

FARAḤ ANṬŪN: ACTIVE RECEPTION OF EUROPEAN THOUGHT

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ABSTRACT: Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922) was a playwright and a journalist and in both activities he was socially and politically motivated. He always aimed at a laic state. In the beginning he believed it could comprise those lands of the Ottoman Empire from Istanbul to Cairo, later he focused in Egypt, although he may never have abandoned the first idea. He disseminated his ideas through his journal *al-Jâmi'a*. His social concerns shaped his views of such a state and its people. Faraḥ Anṭūn read, translated, and explained European writers. His choices point to these concerns, namely on natural goodness and natural freedom (Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Jean Jacques Rousseau), on religious freedom and freedom of conscience (Lev Tolstoy), on public instruction (Jules Simon). His ideal society should have an open approach to religion, inspired by A. Comte and, in particular, by E. Renan and his works, some of which he translated. His attitude toward Nietzsche was double-sided: He could not accept his moral doctrines but he felt attracted by his doctrine of power of will that supposedly had brought the United States to their magnificence and that could help the Arab countries to reach a new age. However those values as represented by the French liberal tradition were more decisive.

KEY WORDS: Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922), journal *al-Jâmi'a*, «League», modern translations into Arabic.

Faraḥ Anṭūn y la recepción activa del pensamiento europeo

RESUMEN: Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922) fue autor teatral y periodista, comprometido social y políticamente en las dos actividades. Su ideal era un estado laico, y en un principio creía que este estado podría comprender los territorios del Imperio Otomano, extendidos desde Estambul hasta El Cairo, pero luego se centró en Egipto, aunque es probable que nunca abandonase el primer objetivo. Difundió sus ideas sobre todo a través de la revista *al-Gâmi'a*, «La liga». Sus inquietudes sociales influían en cómo debía ser este estado y sus gentes. Faraḥ Anṭūn leía, traducía e interpretaba escritores europeos. La elección de los escritores refleja sus inquietudes, sea acerca de la bondad y libertad naturales (Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Jean Jacques Rousseau), de la libertad religiosa, y de conciencia (Lev Tolstoy), o de la educación pública (Jules Simon). La sociedad ideal aceptaría religión en una forma abierta, y se inspiraba en los escritos de Ernest Renan, varios de los cuales tradujo al árabe. Su relación con F. Nietzsche fue ambivalente. Faraḥ Anṭūn rechazaba sus doctrinas morales pero se sentía atraído por su fe en el poder de la voluntad, doctrina que le parecía había llevado a los Estados Unidos de América a su esplendor y que ayudaría a los países árabes a alcanzarlo también. Sin embargo, los valores representados por la tradición liberal francesa resultaban más importantes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922), revista *al-Gâmi'a*, «La liga», traducciones modernas al árabe.

The turn of the XX century witnessed a dynamic movement of renewal in Egypt. Translations from Western authors played an important role and they included many areas of knowledge. A large number of journals of various kinds were founded in those pioneering years¹. Society revealed new trends, and the literary Renaissance, *nahḍa*,

¹ In the XIX century, almost 200 journals appeared in Egypt. ABDELGHANI AHMED-BILOUD, *3200 revues et journaux arabes, de 1800 à 1965*, Paris: Bib. Nationale, 1969. IBRĀHĪM 'ABDUH, *Taṭawwur aṣ-ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣrīya, 1798-1981*, 4th ed., Cairo: Mu'assasat Sijill al-'Arab, 1982. Cf. also ELIAS HANNA ĒLIA, *La presse arabe*, Paris: Maisonneuve-Larose, 1993.

began. Individuals were able to be creative in this environment; the purpose of this article is to study one of them, Faraḥ Anṭûn. He was a novelist, playwright and journalist, but the scope of this article is limited to his activity as main editor of the journal *Al-Jâmi'a*. The limitation has the advantage of dealing with authors and works that F. Anṭûn explicitly read, interpreted, and often translated. In this way, I shall try to show how F. Anṭûn created his own intellectual world, and how this world changed under the influence of the authors he read, explained and translated.

1. LIFE AND EDUCATION

Faraḥ Anṭûn was born in Tripoli, Lebanon, in 1874 to a family that belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church². From 12 to 16 years old, he was at the Kiftîn boarding school, the Orthodox monastery situated in the hills above Tripoli. In 1908, when F. Anṭûn lived in New York he would leave his dark room in Brookline and walk to the gardens of Coney Island to have a glimpse of his days at Kiftîn.

«The natural beauty of Kiftîn, the school days, the students, the very history of Kiftîn, I have postponed the talk about all this until the moment comes, and when I shall write the history of my life, it will be its opening chapter» (J5: 1 [1906], p. 81).

Faraḥ Anṭûn acknowledged the great influence that Kiftîn exerted on him. He recalls the center's tolerance. The president of the school was a Protestant, the director, a Maronite, the teacher of Arabic language and literature, a Muslim, the administrator, a Maronite. Although the school belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, only one teacher was Orthodox, and the faculty was as diverse as the sum of its students.

At Kiftîn he learned Turkish, English, and above all French whose literature fascinated him. His formal education was limited to this period. Afterwards, he would be a self-taught person. His lack of preparation in science would cause most of his popularizing work to be rather weak. However, in literature or philosophy, the consequences of his auto didactical training would not be negative. Insofar as he was reading new authors and appreciating them, he was also writing articles on them, and throughout the issues of the journal we can follow his intellectual development.

The Ottoman Lebanon could not offer to the gifted F. Anṭûn the opportunities needed to develop his talent. So, as many educated Syrians and Lebanese did, he decided to immigrate to Egypt, a country that was flourishing and offered opportunities to Arab professionals from many fields. Journalism was one of the growing fields and F. Anṭûn would be one of its pioneers in the Arab world. Journalism did not have its present orientation. Instead, it had an educational orientation, and was a way of disseminating knowledge and literature.

In 1897 he moved to Alexandria and joined the newspaper *Al-Ahrâm* which was founded in 1876 by Bishâra Taqlâ. On March 15, 1899 he launched the journal *Al-Jâmi'a al-Uthmâniyya* (The Ottoman league), but after a few months he changed its title to simply *Al-Jâmi'a*. He might have realized that his Egyptian readers were not very keen of being reunited under Ottoman rule but it does not mean that he abandoned his Ottomanism. Let us remind, for instance, that as late as in January 1910 he celebrated the newly proclaimed Ottoman constitution (J7: 2, pp. 67-78).

² For his biography, see DONALD M. REID, with indication of sources in *The Odyssey of Faraḥ Anṭûn. A Syrian Christian's Quest for Secularism* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica Inc, 1975), p. 3, footnote 1.

The journal went on irregularly until October 1904. After almost two years of silence, F. Anṭŭn published it again in New York, where he had moved following other Syrian Christian immigrants who were his potential readers. The American experience failed and F. Anṭŭn returned to Egypt where he published the last issues of the journal in 1909, in Cairo. He suspended it the following year, but remained active mainly as a playwright until his death on June 6, 1922.

The pages of the journal were mainly his writing. His sister Rosa and his brother-in-law Niqŭlā Ḥaddād, were the other main contributors, more Niqŭlā than Rosa. In the journal FaraḤ Anṭŭn would publish articles on the most various subjects, from politics to technical inventions, and published his own novels too. His sources were mainly French periodicals: Answering a reader in 1903, F. Anṭŭn says that he had been reading *Tan, Débat, Le matin, Le Figaro, L'aurore, Le gaulois, La revue de Paris, La revue des revues*, «and sometimes *La revue des deux mondes*» (J4: 4, 1903, p. 296), but the structure of *Al-Jāmi'a* and the latter is strikingly similar. Another one of his sources were encyclopedias, as *La Grande Encyclopédie*³.

What interests us here is the dimension his journal as disseminating instrument of Western modern thought, which was either explicated by philosophers or wrapped up in literary works. From his days at Kiftīn on, FaraḤ Anṭŭn was an avid reader of French literature, and very interested in French secular thinkers. In his journal he wrote about French authors as well as he published his own translations of French master works.

2. ENTHUSIASM FOR THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In the September 1899 issue of *Al-Jāmi'a al-Uthmāniya*, F. Anṭŭn announced the publication of the novel *Awakening of the lion*, «a historical novel by the famous French writer Alexandre Dumas» (J1:12, p. 228). Dumas père (1802-1870) was best known for novels of the historical genre, and of high adventure. F. Anṭŭn observed that the novel deals with true personalities of the French life during the Revolution. His choice of the title was very free because the original one of Dumas' novel is not other than *Ange Pitou*, Paris, A. Cadot, 1851, 8 vol. in-8°, the third part of the series *Mémoires d'un médecin*. Some English translations render it as *Storming of the Bastille*. Dumas wrote the novel with Auguste Maquet, between 1850 and 1851; it focuses on the beginning of the French Revolution, 1789.

He went on publishing the novel in form of supplements to each issue, from *Al-Jāmi'a* 1:13 up to 2:7. With the issue 2:8, November 1900, he started publishing his translation of Dumas' *Attack of the lion*, being «its continuation». He meant the novel *La comtesse de Charny*, the fourth volume of the series⁴. Alexandre Dumas wrote it between 1852 and 1855 with Auguste Maquet too, and the novel completes the narrative of the Revolution, until the execution of Louis XVI. The Arabic translation of the first part of the novel occupied the supplements of the journal as far as the issue of April 1901 (2: 22-23-24), and *Jāmi'a* of December 1902 (3: 10-11-12), had a supplement of 116 pages containing the second part, to which F. Anṭŭn gave the title *The prey of the lion*.

