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ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
LITERATURE

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LITERATURE

Edited by

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

VOLUME ONE



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NOTE

An asterisk (*) after a name indicates that it is included in the brief biographies at the end of this volume.

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
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TO

PETER L. F. SABBATINO

Numquam ex toto otiosus, sed aut legens,
aut orans, aut meditans, aut aliquid
utilitatis pro communi laborans.

PREFACE

THIS IS the first collection of surveys of the literatures of the world. Not counting minor dialects, men have spoken in some three thousand tongues. The first recorded literature comes to us across perhaps five thousand years.

Of the thousand American Indian tongues, some sixty are included in the article on North American native literature; through these speak the most cultured groups. The same is true for the five hundred tongues of the Africans, and the seven hundred of Polynesia. For folklore has been deemed within the scope of this volume—sometimes in separate articles, sometimes within the main survey.

Certain languages have overleapt national bounds. Thus Latin was long the language of culture in Western Europe. Arabic, from the seventh to the fifteenth century—by virtue of conquest and of religion (it being the language of the *Koran*)—was the *lingua franca* of the Near East. The several Slavic literatures, in varying measure, intertwine. For analogous considerations, a survey of Christian hymnody is included: though in most national surveys it would receive scant attention, the influence of hymnody has in many lands bulked large.

To ensure fullest presentation of a field, the reader should follow the asterisks (*) to the individual items at the end of the volume.

All the material here presented has been especially written for this encyclopedia. A few fields have never been surveyed at all, in any language, before this volume. In others, the present writers have made pioneer research. Many of the literatures have not been this fully presented in English before; some of the less familiar ones have been granted extra space.

The editor has made no Procrustean attempt to shape the articles; each—insofar as space permits—has been left largely in the author's style. The treatments therefore vary as the literatures themselves suggest. Titles of works not in English are given as seems in each case most appropriate. The inevitable subjectivity of each writer has been tempered by the suggestions of other scholars; these consultants have here my hearty thanks.

Thanks are extended also to the Legations at Washington that generously aided in the securing of native authorities to present the literature of their lands.

Especial thanks must go to Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Hon. Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, who organized the group of authorities for the wide fields of Indian literature, and carried through the arrangements that have made possible the presentation of this unique section of the volume. Permission has kindly been given by Constable & Company to quote translations by Kuno Meyer (whose name follows them, in the Irish survey) from his *Selections From Ancient Irish Poetry*. Also, my deep thanks to those whose encouraging words and spirit kept me unflagging through the four years, mainly amid the pressures of war, that have been spent upon the joyous pains of preparing this volume.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

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THE FOLLOWING NAMES list those whose work gives substance to this volume. To them go my deepest thanks, for their work and their wisdom, for their understanding patience through the strains of war and the inevitably severe, however gently intended, editorial handling.

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ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
LITERATURE

NOTE

In the surveys, there is an asterisk (*) after names for which there is individual discussion at the end of the volume.

ACCADIAN

ACCADIAN (also known as Assyro-Babylonian) literature consists of epics and myths, hymns and prayers, and various types of wisdom compositions. Much of it represents original creative effort on the part of the Accadians, but the greater part seems to have grown out of the Sumerian (q.v.) literary works whose contents were borrowed, modified, molded, and integrated into new compositions by the Accadian poets and scribes. Many of the Accadian literary creations were composed in the second millennium B.C. However, the tablets on which they have been found inscribed date very largely from the first millennium B.C. Most of the texts have been translated by Western scholars in the course of the past century, and an excellent cross-section of the Accadian literary remains will be found in Hugo Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926). Briefly they may be classified and described as follows:

Epics: By far the most significant of the Accadian literary compositions is the *Epic of Gilgamesh;* it may well be described as the forerunner of the epic genre in world literature. Its date of composition probably goes back to the very end of the third millennium B.C.; considerable portions have been found inscribed on tablets dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. The poem is divided over eleven tablets (with a twelfth tacked on as an inorganic appendage) and consists of more than 3,000 lines, of which about half have been recovered to date. It must have been translated into all the more important tongues of the ancient Near East; fragments of translations into the Hittite and Hurrian languages dating from the second half of the second millennium B.C. have been excavated in Cappadocia. There is ample reason for this vast popularity. For unlike most of the Accadian epic and mythological material uncovered to date, the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is concerned primarily with man and his struggles and hopes, rather than with the rather mechanical and puppet-like activities of the gods. The episodes in the hero's life have a lasting significance and carry a universal appeal because of their human quality; they revolve about forces and problems common to man everywhere through the ages. The need for friendship, the instinct for loyalty, the impelling urge for fame and name, the love of adventure and achievement, the all-absorbing fear of death, and the all-compelling longing for immortality —it is the varied interplay of these emotional and spiritual drives in man which constitutes the drama of the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* drama which transcends the confines of time and space.

The second major epic of the Accadians is the creation poem *Enuma Elish* (*"When above"*: the first two words of the composition); it is particularly significant for the theogonic and cosmogonic concepts current in Assyria and Babylonia. The poem consists of over 1,000 lines, almost all of which have now been recovered, and is divided over seven tablets. It was probably composed in the first half of the second millennium B.C., although practically all our available material consists of copies made in the first millennium. The major purpose of the composition is to present the mythological incidents and cosmological concepts that reveal and justify the rise of the god Marduk to the leading position in the Accadian pantheon. It therefore begins with the story of the creation of the gods and of their internecine struggles, culminating in Marduk's victory over Tiamat, the primeval water-god-

dess personifying Chaos. The poem continues with a description of Marduk's creative deeds, the creation of the universe from Tiamat's corpse, the organization of the universe and the creation of man; it concludes with a hymnal epilogue devoted to Marduk's fifty names.

The *Epic of Irra* is another poem of which considerable text has been recovered. It deals primarily with the destructive attacks of the god Irra against mankind, which seem to culminate in an all-out bitter and uncompromising struggle between all the peoples of the Near East, a struggle from which the Accadians emerge as the sole victors. Finally, we have the fragmentary remains of several epic tales: one concerns the slaying of the monster Labbu; another deals with the slaying of the Zu-bird, who stole tablets of fate from the great god Enlil; a third relates of the struggle of the king of Kuthah against a demonic host.

Myths. To date only a few Accadian myths have been recovered, and these but in fragmentary form. Of myths dealing with the creation of the universe and of man we have practically nothing but a few small fragments; the major Accadian cosmogonic material is incorporated in the epic *Enuma Elish.* Two myths deal with the destruction of mankind and involve the legendary sage Utnapishtim: one relates of a terrible drought and famine that brings death and starvation to man; the other is a "deluge" myth incorporated in the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* Two myths are concerned with the Nether World: one describes the descent of the goddess Ishtar to the Nether World and the consequent withering of all sexual desire on earth; the other relates the episodes leading to the appointment of the god Nergal as king of the Nether World. Finally, we have the fragmentary remains of two myths dealing with the Accadian legendary figures Adapa and Etana: one attempts to explain man's mortality as a result of a fatal misunderstanding; the other is concerned with the quest for the plant of birth, and involves a journey to heaven on an eagle's pinions.

Hymns and Prayers: Practically all the Accadian hymns that have come down to us end in prayers for kings or private individuals. In the case of several hymns dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C., it is the hymnal portion that is the main concern of the poet; this is true, too, of one unusual Shamash hymn of considerable length and beauty. But in the course of time the prayer became the dominant part of the composition, while the curtailed and highly standardized hymnal portion served only as an introduction to the supplication that followed. These Accadian hymns and prayers were dedicated to numerous deities of the Accadian pantheon, but primarily to Marduk, the leading deity of the pantheon, to Ishtar, the goddess of war and love (the Sumerian Inanna), to Shamash, the sun-god (the Sumerian Utu), and to Ea, the god of wisdom (the Sumerian Enki). Of particular interest are the so-called penitential psalms, in which the penitent makes a confession of his sins and pleads for divine mercy and forgiveness.

The Accadian poet, as will be evident from the following extract, brief as it is, knew the bitter tear and the contrite heart:

> I call to thee (Ishtar), I thy wretched,
> woeful, sick, slave!
> Look at me, my lady, take my plea,
> Gaze upon me with favor and hear my
> prayer!
> Utter my deliverance, and let thy spirit
> be soothed:
> The deliverance of my wretched body,
> full of confusion and disorder,
> The deliverance of my sick heart, full
> of tears and sighs,
> The deliverance of my wretched entrails, full of confusion and disorder,
> The deliverance of my afflicted house,
> which utters bitter laments,

The deliverance of my spirit, sated with tears and sighs.

Wisdom: Of the collections of proverbs and precepts which were no doubt current in Assyria and Babylonia, very little has been recovered to date. Similarly we have only fragmentary remains of their fables, which involve in the main beasts, plants, and stones, and which consist largely of arguments between the rival protagonists in which each extolls its particular qualities and achievements. Of longer didactic compositions, three are fairly well preserved, these are particularly significant as examples of the "criticism of life" current among the Accadians. In one, a Babylonian Job bemoans his suffering and affliction, which seem to have no justification since he always tried to do what was right and just, and is conscious of no sin; he is finally saved from death's door through the direct intervention of the great god Marduk. The second composition consists of a dialogue between a man whose faith in divine justice is wavering and his friend who points out the errors of his conclusions. The third composition consists of a dialogue between a master and his slave, and purports to show that there are two sides to every question, and that there are no real values worth living for.

