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5.2 Scientification and Popularization in the Historiography of World Literature, 1850-1950 *A Dutch Case Study*¹

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Introduction

In 1827, in one of his best known quotations, Goethe said:

I am more and more convinced [...] that poetry is the universal possession of mankind, revealing itself everywhere, and at all times, in hundreds and hundreds of men. [...] National literature is now a rather unmeaning term; the epoch of World literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten its approach.²

In Europe, interest in other cultures had began to grow in the course of the eighteenth century, a development connected with the expansion of the notion of 'culture' at the time. Formerly, it had been used exclusively in relation to individuals, but around 1800 it had also become applicable to collectives or even to the whole of humanity.³ The growing interest in foreign cultures seems to have been intensified by at least two factors. Firstly, a growing concern with preserving national character and national identity automatically focused attention on other nations. A nation could profile itself in comparison and in competition with other nations, which could also serve as a touchstone or as a source of inspiration. Secondly, the Enlightenment advocated the idea that all men are equal and that they all take part in a nation-transcending brotherhood, the human race. And since the spiritual life of a single nation was supposed to manifest itself in its national literature, the spiritual life of all mankind could be read in a transnational literature, in world literature.

In the quotation above, Goethe appears to have brought the term *Weltliteratur* into wider circulation, primarily to denote the international dissemination of literary art, including non-Western literature.⁴ However, the meaning he attributed to the concept of *Weltliteratur* did not immediately elicit a widespread response.

A much more businesslike and pragmatic notion of world literature was more common in the nineteenth century. It was seen as the sum of all literary works brought into circulation by all nations or by mankind in general over the course of time, or at least its undisputed highlights, such as the masterpieces by Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe. Viewed in this way, these international figures did not belong solely to the Italians, the English, or the Germans. Given the fact that their works were the spiritual heritage of the entire human race, they were also owned by other nations.

Since the nineteenth century, several literary histories have been written with the aim of describing the literary heritage of more than one nation or even of all mankind in a single comprehensive historical account. I want to explore the development of this historiographical genre in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century using a number of Dutch examples.⁵ In the Netherlands, the genre is part of a tradition established in the preceding period. I will follow two lines of evolution, which I shall refer to as (1) academization or scientification and (2) popularization or democratization. Both lines come together in a transnational literary history published during World War II.

But now, back to Goethe's era. While he was developing his cosmopolitan concept of literature, a young man named Willem de Clercq was writing a unique literary history.⁶ In the winter of 1820/21, the Royal Netherlands Institute of Arts and Sciences had announced a competition for a treatise on the following topical issue: 'What influence has foreign literature, especially Italian, Spanish, French and German literature, had on Dutch language and literature from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the present day?'⁷ De Clercq submitted his manuscript after only a few months. In extended and printed form it would number more than three hundred pages.⁸

His answer to the question was unique, and not simply because it was the only answer submitted. It pleased the Academy so much that it awarded De Clercq a gold medal. De Clercq had established a reputation at a single stroke. His book would continue to command the admiration of readers and, in the Netherlands, it even became famous as the first comprehensive comparative literary history ever written.⁹ At any rate, its author can be regarded as one of the pioneers of comparative literature. This field of study, inspired by emerging disciplines such as comparative linguistics, would flourish in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. In this process of discipline formation, the two tendencies mentioned above – scientification and democratization – can be distinguished, tendencies I want to highlight here on the basis of a number of Dutch books written in the tradition established by De Clercq.

Scientification

In the Netherlands, history teacher Willem Doorenbos and the somewhat younger professor of Dutch Gerrit Kalff represent the scientification tendency. Unlike De Clercq, they both completed a university degree during which they acquired modern scientific views. In their generation the new scientific paradigm of historicism emerged in the comparatist's thinking. Just like any other man of science he was expected to describe and explain literary phenomena – from the smallest details to entire literatures – by collecting empirically observable facts and assessing them impartially. To this end, these phenomena must be compared and causally related to each another, as Kalff – the most important theoretician in this field in the Netherlands – prescribed around 1900. A literary work, for instance, might be explained by the life of its author and by other factors influencing its properties.