³ *Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres, et des arts*, a 31-volume encyclopedia published in Paris from 1886 to 1902 by H. Lamirault, and later by the «Société anonyme de la grande encyclopédie». F. Anṭŭn quotes it as one of his sources in *Ibn Rushd wa-falsafatu-hu* (Alexandria, January 1, 1903), p. viii.

⁴ Paris: A. Cadot, 1855, 19 vol. in-8°.

Later (October 1906), when *Al-Jâmi'a* was published in New York, he would translate Dumas again, namely, the first part of *Kean ou désordre et genie*, a drama (*Jâmi'a* 5: 8, pp. 318-322).

Faraḥ Anṭûn shared the enthusiasm of many Arab intellectuals for the French revolution. He found some similarity between the Ottoman Empire of his time and France before the Revolution⁵. Therefore the subject should interest the politically motivated readers and, in any case, Dumas' narrative would add enough adventure to attract all kind of readers. As for his enthusiasm for the French revolution, F. Anṭûn would give it up over the years, but he always would retain the fascination of the events.

3. J. J. ROUSSEAU, NATURAL GOODNESS AND THE POWER OF LOVE

Other French writers translated by F. Anṭûn in the journal were Jean de la Bruyère (1645-1696), and Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint Pierre (1737-1814). Victor Hugo (1802-1885) was the focus of a long article in *Al-Jâmi'a* of March 1902 (J3: 7, pp. 429-452) which included a translation of his poem Napoleon I^o, and a poem by A. Shawqî, but no further text of Hugo was published in the journal.

De la Bruyère is the author of *Les caractères* (1687) which is made of observations about the society of his lifetime and criticizes the royal court, the nobility, the clergy and even the king. His observations are expressed by short sentences, like aphorisms. F. Anṭûn translated some of them and published in two sections of the journal called «Strong food for the stomach» (J1:1, 1:2).

The December 1900 issue (*Jâmi'a*, 2: 9, pp. 505-533) opened with an article entitled «Where do we find the truth, and how we do find it, or The Indian Hut». *La chaumière indienne* «The Indian Hut» is a work of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre published in 1790 by Didot le Jeune in Paris. F. Anṭûn explains that Napoleon loved the novel so much that he would ask B. de Saint-Pierre when he would write a second «Indian Hut». He gives us the translation of the first chapter.

«About thirty years ago, a society of learned Englishmen was founded at London who undertook to go to the different parts of the world in search of all such scientific information, as might serve to enlighten mankind or contribute to their happiness...».

The novel criticizes the academies and learned societies. The scientist sent to India to find solution to some scientific problems eventually meets a good-hearted *pariah* who lives isolated from the world, but happy in company of his wife and a cat. More chapters of the novel were published in 2: 10, pp. 577-588, although not the entire novel. In the August 1901 issue (3: 1, p. 48), F. Anṭûn offered the novel in form of a book as a present to subscribers.

One year later, *Al-Jâmi'a* in August 1902, F. Anṭûn announced «a new project in Arabic language» in order to satisfy the need for good and pleasant literature in this language. His project consisted of translating the best quality French philosophical novels of «belles-lettres» (J3: 9, p. 602). Each issue of *Al-Jâmi'a* would deliver parts of a novel, starting

⁵ When the translation was printed for the second time, he wrote an introduction explaining why he chose the book. English translation in RĀ'IF KHŪRĪ, *Al-fikr al-'arabī al-ḥadīth: Āthār ath-Thawra al-Faransīya fī tawjīh as-siyāsī wa-l-ijtimā'ī*, translated as: *Modern Arab thought: Channels of the French revolution to the Arab East* (Princeton, N.J.: Kingston Press, 1983), pp. 172-175.

⁶ By Ṭānūs 'Abd al-Muḥarrir, first published in the journal *Al-Baṣīr*.

with *Paul et Virginie* of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (written 1788). The novel records the fate of a child of nature corrupted by the false sentimentality that prevailed at the time among the upper classes of France.

F. Anṭŭn then writes about the life of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and prints two drawings, one of his, and the other of Jean Jacques Rousseau. He comments: «We have put in this section the drawing of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre at the side of the one of Master Jean Jacques Rousseau» (J3: 9, p. 607) and tells us a story. B. de Saint-Pierre and Rousseau were walking and B. de Saint-Pierre asked him «Are you Saint-Preux?» who was the preceptor of Julie d'Étanges, the female protagonist of Rousseau's *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse, roman épistolaire* (1761). Rousseau answered «Not exactly, but I wish I were Saint-Preux». F. Anṭŭn wonders if someone would have asked B. de Saint-Pierre «Are you the old man who tells the story of Paul and Virginie? would he have answered in similar terms».

F. Anṭŭn's translation of *Paul et Virginie* appeared as an annex to the December 1902 issue (3: 10-11-12), which also contained the last part of *La comtesse de Charny* of Dumas. As an introduction he wrote on the counter page:

«In the European languages, there are such writings that their wise men, philosophers and scholars compose to enlighten the minds, to refine the intellects, and to improve the moral characters, which are their most famous compositions» (Alexandria, September 10, 1902).

Since such works have great influence in the education of the European nations, he feels his duty is to translate them into Arabic. He defines *Paul et Virginie* as «a literary, philosophical, and naturalist novel» with which he started his project to give to the Arab readers a new genre, the novel, and a secular doctrine. The novel was independently published in Alexandria, on September 10, 1902, so that F. Anṭŭn could reveal its reception; he devoted pages 654-665 of the same third volume (December 1902) to «Poets of Egypt and readers of *Al-Jāmi'a* between Paul and Virginia. The truth of Virginia».

The effort of *Al-Jāmi'a* to translate French literature, he reflects, has not been futile and the readers of the Arabic translation of *Paul et Virginie* had appreciated its value. The readers sent letters and telegrams to the journal congratulating F. Anṭŭn for the publication of the book; he thought that the poets should express their feelings too. Thus, he asked several poets to write classical poems. Aḥmad al-Kāshif (1878-1948)⁷ of Qurshīya, Aḥmad Muḥarrām (1877-1945)⁸ of Dalanjāt and Muṣṭafa Luṭfi al-Manfalūṭi (1876-1924)⁹, all three renowned poets, sent him poems inspired by the novel.

If Anṭŭn printed the portraits of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Jean J. Rousseau together, his admiration for both of them was comparable. On his way to the United States in 1906, he disembarked in Marseille, traversed France and embarked in Le Havre, and visited different places.

«On the train I was like wonder-struck, I moved from one window to the other and said: "This is God's Paradise on earth". At times I tried to forget myself on the train, and once twenty hours elapsed while I was looking at the country, like a panorama displayed in front of me to the infinite» (J5: 1, p. 35).

F. Anṭŭn visited Chambéry in the French Alps and he describes the visit as one of the most important events of his trip. What moved him to visit the place was his profound

⁷ *Diwan*, Cairo, 1987.

⁸ *Diwan*, Cairo, 1963.

⁹ *An-Nazarât*, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Raḥmāniyah, 1923.

admiration for Rousseau (1712-1778), which he shared with Tolstoy (J5:1, p. 36). For 15 years he had wanted to go to Chambéry, the place where Rousseau met Madame Françoise-Louise de Warens, a French Catholic baroness thirteen years his elder who would later become his lover¹⁰. Rousseau who had been born in Calvinist Geneva in 1712, came to Chambéry in 1732. Under the protection of Madame de Warens, Rousseau converted to Catholicism, but his view that man is good by nature conflicted with the doctrine of original sin and his theology of nature led to the condemnation of the book in both Calvinist Geneva and Catholic Paris.

Rousseau left Chambéry for Paris in 1741. In 1754, he returned to Geneva where he reconverted to Calvinism. After spending two years in England, with help of D. Hume, Rousseau went back to France in 1767, and died in Paris in 1772. Among his works there is his autobiography, *Les confessions*, composed of 12 books; books I-VI were published in 1782, and books VII-XII, in 1789.

F. Anţûn tells us (J5:1, p. 36) that he had read *Les confessions* and that he was longing to see the place where Rousseau and Madame de Warens had dwelled, the house of Les Charmettes, situated in a forest valley south of Chambéry. Rousseau said of the house: «Ici commence le court bonheur de ma vie; ici, viennent les paisibles, mais rapides moments qui m'ont donné le droit de dire que j'ai vécu» (Livre VI, 1736). F. Anţûn writes in *Al-Jâmi'a* about Chambéry, about the love story of Rousseau and Madame de Warens and about her influence on Rousseau and describes his visit to the place full of religious devotion:

«I arrived in Chambéry at midnight, I spent the rest of the night in the *Hôtel de la poste*, and since I set my foot on the earth of Chambéry I started to feel the fever of Jean Jacques pervading my joints. I told to myself: "Tomorrow I'll see the house where Jean Jacques slept, I'll have the shadow of the trees that gave him shadow, I'll tread the earth that he treaded, and I'll hear the singing of the birds and the sound of the creeks that he heard"» (J5:1, p. 41).

