# THE HISTORICAL NOVELS OF WALTER SCOTT AND NAJĪB MAḤFŪẒ: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Thesis submitted to the
University of Edinburgh
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Arts

1985

*To the Memory of my Father*

*and*

*To my beloved Mother*

# DECLARATION

I declare that the following thesis is the result of my own research work

*Hussein Yousif Hussein*

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr M.V. McDonald, for his expert guidance, great kindness, and continuous encouragement, and for spending so much of his precious time with me thoughout my studies. I also express my profound appreciation to my second supervisor, Dr Ian Campbell of the Department of English Literature, for his copious help and advice and his genuine interest in the subject.

In addition I would like to thank Dr R Douglas and Dr Omar al-Ṭalib for their support and help during my studies. My thanks are due to the staff of Edinburgh University Library, in particular John Green, Margaret Dowling, Jillian Nicol, and Alice Langdon, for their ceaseless help in locating and procuring the necessary materials.

Lastly I must thank Mrs J Maisels and Mrs Grace Young who typed this thesis so expertly.

And finally, may I thank Miss Irene Crawford, the secretary of the department, for her solicitous attention and great kindness to me throughout the period of my stay in Edinburgh.

## TRANSLITERATION

The method of transliteration used in this work is the same as that recommended by the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Edinburgh.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ᶜAbath* | | Mahfūz, N., *ᶜAbath al-Aqdār* |
| ᶜAbd Allāh | *Al-Wāqiᶜiyya* | ᶜAbd Allāh, M., *al-Wāqiᶜiyya fi'l-Riwāya al-ᶜArabiyya* |
| Allen | *The English* | Allen, Walter, *The English Novel* |
| Badr | *Taṭawwur* | Badr, ᶜA., *Taṭawwur al-Riwāya al-ᶜArabiyya al-Ḥadītha* |
| Badr | *Najīb* | Badr, ᶜA., *Najīb Maḥfūẓ: al-Ru'yā wal-Adāh* |
| Baikie | *The History* | Baikie, J., *The History of Egypt* |
| Baker | *The History* | Baker, E., *The History of the English Novel* |
| Bold (ed.) | | Bold, A., *Sir Walter Scott the Long-Forgotten* |
| Breasted | | Breasted, J., *A History of Egypt* |
| Brown | | Brown, D., *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination* |
| Butterfield | | Butterfield, H., *The Historical Novel* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cockshut | | Cockshut, A., The Achievement of Walter Scott |
| Crawford | | Crawford, Th., Walter Scott |
| Cross | | Cross, W., The English Novel |
| Daiches | A Critical | Daiches, D., A Critical History of English Literature |
| Daiches | Introduction | Daiches, D., The Heart of Mid-Lothian, Introduction to Rinehart Edition |
| Daiches | Redgauntlet | Daiches, D., Scott's Redgauntlet |
| Daiches | Achievement | Daiches, D., Scott's Achievement as a Novelist |
| Devlin | The Author | Devlin, D., The Author of Waverley |
| Devlin (ed.) | | Devlin, D., Walter Scott |
| Ḍayf | Al-Adab | Ḍayf, Sh., Al-Adab al-ʿArabī al-Muʿāṣir |
| Fisher | | Fisher, D., Providence, Fate, and Historical Imagination |
| Fleishman | | Fleishman, A., The English Historical Novel |
| Gardiner | | Gardiner, A., Egypt of the Pharaoh's |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gibb | Studies | Gibb, H.A.R., Studies on the Civilization of Islam |
| Gordon | Under | Gordon, R., Under Which King? |
| Ḥāfiẓ (ed.) | Ataḥaddath | Ḥāfiẓ, Ṣ., Ataḥaddath Ilaykum |
| Hart | | Hart, F., Scott's Novels |
| Hartviet | | Hartviet, L., Dream Within A Dream |
| Haykal | Taṭawwur | Haykal, A., Taṭawwur al-Adab fi Miṣr |
| Haywood | Modern Arabic | Haywood, J., Modern Arabic Literature |
| H.M. | | Scott, W., The Heart of Mid-Lothian |
| Herodotus | The History | Herodotus, The History of Herodotus, transl. by G. Rawlinson |
| Hourani | | Hourani, A., Arabic Thought |
| Johnson | Unknown | Johnson, E., Walter Scott the Great Unknown |
| al-Jundī | | al-Jundī, A., Al-Maᶜārik al-Adabiyah |
| Kifāḥ | | Maḥfūẓ., N., Kifāḥ Ṭība |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lauber | | Lauber, J., *Sir Walter Scott* |
| Lukács | | Lukács, G., *The Historical Novel* |
| Mayhead | (1) | Mayhead, R., *Walter Scott* |
| Mayhead | (2) | Mayhead, R., *Walter Scott* |
| Moussa | | Moussa, F., *The Arabic Novel* |
| Najm | | Najm, M., *Al-Qiṣṣa fi'l-Adab al-$^{c}$Arabī* |
| PMLA | | Publications of the Modern Language Association of America |
| Rāghib | | Rāghib, N., *Qaḍiyyat al-Shakl al-Fannī* |
| *Rādūbīs* | | Maḥfūẓ, N., *Rādūbīs* |
| *Redgauntlet* | | Scott, W., *Redgauntlet* |
| Saintsbury | *The English* | Saintsbury, G., *The English Novel* |
| Saintsbury | *Essays* | Saintsbury, G., *Essays in English Literature* |
| Sakkut | | Sakkut, H., *The Egyptian Novel* |
| Sanders | | Sanders, A., *The Victorian Historical Novel* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Scott | Scotland | Scott, P., Walter Scott and Scotland |
| al-Shaṭṭī | | al-Shaṭṭī, S., Al-Ramz wal-Ramziyya |
| Shawkat | | Shawkat, M., Al-Fann al-Qaṣṣī |
| Sheppard | | Sheppard, A., The Art and Practice |
| Stevenson | | Stevenson, L., The English Novel |
| Wādī | | Wādī, Ṭ., Madkhal ilā al-Riwāya |
| Watt | | Watt, I., The Rise of the Novel |
| Waverley | | Scott, W., Waverley |
| Welsh | | Welsh, A., The Hero of the Waverley Novels |
| Yāghī | | Yāghī, A., Al-Juhūd al-Riwā'iyya |
| Zaydān | Tārīkh | Zaydān, J., Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-$^{c}$Arabiyya |

## ABSTRACT

The study of literature has generally been concerned with a consideration of its national and linguistic aspects, but a satisfactory pursuit of this sort of study certainly needs some degree of reference to literatures of other nations. This thesis is such an attempt, being a comparative study of three of Sir Walter Scott's novels and Najīb Maḥfūẓ's historical novels.

This thesis consists of an introduction followed by six chapters.

Chapter One deals with the Historical Novel as a literary genre, its definition, kinds, and value.

Chapters Two and Three deal with the rise of the English historical novel and the rise of the Arabic historical novel. The aim of these chapters is not to provide new information but to survey the rise and development of this literary form in both literatures.

Chapters Four, Five and Six deal with a novel by Scott and one by Maḥfūẓ respectively, The Heart of Midlothian with ᶜAbath al-Aqdār, Waverley with Rādūbīs and Redgauntlet with

Kifāḥ Ṭība.

The analysis of these novels, followed by a detailed comparison, allows the formation of a conclusion in which it is suggested that although Maḥfūẓ is not directly influenced by Scott, he has by his own admission rather a similar stance in relating the past to the present and the future of his country.

# INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Scott's importance and popularity, as far as the historical novel is concerned, do not require to be further demonstrated in the present work. Since the publication of Waverley Scott's literary reputation has been consistently among the greatest.

His great gift was his ability to revive the past, in particular that of Scotland. Critics are principally impressed by the first-hand manner of Scott's rendering of living Scottish history.[1] Scott was aware of the historical changes which had occurred in Scotland with all their tragedies and conflicts. The great changes which Scotland witnessed were unique, even by comparison with other European countries. As one critic put it, "Scottish history provided a microcosm of a universal process".[2]

In his novels Scott dealt with those historical changes, and more importantly he showed how Scotland lived with them. To quote Hart:

Every past scene is the present. The times in such

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1. Hillhouse, J.T., The Waverley Novels, p.334.

2. Stevenson, p.197.

> pasts are always out of control, the question is always how to live with, how morally to survive such times, such present, and how to stabilize the present by redeeming the past.[1]

Scott's feelings were divided between the past with all its glamour and the unavoidable reality of the present; in other words he experienced a mixture of regret for the old days and of satisfaction at the peace and prosperity assured by the union.[2] As Scott stood between two cultures, the old and the new, defending the old without attacking the new, such an objective view possibly came from his readings of history.

> His reading of history suggested to him that civilization was a precarious creation which depended for its survival on the established social pattern, and could be destroyed by violent, abrupt or ill-considered change.[3]

At the same time Scott was aware of the historical views of the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment and the ideas of historical progress. In his article "The Rationalism of Sir

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1. Hart, pp.338-9.
2. Daiches, Achievement, p.36.
3. Scott, Scotland, p.74.

Walter Scott", Duncan Forbes goes as far as to say that Scott "practised what Scottish philosophers preached".[1] However it is important to mention that elements of both the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the romanticism of his age co-existed in Scott's novels:

> At its best, Scott's intellectual historicism - the historicism of the Enlightenment - was fused with the 'romantic-historicism' perception of the past.[2]

Scott recognized that history is a movement which leads to the present. He writes about turning points in history, and catches the moment of historical crisis observing the people's reaction to it.[3]

Scott's interest in Scotland's past developed through his early literary occupation of ballad collecting. He published the first collection of border ballads, The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border in 1802. The importance of these ballads, through which Scott introduced himself to the Scottish tradition and history, is pointed out by many critics.

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1. Forbes, p.23.
2. Crawford, p.11.
3. Devlin, p.42.

> Rather his acquaintance with, and use of, tradition in the folk-cultural register are likely to envisage love and customs as windows on the past, illuminating, in some refracted manner, the way of life of ages gone by, and surviving into the present as fragile fragments and "corrupted" text whose authenticity has suffered greatly in the long and unpredictable process of oral transmission.[1]

The success of the Minstrelsy led Scott to begin The Lay of the Last Minstrel, 1805, and Marmion, 1808. His poetic career reached its peak after publishing The Lady of the Lake in 1810, hence his reputation as the greatest and most popular poet of the time. But after the publication of Rokeby his poetical reputation began to decline. His poetry had lost its freshness; imitators had appeared, also new competitors and rivals in the field such as Lord Byron.[2] In general this period had an enormous importance for Scott's career:

> The later career was built upon the first, and many of the habits of mind and imagination that contributed to the shaping of the sequence of

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1. Nicolaiser, W.F.H., "Scott and Folk Tradition", ed. in Bold, A., p.128.
2. Luaber, p.31, and Crawford, pp.12-13.

> Waverley novels are already detectable in the themes, structures, and techniques of Scott's poems and editorial enterprises.[1]

This stage of Scott's career led surely to the next stage of development in which he started novel writing. In 1814 he published his first historical novel Waverley or Tis Sixty Years Since. In the general preface to his novel Scott admits that he was inspired by Maria Edgeworth. He also emphasizes his admiration for her triumphs:

> Without being so presumptuous as to hope to emulate the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact which pervade the words of my accomplished friend, I felt that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland - something which might introduce her to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to produce sympathy for the virtues and indulgence for their foibles.[2]

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1. Millgate, Jane, The Waverley Novel, p.1.
2. Scott, W., Waverley, p.xiii, General preface, 1892 ed., London.

Scott's historical novels, according to Crawford, fall into three classes: novels of English history, novels of English and European history, and novels about Scottish history.[1] Of the Waverley novels it is this third group which has especial significance and importance.

Scott's novels attracted the critics' attention from the time of their publication, and an enormous number of books have been dedicated to the study of his novels. However modern critics started to look at Scott's novels more seriously mainly after David Daiches published his article, "Scott's achievement as a Novelist" in Nineteenth Century Fiction in 1951. It should be said that the Marxist critic George Lukács wrote a chapter about Scott in his book The Historical Novel in 1937, but this book was not translated into English until 1962. Latterly critics started to examine Scott's novels; huge numbers of books and articles appeared dealing with individual novels or with all his novels, putting forward different analyses and different points of view, which all together established Scott's reputation on a more solid foundation than ever before.[2] Duncan Forbes' important article "The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott" appeared in 1953. This article connected, for the first time, Scott's novels with the Scottish Enlightenment.

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1. Crawford, p.51.

2. Scott, Scotland, p.4.

A new awareness of the importance of Scott's Waverley novels emerged, which derived largely from a new understanding of his novels, pointing out his original genius and power to think deeply about questions such as the relationship between society and the individual, historical causation and the conflict of cultures.

Another important point which might be mentioned here is Scott's reputation and importance outside Britain. It is almost unanimously agreed among critics that Scott's popularity in Europe and his influence on the European novel in general and the historical novel in particular are enormous. Walter Allen goes as far as to state that "he made the European novel".[1]

It is well known among Scott's critics that he is the creator of the Historical Novel as a literary form, and his influence on the writers of this form is worldwide. Sheppard comments:

> From that influence, it seems to me, it is almost impossible for any later historical novelist to escape altogether, though we may be warned by his faults and learn by his failures and imperfection.[2]

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1. Allen, The English, p.118.
2. Sheppard, p.55.

The extent of Scott's influence on European novels has been amply demonstrated. In France for instance his influence is widely known; Lauber says:

> Scott's direct influence on French literature can be most clearly seen in the works of three men of genius: Dumas, Hugo and Balzac.[1]

Paul Ochojski says that his effect on German literature was incalculable and quotes Luise Sigmann, "The popularity of Scott is so great that we may regard him almost as a German writer".[2] In Russia:

> Scott's influence led directly to the first significant Russian novel, Alexander Pushkin's "The Captain's Daughter", which deals with a popular uprising in the eighteenth century, just the sort of subject typical of Scott.[3]

In addition to this European popularity and influence,

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1. Massie, Allan, "Scott and the European Novel", ed. in Bold, p.98.
2. Bell, Alan, (ed.), Scott's Bicentenary Essays, (Edinburgh and London, 1973), pp.260 and 265.
3. Lauber, p.148.

Scott's influence on the American novel is also referred to by critics:

> The American novel really begins with Cooper - The American Scott - and Cooper owes everything - style, subject, character types - to Scott. At one remove, Scott's influence was also decisive on William Gilmore Simms, the "Southern Cooper".[1]

> Scott showed something of the load of fact the novel could bear; he demonstrated that it could carry the cargo of historical meaning; he showed how the individual grew from his social and physical landscape; he demonstrated the connection that holds the past and present together. All these things were carried into the European novel by men who had read Walter Scott.[2]

In this thesis we will consider a fresh geographical territory by dealing with three of Scott's novels Waverley, The Heart of Midlothian, and Redgauntlet, and comparing these three novels with the historical novels of the Egyptian novelist

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1. Lauber, p.148.
2. Massie, Allan, "Scott and European Novel", in Bold, p.106.

Najīb Maḥfūẓ (1911- ). Maḥfūẓ is considered by almost all his critics as the greatest and most famous Arabic novelist.

Early in his life Maḥfūẓ gained a degree in philosophy from the Faculty of Arts, University of Cairo, but as early as this stage in his life Maḥfūẓ chose creative working rather than an academic career. His literary career started with the publication of articles about literature and about philosophy from 1928-1936 in different journals of the time.[1] At the same time Maḥfūẓ published a considerable number of short stories which were later collected in a volume called Hams al-Junūn in 1939. Later Maḥfūẓ wrote his three historical novels, ᶜAbath Al-Aqdār 1939, Rādūbīs 1943, and Kifāḥ Ṭība 1945, all about pharaonic history. It might be said that Maḥfūẓ set these novels in ancient Egypt, as the pharaonic trend in the 1920s and 1930s was at its height, and the search for Egyptian national identity reached its peak. The pharaonic movement in Egypt started as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. To quote al-Shaṭṭī:

> The most important political and intellectual controversy to take place in the Arab world during

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1. Yāghī, A., Al Juhūd Al-Riwā'iyya, p.101. Also look at Ḥāfiẓ, S., "Najīb Maḥfūẓ Bayna al-Dīn wa'l-Falsafa", Al-Hilāl, Feb 1970, p.116.

> the first third of this century was over the Egyptian homeland and Arab nationalism...
> The argument reached its peak among Egyptian intellectuals with increased interest in ancient Egyptian history, especially often the remarkable discoveries in that field, and as a result, the name of Egypt had grown immensely in importance and Egypt began to reap the benefits in terms of cultural pride and an influx of tourists which gave rise to a new sense of self-confidence.[1]

Also dealing with the same point Al-Naqqāsh says:

> The first quarter of the 20th century had been dominated by a movement dedicated to the revival of Egyptian nationalism, to the glorification of Egypt, to the deepening of faith in it, to the strengthening of the Egyptian character and defining it in sharper terms.[2]

Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963) was the most famous supporter of the idea of the pharaonic origin of modern Egyptians, that they have two pasts, and that they should not in any case ignore

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1. Al-Shaṭṭī, p.31.
2. Al-Naqqāsh, Udabā' Mu^c^āsirūn, p.44.

their pharonic past. To quote Hourani in his comments on Lutfī al-Sayyid's views:

> He, like Tahtawi, is conscious of the continuity of Egypt's history; Egypt has two pasts, Pharaonic and Arab, and it is important to study the Pharaonic, not just to take pride in it but because Egyptians can learn from it "the laws of development and progress".[1]

Moreover in the early thirties a fierce debate developed among Egyptian intellectuals. They were either supporters of Egyptian-pharaonic nationalism or Arab nationalism; among the former were Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm and M.H. Haykal who was one of Luṭfī al-Sayyid's colleagues and was also a supporter of the idea of "Egypt for Egyptians".[2] Ṭāhā Ḥusayn wrote in 1933:

> The Egyptians had been subjected to various forms of animosities and aggression by the Persians, the Greeks, the Arabs, the Turks, and the French.[3]

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1. Hourani, p.177.
2. Al-Shukrī, Gh., Thawrat Al-Mu^c^tazil, p.140.
3. Al-Jundi, Al-Ma^c^ārik al-Adabiyyah, p.17.

But this view of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was objected to by many writers of the day, such as Zakī Mubārak:

> Today, Egypt is, to all intents and purposes, an Arabic-speaking Islamic country. Those who call for a revival of Pharaonism, by definition, seek to abandon the Arabic language on the grounds that Arabic is alien to Egypt and to adopt the pharaonic methods of interpreting religion.[1]

Another important supporter of pharaonic nationalism, who had especial influence on Maḥfūẓ's views, and in fact published Maḥfūẓ's first historical novel, was Salāma Mūsā who said:

> Our call to study the pharaohs is by no means reactionary. We study it in a spirit which closely approximates a religious spirit. Studying them will reform us because the subject abounds with good reasons for us to love one another. In a sense, we are one family and we have made this valley our home for over ten thousand years. There is not a single Egyptian, wherever he may be living, whose body does not contain a drop of the

1. Al-Jundī, op.cit., p.35.

> blood which once ran in the veins of Rameses, Cheops, Merenra and Akhenaton.[1]

However Maḥfūẓ himself, talking about that part of his life, said:

> I should like to tell you that we were brought up on politics in its local and narrow sense, with Egyptian rather than Arab, nationalism forming its basis.[2]

Another important point to be mentioned here is the influence on Maḥfūẓ - in this early stage of his career - of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's novel ^cAwdat al-Rūḥ, 'The Return of the Spirit' (1933). Ghālī Shukrī comments on this novel:

> The writer aims to portray Saniyya as representing Isis with Osiris representing the leader of the revolution. To him, the novel is the contemporary embodiment of the ancient Pharaonic myth or the myth itself is the contemporary embodiment of the events of "The Return of the Spirit".[3]

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1. Al-Jundī, op.cit., p.43.
2. Ḥāfiẓ, Atāḥaddath, p.97.
3. Ghālī, Sh., op.cit., p.40.

This influence is pointed out by Fatma Moussa, in her comments on Maḥfūẓ's historical novels:

> His published novel was a historical romance, with an ancient Egyptian setting, showing the influence of Tawfiq al-Hakim's Awdat al-Ruh, whose maxim "all for one" is obviously illustrated by Mahfuz's vision of a people whose aspirations for whom they build the Great Pyramid.[1]

In this intellectual atmosphere of the 1920s and '30s Maḥfūẓ wrote his historical novels, setting them in the pharaonic past as a result of the contemporary interest in that period.

> The novels were a direct product of the growing interest in the glorious past of Egypt of the pharaohs; an increasingly important element in Nationalist propaganda of the time.[2]

It has been pointed out by some Arab critics that Maḥfūẓ modelled his historical novels on Walter Scott's novels. Fatma Moussa states:

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1. Moussa, p.48.

2. Ibid., pp.49-50.

> The lesson of Sir Walter Scott is obvious in the attempt of portraying Ancient Egyptians in their daily life and old customs.[1]

The same is repeated by some other critics. In fact Maḥfūẓ himself confessed that he wanted to do the same as Scott had done and to write the whole ancient history of Egypt in the form of a series of novels. In an interview with Fu'ād Dawwāra he said:

> I prepared myself for the tasks of writing novels incorporating the entire ancient history of Egypt in the way that Walter Scott did for his country. I prepared forty themes for historical novels which I hoped I would live long enough to complete. I finished three novels. ᶜAbath Al-Aqdār, Rādūbīs, Kifāḥ Ṭība. Thirty-seven novels were yet to be written.[2]

In another interview with Ṣabrī Ḥāfiẓ Maḥfūẓ said:

> I had before me blueprints of themes which dealt with ancient Egyptian history. It is true to say

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1. *ibid*.

2. Dawwāra, Fu'ād, *ᶜAshrat Udabā' Yataḥaddathūn*, p.283.

> I would have still been writing them. I made efforts to study the history of Egypt, and I have been able to derive from it themes for my writings on similar lines to Jurjī Zaydān or Walter Scott.[1]

When Ḥāfiẓ asked Maḥfūẓ if he had read other Egyptian or Western novelists before he wrote his historical novels, Maḥfūẓ mentioned Zaydān, Abū Ḥadīd and Walter Scott.[2]

There has been no detailed study of Maḥfūẓ's historical novels. Criticism of a general sort has of course been available since their appearance. Most critics have dealt with these novels briefly in short chapters of their books, concentrating on his later novels. The reason for this is possibly that such critics normally compare these three early novels with his later, better known works. However that does not mean that there is no need for a more detailed treatment of these novels as they mark the beginning of the literary career of a great novelist. Most critics, as we have already said, either simply ignore his historical novels, as for example Ali B. Jad in his book, Form and Technique in the Egyptian Novel 1912-1971, or Ḥilmī Badīr

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1. Ḥāfiẓ, Ataḥaddath, p.89.
2. ibid., p.90.

in his book, *Al-Ittijāhāt Al-Wāqi$^{c}$iyya Fī al-Riwāya al-Ḥadītha Fī Miṣr*. Alternatively these novels are mentioned briefly for example by Sakkūt or Fatma Moussa in her two books, *The Arabic Novel in Egypt* and *Fī Al-Riwāya Al-Miṣriyya*. The same can be said of other critics. Only Badr, in his book *Najīb Maḥfūẓ: Al-Ru'yā wal-Adāh*, devoted a section to Maḥfūẓ's historical novels, but in fact he does not consider them in their historical perspective. Instead he concentrates on the structure and literary style of Maḥfūẓ's novels. Moreover he says that they are no more than imitations of Zaydān's or Walter Scott's novels.[1] The only thorough study of Maḥfūẓ's historical novel is a chapter written by Al-Shaṭṭī in his book, *Al-Ramz wal-Ramziyya*, giving a favourable opinion of these novels as well-composed works of art.

As we have already said, we will try in this present work to study Maḥfūẓ's historical novels in relation to three of Sir Walter Scott's novels. Both Scott and Maḥfūẓ are artists of the same kind, belonging to the same species, the one wanting to do as the other had done. But the value of doing so lies in this comparison and in dealing with the differences between the uses to which they put their art. It seems that they have enough in common for such a comparison to be illuminating. The

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1. Badr, *Najīb*, p.153.

differences on the other hand are a question of personality and different historical circumstances of the periods in which they set their novels.

# Chapter 1

# THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AS A LITERARY FORM: DEFINITIONS, KINDS AND VALUES

In considering the Historical Novel as a literary form, it is widely accepted that Sir Walter Scott was the first to write this type of novel, and thus the founder of this literary genre.[1] The application of Scott's model led to a rapid development of the form, not only in Britain but also on the Continent; he successfully blended fiction and history to create the historical novel. The composite nature of this genre and the variation in its examples led to some discrepancies in the definition of the term. The historical novel is initially defined as exemplified by Scott, but later novels were different in many ways from Scott's novels, so that this definition is not very helpful when applied to those writers who have the right to be regarded as a genius on their own model, such as Tolstoy, Dickens, Flaubert, and Manzoni.[2] Many other definitions of the genre have been put forward by critics. Neild, in his Guide to the Best Historical Novels writes "A novel is rendered historical by the introduction of dates, personages, events to which identification can be readily given".[3] In other words this critic is saying that the novelist should introduce real characters,

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1. See, Baker, Ernest, The History of the English Novel. Butterfield, H., The Historical Novel. Lukács, Georg, The Historical Novel. Sheppard, The Art and Practice of Historical Fiction.
2. Henderson, Harry B., Versions of the Past, p.xiv.
3. Nield, Jonathan, A Guide to the Best Historical Novels, p.3.

events of historical importance, or both, but he does not mention any specific distance of time. Butterfield defined the true historical novel as "one that is historical in its intention and not by accident, one that comes from a mind steeped in the past".[1] George Saintsbury, in his book Essays in English Literature, did not give a precise definition of the historical novel as a genre, but gave Scott's canon as an example.

> The canons negative and affirmative will then run somewhat thus: "Observe local colour and historical propriety, but do not become a slave either to Dryasdust or to Henry Sterne. Intermit historic interest and the charm of well-known figures, but do not incur the danger of mere historical transcriptions; still more take care that the prevailing ideas of your characters, or your scene, or your action, or all three, be fantastic and within your discretion".[2]

He then goes on to say that "when these are put together" we shall have what is called 'the bones' of the historical novel.[3]

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1. Butterfield, pp.4-5.
2. Saintsbury, G., Essays, p.326.
3. ibid., p.328.

John Buchan, in his book about Scott, says: "An historical novel is simply a novel which attempts to reconstruct the life, and recapture the atmosphere of an age other than that of the writer".[1] A.J. Sheppard also emphasizes the past in his definition of this genre: "An historical novel must of necessity be a story of the past in which imagination comes to the aid of fact".[2] Helen Cam defines the historical novel thus: (novels) "that recreate an age and a society and a world of past thought and feeling, rather than those which interpret or illuminate a personality or a group of characters".[3]

A. Fleishman, in his book The English Historical Novel, defines the genre thus: "Most novels set in the past - beyond an arbitrary number of years, say 40-60 (two generations), are liable to be considered historical".[4] The main concern of all these definitions is to point out the main characteristics and the essential elements of the historical novel as a literary genre. It should include some personages from history or an attempt to reconstruct the life of a bygone age and recreate the atmosphere of an age other than that of the writer. The question here is how far back in time the historical novel can

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1. Buchan, John, Sir Walter Scott, p.130.
2. Sheppard, p.15.
3. Cam, H., Historical Novel, p.18.
4. Fleishman, p.3.

be set. None of these definitions restricts itself to a limited distance of time, except Fleishman's which says "40-60" years or "two generations". But not all critics agree with Fleishman on this point. Leslie Stephen suggested a distance of sixty years, basing his argument on the second title of Waverley, "Tis Sixty Years Since". But Sheppard comments that Scott's original subtitle was "Tis Fifty Years Since" suggesting that "perhaps if any time must be chosen half a century is a useful choice".[1] John Buchan does not agree with these critics and says "The age may be distant a couple of generations or a thousand years".[2] John Tebble accepts the definition which says that any novel recounting events which took place before the author's birth is a historical novel

> whether actual historical personages are the protagonists or whether the entire cast is imaginary is irrelevant. What matters is the all-important fact that the author is not writing from personal experience, he is trying to write creative fiction about men and women who lived and loved and died in a world completely different from his own.[3]

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1. Sheppard, p.16.
2. Buchan, op.cit., p.130.
3. Tebble, J., Fact and Fiction, p.3.

Harry Henderson agrees with Tebble on this point about the past setting and considers all novels set "in the world that existed before the author was born"[1] as historical novels. Generally speaking the historical novelist does not bind himself by any particular restriction of time, but can write about any period in the past he chooses.

The concept of "past" time is the main factor in determining what is and what is not a historical novel.[2] At this point it becomes relevant to consider the question of the relationship between the historical novel and history. It is clear that there could be no historical novel before there was the novel, but at the same time the existence of an appropriate form of history was an indispensable factor contributing to the rise of the historical novel. Butterfield explains the main ways in which the novel depends on history:

> Here then, are the two ways by which history passes into a novel. In the one case it merely gives material that can be woven into a story in the same way as a geography-book can be translated into a book of travel, in the other case it provides a story which a writer has to

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1. Henderson, H., op.cit., p.xvi.

2. Dickinson, A., The American Historical Novel, p.31.

work into his own fiction.[1]

Then he goes on to say: "According to this, history supplies the material and the novelist creates the mould".[2]

However the novelist does not use historical facts in the same way as the historian does. The historian is mainly interested in deducing a set of implications, in tracing out the influence and estimating the significance of a series of facts from the past. The novelist, on the other hand, attempts to reconstruct the transient moments of history so that the reader experiences them as they happened, and sees events as broadly as in a picture.[3]

So, in the historical novel there is an unhistorical aspect which the historians usually omit from their history, the little details of the daily life of a particular historical character. Historians are able to describe kings, generals, statesmen, and politicians as figures in certain roles, whereas the novelist can present these figures in their human dimension, leading everyday lives both private and public, and subject to the same limitations as ordinary people:

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1. Butterfield, p.31.
2. *ibid*., p.31.
3. *ibid*., p.113.

> on the other hand the novelist is free, more than the historian, to fill in with imagined details the gaps in the recorded history.[1]

Sheppard also draws attention to the fact that the novelist can fill in the gaps left by the historian.

> It is legitimate to fill in gaps left by history, to introduce imaginary minor characters - which the historian may not do - to interject conversation, to make the smaller dates movable where they are not concerned with outstanding and well-known events.[2]

The imagination plays a significant role in the writing of a historical novel, a point upon which Fleishman comments:

> As Art is of the imagination, the novel will be an exercise of the imagination on a particular kind of object. It is an imaginative portrayal of history, that is, of past states of affairs affecting human experience. The historical

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1. Turner, Joseph W., "The Kind of Historical Fiction", <u>Genre</u>, vol.XII, No.3, p.344.
2. Sheppard, p.171.

> novelist provokes or conveys by imaginative sympathy, the sentiment de l'existence, the feeling of how it was to be alive in another age.[1]

However, the novelist must change historical facts to such a degree as to result in inaccuracy. Nevertheless, to quote Sheppard:

> I think, whatever license may be given to an imaginative writer who takes history as his background, no unnecessary departures from fact should be permitted.[2]

According to what has been said so far the historical novel is not history, and history is not a historical novel. History and historical novels belong to separate literary categories, each of which has its own principles of construction and critical limitations - these two forms are different in kind.[3]

The same thing was emphasized by Helen Cam when speaking about the characters of the historical novel:

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1. Fleishman, p.4.
2. Sheppard, op.cit., p.160.
3. Allen, Harvey, "History and Historical Novel", The Atlantic Monthly, No.2, Feb. 1944, p.118.

> Where the historian must confine himself by saying "This or this may have been the reason" or "It is impossible to say what led him to take this step" the novelist may give his own explanation of the action or the inaction of a historical figure, filling the gaps in the story according to his own interpretation of character and circumstances.[1]

Yet the main problem of the historical novelist is how to write about people whom he has never seen and about the age in which he has not lived without departing too far from the historical truth. This question was raised by John Tebble in his book Fact and Fiction.

> It seems to me that the primary problem of the historical novelist is how to tell a story about human beings within the framework of historical fact without distorting the facts for the sake of the story.[2]

In other words and as Ernest Leisly puts it in his book, the main problems for the historical novelist are to fit his story into the overall pattern of significant historical events

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1. Cam, Helen, Historical Novel, p.10.
2. Tebble, John, Fact and Fiction, p.4.

and to adapt the original sources to the purpose of his novel.[1] Thus the historical novelist's task is not to recreate the entire life of the people of a particular age or to recreate the entire epoch in which they lived, but as Lukács says:

> What matters therefore in the historical novel is not re-telling of great historical events, but the poetic awakening of the people who figured in those events, what matters is that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality.[2]

Nonetheless, despite what has been said, there do exist certain similarities between the historian and the historical novelist. It cannot be denied that time "past" is the substance of both. To quote Collingwood:

> Each of them makes it his business to construct a picture which is partly a narrative of events, partly a description of situation, exhibition of motives, analysis of characters. Each aims at

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1. Leisy, Ernest, The American Historical Novel, pp.8-9.
2. Lukács, p.42.

> making his pictures a coherent whole, where every character and every situation is so bound up with the rest that this character in this situation cannot but act in this way and we cannot imagine him as acting otherwise. The novel and the history must both of them make sense, nothing is admissible in either except what is necessary, and the judge of this necessity is in both cases the imagination. Both the novel and the history are self-explanatory, self-justifying - the product of an autonomous or self-authorizing activity.[1]

We can describe the historical novelist as a novelist with a genius for history. He is able to give a dramatic picture of the lives of historical figures, and to recreate the impression of a particular period and place with its language and everyday events without violating the verisimilitude of historical facts.

In this respect the historical novelist depends for all his material on the records of history and he may have to base his novels principally on the works of historians who might not be taken safely as a guide.[2] The novelist of contemporary life,

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1. Collingwood, R.G., The Idea of History, pp.245-246.
2. Sheppard, p.152.

on the other hand, does not face this problem, as he writes about his own age depending mostly on personal knowledge and actual experience for the depiction of the society in which he himself lives, rarely needing to go outside his own certain knowledge and experience.

Another important aspect to be considered is the readers of both the historical novel and the contemporary novel. To quote Tebble speaking about the historical novelist:

> He finds himself in a running battle with his readers, many of whom are mature researchers in the same vineyard, some of whom are quite likely to know more about the subject than the novelist himself, who shortly finds himself engaged in a dozen running controversies, all of which require additional research and checking to provide ammunition.[1]

The contemporary novelist has a different relationship with his reader. They both share a broadly similar knowledge of the world and are less likely to disagree about facts. The writer can always rely on the authority of his personal experience of the society which he is writing about.

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1. Tebble, Fact and Fiction, pp.7-8.

Some reviewers of this genre have classified historical novels into different kinds. Jonathan Neild in his essay "The Historical Novel: Type and Definitions" distinguishes between two types. The first is the "historical novel" which reflects the general life of the period in which the novel is set. The second, the "semi-historical" novel is partly concerned to describe the events and personages. Neild later comments;

> then I would urge that, for all such novels of bygone manners and atmosphere the description "semi-historical" is perhaps less objectionable, seeing that it conveys the recognition of a certain distinction between fiction reflecting the general life of a period through imaginary channels pure and simple, and fiction aiming in part at least at the depiction of particular historical figures or events.[1]

Edwin Muir writes a chapter in his book The Structure of the Novel on what he calls "The period novel", giving as examples of this type, War and Peace, Old Mortality, Tom Jones, Wuthering Heights, and Vanity Fair. Then he explains what he means by period novel:

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1. Neild, J., "The Historical Novel: Types and Definitions", Library Review, vol.II, p.212.

> For the imaginative writer can draw a picture of society; but only an historian can reconstruct a particular society or show us society in evolution, and the period novel is really a spurious kind of history which occasionally breaks into fiction.[1]

George Lukács in his book The Historical Novel mentions two forms, the "Classical Form of the Historical Novel" and the "New Type of Historical Novel". By the first, he clearly means Scott's type of historical novel. Although Scott absorbed many strands of other literary experiments and successfully synthesised the historical method, he did not create a school. Most of his so-called followers did not imitate his pattern exactly; to quote Sanders:

> Scott's successors and imitators were able to vary this flexible enough "Classical Form" as it best suited their tastes and fictional ends, though they did so at times conscious that they were aiming at a broader and more ambitious kind of historical novel.[2]

As for the "New Type", Lukács mentions the novels of

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1. Muir, Edwin, The Structure of the Novel, p.123.
2. Sanders, p.17.

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer. After a brief discussion of his work Lukács says:

> But Meyer is the only really important writer of this transitional period who concentrates his entire life's work on the historical novel and evolves a special method for dealing with it. It is clear from previous remarks how large the difference was between this approach to history and that of the old historical novel.[1]

Ernest Leisy's division of the historical novel into three categories is based mainly on his examination of the American historical novel.[2] In Leisly's classification the first type is "The Historical Novel Proper" which combines character and setting skilfully. The second type he calls "The period novel", because there is more attention to detailed background than to giving an impression of the period as a whole. The third type is called "The Romance of Adventure". He later tries to explain the difference between each category. In actual life these classifications are quite arbitrary and the three types overlap. They are however useful to evaluate the novel. "Romance of

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1. Lukács, p.230.

2. Leisy, Ernest, op.cit., p.9.

Adventure" concentrates too much on action for its own sake as for example the novels of Neil Swanson and Van Wych Mason. "The Period Novel" on the other hand tends to substitute the details of life in one generation for those of another. Only the "Historical Novel Proper" shows respect for historical fiction as an art.[1]

In his Essay "Scott's Achievement as a Novelist" David Daiches uses Scott's novels as an example to categorise the historical novel into a similar three types:

> A historical novel can be primarily an adventure story, in which the historical element merely adds interest and a sense of importance to the actions described, or it can be essentially an attempt to illustrate those aspects of the life of a previous age which most sharply distinguish it from our own; or it can be an attempt to use a historical situation to illustrate some aspects of man's fate which has importance and meaning quite apart from that historical situation.[2]

Daiches suggests that the true historical novel examines the way

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1. Leisy, Ernest, op.cit., p.9.
2. Daiches, Achievement, p.83.

in which history affects the individual. Some novelists may not be aware of the presence of longer historical themes in their work. However the best historical novels are those which deal with change which is the most fascinating aspect of history.