Spiritually and psychologically, at least, the modern reader will find himself not very far apart from his Accadian brother who lived thousands of years ago.

G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 7th ed., 1937; R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Lit.*, 1901; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 1912; S. H. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, 1923, R. C. Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamish*, 1928. *See* Aramaic; Canaanite.

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AEOLIC—*See* Greek.

AFRICAN

(*Negro Folklore*)

I

NEGRO FOLKLORE (*Africa and the New World*). The forms of Negro folklore are the myth, tale, proverb, and riddle. The area of their distribution is Africa south of the Sahara and those parts of North and South America and the Caribbean where Negroes are found in any number.

Aside from the formal aspects of this body of materials, what strike the student most forcefully are its unity and its vitality. The many plots which, with differing incidents and characters, recur again and again in the myths and tales, demonstrate that despite the kaleidoscopic effect given by these differences, they are but an overlay of variation that masks a basic homogeneity. Vitality is expressed not only in the wide African distribution of these "literary" forms, and of proverbs and riddles as well, but also in the retention of this aspect of aboriginal cultural endowment by peoples of African origin in the Americas.

Struck estimated in 1925 that about 7,000 tales of African tribes had been collected and published. This number is but a fraction of

the total, which he estimated at between 200,000 and 250,000 stories—a figure which, while arbitrary, does suggest the immensity of the field. The largest bibliography to date, gathered by Klipple in 1938, lists books and papers containing 8,804 stories, though, because of duplications, the author gives 5,000 as "a conservative estimate" of "the number of distinctly individual tales collected in Africa." New World Negro tales, which include most of the incidents and many of the plots recorded in Africa, and which in addition have elements of European derivation and in some regions also reflect borrowings from autochthonous Indian tribes, add many more to the total. The numbers of riddles and proverbs, in both the New World and Africa, are vast. Doke, who collected proverbs among the Lamba of Northern Rhodesia, tells of individual informants who gave him as many as 250 separate items at a single session.

The literature varies greatly in yielding information as to the range of folklore in a given African tribe or in a given New World locality. As far as Africa itself is concerned, while almost every writer who has described native life has also recorded a few tales, collections of sufficient scope to give an adequate representation are not numerous. Fortunately, the larger collections are from tribes widely distributed over the continent. Among them we find the publications of Callaway on Zulu lore, Junod on the Thonga, Doke on the Lamba, Smith and Dale on the Ila, Chatelain on the Angolan Bundu, Weeks on various tribes of the Belgian Congo, Nassau on those of French Equatorial Africa, Gutman on the Chagga, Lindblom on the Kamba, Lederbogen on the Cameroons folk, Frobenius on the Yoruba and other tribes, Rattray on the Ashanti, Schön and Tremearne on the Hausa, Tauxier on the Guro and Gagu of the Ivory Coast, Cronise and Ward on the Sierra Leone tribes, and Equilbecq and Tauxier on various peoples of French West Africa. It is thus possible to obtain working concepts of the range and types of tales over Africa as a whole, especially since the resources of the smaller collections can be used to supplement these larger series.

In the New World, collections of larger numbers of tales from a given region, gathered in accordance with specific plans to illuminate the problem of variation in type, have been the rule; though smaller, incidental series do exist. This is due largely to the influence of Parsons (in the Negro field), and of Boas and others who were concerned with collecting Indian folklore. Their insistence on gathering an adequate representation of the tales of a given people, and on taking down whatever might be offered without *a priori* selection, established a significant methodological tradition. Some of these collections, most of which are to be found in the Memoir series of the American Folklore Society, may be named: those of Parsons from the Sea Islands of Georgia, southern United States, the lesser Antilles, and the Bahamas, of Beckwith from Jamaica, of Andrade from Santo Domingo, of M. and F. Herskovits from Dutch Guiana. Other substantial series are those of Fortier from Louisiana, Sylvain-Comhaire from Haiti, and Silva Campos from Brazil.

Of the various types of Negro folklore that have been recorded, the animal tales are by far the best known. This is not only because animal tales actually do bulk large in the Negro repertory. It is also due to the popularity of the Bre'r Rabbit stories published by Joel Chandler Harris in the last quarter of the 19th c. These tales are in many cases regarded as the type-forms of the Negro animal-trickster tale, and reference is frequently made to them in identifying a given story found in the folklore of various peoples of Africa itself. The result, especially in the case of casual recorders of tales in Africa, but also to some degree as concerns certain serious students, has been that animal-trickster stories

have been sought out to the exclusion of other types.

Collectors have also been inhibited from publishing other kinds of tales because of an assumed lack of public interest in them, or because of a feeling that these others are not "truly" Negro. In the New World, the counterpart of this attitude has been to overstress animal stories on the ground that only these are African. It would be unnecessary to indicate the fallaciousness of both these points of view were they not so deeply imbedded in current concepts of Negro folklore. The fact remains, however, that even folklorists do not seem to comprehend the extent to which non-animal tales are told by Africans and New World Negroes.

When the more complete collections of tales from African and New World groups are read as units, it becomes apparent that in any given tribe or locality the animal-trickster stories comprise one of a number of cycles of tales. This tendency to group stories has not received the attention it merits, for two reasons. In the first place, non-animal tales were collected in such relatively small numbers that the phenomenon was difficult to recognize. Secondly, collectors of tales in Africa, especially non-scientific writers, themselves often have had an attitude toward the folklore of natives as something "primitive" and child-like. This stood in the way of serious consideration of how the total literary product of a given people was organized.

It is only necessary, however, to consult the larger collections with the point in mind, e.g., such an early work as Callaway's Zulu collection, where one can page through the various units of the *Tale of Uthlakanyana,* the first of a series of such cycles of stories about kings and commoners, animals and supernatural beings contained in the volume. Tales in manuscript collected by M. and F. Herskovits in Dahomey, West Africa, include animal-trickster cycles centering about Tortoise and Hare, a cycle having as its central character a trickster of gross undisciplined appetite called Yo, a cycle of tales concerning the adventures of twins, another having to do with the precocious child, another of the motherless child, another of the hunter, in addition to the various mythological and "historical" cycles.

In these cycles of African tales, the action centers about a protagonist of outstanding importance. This is not so strikingly the case in the New World as in Africa, but even in the New World, linked tales after the manner of certain connected episodes of the Uncle Remus series appear. Thus a character who has been outwitted will mention an incident in another tale when he explains his motive for seeking revenge; or a situation that brings two stories within the same general framework will be made specific by reference to each.

This grouping of the tales in cycles is no construct of the folklorist. The points that have been made indicate this, but the complete demonstration is had only in the actual telling, where those comments are heard which, given almost as asides, rarely creep into the printed version. "As you remember, Tortoise had come home after winning his race with Deer," the teller will begin a new story, or, "After Spider got out of prison, he thought how to revenge himself on Elephant, who had sent him there."

Despite the existence of these cycles, the problem of classification is no less difficult in the case of Negro folk tales than for any other kind. As always, categories which have validity for one purpose do not serve another, and though the native has his own classifications of the tales he tells, these categories are more useful in affording an understanding of the tales than in furthering systematic treatment of the data, particularly where comparative analysis is the end in view. Animal tales, for example, are divided into various types, while

animals and human beings mingle in a considerable number of stories. One widely spread story of this kind recounts how the speech of the animals is revealed to a man on condition that he not tell of his new endowment; which he does, thereupon suffering various penalties. Or there is the tale, of considerable distribution in both Africa and the New World, which recounts man's ingratitude—or sometimes gratitude—to animals who rescue him from danger.

Myths, explanatory tales, tales with the *double entendre,* educational tales with appended morals, are all found in the category of animal stories. Furthermore, sacred tales having the gods as characters in the mythology of one tribe, appear with the same plot and incidents as secular animal tales of one of the several types just mentioned in other tribes, or in the New World. Elements of the familiar racing motif are found in the South African myth of how death came to man, while the most popular story among the Ashanti is that which tells how the Spider Anansi by performing through trickery a series of seemingly impossible feats, "bought" from the Sky-god Nyame the right to have stories called *Anansesem* (Spider stories) rather than *Nyankonsem* (sky-god stories).

There is no doubt in the mind of the native, however, regarding the difference between folk tales and myths, or between certain types of folk tales and myths, or between certain kinds of folk tales themselves. Chatelain gives the native classification of Angolan folklore as follows: 1) all "traditional fictitious stories," including the "fables" wherein animals are personified, termed *mi-soso;* 2) stories reputed true, or "anecdotes," called *maka;* 3) "historical" narratives, the "chronicles of tribes and natives . . . considered state secrets," called *malunda;* 4) proverbs, *ji-sabu;* 5) poetry and music; and 6) riddles, *ji-nongonongo.* Lindblom classifies Kamba stories as 1) tales about animals; 2) tales about ogres, giants, etc. 3) episodes from the life of the natives; 4) myths and legends, few in number, but including explanatory tales; 5) imported tales. This is not unlike the categories given by Junod for the Thonga: 1) animal tales; 2) stories which illustrate how "human beings, children, the miserable and the despised, triumph over their elders and those who hate them"—what Junod calls "the wisdom of the little ones"; 3) ogre tales; 4) moral tales; 5) stories that "seem based on actual facts"; 6) foreign tales.