F. Anţûn visited Les Charmettes early in the morning; when he walked the doorstep, he felt a shivering in his body, and greeted Rousseau in his imagination: «Jean Jacques, here is some one among thousand or a million people harmed by your principles, he comes to complain you. For 15 years I have wished to visit you and here I am in your house». He visited the house reliving in his imagination the life of Rousseau in the rooms, and then he looked at the visitor's book, where he added his name and the comment «on my way heading to America».

F. Anţûn was impressed by the personality of Madame de Warens, and the passionate love between her and Rousseau, but he was also interested in Rousseau's teachings, and he had in mind to translate his works (J5: 1, p. 37). However, F. Anţûn did not translate any of Rousseau's texts; maybe he knew that the readers would not like his pedagogical novels. No doubt they preferred more adventure, as in Dumas's historical novels, or romantic love, as in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*.

4. LEV TOLTSTOY, AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

If F. Anţûn mentioned Lev Tolstoy in relation to their common admiration for Rousseau, Tolstoy was object also of his admiration. The October 1900 issue reproduced

¹⁰ *Mémoires de madame de Warens et de Claude Anet*, pour servir de suite aux Confessions de J. J. Rousseau, Chambéry, 1786.

a drawing of Tolstoy with the title «The famous philosopher Tolstoy whom the Russian Holy Synod excommunicated this year» (*Jâmi'a* 2: 7, p. 369).

Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1828-1910) is not only one of the greatest of all novelists, particularly noted for his masterpieces *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* but also a moral philosopher. In the 1880s Tolstoy wrote also philosophical works such as *A Confession* and *What I Believe*, which was banned in 1884. His troubles with the Synod of the Orthodox Church intensified in 1889, after publishing *The Kreutzer Sonata*, which portrays an intense conflict between sexual desire and moral constraint¹¹. Tolstoy was forced to write *Epilogue to The Kreutzer Sonata* in 1890 in order to explain his unorthodox views. However, the prosecution continued. After he published *Resurrection* in 1899, he was excommunicated for the first time. *Al-Jâmi'a* informed that to this purpose «Joannicius archbishop of Klin sent a letter to all the bishops of Russia on March 31, 1900». The decree of the Synod for the second excommunication was issued on February 24, 1901¹².

F. Anṭûn devoted to Tolstoy an article which begins pointing out the development of Russia in recent times (October 1900) and the flourishing of scientists and philosophers.

«In the forefront of them is Count Tolstoy in whom the Russian soul has risen to the degrees of wisdom and has proven that the rise of the Russians is true, not superficial, and apparent, like it is in the Oriental countries» (J2: 7, p. 370).

For F. Anṭûn the Russian soul has yet to be discovered, «enormous forces are hidden in its profound bents», and this soul has brought out the figure of Tolstoy. F. Anṭûn gives a short biography of Tolstoy, summarizes his views on religion, society and fine arts, and underlines his pacifism, either on the subject of the Transvaal war or on that of the redemption of Alsace, surrendered by France to Prussia after the 1870 war.

F. Anṭûn supported the cause of the Boers and their leader Kruger, against the British invasion, and mentioned that the Boers sent a delegation to the United States. Tolstoy, who sympathized with the Boers, was asked to send a telegram wishing them success and F. Anṭûn comments:

«Tolstoy gave this weird answer: "I cannot wish the Boer delegation to be successful because their success depends on the intervention of the United States, and their intervention will drag war between them and England. If I call on the Boers to be free, it will be like calling on ending a war by means of another one"» (J2: 7, p. 372).

F. Anṭûn does not disclose us his sources of information, usually French journals, but he read only French, and since he translated the letter, which Andrei Vasilevich Laptev [Андрей Васильевич Лаптев] sent to Tolstoy from Baku on October 6, 1899 and the answer which Tolstoy wrote, therefore his ultimate source of information was this booklet:

«À propos de "Résurrection", lettre d'A. V. Laptev et réponse du Cte. Léon Tolstoï. Traduit sur les manuscrits originaux par Paul Boyer et Charles Salomon, Paris: Perrin, 1900»¹³.

¹¹ *Jâmi'a* of June 1903 reported in an article «*The Kreutzer Sonata*» that the journal *Manâzir* had published an Arabic translation by Rafawl Sa'dah in 1902 (J4: 4, pp. 256-257).

¹² The text of the first excommunication was published in J2: 7 (1901), pp. 379-380, and the second in J2: 10 (1901), pp. 648-652, the latter was accompanied by letters of protest, of his friends and his wife Countess Sophia, who sent a letter to the Synode on March 11, 1901.

F. Anṭûn added that Reuter, the news agency, had named him «main instigator of the revolution» against the Czar, p. 651.

¹³ Paul Jean Marie Boyer (1864-1949) and Charles Salomon (1862-1936) are well known French Slavic scholars. Solomon met Tolstoy in 1893, and he later introduced Boyer to him, who wrote about his visits to Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana (1901 and 1902), cf. *Chez Tolstoï. Entretiens à Iasnaïa Poliana*, Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1950.

F. Anṭûn considered the letter as well as the answer «weird» too and exclaimed, «the weirdest is that Tolstoy borrowed from Laptev the main ideas for his famous novel *Resurrection*» (*Al-Ba'th*, J2: 7, p. 378). He added an extract of the excommunication decree (pp. 379-380) and finished his article regretting the resultant conflict between philosophy and religion because «philosophers and men of religion» are leaders of other people who fell in perplexity when they both dispute.

F. Anṭûn found Tolstoy mistaken in his «exaggerate» avowal «Do not fight violence with violence», and blamed him for bringing doubts and despair among the neediest. Nevertheless, those who excommunicated Tolstoy were wrong because persecution strengthens philosophers in their claims and principles. Moreover, freedom of thinking is one of man's natural rights (J2: 7, p. 380).

When F. Anṭûn wrote the article for the October issue, he had not read any of Tolstoy's books, maybe some fragments, but he soon acquired a copy of *Resurrection*. In less than a week he read its «593 pages in small print» (J2: 9, p. 534). He gives the information in the December issue and the indication about the number of pages shows that he was reading the French translation by Théodore de Wyzewa, Paris: Perrin, 1900.

Resurrection (1899) is the last of Tolstoy's major novels. It tells the story of Nekhlyudov, a nobleman, and his attempt to redeem the suffering that he inflicted on Katusha, a peasant girl who ends up a prisoner in Siberia. *Resurrection* is at the same time a panoramic description of social life in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century, reflecting its author's outrage at the social injustices of the world in which he lived.

F. Anṭûn summarized the novel, translated some selected fragments, and spoke about his feelings on the moral as well as on the social issues of the novel. He insisted that the injustices denounced by Tolstoy were not confined to the Russian society, but were universal. He finally thanked Tolstoy for three reasons: His book caused Anṭûn to write the article which he considers his best until now; it made him live in his spiritual company as long as he was writing the article; and it prompted him to write summaries of the best books (J2: 9, p. 553).

Thus his predilection for Tolstoy was related not only to moral, but also to social concerns that they both shared. Such concerns were also present in the life and works of the second Russian author translated by F. Anṭûn, Maxim Gorky (1868-1936) who wrote stories of tramps and social outcasts. F. Anṭûn partially translated his short story *Malva*¹⁴. *Malva*, the name of the restless wife of a fisherman, seeks out love from every man she meets. Vassili is a peasant who left his village to earn a little money to support his wife and children. For a while he sends small sums of money home, but gradually the village and the old life fade away. He ceases to think of them. His son Iakov seeks him and work for himself for a season. Later, he falls, like the others, under the spell of *Malva*. Anṭûn's translation appeared in J7:1 (1909) 60-64 and J7: 2 (1910) 121-128, but was incomplete because they were the last pages of *Al-Jâmi'a*.

5. MINOR RELEVANCE OF GERMAN AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

In *al-Jâmi'a* of September 1900 (2: 6, p. 317), Zâkî Mâbrû contributed with a review of Friedrich Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*. The piece had been translated into Arabic by

¹⁴ МАКСИМ ГОРКИИ (Максим Горький), *Malva* [La vieille Izerguille], Paris: Librairie universelle, ca. 1906.

Nîqûlâ Fayyâḍ and Najîb Nasîm Ṭarâḍ, and had been performed at the Russian Consulate in Beirut for three evenings. The translators complimented *al-Jâmi'a* with a free copy (2: 6, p. 360). Zâkî Mâbrû worked on the translation and adaptation of theater plays. Like F. Anṭûn, he worked for the actor Salâma al-Ḥijâzî (1855-1917)¹⁵ and his troupe and, for instance, he adapted *Angelo* of Victor Hugo¹⁶.

Intrigue and Love (1784), is one of Schiller's more famous works. Major Ferdinand von Walter and Louisa Miller are desperately in love, but he is a nobleman and she is part of the bourgeoisie, daughter to a music teacher. Ferdinand's father, the heartless Premier Minister, wants him to marry Lady Milford, mistress to the Prince. Ferdinand refuses, wanting to marry Louisa, and the Baron tries to force his son's hand. The Baron conspires with Wurm, the court secretary (who wants Louisa for himself), and soon they spin a web of intrigue that drives the lovers apart, Louisa's parents into jail, and the Prince's mistress across the border.