One of the most outstanding articles about the kinds of historical novel is written by Joseph W. Turner, "The Kinds of Historical Fiction".[1] Turner again divides this genre into three types, "The Documented Historical Novel", "The Disguised Historical Novel", "The Invented Historical Novel". By the first type he means those novels which have direct links with recorded history, but where, at the same time, the novelist is free to fill in the gaps of the documented history. He comments on this point:

> More than relying on realistic forms to lend their fiction the illusion of historicity for example, documented historical novelists frequently center the narrative on their own invented character. Observing this pattern in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, George Lukács even raises it to the level of a critical precept, arguing that world-historical

1. Turner, J., op.cit., p.335.

figures are not an appropriate subject for the background of the fiction.[1]

As for the second type, "The disguised historical novel", Turner explains that the disguise in such a novel of the historical antecedents may be so perfect that the reader never recognises it. At the same time the historical parallels may be so great and so exact that the reader may question whether this is any disguise at all.[2] With regard to the third type "The Invented Historical Novel", the real question is, as Turner himself puts it, what is the difference between this type and other fiction in view of the fact that all the principle characters are invented.[3] Later in this essay he answers this very question. The difference is that this type places the action so far into the past that it can be called a historical reconstruction.[4]

In general it can be said that any distinction between the different kinds or types of historical novel may in fact sometimes be difficult, as Leisly has said. This is because the characteristics of one type are possibly blended with those

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1. Turner, J., op.cit., pp.349-350.
2. ibid., p.345.
3. ibid., p.339.
4. ibid., p.340.

of other types.[1]

During the last three centuries, since the rise of this new genre, critics have held different views about the historical novel, perhaps because of its composite nature and because it requires from both the novelist and the critic an extensive knowledge of both history and the novel. Historical fiction is of hardly any importance in eighteenth century English literary criticism. At that time there was no developed theory of the aesthetic qualities of the historical novel. The reason why no adequate theory was developed is that no serious historical novel existed at that time. Clearly the theory of the historical novel had to follow its development as a literary genre. To quote Baker:

> The importance of historical novelists before Scott was due to their entire lack of historical imagination. It did not occur to them that to give any semblance of life to their reinvocation of by-gone ages they must have a familiar knowledge of how people lived and carried on their private and personal concerns, and be able to think themselves back into a remote past, thrusting out

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1. Leisy, E., op.cit., p.18.

> of sight, all that had been happening, all that had been learned and had changed man's very being, in the intervening centuries.[1]

Lukács does not consider historical fiction before Scott as true historical fiction and bases this judgement on the following argument:

> What is lacking in the so-called historical novel before Sir Walter Scott is precisely the specifically historical, that is, derivation of the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their age.[2]

In order to give an impression of historical authenticity to fictional writing a number of eighteenth century authors tried to disguise their novels. They wanted to convince their readers that the novel reflected a true story about the past. They did this usually by referring to the factual accounts of the past or by treating present history in a fictional way, such as Daniel Defoe in his preface to Robinson Crusoe and Moll Flanders and Walpole's preface to The Castle of Otranto and some other prefaces of novels of the same kind.

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1. Baker, The History, vol.I, p.133.
2. Lukács, p.37.

As far as the nineteenth-century is concerned critical works about the historical novel are more specific and more abundant. In the early years of the nineteenth century Sir Walter Scott published Waverley (in 1814). This was followed by a serious discussion of the genre by different critics. Most of the critics either concentrated on Scott and his novels, or the historical novel as a genre. To quote Sanders:

> Among critics of the first half of the nineteenth century there is evidence of a widespread optimism as to the potential of the historical novel and to the challenge it presented to the aspiring novelist.[1]

But there were also critics who opposed the genre and discounted these novelists. Thomas Carlyle in his famous article about Scott was quite disparaging, criticising Scott for his interest in money and for lack of moral purpose. At the same time he praised Scott's presentation of history as one that would always be valid. In this respect Carlyle echoes the praise given to the Waverley novels on their publication. He says:

> We may say, these historical novels have taught

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1. Sanders, p.22.

> all men this truth, which looks like a truism, and yet was as good as unknown to writers of history and others, that the bygone ages of the world were actually filled by living men, not by protocols, state-papers, controversies and abstractions of man.[1]

In his book Hours in a Library Leslie Stephen devoted an essay to Walter Scott's novels in which he takes the opportunity of commenting on this genre:

> Sir F. Palgrave says somewhere that historical novels are mortal enemies to history and we are often tempted to add that they are mortal enemies to fiction.[2]

Stephen believed that the historical novel as a genre lacked the ability to create, and was inaccurate with regard to the historical facts, and he objected to novels which took their plots and customs from history:

> Either the novel becomes pure cram, a dictionary of antiquities dissolved in a thin solution of

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1. Carlyle, Thomas, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, vol.IV, pp.71-72.
2. Stephen, Leslie, Hours in a Library, p.156.

> romance, or, which is generally more refreshing it takes leave of accuracy altogether and simply takes plot and costumes from history, but allows us to feel that genuine moderns are masquerading in the dress of a bygone century.[1]

Fleishman comments on Stephen's attitude toward the genre and relates it to the popularity of the historical novel in the late nineteenth-century.[2] Ernest Bernbaum in his article "Views of Great Critics on the Historical Novel", also comments on Stephen's attitude to Scott's novels:

> So with Scott Stephen's critical verdict, which has been damaging to the genre throughout the English-speaking world, is this: Ivanhoe and Kenilworth and the rest are of course audacious anachronisms for the genuine historian![3]

Yet Stephen praises Scott later for his power of understanding and illustrating. In Scott's novels:

> The secret of power is simply this, that a man

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1. <u>ibid</u>., p.156.
2. Fleishman, p.xiv.
3. Bernbaum, Ernest, "Views of Great Critics of the Historical Novels", <u>PMLA</u>, 1926, p.431.

> whose mind is full of historic associations some how communicates to us something of the sentiment which they awake in him.[1]

Stephen goes on to say:

> When the barest natural object is taken into his imagination, all manner of past fancies and legends crystallise around it at once.[2]

An important contribution to the discussion of the historical novel was made by Brander Matthews in an essay entitled "The Historical Novel",[3] in which he adopts a critical attitude to this genre. Among the criticisms which he makes against the historical novel in general, his chief objection is that it can never be true to life because of the huge and insoluble problems of composition.[4] He writes:

> By no effort of the will can he (the historical novelist) thrust himself backward into the past

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1. Stephen, L., Hours in a Library, p.160.
2. ibid., p.160.
3. Matthews, Brander, The Historical Novel, and other Essays, p.13.
4. ibid.

> and shed his share of accumulations of the ages, of all the myriad accretions of thought and sentiment and knowledge, stored up in the centuries that lie between him and the time he is trying to trace; of necessity he puts into his picture of days gone by more or less of the days in which he is living. Shakespeare frankly accepted the situation: Scott attempted the impossible.[1]

Fleishman comments on Matthews' excessive attention to the imaginative excesses of the historical novel, and his explanation of this characteristic as the inevitable consequence of trying to write about the past from the viewpoint of the present.[2]

George Saintsbury, one of Scott's admirers, wrote many essays about the historical novel as a literary form. In a general article about this genre, he discusses the definition and the pre-history of the historical novel. He writes of Scott's works:

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1. Matthews, Brander, The Historical Novel, and other Essays, p.13.
2. Fleishman, p.xv.

> That Waverley itself is the ideal of an historical novel need not be contended: and I do not know that any intelligent devotee would contend for anything of the kind.[1]

During the twentieth-century critics have devoted books to the study of the historical novel. In these theoretical works, they have discussed different aspects of the genre, including the definitions, kinds, languages, its relationship with history and its development in general.

Herbert Butterfield's book The Historical Novel: An Essay appeared in 1924. Butterfield believed that the true historical novel should come from "a mind steeped in the past", not by accident:

> Yet a true historical novel is one that is historical in its intention and not simply by accident, one that comes from a mind steeped in the past.[2]

He believed that the important thing was that the two

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1. Saintsbury, Essays, p.329.

2. Butterfield, p.5.

elements, history and novel, combined in this genre, should be blended together to create a good historical novel:

> but it is rather that in the historical novel history and fiction can enrich and amplify one another, and interpenetrate. They can grow into one another, each making the other more powerful.[1]

Later on in the same book Butterfield defends the genre strongly, arguing that the power of the novel lies in its ability to develop peoples' sense of history. They become aware of the past and of the many tales contained in the world's history. History can thus become more than just an addition to knowledge, it becomes an extention of personal experience.[2]

After Butterfield, Alfred Tresidder Sheppard published his book The Art and Practice of Historical Fiction in 1930. In this book Sheppard discussed different and general issues of the Historical Novel. In the first chapter Sheppard gives some definitions of the genre, then a brief history of the historical novel "From Scott to Shorthouse". It seems however that

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1. ibid., p.7.
2. ibid., p.96.

Sheppard's real aim in this book is to teach the novelist how to write historical novels. Thus some of the subtitles in the book are: "Some novelists at work", "The choice of the period", "The reading and the writing".

There are in addition other aspects of the book more concerned with the writing of the historical novel than its criticism. For example in the chapter entitled "Going foreign" he writes:

> The historical novelist must study books on costumes, on coinage, on the contemporary history of other states, he must read contemporary letters, diaries, dispatches, even legal documents and medical works - nothing dealing with his period and locality should be foreign to him.[1]

In another chapter, "The future of the historical novel", Sheppard views this future optimistically on the grounds that "at last history is being taught in our schools with so much understanding and intelligence".[2]

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1. Sheppard, p.147.
2. *ibid.*, p.268.

He adds that "a real effort is being made by those educationalists who possess the historic sense themselves to make history interesting, and no longer a valley of dry bones".[1]

George Lukács' book The Historical Novel, published in 1937 and translated into English in 1962, makes an interesting contribution to the theory of the historical novel from a Marxist point of view. It is one of the few books that is specifically concerned with the development and nature of this genre as a whole rather than restricting itself to a single country.[2] In his first chapter "The Classical Form of the Historical Novel", Lukács considers the appearance of Waverley, as has been mentioned before, the real beginning of the historical novel. Lukács does not consider the historical fiction of the period before Scott as belonging to the genre of novel:

> The so-called historical novels of the seventeenth-century (Scudery, Calpranede, etc.) are historical only as regards their purely external choice of theme and costume. Not only the psychology of the

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1. ibid., p.269.

2. Feuchwanger, Lion, House of Desdemona, p.71.

> characters, but the manners depicted are entirely those of the writer's days.[1]

In his arguments about the rise of the historical novel he links that with the French Revolution and the awakening of a sense of nationalism:

> But the awakening of the national sensibility and understanding for national history occurs not only in France. The Napoleonic Wars everywhere evoked a wave of national feelings, of national resistance to the Napoleonic conquests, an experience of enthusiasm for national independence.[2]

The other factor which affected the emergence of the historical novel, according to Lukács, was the emergence of the new concept of history and philosophy. He says:

> The new phase in the ideological defence of human progress found its philosophical expression in Hegel... The philosophy of Hegel provides the philosophical basis for this conception of history.[3]

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1. Lukács, p.19.
2. *ibid.*, p.25.
3. *ibid.*, p.28.

In general for Lukács great social changes and historical movements are the real reasons behind the rise and fall of the historical novel.[1] Lukács devoted a chapter of his book to Scott's novels,considering them to be the real representatives of this form. Lukács considers Scott's art to be progressive and truly revolutionary, because it is the basis of European reaction to the French Revolution.[2] Later in his book Lukács attempts to identify the true reason for Scott's greatness:

> Scott's greatness is closely linked with his often narrow conservatism. He seeks the 'middle way' between the extremes and endeavours to demonstrate artistically the historical reality of this way by means of his portrayal of the great crises in English history.[3]

Lukács accepts the view that Scott's influence was great not only in Britain, but also on most European writers from Pushkin to Balzac. "The influence which he exercised over the whole of European literature is immeasurable."[4]

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1. Feuchtwanger, *op.cit.*, p.71.
2. Sanders, p.9.
3. Lukács, p.33.
4. Fleishman, p.3.

Apart from Lukács' book A. Fleishman's The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf, published in 1971, is also devoted to the theme of the historical novel. In this book Fleishman discusses different elements of the historical novel. In his first chapter "Towards a theory of historical fiction", he prefaces his definition of the genre with the words:

> Everyone knows what a historical novel is: perhaps that is why few have volunteered to define it in print.[1]

Later on he tries to distinguish between history and the historical novel, an attempt upon which Turner comments:

> As soon as Fleishman moves beyond the conventional definition and tries to distinguish between history and fiction, he creates as many problems as he solves. Not only does the whole discussion threaten to founder, but it usually circumvents that danger by presuming greater unanimity about what history actually

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1. ibid., p.3.

is than exists among historians.[1]

Fleishman believes that the imagination plays a major role in the historical novel. The writing of such novels constitutes a sort of exercising of imagination, where the novelist fills in the gaps left by the historian.

> As Art is of the imagination, the historical novel will be an exercise of imagination on a particular kind of object. It is an imaginative portrayal of history, that is, of past states of affairs affecting human experience.[2]

Yet in this case 'the practical character of which it treats' is the main difference between the historical novel and other literary genres. This past can be viewed by the novelist with a wide understanding of the present. "Only the novelist with a coherent conception of his world can look back to past age and see it as a coherent system".[3]

In addition to these works some other books have appeared

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1. Turner, J., The Kinds of Historical Novel, Genre, vol.XI, No.3, p.333.
2. Fleishman, p.4.
3. ibid., p.14.

which might be discussed as well, to discuss certain periods of the English historical novel, and the American historical novel. The American Historical Novel, by Ernest Leisly, published in 1950, also American Historical Fiction by A.J. Dickenson in 1958, would be cases in point. A Guide to the best Historical Novels and Tales written by Jonathan Wield, appeared in 1902. Another guide to the best historical romances, sagas, novels, and tales, was written by Ernest A. Baker and entitled History in Fiction. In addition to these works there are scattered essays about either a particular historical novelist or about the genre, which have appeared in different journals. However these consist mainly of general discussions which often rely heavily upon the writers discussed in detail above, and for this reason have been excluded from the above brief discussion, although some of them are referred to in the following chapters.

# Chapter 2

# THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL NOVEL

The publication of the first of Scott's Waverley novels in 1814 constitutes an important landmark in the history of the English historical novel. Indeed some critics go so far as to correlate Scott's novels with its advent. In fact, however, the appearance of the historical novel depended on the evolution of the novel in general, as is natural. Nevertheless it can be said that in this period there began to be a more thorough understanding of history. Writers' interest in the past and its historical sense increased and during the first half of the nineteenth century both the concept of history and of the novel as a literary genre reached their virtual maturity and gained greatly in popularity.

As far as history is concerned the eighteenth century was an age of understanding and of enlightenment: The rationalistic aspect of eighteenth century thought and culture, the belief in human affairs, the interest in general human nature was favourable to the growth of historical writing.[1] The scholars and historians of the eighteenth century were prepared to apply new sources of knowledge and new ways of understanding to their historical studies, "for this was an age deeply interested in history".[2] Scholars of the age immediately preceding Scott's

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1. Daiches, A Critical, vol.III, p.804.

2. Baker, The History, vol.3, p.62.

period like Hume and Gibbon were at this very time setting down their first serious contributions to history. They approached history with a critical mind, demonstrating an increased desire for objectivity, and paying special attention to the details of the past, society and human inter-relations.

David Hume (1711-1776) in his writings, gave an explanation of human behaviour, past and present. Hume

> saw history as a store-house of facts which would help the philosopher to understand human nature much more than any a priori theorizing.[1]

This encouraged the readers and writers of the period to explore further the principles of human action and their results.

Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) like his contemporaries attempted to achieve an objective conception of historical development and a scientific treatment of historical material. In his discussion of the pre-history of the historical novel George Lukács emphasizes the 'extraordinary achievement' of both French and English writers of the period, particularly

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1. Daiches, A Critical, vol.III, p.805.

Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Gibbon,[1] in the light of their understanding of history and invention of historical sense. Lukács attempts to reveal the social and ideological basis from which the historical novel was able to emerge. He concentrates most on the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the economic and political transformation which occurred in Europe as a result, and the consequent awakening of national feeling and a national sense of history, which led people to see history as something which affected their daily life. Similarly

> It may be said that between 1770 and 1840 there occurred a sudden and precipitous deepening of the European consciousness: a deeping of the inlook, the deepening sense of nationality, the deepening of historical thinking were part and parcel of this phenomenon.[2]

Thus, the historical consciousness of this period might be regarded as one of the factors behind the emergence of the historical novel. Scott as the creator of this sort of novel believed that his novels were just as important a medium of information and instruction as history itself.

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1. Lukács, p.20.
2. *ibid.*, p.18.

On the other hand, the English novel itself had emerged fully by the late eighteenth century and had reached a certain degree of maturity, from such beginnings as Arcadia, written by Philip Sidney (1554-1586), and Euphues by John Lyly (1554-1606). In addition to this, there are the works of Robert Greene (1560-1592), who popularized the style of Sidney and Lyly, Thomas Lodge (1558-1625) and Thomas Delony (1543-1600). A notable figure is Thomas Nashe (1507-1601), who wrote The Unfortunate Traveller, or The Life of Jack Wilton (1594), and also many historical romances in which the rogue hero is used to link a series of adventures. The translations of the French romances written by Comberville, La Calprenede, and Madeleine de Scudery, left their mark on English fiction for a period of time.[1] There appeared English imitations written by novelists like Roger Boyle, Sir George Mackenzie and certain others. At the end of the seventeenth century, the novel made further progress, when John Bunyan (1623-1687) wrote his important fictional work Pilgrim's Progress, published in 1678.

By means of all these works eighteenth century novelists such as Defoe and Swift were enabled to contribute to the evolution of the novel. Daiches states that:

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1. Cross, p.15.

> Certain Spectator papers, the writings of Defoe, and Swift's Gulliver's Travels provide the more immediate and obvious background for the emergence of the English novel and the story of the novel in the modern sense of the term properly begins here.[1]

Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) is one of the most outstanding figures of this period. His best known novel is Robinson Crusoe (1719); he also wrote Captain Singleton (1720) and Moll Flanders (1722), followed by other works. Defoe spent the first part of his life travelling around England and Scotland, and through the continent in France and Spain.[2] His fiction is considered to be a turning-point in the history of the English novel, which, from that point, made a new start.[3] Defoe wanted to convince his readers of the absolute truth of the incredible events he related. He therefore invented the circumstantial method. This was a special technique, subsequently rarely needed, used by Defoe to ensure suspension of disbelief despite the complete impossibility of the subject matter.[4]

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1. Daiches, A Critical, vol.III, p.701.
2. Stevenson, p.62.
3. Baker, E., The History, vol.II, p.130.
4. ibid.

Robinson Crusoe, his most famous work, is based on the story of a man who managed to stay alive alone on a remote island for many years. Ian Watt considers that this work cannot be defined as a novel in the 'usual sense' since it is not primarily about human relations. However, he sees the work as a landmark in the development of the novel, because it destroys the traditional, social structure with its established pattern of relationships, and points to the need to build up a new and conscious system of personal relationships.[1] Finally Defoe's combination with fiction of minute and limitless realism was unparalleled in this field. As a result of these techniques he sustains the reader's interest in a remarkable way.[2]

The next important novelist after Defoe is Samuel Richardson (1681-1761). He started writing novels at the age of fifty, when he was asked by two printers to prepare a volume of model letters in a simple style for use on different occasions.[3] When he accepted this assingnment, Richardson suggested that these letters could serve as models of moral precepts as well as of form. In order to do this he had to think up appropriate situations, and his natural talent for storytelling helped him to

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1. Watt, I., p.103.

2. Baker, The History, vol.II, p.145.

3. Legonis, E., Short History of English Literature, pp.235-236.

create ways of linking the various letters into continuous stories.[1] The importance of Richardson lies principally in his treatment of plot, as he bases the theme of his novels on a single action and focuses attention on an individual man or woman.[2] This is already a noticeable feature of his first novel Pamela, which appeared in two volumes in 1740, followed by a sequel, also in two volumes in 1741. In Pamela he was concerned with human relationships and life. The secret of his method lay in his meticulous attention to the details of life. Commending Richardson's approach to the novel, Baker comments:

> every act, every feeling, every gesture, should be deliberately scrutinized if man and especially woman, is to lead an upright, dignified and happy existence.[3]

Richardson provided us with the first example of a novel about personality and the development of self-realization.[4] Clarissa, which is the longest of Richardson's novels (in eight volumes), was written between 1747 and 1748. It is constructed in the

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1. Stevenson, p.81.
2. Watt, P.152.
3. Baker, The History, vol.IV, p.18.
4. ibid., p.18.

form of letters exchanged between the main characters of the novel, and is generally considered his best. Richardson's influence on later writers was great. He introduced into fiction the analysis of emotion, motive and feeling for their own sake.[1]

The other leading figure in the development of the eighteenth century novel was Henry Fielding (1707-1754). His major novels are Joseph Andrews (1741) and Tom Jones (1749). The former was a parody of Richardson's Pamela which greatly affected Fielding. He was also affected by the picaresque elements in Don Quixote where the characters are set down upon the road and become involved in a great variety of adventures.[2] Tom Jones was carefully planned and the theme follows Jones' life right through the book.[3] The novel, remarkably, shows the lines along which the modern novels of manners were to be written, and the features they were to be based on.[4] Fielding wrote some other novels; in 1743 he published three volumes of Miscellanies, and his last novel Amelia, was published in 1751.

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1. Allen, The English, p.52.
2. Daiches, A Critical, vol.3, p.715.
3. Evans, Ifor, A Short History of English Literature, pp.121-122.
4. Baker, E., A Guide to the Best Fiction, p.173.

The importance of Richardson and Fielding lies in their use of everyday incidents, human relationships, and the social and realistic aspects of life as the subject of their novels, which was to become a feature of the new fiction. They popularized novels with many characters and various types of themes.

By the close of the eighteenth century other elements began to contribute to the emergence of the historical novel and the evolution of the English novel in general. In addition to what has already been said, the growth of the reading public, and of popular interest in reading generally, increased in this century any comparison with the previous periods.[1] The reading public saw a sudden growth in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the number of novels produced increased steadily.[2] The reading public was by now large enough to give authors the prospect of making their fortune through a successful novel.[3]

In the later eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century there appeared two novelists who played

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1. Watt, p.38.

2. Leavis, Q.D., Fiction and Reading Public, p.130.

3. Baker, The History, vol.II, p.12.

an enormous role in the development of the novel. These were Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott. Jane Austen (1775-1817) exploited her daily life and the society around her as the raw material for her novels, which give a very realistic portrayal of the social life of the English countryside and reflect the views of her own time. Austen wrote *Sense and Sensibility* in 1811, *Pride and Prejudice* appeared in 1813, *Mansfield Park* in 1814, *Emma* in 1815; *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* appeared posthumously in 1818. Austen had read eighteenth-century fiction, widely, and her novels were a continuation of the characteristics of Defoe, Richardson and Fielding.[1] Her novels bridge the gap between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as she stands between the writers of the classical school and the romantics.

The most notable novelist of the period is Sir Walter Scott, the father of the historical novel, as he is sometimes called, on account of his *Waverley* novels which have already been mentioned. But in fact romances with historical background had appeared in English literature long before the *Waverley* novels. They probably go back to the Elizabethan era, when the historical drama had reached a certain degree of development with the works of Shakespeare, Marlowe and their contemporaries.

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1. Watt, p.339.

At that time there appeared a type of historical romance, such as those of Thomas Nash (1567-1601), who wrote his Unfortunate Traveller in 1594, a tale of adventure containing a certain amount of historical material from the time of Henry VIII. Similarly Thomas Lodge (1556-1625), also Thomas Deloney (1543-1600), wrote historical romances. The former wrote The History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy in 1561 and The Life and Death of William Longbeard. The latter wrote Thomas of Reading (no date). Cross comments that

> this romance was based on the time of Henry I and it became historically interesting as one of the earliest attempts of the modern story-tellers to invade the province of history.[1]

But at this time writers still had no real concept of history, and so the historical novel did not become an identifiable form of literature. During the seventeenth century English fiction did not see any real development and most of the works which appeared lacked the basic principles of the novel. One book from this period could be considered as containing some historical elements. This is Argenis by John Barclay (1582-1621), which appeared in 1621. The work contains certain historical personages like Henry III and Henry IV of France, and some

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1. Cross, p.12.

other historically based characters. This book was written in Latin and translated into English in the time of Charles the First.

In general the seventeenth century witnessed a kind of evolution of the novel as a literary genre. But as far as the historical novel is concerned, it had still to wait some time before it would emerge fully. Horace Walpole (1717-1797), was one of the main writers to gain popularity, through his novel The Castle of Otranto, published in 1764. Walpole introduced into his novel incidents and manners from the past. He succeeded in recreating the real past by reproducing something related to former times in such a way that it amused and interested his reader, but nevertheless, it can still be said that it is "a historical novel with history omitted".[1]

There appeared several followers of Walpole's Castle of Otranto. Clara Reeve, 1729-1807, published her best known novel, The English Baron, in 1777. In her novel Reeve followed Walpole's type of Gothic story, and, like Walpole, the historical background of the novel was very limited but

Two things are perhaps to be principally noted

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1. Saintsbury, Essays, p.319.

in this romance. It contains both Gothic
and historical incidents.[1]

Another novelist who did much to further the rise of the historical novel was Anne Radcliffe (1764-1823). Her novel, The Mysteries of Udolpho, published in 1794, deals with France and Italy in the late sixteenth century, but her novel suffers from historical inaccuracy.[2] Some other works appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century before the Waverley novels. However, they were generally below the standard of the true historical novel. Most of them did not succeed in adequately blending the elements of history and romance, in other words, the historical and the fictional aspects of the historical novel as it later developed with Walter Scott. Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) is another remarkable novelist. Her importance lies not only in the fact that she wrote some works of historical fiction, but also in that her novels, with Jane Austen's, are considered as a bridge between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[3] In her novels Edgeworth wanted to portray different social conditions; she treated the Irish character seriously and

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1. Cross, pp.102-103.
2. Baker, The History, vol.III, p.11.
3. Daiches, A Critical, p.743.

she discussed certain moral and psychological problems.[1] Her novel Castle Rackrent (1800) and her masterpiece The Absentee (1811) are examples of the novel of local colour. She inspired Scott, as he himself acknowledges in his preface to Waverley where he claims to do for Scotland what she had done for Ireland.

Yet another novelist whose work might be worth mentioning in this respect, and whose work appeared just before Waverley, was Jane Porter, (1776-1850). She wrote two historical fictional works, Thaddeus of Warsaw, published in 1803, and Scottish Chiefs (1810). These two novels were successful as they contained most of the essential qualities of the historical novel, but she did not succeed in reconstructing the past or getting into the real spirit of the age with which she was dealing. One historical novel, which was left unfinished, was written by Joseph Strutt (1744-1802). This work, Queenhoo Hall, was completed later by Sir Walter Scott in 1808.

In 1814 Sir Walter Scott[2] published Waverley, often referred to by literary critics as the beginning of the English historical novel. As we have seen, novels with historical themes had appeared before this time, but they, as Lukács says:

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1. ibid., p.743.

2. Scott's novels will be discussed elsewhere in this work.

> are historical only as regards their purely external choice of theme and costume. Not only the psychology of the characters, but the manners depicted are entirely those of the writer's own days.[1]

After the publication of the Waverley novels there appeared some followers and imitators. These novels also influenced later writers as has been pointed out by Sanders:

> the very fact that so many of the major artists of the period had turned to history for subjects, and that novelists in particular chose to attempt stories set in the past, can be seen to stem from Scott's continuing authority over an age so actually aware of the value and relevance of an historical sense.[2]

We shall now consider some of the more outstanding novelists and novels which appeared after Walter Scott, and which affected in various ways the development of the English historical novel until the late Victorian era. This period saw

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1. Lukács, p.19.
2. Sanders, p.16.

the real development of the historical novel as a form of literature. The Victorian era is remarkable for the number of historical novels which made their appearance. Many novelists practised Scott's form of historical novel, for example, G.P.R. James (1799-1860), and W.H. Ainsworth (1805-1882), both of whom were considered to be followers of Scott.[1] James was a prolific novel writer, particularly in the sphere of the historical novel. This was a result of his wide reading from boyhood onwards. He was fond of romantic stories and adventure tales. It was also a result of his extensive travels throughout Europe. He wrote sixty-five novels covering different periods of both English and European history. In English history, he dealt with the period from the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. In French history he covered the period from the twelfth century to the end of the seventeenth century. In 1829 he wrote Richelieu or a Tale of France, which is considered one of his best novels. He was advised by Scott, who read the manuscript of this novel, to continue.[2] Besides this, among the best known of his novels are Philip Augustus (1831), Memoirs of the Great Commanders (1832) and The Life of the Black Prince (1836).[3]

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1. Saintsbury, The English, p.214.

2. Stevenson, p.232.

3. ibid.

James deals with intricate themes, deception and conflict between his characters. These characters are clearly drawn. Some of the dramatic incidents arouse considerable sympathy and suspense in the reader.[1]

William Harrison Ainsworth (1803-1883), is one of James' contemporaries, and, like James, he is regarded as one of those who benefited from Scott's example. Walter Allen says that James and Ainsworth

> cashed in on the sudden enormous appetite for historical fiction that Scott had brought into being.[2]

Ainsworth wrote over forty novels on the subject of English history. In his novels he was perhaps influenced by writers other than Scott, such as Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas. He seemed to have an admiration for Notre Dame de Paris by Hugo:

> Ainsworth's best-know histories are English reflections of Notre Dame de Paris. Such are The Tower of London, (1840), Old Saint Pauls (1841) and Windsor Castle (1843).[3]

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1. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.92.
2. Allen, The English, p.149.
3. Cross, p.143.

Ainsworth's popularity began with the publication of his novel Rookwood in 1834. This book which was both highly original and unconventional enjoyed immediate and great success.[1] He later wrote Crichton (1837), Jack Sheppard (1839), and The Tower of London (1840). His last work was Beau Nash (1880). In his novels Ainsworth took more liberties with historical facts and with his style and dialogue than did his friend G.P.R.James.[2] As far as his plots and characters are concerned he:

> often forgets to tie up all the ends of his plots, leaving elements unresolved, or unbalanced after a concluding marriage or disaster.[3]

Ainsworth has been criticised for not thinking out his plots thoroughly enough, with the result that important characters often remain ambiguous.[4]

Another novelist who may not be considered as Scott's imitator, but who was perhaps influenced by the Waverley novels, was Henry Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873). Sanders remarks that he:

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1. Ellis, S.M., William Harrison Ainsworth and His Friends, p.255.
2. Baker, op.cit., vol.7, p.93.
3. Sanders, p.30.
4. ibid., p.37.

> could be said to have re-established the English historical novel on newly respectable scholarly and distinctly Victorian bases.[1]

He was regarded as one of Scott's leading successors until the appearance of Dickens.[2] Lytton based his historical novels on English and European history. Altogether he wrote eight historical novels, Devereux (1829), Eugene Aram (1837), The Last of the Barons (1843) set in various periods of English history, and Rienzi (1835), Leila (1838) and Harold (1848), based on medieval European history. His two novels The Parisian (1873) and The Last Days of Pompeii (1834), were set in the period of ancient history, so that he ranges over periods as different as ancient Greece and the England of the eighteenth century. He treated historical problems in a manner which was relevant to contemporary England which was preoccupied with the debate on progress. Lytton attempted to carry on Scott's pioneering work in changing popular attitudes to history.[3] In most of his novels he depends on wide historical research and pays careful attention to historical accuracy, particularly in his descriptions of historical characters and events. Baker remarks that

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1. ibid., p.49.
2. Lovett, op.cit., p.207.
3. Sanders, p.48.

> Lytton put himself through a severe course of preparation before writing The Last Days of Pompeii,[1]

while according to Simmons

> Bulwer himself traced the popularity of his historical fiction to his 'faithful narration of historical facts' rather than to any fictional elements he might have employed in the composition of the novels.[2]

Whyte Melville (1821-1878) wrote a type of historical novel similar to those of Lytton and Ainsworth. With some others Melville is considered to be the representative of the novelists of the eighteen-fifties.[3] He wrote Holmby House (1860), The Queen's Maries (1864), Cerise (1866) and An Unsuccessful Man (1865). Baker maintains that Melville's best historical novel, probably the finest thing he ever wrote, was Katerfelto, a story of Exmoor (1875).[4]

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1. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.77.
2. Simmons, James C., "The Novelist as Historian", Victorian Studies, vol.XIV, 1971, p.302.
3. Stevenson, p.309.
4. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.118.

By the 1850s the English historical novel was so prolific that it is not surprising to find critics maintaining that their reading was now an essential aspect of the study of history.[1]

Charles Dickens (1812-1870) wrote two historical novels, Barnaby Rudge (1841) and Tale of Two Cities (1859). In his early literary career, Dickens was preoccupied in writing novels about social conditions, for example Oliver Twist (1837), which is an attack on the working of the Poor Law and on the law itself as a symbol of the plight of innocence and weakness.[2] He wrote Nicholas Nickleby (1836-39) and Hard Times (1854). He also wrote the semi-autobiographical David Copperfield in 1849-50.

Dickens' two historical novels, Barnaby Rudge and A Tale of Two Cities were set in the same period of time (1780-1789), but they have different historical backgrounds. The first was based on the subject of the Gordon Riots, which he thought would be a good source of material for such a work. This background subject belonged only to recent history, not more than sixty years since, and therefore it is probable that Dickens had met some eye witnesses.[3] The idea of writing this

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1. Sanders, p.15.

2. Allen, The English, p.103.

3. Butt, John, Dickens at Work, p.84.

novel perhaps had its literary inspiration in the opening chapter of Scott's Heart of Midlothian,[1] and Dickens' description of the Gordon Riots in Barnaby Rudge appears to parallel Scott's description of the Porteous mob in the Midlothian prison.[2] The characters of Dickens' novel are wonderfully set within the context of "the whole late eighteenth-century conflict, at any rate as Dickens saw it".[3]

Seventeen years later Dickens returned to the historical novel when he wrote A Tale of Two Cities in 1859. He was at the peak of his career when he wrote this novel. He had already achieved world wide fame as a creator of fanciful characters and mysterious plots.[4] The novel was set in the period of the French Revolution. Dickens' description of Paris at the time of the Revolution is very vivid. The Revolution is generally considered not as one event, but as a series of events. However, Dickens generally restricts himself to describing scenes of angry crowds and the killings which accompanied the events, as far as the historical point of the novel is concerned, although he concentrates mainly on the human relationships. Through the development of his characters

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1. ibid., p.78.
2. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.264.
3. Wilson, Angus, The World of Charles Dickens, p.89.
4. Beckwith, Charles, Twentieth Century Interpretation of 'A Tale of Two Cities', p.2.

and their actions he presents his own understanding of the period.[1] A Tale of Two Cities is written in a way that is different from all his other novels, even Barnaby Rudge. In a way A Tale of Two Cities is more of a story of incidents in which the characters express themselves through the story, rather than through dialogue.[2] Dickens attempted to reproduce the real historical atmosphere, rather than historical characters or events, and this is an important point to be borne in mind when considering an approach to the historical novel. The recreation of the past does not depend only on personages, customs or clothes, etc., but demands that the reader be put in the genuine atmosphere of bygone ages. That is what Dickens practised in his novel A Tale of Two Cities where:

> History is examined not by a marrying of factual with fictional characters but by placing a fictional group into a given historical situation. Dickens has no real need to include real events during the Revolution, but when he does so he gives greater actuality to his fiction.[3]

Among the other historical novelists of the nineteenth century whose names have always been associated with Dickens

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1. Sanders, pp.87-88.
2. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.305.
3. Sanders, p.88.

is William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863). He began his career as a writer through journalism in which capacity the elements of the novel already entered his writings.[1] Three of his novels could be considered as remarkable historical novels. These are Vanity Fair, published in 1847, Henry Esmond (1852), and The Virginians (1857).

Vanity Fair is Thackeray's first major novel and possibly his greatest work.[2] It was based on events which took place thirty years before. In this novel he did not give any description of the great historical events, such as the battle of Waterloo, which marked the period.[3] His characters are not shown as being central to these events, but their fortunes are affected by them. In Vanity Fair Thackeray describes the manner and outlook of the society of this time and he concentrates on this perhaps to a greater extent than in any other of his historical novels. Henry Esmond (1852) is Thakeray's most famous novel, and occupies a prominent place not only among his own works but also in the history of the English novel:

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1. Allen, The English, p.175.
2. Loofbourow, John, Thackeray and the Form of Fiction, p.11.
3. Stevenson, p.204.

> Esmond marked a renascence of English historical fiction and established a new model, rejecting the strands of romanticism and aiming at describing life as realistically as contemporary writers might have represented it.[1]

Thackeray based this novel on the early eighteenth century period of Queen Anne. In Henry Esmond he faithfully reproduces the life of that age, recreating the feelings of people who lived through these events.[2] Thackeray did a great deal of research work for this novel in spite of the fact that it was not set in the distant past which would perhaps have needed more historical research and greater imaginative effort. Nevertheless he is different from many previous historical novelists in the way in which he manages to give a convincing picture of the eighteenth century and its atmosphere. Also unlike some other novelists, he was able to take history easily.[3]

The Virginians is Thackeray's other important historical novel. He got the idea of writing it after a lecturing tour in America. This novel is the sequel to his former novel Henry Esmond, but he did not finish it until after his second visit

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1. Baker, The History, p.402.
2. Lovett, R., The History of the Novel in English, p.207.
3. Sanders, pp.98-99.

to America. Thackeray was always trying to link his stories up with each other by characters or references. However no two of his novels are so closely linked by characters and relationships as Henry Esmond and The Virginians. This novel is based on American history and he even introduces some historical personages like George Washington, linking him in a friendship with his heroes.