According to Kalff there were several ways to obtain a picture of the literary art of a large number of nations. Different national literatures could simply be placed side by side, highlighting perhaps their points of contact or other relationships. Kalff himself, however, inspired by comparatists like Posnett (1886) and Ker (1896),¹⁰ preferred an approach which fully abandoned the national pattern, concentrating, for instance, on literary currents or literary contents occurring internationally. As such, Kalff distanced himself from a compiling approach. Doorenbos had used this approach in his *Handleiding tot de geschiedenis der letterkunde (Guide to the History of Literature)*, published in 1870. This book examined Indian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Arab, Persian, medieval Christian, Castilian and Germanic literature in succession, as well as Italian, French, Spanish, English, German and Dutch literature.

Books like these and a growing number of partial studies by other authors show us that comparative literature took root in the course of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Kalff provisionally completed a Dutch academic and nation-transcending literary history in 1923-1924, publishing his two-volume *Westeuropese letterkunde (Western European Literature)*.¹² In this book, he attempted to abandon the national point of view completely. His foreword to volume I describes his aim: 'Starting from the supposition that, during the Middle Ages, the nations of Western Europe more or less formed a unity in faith, civilization, art and other respects, I have tried to show the revelation of this unity in literature.'¹³ In the course of his life, Kalff had repeatedly defended extremely nationalistic ideas. *Westeuropese letterkunde*, however, proved that he was also able to apply a pan-European perspective which would, he believed, reconcile nations.¹⁴ This is apparent from the broad perspective of both volumes which, incidentally, present a cultural history based on literary examples rather than a literary history in the narrower sense. The

first volume opens with an introduction about the genesis of nations and states, about the church versus the secular world, about the Renaissance and the role of clergymen and laymen. Chapter 1 deals with the three medieval estates, Chapter 2 with wise, amorous and foolish narratives, and Chapter 3 examines art, artists and their public. The first chapter of Volume 2 continues with the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, Chapter 2 discusses several genres of the Renaissance, Chapter 3 examines literary currents, and Chapter 4, finally, covers genres and writers like Spencer and Cervantes who also influenced the course of literature.

Popularization

Besides academization, comparative literary historiography included a popular-scientific tendency, representing a form of middlebrow culture: easily digestible, tailored to a mass audience of consumers for whom high culture was not accessible as a matter of course, but who wished to gain access to it.¹⁵ One representative of this new kind of historiography was Steven Margadant, an educated author, but not a trained philologist.¹⁶ Margadant opted for a less academic route. He studied mathematics and physics at the University of Leyden, but while teaching these subjects¹⁷ he also developed as a classicist. In the 1930s, he edited a number of popular scientific magazines. Two of his books were typically intended for a middlebrow audience: *De wereldlitteratuur (World Literature)* (1930) and *Twintigduizend citaten, aphorismen en spreekwoorden (Twenty Thousand Quotations, Aphorisms and Proverbs)* (1935).

Margadant never precisely explained the intentions behind his book on world literature. However, it must have had the same aim as the successful German book that served as his model: Paul Wiegler's *Geschichte der Weltliteratur (History of World Literature)* of 1914.¹⁸ Wiegler declared that he wanted to bring the reader closer to the cultural wealth of the poetry and prose of the leading nations.¹⁹ His book presented only the main outlines, leaving aside the ballast of details useful for specialists. It only discussed writers who, according to Wiegler, still accorded with the perceptions of modern people, or who had lived a remarkable life. This must have been Margadant's point of view too. His book had twenty-five chapters, beginning with the literary art of the Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, of the Indians, Jews, Greeks and Romans. It continued with early Christian literature, Persian and Arab literature, the literature of the age of chivalry and of the Teutons. Then, several European literatures were examined in turn in each period. Margadant finished with the literature of East Asia. In his book, he acts explicitly as a guide surveying the whole. High literature was his standard and there was no place for folklore, even if it was artistic. Characteristically, how-

ever, Margadant did consider less valued popular poetry and he did not reject wholesale the mechanistic production of literature as practiced in the writing workshops of Alexandre Dumas, père, and Eugène Scribe. Margadant took into account the tastes and abilities of the widest possible readership. And that was not all he did to broaden his appeal.