In the New World, comparable classifications have been made by only a few collectors. Basilio de Magalhães, analyzing the Brazilian tales gathered by Silva Campos, gives the following categories: 1) animal cycle (*"cyclo da mythica zoológica"*), 2) tales of metamorphosis; 3) Afro-American myths; 4) facetious happenings; 5) ethical tales; 6) tales of marvels; 7) religious stories. M. and F. Herskovits divide tales from Dutch Guiana into classes dictated by their *dramatis personae*—those having animals, those containing animals and humans, and those with human characters. They note, however, that in this collection cycles comparable to the West African ones are discernible, not only as regards the tales concerning the Spider Anansi, but also those relating the adventures of the precocious child (*Enfant Terrible* cycle).

African concepts of what constitutes a myth, as differentiated from other types of narratives, follow quite closely the folklorist's definition, though of course not phrased in the same manner. That is, any sacred tale that validates belief and ritual is a myth, to be clearly distinguished from the secular tale. Knowledge of the mythology of a given people in Africa varies with the ability of a student to probe their world-view and their conception of the forces in the universe that play upon them; with the extent to which tradition permits those that know such stories to tell them to foreigners, or to tribal mem-

bers who have not attained a requisite age or are not initiates; with the degree to which the native feels that a given story will cast discredit on his own belief when viewed through European eyes.

Except for West Africa, narrative myth sequences appear only rarely in the literature. There are those who hold, indeed, that in certain parts of the continent, particularly East Africa, the Congo, and those portions inhabited by the Southeastern Bantu there is little or no mythology to be found. That a substantial body of mythology exists among peoples everywhere in Africa has been conclusively demonstrated by Alice Werner, who gives for region after region origin tales and stories of the gods and the country they inhabit, myths that sanction the ancestral-cult, and accounts of natural phenomena, such as lightning or the rainbow, that are regarded as supernatural forces to be propitiated. Yet it is necessary to turn to the discussions of African religion, as Alice Werner did, rather than to studies of African folk literature, to obtain the desired concept of the universe. From the point of view of the student who approaches mythology as a literary phenomenon, what is lacking is the presentation of the narrative sequences, as told by natives, of events in the supernatural world that are believed to have brought about the situations described. It is difficult to understand, to take but one instance, why Junod did not record in this form the myths that, for the Thonga, explain and give meaning to the intricate world-view he describes in considering the tribal religion.

Mythological systems vary with the beliefs of the people—from tribe to tribe in Africa, in the New World in accordance with the degree of acculturation to European religious systems. The sacred tales concern all aspects of cosmology—the creation of the world, the coming of the gods (who are generally conceived as nature-deities), their functions in the world, their relations to each other and to man, the nature of magic, its origin and how the forces controlling it exert their power, and the like. They explain rituals and account for divining practices. In addition, there exists a great body of "family" myths—tales that, recounting the earliest history of a given relationship grouping, validate such totemic beliefs and rites as it may possess, and act to stabilize the social system.

In the New World, myths of pure African type are rare. Only in Brazil, Haiti, Cuba, and Dutch Guiana, where groups conscious of their African heritage and proud to preserve it have retained full-blown African religious systems, are these in some measure found. In Catholic countries, the identification of African gods with the saints of the Church has afforded a measure of psychological protection to the aboriginal African deities. But this does not mean that in Protestant countries, where such syncretisms were impossible, the sacred myths of the Bible have been taken over without change. One need only consult Stoney and Shelby's collection of Sea Island Negro versions of these stories (entitled *Black Genesis*) for a demonstration of how these tales can be reinterpreted after the African manner.

"Historical" tales, political stories and anecdotes, form another major category of Negro folklore. Except for the fact that the motifs that go into such tales are often found in myths and animal stories, and that this type merges imperceptibly into the former as quasi-supernatural beings such as twins or gifted folk appear in them, little can be said of them as a body. Their functions vary—to amuse, to instruct, to admonish, to recall. They are frequently told by the elders for recreation, in the manner analogous to that in which the animal tales, in large measure, are told by the children.

The animal-trickster tales are highly stable, and in a considerable number of instances stories recur over all the African continent

and in the New World as well. Some of the better-known ones may be cited. One is the rope-pulling contest, which in essence recounts how the small trickster wagers a much larger animal that he can match him in a tug-of-war, and wins by repeating the wager with another beast, the size of the first; whereupon the two, out of sight of each other, reach an impasse, each thinking he is pulling against the trickster. This tale has been collected in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Sudan, Togoland, Dahomey, Nigeria, Calabar, Gaboon, the Cameroons, the Congo, and South and East Africa; in the New World, it has been reported from the United States, the Bahamas, Haiti, Trinidad, Dutch Guiana and Brazil.

The Tar Baby story, so well known that it needs only its title to identify it, has a similar distribution among Negro peoples, with, however, even more versions on record. Of almost equal fame, and of similar distribution, is the tale where the small trickster humiliates his larger, duller-witted foil by making of him a riding-horse; or that in which a slow-moving animal, usually Tortoise, bests another faster animal in a race by posting others of his kind at intervals along the course where each makes his appearance as the swiftly running opponent nears his place of concealment, the last of the series crossing the finish line the winner.

Other widely distributed animal tales are less known. The story in which the animal trickster, posing as doctor or nurse or as a servant, undertakes to care for the children of the larger animal, eating a child each day and deceiving the parent until all are devoured, is one of this kind. It appears in Sierra Leone, in the Sudan, in Dahomey, Nigeria, Gaboon, the Congo, Angola, Uganda, Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa and South Africa; in the New World it has been recorded in Brazil, Dutch Guiana, Trinidad and Haiti, and in all likelihood is told elsewhere in the Caribbean and perhaps in the United States. In another, trickster wins a loan from a series of animals which habitually prey on each other and arranges the time of repayment of each loan so that as one creditor comes to receive his money he is killed by the next, the last in the series being tricked into cancelling the indebtedness. Still another tells how trickster, finding an object that yields food when the proper formula is pronounced, hides it so others cannot benefit; but when they discover his secret, contrives to obtain a magic whip that punishes the thieves. Over twenty versions of this tale have been reported from West Africa alone, and it is found also in other portions of the continent and among many New World Negro groups.

Whether in Africa or the New World, the trickster is a small animal of high intelligence and facile cunning, quite unscrupulous, with great cupidity and gross appetite. Though in any given cycle he victimizes a series of his fellow creatures, there is generally one animal or sometimes several that are his particular prey. They are inevitably larger and therefore stronger than the trickster, dull of wit, often earnest and hard-working. Despite the many times he bests them—their occasional reluctance to have dealings with him is another indication of how the individual stories are associated in the native's mind—they eventually respond to his suave arguments and alluring promises, and afford him yet another triumph.

The trickster is not always depicted as besting an intended victim. On occasion he not only loses in his enterprise, but in some stories he is shown as anything but clever. This is the case in the Tar Baby tale, where trickster is caught and made to pay for his wrongdoing when he becomes fastened to a figure made of a gummy substance set up for the purpose of trapping him. Another tale of this kind is the Gold Coast story that recounts how Spider, having put all the wisdom of the world in a calabash with the intention of

keeping it for himself, decides to hide the container atop a tree. He slings it about his neck to enable him to climb, but because the calabash is over his chest, he can make no progress until his child calls to him to change the position of the gourd; whereupon, in anger, he dashes the calabash to the ground, and wisdom becomes disseminated throughout the world.

In the patterning of these animal tales an element of psychological and sociological significance is found in the relative size of trickster and his opponents. Spider, rabbit, tortoise, chevrotain—all must live by their wits when competing with lion, or elephant, or buffalo, or other large creatures. This element carries over when the animal tales have birds as their characters, the small bird of one widely told story winning a contest for the kingship by concealing himself on the back of Hawk or Eagle so that at the proper time he can continue the ascent and thus appear to fly highest.

Trickster, who must employ his ingenuity to best his more powerful fellows, is to be regarded as a reflection of African thinking in approaching the day-to-day situations a human being must meet and resolve. Such tales, in their New World setting, have been spoken of as a technique developed by Negroes to compensate for their impotence as slaves. Yet the presence of these same tales in Africa itself forces us to regard this as at best only a partial explanation to conclude that we are faced with an adaptation and reinforcement of African ways of thought rather than something devised to fit the new situation in which these people found themselves. Rattray has discussed the phenomenon among the Ashanti in quasi-psychoanalytic terms, though he also assigns political reasons to explain them: "The names of animals, and even that of the Sky-god himself, were substituted for the names of real individuals whom it would have been very impolitic to mention. Later, no doubt, such a mild *exposé* in the guise of a story often came to be related *quâ* story. The original practice is still resorted to, however, to expose someone whom the offended party fears to accuse more openly . . ." (*Akan-Ashanti Folk-Tales,* p. xii).

