had great knowledge on different fields. Thus, Napoleon's invasion accelerated the process of Egyptian scholars' keeping up with the developments of other countries, besides those centered in Istanbul and Damascus.

Although Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798 is regarded as a military failure by many critics, it left behind ongoing cultural and political influences which have echoed ever since. It should be emphasized that Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, besides the panoramic sight which was constructed by special efforts of Napoleon and his crew on the basis of "civilizing mission," the encounter of the two cultures resulted in mutual interaction. As Shaden Tageldin wrote, "Egypt too was taking the measure of Europe and pondering its (in) commensurability to the European while Europe was measuring it (Tageldin 2011, 122). Here, it will be proper to have look at

[41] http://countrystudies.us/egypt/20.htm 11 April 15.

Edward Said's definition of imperialism as "an ideological vision implemented and sustained not only by direct domination and physical force but much more effectively […] *by persuasive means* the quotidian processes of hegemony" (Said 1994, 109). Said describes these processes as an "interaction among natives, the white man and the institutions of authority" that passes from "'communication to command' and back again" (*Ibid.*).

During the process of "interaction" as a result of French invasion of Egypt, Egyptians saw the difference between the traditional and the modern. Besides, as mentioned above, it was during the Napoleonic campaign that the Egyptians came across with the ideas of French revolution for the first time. Besides social, cultural and political interchange, this Fraco-Arab encounter would also lead to new developments such as the foundation of Egyptian Institute (established in 1798 as *L'Institut d'Egypte*) which served the aims of France in terms of colonizing Egypt and the emergence of a new field of science called as *Egyptology*,[42] as a result of the researches of the scholars and scientists who accompanied Napoleon in his campaign. Napoleon's strategy for the invasion of Egypt was inarguably a well organized mission by any standarts. What is less known is that, the writings of Comte de Volney, a French politician, historian and Orientalist who had travelled around Egypt and Syria from 1783 to 1785 influenced Napoleon heavily in terms of his strategy toward Egyptians (Al-Jabarti 1993, 169). Volney travelled the near East. In his *Ruins or Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires,* he approached the region as a potential French colony, predicting the probable problems that the French could face in their attempt to colonize the region. According to Volney, the French would face three obstacles in their attempt to control the region: the Ottoman, the Mamelukes and the Muslim inhabitants of the region (Volney 1835, 68-71). To him, the quickest way to gain military power and validity would be only through the usage of the religious and cultural values of the target region. This strategy would also be useful to portray a legitimated image in the public eye, and hereby preventing the British domination in the Far East and Mediterranean would get easy. The impression that Napoleon tried to leave on the public eye was reaccounted in Somali-Egyptian scholar Abd al-Rahman Al-Jabarti's *Chronicle of Napoleon in Egypt.* Al-

[42] Egyptology is the study of ancient Egypt and its culture, history, and language, as shown by the buildings and objects that still exist.
http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/egyptology accessed at 13 April 15.

Jabarti narrates how Napoleon uses Islamic rhetoric as a means to achieve his goals and how he tried to deceive Egyptians that he himself was a Muslim to promote his image as a liberator (not invader) (Al-Jabarti 1993, 41).

Because of his different preplanned strategy that was much beyond the ordinary colonization enterprises and the ongoing influences of the invasion, Napoleon's occupation of Egypt is regarded as the starting point of modern Orientalism by Edward Said. Said maintains that the common attitude of high officials in Washington or elsewhere to speak about changing the map of Middle East stems from the stereotyped thought "to assert that this is the Orient's nature, and we must deal with it accordingly," (Said 2003, xii) since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in the late eighteenth century. According to Edward Said, the West's and then America's interest in the East was political. Nevetheless, the source of this interest was cultural, and " it was the culture that created that interest, that acted dynamically along with brute political, economic, and military rationales to make the Orient the varied and complicated place […] "(Said 2003, 12). Said regards the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798 as the keystone of the relationship between Near East and Europe which "was in many ways the very model of a truly scientific appropriation of one culture by another, apparently stronger one" (42). Said also proposes that with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, the processes between East and West, we activated then and which still dominate "our contemporary cultural and political perspectives" (*Ibid.*). In the preface to, *Orientalism*, Edward Said proposes that *Orientalism* asks the question of "whether modern imperialism ever ended, or whether it has continued in the Orient, since Napoleon's entry into Egypt two centuries ago" (Said 2003, xvi). To answer this question, Said refers to the Napoleon's invasion of Egypt again as the starting point of many crucial social, political, and cultural events that changed the course of the world at the time and regards each of these events as a field of disputation:

> Think of the line that starts with Napoleon, continues with the rise of Oriental studies and the takeover of North Africa, and goes on in similar undertakings in Vietnam, in Egypt, in Palestine and, during the entire twentieth century, in the struggle over oil and strategic control in the Gulf, in Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Afghanistan. Then think contrapuntally of the rise of anti-colonial nationalism, through the short period of liberal independence, the era of military coups, of insurgency, civil war, religious fanaticism, irrational struggle and uncompromising brutality against the latest bunch of "natives." Each of these phases and eras produces its own distorted knowledge of the other, each its own reductive images, its own disputatious polemics (Said 2003, xvi).

The "distorted knowledge of the other" that Said mentions above was formed to a large extent by a series of publications under the title *Description of Egypt* (*La Description de l'Égypte)* as an outcome of the collaborative work of about 160 civilian scholars and scientists who were the accompaniers of Napoleon during the invasion of Egypt in 1798. In the most important cultural product of the expedition, *Description of Egypt,* the French intellectuals legitimated the invasion by representing their superiority in contrast to the East. According to Said, "After Napoleon then, the very language of Orientalism changed radically. Its descriptive realism was upgraded and became not merely a series of representations, but a language, indeed, a means of creation" (Said 2003, 87). Bill Ashcroft and Paul Ahluwalia's description of Orientalism in their detailed analytical book *Edward Said* actually reveals how the system works in favor of the powerful, even when it comes to describing "the other" in the name of scholarship. In the conclusion of one of the chapters titled "Orientalism," the essence of Orientalism is defined as "to know something is to have power over it, and conversely, to have power is to be able to know the world in your own terms" (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia 2001, 83). This power-knowledge relationship and the necessity of a scientific institution to support the knowledge are the subject matters of Michel Foucault in his book *Knowledge/Power: Selected Interviews and Other Writings:*

> Truth is centered on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it. It is subject to constant economic and political incitement (the demand for truth, as much for economic production as for political power); it is the object, under diverse forms, of immense diffusion and consumption (circulating through apparatuses of education and information); it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political, and economic apparatuses (universities, army, writing, media); It is the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation (ideological struggles) (Foucault 1980, 131-32).

Hence, revealing the truth and therefore, having power are closely related to financial support; in other words, financial power brings with it power and the right to determine the "true knowledge." Napoleon was able to achieve his goals to subjugate Egypt by making use of the dynamics between knowledge, power and financial support. He did not show reluctance in establishing an institute which would serve his aims in the process of "knowing" and "having power" over Egypt. *Institut d'Egypte (Institute of Egypt)* was the center of cultural and scientific knowledge during the French occupation of Egypt, from 1798 to 1801. The preface of *Description of Egypt* written by the secretary of the Institute Joseph Fourier reveals

the fact that Egypt was significant both in terms of its location and also because of its being the attraction center of many great warriors, leaders, and philosophers:

> Placed between Africa and Asia, and communicating easily with Europe, Egypt occupies the center of the ancient continent. This country presents only great memories; it is the homeland of the arts and conserves innumerable monuments; its principal temples and the palaces inhabited by its kings still exist, even though its least ancient edifices had already been built by the time of the Trojan War. Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, and Plato all went to Egypt to study the sciences, religion, and the laws. Alexander founded an opulent city there, which for a long time enjoyed commercial supremacy and which witnessed Pompey, Caesar, Mark Antony, and Augustus deciding between them the fate of Rome and that of the entire world. It is therefore proper for this country to attract the attention of illustrious princes who rule the destiny of nations. …No considerable power was ever amassed by any nation, whether in the West or in Asia, that did not also turn that nation toward Egypt, which was regarded in some measure as its natural lot (Fourier, *Préface historique* in Said 2003, 105).

In his evaluation of Napoleonic invasion and its influences on Western thought, Edward Said refers to Joseph Fourier's assessments on the significance of Egypt, and proposes that having Egypt is both a sign of power and reaffirmation of history for Western countries, as for these countries Egypt's history is preferably annexed to Europe. Said adds that another reason that attracts other nations is that; having Egypt would also mean entering the history of a country which was honored by the presence of great figures like Homer, Alexander, Caesar, Plato, Solon and Pythagoras (Said 2003, 85). This is how significant is Egypt for other nations. After highlighting the factors that attracted other nations to Egypt, Fourier refers to the "civilizing mission" of France and Napoleon and comes to the conclusion that the invasion was for Egypt's own good:

> Napoleon appreciated the influence that this event would have on the relations between Europe, the Orient, and Africa, on Mediterranean shipping, and on Asia's destiny. […] Napoleon wanted to offer a useful European example to the Orient, and finally also to make the inhabitants' lives more pleasant, as well as to procure for them all the advantages of a perfected civilization. None of this would be possible without a continuous application to the project of the arts and sciences (Fourier, *Préface historique* in Said 2003, 106).

After reading the preface of *Description of Egypt* written by Napoleon's secretary, one can't help asking why a nation makes it its business to "civilize" another so distant one. It can not be denied that the Napoleonic campaign contributed a lot to the modernization process of Egypt, but contrary to the evaluations of Fourier, the real aim was to use Egypt in terms of its material and cultural sources.

As mentioned before, Napoleon used religion as a tool, as well, since it was obvious that his army was too small to cope with the Egyptian troops. He pretended to fight for Islam; his speeches were translated into Quranic Arabic (Al-Jabarti 1993, 170).

Taking into account all of these, it is clear that Napoleon used both military and intellectual force during the French occupation of Egypt. The efforts of the scholars to promote the pretended backwardness of the Orient to the modern world would also serve to justify their civilizing mission and superiority. In this way, the "French civilization, which accompanied language, legislation, art, technology, economy, and polity [that would] easily swallow whole the local and indigenous cultures which were understood only as occurrences of monuments, customs and religions" (Godlewska 1988, 45).

Although it lasted only for three years (1798-1801) the French invasion of Egypt was a milestone in terms of the relationships between two civilizations: East and Europe. Beyond its military side, the invasion was a unique experience for Europe and French, and also for the East and Egypt. To sum up, the influences of the Nepoleonic campaign; "gave birth to the entire modern experience of the Orient as interpreted from within the universe of discourse founded by Napoleon" (Said 2003, 1987). The imperialist narrative presented to the world by the collaborative work of French intellectuals and scholars in *Description of Egypt* reveals the significance of the encounter. Examining the Eastern side, it was a disOrienting process as in the example of Al-Jabarti. On the one hand, Napoleon's use of religion as a tool to secure the support of local people led to a feeling of insecurity among Egyptians. On the other hand, many Egyptians admired the technical and scholarly abilities of the invader.[43] The establishment of *Egyptian Scientific Institute* modeled on the National Institute of France, of which Napoleon was a member, was also a significant development for both Egyptians and the French. Established both as a cultural and a scientific institute, the organization made use of culture to imbue Egyptians with revolutionary ideals, which is one of its most striking and worth-mentioning activities. In his memoir, Captain Say writes that he "named a Commission composed of artists, charged with establishing at Cairo a hall of spectacles, for dance, concerts, and fireworks" (Cole 2008, 161). These public civic performances, he hoped, "will be a new means of elevating the souls of these neophytes in liberty and of forming in this country a public spirit, the fifth element of a free people" (*Ibid*).

[43] For detailed information about both Egyptian and French view of events, look at Abd Al-Raḥmān Al-Jabartī and Edward W. Said. *Napoleon in Egypt: Al-Jabartî's Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation, 1798*.

As a result, although it was regarded as a military failure, the invasion of Egypt in 1798 together with the establishment of Institute of Egypt and its outcome, *Description of Egypt*, served the aims of Napoleon in terms of justifying the superiority of the West and reducing Egypt to a series of stereotypes. The publication of *Description of Egypt* and the emergence of a new field of study called *Modern Egyptology* contributed to making many sources about Egypt available to the Europeans. On the other hand, it can be suggested that Napoleon's invasion of Egypt is a turning point in modern history in terms of the collision of cultural, political, and social powers of Europe and the Muslim East, constructing the image of Muslim East and Egypt in Europe and providing a basis for the process of modernization in the history of Egypt. Here, it is crucial to remind and underline the fact that as Guy Sorman proposes, Egypt was in existence before Napoleon and Muslim scholars did not wait for Napoleon to start make research, but it is clear that their research area were generally Istanbul and Damascus and their methods were traditional (Sorman 2006, 15). Napoleon's invasion of Egypt enabled exchanges of culture and knowledge between two civilizations. The case of cultural exchange which was intentionally veiled by the conquerors is interpreted by Mary Louise Pratt under the definition of the term "contact":

> The term "contact" foregrounds the interactive, improvisational dimensions of imperial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by accounts of conquest and domination told from the invader's perspective. A "contact" perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations […] in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power (Pratt 2008, 8).

Regarding Mary Louis' views it can be proposed that Napoleon's invasion of Egypt opened up the horizon of both the Egyptian and the French. While the Egyptian had the opportunity of observing and learning new technological developments beyond the traditional ways present in Egypt at the time, the French had the opportunity of researching Egypt on a one to one basis, together with its deep rooted history and civilization.

The Attempts of Modernization of Egypt after Napoleon's Invasion

While studying Egypt's modernization, it is necessary to have knowledge about both the periods of Napoleon and that of Muhammed Ali as they were among the most

important figures to initiate the modernization process in Egypt. Although Napoleon's invasion of Egypt was an attempt at France's colonialist policy, he indirectly contributed to the modernization process of Egypt, by introducing it to Europe's progress (Tibi 1997, 82). Aside from Napoleon's colonialist intentions, both Napoleon and Muhammed Ali had a lot in common from their intentions of separating Egypt from the the Ottoman Sultanate to their attempts of introducing new methods to Egyptians in social, political, and technical terms; these could be interpreted as the first attempts of the modernization process in Egypt.

After Napoleon was forced to abandon Egypt, Egyptians witnessed a power struggle between Mamlukes and the Ottomans, between 1801 and 1805. The tension resulted with Muhammed Ali's declaration of himself as the viceroy of Egypt. As an Albanian officer, Muhammed Ali had come to Egypt at the head Ottoman troops. Eliminating the Mamlukes from power, Muhammed Ali continued the work that Napoleon had begun (Tibi 1997, 82). He was aware of the fact that the only thing that would help him remain in power was a modern state organization. Hence, he started with the structuring of a modern army trained by French officers and the centralization of administration and taxation (Hourani, 1962, 51). In Braune's opinion, Muhammed Ali's veneration of French culture reveals in his letters where, as the ruler of Egypt, he assures Louis Philippe of his gratitude to France in 1840. According to Braune, "France symbolized Europe for all those aspiring toward a future for the Orient" (W. Braune, 41 in Tibi 1997, 82). Although Braune sees Muhammed Ali as an Oriental despot rather than a ruler inspired by France, he adds that Muhammed Ali was aware of the fact that the reason and knowledge of Europe should be taken as an example[44] (Tibi 1997, 82). The technological tools that the French and British used in their competition to control Egypt and the scientists that accompanied Napoleon influenced many Egyptians deeply. As a result, Muhammed Ali inducted the movement of replacing static Egypt with both a Muslim and a modern state. It seems that, the influences of these attempts caused significant changes in far and wide to the extent that not only Egypt but the entire the Ottoman Sultanate took yet another turn.

[44] Here Bassam Tibi's footnote on the colonial policy of France and its reflection as a "civilizing mission" is worth mentioning. Tibi proposes that it won't be proper to generailze the poisitive influences of the Napoleonic Expedition to the European colonial conquests. To him, though Napoleon's colonial intentions were quite clear, many French apologists for colonialism presented the conquest as 'mission civilisatrice de la France" (Tibi, 1997, 82).

The attempts of Muhammed Ali to modernize Egypt were actually ahead of his time; he opened professional schools, sent students to Europe, set them to translate technical works when they returned, established a press to print the translations and an official newspaper to publish the text of his decrees and decisions (Hourani 1962, 53). As a result of the innovation mobility which is simply "industrial spying", new ideas were brought up a part of the agenda of Egypt. As early as in 1816 the ideas and books of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu were taught in Egypt, due to the French teachers working in Egyptian schools. Moreover, from 1826 onwards some students were sent to France, in order to learn French sciences which were considered essential for the modernization of Egypt. The Egyptian students of the first schools founded by Muhammed Ali would form the first intelligentsia of modern Egypt, as the graduates of these schools would translate and publish other works, besides the technical books. It should be acknowledged that the first considerable political thinker of modern Egypt, who can be regarded as the "Eastern Tocqueville,"[45] Rifa'a al-Tahtawi was one of the students of the schools mentioned above (Hourani 1962, 53). Tahtawi was the imam of the first group that was sent to Paris to study. He owed his privileged position to his teacher, Shaykh Hasan al-'Attar, one of the greatest Islamic scholars of the age, who had visited Institut d' Egypt and had been influenced by the secular subjects like history and geography. Although Tahtawi was sent to Paris as an imam, not as a student, he studied enthusiastically on ancient history, Greek philosophy and mythology, geography, arithmetic, and logic; the life of Napoleon, some French poetry, including Racine Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son; and most important, something of the French thought of the eighteenth century ─Voltaire, Condillac, Rousseau's *Social Contract,*

[45] Charles Alexis de Tocqueville is a French author and statesman who was sent to U.S.A. between 1805-1809 to research on the applications of punishment and execution in U.S.A. and published his notable book *Democracy in America.* The idea of comparing Rifa'a al-Tahtawi and Tocqueville belongs to Guy Sorman. In his book titled "*Rifaa'nın Çocukları: Modern Müslümanlar*" (*The Children of Rifaa: In Search of a Moderate Islam*), Sorman proposes that both Rifa'a and Tocqueville had common interests and religious anxieties. While Tocqueville researched whether the ways of democracy in U.S.A. compromised with his liberal belief, Rifa'a observed the modernity of France hoping that it wouldn't undermine his belief. According to Sorman, another reason of comparision of these two coeval observers is that Tocqueville is anxious about the scandalization of the possible conflict between American egalitarianism and French liberalism, Rifa'a questions how French type liberalism can comply with "justice" which is regarded as the basic factor of Muslim world. For detailed information about Rifa'a's contributions to the modernization process of Islamic world and the comparision of the two observers; Tocqueville and Rifa'a, see Guy Sorman's "*Rifaa'nın Çocukları: Modern Müslümanlar*" (*The Children of Rifaa: In Search of a Moderate Islam*), (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), 16-30 and also see Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris,* Translated by Daniel L. Newman, London: Saqi Books, 2001.

and the main works of Montesquieu (Hourani 1962, 69). The five years of Tahtawi (1826-1831) in Paris were very productive, as during these years he learned French and the ways of translating the texts from French to Arabic. He met the Orientalists of the time including Silvestre de Sacy, and this opened for him the doors to the studies of Egyptologists. He documented what he learned from all his studies as a diary and presented it to Muhammed Ali under the title of *Tahlisu'l İbriz fi Telhisi*[46] to contribute to Egypt's modernization process. Muhammed Ali ordered the large-scale publication of the diary that Tahtawi had kept regularly in Paris which was made compulsory reading for Egyptian civil servants (Tibi 1997, 85). Besides its literary merit and historical importance, this work is the first book published in the Islamic world that describes Western society (Sorman 2006, 16). Comparing Egypt and France, Tahtawi reveals the dialectic relationship between tradition and modernity in his work. Intercultural interchange is Tahtawi's main subject matter, as he compares the two different cultures in an open minded way; in other words, in his observations about modern French mores, he refrains from both admiring their culture in all its parts and entirely detaching from it. All Tahtawi was concerned in acquiring knowledge of Western sciences that would help developing and modernizing Egypt's technological, cultural and economic infrastructures. For instance, one of the basic observation of Tahtawi about French people is that; "they are in no way prisoners of tradition. Rather they always wish to know the origin of things, while seeking proof to support it, to the extent that the common people among them can also read and write and, like others, penetrate deep matters" (Al-Tahtawi 2001, 177). While focusing on the characteristics of French people that would serve as a model for Egyptians in the process of modernization, Tahtawi also praises Egypt's long history of humanities:

> *Syntax, inflection, prosody and then vocabulary*
> *Then derivation, poetry and composition*
> *Also semantics, rhetoric, calligraphy, rhyme and*
> *history—this is how one counts the sciences of the Arabs*
> (Al-Tahtawi 2001, 187).