The price of *De wereldlitteratuur* – eight guilders and seventy-five cents – was fairly low,²⁰ certainly given its attractive design, with almost six hundred pages on large-format heavy paper. It was bound in a stylish cover and according to the title page it contained no fewer than two hundred illustrations. It lacked a bibliography, but anyone in need of enrichment could turn to the in-depth passages which alternated with the main text in a smaller font. Margadant's writing style focused first and foremost on accessibility, drawing the reader on.²¹ He also tried to hold the reader's attention with juicy anecdotes. Pietro Aretino was presented as the first journalist ever to use blackmail and as the most feared man of his time, leading a life of debauchery, surviving an assault and using his pen to write threatening and begging letters, satires and pornographic texts. Nevertheless, Margadant himself appeared to share the values of the common citizen, taking a conservative and anti-revolutionary position. This is also clear from his exclusively Eurocentric perspective. If literature did not meet Western standards, Margadant was not interested. He made literary life more familiar for his compatriots, in particular, by referring occasionally to their homeland.

Did Margadant really reach his intended audience? This is not clear; data on the matter are scarce. The weekly magazine *De Groene Amsterdammer (The Green Amsterdam Weekly)* and, in particular, the quality newspaper *Het Vaderland (The Nation)* gave the book a negative reception.²² The latter review induced Margadant to respond and his publisher Kruseman to place an advertisement in which a series of positive reviews were printed to counterbalance the *Vaderland* review.²³ Another response came from Jan Walch, a professor of Dutch in Paris who had formerly written appreciative reviews of *Westeuropesche letterkunde* by Kalff,²⁴ his former teacher and PhD supervisor. Walch had been willing to provide an introduction for Margadant's book, which was, of course, positive.²⁵ However, some principled remarks preceded his friendly words, in which he distanced himself from the kind of historiography championed by Margadant. Referring to the results comparative literature had achieved by then, Walch concluded that different approaches had arisen in the field. The one he himself preferred proved that he was a pupil of Kalff. More than Margadant had realized, Walch advocated a cultural-historical approach. He thought a literary historian should not take as his basis the insights and tastes of his own time. He had to empathize with other cultures and periods and to use a scientific method focused on establishing causal historical relations:

The historian must, with receptivity to all that is human and with real scientific love for truth, try to understand the coherence of what he notices as emerged in the wide scope of space and time. It has all grown from the bottom of the human heart, and who truly doesn't want to deem something human strange will, by understanding, be able to approach the essence of all this; often, he must also consider other sides of the history of mankind – political, economic, philosophical history – in a given period and in a given region in order to achieve an insight why art had to form and to elaborate its performances in a particular manner then and there.²⁶

Apart from sympathy and scientific sense, the literary historian should have the aesthetic sensibility needed to assess the value of verbal art. Furthermore, he should be able to distinguish textual relations: 'He has to register influences, the more or less immediate connections, between works of art of a particular period and between these artefacts and nonartistic phenomena.'²⁷ With these requirements Walch declared his rejection of the prevailing inclination of some of his colleagues to confine themselves to aesthetic appreciation and to focus on their own time. According to Walch, this inclination was caused by 'the rise of a social class which, although not elevated in traditions and not educated in the humanities, may and can assert itself culturally.'²⁸ Walch adjured that this did not imply a negative judgment about democratized society. At the same time, however, he felt that democratization had developed to the detriment of historical awareness and tradition.²⁹ Some ten years later, Walch would himself write a history of world literature.

Jan Walch's book on world literature

Before Walch had been appointed professor in Paris, he made a career as a teacher of Dutch, as a journalist on several quality newspapers and as a *Privatdozent* of theater history at the University of Leiden. He also came to the fore as a playwright and a prose writer, and he published a handbook on Dutch literary history. After a thirteen-year professorship in Paris, Walch returned to the Netherlands in 1939 in order to become director of the Theater School in Amsterdam.³⁰ He set about writing *Het boek der wereldliteratuur* (*The Book of World Literature*), which appeared in 1943. The book considers the Greeks, Latin literature, early Christianity in literature, the courtly love lyric, humanism and the Renaissance, and, finally, the nineteenth century. It does not therefore examine literature nation by nation, but rather period by period. Walch did not include a programmatic introduction like the one he had written for Margadant's book. Neverthe-

less, he gave out signals that he advocated a scientifically sound, cultural history approach, revealing the correlation between literary works and the context from which they originated. A representation of medieval mystics as overwrought people, Walch says, is not typical of the Middle Ages.³¹ And studying a particular period will require one to delve into what was believed and thought at the time. However, despite this basic scientific attitude, the book also displays quite a few features that can be characterized as middlebrow. It is in these features that the two tendencies in comparative literature I have discussed – scientification and democratization – meet.