> The Virginians was to discuss the conflicting loyalties of the Anglo-American family at the time of George Washington, and it was to consider and reaffirm the close emotional, racial and historical ties between the United States and Britain, between Jonathan and John Bull.[1]

But, at the same time, the events which shaped American history were only briefly described and so generalised that they have relatively little value in themselves.

Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) also contributed to the development of the historical novel in the Victorian period. In most of his early works Kingsley was interested in contemporary intellectual, religious and social problems. However he later

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1. ibid., p.117.

wrote the historical novels Hypatia (1853), Westward Ho (1855), and Hereward the Wake (1865). In these novels Kingsley attempted to use certain historical events of bygone ages to illustrate contemporary problems. In Hypatia, which was set in a remote historical period, he goes back to Alexandria and gives a picture of the last flowering of Greek philosophy. The period in which Kingsley set this novel is more remote than those chosen by his predecessors, Dickens, Thackeray, or even Scott. Kingsley was probably attracted by the struggle in fifth-century Egypt between Christianity and Paganism. By his choice of subject he attempts to link past events with events relating to contemporary problems. Baker comments that

> The polemics of old heresies and old religions have a significant bearing on recent controversies and enable Kingsley to exalt "Muscular Christianity" at the expense of what he held to be modern error.[1]

In the following year, Kingsley wrote his most popular historical novel, Westward Ho. Saintsbury considered Westward Ho and Esmond as the best two books in this genre that had been written since the death of Scott.[2] After finishing Hypatia in which

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1. Baker, E., The Guide of Best Fiction, p.279.
2. Saintsbury, Essays, p.371.

he depicted the triumph of Christianity, Kingsley turned to British history,

> to the struggle between Catholics and Protestants, which, although it had begun with Martin Luther in Germany, had ended in England and the overthrow of Spain.[1]

This historical background provided Kingsley with opportunities for depicting incidents and for the introduction of sea tales into his novel, which allowed him to reproduce the buccaneer spirit of the Elizabethan age.[2] Sheppard says that

> In Westward Ho the prejudice and bigotries of the days described, and the study of patriotism made truculent by the pretensions of Spain, exactly suited Kingsley's own temperament.[3]

Hereward the Wake is set in the time of the Norman Conquest and the futile guerrilla struggles for national independence.

Among other Victorian historical novelists is Charles Reade (1814-1884). He started his life as a playwright, but

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1. Hartley, Allen John, The Novels of Kingsley, p.105.
2. Cross, p.157.
3. Sheppard, p.90.

none of his plays was successful. In his works he is believed to have drawn his material from records of actual life. In this respect he has been compared to the French naturalist, Zola; "His encyclopaedic note books are as famous as Zola's".[1] When he wrote his first major novel, It is Never Too Late to Mend (1850), he visited the jail at Oxford to observe prison scenes from which he collected his material. The Cloister and the Hearth (1861) is considered to be his masterpiece in the field of the historical novel. It is set in the 15th century, and in it

> he portrays a lively and detailed though largely illusory picture of the Middle Ages.[2]

Medieval life is depicted in terms of the struggle between its two most powerful influences, religion on one side, and family affection on the other. In this manner Reade attempted to recapture the spirit of the fifteenth century. As has been mentioned above, he relied on the copious use of notes. Sheppard remarks that when writing a novel Reade always worked from three sheets of cardboard on which he recorded and classified his material as 'plot', 'character' and 'important factors'.[3]

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1. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.203.

2. Evans, A Short History of English Literature, p.41.

3. Sheppard, pp.103-104.

George Eliot (1819-1880) is, with Dickens, the most famous figure of the period. She started to write in a period of transition for the English novel; Walter Allen says "she has been described as the first modern English novelist",[1] and goes on to comment that in this period, there appeared the publication of 'established novelists' and that "they were the counterpart of new growing points already visible in European fiction generally".[2] In her early life she had broken free from religion, studying philosophy and psychology, and had adopted the philosophy of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer.

This eductional background affected her early works such as Scenes of Clerical Life (1857), Adam Bede (1859) and The Mill on the Floss (1860), also Silas Marner (1861) and Middlemarch (1872). She wrote her only historical novel Romola in 1863 at a time when she turned her attention to fifteenth century Italy. George Eliot was a great reader of Scott in her early life and as most of the critics have suggested, his influence can be seen in some of her works. Sanders remarks that even in the case of Middlemarch, Adam Bede and The Mill on the Floss

it is arguable that all three are to an important

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1. Allen, The English, p.218.

2. ibid.

> degree a conscious development from Scott's special understanding of history and society.[1]

The idea of writing Romola came to her when she went to Italy with George Henry Lewes in 1860. She based this novel on Florentine history in the days of Lorenzo de Medici. In it she discusses life in Florence in the fifteenth century in every detail and presents it in a manner that is historically complete and true:

> She prepared herself for the task of writing Romola by filling her notebooks on the spot, and by an extensive course of reading in the history, and the contemporary literature.[2]

Besides this accurate picture of Florence, Eliot captures the spirit of the Renaissance in its conflict with Christianity. She attempts to apply her philosophical ideas to a foreign country and a different period. This required a lot of work and research into the background facts; not only the outer life but also the peculiar intellectual movements and spiritual struggles of that strange and brilliant period. In this respect Eliot's

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1. Sanders, op.cit., p.169.
2. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.251.

work is comparable to Kingsley's Hypatia, especially in its concern with religion and philosophy. In spite of the massive work behind Romola it was not received by Victorian readers with the same enthusiasm as her other novels. To quote Sheppard,

> George Eliot was less successful with Romola. It is a 'tour de force' which has done little to advance her fame.[1]

Another very successful historical novel of the decade of Romola is Lorna Doone by R.D. Blackmore (1825-1900). Another five of his fourteen novels could be classified as historical novels; The Maid of Sker (1872), Alice Lorrance (1972, Mary Anerley (1880), Spring Haven (1887) and Pertycross, published in 1894, but his first novel Lorna Doone (1869) is his most widely known work. It was based on the period of Charles II and James II at the time of the Monmouth Rebellion. It takes as its historical background the legendary exploits of a band of outlaws who had their stronghold on Exmoor, from whom the peasant hero Jan Ridd rescues Lorna.[2] Blackmore did not use the historical events and characters of the Monmouth Rebellion for their own sake, but as a suitable base for his imaginative creations.

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1. Sheppard, p.81.

2. Baker, The History, vol.7, p.252.

In this chapter we have attempted a brief historical review of the rise of the English historical novel of the period before Scott with a brief consideration of the historical elements contained in the novels of that period. During the eighteenth century there were few notable historical novels and consequently little critical work on the subject, since aesthetic theory developed only with the slow emergence of the novel itself. The genre had to develop its typical features, before history could truly be fitted into the framework of the novel.

This was followed by a review of the period from Scott's death to the appearance of Romola (1863) and Lorna Doone (1869). This period witnessed the real development and establishment of the English historical novel. It is not surprising therefore that there is more critical commentary on nineteenth century historical fiction as compared to the eighteenth century. Historical fiction came to be seriously discussed on a wide scale only after the publication of the first important works in this genre, and the appearance of Scott's Waverley in 1814 may be regarded as a unique event in the development of the historical novel and its theory, not only in English but in other European languages. To quote Feuchtwanger,

> The long shadow of Sir Walter Scott covers the European historical novel down to the beginning

of the twentieth century.[1]

By the late nineteenth century Scott's work had lost much of its popularity with the result that commentators became much more critical of the historical novel. The historical novel was possibly affected by the growing popularity of realism at this time, so that works such as Gustave Flaubert's Salammbo (1862) were becoming popular.

With the gradual erosion of nineteenth century beliefs and the development of new schools of thought, the historical novel entered a new stage, that of the modern period; Fleishman in his comments on the period says "We enter here the modern phase of the English historical novel",[2] and remarks later;

> The historical novel at the turn of the century may be seen taking a turn in its tradition by falling into the hands of a number of writers influenced by French naturalism and impressionism, Ford Madox Ford, George Moore, Maurice Hewlett. They bring a new subjectivity to the portrayal of the past and pave the way for the distinctively

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1. Feuchtwanger, Lion, The House of Desdemona, pp.4-5.
2. Fleishman, p.178.

modern historical novel of Conrad and Woolf.[1]

An important theme in the modern historical novel is the subjective nature of man's knowledge of the past and present, a theme which differentiates the historical novel of the twentieth century from its predecessors. With the appearance of this new approach to the historical novel the influence of Scott is virtually at an end, and we therefore conclude our discussion at this point.

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1. *ibid.*, p.208.

# Chapter 3

# THE RISE OF THE ARABIC HISTORICAL NOVEL

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new literary form was born in modern Arabic literature, at the time when Salīm al-Bustānī wrote his first historical novel Zannūbiyā Malikat Tadmur (Zenobia Queen of Palmyra) in 1871.[1] Thus al-Bustānī is considered to be the pioneer of the historical novel in modern Arabic literature.

The nineteenth century generally saw a complete cultural renaissance in the history of the Arabs. Not only was there an upheaval in literature but it was also a time of extensive change in the Arab world in general. Creative Arab literature had for some centuries before this period been at a low ebb, and this decline had become accentuated after the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. Arab literary historians later called this period the Dark Age (al-Fatra al-Muẓlima). By the nineteenth century the main factor bearing on the literary renaissance of this period was the contact with the West which began with Napoleon's Egyptian Expedition of 1798. This expedition was of great importance for the development of modern education in Egypt, and also indirectly for the revival of literature which arose from its torpor. Napoleon brought with him two printing presses and a number of scholars. The French

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1. Najm, al-Qiṣṣa, p.159. Also Yāghī, A., al-Juhūd, p.29, and Shākir Muṣṭafā in his book al-Qiṣṣa fī Sūriyā, regarded al-Bustānī's novels, which were published in the magazine al-Jinān 1870-1884, as the first Arabic novel, p.67.

gave the Egyptians their first experience of newspapers, also scientific and literary magazines. As Haywood says:

> Further by opening Egyptians' eyes to French culture and European sciences, in how ever modest a way, the occupation made them aware of a civilization different from the Islamic civilization. It was the first step towards ending that literary inbreeding which had long stultified Arab literary development.[1]

After the French departure, Muḥammad ᶜAlī the governor of Egypt for the Ottoman Empire, in order to create a new army on European lines, established a military school in 1815, then he brought instructors from Europe,[2] and he sent several missions there. Later, when they came back, they began to translate western books into Arabic. Generally

> The importance of M. ᶜAlī in this period as far as literature is concerned, is that he played an indirect part in getting the literary renaissance underway. He introduced modern

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1. Haywood, Modern Arabic, p.31.
2. *ibid.*, p.31.

> education... He encouraged translation from European languages.[1]

This renaissance was continued, after that, during Ismāᶜīl's period. He also encouraged translation; hundreds of books on different subjects were translated. Ismāᶜīl reopened Madrasat al-Alsun (the school of translation) which had been established during M. ᶜAlī's period but was later closed.[2] Generally

> translation became a source of direct enlightenment for Egyptians in many areas of knowledge.[3]

On the other hand in Syria and Lebanon the activities of the Christians were the real force behind the literary renaissance. This was largely due to the fact that they had been in touch with Europe before Egypt, as foreign missionaries had settled in Syria as far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century.[4]

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1. Haywood, Modern Arabic, p.34.
2. Tājir, Jack, Ḥarakat al-Tarjama, p.82.
3. Vatikiotis, P.J., The Modern History of Egypt, p.100.
4. Antonius, George, The Arab Awakening, p.35.

In Lebanon, American Presbyterian missionaries had landed in 1820 and ten years later, French Roman Catholics, chiefly Jesuits, arrived to open schools. The Presbyterians and the Catholics were soon vying with one another in their educational enterprises.

> In Syria the Westernizing movement spread rapidly through the Christian communities particularly those of the Lebanon. Its agents were the missionaries and their schools, where the younger generation came under direct European influence, reinforced in many cases by subsequent study in the west.[1]

The renaissance in Syria and Lebanon concentrated on literary aspects and as a result during the 1860s and 1870s their acquaintance with European literature developed more rapidly than Egypt.[2] Numbers of magazines and newspapers were published in this period such as al-Muqtaṭaf 1876, al-Ṭabīb 1878, al-Mashriq 1898; also newspapers like Lisān al-Ḥāl 1877, al-Miṣbāḥ 1880, and al-Aḥwāl 1891.[3] Some of these magazines had

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1. Gibb, Studies, p.248.
2. Ḍayf, Al-Adab, p.25.
3. Shaykhū, Luwīs, al-Ādāb al-ᶜArabiyya, vol.2, p.63.

specific sections in which were published serialized fictional works and short stories, largely translated from European literature, and this played a major role in popularizing Western fiction in this period.[1] A glance at the huge number of novels and plays translated in this period will convince us of the extent of translation at that time.

Thus the Lebanese and the Syrians began to read Western works, which played a role in developing certain new concepts. Arab writers, especially in Lebanon, began to exhort the Arabs to remember their great past and to reawake.[2] In addition the spread of education resulted in a widening of the reading public by comparison with that of previous periods and this in turn affected the development of all literary genres.

Clearly the literary activities of this period were influenced by general changes in the intellectual climate. It is not surprising that the Arab writers of this period returned for themes to the distant past, Islamic and pre-Islamic history since interest in history was a general phenomenon at this stage of the Arabic renaissance.

As far as translation is concerned, we have noted that

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1. Muṣṭāfā, Shākir, op.cit., p.63.

2. Hourani, p.277.

many dramas and stories were translated into Arabic and these works were highly esteemed by the reading public.[1] Literary translation from European languages into Arabic flourished during this period and indeed continued long after. By the Second World War ten thousand stories and short stories had been translated into Arabic.[2] The works translated at this time were from English and French literature "especially many works of Shakespeare, Hugo, Dumas, Molière, La Fontaine, Corneille and others".[3] These new literary genres, in which the historical element is clearly very prominent, influenced Arab writers, and they began to imitate these works.[4] Many historical dramas also appeared in this period, either in translation or as adaptations of European works, and it has been suggested that the historical drama was the predecessor of the historical novel.[5] The efforts of Mārūn al-Naqqāsh, Khalīl al-Yāzijī and Abū <u>Kh</u>alīl al-Qabbānī in writing dramas, and of Adīb Isḥāq, and Najīb Ḥaddād in translating European drama, had a great influence on the revival of the historical novel. Al-Naqqāsh wrote a play about Hārūn al-Rashīd and <u>Kh</u>alīl al-Yāzijī wrote a play called <u>al-Murū'a wal-Wafā'</u> based on a pre-Islamic

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1. Tājir, <u>op</u>.<u>cit</u>., p.141.
2. Taymūr, M., <u>Ittijāhāt al-Adab al-ᶜArabī</u>, pp.16-17.
3. <u>ibid</u>., p.18.
4. Zaydān, Jurjī, <u>Tārīkh</u>, vol.IV, p.208.
5. Najm, p.153.

historical theme.[1] In addition the growth of Ottoman nationalism during the late nineteenth century with the increasing emphasis on the Turkish language in education, administration, etc., is likely to have turned writers' attention to their history, and they began to search for the past, the glorious past, and that turned them to their native traditions. They tried to forget about the inglorious present by writing about the heroic and chivalrous lives of the Arabs of the past which inspired pride and self-respect. For the same reason the writers began to take interest in the Arabic tradition in general, and hundreds of popular narratives appeared at this time. Several editions of the Arabian Nights were published in Beirut between 1882 and 1885.[2] In addition to popular religious stories (Qiṣaṣ al-Rasūl), Sīrat ᶜAntara was published three times between 1865-1871, Sīrat al-Zīr in 1866, Sīrat Zināti and Sīrat Banī Hilāl were published in 1868, and again in 1879 by al-Maṭbaᶜa al-Adabiyya, and was published for the third time between 1874 and 1900 in 31 volumes, nearly 1400 pages;[3] Egyptian presses were equally active from the 1860s onwards in publishing these popular tales. A number of Western scholars also enjoyed these narratives, and they

1. Najm, p.153.

2. Muṣṭafā, Sh., op.cit., p.41.

3. ibid., p.43.

translated them into French and English. For example there was René Basset who translated and published some Arabic Narratives, Devite who published the first volume of ᶜAntara, and Dr. Perron who published Sayf al-Tījān.[1]

Thus various different factors and circumstances account for the rise of the Arabic Historical Novel in this period. It is clear that its birth coincided with the contact with Western literature, but some scholars try to trace the origin of the modern Arabic novel not to the western nineteenth-century novel but rather to the larger spehere of Arabic culture. Kratchkovsky says that

> the historical novel is a kind of epos, and if its past is short it does not mean that it has no roots in the historic past of literature, or cannot produce patterns; he reaches the conclusion that the popular romances are in fact real epics of Arabic literature.[2]

So he is saying that the ancestral ideas of historical novels

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1. Musṭafā, Sh., op.cit., p.44.
2. Kratchkovsky, Ignaz Y., "Der historische Roman in der neueren arabischen literature", Die Welt des Islams vol.XII (1930-31), pp.51-87. Cited in al-Ḥāzmī, p.9.

reach deep to Arabic popular narratives, like Sīrat ᶜAntara, Qiṣṣat Banī Ḥilāl, etc. Henri Perès goes still further by claiming that these popular romances are real historical novels.[1]

Arabic scholars and critics have for long discussed whether the story was represented in classical Arabic literature or not. Fārūq Khūrshīd in his book Fi'l-Riwāya al-ᶜArabiyya says that "All the evidence indicates the existence of the story", and he tries to show that in Arabic popular tradition, especially in the Jāhiliyya period, they were familiar with the kind of narrative which derives its material from history.[2] He says that the Ayyām al-ᶜArab whose subject matter is the feuding and warfare between different tribes, which were very widespread during the Jāhiliyya period, represent a kind of story, indeed the Sīrat al-Rasūl of Ibn Hishām is the climax of this development.[3] Likewise M.Z. Sallām in his book Dirāsat Fi'l-Qiṣṣa al-ᶜArabiya, after a discussion of the existence of stories in the Jāhiliyya period, says that the stories of the nineteenth century in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt were influenced

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1. Perès, Henri, "Le roman historique dans la littérature arabe", Annales de l'Inst. d'Etudes O. d'Alger, XV (1957), pp.5-39.
2. Khūrshīd, F., Fi'l-Riwāya al-ᶜArabiyya, p.37.
3. ibid., p.34.

by ancient Arab stories like the Maqāmāt, the Arabian Nights, etc.[1] Ṭāhā Wādī maintains that the literary genre which is deeply rooted in the Arabic tradition and which had great influence on the rise of the Arabic Novel in general and on the historical novel in particular, is the Fann al-Siyar which started with Ibn Hishām. He then adds that these traditional narratives inspired Zaydān to write his historical novels.[2] On the other hand some Arabic critics have denied such an influence or relation between the Modern Arabic Novel and the past. Suhayl Idrīs states that the Modern Arabic Novel is influenced by Western Fiction and that in the beginning it was an imitation of it, and that it does not - in any way - represent an expansion of the Arabic traditional story.[3] Whatever view we may take of this, we must agree that the application of the term "Historical Novel" to every historical work which combines historical material and fiction is both confusing and unhelpful for critical analysis.

Butterfield points out that the historical novel

> may be a good story: but it may not be good
> with the special goodness of a historical

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1. Salāma, M.Z., Dirāsāt fi'l-Qiṣṣa al-ᶜArabiyya, p.70.
2. Wādī, pp.18-19.
3. Idrīs, Suhayl, Muḥāḍarāt ᶜan al-Qiṣṣa fī Lubnān, p.5.

> novel. It may not combine its two elements in just the way that is needed.[1]

This is why Georg Lukács does not accept the idea that the historical novel existed before 1814 when the first historical novel of Scott appeared. He says

> Of course novels with historical themes are to be found in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries too, and should one feel inclined, one can treat the medieval adaptation of classical history or myth as "precursors" of the historical novel and indeed go back still further to China or India. But one will find nothing here that sheds any real light on the phenomenon of the historical novel.[2]

The historical novelist is not a historian, as the boundary between the historical novel and history is very clear, but

> the Novelist is traditionally allowed greater freedom than the Historian to speculate in

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1. Butterfield, p.7.
2. Lukács, G., p.19.

> order to create what history has failed to provide, an unbroken record of the past.[1]

Hudson says similarly;

> the Historical Novel should represent faithfully the manner, tone, and the temper of the age with which it deals.[2]

Lukács accepts the idea that the historical novel came to be recognized as a distinct kind of fiction mainly owing to Scott, and that after Scott it became a respectable literary form. He says

> the so-called historical novels of the seventeenth century (Scudéry, Calpranède etc.) are historical only as regards their purely external choice of theme and costume.[3]

According to these criteria it is true that the Arabic popular narrative deals with the distant past and includes historical elements, but the treatment of historical material in these

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1. Turner, J.W., "The Kinds of Historical Fiction", Genre, vol.XII, No.3, p.344.
2. Hudson, Introduction to the Study of Literature, p.213.
3. Lukács, p.19.

narratives is superficial and remains external having no effect on the characters. They do not meet Sheppard's definition:

> An historical novel is simply a novel which attempts to reconstruct the life, and recapture the atmosphere of an age rather than of the writer.[1]

These narratives were often ignored by Arabic literary historians of the past and they were not accepted as a part of classical literature.[2] The reason for this probably is that they were written in a language nearer to the colloquial form which was not accepted in standard Arabic and sometimes even in local dialects, which caused the philologists to stand firm against them on the grounds that they were not in proper Arabic. Furthermore the fact that these narratives were widely spread among the lower classes, rather than among more educated people, led the literary historians to pay less attention to them as they did not attain to high literary merit. In addition the roots of this type of literature were multiple and very complicated, and it is difficult sometimes to identify original sources of them, such as the Arabian Nights,[3] or of Kalīla wa-Dimna.

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1. Sheppard, p.15.

2. Hilāl, M.Gh., al-Adab al-Muqāran, p.220.

3. Al-Qalamāwī, Suhayr, Alf Layla wa Layla, pp.78-103.

All the above mentioned factors affected the development of this kind of literature in the past, so that it was not able or allowed to develop into a new literary genre. For example the Arabian Nights which was mentioned by few Arabic sources in the past, remained neglected until it was printed much later by orientalists who published it many times and translated it into different languages.[1] Fatma Moussa says of these popular narratives after some comments on the Siyar, Arabian Nights, etc.,

> These early prototypes of Arabic narrative fiction testify to the fertility and wide scope of the Arab imagination, but, on their own, they could not produce the Arabic Novel as we have it today.[2]

These works - the popular narrative - came to light again in the nineteenth century. As has been mentioned before, a lot of these narratives were printed and reprinted to suit the varied tastes of the readers. Writers began to rewrite old stories of the ancient past or tried to imitate them. At the same time they began to translate Western Fiction, and according to Zaydān, Western Fiction was regarded as a more acceptable

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1. Al-Qạlamāwī, Suhayr, Alf Layla wa Layla, p.14.
2. Moussa, pp.9-10.

substitute for the traditional popular tales which were spread among the masses and one which was closer to the spirit of the age.[1] Thus different factors and circumstances affected the rise of the Arabic Historical Novel in this period, i.e. the nineteenth century. The popular romance during this period became widely read by the masses, and novelists therefore had a good foundation on which to base their works. As Thomas Phillip states

> The fact that the historical novel should take such a large place in the general novel writing in Arabic at this time probably related to the still existing popularity of the traditional fiction of the Futūḥ and the Siyar.[2]

Also those works of Western fiction which had been translated into Arabic in this period had a great influence on the development of historical works. This can be seen from the huge number of translations from English and French in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. Finally the great interest of the readers in this type of novelistic work brought about its spread and development, so that later it became a new literary form distinguished by its own principles.

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1. Zaydān, Ṭārīkh, vol.IV, p.208.

2. Phillip, Th., The Role of Jurji Zaidan, p.104.

THE ARABIC HISTORICAL NOVEL

Between 1871 and 1874 Salīm al-Bustānī serialized three important novels in his magazine al-Jinān, which he founded in Beirut in 1871. Al-Bustānī based his first historical novel Zannūbiyā Malikat Tadmur (1871) on the life of the queen of the ancient pre-Islamic state of Palmyra. This work is considered to be the beginning of the Arabic historical novel, and is a worthy attempt at writing this kind of story.[1] It was followed a year later by Budūr, an account of the fall of the Umayyads and the rise of the Abbasid Empire; and in 1874 al-Bustānī wrote his third novel al-Hiyām fī Futūḥ al-Shām which is about the Muslim conquest of Syria in the days of the Caliph Abū Bakr.[2]

Between the last historical novel of al-Bustānī and Zaydān's first, Jamīl Nakhla al-Mudawwar published his only historical novel Ḥadārat al-Islām fī Dār al-Salām (1888). It is about the life of the Abbasid court from al-Manṣūr to al-Rashīd, and it is a documentary work describing the period.[3] Al-Mudawwar was a journalist, and editor of a magazine called al-Mu'ayyad who wrote a history of Babylonia and Assyria and a book on ancient history.

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1. Najm, p.104.
2. ibid., p.172.
3. Yāghī, p.44.

A most important figure among the Arabic historical novelists is Jurjī Zaydān (1861-1914). Altogether Zaydān wrote 22 novels between 1891 and 1914.

He wrote 21 historical novels, each of which he called riwāyā tārīkhiyya, and only one novel, Jihād al-Muḥibbīn, which is not a historical novel. He also wrote many other books including: Tārīkh Ādāb al-lugha al-ᶜArabiyya, Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī, and Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ḥadīth. Shawkat points out that Zaydān represents the first school of the historical novel in modern Egyptian literature.[1]

Zaydān tried to cover a wide area of Islamic history in his historical novels.[2] He published most of his novels by serializing them in his magazine al-Hilāl. Najm states that Zaydān's historical novels are some of the greatest works in the history of the Arabic novel.[3] In seventeen novels from 1891 to 1914 he covers Islamic history from its beginning up to the time of the Mamlūk rule in Egypt. Only once did he interrupt this chain, when he wrote al-Inqilāb al-ᶜUthmānī. The following are some of his novels:

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1. Shawkat, p.62.
2. Najm, p.177.
3. ibid., p.180.

*Ghādat Karbalā'*, 1901;

*al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf*, 1902;

*Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī*, 1905;

*al-ᶜAbbāssa Ukht al-Rashīd*, 1906;

*al-Amīn wa'l-Ma'mūn*, 1907;

*Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī*, 1913.

Zaydān's main purpose in writing historical novels was to teach history and he used this form of fiction in order to popularize history by making it more palatable to the general public.[1] Some literary critics have commented on Zaydān's choice of historical periods - for example Badr says that the periods he chose did not represent the bright side of Islamic history but the inglorious periods when there were struggles between two forces or between two political sides.[2] In Zaydān's novels in general there are two parts, a historical part which includes historical events and characters, and sometimes even gives exact references to the historical sources from which he was quoting. The second part is a love story which as he said is intended to make the reader enjoy these novels and most of whose characters are fictitious. Generally speaking in Zaydān's novels there is a continuous struggle

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1. Badr, *Taṭawwur*, p.92.
2. *ibid.*, p.93.
3. Haykal, A., *Taṭawwur*, p.115.

between good and evil, and there are always two camps, one containing the hero and his lover who are entirely good, and the other opposed to them. The hero attempts to win the heroine, but this always coincides with a historical conflict which develops out of the struggle between two opposing forces.

Zaydān was criticized for his simple journalistic style, but he was writing for specific readers at a specific time when most people were not used to reading intellectually demanding works. Shawkat also says that Zaydān has no specific philosophy in his understanding of history and that he tried only to put historical events together.[1]

But as Thomas Phillip states,

> In order to do justice to Zaidān's novels and to understand their success in spite of their artistic mediocrity one has to compare them to the existing entertaining literature, which consisted of the Siyar and Futūḥ. In comparison to them Zaidān's novels appear to be full of realistic action and life.[2]

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1. Shawkat, p.78.

2. Phillip, op.cit., p.114.

The interest in historical writing was a general tendency of this period and it was received with much enjoyment by the readers and this encouraged other writers to produce similar works. Among those who followed Zaydān was Faraḥ Anṭūn. He founded a magazine called Al-Jāmiᶜa in 1899 and started to translate and write stories. He wrote a novel called Al-Dīn wa'l-ᶜIlm wa'l-Māl (Religion, Knowledge and Wealth) which is a work of socio-philosophical research rather than a novel.[1] Then he wrote al-Waḥsh al-Waḥsh al-Waḥsh (Monster, Monster, Monster) and after that a historical novel called Ūrushālīm al-Jadīda (The New Jerusalem). It is set in the time of the Caliph ᶜUmar, when the Arab army, under the command of Abū ᶜUbayda, laid seige to the city of Jerusalem, and which was ended with a peace treaty, signed by the Caliph ᶜUmar and Sophronius the patriarch of Jerusalem.

After Faraḥ Anṭūn's novel, Niqūlā Ḥaddād made a considerable contribution to this field, writing many works of historical fiction, such as Firᶜawnat al-ᶜArab ᶜind al-Turk, Jamᶜiyyat Ikhwān al-ᶜAhd and Wadāᶜ an Ayyuhā al-Sharq, these novels being about the Arab revolution against the Turks, Zaghlūl Miṣr, Ibn al-Maqādīr Bayn ᶜAhday ᶜUrābī wa Zaghlūl, Ḥarakāt al-Sayyidāt fil-Intikhābāt, Ghādat Āl-ᶜUthmān, Taḥt

1. Najm, p.95.

Rāyat Musṭafā Kāmil and Ḥasnā' al-Anaḍūl Bayna Faẓā'i^c al-Yūnāniyyīn. In his first novels he concentrates on the period of the First World War as it affected the Middle East, while in his later novels he was influenced by the emergence of the new nationalist trend and the demand for independence, as is evident from their titles.

The other important novel of this period was Amīr Lubnān, written by Ya^cqūb Ṣarrūf, which is set in Lebanon and is about an English Oxford graduate, Henry Piedmont, who falls in love with a Lebanese girl, Salmā, the Christian daughter of ^cAbbās al-Shihābī. After a description of many dangers and historical events which are used to develop the novel, it ends with a happy marriage. Al-Ḥazmi points out that

> the novel is written according to Zaydān's pattern. Even the titles of its chapters such as "Māwarā' al-Sitār", "al-^cArūs wa'l-Maydān", "Kashf al-Ghāmiḍ" are similar to Zaidan in the novel of Fatāt Ghassān.[1]

Aḥmad Shawqī wrote three historical novels about Egyptian history: ^cAdhrā' al-Hind aw Tamaddun al-Farā^c ina,

1. Al-Ḥazmi, op.cit., p.156.

Dall wa-Taymān, Ākhir al-Farā[c] ina and Waraqat al-Ās, which is about ancient Arabic history; the three earlier novels were about Pharaonic history, as were parts of his poetry also, and in this aspect Shawqī was, in fact, the first Egyptian poet to be inspired by Pharaonic history.[1] This tendency towards Pharaonic themes in historical writings may have been a result of the change in the political climate in Egypt around 1882, and the establishment of "a semi-secret party, the 'National Party' (al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī) which attracted a number of civilians, and it was this group, led by Ahmed [c]Urabi Pasha, which became the core of the movement",[2] and about the same time there appeared the motto "Egypt for the Egyptians". Also the fiasco of [c]Urābī and the failure of national resistance was bound to create a feeling of hopelessness and despair among the Egyptians which led some writers of this period to go back to the glorious past, especially Pharaonic history.

The period after the First World War and especially after the Egyptian revolution of 1919 is [illegible] a period of development in the writing of historical novels;

To glorify and immortalize the Egyptian revolution of 1919, the Egyptian writers either made its

1. Al-Dusūqī, Fi'l-Adab al-Ḥadīth, vol.II, p.211.

2. Hourani, pp.194-195.

> events the subject of modern fiction or turned to the past and searched in Egyptian History for periods characterized by the national struggle for freedom and independence.[1]

In addition there was a change in the position of the novel itself which became more recognizable and more respectable as a literary genre, and saw a renewal of both style and content. Sakkut however, gives much more emphasis to the political changes;

> The subsequent development of this trend (i.e. the historical trend) owes much to the political situation in Egypt during and after the First World War and to the growth of Egyptian nationalism.[2]

However the nationalist feeling in the historical novels of this period is very evident, and this affected not only the choice of historical theme but also its interpretation.

The important novelists of this period were Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd, and Ibrāhīm Ramzī. Abū Ḥadīd was one of the

1. Al-Ḥazmi, op.cit., p.214.
2. Sakkut, p.46.

most important novelists since Zaydān and some literary critics consider him as the pioneer of the Arabic historical Novel, especially in his artistic skill in writing historical novels.[1] Shawkat goes on to say that Abū Ḥadīd, in his choice of plots, was influenced by Shakespeare, but other literary critics do not agree with him, saying that he depended mainly on Arabic historical sources.[2]

The most significant early historical novel of Abū Ḥadīd is Ibnat al-Mamlūk (The Mamlūk's Daughter) (1926). This novel may be regarded as the first serious attempt at a historical novel in this period.[3] In this novel Abū Ḥadīd portrays the dawn of the Egyptian renaissance, that transitional and precarious period in Modern Egyptian history between 1804 and 1807 when Muḥammad ᶜAlī was contesting the rule of Egypt.[4] Gibb comments that this novel

> does not seem to be in any sense dependent upon the type of historical novel written by Zaydān,[5]

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1. Shawkat, M.H., p.103.
2. Al-Sayyid, Sh., Ittijāhāt al-Riwāya al-Miṣriyya, pp.41-45.
3. Al-Ḥazmi, Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd, p.53.
4. ibid., p.244.
5. Gibb, Studies, p.300.

while according to Ḥazmi

> the background is vivid and lifelike when compared with Zaydān's Istibdād al-Mamālīk or al-Mamlūk al-Shārid which deal with more or less the same historical period.[1]

In 1939 Abū Ḥadīd began to write a series of historical novels which will be mentioned later.

Ibrāhīm Ramzī also wrote one historical novel. He started his life as a playwright, translating into Arabic many of the plays of Shakespeare, Shaw and Ibsen. Then in 1936 he published his historical novel Bāb al-Qamar, which is set in the early days of Islam.

The period of the 1940s and after was a period of development for the Arabic historical novel; perhaps it was the political and social circumstances prevailing in the Arab countries during that period that made the novelists go back to past history as it was a period of conflict and struggle for independence, which motivated certain novelists to write about past glories throughout the whole of history, while others went back to Pharaonic history in particular.[2]

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1. Al-Ḥazmi, op.cit., p.250.
2. ᶜAbd Allāh, al-Wāqiᶜyya, p.185.

The historical novels of Abū Ḥadīd, $^{c}$Alī Aḥmad Bākathīr and Najīb Maḥfūẓ are generally regarded as the best novels of the period, while $^{c}$Alī al-Jārim, $^{c}$Ādil Kāmil and Muḥammad Sa$^{c}$īd al-$^{c}$Uryān were also active at the same period. Al-Jārim wrote *Sayyidat al-Qaṣr* (1946), *al-Shā$^{c}$ir al-Ṭamūḥ* (1947) *Khādimat al-Maṭāf* and *Maraḥ al-Walīd* (1949). In his novels he describes the lives of his heroes and their historical background, and as most of the heroes were famous poets with whom the readers were familiar, this made them feel that they were reading classical works rather than a modern novel.[1]

$^{c}$Ādil Kāmil's novel *Malik min al-Shu$^{c}$ā$^{c}$* (1945) is a kind of biography of the Pharaoh Akhenaten. It starts with the Pharaoh's birth; as the story develops he announces his new religion. And there is a lot of trouble in his country which allows his enemies to take advantage of the confusion, but he refuses to declare war, and finally he is deposed and dies.[2]

Muḥammad Sa$^{c}$īd al-$^{c}$Uryān wrote four historical novels. *Qaṭr al-Nadā*, *Bāb al-Zuwayla*, *Shajarat al-Durr* and *Bint Qusṭantīn*. He was perhaps influenced by al-Jārim's novels,

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1. Sakkut, p.63.
2. Shawkat, p.63.

especially in choosing his subjects and his way of dealing with the theme.[1]

In this period, as has already been pointed out, the best three novelists were Abū Ḥadīd, ᶜAlī Aḥmad Bākathīr and Najīb Maḥfūẓ.

After writing his first historical novel Ibnat al-Mamlūk in 1926, Abū Ḥadīd did not write any other novels until the beginning of the Second World War when he began to write a series of historical novels. He was perhaps influenced in his decision to resume this type of writing by the publication of Bāb al-Qamar by Ibrāhīm Ramzī in 1936.[2] So he wrote al-Muhalhil Sayyid Rabīᶜa (1939), al-Malik al-Dhalīl (1940), Zannūbiyā (1941), Abū Al-Fawāris (1946 and Al-Wiᶜā' al-Marmarī (1951). In all these novels he chose the Jahiliya period, so that he could deal with historical events freely, and avoid the problems which Zaydān faced in writing about the Islamic period which had sentimental, and ideological significance for the readers.[3] His purpose as he said was to revive ancient Arabic narratives "known in narrative form, and to reproduce them in the colour of modern life".[4] Abū Ḥadīd wrote one realistic novel called

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1. Shawkat, p.114. Also ᶜAbd Allāh, p.193.
2. Sakkūt, p.52.
3. Al-Ḥazmi, Maḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd, p.43.
4. Cf. Abū Ḥadīd's introduction to Zannūbiyā cited in Shawkat, p.86.