In his review, Z. Mâbrû gave the summary of the work and pointed to the fact that the translation was done from the French—he mentioned A. Dumas as the French translator—not from the German. He criticized the translators for distorting the original meaning of Schiller's piece. Najîm Nasîm Ṭarâḍ, one of the translators responded to the criticism in the December 1900 issue (*Jâmi'a*, 2: 9, pp. 525-528) and Mâbrû wrote once again about it, in the January 1901 issue (J2: 10, p. 624). He realized that the disagreements arose because Ṭarâḍ read the French translation by Ad. Regnier (Paris: L. Hachette, 1859) and Mâbrû, the one by A. Dumas (Poissy: impr. de G. Olivier, 1847), and no one read the German original.

The anecdote is representative of the dominance of French literature and philosophy in Egypt and the Levant at the time. The only example of German literature is this summary of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*. We find few references to English literature, one is in the January 1902 issue. F. Anṭûn wrote about «The philosopher Bacon and the poet Shakespeare» and discussed the old issue whether Francis Bacon is the author of some of the latter's works (*Jâmi'a*, 3: 6, p. 351-368). In fact, the reference has an antecedent in the December 1901 issue, which publishes a letter sent by Ilyâs, Elias, 'Îsâwî (*Jâmi'a*, 3: 5, pp. 333-334). E. 'Îsâwî (1882-1941, a Syrian Orthodox Christian living in Cairo), wrote to the journal about having read an article in the *Egyptian Gazette*, the author of which suspiciously signs as «Peakespeare». 'Îsâwî says that it is useful to reproduce the article, and he does it:

«One day I borrowed from the Khedivial Library an Arabic book in old handwriting. While I was turning its pages, I came across some pages written in English, signed by Mr. John Bent at Helwan on January 2, 1624. The mentioned Mr. Bent had come to Egypt as a secretary of Lord Bacon. In his letter, he reports of the travel of Lord Bacon to Egypt; and how physicians advised him to travel to the South of France for a change of air. He came to Marseille, where he met a number of educated Venetians heading for Alexandria, and in their company, he travelled to Alexandria, then to Rosetta, and Bulaq. From there he reached the prince of the Mamelukes, presenting himself as son of the deceased queen Elisabeth, and a relative of King James» (J3: 5, p. 333).

The text goes on affirming that Bacon is the author of Shakespeare's works. We also read that Bacon advised the Egyptians how to reform the country, or that he learned Arabic and read the *Thousand and One Nights*. The forgery goes so far as to give the call

¹⁵ JACOB M. LANDAU, *Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema* (Philadelphia: U Penn, 1958), pp. 70-72.

¹⁶ ATIA ABUL NAGA, *Les sources françaises du théâtre égyptien (1870-1939)* (Alger: SNED, 1972), pp. 235-237.

number of the book: 1056 *ġim* – 356 *ālif*. Maybe the falsifier did not know that there was a printed catalogue of the library already at that time¹⁷.

In this article I rarely deal with authors whose works F. Anṭūn did not read. One of them is John Ruskin, the English Romantic writer and painter (1819-1900). F. Anṭūn devoted a study of him in *Al-Jāmi'a* of January 1901, entitled «The famous John Ruskin invites men to love nature and beauty», in which he included a poem by Abū Tammām Ḥabīb ibn Aws, aṭ-Ṭā'ī (IX cent.) on the spring season (J2: 10 [1901], pp. 561-572). The article is mainly a biography of Ruskin and news on the spring festival in England. Ruskin was a prolific writer¹⁸, but F. Anṭūn may have not read any of his works, and his information came from French journals as the *Revue des deux mondes*.

6. JULES SIMON, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

If we turn now to philosophy or writings of philosophical orientation, the situation of French predominance is similar. His discovery of Nietzsche is tardy. He writes about him for the first time in 1904 when the journal was published in New York: he allots him several articles that are mainly translations. In any case, the French influence was early and extended. Jules Simon is mentioned in the first issue of the journal (J1: 1, p. 4). Jules Simon born Jules-François *Suisse*, was born in Lorient, 1814 and died in Paris, 1896. He was active in the political life of his country, serving as representative to the National Assembly and Senator, as minister and premier minister of the Third Republic, but his active life was no obstacle to authoring many books on many subjects.

Simon was a freethinking deist, a committed Republican, yet rather conservative. If there is a constant in his activity, it is no doubt his concern for public instruction, *éducation nationale*. He pleaded for a free compulsory education; «free» means not excluding the Church from running its own schools. As a philosopher he cannot be put on the footings of Nietzsche, or Auguste Comte, the founder of Positivism, who interested F. Anṭūn too.

The presence of Jules Simon is apparent throughout the various issues of the journal until 1903 (In that year, February 1903, F. Anṭūn wrote an article on Comte, J4: 1, pp. 15-21). The issue June 1, 1899 contains the photography of Jules Simon and his biography (J1: 6, pp. 96-98), The August 1900 issue has a notice about the planned monument to him (J2: 5, p. 292) and the one August 1903 issue includes a photo of the monument and information on the inaugural ceremony (J4: 5, p. 260). F. Anṭūn called him «The philosopher of *Al-Jāmi'a*» and he said that he read many of his books:

«There was a time, when I opened one of the books of Jules Simon, like *Duty (Le devoir, 1854)*, *Woman in the XX century (La femme du vingtième siècle, 1891)*, *The School (L'Ecole, 1864)*, *The Working Woman (L'Ouvrière, 1861)*, *Political Freedom (La liberté politique, 1859?)*, etc. I opened it with such veneration as the clergymen approaches the

¹⁷ *Fihrist al-kutub al-'arabiyah al-mahfūzah bi-l-Kutubkhanah al-Khidīwiyah*, 7 vols., Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Uthmān 'Abd al-Razzāq, 1301/1883-1308/1890. It is organized first by subjects, and then by titles following the order of the alifate; books have a general number *nimra 'umūmiyya*, and a particular number, *nimra khusūsiyya*.

Since the subject seems to be history, I searched the section and found a lithographic print under the closest call number: 23112 general and 1056 particular, vol. 5, p. 58. The print includes three travel accounts, or *riḥla*: *At-ta 'rif* by Ibn Khladūn (d. 1406), *Al-wāsiṭa* by Aḥmad Shidyāq (1804-1887), and the *riḥla* of Hasan Tawfiq to Berlin.

¹⁸ E. T. COOK - A. WEDDERBURN (eds.), 39 vols., London: G. Allen; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903-1912.

sanctuary. Some years ago, I translated his book *Woman in the XX Century*» (J4: 5 [August 1903], pp. 265-266).

Jules Simon was very pleased to give him permission to publish the translation, which was partially printed in the journal. The first section of the book is entitled *The True Reform*¹⁹ and F. Anṭūn refers to it at the very beginning of the journal, in March 1899. Simon called on the women of the XX century to restore the family, «which the women of the two former generations had let fall down»; to this purpose, woman had mainly to relay on education, «elle doit compter surtout sur l'éducation, instrument de toutes les reformes sociales».

In his opening article, F. Anṭūn insisted that true reform of any country is based on education, which develops in two fields, family and school. School education stands on family education, which is the woman's responsibility; therefore she lays the foundations on which the social virtues are built. He then linked the argument to the purpose of his journal, the reform of the «Ottoman and Egyptian nation», meaning a literary and political reform.

F. Anṭūn found guidance in the book and published many parts of it. *Al-Jāmi'a* of August 1899 mentioned Qāsim Amīn as author of *The liberation of Woman* (1: 10, p. 182) and devoted an article to him in which he used information coming from *La femme du vingtième siècle*²⁰. In the June 1, 1900 issue, he translated extracts of «the health section» of (J2: 3, p. 174-176)²¹. In October 1900, F. Anṭūn said he was translating from «an article in which [Simon] criticized the education of girls in France» (J2: 7, p. 407) and which was a section of the same book²². The issues November 1900 (J2: 9, pp. 470-480)²³, and January 1901 (2: 10, pp. 592-602)²⁴, printed longer translations from *La femme*. There are only some quotations in (J1: 21-22 [1900], pp. 514-515) that he says come from *L'école* but I could not identify them yet.

In 1899 when Qāsim Amīn (1865-1908) published the *Liberation of Woman*²⁵, the mainstream of the Egyptian public opinion attacked him fiercely, and in 1900 he had to write *The New Woman* no explain his position and defend himself. However, *Al-Jāmi'a* was an exception. In the previously mentioned January 1901 issue, F. Anṭūn included an article entitled «Views of the philosopher of *al-Jāmi'a* and of Qāsim Amīn on woman» which begins:

«After we read the book *Liberation of Woman* by Qāsim Amīn, magistrate at the Appellate Court in the capital, with the great attention it deserves and after we summarized it in the section "Education and instruction" of this volume, we held it useful to translate for the readers of *Al-Jāmi'a*, as well for those in Egypt and in Syria who seriously care about this issue, the view of the philosopher of *Al-Jāmi'a*, we mean Jules Simon, who does not lack behind at all in his sound judgment and exact insight. Some words that Qāsim Amīn says in his book have reminded us of the testimony of this philosopher, namely, the saying that the causes for the weakness of the Muslim nations are reducible

¹⁹ «La vraie réforme», in JULES SIMON - GUSTAVE SIMON, *La femme du vingtième siècle*, 3 ed. (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1892), pp. 1-16.