According to his introduction, Walch wrote the book for readers who appreciated an interesting novel and who were obviously striving for a general literary education.³² How did Walch try to satisfy this desire? To begin with, he published his book as a course in the popular science series of the 'Universiteit voor Zelfstudie' ['University for Self-Study']. Walch, who according to 's-Gravesande remained a journalist under all conditions, was undeniably determined to share his literary expertise with nonspecialists in clear language.³³ He set the tone at the beginning with a definition of world literature:

Having read a book that touched you or made you laugh, did you ever think about the fact that hundreds of generations at hundreds of thousands of places in the world experienced the same emotions by reading or [...] by hearing someone reading aloud?

This book will examine this phenomenon, this thing that has given reading pleasure through the ages: world literature.³⁴

Sometimes Walch's literary history is quite emphatically didactic, for instance, where he provides lined pages for a personal table of contents. New to the genre of the history of world literature, but proven in education, was Walch's illustration method, alternating his historical narrative with a large number of annotated sample texts translated or adapted for a Dutch readership. That is why his book is also an anthology. Often even book titles were translated, apparently for readers who were not familiar with modern European languages. And Walch also uses several captivating strategies to hold the attention of the students of the University of Self-Study.

Just like Margadant, Walch sometimes uses anecdotes. At the beginning of his book he promises a historical narrative which will be anything but dry; 'it's often more romantic than a novel. And it is: a true "story".'³⁵ Lope de Vega, for instance, was an extremely remarkable man: 'His life was infinitely more adventurous – and less noble – than the life of Cervantes. In all things he was excessive!'³⁶ He blackmailed his beloved and was banned, he abducted a woman and

he joined the Spanish Armada, he had love affairs and fought duels, he married a lady and became a priest after her death, again taking many lovers. Another strategy Walch used to captivate his audience was to present himself as a guide, just like Margadant – a guide on a jaunty stroll, a saunter through the world of literature. Again and again Walch takes a moment to draw the attention of his fellow walkers to the most beautiful places, not least in the final words of the book:

We have completed a long walk through the literature of Europe. We have not seen everything; I hope my readers, like myself, are not tourists who want to see everything, that they are content to be able to admire *some* beautiful things. [...] This journey has at least yielded a series of clues as to what is worth considering further. If it has brought my readers to such a further consideration of some of the indicated works, it will bring joy and gratitude to the compiler of this book.³⁷

It is no mistake that Walch refers to the literature of Europe rather than world literature. Despite the title of his book – *Het boek der wereldliteratuur* – he again takes as his basis a strictly Eurocentric frame of reference. Non-European literature is almost entirely disregarded. For Walch, world literature is European literature. Moreover, Dutch literature gets preferential treatment. Even if it is poorer quality, Walch believes it is interesting for his readers because it comes from 'our own country' and because Dutch examples are more instructive for his readers than others.

Sometimes Walch responds to the current socio-political situation – a final way to conform to the views of his audience. In 1943, it was determined for largely by the German occupation of the Netherlands. Reading what Walch wrote about classical literature, one can detect hidden references to the modern era. The imperialistic Roman nation (read: Germany) is presented as having overridden Greece (read: the occupied countries).³⁸ However, Walch's message is that, in the end, brute force will lose the battle to the spiritual civilization of the conquered. It was not for nothing that as early as 1941 a leading national-socialist newspaper called him a cowardly servant of the Jews.³⁹ In any case, his attitude toward the Germans could hardly be described as submissive. This is also apparent from the fact that he did not omit Heinrich Heine, whose books had recently been burnt in Germany:

He was a Jew by birth, he converted to Christianity, but this had no profound effect on his emotional life. [...] His *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* is also witty, full of scoffing at his homeland in which his love for his country nevertheless repeatedly breaks through.⁴⁰

Conclusion

Comprehensive histories of world literature written by an individual author have already been out of fashion for more than half a century.⁴¹ However, investigating a number of Dutch examples shows that, alongside the traditional nationally oriented literary historiography, an international sister discipline developed in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴² An academic variant of this historiography developed from compiling national literatures to generalizing literary phenomena. Meanwhile, a popular scientific variant arising from the latter more or less retained the compilation approach. This middlebrow literary historiography can be regarded as a kind of postschool literary education. Initially, it was in the hands of authors with no academic literary training, who were, however, accustomed to writing for a nonspecialist audience. Jan Walch, versatile as he was, tried to combine both subgenres, ending up in the field of popular science.