The observations of Lindblom concerning the reaction of the East African Kamba to the triumphs of the smaller animal over the larger may also be noted: "Presumably this is due to the inclination of the natives as a rule to let the weaker party finally win the victory; and setting the biggest animal they know of against small, harmless creatures and yet letting it be the loser affords them especially great pleasure" (*Kamba Tales of Animals,* p. viii). Junod likewise speaks of "the root idea" of these tales as "the triumph of wisdom over mere brute force," and asks, "Why does this theme of wisdom over strength reappear so frequently and under so many aspects in this popular literature?" His answer is, "because the thought is natural and eminently satisfying to the mind of man," so that the story-teller, "consciously or unconsciously . . . is certainly doing work the philosophical bearing of which is undeniable" (*Life of a South African Tribe,* vol. ii, p. 223). The audience, fully identifying itself with the quick-witted little trickster hero, responds in no uncertain way in acclaiming his triumphs, and in wasting no sympathy on the lumbering beast who is victimized.

Intimately related to the folk-tales are the other two literary forms, the proverbs and riddles. The moralizing aspect of the tales is expressed in the terse statements of proper behavior appended to them, often as the culmination of the action, but sometimes only as an admonition that seems to have but little to do with the sequence of events leading up to it. Riddles, while not a part of the tales, form a prelude to story-telling sessions, where some of them are usually "pulled" before the telling of tales is begun.

Numerous collections of proverbs, from all parts of the continent and the New World, indicate how important an element in Negro folklore this form is. Stylistically, it is terse as all aphorisms are; one interesting consideration is the manner in which it often employs archaic terms, utilizing words no longer heard in current speech. Some proverbs are quite elaborate in form, and occasionally are accompanied by song or are themselves sung. The great number possessed by a given people indicates their place in every-day life, and one hears them continuously quoted. This is true wherever African culture has become rooted; only in certain parts of the United States are Negro groups found whose use of the proverb is relatively slight, this being comparable to the desuetude in which this form has fallen in Europe and among American whites.

The matter of utilizing proverbs brings up the problem of understanding their meaning. This involves an interesting methodological point. For while it is not difficult to record a long series of these short, pithy statements, it is quite different when one attempts to discover their significance. This can be achieved only by employing a careful technique of question and answer, wherein a hypothetical situation that seems to be in accord with the meaning of a given saying is presented to the informant, and then varied until it meets the requirements of an understanding achieved. The problem is, of course, more difficult in Africa than in the New World, where the setting of Negro life and much of its sanction is that of the larger community of which it is a part, and much of the implication of a proverb is therefore patent to the student. How rewarding this approach can be, however, is evident in the studies in which it has been used; those of Travélé for the Bambara, of Herskovits and Tagbwe for the Kru, of Herzog and Blooah for the Jabo.

By the use of this method one sees, above all, the many occasions on which the proverb is employed. It plays an important role in the law-courts, where it is cited much as our lawyers cite precedents in building up a case. It is used with great effectiveness as an instrument in achieving the paradox of plain speaking through indirection, that figures so importantly in Negro patterns of argument. It is used to warn, to admonish, to reprove, to guide, to praise, to encourage, its use marks erudition and elegance in speech. It reflects, even more clearly than other forms of folklore, the deepest-set values of a people, showing the drives that motivate behavior and the controls that regularize the relations of an individual to his fellows.

A few examples of Kru proverbs may illustrate the points just made. "The lazy man eats little" is not, as might be thought, a precept of general import; it is used only during a meal to shame one who is eating heartily but who has earlier refused to do a task assigned to him. "A missile quickly thrown misses its mark," on the other hand, is the equivalent of the English saying, "Haste makes waste." "To take out and put back never empties the container," both cautions against too liberal giving and is used to warn a man who is permitting others to take advantage of him. Striking is the case of the proverb, "The sound of the snapping of the trap that has caught me stays in my ears." This saying, which to a European might well be interpreted as meaning "Foresight is better than hindsight," is actually only used in polite conversation when one does not quite understand or hear a remark addressed to him—that is, it is the equivalent of English "I beg your pardon?" Such a saying as "Chicken says, 'The feet of the stranger are small,'" is a rebuke to an outsider who would interfere in the affairs of a group, since the idiom "small feet" signifies lack of power. Ascribing the saying to "chicken" is a stylistic device often encountered in African proverbs, to render the use of a saying the

more impersonal when employed as a rebuke. These proverbs enter every phase of life.

Riddles are ordinarily couched in the form of a statement rather than as a question. Examples from Africa and the New World show how wide-spread this form is. Stayt includes some in his work on the South African Venda that may be cited:

A chief presided and the people surrounded him.
The moon and the stars.
An old man whose gray hair is inside his belly.
(The gray fibres inside) a pumpkin.
That which does honor to a chief.
A slippery place after a rainfall. It makes everyone balance and bow.

The following instances, given by Parsons for the South Carolina Sea Islands show how the same stylistic device prevails:

A little man was runnin' off all de time, an' big man was tryin' to ketch him an' couldn'.
Wagon wheels.
Something has one eye and one foot.
Needle.
Two sisters sit in an upstairs winder. Dey kyan't see each oder.
Eyes.

These conundrums are a kind of game—a contest of wits that never fails to attract interested listeners. So common is this situation that it figures in the folk-tales themselves, especially in tales concerning human beings, where the point of various stories turns on the ability of a character to "pull" a riddle that has been set for him. In a given African tribe, or a given New World area, the stock of riddles told by the group is fairly stable, and the majority of those in circulation are known to many members of the group. The stability of these riddles under diffusion is striking—such a one from Dutch Guiana as, "Red horse riding a black horse's back," with the answer, "A pot on the fire," is found in various other parts of the New World, and has been recorded several times in West Africa. Children are encouraged to learn riddles, since this is held to sharpen their wits, and riddling is a favorite children's pastime. Riddles often have a type of *double entendre,* the question being posed so that the unwary guesser seeks for an erotic rather than a commonplace answer: "My father took his spade and shot it into my mother's narrow opening.—Key and lock."

Every student that has collected tales among Negro peoples has commented on the dramatic quality of their story-telling sessions. This is in part due to the fact that stories are told only at night. There are various reasons given for not telling them during the daylight hours, but the one most often encountered assigns this feeling to an association of story-telling with rites for the dead. Wakes are the rule in Negro cultures, and folk-tales figure prominently among the devices used by the watchers to keep awake. Hence, if told by day, it is felt that the spirits of the dead will wreak vengeance on the teller.

In the main, except for myths and certain "historical" tales, the stories are a primary form of recreation. In the telling, the acting is superb, and from all parts of the areas inhabited by Negroes descriptions have been given of how the antics of the trickster, for instance, are mimicked by alterations in the voice of the teller, accompanied by movements of hands and body. The stories, moreover, involve a degree of participation by the audience that is unheard of in European patterns. One reason for this is the interlarding of tale with song, in which the teller acts as soloist and audience as chorus. Often, too, the audience is questioned by the storyteller when a character must justify the behavior

he manifests; and interpolations of assent from the audience as the tale unfolds are regularly heard.

The tales do much more than afford recreation, however. Animal tales which offer explanations of natural phenomena, or account for accepted modes of behavior, or point morals, are regarded by natives themselves as important educational devices. This is why the native African can say to the European, "You have your books, but we teach our children through our stories." Though few reports have been made concerning the types of tales told by various age or status groups, it was apparent in Dahomey at least, that animal tales are regarded as primarily for children, and older informants thought it a slight to their dignity to request such stories of them. For adults there were the "historical" tales, non-esoteric stories of the gods, love stories—which, contrary to general belief, are found in the repertory of the African teller—and risqué stories.

The problem of the origin of African tales has occupied the attention of many students. It is rendered especially difficult by the similarities that are found between stories told in Africa and those recorded elsewhere in the Old World. It has not gone unnoticed that there are many resemblances between African animal-trickster tales, Aesop's fables, the Reynard the Fox cycle, the Panchatantra of India, the Jataka tales of China, and animal stories recorded from the Philippines and Indonesia. Many years ago Bleek, struck by this resemblance, entitled his collection of Hottentot tales *Reynard the Fox in South Africa.* The fact that these complex entities resemble each other so closely and, at the same time, are to be contrasted as a group with the animal tales told by the natives of North and South America, or with Polynesian folklore, gives validity to the assumption of historical connection between the areas where these tales are told. It leads, indeed, to the concept of the Old World as an area wherein a highly consistent body of folklore has been widely though irregularly diffused.

This approach is reinforced by a consideration of the non-animal tales and motifs. Klipple, who has studied what she terms foreign analogues in African tales, has noted many such correspondences in terms of the tale and motif-index system of Aarne and Thompson. Thus type No. 480, "Spinning-Woman by the Spring," the Frau Holle tale of the Grimm brothers' collection, and also known in Africa under the designation, "The Good Child and the Bad," is indicated by her as having been recorded among the Chaga and Rundi of East Africa, among the Tanga, Bulu, and Mañbettu of the Congo, among the Yoruba and other tribes of Nigeria, among the Popo, in Liberia, and among the Wolof, Bambara, Mossi and Hausa of the sub-tropical belt of West Africa. Other examples of this diffusion of non-animal tales over the Old World that can be cited at random are Thompson's type 300, "The Dragon-Slayer," or 403, "The Black and White Bride," for which extensive correspondences in Africa are noted by Klipple.