According to Tahtawi, the required sciences and skills for states are "underdeveloped or non-existent in Egypt" (117). Regarding these sciences as the

[46] Tahtawi's *Tahlisu'l İbriz fi Telhisi* was translated into English after over a century under the title of *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826-1831),* Translated by Daniel L. Newman, London: Saqi Books, 2001.

means of civilization Tahtawi demarcates these sciences under two main categories: The former are the common ones taught to students such as math, geometry, history, geography and painting. The latter are the special sciences which Tahtawi lists under fifteen categories including the sciences that are useful for arranging the states that Westerners call the three laws (natural laws, humane laws and public laws), the sciences of military service, the sciences of captaincy and navigation, the sciences of other countries on embassy, language, law and their terms, the sciences on the construction of bridges, chemistry, medicine, agriculture and translation (*Ibid.).* Among these fields of study, it was translation that Tahtawi considered the most important, as he and his students translated about two thousand books and pamphlets into Arabic, which enabled Arab intellectuals to encounter European ideas. The translation efforts were carried out at full stream. Having created Egypt's first press, in the Bulaq section of Cairo, Muhammed Ali Pasha purchased 600 books in French and equipped each one of his new Westernized schools with a library of modern works in European languages as well as Arabic and Turkish translations of books. Since the first translations of the books were flawed and hard to read Muhammed Ali set up School of Translation acting on Tahtawi's advice. The School of Translation served the purpose of both training the students in European languages and translating the texts into Arabic and Turkish (L. Tignor 2010, 213). Besides his contributions to translation and educational reforms, Tahtawi is the first Arab to use the term nation in the secular sense. Patriotism, equality and justice in the liberal-democratic sense are the predominant themes in his writings (Tibi 1997, 87). Introducing Egyptology to the Egyptian intellectuals, writing a short history of ancient Egypt, and urging young Egyptians to obtain training in the field of history of their own country are among Tahtawi's contributions in the formation of national identity of Egypt (L. Tignor 2010, 213). There is much to say on Tahtawi as a mediator between two civilizations and his contributions to the transformation of Egypt but in order not to ramble it seems proper to give brief information about the transformation of Egypt after Muhammed Ali so that the analysis of *The Cairo Trilogy* in terms of modernization process of Egypt can be contextualized and thus understood better.

The modernization attempts went through a period of stagnation during the reign of Muhammed Ali's successors; Abbas I (1848-1854) and Said Pasha (1854-1863) who

began the national debt by indebting Egypt to Messrs Fruhling & Gbschen. However, this course changed during the reign of Ismail (1863-1879) who followed in the footsteps of Muhammed Ali Pasha in terms of his attempts to transform Egypt. He had the advantage of having had a two-year educational stint in Paris (1846–48) that gave him a better understanding of the European world in comparison to the one his illustrious predecessor had. His education in Paris also fueled his desires to make Egypt over in the image of Europe (L. Tignor 2010, 219). Ismail Pasha's contributions to the transformation of Egypt are mentioned by Raymond as follows:

> […] the year 1863 was an important one for Cairo, for it marked the accession of Isma'il Pasha (1863–1879), the first ruler in nine centuries to make an overall plan for the city's development. Inevitably his plan echoed Western models, as Europe's ascendancy in political, and economic matters seems to have extended to urban ones as well (Raymond 2001, 292).

Ismail made vast reforms but due to his extravagant attitude, Egypt went into bankruptcy which caused European intervention in the internal affairs of Egypt. Early in his reign the cotton prices were very high, due to the American Civil War which provided Egypt a great advantage. Yet, as soon as the conflict ended, the prices relapsed, which caused Ismail to find new ways to induce his reforms. He preferred to overcome this problem by extorting the required funds from a poverty-stricken population. Ismail re-established and improved Muhammed Ali's administrative system, which had fallen into decay under Abbas's uneventful rule. He caused a thorough remodeling of the customs system, which was in an anarchic state, to be made by English officials. In 1865, he established 68 Egyptian post offices, reorganized the military schools of his grandfather, and gave some support to the educational system. Railways, telegraphs, lighthouses, the harbor works at Suez, and the breakwater at Alexandria were carried out by some of the best contractors of Europe.[47] Above all, it was during Ismail's reign that the Suez Canal[48] was opened, in 1869.

Together with all these developments, Anglo-French involvement in Egyptian affairs increased day by day, due to the external loans of Egypt and Ismail's harsh economic

[47] http://www.egyptianagriculture.com/muhammad_ali.html 2 July 2015. See also Robert L. Tignor's Egypt *A Short History* (Princenton: Princenton University Press, 2010), 219-222.

[48] The Suez is an artificial sea-level waterway in Egypt, connecting the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. Opened 17 November 1869, after 10 years of construction, it allows ships to travel between Europe and South Asia without navigating around Africa thereby reducing the sea voyage distance between Europe and India by about 7,000 kilometres (4,300 mi).
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suez_Canal accessed at 2 July 2015

measures in the country. As a result, the financial problems brought administrative problems and unrest in the country, as well. The foreign overt and covert involvement in Egyptian affairs made it worse, as it provoked the 1919 Revolutions in the country, which is one of the main subject matter of the first volume of *The Cairo Trilogy.*

As mentioned above due to her strategic position Egypt was on the agenda of especially two great imperialist powers: Britain and French. The external debts of the country and the opening of the Suez Canal brought Egypt on the agenda of these two great powers of the time again. As the canal shortened the distance between Europe and India, and Britain and France were closely interested in anything related to India. While before 1869, it was easy for Britain to control Egypt by the free roadway from Egypt to India, it would be more difficult for the British men and mail after opening of Suez Canal. The Canal would be opened to international traffic which would mean splitting of the profit. The Suez Canal was built as a result of the enterprises of the French, yet it served the imperial intentions of Britain the most.[49] All in all, Britain occupied Egypt under the guise of the security of Suez Canal, which also enabled the conversion of Britain's informal occupation to a formal one.

As for the relationship between all the historical background of Egypt's modernization process and *The Cairo Trilogy,* Mahfouz starts up the trilogy at a time when Egypt was under the British occupation and including the 1919 revolution, he focuses on the historical, social, political, and cultural structure of Egypt through a middle class Egyptian family that was caught between the clash of tradition and modernity. It is clear that Mahfouz uses the Abd al-Jawad family as a prototype of Egyptian society. So, in that sense, it can be proposed that by reading *Cairo Trilogy,* one can have the opportunity of getting a great deal of knowledge on Egypt between 1917 and 1944. The first volume of *The Trilogy, Palace of Desire* starts during World War I in 1917 and ends with 1919 nationalist revolution. The second volume, *Palace of Desire,* starts in 1924 with Saad Zaghloul's negation with the British and ends with his death in 1927, what influences the Egyptian society deeply. The third volume, *Sugar Street,* starts in 1935 with the conference of Wafd Party and the

[49] For detailed information about British and French intervention of Egypt's affairs see the dissertation of Milad A. El Magrahi, *British Policiy Toward Egypt 1875-1885: British Imperial Expension and Egyptian Nationalist Response*, University of Washington, 1982.

speech of Mustafa al-Nahhas who is the successor of Saad Zaghloul, and ends up in 1944 with the arrest of the supporters of different political persuasions.

It is expected that the background information about Egypt's modernization process will be useful for the readers to establish a connection with the historical realities of the country and the events in *Cairo Trilogy.* It also will enable the reader to make the comparison between the modernization processes of Egypt and Turkey in a more elaborated way which is the subject matter of this dissertation.

Historical Allegories in *The Cairo Trilogy*

> *Egypt for Mahfouz has no counterpart in any other part of the world. Old beyond history, geographically distinct because of the Nile and its fertile valley, Mahfouz's Egypt is an immense accumulation of history, stretching back in time for thousands of years, and despite the astounding variety of its rulers, regimes, religions, and races, nevertheless retaining its own coherent identity. Moreover, Egypt has held a unique position among nations. The object of attention by conquerors, adventurers, painters, writers, scientists, and tourists, the country is like no other for the position it has held in human history, and the quasi-timeless vision it has afforded* (Said 1994, 23).

The wide publicity given to the socio-historical realities of Egypt in Mahfouz's writing is indisputable since, as mentioned before, Mahfouz witnessed a period of rapid changes in Egypt throughout his life, such as the Egyptian Revolution of 1919, the last days of British colonial rule and Ottoman influence, the nationalist struggle of Saad Zaghloul, the reigns of King Fuad and King Farouq, the military coup of 1952, the establishment of the republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser's takeover in 1954, the Suez Canal crisis, the rule of Anwar al-Sadat, the Camp David accords of 1978, the brutal dictatorship of Hosni Mubarak and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. As a citizen of such a country, in which convulsive changes took place in his lifetime, Mahfouz found inspiration from the social and historical realities of Egypt. For instance, the revolutions in 1919 were recreated not only in Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy* but also in his *Fountain and Tomb,* an autobiographical *Bildungsroman* in which Mahfouz remembers the 1919 revolutions at some considerable length. Mahfouz describes 1919 Revolution in detail from its eruption to the death of Saad Zaghlul in the tales in *Fountain and Tomb* from a child's point of view. Mahfouz himself was seven years old when the revolution erupted and 'You could say', he proclaims, 'that the one thing which most shook the security of my childhood was the 1919 revolution' (El-Enany 1993, 52). Witnessing many crucial milestones of Egypt,

Mahfouz underlines the difficulty of avoiding the social and political realities of Egypt:

> I did not know the difference between living under occupation and being independent. However, it was at this time that I began to ask questions and to understand the meaning of "Englishman" and "Nationalist," to understand the meaning of Saad Zaghul and "exile." I began to follow events. I began to pore over newspapers, and I cannot recall a single day when politics did not rear its head (Mahfouz 2001, 113).

Mahfoz's *Cairo Trilogy* is perhaps the best work in terms of recording the details of socio-cultural transformation of Egypt through the allusions in the novel. *The Cairo Trilogy is* the story of three generations of a middle class Egyptian family that has been caught between the clash of tradition and modernity. In *The Cairo Trilogy*, major social and political events in Egypt from 1917 to 1944 are portrayed vividly through the context of the story of the family. Mahfouz shows how the Abd Al-Jawad family evolved over time. The story of three successive generations between First and Second World Wars are portrayed in three books titled *Palace Walk, Palace of Desire and Sugar Street.* The three novels of that comprise the Trilogy represent a panorama of Egypt through the story of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad and his family across three generations.

Before focusing on the historical allegories in the Trilogy and the modernization process of Egypt, brief information about the story will be useful as a reminder to those who may have forgotten some basic points in the novel and those who haven't yet read it. The daily life of the Abd al-Jawad family with all its rituals is described in the first forty-seven chapters of the first book of the The Trilogy, *Palace Walk*. It covers the period between 1917 and 1919. In this book Mahfouz tells the story of a middle aged merchant Abd al-Jawad who, despite his personal weakness, is a strict disciplinarian as a husband and father. Abd al-Jawad's second wife, Amina is entirely subservient to her husband's severe attitudes and regulations. Due to her husband's strict regulations, Amina is forbidden to go out alone, and it is clear early in the first chapter that Amina spends almost her entire life in the house. She reconciles herself with the belief that it is God-given rights of husbands to have the last say. Concomitantly, Ahmad Abd al-Jawad tries to control everything in the family even such personal matters as love, marriage, divorce, political views and so on. The marriages of his oldest son Yasin and two daughters Khadija and Aisha are entirely arranged on his request. Due to his strict manners, lots of things are kept

from him. Though Ahmad Abd al-Jawad seems a sincere Muslim outwardly, he enjoys intimacy and drinking with his friends. His relaxed manners in his private life change into entire restrictions when it comes to the lives of his family members, to the extent that, his wife and daughters never go out into street without his permission. In other words, he expects exact adherence to Islam and customs from his family members.

The family under the strict control of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, is an allegory to Egypt under British occupation. The activities of Saad Zaghloul and his friends for the independence of Egypt and their release from prison cause tremendous excitement, especially among university students. During the demonstrations arranged in honor of the nation's leader, Saad Zaghloul and his friends, who were released from prison, the political-minded son of the family, Fahmi, is killed by British soldiers. Thus, the first part of Trilogy *Palace Walk* culminates in both in the 1919 Revolution and Fahmi's death.

The second part of Trilogy, *Palace of Desire* covers the period from 1924 to 1927. This volume deals with the influences of British colonialism on Egyptian society together with complex domestic affairs. Though it has been five years since Fahmi died the family's sorrow still rankles. As the time passes the hierarchical structure of the Abd Al-Jawad family changes; Ahmad begins to lose his dominant attitudes and abandons his pleasures, while the subservient Amina resists the restrictions of the family. Also the children get out of control almost entirely; the youngest son, Kemal, prefers to enter the teacher's college despite Ahmad's insistence on the faculty of law and his studies of Darwin's theory drifts him toward a crisis of belief and major rows with his father. Kamal's friendship with Husayn Shadad and his love of Aida Shadad open a new horizon to Kamal. Shadad family lives closer to the European life style when compared to the traditional life of Kamal, which increase Kamal's dilemma between two opposite poles. It is crucial to underline that Kamal's inner conflict between religion and science that stems from his European style education represents Mahfouz's own personal crises in the Egytian society of the time. In addition, the rake son of the family, Yasin, marries Maryam, once the beloved of Fahmi, and then he marries Zannube, his father's mistress. Due to the embarrassment he brought to the family, he moves out from the house.

The third part of Trilogy, *Sugar Street* covers the years between 1935 and 1944. Second World War and the attitudes of Egyptians toward developments in the war are depicted in this volume. As the oldest member of the family, Ahmad Ahmad Abd al-Jawad is weakened completely and is preoccupied with his own troubles. After Italy's air raid on Egypt he finally dies in 1941. Much of the book is related with the affairs of the third generation of the Abd al-Jawad family. Yasin's son, Rıdwan who is a homosexual becomes closer to politicians and engages himself in politics. Khadija's sons, Abd Al-Munim and Ahmad, take quite different paths as while the former joins the Muslim brotherhood, the latter becomes a communist and both are arrested due to their views. These are only some basic points that Mahfouz reveals about the socio-political, and socio-historical developments of Egypt in the prototype of a family and three generations. Considering some basic points and some of the characters in *The Trilogy* will enable the reader understand the subject matter of this dissertation better.

As mentioned above, the Abd al-Jawad family represents the middle class of the Egyptian society of the time. *The Trilogy* begins with a very detailed description of the family order of the Abd al-Jawad family. What alters the course from such a detailed description of the daily life of the Abd al-Jawad family to the basic historical realities of the time is the exile of Saad Zaghloul. The leadership of Egypt's nationalist Wafd Party goes to the Paris Peace Conference to formally demand the acceptance of the independence and unity of Egypt and the Sudan by the United Kingdom. Right after this, the 1919 Egypt Revolution erupts and martial law is enforced. Mahfouz prefers a critical date for the beginning of the story: 1917, when the most important case for the whole world is the First World War the result of which is also of crucial importance for Egypt. During the period mentioned, everybody was exhausted from the war which had been going on since 1914. World War I, which 100 years ago involved Europe, Africa and the Atlantic and Pacific worlds, may have brought unpredictable destruction to the world as a whole, but "for Egypt it was a bridge to a new way of life that was more Westernized and yet more nationalistic, less conservative and yet fearful of letting go of tradition, richer and yet more concerned about the country's poor."[50] This being the case, it is inevitable for the fictional family not to mention the war and utter their hopes about the result of

[50] http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/5188/31/Egypt-in-World-War-I.aspx 5 October, 2014

the war, according to which the fate of Egypt will change. Like his brother, Yasin wishes that the Germans would win the war and, consequently, the Turks, so that the caliphate claimed by Ottoman Sultans could regain its might. His wish for Egypt is the return of Khedive Abbas II and Muhammad Farid back to Egypt. Yasin seems to lose his hopes about his wishes saying that; "Four years have passed and we keep saying this same thing" (Mahfouz 1994a, 56). But Fahmi never loses his hopes about the fact that like every war, this one has an end and the Germans will be the winners of the war. The dialogue between them goes on as follows:

> "This is what we pray to God will happen, but what will you say if we discover the Germans are just the way the English describe them?"
> "The important thing is to rid ourselves of the nightmare of the English and for the caliphate to return to its previous grandeur. Then we will find the way prepared for us."
> "[…] why do you love the Germans when they're the ones who sent a zeppelin to drop bombs on us?"
> Fahmy proceeded to affirm, as he always did, that the Germans had intended their bombs for the English, not the Egyptians. Then the conversation turned to zeppelin airships and what was reported of their huge size, speed, and danger […] (Mahfouz 1994a, 56- 57).

Fahmy affirms that the target of the Germans is not Egyptians but the English and then the conversation turns to zeppelin airships and the rumors about their huge size, danger, and speed. The comments on the result of the war and the hopes about the winner are a reflection of the thoughts of many Egyptian citizens of the time.

As mentioned above, due to its strategic position, Egypt was the initial target of many European countries which were in search of new colonies. After the French conquest of 1798-1801, Egypt became a British protectorate in 1882-1922. The first period of British rule (1882–1914) is often called the "veiled protectorate". During this time Egypt remained an autonomous province of the Ottoman Sultanate, and the British occupation had no grounds. These course of events lasted until the Ottomans joined the First World War on the side of the Central Powers in November 1914 and Britain unilaterally declared a protectorate over Egypt.[51] The conversation among Yasin, Fahmi and Khadija reveals some basic historical realities about Egypt and the Egyptians' uneasiness about the future of their country. First of all the general consensus achieved is the dissatisfaction with the British occupation and the desire for liberty. The second remarkable point is the support of the German which may be interpreted as both the wish for the return of the caliphate in case the Central Powers win (as the Ottoman Sultanate, one of the states of Central Powers, is the

[51] http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?ParagraphID=ppl 7 Oct.14.

representative of caliphate at the time) and the common social knowledge which may find its best expression in the proverb of "my enemy's enemy is my friend". Getting tired of British protectorate, Egyptians set their hopes on the victory of Ottomans and Germany.

The possibility of independence of Egypt from British protectorate grew stronger with the foundation of Wafd party by a group of politicians including Saad Zaghloul. In *A History of Egypt*, Afaf Lutfi As-Sayyid Marsot proposes that "the various declarations made by the Allies during the war aroused hopes that independence might be in the offing" (As-Sayyid Marsot 2007, 95-96). To Marsot, the hopes peaked up "especially when President Wilson made public his Fourteen Self-determination became the keyword in everybody's mouth, and a group of politicians met to plan the future of Egypt as an imminently independent country, or at least one that would have a modicum of home-rule" (*Ibid.*). It was the mentioned group of politicians who established Wafd and in November 1918 met with Sir Reginald Wingate, the British High Commissioner, to request from him their allowence to proceed to the Paris Peace Conference and to present Egypt's case. During that meeting one of the delegates told Wingate that they were asking for complete independence, which became their goal (As-Sayyid Marsot 2007, 96). Thus, Saad Zaghloul and his friends soon became the heroes in the eyes of many Egyptians as they expressed the feelings of the majority on independence of Egypt. Mahfouz reveals the amount of the excitement caused by Zaghloul and his colleagues and how the news of independence of Egypt united the Egyptians from the perspective of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad:

> Nothing in the sky or on the ground seemed to differ from what al-Sayyid Ahmad saw every day, but the man's soul, those of the people connected to him, and perhaps those of everyone else too, had been exposed to a powerful wave of excitement almost making them lose control of themselves. Al-Sayyid Ahmad went so far as to say he had never experienced times like these when people were so united by a single piece of news, their hearts all beating with the same emotion (Mahfouz 1994a, 327).

The demand of independence from Britain and the unjust British occupation of Egypt are depicted ironically during a conversation in the family between Amina and his sons in *Palace Walk*. When Fahmy narrates Saad Zaghloul and his colleagues had asked permission from London to travel there and demand Egypt's independence, Amina wonders where London is. Upon learning that London is the land of the English, she is astonished and asks Fahmy: "They're going to the land of the English

to ask them to get out of Egypt? This is in very bad taste. How could you visit me in my house if you want to throw me out of yours?" (Mahfouz 1994a, 324). This conversation above reveals the sad but true dimension of colonialism ironically. Amina's single world is her house, because she is not permitted to go out of her house as depicted in *Palace Walk:* "a quarter of a century had passed while she was confined to this house, leaving it only on infrequent occasions to visit her mother" (*Ibid.*). Ostensibly an illiterate woman, she brilliantly and graciously touches on an important point. As in her pure world, she has difficulty in understanding the reality of colonialism. Why a country asks for permission of another one to dismiss it? The tragic point is that, the presence of the English in Egypt has been so long that Amina herself regards Egypt as the country of the English and protests the idea of getting rid of them:

> "How can they ask them to leave our lands after they have been here all this long period. When we were born and you as well, they were already in our country. Is it humane for us to oppose them after this time we've spent living together as neighbors and to tell them bluntly, and in their country at that, to get out?" (Mahfouz 1994a, 324).