Paradoxically, the historiography of world literature has often been motivated by nationalistic considerations, or has developed according to national patterns. Unlike Goethe's intentions in referring to *Weltliteratur*, his contemporary De Clercq, for example, had a nation-building intention: by researching systematically which foreign influences made themselves felt in Dutch literary history, he tried to denote the uniqueness of Dutch literature and hence the Dutch national character. The more comparative literary historians had to address a large audience, trying to conform to its way of thinking and its social context, the more they opted for such a nationalistic view. Furthermore, world literature was invariably considered from a Eurocentric angle.⁴³ Although receptiveness to foreign literature can be identified at various levels in intellectual circles, the middlebrow audience in particular seems to have been internationally minded to only a limited extent, even less so in the past than in our own time. A time in which – as Erich Auerbach observed, adapting Goethe – our philological homeland is no longer the nation, but the earth.⁴⁴

Notes

- 1 In writing this contribution I made grateful use of data gathered by Brenda Heeringa, MA, during her internship and her research for her Master's thesis at the Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands in The Hague. I am also obliged to Prof. M.H. Schenkeveld for her comments on an earlier version, which appeared in Dutch with slightly different emphases and details: Ton van Kalmthout, 'Verschillende fragmenten tot een geheel verenigd. Nederlandse geschiedschrijving over de wereldliteratuur, 1824-1944', in Zdenka Hrnčířová et al. (eds.), *Praagse perspectieven. Handelingen van het colloquium van de sectie Nederlands van de Karelsuniversiteit te Praag op donderdag 22 en vrijdag 23 maart 2012* (Prague, 2012), 27-52.

- 2 Translation from Johann Peter Eckermann, *Conversations of Goethe, Translated by John Oxenford, 1906* ([s.l.], 2006), consulted via URL: <http://www.hxa.name/books/ecog/Eckermann-ConversationsOfGoethe-1827.html>. Original quote: 'Ich sehe immer mehr [...] daß die Poesie ein Gemeingut der Menschheit ist, und daß sie überall und zu allen Zeiten in hunderten und aber hunderten von Menschen hervortritt. [...] National-Literatur will jetzt nicht viel sagen, die Epoche der Welt-Literatur ist an der Zeit und jeder muß jetzt dazu wirken, diese Epoche zu beschleunigen', Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens, Herausgegeben von Christoph Michel unter Mitwirkung von Hans Grütters* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 224-225.
- 3 On this expanding concept of culture: Remieg Aerts, 'Prometheus en Pandora. Een inleiding tot cultuurkritiek en cultuurpessimisme', in Remieg Aerts and Klaas van Berkel (eds.), *De pijn van Prometheus. Essays over cultuurkritiek en cultuurpessimisme* (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 1996), 10-66, esp. 21-25.
- 4 For Goethe's interpretation of the term and its further history, see Hendrik Birus, 'Goethes Idee der Weltliteratur. Eine historische Vergegenwärtigung', in Manfred Schmeling (ed.), *Weltliteratur heute. Konzepte und Perspektiven* (Würzburg 1995), 5-28; John Pizer, *The Idea of World Literature: History and Pedagogical Practice* ([Baton Rouge, LA], 2006); Peter Goßens, *Weltliteratur. Modelle transnationaler Literaturwahrnehmung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart/Weimar, 2011); and John Pizer, 'Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Origins and Relevance of Weltliteratur', in Theo D'haen, David Damrosch, and Djelal Kadir (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to World Literature* (London/New York, [2012]), 3-11.
- 5 According to Theo D'haen, *The Routledge Concise History of World Literature* (London/New York, 2012), 17, histories of world literature 'knew a great vogue especially in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Britain, and also in the United States'. See on the genre in general also J.C. Brandt Corstius, 'Writing Histories of World Literature', *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 12 (1963), 5-14, and Anders Petterson, 'The Possibility of Global Literary History', in Suthira Duangsamorn et al. (eds.), *Re-Imagining Language and Literature for the 21st Century: Selected Proceedings of the XXII International Congress of FILLM Held at Assumption University, Bangkok, Thailand, from 19-23 August 2002* (Amsterdam/New York, 2005), who mention quite a few examples. The best known include John Dunlop, *The History of Fiction, Being a Critical Account of the Most Celebrated Prose Works of Fiction from the Earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Age*, 3 vols. (London, 1814); Karl Rosenkranz, *Handbuch einer Allgemeinen Geschichte der Poesie*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1832-1833); Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1837-1839); Johannes Scherr, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch für alle Gebildeten* (Stuttgart, 1851); G. Brandes, *Hovedstrømninger i det 19de Aarhundredes Litteratur. Forelæsninger holdte ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet i efteraarshalvaaret 1871-1879*, 5 vols. (Kjøbenhavn, 1872-1882); Otto von Leixner, *Illustrierte Geschichte der fremden Literaturen. Das Schrifttum altorientalischen und altklassischen sowie die neueren Völker*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1882); Adolf Stern, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur in übersichtlicher Darstellung* (Stuttgart, 1888); Alexander Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897-1912); [G.E.B.] Saintsbury, *Periods of European Literature: A Complete and Continuous History of the Subject*, 21 vols. (Edinburgh, 1899-1923); Otto Hauser, *Weltgeschichte der Literatur*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1910); and Paul Wiegler, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur. Dichtung fremder Völker* (Berlin, 1914). The last is discussed further below. Based on Von Leixner's book, *Der wereld letterkunde, voor Nederlanders bewerkt* [World Literature Adapted for the Dutch] by P.A.M. Boele van Hensbroek is a