²⁰ *La femme*, «Les programmes», pp. 243-246.

²¹ *La femme*, «La mère et la nourrice», pp. 317-320.

²² *La femme*, «Les programmes», pp. 249-255.

²³ *La femme*, «La carrière», pp. 292-307.

²⁴ *La femme*, «Le mariage», fragments, pp. 126-127, 135-136, 118-119; «Le salon», fragments, 20-23, 24, 25, 26-27, 31; «La femme avocat», summarized, 81-92; «Le désert à Paris», summarized, 173-187.

²⁵ *Tahrīr al-mar'a*. English transl. Samiha Sidhom Peterson, The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.

to three, either to geography, religion or family. Then he refutes geography and religion as causes, and credits the universal cause to family» (J2: 1, p. 592).

As he says, he reviewed Qâsim Amîn's book *Al-mar'a al-jadîda* in the same issue (2: 1 [1901] pp. 626-640), and reproduced many fragments. There F. Anṭûn refers to Descartes, as the founder of modern philosophy, and to his directive «Do not believe anything of which you do not possess certainty» to reject the old doctrine of truth based on authority. For F. Anṭûn, Qâsim Amîn proceeded in a similar way to Descartes insofar as he approached the old Muslim civilization not to imitate it, but «to weight it with the scales of reason» (J2: 1, p. 627). This is a very different approach from Jules Simon, but F. Anṭûn looked for the coincidences. He did not affirm that Q. Amîn had read Descartes—and *Al-mar'a al-jadîda* does not make any reference—but he was right in pointing to the common features that unbiased reasoning shows in any research.

7. RENAN AND AVERROES; ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

Ernest Renan was born at Tréguier on February 28, 1823²⁶. A brilliant student, he had started an ecclesiastical career which he abandoned in 1845. He continued his education at the Sorbonne and at the Collège de France, becoming a renowned philologist. Early in 1847 he took the Volney prize awarded by the Institut de France on comparative philology for the manuscript of the *General History of Semitic Languages*²⁷. In 1852, Renan took his degree of Docteur-ès-lettres and published his two thesis, the Latin one being *De philosophia peripatetica apud Syros*, and the French one being *Averroës et l'averroïsme*²⁸.

Averroës et l'averroïsme is primarily a philological work. Every assertion is founded on a text. Renan searched for the texts and translated them, and most of them were manuscripts and early printed books. *Averroës et l'averroïsme* is also a paramount of methodical work. Renan explains the life and doctrines of Averroes. He describes the role of the Jewish translators, his reception in the West, the Scholastic reaction to his doctrines, the development of the legend of Averroes, and the revival of Averroism in northern Italy through the 17th century. Renan knows how to bind art and history when he deals with the paintings of Averroes and Aquinas in the 14th century. Renan's statements had to be impartial, but the pages of the book do not hide his horror of fanaticism and his love for freedom of thought.

Archaeological expeditions to the Near East and further studies in Semitics led Renan to a concept of religious studies that would later be known as comparative religion. The result of this approach was *La vie de Jésus* published on June 24, 1863²⁹, in which he portrayed Christ as a historical phenomenon. Renan affirmed that Jesus was entirely human and never performed miracles. The Catholic Church reacted with rage and Renan's foes smeared him with all kind of calumnies. However, the book enjoyed great popularity, which increased with the years. Constructive criticism was also heard; for instance, Ernest Havet wrote a positive review and praised Renan historical criticism in *Revue des deux mondes*³⁰, a journal known to Anṭûn.

²⁶ Bibliography on Ernest Renan is extremely abundant; the journal *Études Renaniennes*, published since 1970 by the «Société d'études renaniennes», contains updated information.

²⁷ Published some years later, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, Paris: Impr. impériale, 1855.

²⁸ Both thesis appeared at Paris: A. Durand, 1852.

²⁹ *Life of Jesus*, Paris: M. Lévy frères, 1863.

³⁰ «L'Évangile et l'histoire», *Revue des deux mondes*, 46 (August 1, 1863), pp. 564-596.

The *Life of Jesus* was the opening volume of the *History of the Origins of Christianity* (1863-1883)³¹. Three years later *The Apostles* appeared, to which he subsequently added *The Gospels and the Second Christian Generation, Saint Paul, The Antichrist, The Christian Church* and *Marcus Aurelius*. They were all noteworthy volumes, but none will reach the popularity level of the *Life of Jesus*.

Until his death on October 2, 1892, Renan continued his research on religious history. His later works include the five volumes of the *History of the People of Israel* (1888-1896, the last two appeared posthumously). Since he was convinced that Civilization is «the result of the alternate collaboration of Greece, Judea and Rome», he ought to have begun with the *History of the People of Israel* and made the *Life of Jesus* its continuation but he placed first what he felt as first in his existential longing for rational explanation of Christianity.

F. Anṭŭn could easily have heard of Renan but he did not write about him until 1901. *Al-Jāmi'a* of September 1901³² opens with a photograph of Ernest Renan and devotes him an essay entitled

«The philosopher Ernest Renan. The famous historian and Orientalist, author of the book *Life of Jesus*».

F. Anṭŭn begins the essay (J3: 2, pp. 74- 86) with the statement «In today's world there are two strong movements, the first is Islam, the second is Christianity». He immediately explains the differences: The Islamic movement wants to improve the condition of the believers «by means of religion», while the Christian movement is characterized by some groups who want «to restrict the power of the clergy, *rijāl ad-dīn*, and confine their activity to the places of prayer». But the Christian movement has a negative aspect, he continues. In the last two years, the masses, *al-'amma*, in countries like Portugal, Spain, Belgium, France and Russia have assaulted and humiliated the priests, something unacceptable among civilized countries because it violates personal freedom. The case is most distressing in France, «because it is the country of those writers and philosophers who opposed to the clergy and kept it within its borders, like Voltaire, Diderot and Renan did» (J3: 1, p. 74).

Anṭŭn's introduction to the life and works of E. Renan is a very simplifying one, presenting him only as a defender of secularization. As usual, he does not inform us of the sources for his article, but he tells us that he has a copy of *Life of Jesus*, and that the book was in its 25th edition at the time. He describes the reactions after the publication as «hot and cold springs» swooping on Renan. The «hot springs» were, of course, the insults and calumnies of the priests and ecclesiastical circles.

«The cold springs swooped on from the Jews all over the world because this book traces back to them the world civilization, affirms that Christianity comes from them although if it is said that its highest culture does not derive from theirs. With them, all materialist scholars in Europe and all writers who do not profess any religion agreed with satisfaction on the subject of the book» (J3: 1 [1901] p. 78).

F. Anṭŭn adds a summary of the book, paying attention to Renan's dedicatory preface to his sister Henriette, and the introductions to following editions. The next issue of *Al-Jāmi'a* (J3: 2) starts with selected translations from the book itself. When it comes to

³¹ *Histoire des origines du christianisme*. Renan's works were all published in *Œuvres complètes*, éd. définitive établie par Henriette Psichari. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1948-1961; *Vie de Jésus* in vol. 4, pp. 11-427.

³² *Al-Jāmi'a* of August 1901 had already mentioned the name of Renan. In an article «Curiosities of the bear's eyes» it quotes a work that he calls «Refutation of the excesses of the materialists» and he ascribes to Renan.

Renan's description of Nazareth, he remarks that the town has changed since 30 years ago; now there are new buildings, more inhabitants and «Jewish and German agricultural firms have transformed many of our wastelands into prosperous gardens» (J3: 3 [1901], p. 161).

The readers became interested in the text. In the issue of December 1901, F. Anṭûn published some of the many letters he says had received from readers who supported Renan's views (J3: 5, pp. 327-330). The letters came from different places, even from America. One Syrian reader who signed ad «Servant of humankind» disagreed with Renan and affirmed the existence of miracles (J3: 9 [1902], pp. 620-623).

The translation of many pages of the book continued to the January 1902 issue (J 3: 6), and then he added a text, «Reason for translating this book into Arabic» (J3: 6, [1902] pp. 385-387). There is a question, he says, that the readers have asked, namely, «whether Christianity has preserved all the principles which its Lawgiver came to plant on earth». F. Anṭûn reminds of the social changes introduced by Christianity. Then he makes clear to those readers that some things in any religion have to change by law of nature, but there are essentials, which cannot be changed, they are the pillars of the building. F. Anṭûn counts among them «the sermon of the Lord on the mountain», serving God with truth and spirit, loving the little people, doing good to everybody. He not only answers the question but also explains the moral cause for translating the book into Arabic —to remind of the virtues and principles preached by the Son of Man.

In March 1902, he dealt again with the issue (J3: 7, pp. 453-455), and synthesized the two reasons for translating the book, to be exact, of many of its parts. First he wanted to make the reader of Arabic acquainted with one of the most important social movements of history, and second, he wanted to remind everybody of the Evangelical virtues. But he added a third one: in reading the book, people became aware that interreligious understanding is possible.

When F. Anṭûn wrote the preliminary article on E. Renan, he obviously had not read any of his books. After reading *Life of Jesus* and translating a good deal of it into Arabic, his views changed. Renan was no longer a secularist writer, he was a religious one who grasped the essence of Christianity, and F. Anṭûn agreed with him.