Anā al-Sha[c]b describing and criticizing the social conditions of Egypt before the revolution.

Another novelist of the period is [c]Alī Aḥmad Bākathīr who could be regarded as the developer and expander of the art of Abū Ḥadīd and whose English-style education helped him in writing his novels.[1] He wrote al-Ṭā'ir al-Aḥmar, Sallāmat al-Qass and Wā Islāmāh. In all his novels he chose very important periods of Arab History and these are perhaps the best examples of an attempt to solve contemporary problems in the light of past history.[2]

In Wā Islāmāh the theme is based on important period of Egyptian history and of the Islamic world in general, that of the Mongol invasions and the Crusades at the end of the reign of the Ayyubids and the beginning of that of the Mamlūks.

Al-Ṭā'ir al-Aḥmar is based on the movement of the Carmathians in the last quarter of the third century (.A.H.). The novel traces the life of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, the founder of this movement. In Sallāmat al-Qass, Bākathīr derives his material from al-Aghānī, utilizing the well known story of Ibn Abi [c]Ammār al-Qass and the singer Sallāma during the Umayyad

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1. [c]Abd Allāh, al-Wāqi[c]iyya, p.194.

2. Sakkut, p.67.

period in Mecca and Medina.

Finally, we may quote Sakkūt;

> The trend reached the peak of its development during the nineteen forties and since that time has steadily declined. Novels on Pharaonic subjects have disappeared, and while a few works on other historical themes were published during the nineteen fifties, they are unimportant in comparison with the many realistic and romantic novels which have been written.[1]

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1. *ibid.*, p.84.

Chapter 4

# THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN AND ᶜABATH AL-AQDĀR

It is essential to note that the opening chapter of The Heart of Mid-Lothian is not just a mechanism designed to begin the novel.[1] The introduction of the two lawyers, and their discussion of law and justice, indicates the importance of these issues to the theme of the book, as the law is the chief representative of reality.[2] This setting gives Scott the proper framework for his novel, in which he seeks to establish a bridge between past and present,[3] insomuch as he considers the past as a moment of transition, and of conflict between older and newer beliefs and values. This creates conflict between the forces of change and evolution and the forces of stability which are imposed by historical forces, and their impact on society.

Scott uses the coach accident to introduce his narrator to its passengers, the two lawyers and the third passenger. The conversation between them about law and justice continues until the introduction of the subject of the Tolbooth, the city prison, of which the third passenger had been an inmate. This discussion about the prison and its residents leads to some critical observations on their past and, later, to a condemnation of the prison itself:

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1. Mayhead, p.45.
2. Daiches, Introduction, p.xiv.
3. Welsh, p.137.

> "Then the Tolbooth of Edinburgh is called the
> 'Heart of Mid-Lothian'?" said I.
> "So termed and reputed, I assure you."
> "I think", said I, with the bashful diffidence
> with which a man lets slip a pun in the presence
> of his superiors, "the metropolitan county may
> in that case, be said to have a sad heart."
> "Right as my glove, Mr Pattieson", added Mr. Hardie,
> "and a close heart and, a hard heart - keep it up,
> Jack." "And a wicked heart, and a poor heart",
> answered Halkit, doing his best.[1]

The Tolbooth is mentioned as a landmark and a symbol of historic tradition and the maintenance of law and order. Moreover it is the focus for most of the historical events which occur later, and this gives particular importance to this place. Scott gives the reader a full description of the prison, its situation in the middle of the city, and its position in the market place, all in minute detail. He does so because the Tolbooth is the embodiment of Scottish law which has a formulating and guiding role in society.[2]

However the Tolbooth is not as it used to be. It is

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1. Fisher, p.102.
2. <u>H.M.</u>, p.22.

described as the 'sad heart', the 'close heart', 'the hard heart'; all these attributes suggest that it is no longer a place for keeping law and justice. Scott goes even further in a later chapter in predicting an imminent end for this prison.

> Why should not the Tolbooth have its 'last speech confession and dying words.[1]

This suggests that the Tolbooth is about to face a crisis. It is old and condemned, so why should it not undergo the same fate as its occupants:

> And as to the old condemned Tolbooth, what pity the same honour cannot be done to it as has been done to many of its inmates.[2]

As it was it had ceased to be a place for the preservation of law and order in society but had become a place of terror for Edinburgh's citizens and for the helpless victims of the law.

From this there develops an account of the arrest of the outlaws Wilson and Robertson and the first stage of the plot's

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1. ibid., p.23.
2. ibid., pp.22-23.

development in the novel. They were both criminals acting against the law, and both were condemned to death for robbing a customs officer of two hundred pounds. Robertson later managed to escape with the help of his friend Wilson, while they were attending church service before being hanged. Executions normally took place in the Grassmarket, situated to the south of the castle. Scott describes the place with all its surroundings, as like the Tolbooth it is a historical place, which from time to time has witnessed events like Wilson's execution. Events of this type usually attracted a huge number of people from different ranks of society who gathered there. Wilson was brought to the Grassmarket by Captain Porteous, the chief of the city guards, himself an unpopular figure in the town because of his harshness.

Scott gives us an example of Porteous' character by describing the way in which he behaved to his prisoner, "shackling Wilson with undersize handcuffs".[1] This prepares the reader for Porteous' later behaviour towards the crowd and his personal hatred of the mob.[2] Wilson's execution leads to the first conflict between the authorities and the law on the one hand, and the people of Edinburgh on the other. Scott portrays the feelings of the crowd before the execution:

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1. *ibid.*, p.41.
2. Brown, p.114.

> The spectators gazed on the scaffold and gibbet with a stern and vindictive show of satisfaction very seldom testified by the populace, whose good nature, in most cases, forgets the crime of the condemned person and dwells only on his misery.[1]

However as a result of Wilson's rescue of Robertson the crowd's feeling toward him change rapidly, and this sympathy, which is fanned by Robertson and the supporters of Wilson, develops into a clash in which Porteous orders his men to open fire on the crowd, killing some of them. This provokes a violent reaction from the citizens of Edinburgh. As a result of this Porteous was later imprisoned and condemned. However his death sentence was not carried out as he was reprieved by the government in London, and there was even the possibility that he would be pardoned. Gordon in his book Under Which King? asks:

> Was the British Government right to pardon Porteous? Perhaps, but it was apparently acting in response to the urging of timid Edinburgh magistrates more concerned for their own safety and the approval of the British cabinet than for the achievement of justice.[2]

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1. H.M., p.41.

2. Gordon, Under, p.87.

This act on the part of the government led to riots in which Porteous was taken from his prison cell after the prison had been burnt down by the rioters, and hanged by them in the same place in which Wilson had been hanged. This act was explained by the mob as "blood must have blood". Scott gives a vivid description of these events. The rising was well organised and well planned, and the leaders were in control of the crowd from the time they entered the town, even forcing the clergyman Reuben Butler to accompany them. This uprising with its threat to social stability and its important consequences in both Scotland and London, constituted a direct challenge to the government's decisions and its authority in the town, as Porteous was the chief of the city guards and was loyal to the authorities. While Mayhead thinks that the mob's act was moved by passion:

> the justice of the mob is brutal and radically inhuman, yet, paradoxically, in a sense, more motivated by human feeling than the official justice of the law.[1]

David Brown attributes it to anti-English feeling:

> the Porteous riots are also seen by Scott in an

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1. Mayhead, (1), p.116.

historical dimension, and particularly in terms of the anti-English feeling which followed the Act of Union.[1]

Brown bases his judgement on the conversation between the people after they heard of Porteous's pardon:

"I am judging", said Mr. Plumdamas, "that this reprieve wadna stand gude in the auld Scots Law, when the kingdom was a kingdom."
"I dinna ken muckle about the law", answered Mrs. Howden, "but I ken, when we had a king, and a chancellor, and parliament - men o' our ain, we could aye peeble them wi' stanes when they werena gude bairns - but naebody's nails can reach the length o' Lunnon."[2]

David Daiches, in his introduction to Heart of Mid-Lothian explains the action of the rioters and later Jeanie's pilgrimage to London in the following manner:

there is the possibility of heroic action in modern life - at least there was at that particular transitional stage of Scottish history.[3]

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1. Brown, p.116.
2. H.M., p.49.
3. Daiches, Introduction, p.viii.

Scott describes the mob of Edinburgh as follows:

> The mob of Edinburgh, when thoroughly excited had been at all times one of the fiercest which could be found in Europe, and of late years they had risen repeatedly against the government, and some times not without temporary success.[1]

So the Porteous riots were an expression of the people's demands for their rights; Lars Hartveit says:

> Throughout the Porteous chapters it is emphasized that the rising is the affair of the whole populace. The riots have their leaders but the responsibility does not rest with them. This is consistent with the impression of a volcanic power. Further, the idea of the rights of the people and their inviolable liberties hovers in the background.[2]

The rioters felt that Porteous' death was in accordance with the laws of both God and man; when the clergyman Reuben

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1. H.M., p.45.

2. Harveit, p.49.

Butler tells them that they cannot be Porteous' judges they reply as follows:

> We are not his judges; he had been already judged and condemned by lawful authority. We are those whom Heaven, and our righteous anger, have stirred up to execute judgement, when a corrupt government would have protected a murderer.[1]

Discussing Scott's technique in dealing with these issues, Arnold Kettle remarks:

> by reducing the whole riot to terms of the personal story of Robertson and Effie Scott makes it almost impossible for himself to explain these things. And yet despite this he manages to convey a sense of the real conflict between the people and city guard and of the bitter hostility of the Scottish burghers to the alien English state, and it is this success that sets the whole tone and tenor of the novel.[2]

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1. H.M., p.78.

2. Kettle, A., Introduction to the English Novel, Vol.I, p.106.

These events had long term effects. Firstly they incurred the anger of the government in London. Secondly, at a later stage they affected Effie's trial. Thirdly, the riots affected Jeanie's position when she met the queen.

After this introduction and his description of the unstable situation at that period of Scottish history, Scott moves to the main theme of his novel, the story of the Deans family.

The subject of Effie Deans is introduced by means of a general conversation between the people attending Porteous' hanging. Scott connects the Porteous events with Effie through the character of Robertson who is both a leader in the riots, being a friend of Wilson, and Effie's seducer. Effie is the second daughter of Davie Deans who lives on a smallholding belonging to the laird of Dumbiedykes. Deans' cottage, Woodend, had been near Mrs. Butler's, Beersheba. Both families were independent and lived in similar circumstances supporting themselves by farming. But due to the death of Davie Deans' wife, he had to move to Saint Leonards, which was then situated near the city of Edinburgh.

This move was a crucial event in the history of the Deans family, bringing them into direct contact with the town and its underworld.

The father, Davie Deans, is a religious man. He has been preserved, unaltered, an anachronistic figure from the past, isolated in a different world to which he cannot adapt.

David Brown suggests that Deans' rigid presbyterian principles are a response to an environment in which there appears to be no truth;

> always judging the present by the standards of an idealised past, the heroic stand of the Covenanters during the persecution of the 1680s, Davie's condemnation of the national defections is never qualified by an understanding that times have changed.[1]

Davie Deans' life, his way of thinking and dealing with everyday events, is ultimately determined by his religious past. These strict religious principles make him choose his own way of life. With confidence he declares,

> I am not a MacMillanite or Russelite or a Hamiltonian, or a Harleyite or a Howdenite - I will be led by the nose of none - I take my name as a Christian from no vessel of clay.[2]

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1. Brown, p.116.

2. H.M., p.211.

His sort of thinking makes him very proud of his religious faith and belief. Scott puts Davie Deans in a different situation in which his real character and personality were revealed. But, being a rigid Presbyterian his character does not give him strength to cope with the problems which face him. He has always lived in the past with his memories. On the occasion of his wife's death, for example, he forgets his grief and remembers his past:

> Woe to me, were I to shed a tear for the wife of my bosom, when I might weep rivers of water for this afflicted Church, cursed as it is with carnal seekers, and with the dead of heart.[1]

He continues:

> I declare there have been times, during this night when my meditation has been so wrapt, that I knew not of my heavy loss. It has been with me as with the worthy John Semple, called Carspharn John, upon a like trial - I have been this night on the banks of Ulai; plucking an apple here and there.[2]

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1. *ibid.*, p.106.
2. *ibid.*, p.106.

This passage is significant as it demonstrates the Covenanters' natural poetic idiom which Scott uses to express the moral orthodoxy with which Davie Deans attempts to hide his grief and preserve his beliefs. The death of Deans' wife leaves Jeanie and Effie to be looked after by their father alone.[1] This has its effect on Deans' relationship with his daughters, as he brings them up in such a way that he cannot help or guide either of them when they face a crisis. His influence is limited strictly to his religious principles. For instance, when Effie leaves home to work with Saddletree he does not advise her about the difficulties and dangers she may face in a world very different from that which she is used to, and in which she will encounter social relationships to which she is not accustomed. His reaction towards Effie when he first hears of her pregnancy is one of complete incomprehension and rejection. Out of concern for the family's good name he rejects her as his daughter. Although Effie's situation is partly his responsibility he abandons her completely. Unable to cope realistically with the real world, he takes refuge in his Calvinistic principles.[2]

Scott describes Davie in these words:

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1. Graige, D., 'The Heart of Mid-Lothian: Its Religious Basis', Essay in Criticism, vol.III, 1958, p.218.

2. Brown, p.118.

> The old man had now raised himself from the ground, and, looking about him as if he missed something, seemed gradually to recover the sense of his wretchedness. "Where", he said, with a voice that made the roof ring. "Where is the vile harlot, that has disgraced the blood of an honest man? - Where is she, that has no place among us, but has come foul with her sins, like the Evil One, among the children of God? - Where is she Jeanie? - Bring her before me, that I may kill her with a word and a look!"[1]

At first the reader feels sorry for Deans, realising the dreadful plight his daughter is in. However, it becomes clear that he is not worried so much about Effie's fate as about his own reputation which is now threatened by her disgrace.[2]

Reputation is very important in Davie's life, both for the society around him and for his religion. Religious principles are the foundation on which Deans takes his stand in times of difficulty. But this crisis neither changes nor develops Davie's character. He remains the same even after this catastrophe.[3]

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1. H.M., p.121.
2. Mayhead, (2), p.89.
3. Harveit, p.57.

Later in the novel Davie faces another problem involving his daughter Jeanie. He cannot decide if it is right or not for her to attend the secular court set up by the uncovenanted government. Deans may have thought that it was not right for her to go but he never actually says so. He leaves it to Jeanie herself to decide.

> "My daughter Jean may have a light in this subject that is hid frae my auld een - It is laid on her conscience, and not on mine - If she hath freedom to gang before this judicatory, and hold up her hand for this poor castaway, surely I will not say she steppeth over her bounds, and if not -" He paused in his mental argument, while a pang of unutterable anguish convulsed his features, yet, shaking it off, he firmly resumed the strain of his reasoning - "And IF NOT - God forbid that she should go into defection at bidding of mine! I wunna fret the tender conscience of one bairn - no, not to save the life of the other".[1]

Later, when Effie's case depends completely on Jeanie's evidence, we see that Davie never takes a decision nor does he ask her to do anything:

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1. H.M., p.215.

"Daughter", he said "I did not say that your path was free from stumbling - and, questionless, this act may be in the opinion of some a transgression, since he who beareth witness unlawfully, and against his conscience, doth in some sort bear false witness against his neighbour.[1]

Scott goes on:

When Davie had proceeded thus far, his conscience reproved him, that he might be indirectly undermining the purity of his daughter's faith, and smoothing the way for her falling off from strictness of principle. He, therefore, suddenly stopped, and changed his tone - "Jeanie, I perceive that our vile affections - so I call them in respect of doing the will of our father - cling too heavily to me in this hour of trying sorrow, to permit me to keep sight of my ain duty, or to airt you to yours. I will speak nae mair anent this overtrying matter - Jeanie if you can, wi' God and gude conscience, speak in favour of this puir unhappy - (here his voice faltered) - "She is your sister in flesh - worthless and castaway as she is, the daughter of a saint in

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1. ibid., p.217.

> heaven, that was a mother to you Jeanie, in the place of your ain - but if ye arena free in conscience to speak for her in the court of judicature, follow your conscience, Jeanie, and let God's will be done." After this adjuration he left the apartment, and his daughter remained in a state of great distress and perplexity.[1]

In both cases Davie lacks the capacity to take action. As Fisher puts it, "Divine law is absolute, and Deans' lack of compromise is the measure of his faith".[2]

Effie's role in The Heart of Mid-Lothian is also important. She is Deans' second daughter and Jeanie's half sister. After her mother's death Effie was taken care of by her half-sister. She is thus described by Scott:

> Effie Deans, under the tender and affectionate care of her sister, had now shot up into a beautiful and blooming girl. Her Grecian-shaped head was profusely rich in waving ringlets of brown hair, which, confined by a blue snood of silk, and shading a laughing Hebe countenance,

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1. ibid., pp.217-218.

2. Fisher, p.106.

> seemed the picture of health, pleasure, and contentment.[1]

Effie was called the Lily of St. Leonards and her charm and beauty were admired by everyone. In spite of her father's rigid Presbyterian principles, Effie's upbringing had permitted her a great deal of freedom, and she had enjoyed her youthful pleasures. When she grew into a young woman, her sister's authority diminished and she started to behave in an independent manner.

> Her sister with all the love and care of a mother, could not be supposed to possess the same authoritative influence; and that which she had hitherto exercised became gradually limited and diminished as Effie's advancing years entitled her, in her own conceit at least, to the right of independence and free agency.[2]

This sort of freedom and independence in fact become part of her character, possibly leading to the first step in her difficulties. She has not been taught or warned of the dangers of the world around. She begins to disappear often

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1. *H.M.*, p.110.

2. *ibid.*, p.112.

from home and on one such occasion she is absent for such a long time that her sister starts to be worried, until finally she appears singing. Scott describes this incident as follows:

> Jeanie though hurt and displeased, was unable to resist the caresses of this untaught child of nature, whose good and evil seemed to flow rather from impulse than from reflection.[1]

Effie explains to Jeanie that she joined in some dances, but she promises her and herself that she will not go back:

> "I will not - I will not", replied Effie; "and if there were as mony dances the morn's night as there are merry dancers in the north firmament on a frosty e'en I winna budge an inche to gang near ane o' them".[2]

The most significant point in Effie's life, however, is when her father agrees to send her to Edinburgh to work with Saddletree, who is a distant relative of theirs. He forgets the danger and temptations of the city which will be encountered by this young girl there. Scott comments:

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1. ibid., p.113.
2. ibid., p.114.

> In the good man's security concerning the soundness of the theological doctrine which his daughter was to hear, he was nothing disturbed on account of the snares of a different kind, to which a creature so beautiful, young, and wilful, might be exposed in the centre of a populous and corrupted city.[1]

In the town, far from home, Effie finds she is much more free and independent than before, and consequently she has more opportunities to see Robertson, her lover, with the result that she is easily seduced by him. When Effie's baby is born secretly, it disappears and cannot be found, with the result that she is accused of child murder. Under the law of the time, the court does not have to prove that the child had been murdered. The fact that Effie has concealed her pregnancy and that she cannot produce the living child is sufficient grounds for her to be condemned for child murder. The reason historically for this strict law was that this had begun to develop into a serious social problem, and the government therefore introduced strict measures to deal with it. Mayhead writes:

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1. *ibid.*, p.117.

> The alarming frequency of child-murder in Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century had led the government to order the strict enforcement of a statute whereby a woman who is known to be pregnant, who conceals the fact of her pregnancy, who is delivered of a child and can neither produce it nor satisfactorily prove that it has died a natural death, will be guilty of the murder of the child, whether or not its actual death can be proved, and will suffer the death penalty accordingly.[1]

In Effie's case the law is quite clear and if it is to be implemented Effie must suffer the death penalty. In Effie's case however there is doubt as to whether she is guilty. The reader eventually learns that she is not as the illegitimate child reappears. Either the law's reconstruction of the facts is incorrect, or it is unjust, a situation which is summed up by Mrs. Saddletree in these words:

> If the law makes murders the law should be hanged for them, or if they wad hang a lawyer instead, the country wad find nae faut.[2]

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1. Mayhead, (2), p.87.
2. <u>H.M.</u>, p.60.

It seems that Effie's problem arises from ideas and ways of conduct which are at odds with those of her father. The religious principles which are such an effective factor in her father's life and, in a different way, in her sister's life, are not very influential for Effie. Even though her conscience is sometimes touched, it has little effect upon her behaviour. When she is reprimanded by Jeanie for being late she says,

> I'm resolved I'll no gang back. I'll lay in a leaf of my Bible, and that's very near as if I had made an aith, that I winna gang back.[1]

But does she keep her promise and never go back? Of course not. Her strong impulses and emotions lead her to transgress. Prichett connects Effie's and Jeanie's characters with history:

> Scott's strengths in the handling of the situation between the two women comes from his knowledge of the effect of history upon them. They are the children of history.

Effie's story is connected with historical events through the Porteous riots. This is more than just a coincidence.

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1. ibid., p.115.

2. Pritchett, The Living Novel, p.52.

Kettle goes so far as to suggest that she becomes a typical symbolic figure.[1] It is George Robertson, one of the riot leaders, who is Effie's lover and who is behind all her misfortunes. Effie's strong belief in her innocence prevents her from running away from the prison when Robertson asks her to on the day of the riots. She refuses to leave:

> I might have fled frae this tolbooth on that awfu' night wi' ane wad hae carried me through the world and friended me, and fended for me. But I said to them, let life gang when gude fame is gane before it.[2]

In the prison she explains to her sister, that she has not committed child murder:

> "And what d'ye ca' an untruth?" said Effie again showing a touch of her former spirit. "Ye are muckle to blame, lass, if ye think a mother would, or could, murder her ain bairn - Murder? I wad hae laid down my life just to see a blink o' its ee!"[3]

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1. Kettle, A., Introduction to the English Novel, vol.I, p.108.
2. H.M., p.227.
3. ibid., p.226.

During her trial she begs her sister to save her life. When Jeanie is called to answer the counsel for the crown's question, Effie shouts "O Jeanie, Jeanie, save me, save me".[1] Effie is convinced that she will be found guilty and she clearly experiences great grief and sadness, because of her imprisonment, her loss of respect and the bad reputation which will befall the family name:

> "Oh, what wad I gie to be ten times waur, Jeanie!" was the reply - "what wad I gie to be cauld dead afore the ten o'clock bell the morn!"[2]

But in spite of her grief and regret, she sees her fate as a misfortune from outside which has befallen her.

Effie's attitude towards Robertson never changes. Her feelings of love for him remain the same, even after she is imprisoned. Effie explains this to Jeanie during her visit to the prison:

> "And ye hae suffered a' this for him, and ye can think of loving him still?" said her sister, in a voice betwixt pity and blame:
> "Love him?" answered Effie - "if I hadna loved

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1. ibid., p.227.
2. ibid., p.222.

> as woman seldom loves, I hadna been within these wa's this day; and ye, that love sic as mine is lightly forgotten? - Na, na - ye may hew down the tree, but ye canna change its bend. And O Jeanie, if ye wad do good to me at this moment, tell me every word that he said, and whether he was sorry for poor Effie or no'!"[1]

This attitude towards Robertson prevents her from confiding her situation to anybody, even her sister. She consistently refuses to explain, even to the court, the special circumstances which make her case more complicated. However, during her trial Effie attracts the sympathy of everybody in the court, on account of her youth.

After she has heard the court's decision she shouts that she is innocent of infanticide.

In his treatment of Effie Scott tries to show the development in her character according to the changing circumstances which bring about her tragedy. All these circumstances, the moving of her family to St. Leonards, her subsequent move to the centre of Edinburgh, then her relationship with Robertson contribute to her inevitable fate. To quote Hartveit:

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1. <u>ibid.</u>, p.224.

> Effie's fate is determined by issues of which she has no idea and which seem far beyond the reach of her family.[1]

The main character in the Heart of Mid-Lothian is Jeanie Deans, David's older daughter. Jeanie's character develops in the course of the novel through her participation in events and through her conversations with other characters, and also through the crucial event of her interview with the Queen.

From the beginning Scott is much involved with Jeanie. He describes her thus:

> An uncommonly strong and healthy temperament free from all nervous affection and every other irregularity, which, attacking the body in its more noble functions, so often influenced the mind, tended greatly to establish this fortitude, simplicity, and decision of character.[2]

Jeanie is brought up under the strong influence of her religious father. Scott comments on her childhood:

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1. Hartveit, p.53.

2. H.M., p.97.

> But Douce Davie Deans knew better things and so schooled and trained the young minion, as he called her, that from the time she could walk, upwards, she was daily employed in some task or other suitable to her age and capacity; a circumstance which, added to her father's daily instructions and lectures, tended to give her mind, even when a child, a grave, serious, firm, and reflecting cast.[1]

This religious upbringing clearly has an important effect in her life and character, particularly with regard to her ability to make decisions at a critical time.

However, Jeanie differs from her father in a fundamental way. Her moral principles do not constitute a frozen dogma. They are related to reality so that her morality is a living thing. Jeanie's conduct illustrates the tendency of eighteenth century Presbyterians to put practice above theory, for she puts the philosophy of Presbyterianism into practice in her own way of life.[2]

This explains Jeanie's way of handling problems, which

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1. ibid., pp.96-97.

2. Brown, p.120.

is different from that of her father. Jeanie is confronted with a series of problems which her religious belief and her personal qualities have prepared her to deal with. Her ordeal starts after Effie's arrest, and her condemnation for child murder. Jeanie is involved directly with her sister's problem according to the law, since the question of whether or not Effie had concealed her pregnancy from her sister is a question of life and death; thus her dilemma is whether or not she should tell a lie to save her sister's life, a crucial question which she is aware of from the beginning. The first risk which Jeanie takes on her sister's behalf is her decision to go to meet the stranger, from whom she receives a message through Reuben Butler, asking to see her alone at night in Muschat's Cairn. However Jeanie decides to take the risk and go alone. Even though Reuben offers his help and company she refuses:

> My weird maun be fulfilled, Mr. Butler; my life and my safety are in God's hands, but I'll not spare to risk either of them on the errand I am gaun to do.[1]

In her interview with Robertson that night she learns for certain that her sister Effie is not guilty and has not

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1. H.M., p.136.

committed any sort of crime:

> "Be still and hearken! - The person who assisted her in her illness murdered the child; but it was without the mother's knowledge or consent. She is therefore as guiltless as the unhappy innocent."[1]

This convinces Jeanie even more firmly of her sister's innocence. Robertson tries to persuade her to bear false witness to save her sister, but Jeanie replies that she will do everything possible to save her sister, but will not change right into wrong.

> "I wad ware the best blood in my body to keep her skaithless", said Jeanie, weeping in bitter agony, "but I canna change right into wrong, or make that true which is false".[2]

Moreover, Jeanie tells him that it is God she fears:

> "It is not man I fear" said Jeanie, looking upward; "the God, whose name I must call on

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1. ibid., p.172.
2. ibid., p.172.

> to witness the truth of what I say, He will
> know the falsehood".[1]

This meeting has very significant consequences. Firstly Jeanie is now quite sure that her sister is innocent. Secondly, she is determined not to tell a lie because she fears God from whom falsity cannot be hidden. Thirdly, it is the first time that Jeanie has taken such a risk in uncertain circumstances. This indicates that she will go anywhere to save her sister's life no matter how risky that action is.

Effie's trial is another problem for Jeanie. As has been said Jeanie is almost certain that her evidence will be decisive, and that Effie's life depends entirely on what she says. In addition to the pressure from Robertson, Jeanie is under pressure from her sister who begs her to save her life:

> "And you tauld him," said Effie, "that ye wadna hear o' coming between me and the death that I am to die, and me no aughteen year auld yet?"[2]

Yet Jeanie's answer to this desperate plea is "I daured na swear to an untruth".

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1. *ibid.*, p.173.
2. *ibid.*, p.226.

Jeanie faces her problems alone. Even her father cannot help her in her suffering. She knows on the one hand that under the present law her sister will certainly be condemned to death and on the other she knows that her sister is innocent; she says to her father.

> "O father, we are cruelly sted between God's laws and man's laws, - what shall we do? - what can we do?"[1]

She is determined not to bear false witness, no matter what the consequences. For Jeanie, with her principles and beliefs, it is almost impossible to tell a lie. She says to her father:

> "Mind father, the ninth command - Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour".[2]

Her father however does not try to strengthen this attitude, but makes the dilemma complicated when he says to her:

> "Jeanie, if you can, wi' God and gude conscience, speak in favour of this puir unhappy ... She is

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1. *ibid.*, p.216.
2. *ibid.*, p.217.

> your sister in the flesh ... but if ye arena free in conscience to speak for her in the court of judicature, follow your conscience, Jeanie, and let God's will be done."[1]

In a manner typical of his character Deans is unable to give her clear advice. Jeanie, though intelligent, is not subtle enough to follow her father's reasoning. She is horrified by her father's apparent advice to speak in Effie's favour.[2]

Her father's advice in fact creates more problems than it solves, even increasing her sufferings:

> "Can this be?" said Jeanie, as the door closed on her father - "can these be his words that I have heard, or has the Enemy taken his voice and features to give weight unto the counsel which causeth to perish? - A sister's life, and a father pointing out how to save it? - O God deliver me! - this is a fearfu' temptation."[3]

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1. ibid., p.218.
2. Mayhead, (2), p.218.
3. H.M., p.218.

Jeanie recognises her frightful dilemma. For her there is no question of obeying the demands of any of them. Robertson, her sister or even her father.

Both cultural and personal influences affect Jeanie's character, and these underlie the historical significance of Scott's heroine. These influences are not merely external to Jeanie's character. Had this been the case her decision might have been less clear given Davie's advice on the night of the trial. Jeanie's religious background and the novel's historical setting have a complex relationship which has universal human significance.[1]

Jeanie realizes that her problem lies in the fact that Effie should be saved, but at the same time false witness should not be given; the conflict is between God's laws and man's law.

Scott links this problem with the Porteous riots. This disturbance, with all its consequences, obliges the court to stand firmly against all infractions of the law, no matter what they may be.

However Jeanie sticks by her decision throughout Effie's

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1. Brown, p.122.

trial, declaring that her sister Effie did not tell her anything about her condition:

> "Alack! alack! she never breathed word to me about it."[1]

Meanwhile, however, she resolves to save her sister and she tells Effie this after the trial:

> "You shall not die", said Jeanie, with enthusiastic firmness; "say what ye like o' me - think what ye like o' me - only promise - for I doubt your proud heart - that ye wunna harm yourself, and you shall not die this shameful death."[2]

So for Jeanie the trial is not the end of her ordeal, but the true start. The idea of going to London occurs to her long before the trial, when she is coming back from her meeting with Robertson.

> It was in that moment that a vague idea first darted across her mind, that something might yet be achieved for her sister's safety ... It came, as she described it, on her mind,

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1. <u>H.M.</u> p.252.
2. <u>ibid.</u>, p.266.

like a sun-blink on a stormy sea.[1]

This problem does not affect the Deans family alone. Infanticide is a widespread social problem facing the government, as are the Porteous riots, and both problems are connected. It is not just a coincidence that Scott chooses Robertson as one of the leaders of the riots. Both cases are violating the government's law, and accordingly, affect the stability of society.

> The actual problem is historically fated to be inseparable from the historic accident of its connection with the Porteous affairs. It is to be solved only by the kind of providential power or force which manipulates the fatalities which have created it.[2]

For Scott compromise is the solution to the conflict between the two sides in both cases. He believes that the time for violence has passed. The people involved in the Porteous affair act violently because they cannot solve their problems by other means. In Effie's case, since she is condemned by man's law, the only means for Jeanie to save

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1. ibid., p.197.
2. Hart, p.132.

Effie's life is through the law itself.

> The only course open to those whose loyalty extends first to society is to change the law at its source, by legislation, or to alter its final consequences through a commutation of the sentences. Through the glass prescription and in the age of "legislation quiescence" changing the law is an unlikely alternative. Therefore Jeanie Deans sets out for London to secure a pardon from the Queen for her sister.[1]

Jeanie's conviction of her sister's innocence leads her to compare Effie's predicament with Porteous'. This allows her to go ahead with her plans.

> "My sister shall come out in the face of the sun" said Jeanie; "I will go to London, and beg her pardon from the king and queen. If they pardoned Porteous, they may pardon her; if a sister asks a sister's life on her bended knees, they will pardon her - they _shall_ pardon her - and they will win a thousand hearts by it."[2]

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1. Welsh, p.131.

2. _H.M._, p.267.

Jeanie's only weapon is her belief in God and her determination to get her sister's pardon. The journey to London would not be easy for any Scottish peasant girl, and for Jeanie it is full of hardship and danger and obstacles. However her strength and personal qualities enable her to overcome all these problems. On her way, by chance Jeanie meets Robertson, who is introduced to her as George Staunton, son of the rector of Willingham.

When she arrives in London her only hope is a letter from Reuben Butler to the Duke of Argyle, who has a good position at the court. The Duke, being a real Scotsman, and a true friend to his country, turns out to be a very helpful person for Jeanie to know in bringing her appeal to the Queen. But, at the same time, the Duke's position and the situation in general is affected by the Porteous riots. Scott writes:

> The court, however, did not forget the baffle they had received in this affair, and the Duke of Argyle, who had contributed so much to it, was therefore considered as a person in disgrace.[1]

This crisis and its political consequences makes Jeanie's case more complex and her plea less likely to be successful.

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1. ibid., p.373.

Jeanie realizes that the Duke is the only true friend to her case. When the Duke asks her if she has any other friends in the court she answers: "None excepting God and your Grace."[1]

During her interview, Jeanie demonstrates a strong personality and an effective character, by the manner in which she explains her problem to the Queen. As Hart says, in her speech with the Queen she requires the best use of two languages, that of diplomacy and that of the heart which she has to do in perfect balance. She says:

> "Our hearts are waxed light within us then and we are for righting our ain wrangs and fighting our ain battles. But when the hour of trouble comes to the mind or to the body - and seldom may it visit your Leddyship - and when the hour of death comes, that comes to high and low - lang and late may it be yours - Oh, my Leddy, then it isna what we hae dune for oursells, but what we hae dune for others, that we think on maist pleasantly."[2]

This interview is a great triumph for Jeanie as she manages to obtain her sister's pardon.

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1. ibid., p.375.
2. ibid., p.398.

The Duke of Argyle plays a significant role in Jeanie's success and without his mediation it would not have been easy for Jeanie to proceed with her case. He provides the link between Jeanie and the Queen. As Fisher says:

> Argyle is, in this sense, the vehicle of a miracle which the persistent faith of Jeanie Deans has effected.[1]

As has already been pointed out, Effie's case is connected historically with the Porteous riots and the unstable situation in Scotland which has created problems for the authorities. In the present circumstances Effie's case is seen as a similar type of event which could lead to further disturbance of the social balance. The Queen herself links these two problems. She mentions to Jeanie what her fellow citizens have done to Porteous and asks her if she could have done anything to protect Porteous:

> "If it like you, madam," said Jeanie, "I would have gaen to the end of the earth to save the life of John Porteous, or any other unhappy man in his condition."[2]

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1. Fisher, p.105.
2. H.M., p.397.

So the importance of the Duke's role here is his mediation between the two forces, the people and the government. In spite of this the Duke's attitude towards the Porteous affair has contributed to his loss of influence at that time. On the other hand, when Jeanie's case is presented to the Queen, she exploits the opportunity of doing a deal with the Duke, for she realizes that the Duke is a potentially powerful enemy of the established order and that it is politically expedient to conciliate him.[1] In addition to being a providential agent giving Jeanie the protection,[2] Argyle is also as Fisher puts it:

> an instrument of the providential moving
> principle of history.[3]

The Duke in fact is at the centre of the complex conflict between the forces of change in society and the forces of stability. He represents the means of reconciliation between these forces.

Other characters which are of importance in Scott's novel Heart of Mid-Lothian are George Staunton, and Reuben Butler.

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1. Cockshut, p.186.
2. Hart, p.145.
3. Fisher, p.104

George Staunton is introduced in the novel as George Robertson, an outlaw. He becomes involved in the Porteous riots to avenge the death of his friend Wilson. He is the son of the rector of Willingham, but he was disinherited by his father on account of his relationship with Madge Wildfire, which had ended in tragedy.

Robertson's relationship with Effie leads to her misfortune. Being an outlaw he is unable to help her, although he does try to rescue her from the prison during the riots. He later tries to save her life by persuading Jeanie to tell a lie but this attempt does not succeed either. When, however, Effie receives her pardon, he marries her.

Butler's major involvement in the novel is the role he is forced to take in the Porteous affair in his capacity as a clergyman. Butler is not very enthusiastic about Jeanie's journey to London. He offers to marry her so that he can accompany her, but she refuses.

He is, however, able to help her by giving her a letter to the Duke of Argyle, because his grandfather had done some service to the Duke's forbears.

Fisher contrasts the relationship between Staunton and Effie with that between Jeanie and Butler. Gordon, on the

other hand, tries to find some sort of parallel between Staunton and Butler:

> An interesting parallel arises, therefore, in the maladies of these two opposite kinds of hero, Butler and Staunton. They are both invalids in the course of her journey to London. They are both suffering from mental guilt, Staunton is sick of guilt and Butler is sick of anxiety.[1]

In fact each of these two characters deals with the problem according to their own understanding of the case. But neither is helpful or successful. Staunton as an outlaw is always trying to further his own interests by forcing his own desires on others. He tries to save Wilson by participating in the Porteous riots. Later he attempts to save Effie from prison. He even tries to force Jeanie to give false witness. He makes a final attempt to persuade Jeanie when he meets her by chance in his house while she is on her way to London. Butler, on the other hand, is always a good friend to the Deans family and tries to help at times of crisis, for example, the death of Deans' wife and Effie's arrest, and even when Jeanie decides to go to London he offers his company.

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1. Welsh, p.147.