- Dutch history of world literature; it is discussed separately in Van Kalmthout, 'Verschillende fragmenten'.
- 6 On De Clercq see, for example: I. da Costa, *Herinneringen uit het leven en den omgang van Willem de Clercq, medegeedeeld in de Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Amsterdam, 1850), and [P.D.] Chantepie de la Saussaye, 'CLERCQ (Willem de)', in P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1914), 236-240.
- 7 Original quote: 'welken invloed heeft vreemde letterkunde, inzonderheid de Italiaansche, Spaansche, Fransche en Duitsche, gehad op de Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde, sinds het begin der 15e eeuw tot op onze dagen?'
- 8 On the creation of De Clercq's *Verhandeling*: A. Pierson, *Willem de Clercq naar zijn dagboek, met medewerking van De Clercqs jongste kleindochter*, 2 dln. (Haarlem, 1889), 145-146 and 156. See also J.C. Brandt Corstius, 'Willem de Clercq als literatuurhistoricus en comparatist', *Verslagen en Mededelingen Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, nieuwe reeks, 1-4 (1961), 481-504; M.H. Schenkeveld, *Willem de Clercq en de literatuur* (Groningen, 1962), 75-122, and W. van den Berg, *De ontwikkeling van de term 'romantisch' en zijn varianten in Nederland tot 1840* (Assen, 1973), 295-304. I have quoted the 1826 reprint.
- 9 See, for example, J. te Winkel, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, reprint (Haarlem, 1925), vol. 4, 453; Gerard Brom, *Geschiedschrijvers van onze letterkunde* (Amsterdam, 1944), 31; G.P.M. Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde* (Den Bosch, 1973), vol. 3, 344-345; [W.J.C. Buitendijk], 'Clercq, Willem de', in G.J. van Bork and P.J. Verkruijsse (eds.), *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse auteurs van middeleeuwen tot heden met inbegrip van de Friese auteurs* (Weesp, 1985), 139-140.
- 10 Hutcheson Macaylay Posnett, *Comparative Literature* (London, 1886); W.P. Ker, *Epic and Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature* (London, 1897).
- 11 For a more detailed account of the emergence of comparative literature in the Netherlands: Ton van Kalmthout, 'Beam of a Many-Coloured Spectrum: Comparative Literature in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century' (forthcoming). D'haen, *Concise History*, 47-73, gives an overview of the international emergence of the discipline over the past two centuries.
- 12 G. Kalff, *Westeuropesche letterkunde*, 2 vols. (Groningen/The Hague, 1923-1924).
- 13 'Uitgaande van de onderstelling, dat de volken van West-Europa gedurende de Middeleeuwen in geloof, beschaving, kunst en andere opzichten min of meer een eenheid vormden, heb ik getracht de openbaring dier eenheid in de literatuur te doen zien' (p. iv).
- 14 L.H. Maas, *Pro Patria. Werken, leven en streven van Gerrit Kalff 1856-1923* (Hilversum, 1998), 248-250.
- 15 See for definitions of the middlebrow concept the Middlebrow Network website, URL: <http://www.middlebrow-network.com>.
- 16 See Ben van Eysselsteijn, 'Steven Willem Floris Margadant (22 Nov. 1887, 's-Gravenhage, 15 Maart 1946)', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden, 1946-1947* (1948), 93-94, for biographical details.
- 17 For details of his appointment as a teacher of mathematics, see *Verslag van den staat der hooge- en lagere scholen* [Report on the State of the Universities and Schools] (1915-1916), 140-141, (1916-1917), 139, and (1917-1918), 196, consulted via URL: www.statengeneraaldigitaal.nl.
- 18 The publisher ordered a translation from Margadant. After the second chapter, however, he went his own way, only using Wiegler's book as a source of data. According to Mar-