Three following issues of *Al-Jâmi'a* in the year 1902 contained translations of Renan's *The Apostles*³³, 3: 7, of March, 3: 8 of June, and 3: 10-12 of December; the last summary of *The Apostles* came in *Al-Jâmi'a* 4: 1 (1903), and began with the paragraph «Christian and Modern Socialism». The American edition of *Al-Jâmi'a* still had place for a partial translation of *Saint Paul* (J6: 1 [February 1908], pp. 21-24). He was speaking in Renan's voice, and this could be the reason why we do not know of any movement by the Greek Orthodox Church in Egypt against him.

The subject of the early development of Christianity was no longer relevant to F. Anṭûn, but the discovery of Renan led him to discover his other books, and one became decisive for his interpretation of Islam and Christianity, namely *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*.

The article «History of Averroes and his philosophy. The greatest philosopher of Islam» appeared in the June 1902 issue (J3: 8, pp. 517-540). In order to compose it, F. Anṭûn probably used various sources. One of them is known because, in the same issue, he added another entry «Coming back to Averroes» (J3: 8, pp. 568-572) where he referred to the acquisition of Renan's «full-size book» of 486 pages. From the indication, we gather that F. Anṭûn had bought a copy of the third, revised and enlarged edition, Paris: Michel

³³ *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 4, pp. 433-702.

Lévy frères, 1866. He reproduced parts of the Arabic appendix —the notices of Ibn al-Abbār, al-Anṣārī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a on Averroes— in this entry.

In the main article, F. Anṭūn begins with a question on justice in the universe. He criticizes those who claim that there is no law but «that life is a harsh struggle between men, the stronger prevails and the weak falls down» (Let us remember that he opposed Darwin and the evolutionist theory). No victory, according to them, is for justice and virtue, and violence imposes the triumph of evil. However, F. Anṭūn joints to those who have another view, namely, that true triumph is neither the matter of one hour, nor of one day; victorious is the man whose memory lasts forever. He mentions Socrates and quotes Plotinus to the purpose and, as usual provides no references. In this way, F. Anṭūn leads us to his goal, because the further example that he produces as evidence is that of Averroes:

«His contemporaries charged him with non-belief, they prohibited his books, they demeaned him, and they deported him. Nevertheless, what does all this mean to the intelligent and wise man who looks for the substances of the things, not for their accidents? Will Averroes not forget all those little humiliations, if he can see from his eternal place what humankind today says about him, in Arabic and in other languages?» (J3: 8 [1902], p. 518).

F. Anṭūn expounded on the teachings of Averroes and relied heavily on Renan's book, but he emphasized the image of Averroes as a victim of Muslim bigotry. No wonder, the article triggered a debate with the Mufti of Egypt Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905)³⁴. M. Rashīd Riḍā, a friend of F. Anṭūn, who was the editor of the Islamic journal *Al-Manār*, brought the article to the attention of Muḥammad 'Abduh, who wrote a counter for *Al-Manār*. In his turn, F. Anṭūn wrote a reply (J3: 9, [1902], pp. 626-639); Muḥammad 'Abduh published his views through of *Al-Manār*³⁵. F. Anṭūn eventually printed a book of the debate, with some changes, called *Averroes and his Philosophy*³⁶. He dedicated the book to «the Eastern intellectuals, in Islam, Christianity and other religions». The subject in dispute was no longer the philosophy of Averroes but the conflict between philosophers and theologians, and how Islam and Christianity faced it.

Donald Reid points to a disadvantage with which F. Anṭūn entered the debate³⁷. M. 'Abduh mastered the Islamic classics, and F. Anṭūn not. He seldom gives the sources for his writings but on page viii of the book *Averroes and his Philosophy*, he cites: Renan's *Averroës et l'averroïsme*, Salomon Munk's *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, *La grande encyclopédie*, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, by al-Ghazâlî, *The Incoherence of The Incoherence*, and *The Decisive Treatise*, both by Averroes, some notices found in Arabic

³⁴ Among the many authors who have dealt with the debate, may I point out three:

M. RASHĪD RIḌĀ, *Ta'rikh al-ustādih al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abdūh: wa-ft-hi tafṣil sīrati-hi, wa-khulāṣat sīrat mūqiz al-Sharq al-hakīm wa-l-Islām Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Manār, 1324-1350 H [1906-1931]. 2nd ed. Dār al-Faḍīlah, 2003), pp. 805-816.

GEORGE C. ANAWATI, «L'orthodoxie d'Ibn Rushd (Averroès) à la lumière de la polémique Farah Anṭūn et le cheikh Muḥammad 'Abduh», in *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Livre du Centenaire, 1880-1980* (Cairo, 1980), pp. 341-354.

ANKE VON KÜGELGEN, *Averroes und die arabische Moderne. Ansätze zu einer Neubegründung des Rationalismus im Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 77-98.

³⁵ *Al-Manār: majalla shahrīya tabhathu fī falsafat al-dīn wa-shu'ūn al-ijtimā' wa-al-'umrān*, vol. 5, Cairo, 1902: «Al-faylasūf Ibn Rushd», pp. 361-280; «Al-iḍṭihād fī n-naṣraniya wa-l-islām», pp. 401-434; «Al-islām wa-n-naṣraniya ma'a l-'ilm wa-l-madaniya», pp. 441-465, pp. 481-501, pp. 521-545, and pp. 561-577.

³⁶ *Ībn Rushd wa-falsafatu-hu*, Alexandria, January 1, 1903.

³⁷ *The Odyssey*, p. 82.

bio-bibliographic repertoires, and a certain *Philosophy of Averroes and its Religious Principles* by «Mr. Müller»³⁸. The controversy poisoned the relationship of F. Anṭŭn to Rashīd Riḍā, and to Muslim readers, although it contributed decisively, in the long term, to the study of Averroes and Islamic philosophers in the Arab world.

The interest of F. Anṭŭn for Renan lingered for some time. The last issue of *Al-Jāmi'a* 4, used the raising of a monument to Renan in his native town of Tréguier as an opportunity to write about him and his political ideas (J4: 6-7-8 [1903], pp. 298-315). F. Anṭŭn makes up «If someone would ask Renan» What is your political party? No doubt he would answer «Humankind all is my party». Then F. Anṭŭn mentions *Al-mubāḥathât al-'ilmīya*, «Philosophic Dialogues»³⁹ and includes the play *Caliban* among them. This is wrong because *Caliban* is the first of the «Philosophic Dramas»⁴⁰. He probably was using journals as his sources. Further, he quotes some fragments from *Awraq manthûra* «Scattered leaves»⁴¹, and finally translates most of the «Prayer on the Acropolis»:

«Oh! nobility! Oh! true and simple beauty! Goddess, the worship of whom signifies reason and wisdom, thou whose temple is an eternal lesson of conscience and truth, I come late to the threshold of thy mysteries; I bring to the foot of thy altar much remorse. Ere finding thee, I have had to make infinite search. The initiation which thou didst confer by a smile upon the Athenian at his birth, I have acquired by force of reflection and long labor»⁴².

F. Anṭŭn's translation is very accurate and reads as elegant Arabic. He closes the article justifying its publication for two reasons. First, because of the language. He considers the style of Renan especially good, and adds that eloquence expresses good nature, internal and external (*ḥasan fiṭrî*). He praises the French language and he defends the art of translation too. Those who blame the Arabic language should recognize that the deficiency in style lies in the bad Arabic, not on the incapacity of Arabic.

Second, because of his philosophy. F. Anṭŭn mentions the words Renan wished to have inscribed on his tomb «He loved truth», and affirms that Renan's aim was «the quest for pure truth, by means of intellectual forces, not depending on the witnesses of books and people» (J4: 6-7-8 [1903], p. 314).

F. Anṭŭn prays to Athena too, and reminds her of the Phoenicians who helped construct Greek civilization: «oh Athena! in your veins there is some Oriental blood». He asks for her help to improve our science and characters, and he particularly asks for «the spirit of absolute tolerance, of which the great apostle was your friend Renan».

This article is, in fact, the last one devoted to Renan⁴³, and his choice of the «Prayer on the Acropolis» says much. By the hand of Renan he discovered the scholarly reading of Christian history and by the hand of Renan he discovered Islamic philosophy. He sympathized with Renan's superiority feelings toward Islam but he moved in an Islamic world, and the misstep would bring trouble to him and his journal.

³⁸ He may refer to Marcus Joseph Müller, editor of three works of Averroes: *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroes*, München, G. Franz: 1859, and translator of them into German: *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroes*, aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von Marcus Joseph Müller, München: G. Franz, 1875.

³⁹ 1876. *Dialogues philosophiques*, Œuvres complètes, vol. 1, pp. 545-632.

⁴⁰ 1888. *Drames philosophiques*, Œuvres complètes, vol. 3, pp. 375-435.

⁴¹ 1892. *Feuilles détachées*, Œuvres complètes, vol. 2, pp. 937-1182.

⁴² 1899. *Prière sur l'Acropole*, Œuvres complètes, vol. 2, pp. 752-59. English by Eugene Vinavar and T. B. L. Webster, Manchester University Press, 1934.