Finally, Scott's admirers today rate The Heart of Mid-Lothian as one of his best novels, to quote Lauber:

> Recent critics have justified their preference for The Heart of Mid-Lothian by finding in it a thematic significance which provides it with a degree of unity and seriousness not found in any other of the Waverley Novels.[1]

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Mahfūẓ starts his ᶜAbath al-Aqdār by giving a description of the Pharaoh's Palaces. He tries to convey Pharaoh's greatness to the reader in a symbolic fashion by giving a description of his personal attributes, the magnificence of his surroundings and the great power which he enjoys.

The novel begins in the period of the construction of the Great Pyramid, which also symbolises the strength and power of Khūfū's reign. Khūfū sits with his courtiers while Mīrābū, his chief architect, explains to him the desin of his mighty structure. The Pharaoh seems impatient at the length of time which has been spent on the project. Almost ten years have

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1. Lauber, p.109.

passed and thousands of people have been working day and night, yet nothing recognisable has been achieved. Mīrābū points out that this huge work requires his majesty's patience, and adds that such patience is the virtue of kings. Prince Ra$^{c}$kha$^{c}$ūf comments that, on the contrary, it is not patience which is a virtue appropriate for kings, but might. At this point the Pharaoh observes that it is power and only power which has raised him to his high position, which has made his word law, his thought wisdom and obedience to him a religious duty. Mīrābū then asks the question, what is divinity. It is nothing but power, replies the Pharaoh. Thus it would seem that the Pharaoh, as the embodiment of power, law, and religion, can simply not be challenged, nor can his rule be replaced.

After this short introduction which explains Pharaoh's greatness and his determination to stay powerful, Pharaoh asks Mīrābū about the hundreds of thousands of people who are working to build the great pyramid. He asks if all of them are happy with their situation and whether they remain loyal to him. This inquiry suggests that he is not confident of the obedience of all his people. It seems in fact that he doubts it and that it is this that leads him to ask the question. Mīrābū answers that the workers are of two kinds, the first being prisoners and settlers who do not know what they are doing and who would run away if not for the vigilance of the soldiers.

Then there are Egyptians, who work very hard as part of their religious duty and obedience to the throne. But it appears that this answer does not satisfy the Pharaoh whom Maḥfūẓ describes as follows:

> It was only anxiety that tormented this man of strength and faith .... and robbed him of his peace of mind.[1]

Then the Pharaoh asks his courtiers who ought to sacrifice himself for the other, the people for the Pharaoh or the Pharaoh for his people? All this indicates the Pharaoh's concern and worries about his reign and his relations with the people, notwithstanding the great praise with which he is described at the beginning of the chapter. This is possibly why the Pharaoh's son Hūrdādīf tries to ease his father's worries and unhappiness by bringing a magician to explain everything. He says:

> "O my father the king, I can bring to you a wonderful magician who knows the unseen and can cause death and bring back to life, who says to a thing be and it is and it will be."[2]

The reader may ask whether this can acutally solve the problem. In fact it seems that it does not, but rather that

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1. ^cAbath, p.12.
2. ibid., p.15.

the magician creates even more serious problems. In order to demonstrate his magical powers to the Pharaoh, the magician first challenges the Pharaoh's army commander who claims not to believe in magic, and defeats him.

Then the Pharaoh tries to ease his pains and put an end to his sufferings by asking him to foretell whether his sons will inherit the throne of Egypt. The answer represents a terrible threat to the powerful Pharaoh, since the magician Dīdī says that he will be the last ruler of his line, and that his successor will not be from his family, but will be a child who has just been born, the son of the supreme priest of the God Ra in On. The Pharaoh immediately realizes that this is a real threat to his reign, so he must try with all the power that he has, to face the problem and try to change it.[1]

Consequently he leads a powerful army to put an end to this crisis and to destroy this newborn child. The priest himself knows that he will be given a child and that it is written in this child's destiny that he will rule Egypt. So he puts the child in a wagon and sends him with his mother and a female servant to another village. When the Pharaoh and his force arrive in On they kill another child thinking he is the priest's son. After the killing of this child, the Pharaoh believes that the battle between him and the fates has ended

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1. ibid., p.16.

in his victory.

But even this does not leave the Pharaoh without worries, for on another occasion when the Great Pyramid is finished, after years of hard labour, and the efforts of thousands of people, the Pharaoh holds a great celebration. But he never feels secure. He is constantly tormented by anxiety:

> Despite his enormous strength the Pharaoh's eyes betrayed a feeling of responsibility for the enormous burdens which he had to shoulder.[1]

Maḥfūẓ goes on to describe the moment at which Khūfū celebrates the completion of the greatest achievement which Egyptian history had ever seen:

> that the king should show signs of anxiety and worry was the most amazing thing about that evening, in which the greatest deed in history was celebrated.[2]

When it is pointed out by Mīrābū that the Pharaoh should not feel sad or worried at the sight of the completion of this

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1. *ibid.*, p.95.
2. *ibid.*, p.95.

mighty structure, he answers:

> "You mean my grave? Is a human being supposed to be happy at his grave being built?"

All this is a clear indication of the Pharaoh's confusion and unhappiness. This is possibly why he decides to write a book about the experience of wisdom and the secrets of medicine for the Egyptians. Moreover he chooses the pyramid itself as the place to write his book. He explains:

> "The palaces of the world abound in the tumult of this transient life, and are unsuitable for the production of an immortal work."[1]

This suggests that he feels that he has been a tyrant and that he has devoted thousands of people's lives to the construction of his own pyramid and that the Egyptian people have made great sacrifices:

> "What have I done for Egypt? What has Egypt done for me? I asked myself this morning. I must admit, my friends, that what the people have done for me is far greater than what I

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1. <u>ibid.</u>, p.101.

> have done for them - I felt pain as I
> do so often nowadays."[1]

He even refuses to send an army to fight the Sinai tribes when the prince Ra$^c$kha$^c$ūf proposes this during the celebrations:

> "do you take the view that a king cannot
> be a true king unless he wages war?"[2]

The main character in $^c$Abath al-Aqdār is Dadaf; Maḥfūẓ was deeply concerned to develop this character. He is the only child of the supreme priest of On, who is told by the God Ra that his child will be the Pharaoh's successor. Because of this the priest puts the newborn child in a wagon with his mother and a maid-servant named Zāyā and sends them somewhere safe from danger. In this manner Dadaf starts his life's journey. He loses his mother when she is captured by the Bedouins, this being the device used by Maḥfūẓ to keep Dadaf's origin secret so that he will be far from Pharaoh's reach.

Dadaf is looked after by Zāyā the maid, who, being childless welcomes the opportunity to keep him as her own child.

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1. ibid., p.99.
2. ibid., p.98.

She carries him off to her husband who is working on the pyramid - when she arrives, she finds that he had died long ago. Zāyā later marries the pyramid's inspector Bashārū, who adopts Dadaf. This is the second important development in Dadaf's life. Bashārū has an important governmental position which gives Dadaf the chance of a good education, and enables him later to obtain a good position. As the years pass, Dadaf joins the military academy. He has two step-brothers, one called Khānī who becomes a priest and the other Nāfā who becomes an artist. When Dadaf visits his brother's studio, he sees a picture of an Egyptian peasant girl which deeply affects him. He sets out in search of her and eventually manages to find her. She does not pay much attention to him. Maḥfūẓ describes in a romantic and sentimental manner Dadaf's involvement with the girl and his obsessions with her.

However when after several years Dadaf completes his military training, on the day of his graduation he distinguishes himself as the best soldier. He excels in the use of different types of weapons and in fighting on horseback and chariot driving. Maḥfūẓ comments on this occasion:

> Victory was his ally in all the contests. He was the most outstanding in hitting the target with javelin and arrow. The gods

endowed him with a great victory which made him the day's unrivalled champion, the object of everyone's admiration and praise.[1]

These qualities lead to his being selected to serve as an officer in the prince's bodyguards. Now Dadaf discovers that the peasant girl with whom he is in love is in fact the princess Mirī Sī ᶜAnkh.

The next important event in Dadaf's life is his participation in the prince's hunting trip. This puts him in an even higher position. Maḥfūẓ gives us a full description of this trip. Dadaf manages to save the prince's life when he is attacked by a lion. This event leads the crown prince to appoint Dadaf as the chief of his guards.

Later the Pharaoh decides to launch a military operation against the nomadic tribes in the Sinai Peninsula, as the prince has been pressing for this for a long time. The prince chooses Dadaf as the commander of this operation. Dadaf leads it very successfully and returns home a hero. Dadaf then makes use of the effect of his victory to ask the Pharaoh's permission to marry his daughter, to which the Pharaoh readily agrees.

An unexpected incident occurs when Dadaf discovers his mother among the prisoners taken during this operation. For

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1. ᶜAbath, p.139.

the first time he discovers that he is the son of the priest of On and that his father tried to protect him from the Pharaoh whom he is now serving.

But the most important event in Dadaf's life is when he discovers, through his friend, that the crown-prince is preparing to kill the Pharaoh. Being an extremely loyal commander of the Pharaoh's army he goes to save him. Dadaf arrives at the right moment to save the Pharaoh from his attackers. The Pharaoh discovers that his son, who is killed during the attack, is behind the attempt on his life. Later when the Pharaoh comes back, he declares that Dadaf, his son-in-law, will be his successor. Soon after this the Pharaoh discovers through Basharū, Dadaf's step-father, that Dadaf is in fact the child who the magician had once predicted would be his successor.

Maḥfūẓ deals attentively with his hero from the moment of his birth until he ascends the throne. He puts him through a series of events which illustrate Dadaf's ability to get on in life, and move to higher positions until he finally reaches the throne. Maḥfūẓ deals with two aspects of Dadaf's character which combine together. The first aspect is represented by his social status and his successful career. The other aspect is his emotional life and his relationship with Pharaoh's daughter.

These two aspects of his life come together at the end of the novel.

Dadaf's father, the supreme priest of Ra in On, is also an important character in ᶜAbath al-Aqdār. He knows that his child is destined to be Khūfū's successor and when the child is born he tells his wife the good news. The maid Sarjā hears their conversation and runs to tell the Pharaoh. In consequence the priest sends the child in the company of his mother away from On. However, in the meantime the Pharaoh has decided to lead a force to On. The Priest of On expects some tragedy to occur and we see him praying to Ra to help him in his moment of crisis:

> "O God you have given me a child in my old age whom you have blessed and destined for supremacy so protect him from the evils of the enemies."[1]

When the wagon which is carrying his wife and child leaves his house, he is horrified to see the Pharaoh's army surrounding his palace. Maḥfūẓ then describes in detail the meeting between the Pharaoh and the supreme priest of On. The Pharaoh asks him what he should do if his throne is threatened. When he asks him this question the priest knows that his answer

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1. ibid., p.33.

is crucial and he may condemn himself and his child. It becomes evident that the newborn child's danger is very great, and that he is at the centre of a struggle between the Pharaoh's authority and power and that of the priest of the God Ra. The Pharaoh appears to understand the danger that is represented by the growing power of the priest of Ra. This is possibly why he personally wants to lead the army and to put an end to the problem. His question involving the mention of a threat to his throne illustrates his anxiety. This anxiety is expressed in his words to the supreme priest.[1] What must the Pharaoh do if his throne is threatened? Maḥfūẓ describes the priest's reaction thus:

> The brave priest's heart shuddered as he realised that answering the question would mean condemning himself. But as a religious man he refused to say anything but the truth. "His majesty ought to obliterate the conspirators" he replied.[2]

Later the Pharaoh states openly that the danger is the priest's newborn child and that he must carry out his duties by removing the danger. The priest knows clearly by now that

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1. ibid., p.37.
2. ibid., p.42.

he is in an impossible dilemma. He must choose between God's Law and Man's Law. Yet he is unable to make the choice. He knows that the God Ra has created this child to be Khūfū's successor yet Khūfū is ordering him to kill that creature, who is his son:

> But who ruled that his son should succeed Khūfū to the throne of Egypt? Was it not the God Ra? Was not his trying to kill the innocent son a challenge to God, the Creator? To whom then should he give his first obedience, Khūfū or Ra? The answer is very clear. But what should he do with the Pharaoh and his followers waiting to hear his reply and becoming increasingly impatient and angry?[1]

In this critical situation, when he finds himself unable to choose either course of action, he suddenly remembers that his maid servant Kātā has given birth to a baby on the same day. The priest runs upstairs to her room, but instead of killing the baby, he kills himself. Soon after that the Pharaoh and the crown prince Raʿkhaʿūf enter the room to witness the incredible scene. The prince draws his sword instinctively and kills both the child and the mother.

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1. ibid., p.44.

The prince Ra$^{c}$kha$^{c}$ūf is another character who plays a remarkable role in the novel. He is far behind his times in his ideas and throughout the novel he advocates the use of force and destruction while the period is already one of construction, and when wisdom is at a premium.[1] This aspect of his character is clear from his attitudes towards events throughout the novel. He wants to send a military expedition to the tribes of Sinai, and, he is only prevented by the Pharaoh. He is in the habit of jumping to conclusions on any issue, so that when he accompanies the Pharaoh to On on his mission against the child he does not stop to consider, but immediately draws his sword and kills both the mother and her child. He is in this way the direct opposite of his father, so that whereas the Pharaoh is unwilling to put pressure on his people, recognising the great sacrifices they have already made, in building the pyramid, the crown prince presses constantly for greater sacrifice in the form of war and military action. He is completely lacking in awareness of others and his self-centredness finally leads him to his downfall. In the later stages of the novel he comes to the conclusion that the Pharaoh has become too old and that he is isolating himself from the world about him; the Pharaoh is totally engrossed in writing his book. The prince tries to put an end to the Pharaoh's life and to take over the throne.

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1. Al-Shaṭṭi, p.37.

But as we have seen, Dadaf discovers what he is plotting, with the result that the prince is killed.

The role of Basharū the Inspector of the pyramid is also quite important. Maḥfūẓ chooses him as the mediator between the Pharaoh whom he serves and Dadaf whom he adopted after marrying Zāyā. Both Zāyā and Basharū are the vehicles of a miracle which helps Dadaf to progress in life; he is placed beyond the Pharaoh's reach by the actions of Zāyā, and Basharū's protection in later life provides him with a good education and prepares him for his future life.

The only point at which Basharū is directly involved with Dadaf's life is when he hears Dadaf's story after the latter meets his mother and discovers his true origin. Basharū feels that he is caught in a conflict between his loyalty to the Pharaoh whom he has served all his life, and his love for Dadaf to whom he has been a father since he was a little child. He tells himself:

> "You will not get rest because you are inspector of the pyramid and Pharaoh's servant. You are Basharū who worships his duty. This is the disaster. You believe in duty. Yes, you have never done any harm to anybody. At the same time you have never

> deserted your duty. And now which course is better to follow? Your duty or avoiding harming others?"[1]

But being a loyal servant of the Pharaoh he decides to go to him and to tell him the truth. However when he arrives the Pharaoh has already made up his mind to designate Dadaf his successor. Having heard Dadaf's story, and when he is on the point of death himself, he says:

> "Around twenty years ago I declared a war on fate with which I intended to challenge the will of the gods. I personally led a small army to fight an infant. Everything seemed to me to favour my desires. I had no reason to feel sceptical about anything at all. I thought I had my own way and made my word the predominant. Now you see the truth make nonsense of my sense of assurance, god tramples on my sense of pride. You are now witnessing how I am rewarding Ra's son for killing the crown prince by choosing him to succeed me to the throne of Egypt."[2]

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1. <u>ᶜAbath</u>, p.275.
2. <u>ibid.</u>, p.250.

In this novel, which is set in the fourth dynasty, it appears that Maḥfūẓ attempts to deal with Khūfū's reign utilising different themes. First, this period in Egyptian history witnessed the building of the great pyramid. Secondly it witnessed the change of dynasty. Thirdly he chooses as his hero Dadaf, the son of the supreme priest of the God Ra in On.

It is obvious that the building of this pyramid was a remarkable contribution to Egyptian civilization and that a gigantic labour was completed by the Egyptian people and a powerful government. To quote Breasted:

> How strong and effective must have been the organization of Khūfū's government we appreciate in some measure when we learn that his pyramid contains some two million three hundred thousand blocks, each weighing on the average two and a half tons.[1]

So it is not surprising that the pyramid overshadowed everything else in Khūfū's reign. To quote James Baikie:

> Indeed so much does the Great Pyramid dominate

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1. Breasted, p.117.

> everything else in the reign of Khūfū - that it has done serious injury to his reputation in history.[1]

Maḥfūẓ was presumably aware of these facts when he wrote his novel. This is why at the beginning of the novel the Pharaoh asks Mīrābū what he thinks keeps the workers obedient.

The other point which is made by the historians is that the Pharaoh at the same time closed some of the temples to demonstrate his power and strength to the priests, which suggests that they were not happy with what he was doing. To quote Baikie again:

> Having shut up all the temples, he first of all forbade them to offer sacrifice, and afterward he ordered all the Egyptians to work for himself.[2]

It is likely that the Pharaoh's hostility towards the power of the temples led to growing tension between him and the priests. Perhaps this is the key to understanding why

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1. Baikie, The History, vol.1, p.115.
2. ibid., p.116.

Maḥfūẓ chose as Pharaoh's opponent the child of the supreme priest of the God Ra. This attitude towards the priests also impels the Pharoah to lead the expedition against the newborn child, which ends in the priest's suicide. It seems that Maḥfūẓ's choice of the son of Ra's priest was not arbitrary. It is this character who finally changes the dynasty and rules Egypt. So the struggle between the priest of Ra and the Pharaoh goes far deeper:

> The cause of the fall of the Fourth Dynasty, while not clear in details, is in the main outlines tolerably certain. The priests of Ra at Heliopolis, whose influence is also evident in the names of the kings following Khūfū, had succeeded in organizing their political influence, becoming a clique of sufficient power to overthrow the old line ...[1]

At the end of the novel Maḥfūẓ attempts to bring about a compromise between these two powers in a way which is acceptable to both sides. Maḥfūẓ's solution is that Dadaf marries Pharaoh's daughter, the princess Mirī Sī ᶜAnkh, which reconciles the two sides, as is made clear by Khūfū himself:

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1. ibid., pp.121-122.

> "Beware of saying, How can one who has no Pharaonic blood in his veins possess the throne? He is the husband of the princess Mirī Sī $^{c}$Ankh in whose veins runs the blood of both the king and the queen."[1]

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Scott based his novel on the true story of two girls, Helen Walker and her sister to whom she was guardian. Her sister was accused of child murder and tried. According to the Scottish law of the time, the suspect was held guilty unless she could prove that she had confessed her pregnancy to someone or was able to produce the infant. In the case drawn by Scott, the guardian sister feels unable to commit perjury in order to protect her sister from the law, even though the consequence would be the death sentence. However, to avert the horrible consequences of her honesty, Helen in fact walked to London to appeal on her sister's behalf. The Duke of Argyle interceded with the court on Helen's behalf and obtained the sister's pardon. The plot of Scott's novel is based on a combination of this story with the equally historical Porteous Riots of 1736.[2] Scott's novel is set in the transitional

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1. $^{c}$Abath, p.246.

2. Daiches, Introduction, p.vii.

period of Scottish history after the union of 1707 and before Scotland had finally adjusted to the new situation later in the century. This period witnessed some changes in Scottish life, for instance as far as the theme of this novel is concerned, the abolition in 1809 of the law of child murder, and the dismantling of the Tolbooth in 1816. These changes are used by Scott as the background for this novel. Scott saw all this as a step in the march toward progress which he saw as his country's destiny.[1]

Maḥfūẓ's novel ᶜAbath al-Aqdār is set in the reign of Khūfū, the second king of the Fourth Dynasty, and the builder of the great pyramid. He probably reigned in the years 2596-2573 B.C. The idea of using this story evidently came to Maḥfūẓ as a result of his translation of a textbook on Pharaonic history called Ancient Egypt, which was written by James Baikie in 1912, and was translated into Arabic by Maḥfūẓ in 1932. Dadaf's story is mentioned in this book as are most of the characters mentioned in Maḥfūẓ's novel.[2]

The first point of resemblance which it might be useful to point out is the character of the historical moment that the two novelists have chosen to portray. In Scott the Porteous affair forms the real basis of his novel. The outbreak of

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1. Gordon, Under, p.84.

2. Baikie, Peeps at Many Lands, Ancient Egypt, London, 1912, pp.41-46. (A copy of this book is in the British Museum.)

violence as has been shown before was considered a real threat to the government's authority and affected the stability of society at this crucial period thirty years after the union. The government responded by taking measures against the social unrest, being determined to impose law and order. This is reflected in various ways in Effie's case which is put against this background of a firmly drawn setting of town and nation.

Similarly, Maḥfūẓ's historical novel is set in a significant period of Egyptian history which witnessed a change of dynasty and cult and in which the Pharaoh was confronted by the growing influence and power of the priesthood of On. This situation of historical change, as marked in its own way as the period selected by Scott, clearly appeared to Maḥfūẓ an excellent period in which to set his novel, the theme of which can, to some degree, be compared to that of Scott's novel. As history shows, this period witnessed a considerable social and political unrest, which was possibly a result of the tyrannical behaviour of Khūfū. These facts are shown by Maḥfūẓ in his early chapters, in Pharaoh's concern about the people's attitude toward him and the building of his pyramid, which comes to a head with the magician's prediction. The situation ends in Maḥfūẓ's novel with the replacement of the line of Khūfū by a descendant of the High Priest of On.

The characters of Scott's novel are likewise affected by the historical forces of their time. They are shaped and developed by the historical disturbances of the era in which Scott set his novel. The conflict which involves Scott's heroine, the decision that she is forced to make, given the situation of the novel, is indeed a hard one. Scott's heroine, who is the daughter of a line of rigid Covenanters, is true in character to her forbears. A person of strong principles she is unable to compromise these principles whatever the consequences may be to herself or others. On the other hand the law can not afford to be lenient, no matter what the offence, during a period of social and political disturbance. Consequently the problem in Scott's novel is not just the moral confusion of Deans' family but also a historical predicament. As a result of these levels of conflict, Scott's heroine finds herself at the centre of a confused situation in a world where there is a clash between God and mankind. For Jeanie with her religious principles, it is impossible to give false witness as is made clear by the ninth commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour". There is no question of breaking God's law which is manifestly clear. At the same time her sister's life is at stake, and Jeanie has a duty towards her. Scott puts his heroine in a cruel predicament in which she has to make an impossible choice. Finally she chooses a solution which is equally hard: she decides to go to London to appeal to the Queen.

Mahfuz's characters, like Scott's, are confused by the predicament in which they find themselves. Each must make a difficult choice in impossible situations. In Maḥfūẓ's novel the supreme priest of Ra is caught between the demands of God, as expressed through the prediction about his son, and the Pharaoh's law which is in direct contradiction to this. Khūfū embodies worldly law and as such must be obeyed absolutely. In the first part of his novel Maḥfūẓ concentrates on the problem that arises from this conflict in a world completely dominated by the Pharaoh who spares no one. Maḥfūẓ subjects his characters to the ordeal of having to make an impossible choice between God's law and man's law. The predicament of Maḥfūẓ's character is like that of Scott's heroine. The priest tells the truth but it costs him his life. In both Scott's and Maḥfūẓ's novels we see clearly that the individual is a victim of this conflict. Both Jeanie Deans and the supreme priest of Ra suffer hardship as a result of their moral integrity. Both are aware of their duties toward God and to other people.

Another point of similarity between the two novels lies in the part played by the hero or heroine in relation to the situation we have been describing: in what we might describe as their structural role. The crucial decisions taken by the character in both novels, *Heart of Mid-Lothian* and *$^{c}$Abath al-Aqdār*, give rise to situations in which the plot is able to be taken another important stage in its development. Jeanie starts her

trip to London, which involves her in a testing struggle. Scott has provided Jeanie with sufficient strength of character to cope with this challenge, deriving from her Covenanting background. This tradition has in her case, however, been modified by social and political changes and the effect of these historical changes on society. She also benefits from the psychological strength of her particular personality. The development of her character reaches its climax in her conversation with the Queen. The fact that she obtains the pardon by peaceful means highlights the difference between the heroic acts of the past and those of the transitional period of Scottish history presented in the novel.

In the same way, Maḥfūẓ's hero Dadaf fulfils his destiny without any violence or illegality. He too undertakes a journey to Pharaoh's capital city, although as an infant in his case, which ultimately brings the opposing forces into a contact with leads to a resolution of the situation. There are considerable differences in the choices made by Scott's heroine and by Dadaf. These differences are largely determined by the differences between the periods in which the novels are set, and between the two societies in which the characters live. Maḥfūẓ carefully builds up Dadaf's character throughout the novel as an embodiment of the ideal man. However in order not to make his victories too easily won Maḥfūẓ dramatizes the situation; firstly Dadaf discovers his real mother among the

prisoners whom he brought back from his operation against the Sinai tribes. From her he learns his true origin, and she urgently begs him to run away. Secondly Dadaf discovers the crown prince's conspiracy against his father the Pharaoh. His ability to deal with both situations depends on his own personality and ambition and his willingness to do what he feels is right. He accordingly refuses to run away as he has done nothing wrong and sets off to save the Pharaoh's life, fulfilling his duty as a loyal soldier. This basic approach dictates Dadaf's course of action and leads him to inherit the Egyptian throne.

In both Heart of Mid-Lothian and ᶜAbath al-Aqdār the historical changes which form the background to the plot are seen to be paralleled in the changing situation of the characters. The effect of progress and social change is seen to develop slowly through the novels as the plots develop, and we leave the main characters facing a seemingly happy future. At the end of Scott's novel, Jeanie moves to Roseneath and marries Reuben Butler whose social class has changed as well. Their children will follow the initial steps taken by them toward a better life, one becoming a soldier, another a lawyer and one the wife of a landowner. This indicates that Jeanie's initial achievement results in a change of circumstance which then takes control of her situation. She is ready to take her part in a new life brought about by the historical events

described in the first part of the novel. In <u>ᶜAbath al-Aqdār</u> progress also acquires a momentum of its own by the end of the novel; having begun very slowly Maḥfūẓ shows that violence, religious strife and dynastic upheaval, which seemingly have no place in the Fourth Dynasty, as its strength, powers and Pharaonic traditions do not allow any dramatic change, are in fact building up behind the scenes. Maḥfūẓ demonstrates the imminent changes subtly; throughout the novel he prepares us slowly for the changes which eventually emerge. Dadaf is prepared gradually to inherit the throne and at the same time his step-brothers, Khānī and Nāfā, become a priest and an artist respectively, positions which represent the two fundamental pillars of Pharaonic civilization. All this hints at the emergence of a new period in Pharaonic history.

The final point which may be made is that in both novels, destiny operates separately and independently of the main characters. For Maḥfūẓ what happens to Dadaf's family is the result of events, entirely external and completely unrelated to his conduct. Equally, what happens initially to the Dean's family is again the result of fate which is quite outwith their control and consequently, in both novels, it is the family that is torn apart, not a person but a group of people, whose social structure is broken down. The effect of this situation is clearly reflected in the reaction of both Davie Deans and the Priest of On, who realize the horrifying catastrophe which has

befallen the families. These events show that an identical dilemma may take place in different ages and cultures. However their religious principles in their view are the moral alternative to the world they live in. Their deeply religious attitude acts as a buffer between the individual and the shock of overwhelming personal experiences. This is evident in their tendency to seek religious support in their moment of crisis. In the following examples we see that they pray to God to help them to overcome this disaster. Davie says:

> And for the other child thou hast given me to be a comfort and stay to my old age, may her days be long in the land, according to the promise Thou hast given to those who shall honour father and mother; may all her purchased and promised blessings be multiplied upon her; keep her in the watches of the night, and in the uprising of the morning, that all in this land may know Thou hast not utterly hid Thy face from those that seek Thee in truth and in sincerity.[1]

The high priest says:

> Our Lord, the Creator, I make my plaint of grief and sorrow to Thee. I beg Thee to remove the

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1. H.M., p.197.

> distress with which I have been afflicted. I am Thy faithful slave and Thy humble servant. Our Lord give me strength for I am feeble, peace and reassurance for I am in fear. Our Lord, I am in great peril, so have mercy on me and deliver me from it. Our Lord, Thou hast bestowed upon me in my old age a son whom Thou hast blessed and destined to be a man of wealth and authority, so protect him against the evils of the enemy.[1]

In these prayers we realize that a strong impression is conveyed of the great power of religion in times of suffering and despair. However neither character develops in the course of the novel. Davie's character fails completely to cope with the real problem, and remains the same even after the crisis. The Priest of On simply commits suicide, for the sole reason that he has been chosen by a historical fate to be Dadaf's father.

However we do not wish to overstate the similarities between the two novels. Heart of Mid-Lothian is certainly more complex than ᶜAbath al-Aqdār, and this is shown in its richer and more varied characters and its more sophisticated

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1. ᶜAbath, p.33.

plot. ^c^Abath al-Aqdār clearly lacks some of these features. An example of Scott's superiority is his decision to leave unexplained certain episodes until the end of his novel in order to excite the reader's curiosity. Meanwhile in Maḥfūẓ's novel the reader easily predicts what will happen at the end of the novel from the early chapters; in addition there is a frequent recourse to coincidence which shows, at this stage of Maḥfūẓ's career, the relative immaturity of his development as a novelist.

In fact, even a cursory glance at the two novels reveals that they are noticeably different. However, if we stand back to consider their main outlines we will be able to detect certain similarities, as has been shown above.

# Chapter 5

## *WAVERLEY* AND *RĀDŪBĪS*

Most critics of Scott's novels agree that Waverley is one of his most distinguished. Scott chose for this novel an important period of Scottish history, which witnessed the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and their desperate attempt to put the House of Stuart back on the throne.

For Scott the essence of the novel is to show the way in which this conflict affects the lives of the participants by means of the characters and events included in this novel.

The opening chapters of Waverley deal with the early life of the hero and Scott establishes the influences that affect Edward Waverley later in his life, such as his family's political background and his upbringing. Some critics go as far as to say:

> Scot believes that these chapters have a function that they contribute to the total shape, that is the total meaning of the book.[1]

Scott looks at Waverley's early life in an analytical and objective way and he gives a full picture of it, starting with the difficulties in Waverley's family,[2] and their impact on the

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1. Devlin, p.60.
2. Brown, p.7.

young hero. His father deserted his Tory principles for his own profit, and to gain wealth. He supported the reigning monarch and attempted to play a role in the politics of the day. He sent Waverley to live on the estate of his rich and childless uncle, Sir Everard Waverley, who, unlike his brother, was sympathetic to the Jacobites, a sympathy which was considered a family tradition. Scott explains that his uncle was involved in the uprising of 1715:

> At the period of the Haonoverian succession he had withdrawn from parliament, and his conduct, in the memorable year 1715, had not been altogether unsuspected.[1]

Under his uncle's supervision and completely cut off from his father's influence Edward's education took place. The question of education is a central one for Waverley and Scott devotes a good deal of his opening chapters to putting forward the unusual conditions of his hero's education.

Waverley was left most of the time by himself reading poetry and romances. He spent long hours in the library of Waverley-Honour amusing himself in mental adventures with the romantic landscapes and exquisitely graceful and delicate

1. Waverley, p.58.

female forms in the novels he found there. Waverley did not follow a course of study and we see that Scott is at pains to emphasise, in the early chapters, the effect of Waverley's undisciplined education upon his subsequent history.[1]

> Alas! while he was thus permitted to read only for gratification of his amusement, he foresaw not that he was losing forever the opportunity of acquiring habits of firm and assiduous application, of gaining the art of controlling, directing, and concentrating the powers of his mind for earnest investigation - an art far more essential than even that intimate acquaintance with classical learning, which is the primary object of study.[2]

That is why some critics have concluded that the attention given by Scott to the hero's boyhood and youth provides us with a critical portrait of the hero, from which he emerges as an exceedingly immature young man, who has no knowledge of the world around him. Much of what happens to him later is attributed to this fact.[3] At this stage he lives almost in a world of his own creation. His reading is mostly associated

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1. Mayhead, (2), p.35.
2. Waverley, Ch.3, p.46.
3. Hartviet, p.106.

with the past and especially Waverley-Honour's history which provided him with excellent material for his imagination. One of his day-dreams, about the return of Wilibert, may serve as an example:

> The deeds of Wilibert of Waverley in the Holy Land, his long absence and perilous adventures, his supposed death, and his return in the evening when the betrothed of his heart had wedded the hero who had protected her from insult and oppression during his absence; the generosity with which the Crusader relinquished his claims, and sought in a neighbouring cloister that peace which passeth not away; to these similar tales he would hearken till his heart glowed and his eye glistened.[1]

Mayhead comments on this:

> The imagined return of Wilibert is exactly the kind of event upon which the big 'senses' of those novels are often based.[2]

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1. *Waverley*, p.52.
2. Mayhead, (1), p.17.

Waverley's habit of daydreaming is best understood in the light of the above question. His love of castle-building predisposes him for the role of romantic hero. His vivid imagination presumably provided him with sufficient capacity for romantic action,[1] but this made him unfit for living in society.[2] Therefore his personality had a negative effect on his relations with the real world, and his surroundings:

> So that when, upon any particular occasion, Edward mingled with accomplished and well-educated young men of his own rank and expectations, he felt an inferiority in their company, not so much from deficiency of information, as from the want of skill to command and to arrange that which possessed. A deep and increasing sensibility added to this dislike of society.[3]

Generally speaking his propensity for castle-building and day-dreaming together with his unguided upbringing constitute the basic direction of his character. It is apparent that he is ill-adapted for the life in which he must play a considerable

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1. Hartveiet, p.78.

2. Gordon, _Unified_, p.76.

3. _Waverley_, p.51.

role.

Because of his family status a military career was chosen for him, and he was sent to join a regiment of dragoons in Scotland. This marks the next step in the development of Scott's theme. Scott describes that period of Waverley's life: "He now entered upon a new world, where, for a time all was beautiful because all was new".[1] Waverley by this time finds himself in real contact with society, having left the protection of Waverley-Honour and having started a new life. But is Waverley prepared or actually ready for such military life, with its hard discipline and severe daily training? Scott gives the answer in a description of Waverley's reaction:

> He asked himself in vain, why his eye could not judge distance or space so well as those of his companions; why his head was not always successful in disentangling the various partial movements necessary to execute a particular evolution; and why his memory, so alert upon most occasions, did not correctly retain technical phrases, and minute points of etiquette or field discipline.[2]

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1. ibid., p.72.

2. ibid., p.73.

With these failings it is not surprising to find that Waverley was bored with his military duties and the circumstances, in which he was obliged to live:

> These circumstances impressed him with a painful sense of inferiority in those qualities which appeared most to deserve and obtain regard in his new profession.[1]

Waverley found himself unfit for a military career. He was attracted by the romantic glamour of the Scottish highlands more than by the military profession which he becomes intent on escaping. Here again we see that Scott's hero is in conflict with reality. It appears that at this stage of Scott's novel it is almost impossible for Waverley to accept the reality of his situation as it does not fit his dreams and his interior world. He tries consequently to leave the army in order to find a way of fulfilling his dreams. He goes on a holiday to visit his uncle's old friend, the Baron of Bradwardine. This constitutes a major step in Waverley's life. Not only is he attracted by the romantic image of the picturesque scenes of Scotland; in addition he is involved, quite unawares, with the Jacobite movement, and a series of incidents through which a historical theme is able to develop. This stage of the novel gives Scott

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1. ibid., pp.72-73.

the opportunity to relate the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, involving his hero directly in the movement. Through his visit to Tully-Veolan Waverley was deeply moved by the scenes and atmosphere, finding romances in almost everything. "The solitude and repose of the whole scene seemed almost romantic."[1]

Waverley finds the peaceful atmosphere of the ancient Bradwardine house and its surroundings in sharp contrast to the military camp. This house evidently reminds him of his uncle's.[2]

Scott describes the place as it appeared to his hero:

> Everything around appeared solitary and would have been silent, but for the continued plashing of the fountain; and the whole scene still maintained the monastic illusion which the fancy of Waverley had conjured up.[3]

Mayhead comments on this; "he almost imagined himself to be in a world of legendary fancy".[4]

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1. *ibid.*, p.77.
2. Hartvieţ, p.81.
3. *Waverley*, p.79.
4. Mayhead, (1), p.18.

So again the gap between the things that appear to Waverley and their realities is wide. This visit to Tully-Veolan leads to his first contact with the Jacobites. The Baron was involved in the Jacobite movement, but he was not completely devoted to its cause. His Jacobitism is connected more with the love of the past and old traditions than with political attitudes. Moreover his attitude toward the society around him and his relationships with the people of his estate arise from this view and from rejection of all the changes that have taken place. He is an ancient figure in the modern world; he is out of place and therefore ridiculous. He regards seriously a social system which no longer really exists.[1]

However, for Waverley it is a new experience. He was enjoying the life and society of Tully-Veolan, and there are plenty of things to occupy his mind such as parties, and hunting. But he particularly enjoys the company of the Baron and his daughter and he finds great amusement in their conversation.

This daughter, Rose, is a beautiful, educated young lady for whom Waverley feels an immediate sympathy. This prepares her for the role she is destined to play eventually as his future wife. However at this stage she is unsuitable to capture

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1. Brown, p.19.

Waverley's romantic imagination. As Scott puts it:

> Besides Rose Bradwardine, beautiful and amiable as we have described her, had not precisely the sort of beauty or merit which captivates a romantic imagination in early youth. She was too frank, too confiding, too kind; amiable qualities, undoubtedly, but destructive of the marvellous, with which a youth of imagination delights to address the empress of his affections.[1]

Scott develops further Waverley's involvement in the affairs of the Jacobites. It happens that during his residence in Tully-Veolan, some of the Baron's cows are stolen by Highland cattle-raiders. Waverley hears the news from Rose and she explains the conflict between the Baron and Fergus Mac-Ivor and their past unhappy situation:

> I am sure this is but the beginning of our troubles; for Tully-Veolan has never been a safe or quiet residence when we have been at feud with the Highlanders. When I was a girl about ten, there was a skirmish fought between a pary of twenty of them, and my

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1. Waverley, p.121.