- gadant himself his book could not even be called a free adaptation; S.W.F. Margadant, *De wereldlitteratuur. Geschiedenis der letteren* (The Hague, 1930), ix, xi.
- 19 Wiegler, *Geschichte*, vii.
- 20 It was also available bound in linen for fl. 10.75 and in quilted leather for fl. 18.75 (prospectus in the archives of the Kruseman publishing house, The Hague, Amsterdam University Library). In the Dutch East Indies the book cost fl. 12.35 (advertisement placed by the booksellers Visser & Co in *Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 9 January 1930).
- 21 Margadant, *Wereldlitteratuur*, ix, xi.
- 22 J. Westerwoudt, review of Margadant, *Wereldlitteratuur*, in *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 11 Jan. 1930, 17; N.N., 'De wereldlitteratuur in een notendop', review of Margadant, *Wereldlitteratuur* 1930, in *Het Vaderland*, 5 March 1930.
- 23 [S.W.F.] Margadant, 'Wereldlitteratuur', in *Het Vaderland*, 7 March 1930; advertisement placed by the Kruseman publishing house, The Hague, in *Het Vaderland*, 11 March 1930.
- 24 J.L. Walch, review of Kalff, *Westeuropesche letterkunde*, in *Groot Nederland* 21 (1923), vol. 2, 506-509; Jan Walch, 'Vergelijkende literatuurgeschiedenis', *Het Vaderland*, 28 July 1923; Jan Walch, 'Een nagelaten geschrift van Prof. Dr. G. Kalff', *Het Vaderland*, 28 June 1925.
- 25 Margadant, *Wereldlitteratuur*, ix-x.
- 26 '[D]e geschiedschrijver moet, met ontvankelijkheid voor al wat menselijk is en met de echte wetenschappelijke liefde tot de waarheid, trachten den samenhang te begrijpen van wat hij daar als onder zich, in de wijde strekking van ruimte en tijd, ziet gegroeid. Het is alles gewassen [*sic*] uit den bodem van het menselijk hart, en wie waarlijk niets menselijks zich vreemd wil achten, zal in het begrip tot het wezen van dit alles vermogen te naderen; [dan] zal hij ook dikwijls andere zijden van de levensgeschiedenis der mensheid – staatkundige, economische, filozofische geschiedenis – in een bepaald tijdvak en onder een bepaalde hemelstreek moeten bezien om tot het inzicht te komen, waarom róén en dáár de kunst juist op die bepaalde wijze haar voorstellingen moest vormen en uitwerken' (Walch in Margadant, *Wereldlitteratuur*, v-vi).
- 27 'Hij zal de invloeden, het minder en meer onmiddellijk verband hebben vast te leggen tusschen de kunstwerken van dien tijd onderling en tusschen deze en andere dan kunstverschijnselen' (*Ibid.*, vii).
- 28 '[D]e opkomst eener klasse, die niet opgevoed in traditiën en niet geschoold door de humaniora, toch zich in-zake cultuur mag en kan laten gelden' (*Ibid.*, viii-ix).
- 29 Walch in Margadant, *Wereldlitteratuur*, vii-ix.
- 30 Biographical details about Walch are taken from G.H. 's-Gravesande, 'Johannes Lodewijk Walch ('s-Gravenhage, 2 Januari 1879 – Amsterdam, 12 December 1946)', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, 1947-1949* (1951), 188-193.
- 31 Walch, *Het boek der wereldlitteratuur* (The Hague, [1943]), 211.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 33 's-Gravesande, 'Johannes Lodewijk Walch', 191.
- 34 'Wanneer u een boek hebt gelezen, dat u heeft ontroert of heeft doen schateren [...], hebt u er dan weleens over nagedacht, dat honderden geslachten van mensen op honderdduizenden plaatsen van de aardbol aandoeningen van zodanige of van verwante aard hebben ervaren, óók door het lezen, of [...] door het horen voorlezen? / In dit boek wordt daar iets van verteld: van wat, de eeuwen door, lees-genot gaf: van de wereldlitteratuur' (Jan L. Walch, *Wereldlitteratuur*, 11).
- 35 Original quote: '[...] het is vaak romantischer dan een roman. En het is: een ware "geschiedenis"', Walch, *Wereldlitteratuur*, 11.