Throughout the conversation Zaynab, Yasin and Amina are insistent on the idea that Saad Zaghloul and his friends are struggling in vain against a nation that "considers itself as the unrivaled mistress of the world" (Mahfouz 1994a, 325). Amina reminds the case of Urabi Pasha as a revolutionist and how he was imprisoned and exiled by the English, which disappointed the Egyptians about the demand of independence from the English. The opposition of Amina against the idea of evacuation and independence of Egypt stems from the fact that she had lost her hopes about the freedom in the case of Urabi Pasha. Zaynab is also anxious about Saad Zaghloul and his friends, who went to Paris, reminding the case when the English soldiers had killed people walking in the streets of Cairo. All the negative attitudes of the family members annoy Fahmy who can't find anyone in the family to share his excitement and enthusiasm about the enterprise of Saad Zaghloul and his friends. He is aware of the facts mentioned in the family about the impossibility of getting rid of the English but even if there isn't any concrete example in the world, he feels obliged to do something for his country.

As mentioned above, Mahfouz analyzes the Egyptians from different perspectives. To narrate the influence of British protectorate on Egyptians, Mahfouz narrates the occupation of al-Husayn by British soldiers who camp outside the house of Ahmad

Abd al-Jawad. According to El Enany, the confusion of the Abd al-Jawad family about the intentions of the occupying power, represents the case of the entire nation and reveals the fact that "the historical danger is as close to the individual as the front door of his house" (El-Enany 1993, 74). From the course of events in *The Trilogy,* it is obvious that, despite the bad impression the English had left on the Egyptians with their harsh policies, they also somehow succeeded to win the admiration of the public without special effort. The way Mahfouz reflects this reality is ironic as, even one of the English soldiers' smile toward Yasin and asking for a match turns Yasin's head and excites him to the extent that he even can't hear what the soldier had wanted from him. Then, Mahfouz narrates the image of the English to the Egyptians as follows:

> Yasin proceeded to the house almost reeling with joy. What good luck he had had. An Englishman--not an Australian or an Indian--had smiled at him and thanked him. […] An Englishman--in other words, the kind of man he imagined to embody all the perfections of the human race. Yasin probably detested the English as all Egyptians did, but deep inside he respected and venerated them so much that he frequently imagined they were made from a different stuff than the rest of mankind. This man had smiled at him and thanked him[…] Yasin had answered him correctly, imitating English pronunciation so far as his mouth would allow. He had succeeded splendidly and had merited the man's thanks (Mahfouz 1994a, 395).

The "magic" of the English soldiers on the Egyptians is narrated in another case where Kemal has a conversation with them. "How handsome they are! I've never seen anyone more handsome before. Blue eyes, golden hair, gleaming white skin"(402). From the cases above it can be proposed that as the colonizer, the English seems to be successful in convincing the Egyptians into the fact that they are "privileged" and superior to all other nations. This case can be defined best as "inferiority complex" of the colonizer in Frantz Fanon's words in *"Black Skin White Masks."* To Fanon "the inferiority complex can be ascribed to a double process: first economic, then internalization and epidermalization of this inferiority" (Fanon 2008, 43). Though Fanon's detection is for the blacks, it can be generalized to all the colonized. The economic inequality between the Egyptians and the English as the colonizer at the time paves the way for the "internalization of inferiority" of the former.

Mahfouz portrays historical realities of Egypt and voices the feelings of Egyptians about the British protectorate and its influences on Egyptians. As mentioned above Egypt was under "veiled" British protectorate since 1882. During W.W.I. Britain

declared Egypt protectorate. On this basis Egyptian nationalists believed that it was a temporary protectorate which would come to an end after the W.W.I. The increasing involvement of the Egyptians in the World War I in spite of the promise of the British and the discontent with the British rule fueled the unrest among the Egyptians. Right after the W.W.I. armistice, the leader of Wafd Party, Saad Zaghloul, and his colleagues requested the end of British protectorate in Egypt. The British government in London refused the request of the Wafd which created tension in the country. The reason of the nationalist agitation was the recognition of Egypt's right to plead its case in Paris.[52] Marsot proposes that "throughout 1919 Egypt was rife with agitation. Zaghlul was arrested and deported to Malta, which signaled an explosion of violence in all regions in support of the national leader" (As-Sayyid Marsot 2007, 96). These events were of crucial importance to the Egyptians which found their reflections in every segment of society. In the eyes of Egyptians, Saad and his friends were regarded as heroes who braved to mention the independence of Egypt as the representatives of their society. So the news of their exile disappointed the society on a large scale. That evening, even Ahmad Abd al-Jawad and his friends "seemed averse to fun and music for the first time in a quarter century or more" in the routine night gatherings for pleasure" (Mahfouz 1994a, 351). The scene of spreading the news of Saad and his friends' exile was portrayed in depth in *Palace Walk*:

> "Look at the street. Look at the people. After all this, who could say that the catastrophe hasn't taken place?" […] "They arrest the great pashas […] What a terrifying event! What do you suppose they'll do with them?" "Only God knows. The country is stifling under the shadow of martial law." "Exile to Malta. None of them is left here with us. They've exiled Saad and his colleagues to the island of Malta."
>
> They all exclaimed at the same time, "Exiled them!" The word "exile" stirred up sad old memories that had stayed with them since childhood concerning the revolutionary leader Urabi Pasha and what had happened to him. They could not help feeling anxious, wondering if the same fate lay in store for Saad Zaghlul and his colleagues. Would they really be exiled from their nation forever? Would these great hopes be nipped in the bud and die?
>
> "Will today's hopes be for naught like those of yesterday?" […]If Saad did not return, what would become of these vast hopes? From their new hope a profound and fervent life had sprung that was too overwhelming to abandon to despair. Yet they did not know how their souls could justify reviving it again. […]"He was a man unlike other men. He inspired our lives for a dazzling moment and vanished"[53] (Mahfouz 1994a, 350-51).

[52] http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/HIST351-10.3.1-Egyptian-Revolution-of-1919.pdf 7 Octıber 15.
[53] Ibid., 350-51.

The exile of Saad Zaghlul and his friends dashed the society's hopes and the news brought to mind the exile of Urabi Pasha who led Urabi Revolution against Khedive Tewfik Pasha and the influence of the British and the French over the country from 1879 to 1882. The Urabi revolt had clarified strong nationalist sentiment among educated and well-to-do Egyptians whose slogan that galvanized their hopes for the future was "Egypt for the Egyptians" (L. Tignor 2010, 235). Urabi Pasha's revolution was heavily suppressed and he was exiled to the British colony of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).[54] Bringing to mind the exile of Urabi Pasha, the disappointment of Egyptians due to the exile of Saad Zaghloul and his friends turned into countrywide demonstrations in 1919. Contrary to the unease of a limited class of Egypt against the foreign policies in the past, this time the demonstrations were characterized by rank and file of the population including students, elite, civil servants, merchants, peasants, workers, and religious leaders. To Lisa Pollard, the demonstrations of 1919 and 1920 united disparate elements of the Egyptian population. Egyptians—rich and poor, Muslim and Christian, peasants, workers and landed elites, men and women—took to the streets, arm in arm, not only to make the quotidian tasks of governing Egypt impossible for the British but also to demonstrate that a new order of things—a new stage of existence—had come to pass (Pollard 2005, 166-67). Mahfouz explains the details of revolutions at large in Trilogy from the eyes of Amina's eldest son, Fahmi, who is an intelligent and idealistic law student: "Saad, who expressed what was in our hearts, has been banished. If Saad does not return to continue his efforts, we should be sent into exile with him"(Mahfouz 1994a, 357). To calm the students, the assistant of British judicial council comes and advises the students to return to their lessons and leave politics to their fathers. Greeting him with shouts of "Down with the protectorate", they protest his words and a meaningful protest comes among the students: "Our fathers have been imprisoned. We won't study law in a land where the law is trampled underfoot" (358). Walking and shouting for Egypt, independence and Saad Zaghloul, the students obtained "more enthusiasm, confidence, and faith, because of the impulsive participation and spontaneous response of their fellow citizens. They encountered people whose souls were primed, reeling with anger that found expression in their demonstration" (358-59). Here it is

[54] For detailed information about Urabi Revolution, see Juan Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's Urabi Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

important to note that the 1919 revolution is regarded as "first and foremost a movement of the Egyptian people" (Tamawii, 1965 in Hassan Gad 2010, 26). The reaction against the exile of Saad Zaghloul and his friends was a public one since the Egyptians set their hopes of independence of Egypt from British protectorate on the attempts of the leader and his colleagues. As seen from the reactions of the university students against the British officer, the relationship between Egyptians and Saad Zaghloul is regarded as that of father and his son. In other terms, Saad was considered as "the godfather of the nation" (Al-Naqqash 1998 in Hassan Gad 2010, 26). In her article titled *Homage to a Father: Tradition and Revolutions in Palace Walk,* Fadwa Mahmoud proposes that the people demanded the return of the father of the nation in 1919 revolution and quoting from Al-Aqad, she underlines the significance of the family institution for the Egyptians to reveal the vital importance of release of Zaghloul and his colleagues:

> Family, for the Egyptians is the strongest social bond. It is by far the stronger than any political commitment or obligation to authority. Family is the source of the Egyptians' social mentality and he heeds no danger once he conceives animosity directed at his household. Yielding to foes of the family becomes in this context a "real shame" (Hassan Gad 2010, 27).

Portraying the revolution of 1919 and the reactions of Egyptians in such detail from different perspectives in *The Cairo Trilogy,* Mahfouz articulates the common sprit of the Egyptians. As a result of the demonstrations against the exile of Saad Zaghloul and his friends, the British government freed them on April 7, 1919. Mahfouz narrates the demonstrations for the liberation of Zaghloul and his friends using the real date of the event in the history of Egypt. The liberation of Zaghloul and his friends is interpreted as the success of 1919 revolution among Egyptians. Mahfouz narrates the excitement of the Egyptians during the dissemination of the news of the liberation of Zaghloul and his friends. After giving a general description of the scene of the enthusiastic group of people spilling out into the streets, he narrates the feelings of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad and his friends and that of the family members of Abd al-Jawad from Amina to Yasin and Fahmy. The severity of the over joy of the Egyptians is portrayed as thus:

> The muezzins went up to the balconies of their minarets to give thanks, pray, and shout. There were tens of donkey carts with hundreds of women, fully covered in wraps, dancing and singing patriotic songs. All he could see were people, or, more precisely, people shouting. The earth had disappeared and the walls were concealed by them. Shouts for Sa'd were heard everywhere. The air seemed to have turned into a tremendous phonograph record, spinning incessantly on a turntable, repeating his name (Mahfouz 1994a, 478).

The sweeping demonstrations end up with the death of Fahmi and some other Egyptians as the British soldiers open fire at them. This case increases nationalistic feelings of Egyptians and the hatred of the British as colonizer. It is also important to note that as the nationalist character who demands the independence of his country and participates in the demonstrations against the British protectorate, Fahmi brings to mind Mustafa Kamil, one of pioneers of nationalistic movements of Egypt, who has a distinct place in Egypt's history. A close consideration of the Fahmi and Mustafa Kamil reveals many similarities between the two with one basic difference; while the former is a real hero in the eyes of Egyptians the latter is a fictional one; both are students of law, both respond to the British protectorate by the demonstrations, the aim of both are the evacuation of Egypt and an Egyptian government working for the benefit of Egyptians and both show their reaction via university students.[55] Besides the similarities between important figures of Egyptian history and his characters, Mahfouz portrays the status quo of Egypt at the time step by step from the perspectives of different classes from middle-class merchants, Socialists, Marxists and so on. While making the crucial events of the time the subject matter of a conversation between his characters, Mahfouz also informs his readers about the events. For instance in the last volume of *The Trilogy*, Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad and his friend have a conversation about how harsh was the economic crisis of 1930s[56] which ruined Egyptians due to the economic policies of Ismail Sidqi. Right after, Mahfouz narrates that the 1930s were the days of terror for Egypt and the news of bankruptcies and liquidations were the most common news for merchants and "throwing up their hands in dismay, businessmen had wondered what the morrow had in store for them" (Mahfouz 1994c, 12). All the information above reveals the fact that in *The Trilogy* Mahfouz informs his readers about the historical realities of Egypt which correspond to the events mentioned in the book.

As mentioned above, the historical background of Egypt that includes many external and internal oscillations is portrayed vividly in *The Trilogy.* It is clear that despite the price paid for the independence of Egypt, the Egyptians are still (in 1930s) face to

[55] For detailed information about Mustafa Kamil as a nationalist Pioneer, see Afaf Lutfi As-Sayyid Marsot, *A History of Egypt:From the Arab Conquest to Present,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 92-93, and Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., *A Brief History of Egypt,* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2008), 95-97.

[56] For detailed information about the economic crisis of 1930s and its effects onEgypt, see [56] Afaf Lutfi As-Sayyid Marsot, *A History of Egypt:From the Arab Conquest to Present,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 107-110.

face with the British the existence of whom hassles the Egyptians. The pessimistic feelings of Egyptians about the situation of Egypt in 1935 find voice in a dialogue in the last volume of *The Trilogy* as follows:

> This is 1935. Eight years have passed since the death of Saad's death, fifteen years since the (1919) revolution. Yet the English are everywhere, in the barracks, the police, the army, and various ministries. The foreign capitulations that make every son of a bitch a respected gentleman are still operative. This sorry state of affairs must end (Mahfouz 1994c, 36).

As seen from the relationship between the samples from the novel and Egypt's historical background it is clear that in some way Mahfouz writes the history of Egypt in *Cairo Trilogy*. In his three volume trilogy, he depicts the annals of Egypt step by step from the exile of Saad Zaghloul and friends to their release, from 1919 Egyptian Revolutions to British armed intervention, from the foundation of Wafd to the independence of Egypt from British protectorate. Beginning in the middle of a world war, the novel terminates with the end of another. The historical allegories depicted above are a drop in the ocean which means that *Cairo Trilogy* is among the best sources to learn about the historical background of Egypt within the context of narrative. There are many historical allegories in the book which will be mentioned in the next chapter through analysis of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt based on the lives of some characters. As Mahfouz himself witnessed Egypt's political transition from British colonization to independence in *The Trilogy* he describes to the reader the socio political life and history of Egypt with its far reaching story of three generations.

From the Ottoman Sultanate to the Republic of Turkey

Since the time frame of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* (1905-1970) is an inclusive one that covers from the last years of Abdulhamid to the 1970s of Turkish Republic it is inevitable to give information about the last years of the Ottoman Sultanate and the emergence of Turkey as its continuation.

Beginning with the Renaissance, Reform and Industrial Revolutions, the great changes in Europe take hold of the rest of the world gradually. Generally early 18th century is regarded as the beginnings of Ottoman modernization as prior to this date the Ottomans were superior to the Western powers in military terms and Europe was not a threat risk for Ottoman due to the economic and social situation it was in. It was after the second Vienna Siege (1683), Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and Treaty of

Passarowitz (1718) that the Ottoman Sultanate lost its superiority in front of well equipped and technologically more sophisticated Western armies. The defeats by Western powers made the Ottoman Sultanate enter into a process of adaptation to new developments especially militarily that reversed the power balance between Ottoman and Western Powers. Initially the aim of adaptation to new developments seems to be only militarily to protect the State against the well equipped Western Powers. This state matter was brought to the agenda of the state especially during the reign of Ahmet III (1703-1730) and 28 Mehmet Çelebi was sent to Paris as the France Embassy to "visit the fortresses, factories, and the works of French civilization generally and report on those which might be applicable [in Turkey]" (Berkes 1998, 33). Beginning from the day he got off from Istanbul, he wrote his experiences and observations about France under the title of *French Seferetname.*[57] To state the significance of *French Seferetname,* a Turkish literature historian, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar proposes that "'No book occupies so important a place in the history of the ·Westernization of Turkey as this little report. […] Concealed in almost every line of, it is an idea of comparison and it contains almost the whole program of subsequent changes" (Tanpınar 1956, 1-10). Within the context of his *Seferetname,* Mehmet Çelebi compares the capital of Ottoman with Paris and his descriptions about Paris reveal the fact that contrary to the common belief at the time that regards the West inferior, the buildings, water channels, arts of France were the signs of its advancement. From this point, the impacts of Mehmet Çelebi's *French Seferetname*[58] can be regarded as a significant indicator of the fact that Ottoman Sultans and statesmen realized the state of the Ottoman Sultanate at the time and as an attempt to narrow the gap between the Ottomans and the West, they began to reflect. Besides the cultural and historical contributions of his *French Seferetname,* the establishment of printing press in Ottoman was another attempt of Mehmet

[57] Seferetname is the general name of the reports that the voyagers present to the Sultans about their observations on the foreign countries, their experiences, the statesmen they met, the ceremonies organized in their honors, the structures of the countries etc… Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, "Sefaretnâme", in *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri Ve Terimleri Sözlüğü, III, (*Istanbul, 1993), 138-9.

[58]For detailed information about *French Seferetname* and its significance in terms of modernization of Ottoman, see the article of Türkan Polatçı, *The Importance of Yirmisekiz Celebi Mehmed Efendi's Paris Sefaretname in the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire (Osmanlı Batılılaşmasında Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Paris Sefaretnamesi'nin Önemi),* Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi 2(2): 249-263. See also the article of Asuman Akay Ahmed and Emre Çay, *Intercultural Review of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Celebi's View of France in XVIII. Century (18. Yüzyılda Yirmi Sekiz Mehmet Efendi'nin Fransaya Bakışında Kültürlerarası Bir Değerlendirme), Turkish Studies - International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic Volume 8/10 Fall 2013, 1-16.*

Çelebi which is worth mentioning. Inspiring from the printing machine in France, Mehmet Çelebi established printing press together with İbrahim Müteferrika. Turkish journalist and writer Alpay Kabacalı argues that, in accordance with the royal decree of Ahmet III and fatwa of shaykh al-islam, 17 books were printed in the printing press about language, history, geography, humanities, and army (Kabacalı 1994, 5-6). Due to the social and economic problems in the Ottoman Sultanate at the time, the emergency of the state's security was regarded as the major issue. But it was soon realized that military development required a range of other innovations. As the famous intellectual and writer Cemil Meriç noted, military officers were needed for a new army, schools needed to train these military officers, institutes were needed to sustain these schools, educational reforms were needed to keep these institutes functional and it was necessary to establish factories to produce the required equipments. Briefly the administration should have been improved (Meriç 1983, 236).[59] So the attempts of modernization stemmed from the need of protection against Western powers and expanded to almost all fields of the state dynamically.

Early Attempts at Modernization of the Ottoman Sultanate

The first foundations of modernizing the state were laid by Selim III who inherited the throne in 1789, the year that coincides with French revolution. Selim III's interest in the developments around the world dates back to the years prior to his accession. Erik J. Zürcher observes that "as a prince, he had corresponded with Louis XVI of France, his 'role model', and he had gathered around him a circle of friends and servants who shared his interest in things European" (Zürcher 2004, 21). Selim III's struggle at modernizing the army according to Western model dates back to the attempts of Mahmut I and Abdulhamit I but these initiatives were interrupted due to reactions of those in favour of continuity of traditional Ottoman culture and those who felt the threat of financial hardship (Mardin 1997, 11). Against the opponents of reforms and undisciplined janissaries, Selim III declared a programme of reforms under the title of Nizam-ı Cedid including a loyal and modern army. As a result of this attempt Selim III was dethroned by janissaries. But his struggle at modernizing the army and the state in his unique way distinguished him from his predecessors. Besides the attempts at modernizing the army, Selim III paid special attention to

[59] My translation.

education as the Austrian example was adopted in the organizating the Military Academy during his time, and, moreover learning German and French as a part of education and bringing European teachers were compulsory (Ortaylı 2013, 51). The French instructors in the army corps founded by Selim III accelerated the communication between Europe and the Ottomans as the students learned foreign languages and began to discuss new fangled ideas with their teachers (Zürcher 2004, 22). Mahmut II took power after Selim III, and made fundamental changes in Ottoman's army and socio political dynamics; he eliminated the janissaries and the Ulama two of which were among the most important institutions of the Ottoman Sultanate system. The elimination of these two crucial pillars of the Ottoman Sultanate, the janissaries, the military power of the state and Ulama, the intelligentsia of the system, paved the way for new reforms. Except the innovations in the army, the removal of the basic dynamics of Ottoman (the janissaries and the Ulama) exhibited the extent of the reforms of Selim III and Mahmut II.