Does this mean that tales were diffused from Europe into Africa, or in the other direction? The task of unraveling this particular historical skein would seem to be a hopeless one. Those who feel that a tale such as Tar Baby must have originated in India, and have spread from there to Africa and, via Spain, to the New World, can offer but deductions based on present-day incidence to prove their point, rather than furnish the objective historical documentation rigid methodology demands. It would seem more fruitful to accept the underlying unity of Old World folklore as a working hypothesis, and to direct analysis toward an understanding of the manner in which, in their diffusion, the various elements of the tales have been rephrased, reoriented and reinterpreted, than

to attempt to reconstruct the historical adventures of a given tale. The most likely conclusion, in this regard, would seem to posit inventiveness in all the area—inventiveness in terms of those conventions of the construction of tales and the ends of telling that mark the region as a whole.

This point of view is strengthened by an analysis of the provenience of New World Negro tales. It will be remembered how, some decades ago, argument was joined on the issue of whether or not the Uncle Remus tales were adaptations of Indian animal stories made by the Negroes after their arrival in the New World. It is today conceded that animal stories found in Negro communities of the United States, the Caribbean, and South America are a part of the heritage brought directly from Africa, some tales even without change of character, such as those which concern Anansi, the Spider. Discussion now turns rather on the stories about human beings, which are held to have been taken over by the Negroes as a result of their contact with whites. That this factor was operative cannot be denied, but it is disconcerting, from the point of view of exclusive European provenience, to find Cinderella tales, Frau Holle stories, Magic Flight sequences, Magic Whip, and other typically European motifs appearing in many collections of folklore from aboriginal African tribes. The phenomenon of syncretism may be held operative here as in other aspects of New World Negro culture, the blending of two cultural streams, both derived from the Old World area, in a manner that has created among the Negroes of the western hemisphere a body of folklore that presents, to those that see its wide range, an harmonious unity.

To analyze Negro folk-tales in terms of their stylistic qualities would require the detailed consideration of a number of specific stories. Such an analysis would demonstrate how competently Africans achieve adequacy of characterization, how the situations described attain verisimilitude, how action develops to its climax. Interest is sustained by the inner consistency in the building of a plot, suspense alternates with relief, and devices such as repetition of a phrase to denote intensity, or lengthened time, or distance, are skilfully employed. The dramatic quality of the tale is inevitably diluted when it is written, for the efficacy of the literary devices is heightened by the manner of telling. Yet the wealth of creative imagination that has gone into these tales is apparent in whatever form they may be experienced. This, together with the logic of plot and consistency of action that characterize them, mark them as artistic achievements of no inconsiderable order.

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II

AFRICANS IN FICTION. The use of native Africans, as well as of other nonliterate tribesmen, as protagonists in works of fiction is comparatively recent. It is a part of a wider development that, in all aspects of life, has made us conscious of cultures other than our own, and has given us the willingness to utilize materials from these societies. From a purely literary point of view, it is an aspect of the tendency toward experimentation that has marked the work of writers for the past two generations, manifesting itself not only in literary works about natives, but in hospitality toward the writings of native authors.

One of the earliest such works, concerned with Africa, was René Maran's novel *Batouala*. Himself a native African, the author sets its action in the Ubangi-Shari district of French Equatorial Africa. The story, which concerns the love of a chief's retainer for one of his jealous master's wives, has, however, been criticized by those that know the people of the area for its lack of verisimilitude, due to the ascription to Batouala and other characters of a psychology essentially European, and to the fact that the plot is based on a theme of such widespread incidence that the African setting is of but little significance to the work as a whole. Effective use is, however, made of a native song and folk-tale.

Far more telling from this point of view, is R. S. Rattray's *The Leopard Priestess*. Its author, an Englishman with long experience in the Gold Coast, focuses the plot of his story on the native dread of the punishment exacted by the gods for incest—here defined, in native terms, as the mating of members of the same clan who though perhaps cousins far removed, call each other and behave toward each other as "brother" and "sister." The story, moving from the initial incident—which involves another taboo, against having sexual relations on the bare ground, since this is an affront to the Earth-Goddess—moves steadily to its climax where, in a manner that suggests Greek tragedy, retribution is exacted of the culprits. The book as a whole shows how powerfully a tale rooted in the concepts of a foreign people can reach across cultural differences to poignant meaning.

Unique in that the tribe, rather than any individual, is the center of the action, is the work by J. H. Driberg, *The People of the Small Arrow*. It is cast in the form of a series of episodes, each of which, almost an independent sketch, portrays a single aspect of life among the East African Didinga. Some of these sketches reach a dramatic pitch, as in the opening chapters describing the battle scenes, or telling how Alukileng, the Rainmaker, obtained and used his power. Sensitive use is made of native versification, and such a hymn of praise as *The Bull-Song of Auranomoi* illustrates the rich imagery of African ritual verse. Not dissimilar from the theme of Rattray's novel is the chapter wherein *The Tragic Love of Lotingiro and Nachai* is told.

Here, too, the attraction of a girl for a man overrides the tribal incest taboo, and the penalty of death is paid.

Two novels treat of the coming of the Europeans to African folk. One, *Flesh of the Wild Ox,* by C. S. Coon, portrays the life of the Riffians of Morocco, and their futile struggle to prevent the Spanish and French from obtaining control over their land. The daily round, the intrigue that accompanies political manoeuverings, and above all the situations that give meaning to life, all appear in its pages. Mrs. Huxley's *Red Strangers,* a more skilful work of this genre, is set in Kenya, East Africa, and in its three parts portrays the native culture as it existed at the time of the coming of the "red strangers" —the whites—the period of strongest attack on native ways of life, at the time of the First World War, and finally, the demoralization of the natives under European control. The psychological havoc wreaked on natives by foreign domination is movingly recounted, for the story is based on sound knowledge and sure insight, and on the author's remarkable ability to portray the reactions of an alien people to the onslaught of her own culture.

Native writers of fiction are few, and only two of their works call for mention. The first, *Doguicimi,* by Paul Hazoumé, a native of Dahomey, French West Africa, focuses upon the life of the court of the Dahomean kings before its conquest by the French. It describes a military campaign, which at first meets defeat but is carried to final victory. Here are detailed the complexities of the life of the upper classes in African societies, and the subordination of personal desire to political expediency.

The fictionized biography of Chaka, by Thomas Mofolo, a member of the Basuto people of south-eastern Africa, is, however, by far the outstanding literary work among all those mentioned in this discussion. Originally written in Sesuto, the language of its author, it treats of a dramatic character, "the black Napoleon," as he has been called, the founder of the modern Zulu nation, from a point of view that only a native African could present. The rise of Chaka, born illegitimate by Zulu standards, a weakling and an outcast, to highest position among his people through his literally sacrificing those dearest to him—the woman he loved, and finally, his mother—is the theme of the book. His failure to attain psychic security, the role of the witch-doctor in bolstering his confidence at critical moments, and his fall as a result of his unutterable blood-thirstiness—these strands, and others that show how rich a vein is to be tapped in material of this kind, are woven into a pattern which makes for sympathetic comprehension of what must be regarded as one of the world's most baffling personalities, and points how such literature may improve understanding of values and ways of life that differ from our own.

Carleton S. Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox* (N. Y.), 1932; J. H. Driberg, *People of the Small Arrow* (N. Y.), 1930; Paul Hazoumé, *Doguicimi* (Paris), 1937; Elspeth Huxley, *Red Strangers* (London), 1939; René Maran, *Batouala* (N. Y.), 1922; Thomas Mofolo, *Chaka, an Historical Romance* (London), 1931; R. S. Rattray, *The Leopard Priestess* (N. Y.), 1935.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS.

AFRIKAANS—*See* **South African.**

AKKADIAN—*See* Accadian.

ALAMANNIC—*See* Swiss.

ALASKAN—*See* North American Native.

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ALBANIAN

THE ALBANIAN language, an independent member of the Indo-European family, is spoken by the one million population of independent Albania and in a more corrupt and incorrect form by about 400,000 people living in scattered colonies on the eastern coast of Italy and in Sicily (the Italo-Albanians) and by several hundred thousand more scattered throughout the southern part of Yugoslavia and Greece. Yet even in the homeland, the people who speak Albanian are divided religiously. About four-sevenths of the population are Mohammedan, and of the remainder about two thirds are Orthodox Christians, largely in the south, and about one third in the north in the neighborhood of Skutari, are Roman Catholic. In addition to this, the language falls into the two main dialects of Tosk in the south and Gheg in the north. It has therefore been a hard task to promote the work of unification, even after the sense of national unity had once been aroused. To make the problem still more difficult, the Ottoman Empire, which governed most of the Albanians for more than four centuries, prohibited all publications in the Albanian language and thus forced the early writers, before the independence of the country in 1912, to publish abroad.

There is an abundance of folksongs in Albanian. These deal with the same general themes and fall into the same general types as those that occur in the other Balkan countries. They date from various periods and cover all aspects of the life of the villagers and of the liberty-loving mountain shepherds and herdsmen, and they speak of the clan feuds that have reigned for many years in the remote valleys and mountains. There are epic and narrative poems about the great Albanian lawgiver, Lek; but the most popular subject is the life of Skanderbeg, (George Castrioti, ca. 1410–1467), who during his short life succeeded in uniting most of the Albanian clans and in holding off the Turkish attacks for many years. He has become the ideal Albanian national hero, furnishing inspiration to most of the modern authors as well as to the older, traditional folksongs.