- 36 'Zijn leven was nog oneindig avontuurlijker – en minder nobel – dan dat van Cervantes. Alles is even buitensporig aan hem!', *ibid.*, 202.
- 37 'We hebben een lange wandeling door de litteratuur van Europa volbracht. Alles hebben we niet gezien; ik hoop dat mijn lezers, evenmin als ik zelf, [niet] tot die toeristen behoren, die alles zien willen; en dat ze tevreden zijn, wanneer ze enige mooie dingen hebben kunnen bewonderen. [...] Mocht deze tocht die althans een reeks aanwijzingen opleverde van wat de moeite van nadere beschouwing waard is, mijn lezers tot zulk een nadere beschouwing van enkele der aangeduide werken hebben gebracht, dan zal dit den samensteller van dit boek tot vreugde en dankbaarheid stemmen', *ibid.*, 590.
- 38 Cf. *ibid.*, 75, 98, 107 en 122. Walch constructs a similar contrast between the Teutons and the Gauls (p. 100). Cf. also: 'En dan overstromen de barbaarse Germanen Italië' (p. 120; 'And then, the barbaric Teutons overwhelm Italy').
- 39 'De walgelijke taal en houding van prof.dr. Jan L. Walch. De directeur van onze eenige Tooneelschool laat zich in de kaart kijken', in *Volk en Vaderland*, 3 October 1941, 7. This anonymously published article by August Heyting rejects Walch because of his essay 'Het nationaal-socialisme', in *Het Vaderland*, 16 May 1933. Here, it was printed in Walch's personal column 'Scherven van gisteren', written under the pseudonym of Krammer.
- 40 'Hij was Jood van geboorte, ging tot het christendom over, maar zonder dat dit op zijn gevoelsleven een belangrijke invloed had. [...] Geestig is ook zijn *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, vol spot met zijn vaderland, waardoor toch telkens de liefde heenbreekt', Walch, *Wereldlitteratuur*, 582.
- 41 See Brandt Corstius, 'Writing Histories', and J.C. Brandt Corstius, 'Literatuurgeschiedschrijving en literatuurwetenschap', in *Handelingen van het XXIXe Vlaams Filologencongres, Antwerpen 16-18 april 1973*, [z.p. z.j.], 55-63; Sophie Levie, 'Literatuurgeschiedschrijving', in Peter Zeeman (ed.), *Literatuur en context. Een inleiding in de literatuurwetenschap* ([Heerlen/Nijmegen], 1991), 252-253, 266. After the Second World War, however, several new attempts were made in the Netherlands.
- 42 The discipline has been taught less successfully in secondary schools. See Ton van Kalmthout, 'The Most Universal, Beautiful and Enthraling: The Teaching of Comparative Literature in the Netherlands, ca. 1880-1940', in T.J. Broos et al. (eds.), *The Low Countries – Crossroads of Cultures* (Münster, 2006), 217-229.
- 43 See also D'haen, *Routledge Concise History*, 5-46.
- 44 In his essay 'Philologie der Weltliteratur', in Erich Auerbach, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Romanischen Philologie* (Bern/Munich, 1967), 310.

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