⁴³ *Jāmi'a*, 6: 1 (New York, February 1908), pp. 21-22.

8. AUGUSTE COMTE, RELIGION OF MANKIND

No other thinker had so much influence on F. Anṭūn as Renan. He read Auguste Comte (1798-1857) too and here again the issue arises what he really read. Comte is considered the founder of sociology. He formulated the so-called «Law of three phases» according to which society has gone through three phases: Theological, Metaphysical, and Positive. In the last one, society recognizes only knowledge that is based on data obtained by exact perception and experimentation. In the second part of his life (1846-1857), Comte organized a religious movement, a «religion of humankind», *religion de l'humanité*, the pillars of which were altruism, order and progress.

Al-Jāmi'a of February 1903, published an article with following heading «The philosopher Auguste Comte, founder of the philosophy of Positivism and creator of the religion of humankind» and added that the article was published on the occasion of the recent death of Comte's successor as supreme leader of the *religion de l'humanité* (J4: 1, pp. 15-21). The successor was Pierre Lafitte (1825-1903), and F. Anṭūn wrote a few lines on him too.

F. Anṭūn saw the benefit of Positivism in «the hallowing of humankind and the absolute respect of human individual» (J4: 1, p. 21). He was not really influenced by Comte, although his novel *Religion, Science and Property, or the Three Cities*⁴⁴ shows some reminiscences of the theory of the three phases.

Moving from Alexandria to New York meant also a change more in the content than in the form of the journal. F. Anṭūn was still dependent of French sources but his choices changed. He translated A. Dumas again but now he chose *Kean ou désordre et génie* (1836)⁴⁵, a play paying tribute to the theatrical art and exalting the passion of being an actor.

Back to Cairo, he published an article entitled «Difficulty of social issues» (J7: 1 [1909], pp. 19-28). The publisher Khalīl Ṣādiq had complimented him with a copy of the Arabic translation of Gustave Le Bon's *La psychologie des foules*⁴⁶ which had come out in November 1909. Le Bon was a social psychologist and considered himself the founder of «crowd psychology». He introduced the notion of collective soul, but his views were rather negative: «Little adapted to reasoning, crowds, on the contrary, are quick to act», and he stressed the role of propaganda, which he considered a rational technique for managing groups.

The translator was Sa'd Aḥmad Faḥī Zaghlūl (ca. 1850-1927), leader of the nationalist political party, the Wafd party. For the Egyptian masses, Sa'd Zaghlūl would be their national leader, the *za'im al-umma*, in the struggle against the British occupation of the country. F. Anṭūn opened his article with a free quotation of Plato's *Republic*: «the happiest nation is the nation ruled by learned men and philosophers». He appreciated the translation work of S. Zaghlūl in spite of his intense political activity, but he censured him for not expressing his own views about the book that he translated.

F. Anṭūn had spent some time in Paris and attended political meetings, for instance, he mentions that he had listened to discourses by Gustave Hervé (Brest 1871-Paris 1944), whom he described as the leader of the «insurgent socialists». He went to listen to him because.

«He exerted influence on the peoples of Europe with his weird principles which he spread and many people followed him. If they were implemented, the present society

⁴⁴ *Al-dīn wa-l'ilm wa-l-mâl aw al-mudun al-thalâth*, Alexandria, 1903.

⁴⁵ Translated as *Edmund Kean: or the genius and the libertine*, London: Vickers, 1847.

⁴⁶ Paris: F. Alcan, 1895; in 1908 the 13th edition was on sale. English translation, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

would be destroyed and a new society would be established, God alone knows the results» (J7:1, p. 20).

F. Anțun believed that these principles, «like those of Marx, Bebel, Jaurés» caused Le Bon to write his book as a refutation against them. Le Bon never mentioned these names, although he openly disdained any workers organization. He did not want to be ruled by the «crowds» but wanted to control them. Thus F. Anțun could accept neither Hervé's nor Le Bon's ideas. He summarized the book and criticized it because it runs against the principles of the present civilization, because all these organizations are helpful to the weak in society. F. Anțun reminded Jules Simon's *Political Freedom*⁴⁷ and his views on political organizations, and wondered:

«Therefore, who speaks the truth? Dr. Le Bon or the experienced statesman and famous philosopher Jules Simon who never flattered the people when expressing his independent views, neither saying nor acting?» (J: 1, pp. 26-27).

F. Anțun was very harsh in his criticism and accused Le Bon of composing his book in order to intimidate the French government and make it more submissive to the interests of the capital owners. He added that the ongoing war between workers and property owners «which we partially related few years ago in our book *Religion, Science and Property*» required the righteous thinker to take stand, and he pleaded to take stand for the weak (J7: 2, p. 28).

9. NIETZSCHE, THE FASCINATION FOR ENERGY AND PROGRESS

F. Anțun always depended on French sources, which he never quoted. When he wrote on Friedrich Nietzsche, whom he calls Frederic following the French spelling, he read him in French. He made a critical notice in J5: 4 (September 1906), pp. 149-150, as a digression within an article on J. al-Afghânî's ideology. There he said that he had been working on Nietzsche for the last two years and he considered that the doctrine of Nietzsche had brought Germany into its present supremacy, but he criticized him for his extreme views on religion, for calling religions «a web of superstitions and hoaxes».

After publishing a selection of aphorisms in J5: 4 (September 1906)⁴⁸, pp. 173-174, and after a short article in J6: 1 (February 1908), pp. 16-17⁴⁹, F. Anțun wrote a not so short article, in *Al-Jâmi'a* 6: 3 (April 1908), pp. 57-64, in which he aimed at expounding only «the key concepts of his philosophy» and he translated some passages. The translated passages appear under the heading «Nietzsche flunks Socrates and Greek wisdom». They belong to the chapter «Das Problem des Sokrates», in *Götzen-Dämmerung*, «Twilight of the Idols» that begins «Throughout the ages the wisest of men have passed the same judgment on life: it is worthless»; F. Anțun likely used the French translation by Henri Albert⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ *La liberté politique*, 3 ed., Paris: Hachette, 1867.

⁴⁸ Aphorisms like «Principle of self-love: Love yourself and then love everybody», *Maxims and Arrows*, 9 or «I searched for great men but found only the apes of their ideals», *ibid.* 39. F. Anțun could have gathered them from pages of *Twilight of the Idols* or maybe he knew the selection and translation by HENRI LICHTENBERGER: *Aphorismes et fragments choisis*, Paris: F. Alcan, 1899.

⁴⁹ Readers asked F. Anțun to write on Nietzsche but he warns them that his thoughts are but «an odd mixture of right and wrong, of sane and insane».

⁵⁰ *Le crépuscule des idoles: Le Cas Wagner: Nietzsche contre Wagner: L'Antéchrist / Frédéric Nietzsche*; traduits par Henri Albert, Paris: Mercure de France, 1899.

In a later article, he stresses the influence of Nietzsche on the ideas of men and remarks: «He tried to destroy the majority of the old principles, either good or corrupt» (*Jāmi'a*, 6: 4, [May 1908], pp. 81-86). As usual, F. Anṭūn does not even quote the book of Nietzsche, from which he translates the fragments. They are taken from «Roving expeditions of an inopportune philosopher», another chapter of *Twilight of the Idols*, the longest fragment has the heading «Whether we are become more moral».

Nietzsche attacked Renan in the second of his «expeditions» in the *Twilight of the Idols* as he attacked Darwin in the 14th. F. Anṭūn translated both «expeditions» and the epilogue beginning «And as regards my long sickness, do I not owe to it unutterably more than to my health?» of *Nietzsche contra Wagner* (J6: 5 [June 1908], pp. 125-128).

Nietzsche attacked Renan for being half-hearted, for trying to be both Christian and freethinker, and said to him «you continue to be a Christian, a Roman Catholic, and even a priest, in your intestines!». F. Anṭūn published the text with no particular comments. Does it mean that he accepted Nietzsche's ideas?

F. Anṭūn appended his last novel *Al-ʿālam al-jadīd* «The New World» to the periodical from September 15, 1906 onwards. He wanted to contrast the Roman and Jewish civilizations in the novel, in which the pagan Cicero expressed views that reflect Nietzsche's doctrine. Cicero's new world is the world where the powerful and the wholesome will dominate. But the hero of the novel is Magdalena who is the prey of the powerful and wealthy. Years later, in 1913, he wrote *Miṣr al-jadīda wa-Miṣr al-qadīma* «Modern Egypt, Old Egypt»: Fu'ād Bey, the hero of New Egypt, is a man of strong power of will and, at the same time, a defender of virtue and family values.

F. Anṭūn might admire Nietzsche but he was never convinced. There is one place where he seemingly sounded more enthusiastic: he composed a long poem entitled «The qasida on the mountain (Poetry in scientific way). Between Nietzsche and Tolstoy. In the center of the glories of the United States» (J6: 8 [1908], pp. 212-218). The poem begins:

«Stop over on the mountains, do not stop over in the valley if you want to see these glories.

Ride the steam-driven trains to go there, the age of the she-camels has past, and so the shouting of the camel driver.

The breeding camels are extinct, and the remains of the deserted encampment are wiped out, you do not find any one bewailing them or leading to them.

Ask the trains to fly, do not say 'slowly', because "you travel with my beloved heart".