The oldest fragment of written Albanian is found in a writing of the Orthodox Bishop of Durrës, from 1462; soon after, we find Roman Catholic sources, whether from Albania or Italy, dating also from the 15th c. It was not, however, until the Franciscans began work in Albania that complete books were written in Albanian; for they secured permission from the sultans to print books, when all other Albanian writings were barred; but naturally most of theirs were of a religious character. In 1841, the Jesuits secured similar permission and have had considerable influence on the development of Albanian thought.

The first Albanian printed book was the *Dizionario Latino-Epirota,* by Francesco Blanco (1635); this was followed by an Albanian Catechism published by Buda di Petrabianca in 1685. The first author of some independent ability was Giulio Variboba, an Italo-Albanian who prepared, about 1730, a *Life of the Blessed Virgin.* He died in Rome in 1762. Italo-Albanian work continued and Vincenzo Stratigo (1822–85) under Italian influence presented the newer Italian social thought in the *Proletarian* and the *Bersagliere.*

It was not to be expected that the Romantic revival with its emphasis upon folksong and popular tradition would pass unnoticed among the Albanians. Girolama de Rada (1813–1903), who was born among the Italo-Albanians, commenced to collect their ballads and folksongs and soon turned to the writing of original verse. Among his chief writings

are the *Song of Seraphina Thopia, Princess of Zadrima* (1845), a reworking in an Albanian setting of the Lenore theme; the *Song of Milosaon* (1864), a tale of Skutari; and *Skënderbeg* (1873), a biography of the great hero.

In much the same spirit Gjergj Fishta (1856–1941) began his work. He was of a humble Roman Catholic family from the Zadrima mountain of Skutari, but by becoming a Franciscan he was able to take advantage of the possibilities of publication in the printing press of the Order. He published folksongs and poems based upon them, and edited a literary review, *Hylli i Dritës (Star of Light)*. His principal work was *Lahuta e Malcis (Highland Strings,* 1899–1909), in which he united the careers of the modern Albanians struggling for their liberty with the heroes of the popular ballads and showed how their striving for freedom and independence had been the dominant mood of the Albanian spirit throughout the ages. After the downfall of independent Albania at the hands of the Fascist Italians in 1939, Fishta became silent and refused to cooperate with the Italian conquerors in any way. Associated with him was Vinçénc Prenushi, best known for his collection of Albanian folk poems, *Kangë Popullore (Popular Songs,* 1911).

In the meantime, new currents were set in motion. The division of the Albanian lands at the Council of Berlin inspired the leaders of the Albanians to hope for ultimate independence and to organize and commence political work in much the same way as the other Balkan peoples had done. This involved the reaching of a mutual understanding by the leaders of the three religious communities in the country; and all three groups combined in the development of an independent Albanian literature and culture. Most of these men were compelled to flee abroad; thus many of them found the opportunity for writing and having their work printed in Sofia, from which city it was smuggled back into the country.

This was the experience of *Besa (A Pledge of Honor)* by Sami Bey Fráshcri, one of the leaders of this group. This play was first published in Turkish in Istanbul, then translated back into Albanian and published in Sofia. It is an effective drama, describing the old Albanian code of honor and contrasting the proud and independent mountain herdsmen with the corrupt representatives of the ruling class that were seeking for honors from the nation's conquerors. Naim Fráshëri (1846–1901), Sami's brother, member of a prominent South Albanian family and also in exile, published the pastoral idyl *Bagëtí e Bujquësija (Shepherds and Plowmen,* 1886). He followed this with *Fletore e Bektashinjet (The Book of the Bektashis,* 1896) describing this Mohammedan sect, of which he was a member, and in 1898, *Istoria e Skënderbeut (A Life of Skanderbeg)*. He died in poverty abroad, but in 1937 the Albanian government brought back his remains to Tirana and erected a monument in his memory. Along with these brothers was Pasko Vasa Pasha (Pseudonym, Wassa Effendi), a Roman Catholic of Skutari, who served in the Turkish service as governor of Lebanon, and was also the author of the Albanian hymn of liberation, *Moj Shqypní (My Albania,* 1881).

Other writers of this period were the scholar and poet Giuseppe Schiró (1865–1927), who continued on Albanian soil the tradition of De Rada, with his *Kënga e Mirditës (The Song of Mirdita)*. Here belong also two Orthodox Albanians from Korcha in the south, Mihal Grameno with his patriotic tragedy *Vdekja e Piros (The Death of Pyrrhus;* 1906) —for the Albanians counted Pyrrhus, the King of Epirus and the chivalrous opponent of ancient Rome, one of their own people; and Kristo Floqi, a lawyer, who treated in poetic drama the problem of religiously mixed marriages in his *Fé e Kombësí (Faith and Pa-*

triotism) in 1912. His *Anthollogjia Shqipëtare (Anthology of Albanian Poetry,* 1923) was extensively used in the schools of free Albania.

Among the prominent writers that defended the Albanian cause abroad were Faik Konitza (1875–1942), for many years Albanian Minister in Washington. He was an essayist, critic, and poet. He edited the review *Albania* in Brussels and London (1896–1909) and contributed to the newspaper *Dielli (The Sun)* which has been published in Boston, Mass. since 1909. Fan S. Noli (b. 1881), bishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America, has also had a prominent career. Born in Qyteza, Bishop Noli was educated in Turkey and Egypt, then was graduated from Harvard University and the New England Conservatory of Music. He served for a while as Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of Albania. Among his works are *Istoria e Skënderbeut (A Life of Skanderbeg,* 1921), a three act play, *Israelitë dhe Filistine (Israelites and Philistines,* 1907) and *Simfoní Bizantine (Byzantine Symphony,* 1938). He has had still greater influence through his translations, for he has rendered into Albanian the leading works of Shakespeare, Ibsen, Poe, Omar Khayyam, Ibanez, and many other writers, and has increased the vocabulary of the language and rendered it more able to serve as a vehicle of literary expression.

Alexander S. Drenova (under the pen name of Asdren) marks a transition from this generation. In his early work he wrote, as did his predecessors, to prepare the Albanian people for independence, but after the liberation of the country, he joined the next group, who were far more responsive to the currents of literary development sweeping over Europe. Thus he developed from his early collections, as *Rzeze Dielli (Facing the Sun,* 1904) and *Ëndëra e Lotë (Dreams and Tears,* 1912) to *Psalme Murgu (Psalms of a Monk,* 1930).

Among the younger generation who are largely under the influence of symbolism and the later movements, but who are no less patriotic in their feelings, are Ali Asllani with his *Hanko Halla (Aunt Jane),* a collection of poems that express the homely local wit of Valona, Skëndér Bardhi (the pseudonym of Nelo Drizari), an American of Albanian parentage who has introduced American ideals and literary traditions into Albanian literature, and by his translation of Sami Bey Frashëri's *Besa* into English has made the first important translation from Albanian into English. Andon Zako (pseudonym, Çajupi) has created an anthology of the Albanian highland ballads and songs, *Baba Tomori,* which, like Mount Tomori itself, emphasize the sturdy character of the Albanian people. Midhat Fráshëri, under the pseudonym of Lumo Skëndo, was the editor of the literary-educational review, *Diturija (Education,* 1909–39), and until 1944 director of the *Lumo Skëndo* Library in Tirana; he made a classic translation of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* which has been accepted as an expression of the national ideal of freedom and liberty. Other poets are Louis Gurakuqi; and Ramiz Harxhi, who used the southern dialect of Argyrocastra and Kurveleshi in his poems *Dëshirat e Zemrës (Desires of the Heart).*

In prose, Foqion Postoli wrote the popular novels *Për Mrojtjen e Atdheut (for the Defence of the Fatherland,* 1921) and *Lulja e Kujtimit (The Flower of Reminiscences,* 1924), also the sentimental play *Dëtyra e Mëmës (A Mother's Duty,* 1925). Milto Sotir Gurra of Opari shows the influence of O. Henry and of Maupassant in his *Plaget e Kurbetit (Wounds of an Exile,* 1938); this marks another stage in the introduction of Western influences into the literature. Ilo-Mitkë Qafëzezi is the foremost Albanian biographer. Up to 1939, the leading literary and philosophical review *Përpjekja Shqiptare (The Albanian Endeavor)* was edited in Tirana by the essayist Branko Merxhani.

Lasgush Poradeci, in the 1930's, appeared

as the most disputed talent of modern Albania. He represents the same fusion of ideas and moods as does Mihai Eminescu in Romania, but there are still many who question his value.

Albanian literature and Albanian life have suffered greatly from the cultural gap between the educated classes of Tirana and the great masses of the people, especially the non-Bektashi Mohammedans. The Bektashis take an interest in their traditional culture and the works that describe it; the Tiranese are European in the full sense of the word. This is of course a purely transitional phase; it is to be hoped that in a restored Albania there may develop a sound point of view that will blend in one national culture the influence of both Christianity and Islam and will thus offer to the world a new cultural synthesis.

J. Bourcart, *Le mouvement litteraire en Albanie* (*La Vie des Peuples*, 1934).

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

ALEXANDRIAN—*See* Greek.

ALGONQUIAN—*See* North American Native.

ALIBAMU—*See* North American Native.

AMAZON—*See* South American Indian.

AMERICAN—*See* African; Brazilian; Canadian; Christian Hymnody; Louisiana; Mexican; North American Native; South American Indian; Spanish American; United States.

AMHARIC—*See* Ethiopic.

ANATOLIAN—*See* Turkish.

ANDES—*See* South American Indian.