> father and his servants, behind the Mains; and the bullets broke several panes in the north windows, they were so near. Three of the Highlanders were killed, and they brought them in, wrapped in their plaids, and laid them on the stone floor of the hall; and next morning, their wives and daughters came, clapping their hands, and crying the Coronach, and shrieking, and carried away the dead bodies, with pipes playing before them. I could not sleep for six weeks without starting, and thinking I heard these terrible cries, and saw the bodies lying on the steps, all stiff and swathed up in their bloody tartans.[1]

For Rose this was a real problem facing Tully-Veolan, because this incident might lead to more instability in the estate and possibly even to a battle between her father and the Highlanders. She tells the story with fear and anxiety, but for Waverley it is a story which he could imagine happening not in a real world, but in the world of the stories he used to read and imagine in his youth. Scott describes Waverley's reaction to Rose's account:

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1. *ibid.*, pp.128-129.

> Waverley could not help starting at a story which bore so much resemblance to one of his own day-dreams. Here was a girl scarce seventeen, the gentlest of her sex, both in temper and appearance, who had witnessed with her own eyes such a scene as he had used to conjure up in his imagination, as only occurring in ancient times, and spoke of it coolly, as one very likely to recur. He felt at once the impulse of curiosity, and that slight sense of danger which only serves to heighten its interest.[1]

These events attracted the young hero even more than before to Tully-Veolan as a land in which day-dreams come true and which fitted his imagination and kept him far from the real world. Scott continues his description of Waverley's reaction:

> It seemed like a dream to Waverley that these deeds of violence should be familiar to men's minds, and currently talked of, as falling within the common order of things, and happening daily in the immediate vicinity,

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1. *ibid.*, p.129.

> without his having crossed the seas, and while he was yet in the otherwise well-ordered island of Great Britain.[1]

Waverley readily accepts an invitation to go further North with Mac-Ivor's messenger to the Baron, to visit the Mac-Ivors in the Highlands. For Waverley this is still just an interesting holiday in the most romantic land he has ever seen. Scott develops Waverley's involvement in the Jacobite movement step by step. Waverley, however, quite unaware of the eventual consequences of his involvement, is guided mostly by his emotions. In this way Scott completes Waverley's emotional journey. To quote Gordon:

> Moreover it is through the Baron's efforts that Edward meets the MacIvors, and when he does, Edward's journey into another world is emotionally, at least, completed, for he becomes a friend of Fergus and falls in love with his sister Flora.[2]

On his way to visit the Mac-Ivors, Waverley accompanies Evan-Dhu, and is deeply attracted by the scenes which appear to him as a legendary land,

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1. *ibid.*, p.130.

2. Gordon, *Under*, p.15.

> He had now time to give himself up to the full romance of his situation. Here he sat on the banks of an unknown lake, under the guidance of a wild native, whose language was unknown to him, on a visit to the den of some renowned outlaw, a second Robin Hood perhaps or Adam O'Gordon.[1]

Waverley completes this journey by arriving at Glennaquoich, a stronghold of the Jacobites, and meets Fergus Mac-Ivor, which for him is another romantic adventure.

Fergus Mac-Ivor is the chief of the clan Mac-Ivor and a dedicated Jacobite, who was brought up in France, where his father was in exile in 1715. His Jacobite views arise from a strong belief in the cause of the House of Stuart. He is a calculating politician with a cosmopolitan background, at the same time hard and brave.[2] With all these qualities he is in full control of his clan. He is always ready to fight and do everything possible for his country and the exiled prince of the House of Stuart. Fergus is considered by some critics to be well presented by Scott and to be the person to whom the reader is most attracted;[3] thus Lukács says "Admittedly, in Waverley

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1. Waverley, p.138.
2. Cockshut, p.114.
3. Gordon, Unified, p.81.

Vich Ian Vohr is the tragic hero, who for his loyalty to the Stuarts ends up on the gallows".[1]

He has devoted himself to this cause since infancy, and thinks not only that the Stuarts should be restored to the British throne, but also that those who have helped them should be raised to honour and rank.[2]

> Waverley's stay at Glennaquoich, MacIvor's castle, is full of heroic glamour. His new friends, Fergus and his sister Flora, are ideal for the heroic manner. They both conform perfectly to Waverley's romantic ideal.[3]

Waverley is impressed by Fergus's character, his ambitions and bravery. At the same time he is impressed by Fergus's sister Flora who, like her brother, is a devoted Jacobite and extremely loyal to the House of Stuart and to the Prince.

Up to this point in the novel Waverley has been on a holiday, touring around the Scottish highlands. He has been

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1. Lukács, p.50.
2. *Waverley*, p.158.
3. Hartviet, p.85.

deeply impressed by the everyday life of the clansmen, their habits, joys and sorrows. This way of life suits his imagination perfectly. However his relationship with Fergus and Flora springs from his admiration for the former and his intense love for the latter. But the important question for the reader is really whether Waverley is aware of the outcome of this holiday and his stay in the highlands among the Jacobites. As Daiches points out,

> he goes to the highlands in the first place simply in order to satisfy a romantic curiosity about the nature of the highlands and it is only after arriving there that he succumbs to the attractions of the clan life.[1]

He is not conscious of his increasing involvement. It seems that this involvement with the Jacobites is not the result of faith, or ideological or political interest in this movement. It is true that he has been brought up by his uncle who used to have Jacobite sympathies. Waverley's presence there, however, has a romantic purpose particularly once he has met Flora and fallen in love with her. It is true also that he stays with Fergus and Flora who believe absolutely even in fighting for the sake of their cause and, in their view, the sake of their

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1. Daiches, Achievement, p.41.

country, a cause which in their view it is worth fighting to the death for. On the other hand Waverley has no such beliefs, and has not even any clear political principles to fight for. His predicament is the result of his character. Brown emphasises that his commitment from the start is thus purely romantic,[1] but the external effects prepared by Scott make his involvement with them inevitable.

It is not until he receives a letter from Rose Bradwardine that Waverley becomes conscious of the degree of his involvement and the horrific consequences of being with the Highlanders. She explains what has happened to her father and his dangerous position, and the gravity of Waverley's own situation; Scott explains Waverley's reaction in a sort of monologue:

> but how _he_ himself should have been involved in such suspicions, conscious that until yesterday he had been free from harbouring a thought against the prosperity of the reigning family, seemed inexplicable.[2]

However Waverley is convinced that he has not committed

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1. Brown, p.20.

2. _Waverley_, p.221.

any crime against the government and he feels that he is innocent, as his purpose for being there was not to support the Jacobites but to have a holiday. He therefore decides to go to Edinburgh. But Fergus knows very well the risk involved in this decision and tells Waverley:

> You run your head into the lion's mouth. You do not know the severity of a Government harrassed by just apprehension, and a consciousness of their illegality and insecurity.[1]

Waverley then attempts to establish his innocence with the government,[2] relying, as he thinks, on "My innocence, my rank, my father's intimacy with Lord M___, General G___ etc., will be a sufficient protection".[3]

However, on his way to Edinburgh he is arrested, and for the first time he realizes the seriousness of this matter which might lead him to the gallows; Major Melville says to him:

> The charge, Mr Waverley, I grieve to say, is of

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1. *ibid.*, p.223.
2. Lauber, p.77.
3. *Waverley*, p.223.

> a very high nature, and effects your character, both as a soldier and a subject... The civil crime of which you stand accused is that of high treason, and levying war against the king, the highest delinquency of which a subject can be guilty.[1]

Scott uses the incidents of his arrest to develop the theme of the novel. After he has been arrested and charged, Scott has him rescued by the Jacobites. In this position Waverley has little choice left and is more or less forced by circumstances to throw his lot in with the Jacobites at least for the time being. To quote Gordon:

> From the time of his arrest all that is necessary to turn the angry and desperate Edward into an actual rebel is his rescue from the Government's hands, and this is soon accomplished.[2]

This turning point in Waverley's life comes when he is rescued from the hands of the law by the Jacobites and is brought to Edinburgh to be introduced by Fergus to the Prince personally. He welcomes Waverley and attempts to exploit the fact that an

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1. ibid., p.243.
2. Gordon, Under, pp.19-20.

English officer has joined his army. Waverley is thus made to feel important and this greatly impresses him.[1]

The significance of Waverley's position for the Prince is enormous, representing a time of co-operation between the English Jacobites and his Scottish followers. To quote Mayhead:

> If Fergus Mac-Ivor is 'politic' in effecting the introduction, Charles Edward is no less in his conduct of the interview. Anxious to convince his Scottish supporters that genuine enthusiasm for his cause exists among English Jacobites, he brings to bear all his persuasive charm upon a young man whose present circumstances make him a ready victim.[2]

Meanwhile, for Waverley personally, it is a perfect situation which suits his romantic views:-

> Edward Waverley in Edinburgh submits enthusiastically to the personal appeal of the chevalier, and delights in a situation in which romance, not reason, is supreme. The life of his dreams has come true, he

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1. Hartviet, p.96.

2. Mayhead, (2), p.40.

is attired splendidly in a Highland uniform, and wears the sword of a prince.[1]

However, the situation starts to change after the real military operation is started. He discovers, first of all, the miserable state of the Jacobite army which lacks not just the strength of a real army, but also the discipline. Although it is colourful and picturesque and is led by Mac-Ivor or the Prince, it is ill-armed and formed from half-starved peasants. This clearly disillusions him.[2] Secondly he starts to realise that it is no longer a romantic dream but as Mayhead puts it: "he finds that romance turning to a nightmare".[3] The effect of all this leads Waverley to think seriously about the whole situation. Waverley meets certain old acquaintances and learns through their suffering of the consequences of his irresponsibility. This realization is complete when on the eve of battle, he hears the voice of his old colonel issuing orders to the opposing army.[4]

Scott encapsulates these moments of Waverley's life in the

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1. Mayhead, (2), pp.77-78.
2. Gordon, Unified, p.78.
3. Mayhead, (1), p.30.
4. Gordon, Unified, p.78.

nature of his involvement, the final results of which he does not yet know and which are clearly out of control. He can neither leave the Jacobites' army nor can he fight his countrymen. Describing Waverley's situation, Scott says:

> Waverley felt his heart at that moment throb as it would have burst from his bosom. It was not fear, it was not ardour. It was a compound of both, a new and deeply energetic impulse, that with its first emotion chilled and astounded, then fevered and maddened his mind.[1]

Waverley cannot find a good enough reason to justify his terrible involvement in this war which he is fighting. For the first time he starts to think for himself without indulging in romantic notions. He is not faced with romantic scenes and day-dreams any more. What he is witnessing is war and death and violent struggle, which is in complete contrast to the aims Waverley had when he first went to the highlands. Brown goes even further, saying:

> It is Waverley's commitment to the Prince's cause therefore which eventually comes to seem a crime to him.[2]

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1. Waverley, p.339.

2. Brown, p.21.

A dramatic change takes place in Waverley's attitude towards the Jacobites, especially when he sees the outcome of these events. This leads him eventually to take more reasonable action. So, instead of fighting with the Prince's army he starts to save his opponents; he even tries to save his former commander Colonel Gardiner, but unsuccessfully. He manages however to save Colonel Talbot, who later succeeds in saving Waverley from the government.

After the battle of Preston, Waverley's feeling towards the Prince and even toward Fergus and Flora begins to decline. This battle may be considered to be a turning point in Waverley's life. Moreover he learns from Talbot not only that his future is at risk, but also of the distress that he has brought to Waverley-Honour also as a result of his involvement with the Jacobite movement, which ends in complete failure after the march into England.

After this series of events Scott's hero ultimately comes to realize that he cannot go on with the Jacobites, and he can no longer escape the drab reality of that society from which he took refuge in day-dreaming, and that he cannot continue to live in an imaginary world which is now coming to an end:

And it was in many a winter walk by the shores

> of Ullswater, that he acquired a more complete mastery of a spirit tamed by adversity than his former experience had given him; and that he felt himself entitled to say firmly, though perhaps with a sigh, that the romance of his life was ended, and that its real history had now commenced.[1]

The final chapters of Scott's novel require full attention, as they do not just offer an interesting compromise for Waverley, but also resolve the destiny of the leading Jacobites - Fergus, Flora, and the Baron. Historical probability dictates, according to S. Gordon, that the active participants in the original conflict and the leaders in the rebellion should be executed.[2]

For Fergus, as has been mentioned before, loyalty and devotion to his country and the cause of the exiled prince is unquestionable, as is his clan's loyalty to this cause and to him. Fergus's role in this novel is very distinguished, and in a different genre he could have formed the basis of a tragedy.

Fergus falls into the hands of the Hanoverians, after the failure of the Jacobites' march through England, and he faces

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1. Gordon, Unified, p.81.

2. ibid., p.82.

his inevitable end. In chapter sixty-eight Scott describes the trial of Fergus Mac-Ivor, in which he faces the charge of high treason. The scene of this trial is another example of the clan's absolute loyalty to its chief, which results in the most tragic offer by Even Dhu:

> "I was only ganging to say, my lord", said Evan, in what he meant to be an insinuating manner, "that if your excellent honour, and the honourable Court, would let Vich Ian Vohr go free just this once, and let him gae back to France, and no to trouble King George's government again, that ony six o' the very best of his clan will be willing to be justified in his stead".[1]

The Baron of Bradwardine does not suffer the same fate as Fergus, as his support and involvement in Jacobitism does not rise out of a real belief or a strong political principle; he is engaged in that movement out of a sort of nostalgia; to quote Daiches:

> Bradwardine is a Jacobite more from his love of ancient traditions than out of any political feeling, and it is therefore proper that he

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1. Waverley, p.465.

should survive to indulge his love of the past harmlessly in antiquarian studies and pedantic conversation.[1]

The other important theme of the novel, directly affected by the political struggle of the Jacobites, is Waverley's love story. As has been mentioned before, Waverley's dreamy youth and imaginative character make him very susceptible to the romantic appeal of the Scottish Highlands and their life. Rose's tenderness towards Waverley is evident as early as his first visit to Tully-Veolan although he does not respond to it at that stage.

Waverley's attention could not be attracted by anything less than a strongly romantic image. It takes him until the end of the novel to realize and understand her real character. This is why he easily forgets Rose as soon as he leaves Tully-Veolan to go to visit the Mac-Ivors in Glennaquoich to meet Fergus and Flora, and both conform perfectly to Waverley's romantic dream.[2] Flora, like her brother, is genuinely a devoted Jacobite and as Gordon points out, she "represents Jacobitism with the more purity and unity of spirit".[3] He goes even further to consider her as "the most important character

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1. Daiches, Achievements, p.72.

2. Hartviet, p.86.

3. Gordon, Under, p.16.

Scott ever drew".[1] Waverley is attracted by Flora from their first meeting, the combination of a romantic place near a waterfall and the romantic imagination being in perfect harmony which for the inexperienced youth Waverley is the highlight of his Scottish tour. Flora in that place looked more than just a human being to Waverley:

> Edward thought he had never, even in his wildest dreams, imagined a figure of such exquisite and interesting loveliness. The wild beauty of the retreat, bursting upon him as if by magic, augmented the mingled feeling of delight and awe with which he approaches her, like a fair enchantress of Boiardo or Ariosto, by whose nod the scenery around seemed to have been created, an Eden in the wilderness.[2]

Under these circumstances Waverley falls deeply in love with Flora. This experience is more than simply falling in love for Waverley. Love links with romance, and fulfilling his own romantic imagination, for him is all that he is looking for.[3] All this is described through Waverley's eyes, and his views of

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1. Gordon, Under, p.16.
2. Waverley, p.177.
3. Hartviet, p.88.

his surroundings, including Flora herself. Meanwhile Flora understands Waverley's "bravery", "delicacy of feeling" and sense of honour and therefore refuses to wed him without "love".[1] Flora in fact is not in a situation which allows her to become involved in a love affair. She has devoted all her mind and energy to the restoration of the House of Stuart, deeply believing in the struggle of the Jacobites. Her enthusiasm for their cause is stronger than that of anyone else, for she has devoted all her life to it. She speaks to Waverley:

> For myself, from my infancy till this day, I have had but one wish - the restoration of my royal benefactors to their rightful throne. It is impossible to express to you the devotion of my feeling to this single subject; and I will frankly confess that is has so occupied my mind as to exclude every thought respecting what is called my own settlement in life.[2]

Flora is aware of her absolute devotion, her love and emotion toward the Stuarts. In her "The zeal of loyalty burnt pure and unmixed with any selfish feeling".[3] In this respect

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1. Johnson, Unknown, vol.1, p.523.
2. Waverley, p.214.
3. ibid., p.169.

she differs even from her brother with his political aims. She differs totally from Waverley with his undisciplined imagination and unguided love. Moreover the experienced Flora understands Waverley perfectly well, even better than Waverley himself. She knows how important Waverley is for the Stuart cause but she rejects the idea of marriage when it is put forward. This is because she knows very well what is good for a person like Waverley, and that he is not really like his ancestor Sir Nigel but only like his eulogist and poet. She speaks of him to Rose as follows:

> I will tell you where he will be at home, my dear, and in his place - in the quiet circle of domestic happiness, lettered indolence, and elegant enjoyments, of Waverley-Honour. And he will refit the old library in the most exquisite Gothic taste, and garnish its shelves with the rarest and most valuable volumes and he will draw plans and landscapes, and write verses, and rear temples, and dig grottoes; - and he will stand in a clear summer night in the colonnade before the hall, and gaze on the deer as they stray in the moonlight, or lie shadowed by the boughs of the huge old fantastic oaks; and he will repeat verses to his beautiful wife, who

> will hang upon his arm:- and he will be a
> happy man.[1]

In the meantime, it seems that Waverley, by contrast, does not understand Flora, nor can he comprehend her political ambitions. Instead, he keeps on living in his own world where his own romantic notions are confused with reality. Moreover, Waverley's romantic ideals reach their climax in his love for Flora, which is a strong motive behind his involvement in Jacobite politics.

But it must be asked whether Waverley could fulfil his dreams under the present circumstances. Both he and Flora are deeply involved in the crisis, which for the Jacobites is more than an attempt to restore a banished Royal house, but is an effort to assert a cultural tradition.[2] However this political conflict plays an important role in the separation of Waverley and Flora. The gap starts to widen when the conflict reaches a critical stage after the battle of Preston. For Flora this battle witnesses the collapse of her aims and ambitions which are ruined. She pays the price of her devotion to the Jacobite cause like the rest of them:

> She bitterly blames herself for having encouraged
> her brother in a course that could end only in

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1. Waverley, p.370.

2. Mayhead, (1), p.35.

> disaster - not that she regrets ever her loyalty to the Stuarts' claim but that she allowed it to blind her to the wild impracticality of the attempt and desperate gulf between their hopes and the remote chances of success.[1]

We see her suffering when she thinks of her brother's execution and the failure of the rebellion which represented her own failure and destruction. She says to Waverley:

> There is a busy devil at my heart, that whispers - but it were madness to listen to it - that the strength of mind on which Flora prided herself has murdered her brother.[2]

She goes on to say, speaking of her principles:

> "Do not think that I have forgotten them," she said looking up, with eager quickness; "I do not regret his attempt because it was wrong - oh no! on that point I am armed - but it was impossible it could end otherwise than this".[3]

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1. Johnson, Unknown, vol.I, p.528.
2. Waverley, p.468.
3. ibid., p.469.

Devlin comments on this: "Flora makes again the point that the whole novel makes. Jacobitism is not wrong, it is merely impossible".[1]

For Waverley it is clear that he is involved in this crisis not out of his own desire but merely because of the circumstances in which Scott has placed him. Waverley himself could have suffered the same fate as Fergus, but as W.P. Ker comments, "Scott gets very near to the tension of tragedy but never uses it".[2]

Successful resolution is now inevitable.[3] By now the moment has come when Waverley returns irrecoverably to the victorious side. When Talbot manages to get his pardon he marries Rose who is not as attractive as Flora but is not a fanatic Jacobite and is opposed from the beginning to violence and war. In addition, she is more moderate, more sociable, and more modest, the important point being that for Rose, unlike Flora:

> Waverley is valuable as an individual, not as a pawn in ideological warfare, she stands for concrete human loyalties, as opposed to rigid

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1. Devlin, The Author, p.63.
2. Ker, W.P., On Modern Literature, p.108.
3. Gordon, Under, p.80.

ideal commitment, in a world where the personal and the human win out.[1]

Therefore the marriage takes place. As David Daiches says, life goes on following the inevitable course of historical development which Scott protrays with the novel, for the further continuation of life and the continuity of cultural development.[2]

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Rādūbīs is Maḥfūẓ's second historical novel, being published in 1943 after the appearance of ᶜAbath Al-Aqdār. It is set at the end of the sixth dynasty, around the year 2180 B.C., soon after which this dynasty collapsed. The novel concerns the young Pharaoh Merenraᶜ who ascended the throne after the long reign of his predecessor Pepi II. Maḥfūẓ deals in this novel with the crisis which arises immediately after his reign starts and the struggle between him and the clergy. He interweaves this theme with the Pharaoh's romantic involvement with Rādūbīs.

Most of the critics try to find in this some elements of contemporary significance for Egypt of the 1940s, which at that

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1. Hart, p.21.

2. Daiches, Achievement, p.44.

period was ruled by the young king Fārūq. These critics accordingly try to find a sort of parallel between the two issues. Ṭāhā Badr says that he once told Maḥfūẓ "this sort of interpretation seems a premature assumption forced by the critics onto the novel",[1] to which view Maḥfūẓ is said to have agreed. However the majority of critics differ from this view. To quote Fatma Moussa:

> The author was in fact, portraying the sentiments of the Egyptian people in the early forties in their disillusionment with their youthful king. Crafty palace supporters had built-up the character of King Farouk as a young Pharaoh, who would deliver his people from foreign oppression. But the king was obviously intent upon his pleasure, and the people were increasingly disappointed in him.[2]

Hamdi Sakkut gives a similar view:

> It would seem that Maḥfūẓ chose such a little-known Pharaoh so that he could turn his life story into a criticism of King Fārūq.[3]

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1. Badr, Najīb, pp.189-190.
2. Moussa, p.49.
3. Sakkut, p.72.

And he goes as far as to say that the queen Nitocris "reflects Queen Farīda who was loved by the people... while Khnumhotep, the prime minister who enjoys great popularity but loses the king's confidence and is replaced by an unpopular minister, resembles Naḥḥās Pasha".[1]

Very similar views are expressed by Al-Shaṭṭī[2] and M. ᶜAbd Allāh who comments that "If the pharaonic name is dropped by the reader, he will find in it the story of Egypt in the last years of its monarchy".[3]

The period of pharaonic history with which Maḥfūẓ deals in Rādūbīs is the most obscure and controversial part of the sixth dynasty, whose fall signalled the end of the Old Kingdom. For a better understanding of the novel we will deal briefly with the historical background.

Most of Maḥfūẓ's material is characterized by a notable faithfulness to his sources and the historians who have studied this period generally agree that it is one which witnessed many troubles and difficulties. To quote Baikie, whose history as seen above, Maḥfūẓ translated,

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1. ibid., p.73.
2. Al-Shaṭṭī, pp.41-42.
3. ᶜAbd Allāh, Al-Wāqiᶜiyya, p.200.

> At the close of the VIth Dynasty the country [was] weakened and disorganized by the over-long senility of Pepi II.[1]

Gardiner in his comments on this period says

> All that need be said here about the close of Dynasty VI is that dynastic troubles clearly ensured immediately after the death of the aged king.[2]

The historians have tried to find out the main reasons for the collapse of this dynasty which appear to be mainly political and economic problems which arose at the end of the dynasty. Wilson explains some of these decisive factors as:

> the burden of building noneconomic and huge structures for each new king, structures which were supposed to last for eternity but which had to be built again for each generation, and the increasing spirit of self-sufficiency and independence upon the part of the nobles. Three other factors might be cited; first, the burden of setting up perpetual endowments

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1. Baikie, History, vol.I, p.221.

2. Gardiner, p.102.

> which were supposed to finance the eternal care of the tombs of the kings, queens and nobles, thus separating lands from the normal economy and laying heavier burdens on other lands; second, the burden of purchasing the loyalty of outlying provincial powers in Egypt; and, third, a problematic breakdown of the surplus coming in from foreign commerce.[1]

All these factors are internal ones which affected the Kingdom and weakened it; in addition he puts forward another version which could be considered as external:

> The Egyptian temple at Byblos was burned to the ground, and we assume that trade broke off sharply. Apparently the pressure of new peoples from the desert affected a drastic change in the population and tradition of Hither Asia. When the main line of traffic between Egypt and Asia was broken, the pharaoh was bound to suffer politically and economically.[2]

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1. Wilson, p.98.
2. *ibid.*, p.101.

It is in this period of instability that Maḥfūẓ sets this novel. When Merenra[c] ascended the throne after Pepi II, his reign according to James Baikie lasted only one year.[1] Rawlinson, commenting on Herodotus' account of Nitocris, identifies the brother whom she succeeded as Menthesoyphis II, "the fifth king of Manetho's 6th dynasty, who reigned only a year",[2] who is apparently to be identified with Merenra[c]. In Maḥfūẓ's interpretation of this period, the young king, possibly in an attempt to strengthen the economy of the country and to solve some of the domestic problems left behind from the former Pharaoh, tried to get back those lands which belonged to the clergy, who through the centuries had succeeded in building well-established and strong institutions, whose power and authority had increased even more during the reign of Pepi II, Merenra[c]'s predecessor.[3] Discussing this situation Wilson concludes:

> Thus in an attempt to win the support of powerful priesthoods in Egypt and thereby to bulwark the staggering throne, the pharaohs were actually damaging the economy of the land and also raising up strong nonroyal elements which would have the

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1. Baikie, p.185.

2. Herodotus, The History, p.142.

3. Wilson, p.100.

wealth and power to challenge the rule of the king.[1]

This then is the situation which existed at the end of the VI dynasty, and we know in fact from Herodotus that the brother of Nitocris was put to death by his own subjects. It is reasonable to assume that the new Pharaoh found himself faced with very strong opposition and an indomitable enemy. The clergy at last managed to remove the Pharaoh by getting him murdered, and replaced him by his sister Nitocris. Nitocris is considered to be the last of the series of monarchs of the VI dynasty.[2] Different stories have been told about Nitocris. Gardiner quotes some tales about her being "the noblest and loveliest of the women of that period",[3] and he also refers to the story told by Herodotus that she "took vengeance on certain Egyptians who had slain her brother in order to put her in his place".[4]

In fact Herodotus gave more details of her:

The queen bore the same name as the Babylonian

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1. Wilson, p.100.
2. Gardiner, p.102.
3. *ibid.*, p.102.
4. *ibid.*, p.102.

princess, namely, Nitocris. They said she succeeded her brother; he had been king of Egypt and was put to death by his subjects, who then placed her upon the throne. Bent on avenging his death, she devised a cunning scheme by which she destroyed a vast number of Egyptians. She constructed a spacious underground chamber, and, on pretence of inaugurating it, contrived the following:- Inviting to a banquet those Egyptians whom she knew to have had the chief share in the murder of her brother, she suddenly, as they were feasting, let the river in upon them, by means of a secret duct of a large size.[1]

James Baikie comments on this story from Herodotus:

The story as it stands is quite romantic and fanciful for truth, but it is by no means impossible that behind it there may lie a grain of truth about the troubled close of the VI dynasty, which may well enough have ended with the assassination of the reigning Pharaoh.[2]

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1. Herodotus, The History, pp.165-166.
2. Baikie, A History, vol.I, p.186.

In this novel, Maḥfūẓ blends this theme with the love story of the Pharaoh with Rhodopis or Rādūbīs. The name means 'Rosy-cheeked' as is mentioned by Wilson, who adds "who was the bravest and fairest of her day, fair-skinned and rose-cheeked".[1] Herodotus gives more information about her:

> She was a Thracian by birth, and was the slave of Iadmon son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian Aesop the fable writer, who was one of her fellow-slaves.[2]

Herodotus goes on:

> Rhodopis really arrived in Egypt under the conduct of Xantheus the Samian; she was brought there to exercise her trade, but was redeemed for a vast sum by Charaxus, a Mytilenean, the son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess. After thus obtaining her freedom, she remained in Egypt.[3]

In his commentary on Herodotus's story, Rawlinson says:

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1. Wilson, p.98.
2. Herodotus, The History, p.212.
3. ibid., p.212.

> Her real name was Doricha, and Rhodopis 'the rosy-cheeked', was merely an epithet. It was under this name of Doricha that she was mentioned by Sappho; and that Herodotus was not mistaken in calling her Rhodopis, as Athenaeus supposes, is fully proved by Strabo. Rhodopis when liberated remained in Egypt; where even before Greeks resorted to that country, foreign women often followed the occupation of the modern 'Almeh'. They are figured on the monument dancing and playing musical instruments to divert parties of guests, and are distinguished by their head-dress from native Egyptian women.[1]

Thus the Rhodopis of Herodotus belongs to a much later period of Egyptian history, although there were clearly legends current in his time associating her with a very ancient period, which he is concerned to refute. Rawlinson mentions that she seems to have been confounded with Nitocris, and that Strabo, from whom the Rhodopis legend reaches us, seems to have confused the Nitocris of the 26th dynasty to whose period Rhodopis belongs with the Nitocris of the 6th dynasty discussed above.

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1. Rawlinson, G., History of Herodotus, p.210.

The legend of the golden sandal dropped by an eagle in Pharaoh's lap is not found in Herodotus, and is to be found in Aelian.[1] The ultimate origin of this story, with its obvious parallels to the story of Cinderella, is obscure but it is a widespread theme in folklore. Maḥfūẓ is no doubt aware of the legendary nature of this story, but has incorporated it into his novel for dramatic and romantic effect.

Such rich material as this and such amazing stories about that period, were thus available for Maḥfūẓ from a variety of sources dealing with this particular period of pharaonic history. However in addition to these historical characters and events, we see that Maḥfūẓ also adds some fictional characters and events in an attempt to shed more light upon the history of the age and to illustrate the conditions of that time. Such an approach makes the historical novel what it is and is essential for the genre. Using all these techniques, Maḥfūẓ tries to give a picture of a period of decay in the sixth dynasty, and chooses the events of the reign of a young pharaoh recently ascended to the throne. The novel investigates a historical crisis and its impact on a selected group of characters and their actions, and its eventual role in the downfall of the Old Kingdom.

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1. Aelian, Var.Hist., xii, 33, 134/p.179.

The novel will be discussed in relation to two points, firstly the political conflict in which Pharaoh is involved, and secondly his love for Rādūbīs, both of which lead to a historical crisis.

The first point is introduced at the very beginning of the novel, at the time of the annual Nile festival, when Egyptians from all over the country gather at Ābū for the celebration, and the pharaoh with all the leaders joins in these celebrations. Maḥfūẓ describes the moment when the festival starts:-

> The feast day finally arrived and all those creatures moved toward a single object, that long road that stretches from the palace of the Pharaoh to the hill where the temple of the Nile stood. The air became hot with their breath, and they weighed down the ground. Countless people despaired of the ground, took to the ships and spread their sails, and surrounded the temple, chanting the songs of the Nile to the music of flutes and guitars, and dancing to the rhythms of tambourines.[1]

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1. Rādūbīs, pp.6-7.

As early as the first chapter Maḥfūẓ hints that the situation looks abnormal, and differs from that of previous years. We learn this from a conversation between a group of ordinary people who attend the occasion. They are talking about the young new pharaoh, and what he is going to offer Egypt and the Egyptian people:

> "What will he leave behind", wondered one of them, "Stelae and temples, or memories of invasions in the north and south?"
> "If I'm right, it will be the latter."
> "But why?"
> "Because he is a young man of great courage."
> The other nodded cautiously and said: "It is said that his youth is of a headstrong kind, that His Majesty has uncontrollable whims, that goes to extremes in love, favours extravagance and goes on his way like a gale."[1]

The conversation drifts inevitably from the king's character and personality, to politics and to the conflict between the pharaoh and the clergy:

> "Be quiet... You do not understand anything about

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1. <u>ibid</u>., p.8.

> the matter. Don't you know about the clash between him and the priests from the first day of ascending the throne? He wants money to build palaces and lay out gardens, and the priests want the complete share of the Gods and the temples."[1]

But the most unexpected incident takes place when some of the people witnessing the celebration start shouting slogans to greet the high priest Khnumhotep who is also prime minister.

> Amid the chanting voices a voice shouted hurriedly 'Long live his Holiness Khanūm Ḥatab', and scores of people repeated his shout after him. His shout caused an uproar. People turned round in search of that audacious man who cheered the Prime Minister in front of the young Pharaoh, and of those who chanted their approval of this amazing challenge.[2]

This incident is considered a direct challenge to the pharaoh's power and authority. It is very relevant to the development of the novel's major theme, as it brings the inexperienced young Pharaoh face to face with the first serious

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1. ibid., p.9.
2. ibid., pp.18-19.

problem of his short reign. It also clearly indicates the growing power and influence of the priests among the Egyptian people and signifies that they do not just represent religion any more, but have a great deal of political power. They can easily act behind the scenes and create disastrous problems for the Pharaoh. Maḥfūẓ points this out quite clearly after the festival is finished, when Merenra[c] meets Ṭāhū the chief of the guards and Sūfkhātib the chief chamberlain, and the former advises the king to use force while the latter, being more aware of the priests' power, says:

> "My Lord, the priests are to be found in every corner of the kingdom. Among them are governors, judges, writers and educators. Their influence on the hearts of people is blessed by the Gods since time immemorial. Therefore, the consequences of dealing a ruthless blow to them could prove most unpleasant."[1]

So the priest simply rejects the idea of using force as this is likely to end in disaster. He knows how dangerous the clergy can be if they turn against the pharaoh. But of course the young pharaoh does not follow his advice to prevent any unpleasant consequences. By the time this meeting takes place

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1. Rādūbīs, p.28.

he has already taken his irrational decision. He has detained the High Priest after the end of the festivities and informed him that the shouting of such slogans would not deter him from his purpose, adding:

> I interrupted him with a signal of my hand before he had finished apologizing and told him bluntly that it would be absurd for him to think that such a chant could weaken my resolve. I then told of my intention to annex the lands of the temples to the Crown and that as from today temples will be left just enough to keep them going.[1]

From this we can conclude that the Pharaoh is connecting the two subjects, the political conflict and the temple lands. Possibly he thinks that this will be a way of setting a limit to the clergy's growing power. But his decision in fact creates more problems for the young Pharaoh than it solves. We become more aware of the Pharaoh's character when he responds to the chief chamberlain's worries:

> I have got what I wanted. They cannot harm me. Egypt worships the Pharaoh and will substitute

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1. *ibid.*, p.29.

nobody for him.[1]

The Pharaoh, with his frankness and direct approach, thinks that he will solve his problems, but in fact this sort of behaviour brings him into direct conflict, not only with the priests, but also with the society around him. His self-seeking mentality is a direct contradiction of the reality of his situation, which he cannot understand at all. He cannot see the truth and the danger of the problems he is creating for himself and ultimately for his kingdom.

Ironically, at this time the Pharaoh is involved in another matter, his love story with Rādūbīs - which will be discussed later. In this way Maḥfūẓ develops his theme even further. Because of this involvement, the Pharaoh starts to spend a huge amount of money on Rādūbīs's palace. This gives the clergy an additional opportunity to represent to the people that the Pharaoh has confiscated the lands of the temples to spend the revenues on his lover's palace. Maḥfūẓ deals with this delicate political issue in his eighth chapter. We see that the High Priest, who is the premier, tries to ease the problem, by discussing it with the pharaoh whose chamberlain says that the Pharaoh has given him his last word on the issue. The experienced premier says: "There is no last word in politics".[2]

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1. ibid., p.30.

2. ibid., p.116.

The priest's reply clearly indicates that the conflict is not just over the lands, but that it involves the political problem between the clergy and the Pharaoh. However the High Priest takes another step by getting the queen's sympathy, raising the matter with her and explaining that the situation may lead to a serious confrontation. He tries to get her sympathy by informing her how the money is being spent:

> "The priests, Your Majesty, are the king's soldiers in peacetime and peace needs people who are stronger than the warriors, people such as teachers, wise men, preachers, governors and ministers. They would not hesitate to give up their possessions willingly, if war or drought made that necessary, but..."
> The man hesitated for a moment then added in an even lower voice:
> "But they are saddened to see this money spent on ends other than these."
> He did not wish to go beyond this hint. He was absolutely sure that she understood and knew everything.[1]

However the queen's attempt at reconciliation does not succeed. As a result the Pharaoh dismisses the prime minister from his position. This act represents the climax of this controversial issue between them.

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1. ibid., p.121.