> Both Selim III and Mahmut II were convinced that they could meet Western challenge through piecemeal reform, especially the reform of their army. This worked for a while but in the long run the problem was not military in nature. It required fundamental changes in society itself and the conservatives, supported by the Janissary army and the ulema, refused to go along with reform which would undermine their own position. (Ahmad 2013, 22)

The modern army replaced the janissaries and was called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*, and its personnel was educated in military academies that provided training in the Western style (Tazegül 2005, 73). In this regard some teachers were brought from the West to lecture in these schools and some students from these schools were sent to the West to get Western style education (Akyüz 1997, 133). The cadets sent to West to get military education also had the opportunity of observing the production of Western culture as a whole, literature and science and attempted to apply the positivist knowledge and the social system was formed accordingly in Ottoman. This point of view that regards the Western style community, formed according to the principles of positivism, as the only model that has always been efficient and determinant in the political history of the Ottoman Sultanate and Turkish Republic (Kurtdaş 2012, 108).

The Imperial Edict of Gülhane (Tanzimat Fermanı) and the Edict of Reform (Islahat Fermanı)

The reform developments in the army and within the system of education during Mahmut II's reign continued in Tanzimat Era (the the time span during the announcement of The Imperial Edict of Gülhane) which is of crucial importance in understanding the modernization of the Ottoman Sultanate and Turkey. In 1830s there was a new military and bureaucrat class in Ottoman who embibed Western ideas and considered it necessary to extent the process of modernization to the treasury, state administration, judicial system and other fields in the state. Tanzimat Reform is a political modernization enterprise that appeared as a result of the ideas of the military and bureaucratic class mentioned above (Erkilet 2010, 140-141). The word of *Tanzimat* means 'regulations' in Turkish is used to identify a period (1839-1878) with many political, and social reforms inspired by Europe (Mardin 2000, 3). What distinguishes the era of Tanzimat from previous periods is the replacement of power center from the Palace to the bureaucracy. While the Ottoman Sultanate was dealing with forming a Western style army and educational system, Europe covered a lot of ground due to the Industrial Revolution and the developments that accompanied it. The financial problems the Ottomans had were among the basic obstacle in the way of the latest developments of Europe. This situation that would bring changes comparable to those drove the Ottomans into debt that obligated it to give some unwarranted privileges (capitulations) to some European countries (1838 British Trade Agreement, 1839 French Trade Agreement) and in the latter period each "help" brought with it new "regulations" upon the request of the "subscriber" countries (Güngör 1983, 256). As Karpat proposes; the insistence of Western countries upon privileges and assurance of the Christians in Ottoman provided the basis of political reform which emerged as Tanzimat in 1839 (Karpat 1996, 34). In this regard, for the first time in Ottoman history the attempts of modernization were carried out under the control of a bureaucrat group rather than the Sultan. Some of the innovations of Tanzimat were defined as thus:

> This declaration meant locating modern principles. The Human Rights Declaration that French Revolution accepted was taken as an example. The Tanzimat formulated all the state departments and government organizations were established by Mahmut II., these organizations were linked to modern Western administrative laws. The asset, property, personal security of all subjects sat on judicial ground. The modern tax system, courthouse system, land system were connected to legal principles (Ülken 2013, 30-31).

It is important to underline that the foreign schools were opened during the Tanzimat era; for instance The Galatasaray High school was opened modeled on French High Schools. Due to the foundations of new and modern schools the madrasahs were gradually phased out (Karpat 1996, 34). All the developments that started first in army and within the education system expanded to politics and gradually led to socio-cultural transformation of the society.

What followed Tanzimat era was The Edict of Reform (Islahat Fermanı) in 1856. Berkes defines the Rescript as "political, legal, religious, educational, economic, and moral reforms in which equality, freedom, material progress, and rational enlightenment [...]" (Berkes 1998, 153). Islahat Rescript was declared under the pressure and in the direction of outside powers and aimed to eliminate the so called "inequalities" between Muslims and Christians in the Ottoman Sultanate. In the prolog of Turkish version of *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith and Community in the Late the Ottoman Sultanate*[60] Kemal Karpat proposes that it was with the declaration of Islahat Rescript that the Ottoman Sultanate began to partly follow Europe. Karpat adds that the edict of reform was prepared by European countries regardless of what the Ottomans thought and its acceptance was conditioned to the acceptance of Paris Agreement. Moreover the Ottoman Sultanate's involvement among the European "contemporary" countries was also conditioned to the former's declaration of Islahat Rescript (Karpat 2013, xvi). According to Karpat, the policy of Ottomanism started after 1856 but the citizenship law (1864) that was expected to bring "unity", "equality", "brotherhood" resulted in discriminating between Muslims and Christians. As a result the difference of religion emerged as the difference of policy which drew the Muslims away from the Christian citizens of Ottoman and placed Europe as a threat to Ottoman identity and political freedom. Young Ottomans (Namık Kemal, İbrahim Şinasi, Ziya Pasha […]) appeared in reaction to this case (*Ibid.*).

As Karpat puts forward, the discontent due to the insufficiency of the reforms caused criticism and objection in the society, and as a result there emerged a new group called "Young Ottomans" who would be of singular importance in the political, and intellectual history of both Ottoman and Turkey. The Young Ottoman movement is

[60]The Turkish version is titled *İslamın Siyasallaşması: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet, İnanç ve Cemmatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması.*

significant as the first opposition of the intelligentsia in the Ottoman Sultanate with a demand for a broadening of political participation (Somel 2003, 329). They advocated a constitutional parliamentary regime that will result in 'Unity of the Elements' (Ittihad-ı Anasır). Consequently Abdulhamid II introduced constitutional parliamentary regime in 1876 and this period was called the "first constitutionalist period" lasted until 1908.

In the light of the information above, it is believed that a brief knowledge about the modernization process of Ottoman will enable the analysis of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* in a more multi-directional way in terms of Turkey's transition process to modernity as the successor of the Ottoman Sultanate. The period of Abdulhamid II and the emergence of Young Turks will be analyzed under the next subtitle since Orhan Pamuk opens his novel with the assassination attempt on Abdulhamid II'life and maintains it by using historical allegories and weaving the events with faltering characters in between their own cultural values and that of the West which leads to an ironic imitation; radical characters such as Nusret who is an extremist member of Young Turks; Ömer, who looks down on everything in Turkey due to his education in Paris, and many other characters who, in their own ways, try to adopt the new developments of Turkey in the process of transition to modernity. The time frame of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* covers a wide range of socio-historical and socio-cultural period of Turkey (from 1905 to 1970s) with the story of three generations. It can be proposed that together with the emergence of Turkish Republic, Cevdet Bey founds a family in accordance with his dreams and in parallel with the development of the country; the family completes some phases within the context of familial and personal affairs.

Historical Allegories in *Cevdet Bey and Sons*

Orhan Pamuk's first novel, *Cevdet Bey and Sons* is the story of a wealthy family over three generations. Pamuk grew up in a half-bourgeois, half Ottoman extended family, what gave him the chance of making many observations that constituted the subject matter in his novels. Unlike Mahfouz who narrates the socio-historical realities of Egypt that he witnessed in *Cairo Trilogy*, the starting date of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* is about 40 years earlier than Pamuk's birth. Through the novel, Pamuk successfully

aligns the last generation of the novel with the period of his youth. McGaha proposes that aware of the importance of 1930s in the formation of modern Turkish state, Pamuk sets the main part of the novel in 1930s, with each generation being the representative of the period from transition to later stages. That's why the characters in the novel are twelve to fourteen years older than the real ones on whom they were based (McGaha 2008, 24).

Before describing the historical allegories in *Cevdet Bey and Sons* and determining whether they mesh together with the real socio-historical events of the time, it will be proper to provide a general overview of the novel, what will also enable the reader to read the last chapter of the dissertation in a more comprehensive way. Pamuk divides his book into three main parts each of which covers significant historical periods of both Turkey and the family which is the subject matter of *Cevdet Bey and Sons*: the twelve-chapter prologue of the book is about a single day in the life of Cevdet Bey in July, 1905. The second part of the novel covers a three-year period (1936-1939) with the story of the second generation, especially that of Refik, Cevdet Bey's son. The ten-chapter epilogue of the novel centers on a single day of Cevdet Bey's grandson Ahmet and occurs on December 12, 1970.

In the prologue of the novel which is set in 1905, Cevdet Bey, aged thirty seven, is engaged to a pasha's daughter which was intended by him to reach his aims. Besides enabling him to have the family life he envied, his marriage to a Pasha's daughter would provide him with the opportunity to be accepted in the Istanbul society which he longs for, not to mention how useful it would be for his business. As a successful merchant who converted his father's timber into a lighting shop, Cevdet Bey takes firm steps toward the future he plans. While the case is so for his business and private life, Cevdet Bey has to deal with his sick older brother, Nusret. Nusret, two years older than Cevdet Bey, had entered Military Medical College and later abandoned his wife and his son Ziya to join the Young Turks in Paris. In his death bed, Nusret, an ardent supporter of the revolution in late the Ottoman Sultanate, continues to despise Cevdet Bey, accusing him of being unaware of the revolution and of admiring everything European. Just before his death he demands Cevdet Bey take care of Ziya by keeping him at his home. Hence, Cevdet Bey buys a house in Nişantaşı distinct which is also a part of his plans to enter burgeouis Istanbul society. In the second part of the novel that begins in 1936, Cevdet Bey and his extended

family gather to celebrate Kurban Bayramı in their house in Nişantaşı. Now it has been thirty years since Cevdet Bey married Nigan Hanım, and they have three children Osman, Refik, and Ayşe. Osman and Refik are married and work with their father. This part of the book is centered particularly on Refik and two of his friends, Ömer and Muhittin. Taking Rastignac as a role model for himself, Ömer is an ambitious engineer whose only aim is to earn more and more and to live a more comfortable life. On the other hand, Muhittin is interested in becoming a famous poet. The conversations among these three characters turn into conflicts, due to the differences of their opinion. Educated in Paris, Ömer's Orientalist ideas about Turkey (which will described as self-Orientalism in the next chapter) sometimes annoy his friends. Upon the death of Cevdet Bey, Refik's wife gives birth to a daughter but this can't prevent Refik's depression and dissatisfaction about his life, his marriage, and his job. He decides to visit Ömer who works in the rail road project which is built to connect Erzurum and Sivas. In Kamah, he meets with Ömer's associate, a German engineer, Herr Rudolph who has been in Turkey for ten years working on the Samsun-Sivas railroad project. Now engaging in the new railroad project of Sivas-Erzurum, Herr Rudolph hates the East in macrocosmos and Turkey in microcosmos. To him, it is impossible for Ömer to become a Rastignac as the bloody Revolution of France didn't occur in Turkey. The conversation among Herr Rudolph, Ömer and Refik centers on the German engineer's despising attitudes toward Ömer, Refik, Turkey and East.

After staying in Kamah for a month, Refik decides to rescue the villages from darkness by doing a project that will connect them to urban areas. Refik's diary gives a lot of details about his project on which he worked for seven months in Kamah, focusing on his attempt to put the project into practice and his failure in the end. Late in the book, the reader feels the disintegration of the family as Ayşe makes marriage preparations with Remzi, the son of a family friend; Refik in his search for doing a satisfying job in life decides to work on translations in the publishing house and moves to an apartment with Perihan; Osman builts a new apartment in the place of the family hall built by Cevdet Bey. The novel ends with Refik's son, Ahmet's artistic attempts as a painter; his wish of understanding his father's diary which was written in Arabic alphabet the previous alphabet of Turkey, which was changed

during the alphabet reform; the rumours about the plan of the army to carry out a leftist coup; and the death of his grandmother.

As mentioned before, the novel begins in 1905, a critical year for the dissolving the Ottoman Sultanate as Sultan Abdulhamid II, whose conservative and centralist political system caused annoyance in the society, surviving an assassination attempt. After declaring the first constitution in 1876, Abdulhamid II had to put it on the shelf due to the Russo-Turkish war in 1877. From this date on, he pursued a more absolutist policy until the second constitutionalist period in 1908. Though the domestic and international developments obligated Abduldamid II to pursue a centralist policy, he somehow succeeded to implement great strides in education and technology. According to Karpat, much of Abdulhamid's policy stems from his own personality, the dictates of outside events, from the alienation of the intelligentsia to the changes in the demographic and cultural composition of the The Ottoman Sultanate (Karpat 2002, 63). The situation of the The Ottoman Sultanate when Abdulhamid came to reign was summed up as follows:

> He came to power during a financial crisis which culminated in bankruptcy and foreign financial control, and in the case of Egypt, British occupation which frightened him greatly. He desperately wanted to avoid anything similar happening at the centre. Abdülhamid therefore tried to set his house in order by balancing the budget. Wherever possible, liberal economic practices were abandoned though the capitulations precluded actual protectionism (Ahmad 2013, 29)

Despite the negative situation the The Ottoman Sultanate was in, Abdulhamid II advanced the programs of the military affairs (harbiye), the civil service (mülkiye), and the military medical school (askeri tıbbiye). The schedule and programs in these schools enabled their students to consider the positive sciences as an important constituent of Westernization and powerfulness (Mardin 2013, 11). In his extensive book about Young Turks, entitled *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey, Eric* J. Zürcher narrates that due to the expansion of secondary education under Abdulhamid, the number of students educated at European style higher education establishments had increased by the late 1880s. According to Zürcher the educated class mentioned above brought with it disenchantment with the regime (Zürcher 2010, 97). This dissatisfaction about the regime and the demand for reinstating the short-lived Kanûn-ı Esâsî constitution brought together these people under the same root.

The period (1905-1970) and the characters of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* provide an insight into the last years of the Ottoman Empire, the foundation of Turkish period, the attitudes of one of the most influential groups (Young Turks) in the foundation of the Republic, and the reforms in the formation of a new Republic. As mentioned above, Pamuk, blending history and fiction, started his book in 1905. The date becomes clearer from Cevdet Bey's talking to himself, calculating for how long he had been engaged and stating that he had got engaged two weeks before Abdulhamid was bombed (Pamuk 2013, 15). It is known that it was during Abdulhamid II's reign that Western ideas led to social mobility among the students graduating from the schools that Mahmut II established for the training of the bureaucracy and the military. These people later called themselves "Young Turks". Education and profession played an important role in bounding this group. They often knew a foreign language (mostly French), and some of them had studied or had been trained in Europe, while the majority of the leaders served in the army as officers (Zürcher 1992, 96). Despite their enormous impact on the modern history of Turkey, the information about Young Turks is limited and inconsistent. Revealing the contradictions and generalizations of the standard works on the period, Zürcher indicates some of the varios definitions of Young Turks as follows:

> Allen says they were 'young officers', which is also Geoffrey Lewis's classification, Feroz Ahmad calls the Young Turks 'lower middle class' and 'newly emerging professional classes' while Bernard Lewis talks about 'Muslim Turks, mostly soldiers' and 'members of the ruling élite', which is in direct contrast with Stanford Shaw's 'lower class' and 'subject class'. Richard Robinson describes them as 'new technicians, newly awakened intelligentsia, Western-Oriented army officers', while Sina Akşin summed them up as 'Turks, youngsters, members of the ruling class, Western-educated with a bourgeois mentality' (Zürcher 2010, 96).

According to the definitions above, Pamuk's Young Turk, Nusret is a Western-Oriented graduate of Military Medical School. Pamuk narrates the characteristics and attitudes of Young Turks in the character of Nusret. Cevdet Bey's older brother, Nusret is a Young Turk, and an extremist supporter of revolution. It is stated in the book that Cevdet Bey's brother Nusret learns about Young Turks during his trip to Paris. Pamuk's description of Young Turk in the personality of Nusret is expressed through the conversation between Cevdet Bey and his merchant friend as follows: "Isn't your brother someone who went to Paris, stayed there for ten years and

graduated from the Medical School of the Military? He is also peevish and aggressive... If not a Young Turk, what could he [possibly] be?" [61] (Pamuk 2013, 44).

As a Young Turk, Nusret always has a despising manner toward the people around him. Thinking about the future of his son (Ziya), who he left and escaped to Paris and didn't care for until he realized that he will die soon, he can't decide whether he should entrust Ziya to his wife in the village or to Cevdet Bey. As a result, he decides that Ziya "should stay in city, even if he is among stupids it's better for him[62]" (*Ibid,* 27). From his manners, it is clear that as a Young Turk, Nusret is intolerant toward everybody whether in village or in city, except those who share the same opinion with him. The cases of Cevdet Bey's identity seeking and his struggles to imitate the Western life style become an object of derision for Nusret:

> "My brother admires everything that comes from Europe, with the exception of one [thing]." He thought, and finally found the word he was looking for. "Revolution!" He returned to his brother: "Do you know what revolution means? Or rising? A guillotine revolution, washed in bloodshedding? But how would you know of such things!" [63] (Pamuk 2013, 29).

According to Nusret, a bloody revolution in the The Ottoman Sultanate, similar to the French one, is the only way that will change the status quo of the The Ottoman Sultanate and make things right. The pro-war rhetoric of Nusret raises doubts about the intentions and methods of Young Turks but as Lewis infers, their main concern was "how can the state be saved and strengthened?" (Lewis 1968, 212). There were different answers to this question among Young Turks, but all agreed that Westernization and modernization were needed. The main point was to what extent these innovations were necessary for the The Ottoman Sultanate (Zürcher 1992, 244). As for the aims of Young Turks, they are stated again by Cevdet Bey's merchant friend as follows: "What your brother and his type want is putting Ottoman Basic Law into effect, forming an assembly, ending the despotism, bringing liberty, and if necessary Abdulhamit's overthrow for these developments. You are refraining from these thoughts[64]" (Pamuk 2013, 45). When it comes to the methods that as a Young Turk, Nusret sees necessary for the safety and improvement of his country, it is clear that he is in favor of a bloody revolution. Interestingly enough, the way that Nusret thinks will bring "civilization" is a barbaric one, as he expresses that the best

[61] My translation.
[62] My translation.
[63] My translation
[64] My translation.

way to bring light to The Ottoman Sultanate is to guillotine Padishahs, Sultans, princes, pashas […] (85). As mentioned above, his intolerance toward everything in his country is related to the administration of the time to the extent that he even does not allow the people around him open the windows of the room in which he is about to die, claiming that it will lead to the despot, dark, dirty air to come in:

> "No, don't open! I don't want the dirt outside to come in. Don't let the bad, miserable, vulgar air and that hideous, despot darkness get in. We're fine here. […] Don't open the window till my land is saved from the darkness, just the way it happened in France. Till Abdulhamid is destroyed and everything becomes bright, clean, honest, good […][65]" (Pamuk 2013, 29).

As it can be seen from Nusret's words, according to Young Turks, the only way of relieving the The Ottoman Sultanate of the "darkness" and Abdulhamid is a revolution, resembling the one that had taken place in France the previous century. The direct influence of French Revolution on Young Turks is revealed by Zürcher who compares Young Turks to French Radical Party, which played a big role in the French Revolution, and shows the similarities between the two (Zurcher 1992, 247). Besides their similarities in ideological content, Zürcher analyses the historical reasons that can be the evidence of the fact that Young Turks may have modeled themselves on the Radical Party and comes to the point that as many of Young Turks spent some time in Europe (especially in France) in the years before 1908, when the Radical Party was at its peek, and most probably they were influenced heavily from what they observed in France (*Ibid.*)

Another point that Pamuk draws attention to in the character of Nusret as a Young Turk is his secular and positivist discourses, which also can be evidence to how much Young Turks were influenced by the French Revolution. Nusret proposes that Ziya was stupefied besides his mother in village "with their disgusting, vile believes, fear[66]" (Pamuk 2013, 81) and advises his brother, Cevdet Bey to:

> "Let him feel free. Let him keep busy with what he wants to. Let hem understand that he could do something on his own, with his mind. Thus, he will learn that he has the potential to live without obeying, that what he learned at Haseki are all lies, and that all those ugly words of religion and Allah are used to hide and nurture ugliness[67]" (Pamuk 2013, 79).