ANGAKOK—*See* North American Native.

ANGOLA—*See* African.

ANTILLES—*See* African.

APACHE—*See* North American Native.

APAPOCUVA-GUARANÍ—*See* South American Indian.

APINAYÉ—*See* South American Indian.

ARABIC

THE literature of the Arabs is largely the product of Islamic culture. It drew upon the gifts of many races in different lands, yet remained essentially Semitic in form, continuing to some degree the Hebrew, Aramaic, and kindred heritage.

Not without significance is the disorderly, if not fictitious, genealogy of Arabia. It assumes an original, now defunct, stock, that of Qaḥṭān, and a more recent one, 'Adnān. The children of the former grouping presumably inhabited the South. Theirs was the opulent ancient civilization of al-Yaman; Ḥadramawt, and the neighboring coast, that of the Sabaeans and Minaeans. The 'Adnānites of the North, according to tradition, are the offspring of Ishmael, and Abraham is the builder of the Ka'bah. To this northern wing belonged the Muḍar, kinsmen of the Nizārite Quraysh, forbears of Muḥammad. But by the time Arabic literature was making its appearance, a whole class of tribes, including Rabī'ah,

domiciled in northern and central Arabia, as well as the powerful Ghassānids of eastern Syria and the Lakhmids of Iraq, claimed a southern origin. The citizens of Medina who rose to the support of Muḥammad were also of Yamanite descent.

Epigraphical remains disclose a number of fossilized Arabic languages in which, by means of the southern alphabet, the speech of the north was reduced to writing. This so-called proto-Arabic group is represented by the Dedanite and Liḥyānite inscriptions of al-'Ula in north Ḥijāz (7th to 3rd c. B.C.); the Thamūdic writings of al-Ḥijr and Taymā' in the same region (5th c. B.C. to 4th A.D.); and the Ṣafaitic inscriptions discovered in the volcanic Ḥawrān district (ca. 100 A.D. or later), representing the northernmost advance of the South Arabic script. While all these utilized by-forms of the South Arabic alphabet, their idioms were definitely northern and therefore akin to the language of the *Koran*. Together with the Nabataean (down to ca. 100 A.D.) and Palmyrene (ca. 100 A.D.–ca. 300), they constitute a considerable layer of dead Arabic languages.

Language and literature, as known to fame, were moulded in Arabia, allegedly by the Muḍarites, in the dialect of the Quraysh, vehicle of cultured thought, religious ideas and literary expression, as the Moslem believes. In reality, the ancient poetry, which had served Muḥammad as a model, was a common development – neither Qurayshite, nor Muḍarite, nor South Arabian—hammered out by the pre-Islamic poets themselves. When the literary remains of pre-Islamic antiquity were ferreted out, furthermore, an attempt may have been made to exaggerate the role of southerners, since not a few admirers of the pagan literary past were themselves men whose roots were in al-Yaman. The records, biased, and discriminating, thus give as southern pre-Islamic literary personages the notable Imru' al-Qays, 'Abīd ibn-al-Abraṣ, 'Alqamah, 'Amr ibn-Qamī'ah, al-Muhalhil, 'Amr ibn-Kulthūm, al-Ḥārith ibn-Ḥillizah, Ṭarafah ibn-al-'Abd, al-Mutalammis, al-Ash'ath, and the poetess Jalīlah. Among the many stars of pagan verse are such northerners as Aws ibn-Ḥajar, Zuhayr ibn-abi-Sulma, al-Ḥuṭay'ah, Ka'b ibn-Zuhayr, and al-Nābighah. It is doubtful, however, whether either category of bards may be considered legitimate sons of any but the geographic zone of the Muḍarites in the north and central regions of the Peninsula.

Nor is it sufficiently clear what the concept of literature was in heathen and early Islamic times. Nallino suggested that the term *adab* for literature implies the sense of *da'b*, steady work, continual striving. But the word really connotes what Goldziher earlier had designated as "the noble and human tendency of the character and its manifestation in the conduct of life and social intercourse." Equally arresting are those definitions that make artistic expression "equal to two-thirds of religion," or that esteem the knowledge of literature as a process leading to an intellectual culture of a higher degree and making possible a more refined social intercourse especially in the realm of philology, poetry, exegesis, and ancient history. Following the age of urbanization (632–750) and the gradual increase of secular composition, under Persian and other stimuli, a more specialized application of the term literature gained acceptance. Ibn-Qutaybah (828–885) wrote a book entitled *Adab al-Kātib* (*The Author's Technical Skill*). While the religious sciences—Koran, Tradition and Jurisprudence—were referred to as *'ilm* (science), belles-lettres, skill in sports, and ingenious games were recognized as part of the province of the literary art (*adab*). As a fine art, literature gave birth to a brand of rhetoric, of which the celebrated free-thinker al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), author of the *Book of Eloquence and Exposition*, passed for founder. Curricula of Arab schools today include courses on literary criticism and history, in

addition to the old subjects of grammar, calligraphy, lexicology, poetics, rhetoric, theory of style, and logic.

The Old Voices (A.D. 500–632). The sumptuous odes, comminatory utterances in rhymed prose, the legends and heroic songs, of pre-Islamic days reflect a long period of oral, and partly written, literary tradition in Arabia, culminating in the forms and techniques embodied in the *Koran*. There were also specimens of prose, proverbs and orations, overshadowed by business transactions and sundry documents revealing Arabia's contacts with her neighbors, Jews, Christians, Persians. The old voices ring with echoes and memories of startling happenings of antiquity: reports of Arabian grandeur under the Syrian Ghassānides, the Iraqi Lakhmids, the Kindites of al-Yaman. Going farther back, legend kept fresh the ambitious career of Queen Zenobia of Palmyra, who was finally led captive by Aurelian in 274 A.D. The Nabataeans, who from their capital Petra (in modern Transjordan) had by the time of Christ carved a kingdom extending north as far as Damascus, were not entirely forgotten. Nor was this pagan literature silent on the subject of South Arabian splendor, dating back to the first millennium B.C. The *Koran* discloses the existence of a literate society in al-Ḥijāz, in no way isolated from the outer world. The opening verse of a chapter entitled *The Chapter on the Greeks* (i.e., Byzantines) reads, "The Byzantines are overcome in the nighest parts of the land; but after being overcome they shall overcome in a few years. . . ." It is plain that interest in the outcome of the protracted struggle between the Eastern Roman Empire of the Byzantines and the Sassanid Persians still ran high in the Arabian circles to which Muḥammad preached.

The miscellany of writings in which the old voices are conveyed began to appear in the 2d Moslem c. The first recorded attempt to compile ancient Arabic poetry was undertaken by Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah (d. 772). Until then, successive schools of reciters had passed on the poetical heritage orally. It was garbled in its passage through the hands of Moslem narrators; but also it underwent a series of radical changes during the era antedating the coming of Muḥammad (ca. 570–632). On the basis of poetical vocabulary and standards we discern the existence of a number of dissimilar schools that tended, nevertheless, to be drawn closer to the common norm. The projection of a unified system was a matter of time. The poetry ascribed to 'Amr ibn-Qamī'ah (ca. 480 A.D.) may present a prototype of the first complete ode (*qaṣīdah*); but research is uncertain, partly due to the falsification of forgerers. Out of originally unrelated elements grew the poetical works (*dīwāns*) of the principal bards, Imru' al-Qays, Ṭarafah, Zuhayr, al-Nābighah 'Alqamah, al-A'sha, Labīd. Fragmentary material is also ascribed to certain eminent poets, led by the two outlaws, Ta'abbaṭa Sharra and al-Shanfara. The choicest seven to ten odes of the masters, among whom, in addition to those already referred to as authors of *dīwāns*, are 'Amr ibn-Kulthūm, al-Ḥārith ibn-Ḥillizah, and 'Antarah, received singular honor as the noblest poetical compositions of the pagan age. These were the *mu'allaqāt* (suspended) that won the unanimous admiration of audiences at the annual literary fair of 'Ukāẓ. Less celebrated were the odes compiled by al-Ḍabbi (d. ca. 785) in *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (*The Preferred Odes*); in *al-Ḥamāsah* (*Heroical Poems*), edited by abu-Tammām (ca. 850); and in *al-Aghāni* (*Songs*) of al-Iṣbahāni* (967).

There is little doubt, however, that the dawn of the standard ode of Arabia breaks in this early period. As a poetical form the ode (*qaṣīdah*) preceded the rise of Islam, and has remained comparatively unchanged to the present day. Each verse is divided into two balanced parts; the rhymes at the end are the same throughout the poem. The ode invari-

ably followed a pattern of conventional construction. Its overture had a characteristic movement in which the bard appears upon a camel, accompanied by fellow travelers. His destination is a familiar site, some tribal haunt or locality favored by nature. In these surroundings his fancy turns across the years to recall former joys and comradeship, gravitating around the beloved. An amatory prelude (*nasīb*) in praise of her follows. Emerging therefrom, the ode describes the poet's mount and the details of a hunting scene. Only at this point is it proper for the poet to break into the core of his theme. The subjects include episodes of tribal life, scenes of revelry, thunder storms, feats of bravery under trial, exultant clannish pride, the munificence of a patron, the resounding clash of arms and war-cries in battle, a raid by night, a personal encounter with the foe. Embedded in some of the odes are elegies, songs of revenge and robbery, satires, taunts, diatribes, the laughter of the scornful.