Time is money, and this is time to rush, not time to be effeminate and to be asleep.

This is time of determined will, which fights any resistance by way of *jihad*».

The classical Arabic qasida always begins bewailing the rests of the camp and mourns the caravan leaving the place with the beloved. F. Anṭūn derides the nostalgic attitude and calls for modernity. He introduces Nietzsche and his will to power, in the popularized version as he understood him. We read later:

«The old has died, wrap it with the linen for the grave! For us it has neither return nor place to return.

The earth needs will, determination and energy, not the delusion of the religion and prophecy.

With will, the raving of the country ascends and it is the rise of any civilization and of any country.

This is Nietzsche's language, and Nietzsche was straightening the bent and the twisted according to some people, but I leave my opinion about Nietzsche untouched until the appointed time».

In the continuation of the poem, F. Anṭûn takes a stand against Nietzsche, who frightened him with this discourse but he found relief in a book, *Resurrection* of Tolstoy, that Anṭûn had with him. Anṭûn reprimands him:

«Oh! Nietzsche! (the philosopher spoke) I have listened to your strange discourse, now you listen to me.

Do you believe that what you have spoken is a new science? No, you know it very well. It is an old thing. You would not have said it, if you had been wakeful, and if you had not shut your eyes.

Go into the woods where men still live like freely grazing cattle.

There you find the men who follow the laws of Nietzsche according to all his principles. They have no law (*shar'*) except the company of power, fear and feud».

F. Anṭûn uses an ambiguous term, *shar'*, than means law as well as religion, because of religious law. Then he came down from the mountain and ended the poem with a hemistich—he is not sure if it is by al-Buḥturî (IX cent.) or Abû Tammâm: «the stream is an enemy of the higher place».

The poem expresses his deception with Nietzsche but also his distancing from the United States, insofar as he relates them to Nietzsche's philosophy. F. Anṭûn admired the magnificence of the land and the achievements of its industrious people and he appreciated the kindness of people «who get together without malice and hatred». However he preferred the «lower place» and he would soon leave the United States. Volume 7 of *Al-Jâmi'a* would appear in Egypt again, although it would comprise only two issues.

Nevertheless, Nietzsche retained Anṭûn's interest and he wrote about his philosophy an article called «Return to Nietzsche's philosophy, and to the *History* of Renan» in *J7*: 1 (1909), pp. 42-46. *J7*: 2 (1910), pp. 101-105. He acknowledged to have read five books of Nietzsche and one on Nietzsche, *En lisant Nietzsche*, by Émile Faguet (1847-1916) and in addition, he knew of the publication of *La Vie de Frédéric Nietzsche* by Daniel Halévy (1872-1962). He names also two of the five Nietzsche's books which he had read: *Ecce homo* (1908)⁵¹ and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1883-85)⁵².

In the article, F. Anṭûn mainly translated fragments of the latter book. He commented that «the principles of this man comprise many truths necessary for life. The children of the East should read them to make themselves strong» (*J7*: 1, p. 42). He wanted to take from Nietzsche whatever was useful to Orientals to build up a «new personality» (*khalq jadîd*) and to leave out what did not have a place in the East, he was not going to translate anything that Nietzsche said on religion and moral (*al-adyân wa-l-'adât*). F. Anṭûn saw in Nietzsche a source of inspiration for the renewal and progress of the Orient, how amazing may it sound.

10. CONTINUITY OF ANṬÛN'S THOUGHT

While the novels and theater plays of F. Anṭûn often show his concern for social issues, his selection and reception of western thinkers and essayists show us a more diverse image. His backing of the French revolution stirred him to translate two works of Alexandre Dumas, *Ange Pitou* and *La comtesse de Charny*, and although he soon abandoned revolutionary ideas, he always felt sympathy with that time. In the beginning, the journal was called «The

⁵¹ *Ecce Homo*, suivi des *Poésies*. Traduit par Henri Albert, 4th ed., Paris, Mercure de France, 1909.

⁵² F. Anṭûn was reading the French translation by Henri Albert: *Ainsi parlait Zarathoustra, un livre pour tous et pour personne*, Paris: Société du Mercure de France, which reached its 16th edition in 1908.

Ottoman league» and F. Anṭūn had in mind the Ottoman Empire when he spoke of revolution. When he moved to New York, he was a citizen of that empire stretching from Istanbul to Libya and he was never outspoken against belonging to it.

However, his concern was not only politics. He soon translated Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, who was influenced by Rousseau, and was moved by other interests. Innocent love, natural goodness, non-confessional deism were beliefs which he discovered and embraced. His approach to Tolstoy was also characterized by his concern for moral values, which are independent from religious orthodoxy, if sometimes not the opposite. Freedom of conscience within one's official religion was an essential value. While he defended Tolstoy against the condemnation by the Russian Church, he also defended the right of any member of a religious community to think freely without being ousted from it.

Jules Simon and Ernest Renan are the two major figures with the most impact on his thinking. Simon reinforced his faith in education and coached him in his views of moderate reform, especially concerning women. Public education was seen by both as the keystone to reform and develop a country.

Renan reinforced his Christian faith, towards himself and towards the surrounding Muslim world, adopting it in liberal terms. Thanks to Renan he discovered Averroes and that philosophy had flourished in the Arab world. The debate with Muḥammad 'Abduh brought him much dissatisfaction and many nuisances although both of them stood intellectually closer together than did 'Abduh to his mentor al-Afghānī. Although the debate contributed to the revival of philosophy in the Arab world, F. Anṭūn would be left to be a minor player, because he was a Christian.

Later on, F. Anṭūn set aside the conflictive issue of Islam and Christianity and addressed his readers on issues such as moral conduct and national pride. His nuanced rejection of Nietzsche and his predilection for Tolstoy as seen in the poem above illustrate his concern for defending virtue. His literary works always had a pedagogical purpose and, in the introduction to his play *Ibn ash-sha'b* «Son of the people» in the journal, he reminded readers:

«I do not approve novels (*riwāyât*) built on passion and love without giving a useful lesson to the people. But I escape from it as I have done in all my novels because I understand that the writer who deserves this name must fear poisoning the souls of the readers through corrupting passion and cold love, on which most of the novels are built» (J5: 1 [NY 1906], p. 64).

Nationalism as an issue gained import in his works and I have stressed his interest in Nietzsche as ideological source of new energy to an Eastern nation. He was already in New York and he wrote an article entitled «Voice from far away» after the incident of Dinshawi (or Danishway)⁵³. The incident increased national sentiment in Egypt. F. Anṭūn distinguished between religious and national fanaticism, and while he censured the former, he approved the latter (*ta 'aṣṣub jinsī*), and greeted it as «a thread to string the nation» (J5: 5 [September 15, 1906], pp. 183-191). The incident took place in Egypt, but this nation referred not only to Egypt, but to the «Ottoman and Egyptian nation».

⁵³ *The Herald Tribune* of June 15, 1906 reported: «It appears that a party of officers were engaged in pigeon-shooting near the village of Danshawi when a stray shot set fire to a haystack. This aroused the fanaticism of the natives, who attacked the officers and attempted to disarm them by force. The result was a serious collision with the natives, during which one officer was killed and others were wounded. A native woman was shot dead».

It remains unclear what happened in Dinshawi, but a British officer was found dead. The British response was disproportionate and cruel; four peasants were sentenced to death.

As F. Anṭûn absorbed new sources, many of his ideas changed, but his main concerns remained. His concern for educating people was as permanent as were his worries for freethinking; thus, Jules Simon and Ernest Renan continued to be influential throughout his life. New sources and his American experience oriented his thoughts toward nationalism, but he could not shape the kind of nation he wanted. He wanted to create a great Oriental nation—educated, social and secular which the Arabic language would bring together—but reality imposed different national states and often a religious orientation.

Looking at the situation of the Arab world today we shall most likely think that his project has completely failed. However, after some reflection, shadows and lights appear:

Translating Western literature into Arabic helped develop the modern language, and to introduce literary genres such as the novel, the short story and the drama. F. Anṭûn and the journal contributed to this development, and to the creation of an environment of open discussion and free expression.

Public education has become more common in the Near East and women have access to its various levels. As for Anṭûn's ideas about the positive influence of educated women in raising their children, many practical instances support his views.

The shadowy side comes out when we consider the political fragmentation of the Middle East. Steps towards unity are more rhetorical than factual and Anṭûn could not have imagined that Arab countries would lead wars against each other. But, no doubt, his views on religion and the secular state have been ignored the most. The upsurge of Islamist movements retards the slow evolution towards state forms based on universal rational principles which seemed to be in accordance with his project. Here we should refer to F. Anṭûn's novel *Religion, Science and Property, or the Three Cities*, in which he proposed a utopian society based on the principles of equality, fraternity, and moderate socialism as the solution to conflicts existing in Western societies. Maybe An ṭûn should have thought that similar conflicts could arise in Arab societies too, and that a more realistic proposal was needed.

Entanglement in religious arguments does not occur for any one reason; it is often caused by social conflicts. In any case, it is something that F. Anṭûn could scarcely foresee. Although his reform project suffered a backlash, it has not vanished, and its revival may be initiated by reforming society in a more realistic way than the one he proposed in *Religion, Science and Property, or the Three Cities*—but in the same spirit.

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