Nusret thinks that religion and believing in God are the obstacles to using one's own will and positivist thinking. He fears that if Ziya goes on staying with his mother in

[65] My translation.
[66] My translation.
[67] My translation.

the village, he will be “silly” like everybody and won’t understand the world around him. Irritated from Ziya’s mentioning of angels and heavens, Nusret wishes that his son should believe in “the light of mind and himself” (Pamuk 2013, 77) instead of believing in lies and adds that that’s why he named him Ziya, which means light. When the ideologies of Young Turks are analyzed it can be clearly seen that, despite little information about the details of the formation of this political group, “religion versus modernization” is one of their basic common points of view. This approach is still a point at issue that divides the historians and critics into two. The leftists, regarding Young Turks as the first intelligentsia, consider them a group that contributed extensively in the formation of the secular Republic and praise them to the skies. On the other hand, the rightist critics and historians, criticizing Young Turks harshly, accuse them of mimicry and being blind admirers of the West. Regardless Pamuk’s political views, the frame he drew for the Young Turks in the character of Nusret reveals that he analyses the Westernization attempts and political views of Young Turks ironically. According to Nusret, as a target, the so-called “modernization” or “Westernization” can be only achieved by total imitation of the West, and this case put him in a disagreeable and even ironic position. He even complains about the “lazy” people around him with whom he can’t talk about the story of the Trojan War and adds that “Paris is filled with those who know the story of the Trojan Horse” and that he can’t describe how enjoyable it is to talk to a European (85). All Nusret says remains unfilled as after wandering a while he dies in a dark room contrary to what he imagined about the “bright” future which can also be interpreted as the failure of Young Turks. The historical allegories of the book are not limited to the last years of Ottoman. The second part of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* describes the 1930s of the new born Republic and the influences of political, social and legal revolutions as modernization attempts on the community.

The historical allegories above reveal the fact that there are many similarities between the events mentioned in the novel and the historical realities of Turkey. There are many other examples in the novel that can be associated with the historical realities of Turkey including the atmosphere in Turkey after the foundation of the Republic, the characteristics of hat and alphabet revolutions and the Dersim Revolt and the dilemma of each succession of generation due to the socio-political realities of Turkey to be discussed in the next chapter within the context of the process of

transition to modernity in Turkey through the experiences of the characters in this period.

Conclusion

All the historical allegories Mahfouz used through the fiction of *The Trilogy* and Pamuk used through *Cevdet Bey and Sons* can be evaluated in the light of new historicism as a theoretical paradigm. New historicism is defined as a method based on the analogous reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period provides us with the opportunity of simultaneous evaluation of primary historical sources together with secondary sources, including observations of social phenomena in literature. Such a kind of inter-textual evaluation enables reassessment of history from the standpoint of the present. As a theory new historicism seems to bring together historians and literary critics under the same roof by denying both the insistence of new critics on the autarchy of literary text and that of traditional historians on the privilege of primary historical sources. All in all, keeping in mind Ngugi's, Said's and Seyhan's views about the strict relationship among the writer, history and literature, it will be proper to propose that born in period of rapid changes which are milestone in Egyptians' life, Mahfouz and Pamuk shed light on the late history of Egypt and Turkey. The influences of socio-historical and political developments of both Egypt and Turkey are quite obvious from the dialogs in the families. As a family affair, the characters make comment on the issues at the time from their perspectives. These political events are the subject matters of the Abd-al Jawad family even during the coffee hour when the family members come together. The case is similar also from the marriage of Cevdet Bey that is organized around the end of the The Ottoman Sultanate and the last Sultan Abdulhamid II. It is clear that both Mahfouz and Pamuk rewrite the history of their countries through fiction that contains the story of three generations. The lengthy time frame of the novels and the story of three generations enable the writers to portray extended pictures of their countries with many details about the historical, political, and social realities of Egypt and Turkey.

CHAPTER III

THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO MODERNITY IN EGYPT AND TURKEY IN *THE CAIRO TRILOGY* AND *CEVDET BEY AND SONS*

This chapter aims to discuss the modernization process of Egypt and Turkey through *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* and contextualize the works within the framework of proper meaning of modernization among various definitions of the term indicated the introductory part. It can be clearly said from the politics of Muhammed Ali of Egypt and that of Selim III of Ottoman that the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey began in the military area just to serve the defensive needs of the countries and then extended to the educational, technological, political, cultural and social areas of the military failures of Egypt and Turkey led them to the defensive modernization which unavoidably resulted in the extension of modernization to other fields of life. Within this context, the transformation became unavoidable for the citizens of these countries. Considering the time frame of the novels (*Cairo Trilogy*, 1917-1944 and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, 1905-1970) it can be said that the citizens of both Egypt and Turkey were anxious about the future of their countries at the beginning. Egypt was put under the British protectorate in 1917 and WWI was going on and The Ottoman Sultanate was in political, and social uncertainty. While this was the case, some students were sent to Europe to make observations about the technological developments abroad and to undertake training according to the curricula of the countries they were sent to so that they can make up the deficiencies of their countries with the experiences they gained. The common solution of many of these students to change the course of their countries was absolute imitation of the target countries. Associating modernization with the imitation of the countries they were sent to, these students adopted a point of view that evaluated the world in terms of binary oppositions based on the idea of backward East versus modern West. It is interesting that both Mahfouz and Pamuk have given wide publicity to the attitudes of this kind of characters in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* which may be interpreted as a common characteristic of the process of modernization in Egypt and Turkey. The first

generation in both of the works is the one that the influences of a traditional life style are felt most. Both, Mahfouz and Pamuk narrate the social, political, and cultural crices of Egypt and Turkey in the process of transition to modernity especially in the life experiences of the second generations. Kamal of *The Cairo Trilogy* and Refik of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* are the representatives of the conflict between the past and the present. When it comes to the third generation, an absolute break from the past is unavoidable which finds its epitome in the life experiences of Ahmad Shawkad of *The Cairo Trilogy* and Ahmet of *Cevdet Bey and Sons.* The changing role of women throughout three generations especially in *The Cairo Trilogy* can be regarded as another parameter of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt; while in the beginning it is unthinkable for example for Abd-Al Jawad's wife and daughters to go out of the house without his permission (his wife, Amina was not permitted to go out of her house for twenty-five years), toward the end of the novel, one of his grandsons, Ahmad, shocks his family by getting married to a journalist woman who works for a living.

The aim of this chapter is to hold the attitudes of three generations in the process of modernization in each novel under the microscope. Before analyzing some of the characters in the novels in the process of modernization, an overview of the novels about the changes in the families as a result of the transformation may be useful.

Indeed the family structures in the novels, beginning with extended families in the same house and ending with separate individuals of different worlds, unfold the reality of how modernization isolates people. Moreover as time passes, the changes in every field of human endavour becomes clearer in the novels; the family orders under the control of fathers decrease and is replaced by liberal and autonomous decisions which means that the families get out of the grip of fathers. In the introduction to *The Trilogy*, Sabry Hafez analyses the allocation of space in the family and comes to the conclusion that the house of the Abd al-Jawad family is organized hierarchically when he is in fine fettle but the order reverses when his health fails. According to Hafez, as a patriarch, Ahmad Abd-al Jawad loses his control over the family which can be inferred from the change of the designation of the house as the place of his room on the top floor is replaced by the ground floor which represents the downgrading of his position (Mahfouz 2001, xvi-xx). A similar inference can be made for the family structure of Cevdet Bey dreaming a family

"like a clock" (Pamuk 2013, 111) but ironically the pendulum clock which works day and night in the middle floor of his house goes south with the death of Cevdet Bey's wife, Nigan Hanım. Simultaneously the family order of Cevdet Bey turns into a totally different one as the family house eagerly built by Cevdet Bey is replaced by a new apartment. Beyond the symbolic ones, there are many concrete examples of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey in the lives of the characters of *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*. Another common point of the novels that reveals changes in the families as parameters of the transformatios in the lifestyle of Egyptians and Turks is disappearance of the family gatherings designed upon the request of the fathers. As prototypes of Egypt and Turkey, the tendency to individualism in the families of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad and Cevdet Bey may be interpreted as an indicator of the process of modernization in Egypt and Turkey. These symbolic examples above reveal the fact that the traditional family structures under the control of the fathers change unavoidably as a result of the influence of modernization the most basic characteristics of which are the rise of liberalism and individualism.

The Crisis of the Conflicts Between Tradition and Modernity: Fathers, Sons and Grandsons in Duality of Values

In the family sagas about the life experiences of a succession of three generations, it is the father figures throughout the life experiences on whom Mahfouz and Pamuk reflect the weight of tradition that gradually decreases with time. With each succeeding generation, the dynamics of the families change as that of the countries. Time shows that the socio-political developments and the renewed educational systems in Egypt and Turkey transform the countries with the families. The orders of the families organized according to the rules of the fathers that can be regarded as traditional turn into modern ones through the conflicts of the first and second generation. As time passes both of the fathers of *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* see that their period is on its way out. As Egypt and Turkey, the families in the novels fall under the influences of changing life style. Of the fathers, Ahmad Abd al-Jawad is more self-opinionated than Cevdet Bey and resists against any changes in his life order for a while. As for Cevdet Bey, he is one step ahead of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad with his attempts at improving himself. What is common between the two

fathers is that none of their children act upon their request. Since the adaptation process of the fathers to the changing life style in Egypt and Turkey is not the same due to their different approaches the level of the crisis between the succeeding generations alters. As this is the case the best way of contextualizing *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* within the framework of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey seems to be beginning from analyzing the first generation in the personality of father figures and the second generations in the personality of the most striking ones; Fahmy, Kamal and Refik and the third generation in the personality of the The Shawkat Brothers and Ahmet. It is expected that the personal experiences of Ahmad Abd-al Jawad, Cevdet Bey and their sons will reveal the socio-historical realities of Egypt and Turkey in some way.

Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad, Kamal and the the Shawkat Brothers

To start up with the *The Cairo Trilogy*, the Arabic version of which is *Bayn al-Qasrayn – Between the Two Palaces*, it is important to note that the original name suggests the fact that the subject matter of the novel is "ambivalence" whether it is the case of Egypt or that of the characters in the time frame mentioned. Indeed, regarding the time frame of the novel (1917-1944), the case of Egypt at the time and the subject of the novel together with the characteristics of the characters that change in every succeeding generation, the Arabic name of the novel can be interpreted in many different ways; as for Egypt at the time, it was between two world wars, between tradition and modernity, between protectorate and independence, etc. As for the characters of the novel, on the other hand, the original name can be interpreted as oscillating between tyranny and individual freedom, between monomania and unorthodoxy, between tradition and modernity, between old and new, etc. As mentioned before, for the father figure of *The Cairo Trilogy*, Al Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, Mahfouz admits to have been inspired by one of his neighbors who had tyrannical tendencies and who didn't let his wife or children go outside of the house that was always closed (Al-Ghitani 2007, 71). Representing the past in the novel, the harsh attitudes of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad toward his household reach to such an extent that nobody in the house dares to speak in front of him without his permission. The case of Amina's reproach to his spending nights out until late hours of the morning

and his response is a concrete example of the severity of his authority and its deep influence on his wife:

> "I'm a man. I'm the one who commands and forbids. I will not accept any criticism of my behavior. All I ask of you is to obey me. Don't force me to discipline you." She learned from this, and from the other lessons that followed, to adapt to everything, even living with the jinn, in order to escape the glare of his wrathful eye. It was her duty to obey him without reservation or condition. She yielded so wholeheartedly that she even disliked blaming him privately for his nights out. She became convinced that true manliness, tyranny, and staying out till after midnight were common characteristics of a single entity (Mahfouz 1994a, 4).

It's not only Amina who incurs the wrath of the authoritharian attitude of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad. The children get their share of the military discipline of their father as well. During the breakfasts, the only time that the children spent with their father, they struggle to avoid comitting any error which will draw the attention of the father and result in his shouting at them (Mahfouz 1994a, 19-20). His authority over the household is not limited to specific hours or subjects as he arranges even the marriages of his children without asking them. Standing up to him is unthinkable for any of the family members. The severity of his strict discipline and authority becomes clearer when Amina ventures out to pray at the Mosque of Al-Hussein during his visit to Port Said. The first attempt of Amina to go out throughout twenty-five years of marriage results in her temporary banishment from house as punishment. His extreme insistence on pursuing traditional oppression of his family is criticized by his close friends but "he was influenced by his sternly traditional nature, so much so that he considered his wife's visit to the shrine of al-Husayn a crime deserving the gravest punishment" (Mahfouz 1994a, 219).

While the pressure of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad toward his household is acknowledged by his wife Amina, it is the children who are dissatisfied with this situation and want to break this tradition by acting with their free will but they can't reveal their dissatisfaction due to their homage to Ahmad Abd al-Jawad. Mahfouz narrates the feelings of the children about the harsh attitudes of their father by using stream of consciousness technique. For instance the thoughts in Yasin's mind in the case of the marriage of Yasin, which was determined by his father, reveal the ideas of all children in the family about their father:

> "Who has ever gone against your wishes? You marry me and divorce me. You give me life and take it away. I don't really exist. Khadija, Aisha, Fahmy, Yasin […] all the same thing. We're nothing. You're everything. […] 'Marry.' Whatever

> you say, sir. 'Divorce.' Whatever you say, sir. […] Curses on your father" (Mahfouz 1994a, 409).

Due to his traditional attitude, Ahmad abd Al- Jawad ignores the lives of his household thinking that the sun rises and sets on him. His blinders prevent him from seeing the family members as individuals. His presence among the family members causes monotony and a hierarchical system based on his dictates. Sabry Hafez analyses the breakfast time of the family to show the dominant hierarchy set up by the tyrannical father. Hafez begins with Amina, who is not permitted to eat with the father and the boys, and goes on the three boys' restraining themselves from eating and waiting until their father starts eating. It is the order of seniority that determines when to start eating; Yasin, Fahmy and Kamal that reveals "their highly formal response to paternal authority and the degree of hierarchical interaction within the family" (Mahfouz 2001, xvii). The eating order collapses soon after the departure of the father and transforms into "a democratic one from the hierarchical space" (*Ibid*). It is clear from the attitudes of the father and the response of the children that the hierarchical system set by Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, prevents his household from enjoying democratic system. As this is the case for the family members, the children take refuge in lying to act according to their free will which is impossible in the world of the father. Much is kept from the father who interferes in every single aspect of his children:

> Lying was not considered contemptible or shameful in this household. Living in their father's shadow, none of them would have been able to enjoy any peace without the protection of a lie. They openly admitted this to themselves. In fact, they would all agree to it in a crisis. Had his mother intended to admit what she had done the day she slipped off to visit al-Husayn when her husband was out of town? Would Yasin have been able to drink, Fahmy to love Maryam, and Kamal to get up to all sorts of mischief when walking between Khan Ja'far and al-Khurunfush without the protection provided by lying? None of them had scruples about it. If they had been totally truthful with their father, life would have lost its savor (Mahfouz 1994a, 424).

The course of routine lifestyle of the Abd al-Jawad family, which turns over the unquestionable rules of the tyrant father, changes with the political developments of Egypt when Fahmy participates in the nationalist demonstrations without the permission of his father. In Ahmad Abd al-Jawad's words "Fahmy, the disobedient son had thrown himself into the stream without a preserver" (Mahfouz 1994a, 463). The nationalist demonstrations organized to protest British rule in the country and the exile of Saad Zaghloul and his colleagues become a turning point for Egypt and Abd al-Jawad's family. Suleyman Al-Shatty draws a parallel line between the socio-

political dynamics of Egypt and that of the family and proposes that "the children's restlessness and annoyance with the father's authority shake the family, just as Fahmy's participation in demonstrations severs all relations with the past" (Al-Shatty 1976 in Hassan Gad 2010, 25-26). Despite his father's overbearing nature, Fahmy participates in the demonstrations together with his friends and many Egyptians. Taking into consideration the view of Al-Shatty together with that of Jaque Jomier according to whom "there is a correspondence between the family's and Egypt's political evolution: as the children rid themselves of father's authority, Egypt rid itself of British hegemony" (Jomier 1966, 5) it can be suggested that the first attempt of Fahmy against his father results in his death just like the attempt of Egyptians against British protectorate that results in the death of many Egyptians. The dead Egyptians pay theit ultimate price for the sake of independence for their nation as does Fahmy whose death contributes both to the freedom of his country and to give Ahmad Abd al-Jawad a pause for thought.

The unease of the household of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, which is narrated in the form of inner monologues in the first volume of the Trilogy except the case of Fahmi, turns into the expression of personal opinions right in his face in the second and third volumes. The traditional way of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad changes in spite of himself as an innovation of the modern lifestyle. In the introduction to *The Trilogy* Sabry Hafez interprets Ahmad Abd al-Jawad's "extracting from his caftan the golden watch" (Mahfouz, 1994b) in the first page of the second volume that opens five years after the first volume as "a clear indication of a new perception" (Mahfouz 2001, xv). According to Hafez, contrary to the stable time of the first volume, the quick passing of time in the latter volumes indicates "the change from the pre-modern condition, with its timelessness simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present, its slow rhythm and static rituals, to modern, heterogeneous, empty time, the time of dynamic transformation and rapid change" (*Ibid*). Based on this inference Hafez concludes that "the very structure of Mahfouz's narrative shows the dynamics and pains of this change in the life of both the family and the nation" (*Ibid*, xvi).

The dynamic of the transformation in the family which can be interpreted as the conversion of Egypt in the broad sense becomes clearer in the second and third volumes of *The Trilogy* that contain many concrete examples of the case. In the second volume, *Palace Walk*, Ahmad Abd al-Jawad seems to soften his stance on his

household compared with his previous attitudes. It can be proposed that as Britain recognizes the independence of Egypt in 1922, the father seems to recognize the presence of his children. For instance, in the first volume Mahfouz portrays the cases of conversation among the father and his sons as tense ones in which Ahmad Abd al-Jawad talks, gives directions or criticizes his sons and all the children can do is just hanging on his lips and prevaricating to refrain from his scolding attitudes. In the second volume, on the other hand, this case turns into a democratic one that the sons can reveal their ideas without hesitating. To reveal this transformation of the father, Mahfouz often uses retrospective expressions as follows:

> "Yes, it was no longer out of the ordinary for Yasin to address his father, he might say, for example,"I visited Ridwan at his grandfather's house yesterday. He sends you his greetings and kisses your hand." Al-Sayyid Ahmad would not consider such a statement to be impudent or out of line and would answer simply, "May our Lord preserve him and watch over him." It was not out of the question at such a moment for Kamal to ask his father politely, "When will custody of Ridwan revert to his father, Papa?" In that way he demonstrated the dramatic transformation of his relationship to his father. Al-Sayyid Ahmad had replied, "When he turns seven," instead of screaming, "Shut up, you son of a bitch" (Mahfouz 1994b, 20).

Ahmad Abd al-Jawad is aware of his transformation as well which can be analyzed in the last volume of *The Trilogy* when he feels that his grandchildren remind him both that his life is passing on the new generations and that he is gradually losing his dominant position in the family (Mahfouz 1994c, 17-18). Besides the transformation in the personality of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, one of the best ways of understanding the increasing gap between the "traditional" and the "modern" is by analyzing the life of the youngest son of the family, Kamal. Being the youngest son of the second generation of the Abd al-Jawad family, Kamal represents the "intellectual crisis" of Mahfouz's own generation as mentioned above (Elsaadany 1999, 48). According to Rasheed el-Enany, his contradiction stems from the fact that he comes across modern values that his parents haven't experienced before and "it was mainly the influence of modern Western thought disseminated through the modernization of the educational system which had already taken root in the 1920s and 1930s when Kamal was growing up" (El-Enany 1993, 85). Kamal's dilemma grows increasingly when he sees al-Abbasiya due to his friendship with an upper class boy called Huseyn Shadad. Contrary to Al Jamaliyya where Kamal lives, Al Abbasiya represents the new and modern for Kamal (Alquwaizani 2002, 276). "The underlying reasons for his admiration were the district's cleanliness, its careful planning, and the restful calm reigning over its residences. All these characteristics were alien to his

ancient and noisy district" (Mahfouz 1994b, 141). Adding that Kamal's lover, Aida, lives in al-Abbasiya, his fascination with the place increases two times fold (Alquwaizani 2002, 276). So, his duality between Al Jamaliyya and Al Abbasiya, old and new, traditional and modern, religion and science leads him to search of identity. Kamal tries to find a place in Egyptian society which is also in a complicated spot due to the socio political situation of the time. The process of Kamal's formation of personality under the circumstances mentioned gets more difficult with his father, a bully like Ahmad Abd al-Jawad. Despite his transformation from the tyrant mode to a more tolerant one, Ahmad Abd al-Jawad can't help criticizing his household in all their decisions. Partly to protect them as a father figure, partly to prevent them going beyond the ordinary which is out of question in his mind, Ahmad Abd al-Jawad still desperately struggles to control his household. The descriptive conversations between him and Kamal reveal the contradiction of the old and the new which increases Kamal's dilemma. For instance Kamal intends to enroll in the Faculty of Education at the university but his decision about the discipline that he will choose in the university annoys his father who thinks that "it is a miserable profession, which wins respect from no one" (Mahfouz 1994b, 48). Despite the deep respect toward his father, Kamal rejects his father's predilection, excusing this point of view by "attributing it to their backward society and the influence of his father's ignorant friends" (*Ibid*, 49). While Kamal defends himself extolling the superiority of learning to prestige and wealth, Ahmad Abd al-Jawad insists on his idea that "there is no true knowledge without prestige and wealth" (*Ibid*). To persuade Kamal about enrolling at the law school, he proposes that "it graduates important people and government ministers like Saad Zaghloul and his dead brother, Fahmi if he hadn't died" (*Ibid*). Understanding his father's instrumental opinions about the value of learning, Kamal gets upset but soon takes refuge in the books he reads which mention the people who look down on the value of learning and instead prefer profit and status. Yet, this consolation turns into resignation as contrary to the "those stupid people" that he thinks to have debated with the authors of the books he had read, his father is "simply the victim of his time, place and companions" (52). The conversation turns around the struggle of Kamal to persuade his father about the importance of the noble sciences in the Teachers College like history and English language and the popularity of these disciplines in Europe. Ahmad Abd al-Jawad reminds his son that he is not living in Europe and narrates his wish to see him "an esteemed bureaucrat

rather than a wretched teacher" (53). As a result of the conflict between father and son, Ahmad Abd al-Jawad finds himself "torn between his tyrannical tendencies and his recognition of a son's right to choose a school for himself" (54-55) but he doesn't want to give up. Though he is anxious about Kamal's future, "in an uncharacteristic way—or more precisely one that would have been out of character in the old days—he finally let reason have the upper hand" (55) and pushing his luck, offers Kamal to choose at least a respectable school like Military or Police academies but the response doesn't change. Kamal is decisive about going to the Teachers College. The disagreement of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad and Kamal stems from the fact that while the former, as the representative of past, insists on the importance of prestige in Egypt and high salary, the latter, as the representative of new generation, centers on prestige in Europe regardless of the salary. As a result, rather than preferring the school that his father wishes him to graduate, Kamal attends Teachers College voluntarily.