The young Pharaoh refuses to understand or to compromise on this serious matter. He believes that obedience is the traditional duty of the priests and the whole Egyptian people. All through the novel the inexperienced Pharaoh takes his position for granted assuming that he will be protected in all circumstances. He is completely unaware of the growing threat of the priests in society, and of the danger that, through their religious position, they may easily turn the people against him. It seems that he is not well equipped to play the important role in society which his position demands. It is also clear that his fate is decided not just by historical circumstances but also by the personality which Maḥfūẓ creates for him . The Pharaoh's difficulties start when he comes into contact with a society which he cannot understand at all. He is never able to realize that this is a serious problem which requires that he should find a solution. He depends only on his absolute divine power which, in these particular historical circumstances, is no longer real. He is completely occupied with his love affair with Rādūbīs and decorating and renewing her palace, to the point of neglect of his official duties, which he leaves to the Head Chamberlain. The threat from the clergy grows and the conflict with them grows worse, while he goes on living in his romantic world with Rādūbīs. To quote Al-Shaṭṭī:

> It is generally agreed that he was by no means a statesman or a man of destiny. It is

> believed that he was a very extravagant man and that gave rise to the conflict.[1]

His inactivity gives further opportunities to the clergy to strengthen their position among the people and to take action against him. The clergy are spread throughout the country and they are in direct contact with the people. As Al-Shaṭṭī says he is far from being a man of action and is incapable of struggle.[2] In this Al-Shaṭṭī strongly disagrees with Nabīl Rāghib's view that the epic side of his character forces him to stand against his destiny and that in this respect he is like the heroes of Homer or Virgil.[3]

The Pharaoh remains a passive observer of events without paying real attention to what is going on around him. The priests on the other hand start to prepare themselves for a real confrontation:

> Petitions from all the temples bearing signatures of all the priests of all classes flooded in begging the pharaoh to reconisder the question of

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1. Al-Shaṭṭī, p.43.
2. <u>ibid</u>., p.42.
3. Rāghib, p.32.

the temple lands. It was a dangerous consensus which increased the problems facing Sūfkhātib.[1]

By this stage even Rādūbīs starts to become worried; she suggests to him that he should intervene militarily but even this seems to the pharaoh unnecessary. As Maḥfūẓ says:

> He had not thought seriously about building up a strong army that was unnecessary from a military point of view. He still believed that the grumbling of the priests could not become so dangerous as to justify using a large army to suppress it.[2]

Rādūbīs suggests that he can invent a fictitious threat, such as might normally be expected from Upper Egypt, so that he will be able to call up the army. We see that even this step which is taken by the Pharaoh is suggested by Rādūbīs and not thought of by the Pharaoh himself. As it is from her, he does it willingly. However in the first place this action is too late, and secondly, under the historical circumstances, it seems very risky and might lead to catastrophe. In accordance

1. Rādūbīs, p.133.
2. ibid., p.154.

with Rādūbīs's plan he sends a message to the governor in Upper Egypt asking him to pretend that the Maᶜāsyā tribe have rebelled. Meanwhile the tension rises among the people against the Pharaoh and the clergy start to work actively to influence them. In chapter seventeen we see that the challenge begins with the clergy taking the strong measure of sending a collective letter to the Pharaoh. Maḥfūẓ comments on this action:

> It was a serious plan bearing the signatures of all priests, headed by the priests of Ra, Ammon, Ptah and Apis, appealing to their king to restore the lands of the temples to their owners, the worshipped Gods who looked after them, and telling him that they would not have made their appeal if they had known of any reasons that could justify seizing the lands.[1]

The situation is now serious. The supreme priest visits the main temple in Āmūn, and he is greeted by the people with slogans of support asking for the rights of the Gods.[2] We see that the priests use religious channels with the people to gain

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1. ibid., p.176.
2. ibid., p.177.

more moral and social strength in order to persuade the people to act and rebel against the Pharaoh. On the other hand, the Pharaoh starts to believe that his plan, inspired by Rādūbīs, is the only way out of his problem. But the plan is revealed to the priests through Ṭāhū, the chief of the royal guards, who was Rādūbīs's lover before the Pharaoh, who acts out of jealousy. This gives the clergy an additional advantage in opposing the Pharaoh.

This coincides with the Nile festival, which the pharaoh wants to make good use of in order to call up the army and crush the clergy. But the clergy succeed in turning it into a nightmare for the Pharaoh, and inciting the people who normally join in the celebration of this national occasion to rebel against the Pharaoh. He suddenly finds himself alone, with everything out of his control, watching the people surrounding his palace:

> The king stood motionless, and the minister retreated behind him as they began staring in depressed silence at the countless crowds roaring like beasts, threatening with their weapons, and thundering their chants: "The throne belongs to Nītūqrīs" and "Down with the playboy king". The soldiers on guard

> were shooting arrows from behind the towers
> hitting the attackers who replied with a
> barrage of stones, sticks and arrows.[1]

The self-centred Pharaoh is caught in a confusion of impulses and motives in these unfamiliar circumstances, and knows only now that everything is finished and the people want Nītūqrīs. Therefore when he sees the fierce battle between the guards and the people, he immediately orders the guards to withdraw and stop the bloodshed as there is no hope for him any more.

He decides to face the people alone, in the course of which he is killed.

The other important theme of Maḥfūẓ's novel, which is interlinked with the political crisis, is the Pharaoh's love affair with Rādūbīs.

Rādūbīs is first introduced in the novel in the first chapter, during the Nile festival which she wants to celebrate as all Egyptians do. Maḥfūẓ from the beginning gives Rādūbīs particular attention, mentioning her popularity and even her arrival at the festival pageant like a queen, with everyone watching this most attractive of women. To introduce Rādūbīs

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1. Rādūbīs, p.216.

to the Pharaoh Merenra$^c$, Maḥfūẓ utilises the legend according to which while she was swimming in the pool of the palace, an eagle seized one of her sandals and dropped it in the Pharaoh's lap. Merenra$^c$ is thrilled by the description of her beauty, and looks forward to seeing her, being young, inexperienced, and attracted by romance, and loving adventures more than official duties. He is described by Maḥfūẓ as follows:

> The king is hopelessly controlled by love.[1]

Elsewhere he writes:

> He was not used to controlling his emotions and was overcome by love.[2]

These account of Rādūbīs represent a unique opportunity for the young Pharaoh to fulfil his inner desires. In addition Maḥfūẓ uses the supernatural element, which has its symbolic function.

With this personality, the Pharaoh thinks that he must know the sandal's owner, as it is a sort of inescapable destiny.

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1. ibid., p.139.

2. ibid., p.87.

The description of a society which believes deeply in this sort of supernatural and magical powers lends to the novel a more realistic view of Pharaonic society. In these unusual conditions, Merenraᶜ decides to go to her palace.

Rādūbīs's palace in Bījā is the place where most of her admirers meet. They are the most educated people of their society, artists, philosophers, military men, and even governors. Maḥfūẓ describes the palace and its contents:

> She passed through a stone gate on the front of which her name was inscribed in hieroglyphics, and in the middle of which stood a life-size statue of her sculptured by Hinfar who spent a long period of the happiest days of his life depicting her seated on her beautiful throne on which she received people close to her, revealing the beauty of her face in a most marvellous way.[1]

The Pharaoh decides to go personally to see Rādūbīs out of romantic curiosity and to take her sandal back to her.

From this first meeting he is impressed by the atmosphere in which she lives. As for Rādūbīs, she cannot believe her

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1. *ibid.*, p.40.

eyes when she sees the Pharaoh personally bringing her sandal. She says:

> "My lord... I never dreamt that you would honour my palace in person, as for carrying my sandal, O God, what can I say?"[1]

At this meeting the romantic Pharaoh is irresistibly attracted by her beauty, which has been admired by every one who has seen her. This results in the youthful Merenra[c] becoming deeply involved with the experienced Rādūbīs. For the Pharaoh this is an excellent opportunity which does not just suit his romantic views but also gives him a chance to escape the reality of his life, and his proper duties. When he is in her palace he thinks of it as a promised heaven, and of his own palace as a prison. He says:

> "I am going now, Rādūbīs... Oh... the palace smothers me. It is but a prison surrounded by traditions, but I slip out of it like an arrow. I am about to leave a lovable face to meet a hateful one. Have you ever seen anything stranger than this? Until tomorrow, my dear Rādūbīs, and forever."[2]

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1. *ibid.*, p.85.
2. *ibid.*, p.89.

It seems that the experienced Rādūbīs understands the Pharaoh's character very well, indeed even more than he himself. From their first meeting she wants to impress him with her feeling for him, and decides to entangle him in love:

> She moved with her eyes away from the door which he disappeared behind. Uttering a sigh, she said: 'Gone', but in fact he had not gone. If he had she would not be feeling that strange infatuation which kept her between sleep and wakefulness, remembering and dreaming with the images crowding and racing madly in her mind.[1]

She is shown as a romantic character, and she loves him as he loves her, without any thought of personal advantage. As a result of her love she wishes to purify her body and soul, and even pays a visit to the God Seth.[2]

But the question which has to be asked is whether this relationship can survive in these circumstances. We see that in this confusing and potentially tragic historical environment, when society is split between two parties, Maḥfūẓ's hero is placed in an impossible situation. However he tries throughout

1. ibid., p.90.
2. ibid., p.100.

the novel to convince himself that what he is doing is not against his society, and that the world around him moves unchanged and he continues his affair with Rādūbīs. But at the same time the historical crisis grows, and the widespread feelings aroused by the clergy among the Egyptians make the pharaoh's survival in power more and more difficult, and the clash between the opposing forces becomes inevitable. Maḥfūẓ recognises that a satisfactory resolution of the novel should spring from historical necessity, and the story develops and ends in the death of the Pharaoh, who decides to face his people alone as only he should bear the consequences of his errors. But for Maḥfūẓ, who believes in historical continuity, this is not the end, and the people choose the Pharaoh's sister, whos is his wife at the same time, to be the next Pharaoh.

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Further to the previous analysis of Waverley and Rādūbīs, it seems that these two novels offer certain points of comparison.

In both novels, the predicament of certain individuals results from personal involvement in a historical conflict, and the problems arising from this interaction, form the major thematic concern. This involvement consequently determines not

only the future of the individuals concerned but that of the whole nation.

The 1745 Rebellion is indeed a landmark in Scottish history symbolizing the end of the old Scotland and the emergence of a new culture. The rebellion is at the centre of the novel's thematic development, being the focus of the pervasive conflict. As a political movement in Scottish history this conflict is of central interest. Scott uses this movement, involving his hero directly and thus showing how the conflict between different historical forces of the time finally resolved itself, leading inevitably to reconciliation and hence to the preservation of cultural continuity.

In Rādūbīs, the hero is involved similarly in a historical crisis created by opposing forces leading to a period of instability. The economic and social problems resulted in considerable pressure being put by society on the Pharaoh. All this leads him to a major clash with the clergy which is unpredictable in its outcome.

Therefore the historical circumstances in both novels play a major role in shaping the main characters and in developing the confrontation of the heroes with those historical forces which are dealt with in each novel.

In our discussion of the two novels we will concentrate on two points. Firstly we are concerned with the problem of the hero who is not in harmony with his society. The second aspect of the novels which concern us is the hero's love life in a time of political crisis. There exist in addition certain other points of comparison which will be dealt with.

According to Scott's description, Edward Waverley experienced nothing of the reality of life in his early years, and this continued to affect his character throughout the novel, and his ability to deal with the pressures to which he is subjected. Scott's hero is such that any effective action in society by him is impossible. Consequently what society expects of him is replaced by actions dictated by his day-dream, and his imaginary world and those worldly desires which he pursues. Waverley's conduct at certain crucial moments in the novel cannot be considered as a model for the conduct of a proper hero who is in harmony with society. It is true to say that the hero's fortune between the opposing historical forces is determined by actions resulting from Waverley's particularly indecisive character. He is always waiting for something to turn up; he does not try to shape events in any way. With this sort of character he is unfit for life in the everyday world such as Scott makes him inhabit. Waverley's deficiency of character leads him to leave the army which he joined as an officer, and to look for his ideal world in Scotland, where he

finds himself faced with various opposing romantic ideas which are quite appropriate to his dreams. If such a hero is influenced by a dangerous surfeit of imagination and is easily influenced by romantic situations, he may be brought to the edge of disaster.

This outcome is nearly realized when Waverley is forced by circumstances to join the Jacobites, thus finding himself in the centre of a dilemma and witnessing scenes of war and hostility. He is unable to accept the rights and wrongs that society and history insist upon. Instead he understands society on his own terms and indulges his own imagination. This unrealistic attitude leads him to be censured by society, according to whose values he appears in some way guilty.

A parallel situation is observed in Rādūbīs in which Maḥfūẓ's hero has become immersed in his own world and cuts himself off from the reality of a period of history in which there is a danger of society collapsing. His deficient sense of reality is in some respects similar to Waverley's. When Maḥfūẓ introduces the Pharaoh early in the novel, the reader gets the impression that the young Pharaoh, unlike his predecessor, is characterized by a lack of worldly wisdom in dealing with the affairs of his kingdom, a wisdom which is considered to be a pharaonic tradition.

Mahfūz's hero approaches the world without proper judgement, with the result that he gets himself into a serious predicament. While his country is faced with a historic economic crisis, he provokes the additional pressure of a political conflict with the clergy which leads to a confrontation. But the Pharaoh underestimates the clergy's power in society and fails to appreciate the degree of popular support among the Egyptian people for them. He finds himself in a situation where he cannot reconcile himself to the realities of society nor is he willing to try to find a way of solving his problems. Consequently he is alienated from his society through ignoring its internal conflicts. For society to come to terms with such an idealistic individual is impossible. The gap between him and his unstable society is growing but he has no idea of how to bring it together again.

It is improbable that the conflict in which he is involved will be solved by silence and stillness on his part. His attitude, indeed, leads to an even greater insecurity in a society which is already divided between the two opposing forces.

Thus the heroes of both novels cut themselves off in a similar way from the reality of their world and insist on acting according to what they feel is right. They never manage to understand the danger of retribution by society against the

individual who finds himself out of harmony with it.

In both cases this situation might end in tragedy. But the difference between Scott's view and that of Maḥfūẓ is that in Scott's novel the tragedy never occurs because there is a change in the hero's character brought about by circumstances introduced into the novel which are a product of Scott's rationality and commonsense. Scott is aware of the historical necessity for the ensuing period of reconciliation in society. In other words Scott's hero finally takes a realistic decision of the kind that reflects the direction that Scott felt history would take.

In _Rādūbīs_, such a change in the Pharaoh's character, which might have altered his destiny, is, under those historical circumstances, out of the question. He is abandoned by his people to such an extent that there is no longer time or need for him to be saved. In fact in the Pharaoh's case there is no possibility of any action other than for him to accept death. To avoid further destruction, Maḥfūẓ's hero takes this difficult decision because it is necessary both socially and historically to avoid civil strife in society.

Another resemblance which may be considered is the similarity of situation regarding the heroes' love stories. In both _Waverley_ and _Rādūbīs_ there is a parallel connection

between the hero's private fortune in love and the political circumstances of the time. Passion and history both play a remarkable role in the lives of the heroes. The historical conflict serves as a realistic and interesting obstacle between the lovers and in both novels prevents a romantic resolution.

In this respect, it may be worth mentioning certain parallels between Flora and Rādūbīs. Flora is presented by Scott in many parts of the novel as precisely the character to fascinate a youth of romantic imagination. Her manner, her language, her talents for poetry and music, mean that in Waverley's fancy she is exalted above an 'ordinary daughter of Eve'. In addition to her personal charm the land she lives in is so romantic that the distinction between dream and reality does not appear to matter very much for Waverley.

Rādūbīs, on the other hand, is very beautiful and very proud. For the Pharaoh her beauty is something mysterious, the difference between her and other women being unbelievable. Her dark hair and eyes are beautiful in a typically Egyptian way.

So both heroines are presented as ideal women. Each of them is involved in a stressful relationship with a young, inexperienced and very romantic lover. In both cases this relationship happens to develop in the context of an exceptional historical conflict, which effectively brings about dramatic and

tragic consequences. The romantic theme, in both novels, coincides with a historical background of a period of political unrest. We can say here in general, with regard to the historical process, that there is no private life which is not affected by a wider public life.

In Scott's novel the development of Waverley's love affair is hindered by the historical crisis of the Jacobites, and its fate is inextricably bound up with these events, both Waverley and Flora being deeply involved in it. Therefore the failure of the movement results in the failure of their love. This failure for Flora involves more than just love, but involves her belief in the Jacobites as a whole. Waverley's involvement in the crisis springs from his love for Flora, and this love is precipitated by his romantic dreams. Consequently the end of the Jacobites means an end of his romances.

Maḥfūẓ combines both themes in a similar manner. He is aware from the start that his hero's love for Rādūbīs is basically emotional and romantic, his impulses childlike. The developing historical conflict, meanwhile, starts to manifest itself as an obstacle to the Pharaoh's love for Rādūbīs. As this obstacle becomes insurmountable, the Pharaoh starts to be deeply involved in the crisis which plays a major part in his collapse. In his novel, Maḥfūẓ makes the connection between

the Pharaoh's frustrated love for Rādūbīs and the historical conflict of the time which results in the clergy's rebellion against the Pharaoh quite clear.

However, at the end of both novels the hero comes to a sort of self-realisation, which leads him to act in ways which are part of the thematic and the psychological interest of the novel. Neither hero can hide from himself any longer, the truth of the failure and inadequacy of his relationship given the historical circumstances. The differences between the two situations is that Scott prepares the ground for Waverley's rescue so that he can start a new life through his marriage to Rose Bradwardine.

Maḥfūẓ's hero becomes aware of the responsibility he has to bear towards his people to avoid further suffering and the ravages of civil war. In other words he becomes the victim of his personal tragedy.

Another comparison can be made between scenes occurring in both novels which show the connection between the past and present of the respective societies described by Scott and Maḥfūẓ.

In the second last chapter of Scott's novel, dealing with Waverley's marriage, the reader is presented with a picture in

the hall of Bradwardine's house. Scott describes this picture as large and spirited, representing Fergus and Waverley in their Highland dress, with the clan descending a mountain pass in the background. This image is used by Scott as a powerful symbol of the central theme of the novel. The old style of life is ending but the present world contains the possibility of peace and love, even marriage, though only at the expense of the tradition which can no longer be relied upon. Scott seems to be suggesting that these new times are not too difficult to accept. He uses this scene to show how the past and present are reconciled in a civilized way as a consequence of historical necessity, presenting the cultural continuity of contemporary society.

In <u>Rādūbīs</u> we see a somewhat similar scene being used by Maḥfūẓ. At the end of the novel, the Pharaoh feels that he is totally confused and isolated from society. He faces up to his inevitable end. He goes to the great hall of his palace and pulls the curtains back from the big statue of his parents. All at once his memory clears and he remembers the distant past. This scene reflects the contrast between the greatness of the past and the crisis of the present. It is hard to convey what exactly in this reminiscence affects the Pharaoh so strongly, but he is suddenly and unusually moved as he stands in front of the picture and sees these rulers of a great civilization and empire, which is now being led to the tragedy of a civil war

and destruction.

However the scene is witnessed not only by the Pharaoh but by his sister as well. Her presence is in fact used by Maḥfūẓ the historical novelist to indicate that the pharaonic civilization reflected in the statue may be facing a historical crisis which will lead to the destruction of the king, but that reconciliation between the opposed forces is still possible because his sister may be placed on the throne. This can bring the crisis to an end as she respected the past while being in the same time acceptable to the present.

Scott and Maḥfūẓ appear to treat their characters in a similar way, in that they put the needs of society above the needs of the individual. Let us discuss the effect of this view on the fate of their characters.

In the case of Scott both Fergus and his sister Flora present an image of the historical forces which lead to the Jacobite rebellion and its end. Scott believes that the calamity which has befallen the Mac-Ivors is a result of their political involvement in that conflict, but for Scott the Mac-Ivors also mean that the old Jacobite spirit of resistance and struggle is very much alive in this period. The devotion, dedication and courage they offer to their cause is absolute and at the height of the tragedy they do not abandon their conviction of

the legitimacy of their cause. However, they are challenged by formidable historical forces which are irreversible. The forces of the times lead them inevitably to defeat. While some of the participants like Waverley and Bradwardine are spared, it is impossible for Fergus to be saved and thus he ends upon the gallows. For his sister, Flora, as we have said before, the defeat of the movement is for her more than a personal tragedy. She has lost the cause she has struggled for all her life, and in addition she has lost any hope for love or personal happiness in life.

Maḥfūẓ places the Pharaoh and his sister in a similar situation. They are faced with strong opposing forces in society. The resulting crisis for the Pharaoh leads to his personal alienation from society and to a position in which for him to make peace with his opponents is almost impossible. His death at the hands of his people expresses Maḥfūẓ's belief that society's needs are paramount.

The difference between Scott and Maḥfūẓ is that, unlike Flora, the Pharaoh's sister survives the crisis because she does not herself add to it. On the contrary, she tries to find a solution for the Pharaoh. In fact the solution suggested by Maḥfūẓ is realized as succession which represents a form of balance between past and present.

## Chapter 6

## *REDGAUNTLET* AND *KIFĀḤ ṬĪBA*

Redgauntlet is set in the years 1763-64 during the reign of George III, some eighteen years after the rebellion of 1745. It recounts a purely imaginary small-scale attempt by the Jacobites to regain the throne of Britain. At this time Jacobitism was no longer a real threat to the government. The movement had in fact been very much weakened by the passage of time and the rapid changes which had occurred both socially and economically; these factors made the movement very different from the uprising of 1745. However "the emotions which emerged after the defeat of 45 lingered on", and "sentimental Jacobitism remained for generations a form of Scottish national feeling".[1] It is this combination of a deep love for the past on the one hand and the exigencies of the present on the other which leads Devlin to say that Redgauntlet is a great historical novel, considering the question of man's relationship with the past and present.[2] The action in Redgauntlet takes place a mere eighteen years after that of Waverley, but during this time the old way of life has very much changed.

In this novel Jacobitism is again, as in Waverley, the central problem and at certain moments in the novel it seems that a handful of individuals might be successful in their attempt to restore the House of Stuart.

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1. Daiches, Redgauntlet, p.153.

2. Devlin, The Author, p.114.

The novel opens when Darsie Latimer leaves Edinburgh for the Borders in an attempt to discover his family background, of which he is completely ignorant. He was brought up by Alex Fairford along with his own son Alan. Darsie seems uncomfortable with his life with the Fairfords. Ultimately he rejects his legal studies and starts his journey to find out his real identity. This journey is considered by Brown to be a journey into the past:

> It is the young man's journey into the world of the past which constitutes the essential for an understanding of the novel to recognise that the young man's perception of the old Scotland is itself limited and prejudiced.[1]

The mysteries which surround his family's origins and Darsie's vague ideas on this subject lead him to travel toward the forbidden country beyond the Borders. He is not able to find out anything about his family's origin from Fairford though Darsie realizes that Fairford knows a great deal about it. Darsie explains this to Alan Fairford in his first letter to him:

> The faint, yet not improbable belief often has come across me, that your father knows something

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1. Brown, p.155

> more about my birth and natural condition than he is willing to communicate; it is so unlikely that I should have been left in Edinburgh at six years old, without any other recommendation than the regular payment of my board.[1]

His rejection of Fairford's family life comes possibly from his feeling of alienation on account of his family's origin. Therefore he wants by this journey to gild reality with the bright colours of imagination,[2] and he has been told that one day he will be heir to a fortune; accordingly he deems himself to be of high rank and destined for an important future.

Scott spends the first third of the novel on letters exchanged between Darsie Latimer and Alan Fairford. This correspondence reveals not only differences in their attitudes, but we also see the difference in their characters. Alan's aim is to become a lawyer and he looks forward to attaining a good social position. He explains this to Darsie:

> Then for the object of his solicitude - Do not laugh, or hold up your hands, my good

1. Redgauntlet, p.18.
2. Hartviet, p.206.

> Darsie; but upon my word I like the profession to which I am in the course of being educated, and am serious in prosecuting the preliminary studies. The law is my vocation.[1]

Darsie on the contrary has "vulgar dreams" and a "high and heroic character". Alan warns him in his letter:

> I often think that this wildfire chase, of romantic situation and adventure, may lead thee into some mischief.[2]

Darsie's imagination carries him to the Borders without realizing the reality of the world outside. Alan says to Darsie:

> View things as they are, and not as may be magnified through thy teeming fancy.[3]

Darsie's dream is simple and youthful. However misled he may be, his vision is characteristic of the novel's heroic

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1. *Redgauntlet*, p.26
2. *ibid.*, p.28.
3. *ibid.*, p.28.

theme by virtue of its novelty and glamour.[1]

In spite of the differences between these two characters, we see, as the novel proceeds, that "the real gulf is not between the two friends, but between both of them as 'modern' consciousness and the Jacobite sympathisers and temporisers who constitute the world of 'Old' Scotland in Redgauntlet".[2]

Darsie starts his adventure in the South West of Scotland near the Solway Firth, which divides Scotland from England on the West side. He becomes involved in a world of violence and obscurity, in spite of warnings not to go to England.

In dramatic circumstances Darsie meets Herries of Birrenswork who rescues him from the treacherous quicksands, and gives him lodging for the night. Darsie puts his host in perspective for the reader, since at his first meeting with him he describes his ingracious host, who is obliged to grant Darsie shelter from the storm:

> An air of sadness, or severity, or of both, seemed to indicate a melancholy, and at the same time, a haughty temper. I could not help

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1. Hartveit, p.231.

2. Brown, p.155.

> running mentally over the ancient heroes, to whom I might assimilate the noble form and countenance before me. He was too young, and evinced too little resignation to his fate, to resemble Belisarius. Coriolanus, standing by the hearth of Tullus Aufidius, came near the mark; yet the gloomy and haughty look of the stranger had, perhaps, still more of Marius, seated among the ruins of Carthage.[1]

A little later Alan Fairford finds that his father has been visited by a stranger known to him as Mr. Herries of Birrenswork. This stranger discusses matters of law with Mr. Fairford senior and Alan gives his impression of him as follows:

> I can only say, I thought him eminently disagreeable and ill-bred. - No, ill-bred is not the proper word; on the contrary, he appeared to know the rules of good-breeding perfectly, and only to think that the rank of the company did not require that he should attend to them - a view of the matter infinitely more offensive than if his behaviour had been that of uneducated and proper rudeness.

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1. Redgauntlet, p.44.

> While my father said grace, the Laird did all but whistle aloud; and when I, at my father's desire, returned thanks, he used his toothpick, as if he had waited that moment for its exercise.[1]

The two letters are in contrast. While Darsie's account of Mr. Herries is full of youthful enthusiasm to the degree that it is somewhat absurd, Alan's description of the same man is much more conventional and less penetrating.[2]

In Darsie's view Redgauntlet is a conventional romantic hero. Alan however does not guess that Herries is this same person. In his view Herries is someone quite different. However, at this stage of the novel neither has any idea of Herries' true identity. But later we see that both gradually delineate the character of Herries, when they all happen to meet together at the end of the novel.

When Darsie is about to leave Herries of Birrenswork, an unexpected incident takes place between Herries and the Quaker Joshua Geddes about fishing: Herries warns the Quaker:

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1. <u>ibid</u>., p.57.

2. Cockshut, p.196.

> I tell you in fair terms, Joshua Geddes, that you and your partners are using unlawful craft to destroy the fish in the Solway by stake-nets and wears; and that we, who fish fairly, and like men, as our fathers did, have daily and yearly less sport and less profit. Do not think gravity or hypocrisy can carry it off as you have done.[1]

He adds:

> Do not forget, however, that you have had fair warning, nor suppose that we will accept of fair words in apology for foul play. These nets of yours are unlawful - they spoil our fishings - and we will have them down at all risks and hazards.[2]

For Scott this incident is not just a spontaneous argument, but one which symbolizes the encounter of Herries, with his feudal values, and Geddes, who represents modern commercial society. Even Darsie - who witnesses for the first time a clash of this kind, thinks that this is an encounter between war and peace:

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1. Redgauntlet, p.62.
2. ibid., p.63.

> I could not help thinking that they might have formed no bad emblem of Peace and War; for although my conductor was unarmed, yet the whole of his manner, his stern look, and upright seat on horseback were entirely those of a soldier in undress.[1]

Darsie leaves Herries to stay with the Quaker at his farm, in his quiet house in Mount Sharon. The Quaker's way of life appears to Darsie to be an earthly paradise, which symbolizes the new agricultural innovations, and the modern way of life.

Thus the difference between Joshua Geddes and Herries is much deeper than would appear on the surface. It is the manifestation of a conflict between two different views of society. Herries represents the old Scotland of which he is the sole representative with its old traditions and values. He does not hesitate to defend this image in whatever way is needed. On the contrary Joshua Geddes has totally different aims in life and society in direct opposition to Herries' dream. Therefore they establish themselves in the novel as contrasting types. Accordingly, a clash between them is inevitable. Gordon comments on this point:

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1. ibid., p.62.

> Yet Geddes's nets, when compared with the spears used by Redgauntlet's comrades offer yet another emblem of peace against war, with the implication that peace is no less honourable for being the mother of abundance.[1]

Redgauntlet, on the other hand, is prepared to go to any lengths in defence of his own strange conception of fate.[2] The clash of the two sides takes place when Herries attacks the fishing station. In addition this incident ends up with Herries managing to kidnap Darsie and keep him in captivity. Darsie comments on this:

> I found I was bound as before; and the horrible reality rushed on my mind, that I was in the hands of those who had lately committed a great outrage on property, and were now about to kidnap, if not to murder me.[3]

This event develops Scott's theme even further, as it results in Darsie's involvement with the Jacobites. During his captivity he learns that Herries of Birrenswork is in fact his

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1. Gordon, Under, p.159.
2. ibid., p.160.
3. Redgauntlet, p.192.

uncle Redgauntlet, the Jacobite leader who is in the process of organizing another rebellion against the government.

Redgauntlet, for his part, still cherishes a lingering though hopeless attachment to the exiled prince. He has devoted all his life to the restoration of the Stuarts, and is still very enthusiastic for this cause. He explains this to Darsie:

> My life has been dedicated to one great object.[1]

He does not hesitate to apply fanaticism, violence, and even war for his cause. For Redgauntlet the matter is more than life and death. On one occasion he identifies the future of his family with the future of Scotland. In his view this is not just personal interest, but is a national struggle:

> If Scotland and my father's House cannot stand and flourish together, then perish the very name of Redgauntlet! Perish the son of my brother, with every recollection of the glories of my family, of the affections of my youth, rather than my country's cause should be injured in the tithing of a barley corn! The spirit

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1. *ibid.*, p.373.

of Sir Alberick is alive within me at this moment.[1]

This devotion to the Stuart cause is partly expressed through the Redgauntlet family history and the murder of Redgauntlet's ancestor Sir Alberick and the death of his own son after the 1745 Rebellion.[2] Redgauntlet's character is dominated by his own personal understanding of the connection between the past with all its glories, both on the family and national levels, and the present which, in his view, is unchanged. Even his violent dealing with Geddes springs from this view, for Geddes' new way of fishing is a great threat to Redgauntlet's existence as a symbol of the feudal system.

His arrangement of Darsie's kidnap is another example of his struggle for his beliefs as it aims at persuading Darsie to join the Jacobites. He thinks that Darsie as the only descendant of the Redgauntlet family can attract hundreds of other Jacobites to join the movement. He captures Darsie and holds him prisoner. For Redgauntlet there is no option but to force Darsie to follow him. Furthermore Darsie discovers that Redgauntlet's niece, Lilias, who is referred to

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1. ibid., p.379.

2. Brown, p.158.

as Green-mantle, is his sister. It is through her that Darsie comes to know his true identity and the history of his family, that he is Sir Arthur Darsie Redgauntlet and that his father was the head of an old Jacobite family who had been executed at Carlisle in 1746.

> You must know little of your own descent indeed ... you yourself, my dear Darsie, are the heir and representative of our ancient House, for our father was the elder brother - that brave and unhappy Sir Henry Darsie Redgauntlet, who suffered at Carlisle in the year 1746. He took the name of Darsie, in conjunction with his own, from our mother, heiress to a Cumberland family of great wealth and antiquity, of whose large estates you are the undeniable heir, although those of your father have been involved in the general doom of forfeiture. But all this must be necessarily unknown to you.[1]

This connection with the Redgauntlet family puts Darsie in an even more serious situation, which could have dangerous consequences. As he knows that Herries represents a dreadful force from the past which refuses to die, Darsie also realizes

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1. Redgauntlet, pp.352-353.

that his paternal authority will accept nothing less than complete submission.[1]

But this attitude is met with strong rejection by Darsie himself. He describes his uncle as:

> One of those fanatical Jacobites, doubtless, whose arms, not twenty years since, had shaken the British throne, and some of whom though their party daily diminished in numbers, energy, and power, retained still an inclination to renew the attempt they had found so desperate.[2]

For Darsie to take part in such a rebellion is unimaginable and totally unacceptable. He cannot maintain his uncle's fanatical zeal for a cause which is for him very mysterious. He does not believe at all that any attempt under the present circumstance could succeed, and moreover it is against Darsie's own principles. As he puts it to his sister:

> My principles and my prudence alike forbid such a step. Besides, it would be totally unavailing to his purpose. Whatever these people may pretend,

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1. Johnson, Unknown, vol.II, p.924.
2. Redgauntlet, p.227.

> to evade your uncle's importunities, they cannot, at this time of day, think of subjecting their necks again to the feudal yoke, which was effectually broken by the act of 1748, abolishing vassalage and hereditary jurisdictions.[1]

Darsie knows that he cannot change his own personal ideas and follow his family's hereditary political tendency in the manner advocated by his uncle. Darsie was brought up in a different society and a different environment, so simple acceptance of his uncle's dream is out of the question. In the following passage we see how Redgauntlet explains to Darsie why he cannot abandon his cause:

> Have I forgot my brother's blood? - Can I - dare I even now repeat the Pater Noster, since my enemies and the murderers remain unforgiven? - Is there an art I have not practised - a privation to which I have not submitted, to bring on the crisis which I now behold arrived? - Have I not been a vowed and devoted man, forgoing every comfort of social life, renouncing even the exercise of devotion unless when I might name in prayer my prince and country, submitting to every thing to make converts to this

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1. <u>ibid</u>., p.366.

> noble cause? ... Peace", he said "heir of my ancestors fame - heir of all my hopes and wishes - Peace, son of my slaughtered brother! I have sought for thee, and mourned for thee, as a mother for an only child. Do not let me again lose you in the moment when you are restored to my hopes."[1]

But Darsie strongly rejects the emotional aspect of his uncle and the destiny which Redgauntlet offers him. He is part of a new situation and thinks of a different future both for himself and for his country. Moreover his commonsense makes him refuse even to believe that the rebellion can have any chance of support:

> I look around me, and see a settled government - an established authority - a born Briton on the throne - the very Highland mountaineers upon whom alone the trust of the exiled family reposed, assembled into regiments, which act under the orders of the existing dynasty ... All without and within the kingdom is adverse to encountering a hopeless struggle, and you alone sir, seem willing to undertake a desperate enterprise.[2]

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1. ibid., pp.375-376.
2. ibid., p.375.

So, the impact of the threatened clash between Jacobitism and Hanoverianism falls on Darsie,[1] who becomes in the final chapter of the novel an observer of events. His uncle is trying very hard to organize the Jacobites, and stage an invasion of Carlisle, with the former feudal tenants and retainers of the Redgauntlet family. The laird of Redgauntlet believes that if his forces can capture Carlisle, many loyal and reluctant supporters will see that Jacobitism is still alive and will join his forces.

However, the real challenge to Redgauntlet's plan comes from the Jacobites themselves, who join the gathering at an inn on the Solway Firth. Daiches comments on this gathering:

> In describing the last Jacobite gathering Scott relentlessly exposes the widening gap between sentimental Jacobitism and active rebellion.[2]

Some of the Jacobites have joined the gathering out of traditional loyalty, but are hoping at the same time that nothing will come of it; Redgauntlet nonetheless tries to persuade the gathering to start a new rebellion. He goes as far as bringing the Prince himself to Scotland. He addresses

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1. Hartveit, Dream, p.239.

2. Daiches, Redgauntlet, p.155.

them:

> Charles Edward is in this country - Charles Edward is in this House! Charles Edward waits but your present decision, to receive the homage of those who have ever called themselves his loyal liegemen. He that would now turn his coat, and change his note, must do so under the eye of his sovereign.[1]

But, in fact, only Redgauntlet is prepared in practice for the rebellion, and most of the gathering, such as Meredith and Dr. Grumball, even the Jacobite Provost Crosbie, are not really prepared. To quote Mayhead:

> The truth is that the Stuart cause has lost its practical reality. It is a thing of the past, a romantic relic, an anachronism and when the assembled gentlemen go on to find a fatal obstacle to engaging in a new rebellion, it is not because they are truly disloyal, but because there is no longer anything substantial to be loyal to.[2]

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1. Redgauntlet, p.411.
2. Mayhead, (2), p.48.

Moreover the assembled retainers claim that they have only joined this gathering for consultation, not as a council of war. Even the Prince's presence gives them a feeling of embarrassment rather than joy.

The most distressing moment of all occurs when word comes that General Campbell, supported by troops of the Hanoverian government, is approaching to stop the assembled Jacobites. The General's quiet, solitary and unthreatening entrance thwarts the Jacobites' challenge. Campbell further deflates the Jacobites' anger by offering an amnesty and by asserting:

> I have come here, of course, sufficiently supported both with cavalry and infantry, to do whatever might be necessary; but my commands are - and I am sure they agree with my inclination - to make no arrests, nay, to make no further enquiries of any kind, if this good assembly will consider their own interest so far as to give up their immediate purpose and return quietly home to their own houses.[1]

By now the Jacobites and their Prince represent so

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1. Redgauntlet, p.438.

insignificant a threat that there is no need for arrests and even the Prince is permitted to sail away to the Continent.

Redgauntlet realizes by now that the old dream of a Jacobite victory is dead.

> "Then gentlemen" said Redgauntlet, clasping his hands together as the words burst from him, "the cause is lost for ever!"[1]

In this novel Scott shows the political struggle of many people who had devoted all their lives to the Stuart cause coming to an end, and the movement being irrevocably defeated. It is a defeat for Redgauntlet himself, as well, as he is the last of the Jacobites to lead a force for the Stuarts' cause. This clearly signals the passing of one age and the coming to Scotland of a new one, with its modern trends, attitudes and ways of life.