The realities that he learns at the university from his teachers influence him deeply and put him in another dilemma between what he has learned from his childhood and never questioned and the facts that the teachers proclaim. The most striking example of the case mentioned is his disappointment after learning that the Tomb of al-Husayn is just a symbol. Growing up in a family where there is deep respect and faith in the fact that the Prophet's grandson is their neighbor which is a case of pride, Kamal is shocked to learn that the tomb is a just a symbol. Due to his disappointment "he weeps that night until his pillow is soaked" (Mahfouz 1994b, 71). This case can be regarded as a turning point for Kamal, who gradually loses his faith in popular religion that he associates with his family and their unquestioned values.

The life style of Kamal's lover, Ayda, and her family is another subject that increases Kamal's dilemma. Having graduated from a Catholic school in Paris, Ayda's life is far beyond the traditional one. Moreover, as mentioned above, his neighborhood, Al Jamaliyya is worlds apart from Al Abbasiya where Ayda lives. As this is the case, Kamal always makes comparison between himself and Ayda which increases his dilemma. The Western lifestyle of Aida is a blessed one for Kamal compared with the oppressive and traditional way of his family from which he wants to get rid of:

> They did not seem a master and his servant but two equal friends conversing easily with each other, with her arm draped over his. When they reached the vehicle, the bey stepped aside to allow the lady to climb in first. "Will you ever

> get to see your parents act like this?" he wondered. "What a silly idea!". […] Although her mother was as old as his, she was wearing an expensive coat, which was a marvel of taste, elegance, and style. […] He wished he knew what they discussed and their manner of agreeing and disagreeing, if they to his beloved's by the firmest ties and bonds (Mahfouz 1994b, 164-65).

Kamal is aware of the fact that the gap between his lifestyle and that of the Shadad family is so large that he can't bridge it. His inferiority complex due to the difference between "the traditional and the modern" cascades with the scorning attitudes of Aida's older brother, Husayn Shadad who looks down on him on every occasion from his traditional fez to his religious sensibility.[68] In addition to all these, Kamal hears that Aida is married to one of his friends who is the son of a superior court judge. Comparing himself with Aida's new husband he loses his temper and comments as follows:

> "Where's the difference then between the son of a superior court judge and the merchant's son? Why is it the fate of one to worship the beloved while the other marries her? Isn't this marriage a sign that these people are formed of different clay than normal folks?" (Mahfouz 1994b, 310).

The marriage of Aida with someone from her class disappoints Kamal but at the same time reinforces his thoughts about the privileged status of the wealthy and modern families in Egypt. As the son of "normal folks" he doesn't deserve to marry with the daughter of a family "formed from different clay." It is also important to note that Kamal's love of Ayda is always associated with the link between Ayda's family and Europe. Even his respect and admiration toward his father increase upon learning that Ahmad Abd al Jawad knows Ayda's grandfather as a "magical charm" that links him with his lover who was born in and spent some time in Paris:

> He had remembered immediately what he knew of the years her family had spent in Paris. His beloved had grown up in the brilliance of the City of Light. He had been seized by a feeling of renewed respect and admiration for his father along with redoubled affection. He had considered his father's acquaintance with the grandfather of his beloved to be a magical charm linking him, however distantly, to the home from which his inspiration flowed and to the source of everything splendid (Mahfouz 1994b, 21).

By looking at Kamal's feelings about Aida, it is not easy to determine whether Kamal loves Aida for her Parisian background and the status of her privileged family or his admiration of Europe stems from his madly love toward Aida. Yet, his disappointment with his loss of Ayda doesn't change his admiration for Europe which may be the indicator of the fact that most probably it is Aida's link with

[68] Husayn Shadad will be analyzed later under the subtitle of "Self-Orientalization of the Western Wannabes: Husayn Shaddad and Ömer" For detailed information about him, see that part of the dissertation.

Europe that makes her "the beloved creature" in Kamal's eye. For whatever the reason might be Kamal is determined to break his connection with his traditional lifestyle and turned his face toward a modern one. His readings about the new scientific developments of the West open new doors for him that will confront him with his father again. As a result of his readings about Darwin's theory of evolution, Kamal writes an article to a magazine entitled "The Origin of Man" and gives information about the theory. One of Ahmad Abd al Jawad's friends incidentally reads Kamal's name in a magazine and narrates the case to him. After reading the article again and again, "he was stunned by the sad reality that his son, his own flesh and blood, was asserting, without objection or discussion that man was descended from animals" (Mahfouz 1994b, 333). The informative article on the Darwin's theory becomes the subject of contradiction between father and son. According to Ahmad Abd al Jawad, it can't be even a matter of discussion to question the origin of man as it contradicts with their religion that confirms that the origin of man is Adam. So he tries to persuade Kamal that he doesn't have to believe in the subjects of his courses that contradict with his religion. Moreover Ahmad Abd al Jawad approaches the source of the knowledge with suspicion as he associates the information from Britain with British occupation of Egypt and advises Kamal that his stance with regard to English science be the same as his stance toward their occupation of Egypt and that he mustn't admit the legality of either (338). Despite his father's clear stance about the article and his bearing toward science, Kamal's inner dialogue reveals that what his father said passes over his head as he has already determined his way:

> For what was true religion except science? It was the key to the secrets of existence and to everything really exalted. If the prophets were sent back today, they would surely choose science as their divine message. Thus Kamal would awake from the dream of legends to confront the naked truth, leaving behind him this storm in which ignorance had fought to the death. It would be a dividing point between his past, dominated by legend, and his future, dedicated to light (Mahfouz 1994b, 339).

Thus, as the peak point in his life, Kamal determinedly strikes his past out and looks ahead on the "light" future in Mahfouz's words. His break from religion and replacement with science which he assumes to brighten his future disappoints him and increases his unease as well. As the times passes, he defines science as a closed world to him who only knows its obvious findings and mentions the conflicting ideas of the scientists; while some question whether the scientific truths match the real world the others find reality confusing and others are averse to proposing the

presence of absolute truth. He comes to the point that what he learned causes him to become more suspicious and tormented (Mahfouz 1994c, 95). In a conversation with one of his friends Kamal defines himself as "a tourist in a museum" (94) who doesn't know where to stand and it seems that he is never satisfied with his place in society as it is clear from his feelings in the last volume of *The Trilogy;* "whenever he approached the magazine's headquarters, the gloomy premises and shabby furniture reminded him of the status of thought in his land and of his own position in his society (92). Throughout *The Trilogy* the obscurity and search of Kamal are reflected with his dissatisfaction and when it comes to consider someone to blame, he begins from his father and mother:

> In any case, Father, you're the one who made it easy for me to accept oppression through your continual tyranny. And you, Mother, don't stare at me with disapproval or ask me what I've done wrong when I've harmed no one. Ignorance is your crime, ignorance, ignorance, ignorance. My father's the manifestation of ignorant harshness and you of ignorant tenderness. As long as I live, I'll remain the victim of these two opposites. It's your ignorance, too, that filled my spirit with legends. You're my link to the Stone Age. How miserable I am now as I try to liberate myself from your influence (Mahfouz 1994b, 374).

The utterances of Kamal above reveal the fact that Kamal is satisfied with neither his own status quo nor that of his father. Despite the transformation of the father from a dictator to tolerant and sensitive person, Kamal accuses his father of ignorance. His annoyance is toward the ignorance of his mother as well. Moreover, Kamal establishes a relationship between his parents and Stone Age, which can be interpreted as the epitomy of backwardness. Between the duality of values, Kamal is the articulator of his generation and the crisis they were in due to the changing world order. Compared with the average Egyptians of the time Ahmad Abd al-Jawad and Amina may be regarded as extreme characters in terms of representing the traditional norms of the society they were in but the characteristics of the two are useful in terms of revealing the extent of the crisis between generations in early 20th century Egypt. The symbol of the second generation between what was traditional and modern; Kamal struggles to find a golden mean in the society in intellectual terms. Occupied by the British, Egypt is in the struggle for independence as well. As mentioned above, the independence of Egypt from the British protectorate almost coincides with the independence of Kamal from the tyranny of his father, but both Egypt and Kamal have problems in adapting to the new world order on their own terms. Besides his readings about West, Kamal comes across the values of the West through Ayda and her family. He is not able to find a place in this Westernized

family despite his admiration and spiritual struggle. He devotes himself to science and deserts his religion to be satisfied but in the end recognizes to have struggled in vain on his way to his own intellectual formation. All in all, as Naguib Mahfouz's alter ego, Kamal goes through similar experiences as like the novelist in his intellectual and spiritual crisis. Like Mahfouz, Kamal has burning questions in mind. While Mahfouz becomes a philosophy student to find satisfactory answers for the questions in his mind about existence and man's fate, Kamal attends Teachers College for the same reason. Mahfouz revives his conflict with his father due to his choice of philosophy department in the scene of Kamal's conflict with Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, due to his choice of Teachers College. The reason that Kamal puts forward for his choice of Teachers Collogue is to search for "the origins of life and its destiny" (Mahfouz 1994b, 54) which are interpreted as subjects of philosophy (El-Enany 1993, 13). Inspired by his real life experiences and the questions that torment him, Mahfouz reveals the general problems of his generation in the personality of Kamal. When the socio-political climate of Egypt at the time is taken into account, it is clear that Egypt is also torn between protectorate and independence, tradition and modernity in early 20th century. In his intellectual development Kamal aims to "link Egypt with the advance of human progress" (Mahfouz 1994b, 388). In other words, together with his personal formation, Kamal aims to develop his nation which is in socio-political turmoil. Minutes before the death of his father Kemal's words referring to the effects of the air raids on their old house indeed summarizes the feelings of Kemal's generation in his very personality: "If our houses are destroyed, they will at least have the honor of being destroyed by the latest devices of modern science" (Mahfouz 1994c, 264). As it can be observed from his experiences, Kamal takes refuge in science to overcome his intellectual crisis in the end of his transformation which is closely related to the social, cultural and political changes in Egypt and in the world at the time.

While the case is so for Kamal's generation, in the last volume of *The Trilogy*, *Sugar Street*, Mahfouz sheds light to the popular tendencies of the third generation in Egypt at the time with the grandsons of Ahmad Abd-al Jawad. As the representatives of the third generation Ahmad Shawkat is a Marxist/Socialist whereas his brother Abd-al

Munim Shawkat is a member of Muslim Brotherhood.[69] We don't know how and why they preferred these ideologies as in the third volume, each of these characters have already chosen up his side. The brothers are ironically defined by their father as "the believer and the apostate" (Mahfouz 1994c, 261) due to their opposing preferences. Abd-al Munim represents the past while Ahmad symbolizes the new and modern. It can be suggested that Ahmad Shawkat and Abd-al Munim Shawkat emerge from the inner conflict of their uncle, Kamal, whose inner conflicts oblige him to make a choice between religion and science. The opposing ideologies of the two brothers cause the conflict between them which may also be evaluated as the conflict of the main trends in Egypt between 1930s and 1940s. Abd-al Munim holds the view that Islam will be the solution to all the problems in Egyptian society, whereas Ahmad defends the view that science will provide solution to the problems.[70] The point that should be noted is that Mahfouz portrays Ahmad as more sympathetic and attractive compared to his brother. During the discussion mentioned above for instance, Ahmad proposes that religions are outdated and science and inventions will help establish a new world order in the future, Abd-al Munim raises his voice to defend his ideology in an aggressive way (Mahfouz 1994c, 122-23). When the two brothers are arrested and sent to prison due to the "extremist articles" of the magazine edited by Ahmad and "suspicious meetings" held by Abd-al Munim as a lawyer it is Ahmad who gives a universal message; in the prison the two brothers question themselves about why they are arrested, Abd-al Munim whispers to Ahmad that he was arrested for believing in God, Ahmad responds that if that's the case so he was imprisoned for not believing in God and comes to the point that "Without regard to the differences of taste between us, our common human condition has united us in this dark and humid place. […] Despite dissimilarities in our luck and success at looking after ourselves, we are all human beings" (300).

All in all, the total evaluation of three generations in Egypt reveals the fact that, there are basic transformations both in the Abd al-Jawad family and Egypt; while the former gets rid of the tyranny of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, the latter cuts loose from British protectorate which can be regarded as a considerable step in terms of catching the era. However, even if both Egypt and the Abd al-Jawad family take considerable

[69] Muslim Brotherhood is the dominant Islamic movement in Egypt especially between 1930s and 1940s.
[70] See the discussion of the two about religion and science in Sugar Street, 122-3.

steps by gaining independence gradually, both find themselves in an ambivalent position. The case of both Kamal and Egypt during the adaptation process to modernity is best explained in the words of Riya Qaliidas to Kemal: “You suggest to me the character of an Eastern man, torn between East and West, a man who has kept turning round himself until he became dizzy” (Mahfouz 1994c, 227). As a result neither Kamal is satisfied with the situation he is in, nor can he make fundamental changes in Egypt in the process of modernization. Compared with the inner conflicts of Kamal in his intellectual development, Abd-al Munim and Ahmad are more certain about the doctrines they believe in but both end up in prison which revelas the ambiguity of the success of their ideologies. The last volume ends with the scene where Kamal mentions about Ahmad who is still in prison together with Abd-al Munim. "You must worship the government first and foremost if you wish your life to be free of problems" (306) says Kamal as if trying to underline the oppressive attitudes of the regime during the political upheavals of Egypt in 1944. However, despite the negative conditions in the country about intellectual freedom, Kamal plays his hopes on his nephew Ahmad whose words have been narrated twice through the end of the novel:

> "I believe in life and in people. I feel obliged to advocate their highest ideals as long as I believe them to be true, since shrinking from that would be a cowardly evasion of duty. I also see myself compelled to revolt against ideals I believe to be false, since recoiling from this rebellion would be a form of treason” (Mahfouz 1994c, 308).

Cevdet Bey, Refik and Ahmet

Darkness and Light was the original name of Cevdet *Bey and Sons* which Pamuk decided to change during publication process. Orhan Pamuk states that in writing such a novel, he attempted to write the story of the Republic and Westernization in Turkey (Pamuk 2007, 215). From Pamuk’s words the theme of east-West contradiction comes out as the main subject matter of the book. As in the original name of *The Trilogy*, the original name of Cevdet *Bey and Sons* brings to mind some other concepts which are related to the context of the novel. At its most simplest, it brings to mind a kind of contradiction in whether it is the contradiction of old and new, tradition and modernity, inferiority and superiority. Taking into consideration the earlier title, *Darkness and Light*, it is certain that the existence of dynamics of contradiction provides the opportunity to comprehend them both. It is light that

makes some sense out of darkness. While this is the case, the existence of light threatens the existence of darkness. Each of the characters in the novel that will be analyzed has some kind of inner contradiction which is closely related to socio political uncertainty of the country. Jale Parla proposes that in Cevdet *Bey and Sons* the discourse of Turkish modernism's obsession with science and technology and modernization attempts are developed within the antonym of darkness-light (Parla 2008, 58). Related to the themes of *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* it can be proposed that "ambivalence" is the common subject matter of both of the works.

As mentioned above the time frame of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* contains breaking points of Turkey as the beginning of the novel is about the last period of the The Ottoman Sultanate, the second part contains the revolutions in Turkey which are regarded as a solution to realign Turkey with the developments in the world. The novel ends just before the 1971 coup but the climate before the putsch is one of the basic points of the last part. Despite sharing similar occupations with the father figure of *The Trilogy*, Cevdet Bey's life is not as uniform as that of Ahmed Abd al-Jawad. Cevdet Bey is always in a struggle to achieve his dream of having a bourgeois family and being accepted among the bourgeois class in Istanbul. The novel opens up with his dream which is a subject matter of contradiction on its own. In his dream, Cevdet Bey is at primary school which is flooded with salty water flowing from ceiling on Cevdet Bey's foreahead and chest and spilling to the floor. The teacher signifies Cevdet Bey with his club and finds him guilty, but though he beats all the students, he doesn't punish Cevdet Bey. What chills Cevdet Bey is the scorning glances of his classmates, especially that of his older brother Nusret. However, he soon consoles himself thinking that "I was different, lonely but nobody punished me[71]" (Pamuk 2013, 1). Despite Cevdet Bey's dream is related to the time frame of his childhood, it has many prospective clues about his "difference", the attitudes of his society toward his "difference" and his isolation due to his "difference" from other members of his society. The despising attitudes of Nusret in the dream are a fact of Cevdet Bey's life that influences him deeply. It is certain that the profound changes in the world order and in the The Ottoman Sultanate (which turned into Turkey Republic) have great influence on Cevdet Bey but most probably the scorning attitudes of Nusret is the

[71] My translation.

underlying reason of Cevdet Bey's struggle of making himself accepted in high society. This veiled conflict among brothers also points to the rivalry between Pamuk and his older brother, which is one of the basic core themes of Pamuk that he returns to in his autobiography.

As for Cevdet Bey, the essence of his "difference" seems to be an obligatory one which can be inferred even from the second page of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* when he looks out from the window to find out time of the day but soon gets angry at himself for this old habit and glances at his watch. When the history of the watches in Turkey is considered, having a watch in 1905 can be regarded as a very unusual and privileged case in society as having a watch was a rare thing even in 1930s in Turkey.[72] The ironic thing in the case of Cevdet Bey is that, instead of making life easier for him, the watch hassles him, which is the simplest example that reveals the personality of Cevdet Bey. To achieve his dreams about joining the snobs of Istanbul, he breaks relations with his relatives at Haseki and moves to Vefa. As a merchant he feels lonely but proud among the foreign merchants due to the fact that compared to the numbers of Jewish, Greek and Armenian merchants in the The Ottoman Sultanate at the time, the number of Muslim merchants was very rare then (Lewis 1968, 452-58). To get rid of the feeling of isolation, he consoles himself thinking his privileged status as a rich Muslim merchant (Pamuk 2013, 18). Yet, he can't find a solution to his isolation and unease as when he reconsiders his childhood and his relatives at Akhisar he reflects that he can neither be with them nor with the others (*Ibid, 24*). His in-betweenness between his past and his aspiring lifestyle increases his struggle for acceptance in the upper echelors of society and it is his dissatisfaction that keeps on hassling him.

On the one hand he is anxious about being excoriated by his relatives for his new lifestyle on the other hand he is never at ease fully among the people that he dreams to be with. When he is obliged to get the son of his brother from his relatives, his anxiety is about the possible attitudes of his relatives that he had escaped from to start a new Western life style. "Maybe they won't recognize me. When they recognize, how they will despise me. But no! They will be amazed with my clothes and this horse cart[73]" (*Ibid, 36*). Being obsessive about the thoughts of other people

[72] http://www.ito.org.tr/Dokuman/Sektor/1-79. 13 Sept. 15
[73] My translation.

about him, Cevdet Bey is never able to enjoy the current situation he is in. To relieve himself and justify his search of a new lifestyle he looks down on the neighborhood that he had lived:

> "Everything is the same. Nothing changes. These walls, these discolored windows, these mossy tiles. Nothing changes. They are there, just the same as they were two hundred years ago. […] No money earning! Nothing new! Nothing in their lives: no passion. Exactly, they are deprived of passion. […] Luckily, instead of being a petty being in a loose rob I became a merchant" (Pamuk 2013, 37).

The comparison between his active lifestyle and the stable lifestyle of the people living in the neighborhood that he had grown up which ends with Cevdet Bey's justification of his privileged status in society based on his struggles toward Westernization. Contrary to the stable lifestyle of the people he criticizes, Cevdet Bey is at pains to achieve his Francophile dreams. He struggles hard to learn French, reads newspaper in French and regrets about the French words the meanings of which he doesn't know. Moreover he longs for having a house and family like the pretty French family the daily life of which is described in the book that he had read with the tutor (*Ibid, 16*). To have such a family described in the book, Cevdet Bey is engaged to the daughter of Şükrü Pasha, Nigan Hanım who has grown up in a mansion, reading French novels and playing the piano. This preference shows that Cevdet Bey regards marriage as a step toward his dream of having a Western style family and life. Though he succeeds in being engaged to the daughter of a Pasha, the despising attitudes of the Pasha toward him increases his unease as the Pasha looks at him "as if looking at a cockroach[74]" and whispers to himself that he never imagined marrying his daughter to a merchant (*Ibid, 59-60*). Moreover one of Şükrü Pasha's friends, Seyfi Pasha despises him due to his profession and subjects him to a brief test by asking him a question in French. Cevdet Bey gets excited and responds spelling the word asked to him. Seyfi Pasha consoles him saying that "even knowing that much French is good; you will go further as you speak[75]" (*Ibid, 64*). As in the case of his dream, Cevdet Bey tries to relieve himself by talking to himself and stresses his superiority to the "ridiculous and decayed things that scare him and seem inaccessible to him" (*Ibid, 65*). But despite his scorning feelings toward the lifestyle he dreams, he still insists on accessing it. The case of Şükrü Pasha is really ironic since when it comes to imitating the French, Şükrü Pasha uses every means available

[74] My translation.
[75] My translation.

to his household but in the end his wife and daughters find him rude. Though he himself admits that he couldn't get used to "their kind, gender European style,[76]" he still insists on the presence of the necessity of "European customs" (*Ibid, 61*). Şükrü Pasha's justification for the necessity of the so called European customs is more ironic in that he associates the manners of his household (speaking French, playing piano, making jokes among themselves that he doesn't understand) with the advanced technology of Europe with gigantic factories, stations and hotels. The case of Şükrü Pasha and his household reveals the general perception of modernization among the bourgeoisie in the last years of the Ottoman era as instead of being inspired by the technological advancement, many can't go beyond the imitation of European manners. The same goes for Cevdet Bey since even his relationship with the people around him reveals the fact that besides marriage, he organizes his friendships in accordance with his admiration for Western lifestyle as well. His friendship with Fuat Bey, who is a Muslim merchant like him is described as "useful and instructive for it gave him the opportunity to recognize and come up to the social life of Istanbul's rich and privileged people among whom he could never be in and the elites he was sociazing with[77]" (*Ibid, 43*). Cevdet Bey thinks that even by coming once to this club, he learns several times more than he learns from reading the newspapers for months or listening to rumors (*Ibid*). Despite his hard efforts to imitate the snobs he never feels comfortable; he remembers watching the representation of an operetta troupe from Europe and being bored to death (42) and even on the way from the gate of Sekldoryan Club to their table, he is always "exited, hopeful, holds his head high in order not to be despised, has complicated thoughts in mind and blushes[78]" (43). It is interesting that though he never feels at ease in these circles, his only target in life is being accepted by them. Soon after his engagement with Nigan Hanım he buys a mansion at Nişantaşı which is one of the most privileged neighborhoods of Istanbul where the wealthy families live.

Years later, when Cevdet Bey observes the manners of his family on a Kurban Bayram day, he is confronted with reality and remembers to have planned to start a European family which in the end turned out to be Turkish in its essence. He remembered a joke his deceased brother would make:

[76] My translation.
[77] My translation.
[78] My translation.

> "All those who had strived to model their life according to the French (European) lifestyle ended up to have a Turkish lifestyle, which, in turn, is also a peculiar interpretation of the Turkish mode. The way of imitating the Europeans, they (the Turks) turned into Turkish style which is also unique to the Turks[79]" (Pamuk 2013, 115).

Cevdet Bey's thoughts reveal the fact that he is not satisfied with the result of his struggles on the way toward having a European style family. Also his inability to finish the book he intended to write his story as a merchant from his lumbering years to the present, titled "My Business Life of Half a Century" can be interpreted as the fact that Cevdet Bey couldn't be able to realize his dreams as he had planned.

Cevdet Bey's inner conflicts and struggles to achieve his dream to be accepted among the local upper crust, portrayed as having some European imported characteristics that can't go beyond a superficial imitation, turns into the inner conflicts of Refik, the young son of the family. Compared with the case of his self-obsessed father, Refik's dissatisfaction stems completely from different reasons as contrary to the father's personal dreams, Refik searches for the solution of social problems to relieve himself. Graduating from the department of civil engineering, Refik works at the family business of his father together with his older brother Osman. Refik has the opportunity of benefitting from possibilities presented by his association with theTurkish bourgeois but most probably it is the monotony of this life that prompts him to search for the meaning of life. As the representative of the second generation, Refik attempts to undertake some projects to change the status quo of villages of Turkey but faces the fact that the existing state of Turkey at the time (1936-69) doesn't let anyone to interfere in its course. Together with Refik's intellectual voyage, Pamuk indirectly portrays the state of Turkey in late 1930s, when the modernization attempts in Turkey are at their full throttle.

The dissatisfaction of Refik in life directs him toward a search which he wishes to make his life more meaningful but neither his wife nor his friends understand him and help him toward that end. He describes himself as "the merchant son of a merchant family, an easygoing, untroubled, wolly guy[80]" (Pamuk 2003, 231), searches for new targets and can't decide whether reading or travels will be the solution. However, his unease in life is regarded as meaningless due to his possessions in life. For instance Refik shares his case with one of his friends,

[79] My translation.
[80] My translation.

Muhittin, proposing that he can't be as he used to be and he is in search of something new in his life. Muhittin finds his search meaningless reminding him that he has a calm life with his happy house, beautiful life, daughter and friends (245). His wife on the other hand thinks that he lost his balance and as long as his search doesn't change her life style which is composed of eating, drinking, traveling and shopping, she doesn't take him seriously. When he mentions about his future plan which is about establishing a publishing house "which will publish such books as Robinson Crusoe that everyone should read[81]" instead of going to the office Perihan just worries about whether he can gain enough money to take care of the family (506). As a result, Refik can't find what he expects from his wife and friends and takes refuge in reading. Yet his readings increase his anxiety instead of relaxing him. Comparing the works of French philosophers and authors with that of Turkish ones, he appreciates the former and despises the latter:

> "Why do I prefer reading Rousseau or Voltaire to Tevfik Fikret or Namık Kemal? […] Why am I like this? Why do I believe that it is impossible to find the enlightened mind I met when I read Voltaire or *The Red and The Black*, or in *The Confessions* I enjoyed again today, in myself, in anyone I know or in any Turkish writer I have ever read? […] Why everything in Turkey is like this? It seems as if everything and everybody is dead asleep…[82]" (Pamuk 2013, 251).

Refik's readings result in his disregarding the works of Turkish authors and his references for French philosophers and authors. The French philosopher Rousseau's autobiographical work, *The Confessions*, has a great influence on Refik to the extent that he begins to keep a diary himself (*Ibid, 248*). However, neither his readings of Western writers nor his writings satisfy him. His search alienates him from his environment which causes discussions between him and Perihan and as a result in order to rest his head, Refik travels to Kamah[83] where one of his friends, Ömer works in the Railway Project. Refik finds here plenty of time to read and search for the meaning of life the absence of which disturbs him. As a consequence of intensive reading, Refik finds the solution in rescuing the peasants from the medieval darkness and connect them with the city and revolutions (*Ibid, 301*). As for how to rescue the peasants from this darkness, Refik just plans to write his thoughts about village project and give it to senior executives of the time. Kamah is indeed a chance for Refik to make reliable observations for his project at the first hand. There is a

[81] My translation.
[82] My translation.
[83] A district of Erzincan which is a city in the Eastern region of Turkey.

hierarchical order in the railroad project in Kamah that is based on the exploitation of the villagers by a government official, Kerim Naci Bey, who is the landowner, land baron and parliamentarian at the same time. Refik describes Kerim Naci Bey as "almost mounted Napoleon, whom everybody gawps at with admiration and forelock-tugging[84]" (*Ibid, 302*). Having pity on the peasants, Refik works day and night on his project on the progress of village. In this context the project also includes bringing the opportunities of modern cities to the united villages in a cheap way. Though his project about the villages seems to have a universal and humane theme, Refik starts it to give his life meaning which is the result of his individual unease. Therefore, what he dreams as the result of his busy schedule is the influence of his project on the revolutionary staff in Ankara rather that its advantages on the villagers that he felt sorry for. By the way he is heavily influenced from the ideas of the German engineer Herr Rudolph, who works on the railroad project in Kamah. The Orientalist approach of the German engineer unfolds gradually from his conversations with Refik and Ömer. Describing the East as an area of "darkness and slavery where the sprits are in chains[85]" (*Ibid, 346*). Herr Rudolph proposes that the light of reason is in conflict with the East and as the individuals of the society who were aware of that light, Ömer and Refik will either change the world they are in or will be outsiders forever (*Ibid, 294*). Herr Rudolph's views compromise with the case of Refik as his unease leads him to make something which will change his mood and the present order of his country. Upon finishing his project, Refik plans to discuss it with council members in Ankara but his negotiations result in his disappointment as he can't explain himself and his projects to the people he appeals to.

Muhtar Bey, a parliamentarian of the time with whom Refik shares his project on the progress of the villages, expresses the view that everything in the state including his project can be put into effect only through using force (*Ibid, 405*). Giving examples from the top-down revolutions at different occasions (including the closing of lodges and zawiyahs and the hat law) and the case of Dersim[86], Muhtar Bey proposes that

[84] My translation.
[85] My translation.
[86] Dersim massacre is military campaign that took place against parts of the province of Tunceli, formerly Dersim, Turkey, that had not been brought under the control of the state in 1937-38. It lasted from March 1937 to September 1938 and resulted in a particularly high death toll: many thousands of civilian victims. Contemporary officers called it a "disciplinary campaign" (tedip harekâtı, a term also

the success of the state and the revolutions stem from arm-twisting fake methods. Muhtar Bey adds that one has two choices in the state, whether he can make progress with the state and revolutions, forcefully or he will be isolated (*Ibid, 405*). Muhtar Bey's attitude toward the method of the application of the project increases Refik's dilemma as he thinks that light and force are antipodes. Soon after, Refik's cousin, the republic officer, Ziya asks him whether he went to Dersim during his voyage to Kemah and mentions about how the army surpressed the uprising there; "Our army quashed everything? […] We kicked ass around a bit. Revolutions are going there, as well. They can't recover any more because the ironfist of revolution is there[87]" (*Ibid, 411*). The hierarchical system of the landowners (as in the case of Kerim Naci Bey who is also a parliamentarian) and Muhtar Bey's and Ziya's the attitude toward the revolution in the country increases Refik's disappointment about the success of his project.

Hoping to find somebody's support, Refik sends his project to Süleyman Ayçelik[88]and goes to talk to him face to face. Süleyman Ayçelik despises his project claiming that he plans to turn the country into a "village sanctuary" but the villages can progress only through the top-down revolutions. Moreover Süleyman Ayçelik proposes that the revolutions and the state will develop by leaning on the villagers and asks how the industry will be set up if everyting is given to the villagers. He adds that the absence of industry means being consumed by imperialism (*Ibid, 429*). It is interesting that in order to escape from international imperialism; he justifies the top-down revolutions and the system of aghas as in the case of Kerim Naci Bey which means the justification of local imperialism under the mask of state socialism. Süleyman Ayçelik offers Refik a job in the state in order to serve his country. Refik acknowledges that he won't be able to persuade Süleyman Ayçelik about his project

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used by the official military historian, Reşat Halli, in his 1972 account); politicians and press, a Kemalist civilising mission (Uluğ 2007 [1939]). http://www.massviolence.org/Dersim-Massacre-1937-193811 November 15. For detailed information see *The Suppression of the Dersim Rebellion in Turkey (1937-38)* by Martin van Bruinessen; http://www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/m.vanbruinessen/publications/Dersim_rebellion.pdf

[87] My translation.

[88] Süleyman Ayçelik is the reflection of the author and the leader of staff movement, Ş. Süreyya Aydemir. The book that Refik reads under the title of "Revolution and Organization" is actuallay Süreyya Aydemir's "Revolution and Staff"(Beril Işık, "Orhan Pamuk'un *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları, Sessiz Ev* ve *Yeni Işık* Romanlarında Demiryolu/Tren İmgesi," Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Karşılaştırmalı Edebiyat Yüksek Lisans Programı, 2011, 67.

but the job offer increases his dilemma as he admits that "I can either be with state or against it[89]" (*Ibid, 430*).

As a result of his attempts he comes to the conclusion that he doesn't have any opportunity to put his project into effect. He remembers the ideas of Herr Rudolph from whom he was heavily influenced and says that "Herr Rudolph was right, I am alien to this country and everything is surrounded by what they call state, revolution and republic[90]" (*Ibid, 433*). The scene of the enjoyment of the parliamentarian, Muhtar Bey, while talking about the tyranny of the state with pleasure, comes to Refik's mind and annoys him. Then he questions how to bring light that he believed in. The attitudes of the people he appealed to compel him to reconsider his dilemma of darkness/conviction and light/freedom. Remembering the ideas of Muhtar Bey who thinks that the progress will come with giving up freedom or light, he arrives to the conclusion that the state is not in favor of freedom, the merchants aren't so eager for it, the landlords hate it, the villagers haven't heard about it. It is just he and the employers who want freedom (*Ibid, 433*). Thinking about it he looks at the pictures of the statesmen on the wall of Süleyman Ayçelik's room and thinks that with the stern and compassionate looks, they are astonished at my attempts and seem like saying "Who are you? We organize everything which is best for you, where do concepts like darkness, light, freedom come from?[91]"(*Ibid, 433*). Refik's inferences from the pictures of statesmen on the wall reveal the fact that the pictures are the symbols of the policy of the state which doesn't let the citizens decide their own future.[92] Due to the attitudes of the people that he appeals to, Refik gives up his hopes about his project that will rescue the villagers from the medieval darkness and set to work to establish a publishing house to translate such books as "*Robinson Crusoe* as Rousseau thinks that Robinson is the best gift for a child" (*Ibid, 506*).

[89] My translation.
[90] My translation.
[91] My translation.
[92] When the state policy of Turkey at the time (1920s and 1930s) is taken into consideration it can be claimed that the forcible revolutions made under the mask of modernization is also a significant factor that undermines the modernization process and compels the individuals of the society to monologism. As it is known beginning from 1923 the ambitious reform program of Atatürk lasted until mid 1930s. Changing the Islamic alphabet to Latin alphabet, obliging the society to dress like Europeans with dress alphabet, and changing the calendar from Islamic to Christian and therefore declaring Sunday not Friday as the day of rest were only some of the extraordinary ambitious reforms of Atatürk's program. As Pamuk proposes in *Other Colors* "the concept of Europe justifies the use of force, radical political change, the ruthless severing of tradition." In Orhan Pamuk, *Other Colors: Essays and a Story*, Translated by Maureen Freely, (London: Faber and Faber, 2007), 210.

When the colonial aspects of the book are taken into consideration, Refik's insistence on the importance of *Robinson Crusoe* reveals the fact that he contradicts himself as his failure on the project about the progress of the villages stems from the local internal colonial system of the state at the time which couldn't stand any attempts except their new dictated policies. Refik's citing Rousseau as if to legitimize his point of view is also meaningful. By doing so, Refik proves that he has made no headway at the end of his struggles except formalism, as he is deprived of skepticism which is the consensus of the philosophers of *The Age of Enlightenment* including Rousseau and Voltaire. As this is the case, his publishing house goes bankruptcy, his wife abandons him and he dies in a room in which he has been reading for ten years. Refik's search of meaning of life prompts him to read and strugglein order to find a solution for his unease. His ambivalence stems from the fact that he despises his own cultural and religious mores[93]and the alternatives he produces either meet with the obstacle of the short-sighted statesmen or can't cover a distance. Refik's definition of his own case is that "I feel like a characterless object that has neither past nor future[94]" (*Ibid, 252*) indeed defines the case of his generation.

The ambivalence of Refik and the second generation in Turkey in the personality of Refik leave its place to the pessimistic painter Ahmet as the representative of the third generation. After receiving art education in France, Ahmet tries to maintain his occupation in the family apartment. He has many things in common with Pamuk who had a passion for drawing and painting as mentioned in *Istanbul: The Memoirs and the City* (Pamuk, 2005, 242-44). It is important to note here that the family mansion that Cevdet Bey bought and designed with great efforts and future dreams transforms into an apartment as an indicator of modernization process of Turkey. Ahmet puts art in the center of his life and isolates himself from the people around him. Contrary to Refik's search for the meaning of life Ahmet is single-mindedly focusing on art. His friend Hasan calls him an "independent socialist" and criticizes him due to his ignorance and insensibility toward political developments in Turkey (Pamuk, 2013, 561). Though he seems ignorant toward developments in Turkey, Ahmet wishes that

[93] For instance in the funeral pray of his father Refik pretends to pray as if he performed ablution and he thinks that performing prayer is something that suits gardeners and doormen. Because he remembers coming to the mosque by their servants or by his father during the festivals. (in *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, 223-24)He performs the necessary behaviors though he doesn't believe. In another case, when he attends a circumcision feast he proposes that "it is a backward and wild feast that is right up their street." in *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, p, 504.

[94] My translation.

"the expected military coup will unsettle the entire Nişantaşı and its bourgeoisie" (*Ibid, 544-45*). Ahmet also has a special interest in the past of his family as he always looks at the worn properties of the family, his father's books and diary which is interpreted as "an interest in the old and the decayed" (*Ibid, 586*) by his girl friend, İlknur, but the contempt of İlknur doesn't deter him from his attempt. Ahmad realizes that the notebook he found is that of his father's and as he can't read the notebook which is written in the old Arabic script he gives it to İlknur who holds a doctorate in art history, to read and explain it to him.[95] Ahmet and İlknur make fun of Refik and also despise him. While reading his diary they learn that he went to Paris in 1951. Upon making some comments about the reason for his Paris visit İlknur suggets that he not only searched for the meaning of life but also the salvation of the motherland by publishing books that will never be sold. Ahmet comments: "Yes, he is a Robinson who searches for the salvation of motherland in his room, or in a hotel room in Paris[96]" (*Ibid, 656*).

Ahmet makes fun of the struggles of his father who is in search of the meaning of life and in the struggle for doing something useful to his country but when he looks at the pictures he draws he realizes that the art that he takes refuge in doesn't satisfy him: "What are all these? What good are these going to do? For whom do I do all of these? All is bad. All is raw, superficial, fake, insincere, banal! They are dated imitation of what Goya, Bonard and all imperialists did over and over[97]" (*Ibid, 599*). It is ironic that although Ahmet criticizes Turkey due to the mimicry (as during a conversation, he says that "this is Turkey, we are faced with not reality but a bad imitation of reality" *Ibid, 619*) he realizes that he tries to imitate Western painters. Besides his dissatisfaction with his attempts in painting, Ahmet replaces the books of Refik with the death of his grandmother (*Ibid, 608*) Nigan Hanım which can be assumed as the death of "the old and traditional" and Ahmet's break with the past.

[95] (The writing style of Refik is from right to left as a characteristic of Arabic style but the notebook is turned over from the left to right in European style which is another indicator of Refik's ambivalence.) Here, by indicating a dramatic case in which Ahmet can't understand the hand writings of his father, Refik, without the help of some one who is specialized in the Arabic Alphabet, Orhan Pamuk draws attention to one of the most tragic events in the history of Turkey as the alphabet reform which is only one of the top-down fundemental reforms of Republic of Turkey between 1920s and 1930s. As a result of the reform all literates were turned into illiterates and it was attempted to cut the ties of the Turkish citizens with their Ottoman past and Islam. For detailed information, see Kaya Yılmaz, *Critical Examination of the Alphabet and Language Reforms Implemented in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic*, Journal of Social Studies Education Research, 2011: 2(1), 59-82.

[96] My translation.

[97] My translation.