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Maḥfūẓ's third historical novel, Kifāḥ Ṭība, "Thebes' Struggle", was published in 1944. It is set in the period of

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1. ibid., p.439

the Hyksos conquest of Egypt at the end of the 17th dynasty. This period is considered by historians as one of the most dramatic periods of Egyptian history. For the first time Egypt was conquered and dominated by foreign invaders, who managed to rule Lower Egypt for some time. Historians are generally not certain about the origin of the Hyksos as a race. Wilson's view is that "The Hyksos were Easterners of unknown race, who entered Egypt suddenly and unexpectedly and conquered the land without a battle".[1] Gardiner disagrees with Wilson, considering this interpretation by modern scholars as erroneous. He believes that the Hyksos invasion was "an infiltration by Palestinians, glad to find refuge in a more peaceful and fertile environment".[2]

No matter where they came from, the Hyksos represented a considerable threat to Pharaonic Egypt and its people. In Kifāḥ Ṭība Maḥfūẓ tries to reconstruct the Egyptians' national struggle against the Hyksos and their final expulsion from the country.

It appears that Maḥfūẓ based his novel on folk-tales of a later period, describing the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty. The first of these folk-tales is about

1. Wilson, p.159.

2. Gardiner, p.157.

King Sekenenre who ruled Egypt around 1600 B.C. This tale is mentioned by Breasted in a chapter called "The Expulsion of the Hyksos and the triumph of Thebes". Breasted comments on this tale: "This tale, as current four hundred years later in Ramessid days, is our only source for the events that immediately followed".[1] The same tale is repeated by James Baikie in his chapter called "The War of Independence". He says:

> For our account of the events which finally led to the expulsion of the Hyksos overlords of Egypt, we are indebted to a schoolboy's exercise written some three hundred and fifty years later than the incident which it professes to describe.[2]

This tale is mainly concerned with the Hyksos' first attempt to dominate Thebes and to reduce the powers of the Egyptian king.

The story starts with a messenger being sent to Sekenenre from the Hyksos king Apophis, complaining about the noises of the hippopotami of Thebes which prevent the king from sleeping:

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1. Breasted, p.223.

2. Baikie, The History, vol.I, p.413.

> The messenger says to him, 'It is king Apophis who sends to thee saying: "One [that is the messenger] has come [to thee] concerning the pool of the hippopotami, which is in the city [Thebes]. For they permit me no sleep, day and night, the noise of them is in my ear".[1]

But the real issues of that period appear to remain obscure to the historians. However James Baikie comments on the subject of these stories:

> But the reality which lies behind them is that the situation, as between the Hyksos king and the vassal of Thebes, had gradually been more and more strained, that Apepa (Apophis) felt the need of bringing things to a head.[2]

It seems that king Sekenenre was not successful in his attempt to stop the Hyksos influence. However the only indisputable fact about his life is that his mummy was found with frightful wounds in the head, indicating that he was a victim of a struggle of a bitter nature.

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1. Breasted, p.223.
2. Baikie, The History, vol.I, p.416.

Moreover, Breasted and Baikie narrated some other tales, which all together possibly gave Maḥfūẓ a general idea of the history of that period.

The second part of the story narrated by Baikie is about the period of Sekenenre's successor "Kames" (Kāmūs). This story is similarly based on the writing board of an Egyptian schoolboy. It explains the seriousness of the threat from the Hyksos king, with which Kames was confronted and emphasises his determination to face the problem. This is made clear in the king's speech:

> I should like to know what use my power is to me, when there is one prince sitting in Avaris and another in Kush, while I sit cheek by jowl with an Asiatic and a Nigger! Each hath his slice of Egypt, and divides the land with me - as far as Memphis, on the water of Egypt.[1]

The military activities against the Hyksos conducted by this king were later confirmed for their historical authenticity, by new archaeological discoveries. To quote Gardiner:

> No Egyptological discovery of recent years has caused more excitement among scholars than the

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1. Baikie, The History, p.418.

> unearthing at Karnak in 1954 of a stela recounting at length the military measures taken by Sekenenre's successor Kamose against the Hyksos king $^{c}$Aweserrē$^{c}$ Apopi (Apophis).[1]

Kamose's attempts to liberate Egypt were cut short by his early death. He was succeeded by his son Ahmes I, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It seems that this young king intended to continue the task of carrying on his father's struggle.

Here we come to another story narrated by a man named Ahmes, son of Abana, who left his autobiography on the walls of his tomb. His father served under king Sekenenre. Ahmes explains that he was a young sailor, before being appointed to serve against the Hyksos. He gives the details of his service under king Ahmes I, and the battles in which he took part. He narrates how he was decorated for his courage and bravery by the king after each battle. Moreover he described in detail the war between the Egyptians and the Hyksos, particularly king Ahmes's siege of Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos. He describes how the king succeeded in liberating Egypt. Baikie comments on Ahmes's narration:

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1. Gardiner, p.165.

So far the old sailor of El-Kab (Ahmes son of Abana), has brought his narrative down to the point at which the Hyksos had finally been driven out of Egypt, and were even worried of their last hold of Palestine.[1]

It would appear that Mahfūz uses these three tales as the basic material for his third historical novel, Kifāh Tība.

It has been pointed out that Mahfūz owes the beginning of his fame as a novelist to this novel which differs from his former ones in both style and structure. To quote Sakkut:

When the novel was first published in 1944, the literary critic of the magazine Al-Risāla, Sayyed Qutb, began his review of it as follows. "I try to be reserved in my praise of this novel but an overpowering enthusiasm for it, and a sweeping delight at its appearance, carry me away. This is the truth, and I should make this clear to the reader from the first line, in the hope that this revelation may help me to restrain my headstrong enthusiasm and to return to a critic's calmness and impartiality." At the conclusion of the article the critic had this to say: "If I had the authority,

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1. Baikie, The History, vol.I, p.425.

I should make this novel available to every girl and boy, I should publish it and distribute a copy of it to every home, free, and should give for its author, whom I do not know, one of those countless parties given in Egypt in honour of the deserving and the undeserving."[1]

Some critics have tried to connect Maḥfūẓ's theme in Kifāḥ Ṭība with the situation in Egypt in the 1940s and the British occupation; Fatma Mousa says:

> The analogy with modern British forces of occupation is obvious; the Hyksos were represented as 'fair and blue-eyed'.[2]

The same idea is emphasized by Al-Shaṭṭī who also adds that the theme of struggle and liberation from a foreign army is the first step towards any sort of change and reform in the country.[3]

However, we see that other critics such as M.H. ᶜAbdallāh, have another view, believing that Maḥfūẓ's novel symbolizes

1. Sakkut, p.73.
2. Moussa, p.49.
3. Al-Shaṭṭī, p.48.

the Turks and the Circassians who ruled Egypt for a long time.[1] Maḥfūẓ himself supported this interpretation of his novel. In an interview with Ṣabrī Ḥāfiẓ, he says:

> A non-Arab critic has interpreted Kifāḥ Ṭība as a Utopia, and that I have dreamt about purifying the Egyptian Utopia from the Turks rather than from the English. This is the first time a critic has pointed out that I've been working against the Turkish domination and represented by the court (Sarāy) since most Arab critics have taken the view that it is anti-English. But the Hyksos bore more resemblance to the Turks than to the English. I have been deeply impressed by this view.[2]

The parallel between the Turks and the Hyksos is clearer in the novel. The Egyptian generally considers the Turks as foreigners who are not concerned with Egyptian interests. In Maḥfūẓ's novel the Thebans complain that the white-skinned Hyksos overlords dominate the land, and rule Egypt with an iron hand, just as the Turks did later. The rich robbed the poor and a corrupt king and court oppressed the people on their own land. This description is of course similar to what

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1. ᶜAbdallāh, al-Wāqiᶜiyya, p.201.

2. Ḥāfiẓ, Ataḥaddath, pp.88-89.

happened in Egypt during the Turkish period.

Moreover, Kifāḥ Ṭība indicated clearly that Maḥfūẓ was working along with the great tide of Egyptian national sentiment aroused by the two wars. He found himself influenced by this vision of national destiny. In Kifāḥ Ṭība, he invested the defeat of the Hyksos with historical overtones.

This novel is divided into three parts, with the space of ten years between the events of the first part and those of the second.

In the first part the Hyksos are seen to be in complete control of lower Egypt, while it appears that the Egyptians are maintaining an independent autonomy in upper Egypt. However as early as the first chapter, it seems that the Hyksos are not happy with the situation in Thebes. It is clear that they are planning an attempt to put an end to Thebes' independence and to establish control over all Egypt:

> There is no Egyptian governor except this governor of Thebes. If we get rid of him we shall become the rulers of Egypt for ever, and our Lord the king will be secure and not fear any rebellion against him.[1]

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1. Kifāḥ, p.6.

They plan to achieve this initially by sending a messenger to the capital of Upper Egypt, with a message from the Hyksos Pharaoh to the Egyptian 'king'. They want the governor of the south to slaughter all the hippopotami as they do not allow the Hyksos king to sleep, (this is historically correct, as has been mentioned). But Maḥfūẓ adds two other demands, that the Egyptians should build a temple to the Hyksos god Set in Thebes; the messenger says to the king:

> While my lord was ill, he saw in his sleep our worshipped god Set visiting him with all his majesty and splendour and reproachfully saying to him: Is it right that the south in its entirety should have not a single temple where my name may get a mention? My lord swore that he would ask his friend the governor of the south to build a temple in Thebes to be dedicated to Set side by side with the temple of Āmūn.[1]

Moreover, they ask Sekenenra$^{c}$ not to wear the white crown of Upper Egypt as according to them, there is only one king in Egypt:

> O noble ruler, it has been brought to my lord's

1. <u>ibid</u>., p.10.

> attention that you have been wearing the white crown of Egypt. This has attracted his attention, and it is his view that this is out of keeping with the traditional friendship and affection between your great family and the Pharaonic family.[1]

It is clear from this passage that the Hyksos Pharaoh considers himself the Pharaoh of both Upper and Lower Egypt. Sekenenra[c] is merely a governor ruling through obedience and tribute. This message constitutes a considerable danger to the Thebans and a direct threat to their independence. Sekenenra[c] is displeased at the Hyksos refusal to consider him as their equal. He calls for a conference with his heir Kāmūs, and his advisers Bībī the army leader and the High Priest, explaining to them the seriousness of his situation:

> So you see, gentlemen, that in order to please Apophis we should stop wearing this crown, slaughter the holy Hippopotami, and build a temple to be dedicated to the worship of Set beside the temple of Āmūn. Therefore advise me what to do.[2]

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1. *ibid.*, p.11.
2. *ibid.*, p.12.

They reach the decision that they should reject the Hyksos' demand. In other words the Egyptians should prepare themselves for war against them. In fact Sekenenra$^{c}$ starts to make the necessary preparation for such a war. But they cannot, by any means, resist the Hyksos' powerful army, and ultimately they are easily defeated. The Hyksos under the leadership of Apophis succeed in occupying Thebes. Sekenenra$^{c}$ himself is killed during the battle, and his family escapes to Nubia in the south of the country with the crown prince Kāmūs. By now the Hyksos are in control of all Egypt. Historically, however, the Hyksos did not manage to get even as far as Thebes. To quote Gardiner:

> The whole tenor of the great inscription makes it clear that this Apophis, presumably the last of his name, never extended his rule beyond Khnūm, except for quite temporary occupation of Gebelen (Pī-Ḥathōr); and there is no real evidence that any other member of his race had ever done so either.[1]

This statement is evidence that the Hyksos' control of all Egypt in the novel is Maḥfūẓ's invention. He possibly uses this development to highlight the role played by the Egyptians in

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1. Gardiner, p.168.

liberating the country, as this would have more significance for the modern reader.

The events of the second part of Kifāḥ Ṭība take place ten years after this defeat. The Egyptians supervised by the king Kāmūs and the exiled royal family start to prepare for another round in the continually recurring struggle with their conquerors.

The first chapter of this part starts with the young prince Aḥmas, Kāmūs's son, travelling from Nubia to Egypt, disguised as a merchant with several servants. His journey is an attempt to go back to his country to examine the situation from inside Egypt. He manages to cross the border which has been closed since the war in the person of a merchant called Isfīnīs. He is accompanied by Ḥūr his grandfather's chamberlain as his guide, who is disguised in the person of Lātū the merchant's assistant.

Here Maḥfūẓ moves the events of his novel back to Egypt, in an attempt to give a picture of Egyptian society under the Hyksos occupation. He describes to the reader the suffering, hardship and poverty of the people. While the Hyksos live in luxury, the people of Egypt cannot afford to pay for their basic needs; he meets some people in an inn who tell him:

> This inn is a retreat for the miserable, for those who serve delicious meals while they are hungry, for those who make the best clothes while they are bare and for those who entertain at the festivities of the lords while they are heart-broken and dispirited.[1]

He meets another person:

> I am not a thief, my lord, I am wandering in the land, going east and west wherever my feet take me. If I come across a stray goose or hen, I lead it to a refuge which is frequently my hut.
>
> - And do you eat it?
>
> - Not at all, my lord. Good food poisons my stomach. However I sell it to whoever is willing to buy.
>
> - But aren't you afraid of the guards?
>
> - I dread them since no-one, except the rich and rulers, is permitted to steal.[2]

Moreover Maḥfūẓ's hero hears of a strange incident in which a Hyksos officer attacks an Egyptian woman, demanding that she join his harem. When she refuses she is tortured and put in a jail.

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1. Kifāḥ, p.81.
2. ibid., p.82.

Prince Aḥmas under the name of Isfīnīs goes to the law courts and listens to the sort of humiliation that the people of Egypt receive from the Hyksos. Prince Aḥmas rescues the woman from jail by paying her fine. Later he is introduced to her son Aḥmas, who happens to be the son of the late Bībī, leader of the Egyptian army that was earlier defeated when attempting to defend Thebes. It seems that this Aḥmas is the historical Ahmes, son of Abana. Aḥmas is one of Maḥfūẓ's mediating figures who bridges the gulf between the old loyalties and the new. He becomes the devoted follower of Prince Aḥmas.

By this visit Aḥmas achieves two things. First, he succeeds in persuading the Hyksos king to restore relations between Egypt and Nubia, and to open the border for trade.

Secondly, and more significantly, he makes contacts with the people of Egypt, and with the members of the old nobility, who eagerly are prepared to support him with loyalty, courage, and good sense.

After surveying the city of Thebes and the temper of the subject Egyptian populace, Prince Aḥmas returns to Nubia, with a group of Egyptians to be trained there. They are met by king Kāmūs who addresses them:

The Lord Āmūn was so merciful that he visited the

purest in heart and the greatest of us in hope, Mother Tūtīshīrī, in her sleep and commended her to send my son Aḥmas to the land of our fathers and forefathers to bring soldiers who will rescue Egypt from her enemy who has humiliated her. Acting upon the command of the lord, I sent my son and he brought you here; welcome to you, soldiers of Egypt and soldiers of Kāmūs, and tomorrow more will come. Let us be patient, let us work, let struggle be our slogan, Egypt be our hope and Āmūn our faith.[1]

With enthusiasm and determination the Egyptians prepare themselves to start a war of liberation against the Hyksos. Maḥfūẓ gives the following description:

During these ten years Napata had been transformed into a huge factory for manufacturing ships, chariots, and for all kinds of military equipment. It had come to fruition and begun to form a basis for renewed hope.[2]

The day for the liberation finally arrives, and Maḥfūẓ deals with these events in a chapter entitled 'Aḥmas's struggle'.

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1. Kifāḥ, p.130.
2. ibid., p.132.

It starts with the king Kāmūs, Aḥmas's father leading the Egyptian army in their attempt to drive out the Hyksos. The aim of this army and its future policies are explained to the Egyptians by Aḥmas Abānā:

> We have come to rescue you, and to emancipate Egypt. So rejoice, do you not see these massive forces? They are the army of salvation, the army of our Lord king Kāmūs the son of the martyred king Sekenenra$^{c}$ who has come to liberate his people and to regain his throne.[1]

After a few victorious battles in which the Egyptian army shows great courage and enthusiasm, it becomes clear that this time the Egyptian army has the upper hand. But not everything works as the Egyptians want. While king Kāmūs is inspecting the enemy dead, a wounded soldier stands up suddenly and shoots the king with an arrow and kills him immediately.

The third part of the novel starts after this sad incident. Prince Aḥmas takes over and leads the army to the completion of its task. It liberates the cities and villages one after the other, until they reach their old capital, Thebes.

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1. ibid., p.140.

The following chapters are full of scenes of battles between the Egyptian army and the Kyksos. These scenes possibly represent the best of Maḥfūẓ's work. He describes battles on a massive scale and their treatment is dramatic.

The great centrepiece in this part of Maḥfūẓ's novel is the siege of Thebes. He describes it in detail, with the Egyptian army outside the walls of the town and the Hyksos, surrounded within. However the Egyptians are faced with a critical situation when their enemy puts the Egyptian women on the walls of Thebes to protect themselves from the army's attack. But even this cannot prevent them from continuing the liberation war; one of their leaders addresses his king in the following words about women on the walls:

> Yes my lord, they are a sacrifice to the struggle. They are like our brave soldiers, one falling at every moment. Indeed, they are like our martyred king Sekenenra$^{c}$, like the brave Kāmūs whom we have lost. Why should we be concerned about their death to the extent that it would set back our struggle?[1]

This indicates the Egyptian's enthusiasm and determination

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1. ibid., p.173.

to fight the enemy no matter what price they have to pay, even if it is their own wives and children.

After they successfully liberate Thebes, the traditional capital of their ancestors, king Aḥmas and his army are even more determined than before not to stop until they have driven the Hyksos back to the desert from which they came. They are determined to fight until Egypt is one country again; this attitude is shown in Aḥmas' speech:

> But I have pledged myself before the lord and my people that I would set the whole of Egypt free from the yoke of injustice and subjugation, and restore to it its freedom and glory. If whoever sent you is genuinely seeking peace he should leave Egypt to its rightful owners and should return with his people to the deserts of the north.[1]

Another important event of the novel is the siege of Hawārīs (Avaris). By now the Hyksos have realized that they cannot resist the Egyptians. Accordingly they agree to leave Egypt on condition that all their prisoners will be set free. Aḥmas speaks to the Hyksos messenger:

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1. ibid., p.206.

> We have considered your proposals very carefully. My main concern is the liberation of my country from your domination, and since you have accepted that, I have opted for a peaceful solution to spare blood. We shall exchange prisoners at once. I will not, however, order an end to the fighting until the last one of you has left Hawāris, so that this dark era in the history of my country may come to an end.[1]

Thus the liberation of Egypt is completed under the leadership of king Aḥmas, who consequently becomes the symbol of liberation and national unity, and for the first time for hundreds of years he has succeeded in uniting Upper and Lower Egypt in one kingdom.

Parallel with the main theme of his novel, Maḥfūẓ involves his hero Aḥmas in a love story, as he did in his former novel Rādūbīs. In fact this love theme has little bearing on the main events of the novel. However, the relationship between Prince Aḥmas and the Hyksos Princess Amanrīdis begins when he meets her during his first visit to Egypt as a merchant. She is attracted by him, and this relationship between them grows even more when she saves him from an attack by a Hyksos officer. But Aḥmas

1. ibid., p.223.

thinks that his national role and responsibility towards his country is greater than his love and neglects her, even though he feels that he is deeply in love with her. A long time passes before they meet again at the end of the novel, when Aḥmas, once disguised as a trader has become a victorious king, and Amanrīdis the honoured princess is now his prisoner of war.

Maḥfūẓ cleverly takes up the love story to surprise us with a typically dramatic twist. Aḥmas has to choose between two things: either he must send Amanrīdis back to her father king Apophis to ensure the evacuation by the Hyksos of their last stronghold on Egyptian soil, Hawārīs, or he sacrifices the lives of thirty thousand Egyptian prisoners. Aḥmas's decision is not difficult to guess. He puts his people's safety and his country's future above his personal interests, even though this will lead to the loss of his lover. Maḥfūẓ intertwines these two themes throughout his novel Kifāḥ Ṭība.

The excellence of this novel lies not only in Maḥfūẓ's description of the Egyptian side, their preparation of their army, the great battles they fight and the manner in which they liberate their country but also in his account of the Hyksos bravery:

> One of the achievements of the novel is the admirable descriptions of the defeat, and later the victory of the Egyptians. These show the first signs of Maḥfūẓ's objectivity, which is more developed in his later works, and which distinguishes him from almost all other Arab novelists.[1]

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Arising from the previous analysis of Redgauntlet and Kifāḥ Ṭība, it would be appropriate first of all to point out the obvious fact that the "history" of Scott's novel is wholly fictional, since the exiled prince never returned to Scotland to make another attempt for the crown. Furthermore, the person of Redgauntlet never existed. In fact, Redgauntlet has no real relevance to any historical events as is the case in Waverley. The main characters, however, are given by the creator an inextricable link with the period in which they are set, and their destinies are in a very real sense determined by the events of that period. Thus Scott successfully shows in this novel how Jacobitism as a movement in history came to its inevitable end.

Meanwhile, in Kifāḥ Ṭība, Maḥfūẓ is unable to avoid

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1. Sakkut, p.74.

using material taken straight from history. He draws a certain number of historical events, characters and items of general information from the available sources, in his attempt to reconstruct this epoch of Pharaonic history, and to give a sense of historical verisimilitude to his novel.

However, both writers chose to set their novels in a critical period of the history of their nations. This fact allows us to discuss some comparable elements in this stage of our study. We will deal first with the cultural confrontation in both novels. Secondly we will discuss the fusing together of individual and national affairs. In addition some other parallel points will be discussed.

With regard to the first point, it is clear that the Jacobites represent the history of the old Scotland which they wanted to rebuild, and whose old traditions and values they hoped to re-establish. These values and traditions were in one way or another affected by the Union which brought a whole new culture to Scotland. From the Jacobites' point of view Scotland remained true to itself and to its own tradition. Scotland's true nature manifested itself in their view every now and then in various uprisings, as is shown in Waverley for example. But in Redgauntlet it is not, indeed, all Scotland which is consciously subjected to a great strain. In this novel Jacobitism is the central issue, but in fact its

character has changed. The whole question indeed is whether it has the internal resources to survive or not. This question is dramatized and explored in the choice of situation that Scott selects for Redgauntlet with his strong passions, his projected rebellion and his fanatical nature, and with his old and respected family and its affinity with the Stuart cause, and his cult of the old values and traditions. All this is confronted with the new generation who accept and indeed enjoy the new culture and are completely reconciled to the new Scotland, represented in the novel by Joshua Geddes, Fairford, and even Redgauntlet's own nephew Darsie. Darsie in fact represents the spirit of the new age, being hostile to his uncle's attitudes and to the Jacobite movement in general.

Accordingly, this confrontation leads to violence, as in the episode of the fishing-nets. There is moreover the possibility of social disorder, or even civil war breaking out in Scotland.

In this novel, Jacobitism is given another chance to survive, but the Jacobites fail to defend their cause. Redgauntlet's failure has something to do with his supporters themselves. They have long since lost faith in Jacobitism, which is now possible only as a sentiment, not as a plan of action. These men were ready to turn their backs on the cause.

Moreover, there is a strong hint that the basic reason for the movement's failure lies even deeper than this; it is rooted in the condition of the present. The new culture with its social and economic changes in Scotland has left no room either for the old culture or for its old values. In Redgauntlet Scott explains the decline of this old culture and looks forward to the emerging one. This concern is reflected in the structure of the novel, the originality of its form being a measure of his understanding of this phenomenon.

In Kifāḥ Ṭība there is a similar confrontation, between the culture introduced to Egypt by the Hyksos and that of the Pharaohs. Maḥfūẓ's novel begins with this problem.

The sort of changes demanded by the Hyksos in the political position of the Egyptian Pharaohs, the religious threat created by the introduction of another God beside the Egyptian God, also the social changes which affected the whole structure of Pharaonic society after the conquest of Thebes; these changes which the Hyksos brought to Egypt indeed constitute a real threat to the Egyptian culture. The Hyksos took their ideas from their own culture using it as a basis for action. It was not just an attack on the existing order of society, but in fact an attack on the basis of Pharaonic civilization in general, leading to the possible destruction of the Pharaonic myth, and consequently to a destabilizing of the complex

relationship between the Egyptian people and the Pharaohs which had existed for centuries.

Mahfūz dramatizes these facts in his novels; the future of the nation and the very existence of their whole culture were at stake.

The confrontation in Kifāh Tība seems to be stronger and appears more explicit. Accordingly it leads to results which differ from those reached in Redgauntlet. In the latter novel the crisis is resolved peacefully, since the collapse of the Jacobites will never be made public. In Kifāh Tība the open war between the two sides is unavoidable. Mahfūz gives his nation the fullest possible test, in order to find out what they could do and what might emerge from their struggle should they face a similar situation in modern times. He shows in this novel how the nation as a whole may possibly react in a similar situation.

However, it is clear that the confrontation, in both novels, ends in the establishment of a strong state marking the beginning of a new historical era for the nation.

Scott's novel shows the emergence of modern Scotland and Mahfūz's the beginning of a new dynasty which is to last for centuries.

Another important parallel between the novels is the fusing of individual and national affairs.

Scott uses the life of Redgauntlet's family as a vehicle of meaning for the society of a certain period. The novel's plot reveals that Redgauntlet, who is extremely loyal to the Scottish past, clearly identifies the future of Scotland with the future of his own family. On one occasion he says: "If Scotland and my father's house cannot stand and flourish together then perish the name of Redgauntlet". The history of Redgauntlet's family reveals their close traditional link with the House of Stuart. The test of Redgauntlet's principles and ideals is embodied in his attempt at another rebellion; he is willing to risk his own life for the sake of his cause, rather than face the ridicule of the world around him. His character, his devotion to this cause, his social position, as well as the historical significance of his family, all these factors have to be held in balance and taken into account in the development of the novel.

Scott's novel shows us how Redgauntlet's aims are ultimately connected with the struggle of the Jacobites. His actions at certain crucial moments can be considered as a model for the Jacobites to follow in their relations with one another. When he realizes at the end of the novel that his attempt at

this rebellion has failed, which for him is the failure of the cause, he says: "the cause is lost for ever".

In Kifāh Tība Mahfūz uses the Pharaonic family as an image embodying all Egypt. The symbolic significance of the Pharaohs is at once apparent. Accordingly, Mahfūz chooses as the main characters of his novel members of the Pharaonic family. This helps us to understand Ahmas's role and significance as the hero of liberation. His father and grandfather were both killed defending their nation. So Prince Ahmas, in his exile, has no difficulty in finding friends and supporters among the Egyptians. He has access to people in every part of society. He has inherited his right to do what is best for Egypt, so it is his duty to lead his people's struggle. For Mahfūz he is a typically Egyptian figure and can easily recognize the characteristic manifestation of popular feeling towards the Hyksos conquerors.

The framework of the novel is provided by the Pharaohs who are the foundation of Egyptian society without whom everything would collapse. In this particular historical crisis there is a great need for a leader through whom liberation can be effected. Prince Ahmas enters the novel and succeeds in leading his nation to final victory.

However, an important point to be made here is that both

novelists are true to history in the way they present the situation their heroes are placed in. While Aḥmas becomes a national hero as history requires, giving expression to the aspirations and the national demands of the whole people, history has prepared a different destiny for Redgauntlet. A crisis of choice is facing his countrymen who want a strong independent Scotland, but not the war which goes with it; this attitude makes Redgauntlet's end inevitable.

A major difference between the two novels is that Scott is torn between his love of the past and his desire to hold on to the present and build on it. In Redgauntlet he weighs loss against gain in Scotland in the cultural replacement of the old. He is very much attached to the old. At the same time, he never attacks the new. What that old tradition means to Scotland is represented by Redgauntlet and his Jacobite followers. What the present offers is represented by Geddes and others. Scott's achievement in this novel is that he dramatizes this situation, objectively revealing its nature. Scott's particular time in history possibly helped him to gain a better understanding of the seriousness of this situation. The solution offered by Scott is in his opinion the best for his country's destiny. His attitude shows the greatness of Scotland's past and regret for the abandonment of its values, on the one hand. On the other, he is in favour of a better, modern Scotland, and of the new

culture and progress which is basically in harmony with the present.

It seems that Maḥfūẓ in Kifāḥ Ṭība is more committed to the new order in terms of restoring the old glorious values. This view is put forward by Maḥfūẓ through his nationalistic ideals which are amplified in this novel. The development and climax of Kifāḥ Ṭība is reflected in Prince Aḥmas's success in getting all the nation together, to struggle very hard for the liberation of their country. Such a view of the past demonstrates an intimate connection between that period of Pharaonic history and modern Egyptian history. The novel's popularity is accounted for by the sense of nationalism which fascinates the modern readers. It is a sort of appeal to the national sentiments of Maḥfūẓ's readers, when so many Egyptians felt that their country was being exploited by foreign powers. It is this view which Maḥfūẓ shares with his hero Aḥmas, who reflects the feelings of his countrymen, in this last of Maḥfūẓ's historical novels.

Another parallel between the novels is that the love theme is of little interest in either plot.

In Redgauntlet, Darsie's love story has indeed very little to do with Scott's central plot and the novel's treatment of it is decidely limited. His main concern in this love story

seems to be the depiction of Darsie's and Greenmantle's divergent fortunes. Darsie's discovery that she is really his sister comes more as a relief than as a source of regret or despair. The fact that they do not drift into romantic love has been plotted or willed by fate. Moreover for Darsie it underlines a new sense of self-knowledge and awareness of his family background. However, Darsie and Greenmantle have important roles to play in the novel as they become the inspiring factors for the action of others. This is something which they themselves do not intend and for which they are unwilling to assume responsibility.

Given the basic situation in *Kifāḥ Ṭība*, Aḥmas's task as the hero of liberation is not an easy one. The talents of the leader are directed to struggle and war, a situation in which a man like Aḥmas has real influence, as the novel fully shows. The emphasis of the novel is more on the nation's past, present, and future than on his personal love story. As Maḥfūẓ's plot develops, it becomes a matter of delivering a country under occupation, a nation which has lost its freedom. The plot reaches a point when any love relationship for Aḥmas seems meaningless. Aḥmas is unable to feel deeply about anything which undermines his first duty towards Egypt. Moreover at the end of the novel, when his lover Amanrīdis, the Hyksos princess, becomes his prisoner, he frees her at the expense of his love in exchange for thousands of Egyptian prisoners.

Aḥmas's failure in love seems to be a result of his understanding of the situation rather than lack of passion. It is not hard to accept the necessity for this sort of separation between mind and heart as Aḥmas has no real choice of action. However the essential unity of the novel does not suffer, as Aḥmas's role is generally regarded as that of a national hero, not a romantic hero.

# CONCLUSION

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In dealing with the historical novelist's response to a given historical situation we have seen that both Scott and Maḥfūẓ, in reconstructing particular historical periods, attempt similarly to recreate historical figures and events which embody certain eras or the ways of life of a certain period. Both men see history as a series of crises which lead to a decisive moment in the evolution of a country. They strikingly resemble one another despite the differences of language, culture, and historical setting. Maḥfūẓ attempts to do for Egypt what Scott did for Scotland, as he said on one occasion, using Scott's model constructively. However it is not the differences of temperament or practice, but the differences in the moment of history at which they stood, which dictates the differences between their novels. Accordingly the method of achieving their goal is rather different, as their attitudes derive from their responses to the special historical circumstances of their own countries.

In Scott's case what is peculiar to him is the result of the complexity of his country's historical situation. Within his novels Scott combines the cultural and historical circumstances of Scotland.

Scott understands very well that a suitable historical setting and suitable changes in the fortunes of his characters provide no more than a framework for his novel. But this historical situation should illuminate the character of the novel and itself be illuminated by them. It was important for Scott to find out what had happened in Scotland's past, but what hope there was for the present was not less important. As one critic puts it, "Scott was a lover of the past combined with a believer in the present, and the mating of these incompatible characters produced that tension which accounted for his greatest novels".

Scotland's past, its history of warfare, its bravery and loyalty, its colour, its poetry and passion, formed a great attraction for Scott. However for Scotland to enter the modern, civilized world there had to be a loss of the old culture; this was the price Scotland was willing to pay. So Scott's main interest in the novels is to express Scotland's national culture. This interest was that of a historian, Scott saw that Scotland was dividing into cultural opposites, the old against the new.

Maḥfūẓ's novels on the other hand emphasize the national element, through the glory of ancient Pharaonic Egypt. Interest in that period of Egyptian history reached its height in the

twenties and thirties in Egypt. The most outstanding themes of Maḥfūẓ's historical novels are their political and social messages. In all three novels, the fate of the Egyptian people is dealt with and their exploitation is criticized. Particularly in Kifāḥ Ṭība, Maḥfūẓ attempts very clearly to encourage the nascent nationalist sentiment. Discoveries of the Pharaonic past and the awakening of Egyptian nationalism are reflected not in Maḥfūẓ's historical novels only, but in the literary movement of the twenties and thirties in Egypt as a whole. Accordingly we see that Maḥfūẓ's choice of period for his novels is either one in which a historical figure becomes a national hero, as in ᶜAbath Al-Aqdār or Kifāḥ Ṭība or a period in which the nation as a whole revolts against a historical figure who is not in harmony with the national interest, as in Rādūbīs.

In effect, Pharaonic history provided Maḥfūẓ with material which he used to produce a sort of model for his readers, implying that modern problems can be judged and a solution found by considering them in the light of historical perspective.

Another important point to be made here concerns the sources of their historical material and the historical setting of their works. The nature of the historical material used by

the two authors as sources differs. Similarly, there is a significant difference in time scale between the two authors. In his Scottish novels Scott dealt mainly with the recent past depending on a wide variety of sources which formed the basis of his novels. Scott's knowledge of Scottish history, both written and popular, was enormous; he was even considered by some critics to be a great popular historian. This does not, however, mean that any novelist can read about a period in history and then write a historical novel about it. Nevertheless such sources of historical material of necessity enlarge the novelist's knowledge of the period he is dealing with, and help him in his artistic construction of the historical novel. Scott did not only have a wide experience of reading historical sources, manuscripts and all available material, for this was combined with a powerful memory. His decisive advantage, however, as far as his Scottish novels are concerned, lay in his acquaintance with the historic tales of his ancient country; as a child he listened to his grandmother's tales of Scottish heroes. He heard a great many stories about Scotland and its clans, wars and life. Some of the people he managed to meet were in fact surivors of the '45 rebellion. These stories were not part of the distant past, but were part of recent history. The people around him were still living in those memories. The combination of real and popular history was indeed a remarkable feature of Scott's material.

Scott's own place in history and time were unique because transitional, and this is reflected in the way he creates his historical novels.

There are greater difficulties when a novelist moves further away historically and culturally from his own environment. The historian can only reconstruct a picture of the past out of the things which have been saved, specifically, in the case of Pharaonic history, the half-told tales and pieces of written tablets (steles) that are broken into fragments. The history of the distant past, for example the period between 3000-1500 B.C. as in Maḥfūẓ'z case, is mainly preserved in the form of stories or legends and records based on evidence recovered from the past in excavation work, and are really no more than rough charts of the past. Maḥfūẓ was thus obliged to work within the limitations of historical books dealing with Pharaonic history and civilization, as these constituted his only available source. It is true to say that he is not likely to be challenged about life in Pharaonic times in the reconstructing of which his own imagination and creativity play a considerable role. Consequently he has more freedom than other novelists who deal with more recent history, although he might be challenged on the basis of new discoveries and new historical facts. However, to write a novel about people living in a very different environment, having different thoughts about

the world and heavens, obeying different laws and, in Maḥfūẓ's case, speaking a language now dead, is not an easy task. So Maḥfūẓ's novels are extensively based, firstly on history books and secondly, on his own image of the events of those ancient times, his imagination filling in the gaps left by history. Scott in the Waverley novels has no such problems of conceptualisation.

The above discussion leads us to another important aspect of the art of both novelists. Through the novel's setting, in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scotland, Scott's presentation of the details of life in those times makes the reading of the Waverley novels seem like an entry into a new world for the modern reader. This fact indicates that the Waverley novels involve more than Scott's simply setting his plots in the past. Scott's novels reveal his intimate knowledge of the daily lives and customs of the Scottish people of the period described. Scott draws his readers into his novel by paying special attention to the Scottish scenes, customs, local dialects, and beliefs. He shows how seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scottish society at all levels lived and acted. He thus reveals the historical background in his treatment of Scottish life. He was very accurate in his characterization of time and place in history; that made him very truthful to the historical atmosphere of the period which

in his novels he attempted to bring alive. In other words Scott's real success as a novelist may well rest on his Scottish novels, and the fact that he depicts the people he best understood and appreciated, thus reviving the sights and sounds of the Scotland of the past.

Maḥfūẓ, in his three historical novels, had more freedom and took more liberties in the matter of detail in dealing with the general life of Pharaonic society. It is important in any historical novel to depict the past as a world different from our own, and to show something of its particular character and colouring. In fact the limitation of what ancient history can offer in this respect, as already mentioned, determines the range of any historical novel. This is especially true of Maḥfūẓ's novels, which were set in a very distant past. He attempted to reproduce some of the peculiarities of the life of that time, but he could not avoid including elements from his own time, and pictures of life from modern Egyptian society. This characteristic is quite noticeable in all three of his novels. In <u>ᶜAbath Al-Aqdār</u> we see that the Pharaonic court is very similar to the Egyptian court of the twentieth century, and the educational system is very much like that of Maḥfūẓ's own days. Even in his best historical novel, <u>Kifāḥ Ṭība</u> we could not avoid such anachronisms, and the novel reflects, and contains elements of, the political life of Egypt in the 1920s,

the 1930s and even includes some political slogans of that time, such as "Egypt for the Egyptians". It seems on one level as if these novels are about modern rather than ancient Egypt.

Maḥfūẓ's historical novels are not successful in the way that Scott's novels are, even though they contain aspects of Scott's art as has been pointed out in the previous chapters. This might be related to Maḥfūẓ's own place in the history of Egypt. He was clearly much influenced, in his historical novels, by the conditions of modern Egypt. We should bear in mind that these are the works of a young writer who had yet to develop and deepen his craft. He was working, also, in a totally new tradition: the novel, in Arabic literature has no long tradition when compared with the English novel.

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