It can be assumed that the intellectual, spiritual and personal developments of Cevdet Bey, Refik and Ahmet are in some way the common pains of Turkish society in the process of social transformation. Neither of the three is able to get what they expect from life which can be interpreted as the failure of the state in the transformation process. Cevdet Bey's generation aims to reach the "consecrated" Westernized lifestyle and can't go beyond mimicry. Refik's generation is more conscious compared with their predecessors as they read more yet it is clear from the experiences of Refik that instead of interiorizing what they read, they just try to apply the Western-origin ideas not because they find them relevant but because those ideas originate from the West. This ironical case narrated from the experiences of some characters in fiction is defined more clearly in his essays, *Other Colors* of Pamuk which summarizes the case best: "The Westernizer is ashamed first and foremost of not being European. […] He is ashamed that he has lost his identity in his struggle to become European. He is ashamed of who he is and of who he is not. He is ashamed of the shame itself" (Pamuk 2007, 213). The admiration of the West is the typical characteristic of Ahmet as well and that of the third generation in Turkey in his character. He ridicules the struggles of his father but fails to progress through his own struggle. The social, political, and cultural transformations in the world and in Turkey push three generation to adopt the new developments but their entire attempts result in failure.

Self-Orientalization of the Western Wannabes: Husayn Shaddad and Ömer

Within the context of the process of transition to modernity, both Mahfouz and Pamuk portray some characters educated abroad, what Nigerians call "being tos" and returning to their country full of prejudice toward their own societies, cultures and religions which can best be described in the concept of self-Orientalization. To understand self-Orientalization, it will be appropriate to give a fleeting survey of Orientalism which was mentioned briefly in the second chapter related to the relationship between modernization and Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. Orientalism gained its value as an academic discourse to describe how the ascendancy of Europe classified and classifies Middle Eastern, Asian and North African societies in relation to Europe after Edward Said's publication of *Orientalism* in 1978.

In, *Orientalism* Said's main argument centers around the representations of the East by some Orientalists including Ernest Renan, Silvestre de Sacy, H. A. R. Gibb Edward William Lane. Said categorizes three meanings of Orientalism that merge under his main argument: "The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture" (Said 2003, 2). As for his three definitions of the concept, the first and most relevant for our purpose here is the academic one that labels anybody who is engaged with the Orient whether he is an anthropologist, historian, philologist or sociologist. The second one is about the attitudes of thought that canonize the "ontological and epistemological" (*Ibid*) discrimination between East and West and it is this discrimination of political theorists, poets, novelists, philosophers, imperial administrators, and economists that contributes to this imaginary stereotypes of the East. The third meaning of Orientalism is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (*Ibid, 3*). Said proposes that examining Orientalism will provide one with the opportunity of comprehending the systematic discipline via which "European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (*Ibid*). As a result the produced image of the Orient is reinforced and continued to the extent that even some of the so called "Orients" perceived themselves from the perspective of the Orientalists. In other words, the meaning of the term has extended its general meaning of the dichotomy of East-West to become one of the subject matters of native intellectuals and politicians who willfully interiorized their inferiority. In *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism In The Age of Global Capitalism,* Arif Dirlik describes self-Orientalism as a complicity of Asians and Euro-Americans to "promote Orientalist representations of Asia" (Dirlik 1997, 13). According to Dirlik, as a concept, Orientalism is used to describe the impressions of Orientalists about the Orient and often related to the Western originating ideas, but the self images of Asians may be regarded as inseparable from the Western ideas (*Ibid, 111*).

As mentioned previously, the power/knowledge relationship constructed in the world order reinforced the system that turned around the superiority of the West and its dominance over non-Western countries economically, culturally and politically. In the system based on the superiority and dominance of the West and "the

marginalized, part of inferior quality, weird, unchanged and passive" (Zhou 2004, 11). East, the non-Western countries preferred to express themselves with reference to the values of the civilized West. Related to this fact, Mingguo Zhong describes some aspects of self-Orientalization based on Ning Zhou's systematic generalization about self-Orientalization as follows:

> Self-Orientalization means that the East is enforced to confess the world order of West centralism and the binary opposition between the West and the East, that is, forwardness and backwardness, freedom and autocracy, civilization and barbarism. It further identifies superiority of the West and inferiority of the East and surrenders to the cultural hegemony of the West (Zhong 2012, 2417-18).

Based on the definitions above, the attitudes of Husayn Shaddad of *The Cairo Trilogy* and Ömer of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* can be examined in terms of self-Orientalization. To start with Husayn Shaddad, he is one of Kamal's close friends, who epitomizes the Western mindset and life style. Brought up in Paris, Husayn Shaddad is more familiar with French culture than the Egyptian one and he uses this to despise and run down the cultural values of Egypt at every turn. For instance the conversation between Kamal and Huseyn Shaddat about the pyramids in Egypt reveals his self-Orientalist attitudes toward the cultural and historical values of Egypt: "A nation whose most notable manifestations are tombs and corpses!" Pointing to one of the pyramids, he continued: "Look at all that wasted effort" (Mahfouz 1994b, 178). It is clear from Husayn's ironic and contemptatous manner toward the pyramids that his Orientalist point of view toward his own country blinds his eyes to the extent that, he even sees Egyptian Pyramids which are considered one of the seven wonders of the world, as just "tombs and corpses" (*Ibid, 178*). Moreover, Huseyn evaluates his own society in terms of dichotomies that divide society into two; the privileged and the common or the beautiful and despised. When Kamal asks him why he despises Sa'd Zaghlul for having been a student at al-Azhar he replies that he hates fawning over the nobility, but that doesn't mean that he respects the masses. He adds that he loves beauty and despises ugliness and "sadly enough, beauty is rarely found among common people" (*Ibid, 189*). It seems that the variety of the disciplines in Paris that he is proud to have been educated about[98] has

[98] See the scene of the conversation between Kamal and Husayn Shadad. In the scene mentioned Husayn praises the multidisciplinary system of Paris and despises that of Egypt: "No one branch of the University can provide me with the variety of disciplines and arts I wish to learn--like theater, painting, music, and philosophy. And if you enroll in some branch, you'll have to cram your head with dust in order to come across a few specks of gold, if you find any at all. In Paris you're allowed to

contributed nothing to Husayn's intellectual development. Despite his multidisciplinary educational background, the world consists of binary oppositions in Husayn's world. Husayn's condescending manners and intolerance toward the cultural values of his own society is another indicator of his self-Orientalist persona; as when he happens to notice Kamal's fez and asks him cynically why he is wearing a fez on outing, Kamal answers him that he is not used to going anywhere without it. Hussayn laughs and says that he is "a fine example of a conservative!" (*Ibid, 182*).

Like Husayn, who has been educated in France and returned to Egypt with his Orientalist attitudes, Ömer of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* graduated from civil engineering in a university in London has a similar attitude toward his country and its citizens. He narrates how much Europe contributed to his life philosophy as follows: "I learned much from Europe. Hereafter I can't be a slowcoach here. I can't do with less[99]" (Pamuk 2013, 134) he compares the case of his compatriots at the time with those in the West and advises that "One should always be against common things and ordinary life. Yet, this is not enough. […] One should get everything. […] I don't want to be a lazy Turk[100]" (*Ibid, 137*). Seeing that his friends are angered by the words he used toward the Turks, he goes on his comments by blaming them for intolerance. Besides direct criticisms, Ömer insults the traditional and cultural mores of his country in indirect ways as well. For instance while Refik visits Omer in the village he sees that the toilet is alaturka. Omer reminds Refik that there was an alaturka toilet in the downstairs of their own house which the servants and Cevdet Bey himself used (*Ibid, 263*). He ironically associates even the Turkish style toilet with the servants and Cevdet Bey reminding Refik that his own father uses alaturka toilet together with the servants. The insulting approach of Ömer toward his fellow citizens gradually turns into abuse when it comes to the case of religion and comparing the writers in his country with French philosophers:

> Here, in Turkey no one believes in something intellectually. One either should believe in God, or in nothing. Because everything is fake here […] everything is in false, hypocrisy, bluff. You mention Rousseau. Who is our Rousseau? Namık Kemal? Can you read his works? Do you feel something inside while reading his works?[101] (Pamuk 2013, 349).

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attend lectures in all the different areas of learning without being tied down to a schedule or an examination. That way you can have a beautiful, spiritual life." Palace of Desire, p, 148.

[99] My translation.

[100] My translation.

[101] My translation.

Putting the values of the West or Europe at the center, Ömer marginalizes everything in his country underlying the fact that "Turkey or the East is the land of fools and filth" (*Ibid, 521*). Ömer says that in Turkey, instead of thinking in intellectual terms, the people in Turkey just believe in God blindly. He accuses the people of his country of dishonesty and hypocrisy. Ömer also draws attention to the absence of the works of such philosophers as Rousseau and proposes that even Namık Kemal's works, which may be regarded the best in Turkey can't be compared to that of Rousseau's. All in all, when the definitions of self-Orientalization are evaluated together with the attitudes of Husayn Shaddad of *The Cairo Trilogy* and Ömer of *Cevdet Bey and Sons* toward their countries, it becomes clear that these characters transform the concept of self-Orientalization into real experiences. The contempt of these characters toward their countries also reveals the fact that they see the world through binary oppositions that reinforce the stereotype of the superiority of the West versus the inferiority of the East. It is also meaningful that both Husayn Shaddad and Ömer, portraying the image of "modern and educated new generation" in the beginning, live ordinary lives with ordinary positions in the end as indicated in the novels. It seems that both Mahfouz and Pamuk portray a realistic picture of their countries during the process of transition to modernity in an ironic way with self-Orientalist characters who criticize and look down on everything in their country. The ordinary jobs and life styles of these self-Orientalist characters in the end seem to show the fact that, as the "intellectuals" of their countries; they can't put even their own dreams into real.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation shows parallels in the modernization processes in Egypt and Turkey through *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*. The works are contextualized within the framework of modernization among a variety of definitions of the term indicated in the introduction. Through the comparative analysis of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey in Naguib Mahfouz's *The Cairo Trilogy* and Orhan Pamuk's *Cevdet Bey and Sons*. The modernization processes of the two countries are examined from the experiences of three generations. In their inter-generational novels, both, Mahfouz and Pamuk portray extended families that are closely-knit but that fade through time as each new generation moves away from the traditional life style and tries to adopt a new way of life under the influences of the social and economic circumstances of their countries.

This dissertation began by providing background to the literary carreers and life experiences of Naguib Mahfouz and Orhan Pamuk within the framework of Edward Said's "affiliative network," which may be interpreted as arguing that the text can't be considered apart from its author, the social context in which the author grew up, and the cultural dynamics of the society from which the text came into being. Based upon these aspects of Said's affiliation, basic knowledge about the lives of Mahfouz and Pamuk, and the events that are crucial in their literary careers, provide the opportunity to analyze their works in a multidimensional way. The main task of this dissertation is to compare the process of modernization periods of Egypt and Turkey; however, general knowledge about the socio-cultural context of the writers provides an extensive and multi-perspective approach since the opinions of the writers were formed in the societies in which they grew up so that it is proper to take into consideration the circumstances under which the works came into being. If there is no knowledge about the author and the circumstances under which the work came into being, the evaluations of that work are limited. It is also important to note that in their inter-generational novels both Mahfouz and Pamuk reflect their personalities in the characters of Kamal and Ahmet. Therefore, some basic information about the life

of the authors sheds light on the analysis of the characters who are the alter egos of Mahfouz and Pamuk.

The second chapter of this dissertation isolates the historical allegories in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*. In doing so, new historicism provides a theoretical framework. New historicism is based on the reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period, which provides the opportunity of simultaneous evaluation of primary historical sources together with secondary sources, including observations of social phenomena in literature. Such inter-textual evaluation makes it possible to reassess history from the standpoint of the present. New historicism brings together historians and literary critics under the same roof by denying both the insistence of new critics on the autonomy of literary texts and that of traditional historians on the privilege of primary historical sources.

The intellectual and historical transformations that have taken place in Egypt and Turkey have been successfully portrayed by Mahfouz and Pamuk through the stories of three generations in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*. As for the relationship between the historical background of Egypt and Turkey and the process of transition to modernity in both countries, it has been argued that a large measure of continuity exists between the socio-historical, political, and cultural developments of these countries. Regarding the continuity of history, some knowledge about the history of modernization experiences of Egypt and Turkey may shed light on a better analysis of the books both of which start during critical periods: Mahfouz starts *The Cairo Trilogy* at a time when Egypt was under British occupation and includes the 1919 revolution, as it focuses on the historical, social, political, and cultural structures of Egypt through a middle class Egyptian family that is caught between the clash of tradition and modernity. Pamuk starts *Cevdet Bey and Sons* in a critical period as well, as the novel opens with the last years of the The Ottoman Sultanate and the assassination attempt on the last Sultan, Adbulhamid II. It can be argued that together with the emergence of the Turkish Republic, Cevdet Bey reaches his dream of having a Western-style family in parallel with the development of the country.

Socio-historical and political developments of Egypt and Turkey are quite obvious from the conversations in the families. As a family affair, the characters comment on the issues at the time from their perspective. These political events are the subject matters of the Abd-al Jawad family even during the coffee hour when the family

members come together. The case is similar for Cevdet Bey as well, as the subject matter of the conversations is the political events of the The Ottoman Sultanate even when Cevdet Bey goes to visit the family of his fiancée at the time. It is clear that both Mahfouz and Pamuk rewrite the history of their countries through fiction that contains the story of three generations. The long time frame of the novels and the story of three generations enable the writers to paint extended pictures of their countries with many details about the historical, political, and social realities of Egypt and Turkey in the process of transition to modernity.

When the history of modernization in Egypt and Turkey are taken into consideration, we can see that the politics of Muhammed Ali in Egypt and of Selim III in the The Ottoman Sultanate demonstrate transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey, beginning in the military sphere to serve the defensive needs of the countries, and later extending to the educational, technological, political, cultural and social aspects of life. In other words, the military failures of Egypt and Turkey obligated them to pursue defensive modernization that inevitably resulted in the modernization of other areas of life. Within this context, the transformation became unavoidable for the citizens of these countries on the way to modernization.

As mentioned in the introduction, there is no consensus about the meaning of the term "modernity." While some regard modernity simply as the replacement of the outdated old with the contemporary, the others lay emphasize on its historical basis and on some essentials related to the periods they refer to. The Renaissance and The Age of Enlightenment are among the most referred to periods in terms of emphasizing the origin and values of modernity. Considered from this perspective, modernity means internalizing the cultural, social, political, and economic values of Renaissance and The Age of Enlightenment. In this sense, modernization is associated with Western values and the whole process of Westernization. In analyzing the modernization process of Egypt and Turkey in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons,* I am led to the conclusion that modernity is equated with Westernization in both countries, where most of the people regard modernity as the imitation of Western cultural values. As a result, instead of providing the opportunity of advancement in every field of life as in its original meaning, modernization is associated with superficial Westernization which leads to the ambivalence of the individuals between their own values and those originated from the West.

In the analysis of the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey through *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, the inner or external conflicts of the successive generations help the reader to get an overall impression about the zeitgeist of the period. The gradual softening in the attitudes of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, the intellectual crisis and ambivalence of Kamal between science and religion, and the extreme political choices of the Shawkat Brothers, portray an overall picture of Egypt's modernization experience. As for *Cevdet Bey and Sons*, Cevdet Bey's mimicry of the Western life style and his struggles to gain a footing in the upper class, Refik's intellectual crisis and search for the meaning of life, and Ahmet's dissatisfaction with himself and his country are indicators of adversity in Turkey during the process of transition to modernity. The intellectual crisis and failures of Refik and Kamal may be regarded as the core point of the modernization process of Turkey and Egypt; in their struggles to find a place in the society in intellectual terms both Kamal and Refik are caught up in the vortex of duality of values during the transformation process in Egypt and Turkey. As observed from his experiences, Kamal takes refuge in science to overcome his intellectual crisis at the end of his transformation which closely coincides with the social, cultural, and political changes in Egypt and in the world at the time. Besides his readings about the West, Kamal comes across the values of the West through Ayda and her family. He is not able to find a place in this Westernized family despite his admiration and spiritual struggle. He devotes himself to science and deserts his religion, but in the end he recognizes how his struggle has been in vain on the way toward his intellectual formation. Despite the transformation of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad from a petty opressor to a tolerant and sensitive person, Kamal accuses his father of ignorance. His annoyance is toward the ignorance of his mother as well. Moreover, he draws a connection between his parents' attititudes and the Stone Age mindset, which can be interpreted as the lowest level of backwardness. Between the duality of values, Kamal is the articulator of his generation and the crisis they experienced due to the changing world order. Cevdet Bey's inner conflicts and struggles to achieve his dream of being accepted into the local upper crust is portrayed as having some superficial European mannersims that don't go beyond an ironic imitation, and that turn into the inner conflicts of Refik, the young son of the family. Together with Refik's intellectual voyage, Pamuk indirectly portrays the state of Turkey in the late 1930s when the modernization attempts in Turkey were at their highest intensity.

Refik's search for the meaning of life pushes him toward reading and struggling to find a solution for his unease. His ambivalence stems from the fact that he despises his own cultural and religious heritage, and the alternatives he produces to overcome his crisis either meet with the obstacle of the short-sighted statesmen or can't go beyond formality. At the end of their intellectual pursuits that turn out to be failures, Kamal blames his parents and the traditional life style they imposed him while Refik accuses the oppressive policy of the statesmen whom he regards as obstacles to his own personal development.

The parallel contempt of Husayn Shaddad in *The Cairo Trilogy* and Ömer in *Cevdet Bey and Sons* toward their own societies reveals that in the process of transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey, those educated abroad appear to share common characteristics in both countries, which are referred to as "self-orieantalization" in this dissertation. With reference to Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, we hold that the image produced of the Orient is reinforced and continued to the extent that even some of the so called "Orients" perceived themselves through the prism of Orientalism. In other words, the meaning of the term *Orientalism* has extended its general meaning from the East-West dichotomy to become one of the subject matters of native intellectuals and politicians who willfully interiorize their inferiority. Having been educated abroad, the scornful attitudes of both Husayn Shaddad in *The Cairo Trilogy* and Ömer in *Cevdet Bey and Sons* toward everything native reveal that they act like Orientalists who reduce the people living in the East into essentialist stereotypes.

Besides the analysis of the life experiences of the characters, the transformation of family structures in novels reveal the influences of modernization with referrence to its epidemiologic meaning in Egypt and Turkey. The family structures in the novels, beginning with the extended families in the same house and ending with separate individuals of different worlds, unfolds the reality of how the life styles in Egypt and Turkey were transformed into a new form. Moreover as the time passes, the changes in every field of human life become clearer in the novels: the family hierarchies under the control of the fathers decrease and are replaced by liberal and separate decisions, which means the families escape the stranglehold of the fathers. Another common thread in the novels that reveals change in the families as a parameter of the transformations in the lifestyle of Egyptians and Turks is the disappearance of the

family gatherings organized around the figures of the paterfamilias. As prototypes of Egypt and Turkey, the tendency to individualism in the families of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad and Cevdet Bey may be interpreted as an indicator of the process of modernization in Egypt and Turkey.

The analysis above doesn't include the women characters in the novels except slight information about the process of transition to modernity which may be regarded as a deficieny. As a subject matter, the changes in the lives of women may be a significant parameter to analyse the modernization of a country, but compared with the wide publicity left to the women in *Cairo Trilogy*, the limited information in *Cevdet Bey and Sons* about women characters prevented me from making comparisions about the changes in the lives of women through succeeding generations in Egypt and Turkey.

In conclusion, it is expected that the comparative analysis of modernization experiences in Egypt and Turkey beginning in the early twentieth century and countinuing until approximately mid-century in *The Cairo Trilogy* and *Cevdet Bey and Sons* may shed light on the process of the transition to modernity in Egypt and Turkey at the same time. The comparative analysis mentioned enabled me to see that although Egypt comes behind Turkey in the adaptation to new developments at the time, both countries go through similar experiences in the period of transition to modernity. The story of three generations being the subject matter of both novels provided me the opportunity to observe the experiences of the succeeding generarions in Egypt and Turkey at the same time. The analysis in the last chapter about the father figures and the succeeding generations reveals the manners of the citizens toward the developments in the world order and in their own countries through familial and personal affairs. As the father figures of the novels, Ahmad Abd-al Jawad insists on his traditional way of life, and it takes a long time for him to acknowledge some realities and to adopt the new developments. Compared with Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, Cevdet Bey is more enthusiastic about adopting the new developments which is clear even from the first chapter of the novel. The difference between the adaptation processes of the father figures brings to mind the general scheme of Egypt and Turkey in the process of transition to modernity; the former follows the steps of the latter, but despite the time difference between the coutries, the adaptation process of the citizens turns into similar experiences. The similar

intellectual and spiritual crises of the second generation (Kamal and Refik), the identical arrogant manners of those educated abroad characters, Ömer and Husayn Shaddad, toward their own countries, and the self-ordained third generation in both novels which are regarded as the indicators of the common experiences of both Egypt and Turkey in the process of transition to modernity.

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