A thread of unbroken artistic continuity, moreover, vouchsafed by identity in vocabulary and imagery, runs through the old voices. Even more striking is the slow evolution of motifs, hardly recognizable in the earlier schools but elaborately enlarged by later craftsmanship. Parallels manifest themselves between the techniques of the rival southern poets, Imru' al-Qays and 'Abīd ibn-al-Abraṣ (both b. ca. 500 A.D.). Succeeding generations of poets were imbued with the spirit and forms of 'Abīd, whereas Imru' al-Qays—scion of the princely House of Kindah—attained disproportionate fame. At the same time cognizance must be taken of intrinsically different influences. The Jewish al-Samaw'al ibn-'Ādiya, who inhabited a castle at Taymā', some distance north of Medina, was recognized for both loyalty and poetical talent. He is a reminder of the Jewish impact resulting from the presence of Judaized agricultural settlements within the confines of Peninsular Arabia. Known also are the names of numerous Arab bards of Christian background. 'Adi-ibn-Zayd (b. ca. 545), of utmost facility and elegance in Persian and Arabic, was an Iraqi Christian whose family had long been in the service of the Arab Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah. A man of international prestige, his career is linked with the reign of al-Nu'mān III (580–602), last of the Arab kings of al-Ḥīrah and by far the most celebrated in tradition.

Abu-Du'ad al-Iyādi was also a member of a Christian Arab tribe in Iraq, whom Arab literary critics regard as an outsider. He brought into pre-Islamic poetry specific alien influences, popularizing a technique hitherto unknown in Arabia. His style sprang from the semi-nomadic, half-urbanized Arab environment of al-Ḥīrah. Of all poets down to the Prophet's day, he stands alone, for having used 12 of the 16 standard meters. The renowned Imru' al-Qays himself had used only ten. There arose in connection with Lakhmid court life at al-Ḥīrah a number of well-differentiated poetical forms; there appeared the *ramal* (adorned with pearls), and perhaps the *khafīf* (brisk). The Ḥīrah galaxy of bards could boast a third luminary, al-Muṭaqqib al-'Abdi (ca. 550 A.D.), and a fourth, the famed al-A'sha (ca. 565 A.D.), who displays not only the advanced traditions of the northern Qays clan but also the unmistakable impress of Sassanid convivial poetry. The *ramal* meter may come from the Pahlavi octosyllabic verse, as the *mutaqārib* (approaching) meter may be an adaptation of the Pahlavi hendecasyllabic verse. In the late 7th c. narrative-didactic Arabic verse adopted the *muzdawij* (doublet) prosody, developed in Persia during the Sassanid period, but in due course abandoned in favor of the more indigenous *rajaz* (trembling of knees in camel-march).

Zuhayr ibn-abi-Sulma of al-Ḥijāz lived on the eve of Islam. He is the mouthpiece of Bedouin ethics, voicing in his didactic poetry nearly the whole range of desert moral ideals.

Therefore his verse, outranking what went before, occupies a position halfway between the *Koran* and the rest of pre-Islamic literature. The *mu'allaqah* ("suspended" ode) of al-Ḥārith ibn-Ḥillizah (disregarding the problem of its authenticity) reflects the feuds of north Arabia amid the life-and-death struggle between the Byzantine and the Persian empires. During the fifty years preceding Islam, the poet al-Nābighah of Dhubyān lived at the Syrian court of the Christian Ghassānids and was imbued with some of their polish. He also sojourned at the Persianized court of al-Ḥīrah; his poetry smacks of the splendor of both thrones. The didactic earnestness of his verse, and that of his younger contemporary, al-A'sha, is witness to the permeation of Peninsular thought with the loftier elements of Aramaic culture.

Considered as a sacret text, the *Koran* (reading, or recital) marks the end of one era and the beginning of another. As a living literary voice it has much in common with the so-called pre-Islamic literature. Its description of Paradise resembles passages in which the heathen bards depicted earthly scenes of carousal and revelry. Whether Muḥammad actually drew upon this source or not is open to debate. In the earlier *suras* (chapters) of the *Koran* one reads vivid and moving imagery forecasting the doom of the wicked and the terrors of the last judgment. Even though touches of Judaeo-Christian theology recur, the style employed was not basically strange to the ears of the Prophet's hearers. In point of literary technique the *Koran* indeed eschewed the highly developed metrical poetry of the pagan age in favor of the oracular rhymed prose (*saj'*) of professional magicians and wizards. Such was the parentage of the first book in Arabic prose. There was no other model suited to serve as a literary link between the old epoch and the new. Thus the *Koran* remains the foremost literary source on the "Age of Ignorance," i.e., the age when the Arabians could not match the scriptural writings of Jewry and Christendom with a scripture of their own.

Judged as a literary masterpiece wherein are mirrored the psychological, social, and economic aspects of Arabian life, as well as the moral, religious, and spiritual, the *Koran* excels every prior production. It is tremblingly alive to the commercial relations binding the Quraysh traders with the Syrians, Greeks, Abyssinians, and Persians when it admonishes the north and south bound caravaneers (*sura* 106) to be of one accord whether their journey is in summer to Syria or in winter to al-Yaman: "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. For the uniting of the Quraysh; uniting them for the caravan of winter and summer. So let them serve the Lord of this house who feeds them against hunger and makes them safe against fear." Almost every Koranic passage is enmeshed in Arabian life as lived in pagan days. Like the townsmen of Carthage, Athens, and Rome before, the Arabians of Mecca and Medina had become engrossed in the kind of commercial materialism that entails money-changing, usury, greed, dishonesty and selfish abuse of privilege. That whole picture is conjured up by the specific regulations regarding financial transactions (2:282): "If ye engage to one another in a debt for a stated time, then write it down, and let a scribe write it down between you faithfully; nor let a scribe refuse to write as God taught him, but let him write, and let him who owes dictate; but let him fear God his Lord, and not diminish therefrom aught. . . ." By special provision, in the verses immediately preceding, the practice of usury is prohibited: "Those who devour usury shall not rise again, save as he riseth whom Satan hath paralyzed with a touch." Theologically, the *Koran* portrays the character and evils of the idolatry that was rampant in Arabia when and before the Prophet delivered his iconoclastic blow. Along

these and other lines it is possible to show the matchless value of the *Koran* as the leading literary source on pagan Arabia.

To the orthodox Moslem, the *Koran* is not a man-made book. It is not merely divinely inspired. In itself it is divine, uncreated, subsisting in the Essence of the Deity. Its ordinances, sanctions, and precepts are taken to be applicable not to the 7th c. Arabia alone but to all men at all times. It is the text-book from which every Moslem learns to read. The literary importance of the *Koran* may be visualized if one remembers that due to it alone the various dialects of the Arabic-speaking peoples have not fallen apart into distinct languages, as Latin, despite the Catholic church, produced the Romance tongues. Arabic was supreme in medieval times as a vehicle of enlightenment in the then civilized world. No other tongue could vie with it in scientific, philosophical, and religious output from the 9th to the 12th c. Among the alphabets of mankind, only Latin exceeds Arabic in the number of tongues reduced to writing through its characters. Even today, when the great world literatures are enumerated, it will be found that only the English language surpasses the Arabic in the aggregate number of books composed in it.

The years 610–622 form the background of the earlier Meccan *suras,* about ninety. These are mostly short, dynamic sermons, exhortations, and monotheistic manifestoes on the here and the hereafter, the resurrection, retribution, idolatry, punishment. One can almost see the impassioned preacher, hounded by enemies, lose control of himself as he speaks like an inspired man. Towards the close of this period of constant struggle, the Prophet's fortunes were somewhat improved by the vigilance and the calibre of converts banded around him. Gradually his thundering voice settled down into a stillness, interrupted but now and then by echoes of the former bursting flashes, which refused to burn with a steady flame. The atmosphere was about to change. In 622, the date of the hegira, or flight (year 1 of the Moslem calendar), Muḥammad responded to the invitation of the Yathribites (Medinese) to compose their raging feuds. The decade from then to his death (632) forms the period of the new Medinese *suras.* At Yathrib—Medina (city) of Muḥammad—the personal appeal and fiery zeal gave way to edicts and legislative material. The semi-lyrical, prophetic warning, and the diatribes ceased; they were replaced by the narrative forms, topical addresses, political theory.

It is true that in due course the pagan ode came to wield the leading literary influence. But in its relation to the whole body of Arabic literature, the *Koran* deserves the role of honor. In it the unpracticed speaker, to whom the gift of words came slowly, retains some of the crudities of expression produced by the lack of adequate philosophic concepts. Nevertheless, in the course of the book one sees the development of a prose style out of a poetic dialect. In the caliphate of 'Uthmān (644–56), the Prophet's third orthodox successor, an official canon of the Koranic text was adopted, though the final text was not definitely fixed until 933. And yet the significance of the *Book* in no way derives merely from the fact that it was the first step towards a prose style in Arabic. Nor is it its originality that invests the work with so much power. The science of religion has shown that in its inner foundation and theory of revelation the *Koran* leans heavily upon the two other religions, Judaism and Christianity. Nonetheless, its primacy in Arabic literature, and the history of world thought, is beyond computation. It is inherent in itself, that is, in what it has meant to the Arab and Moslem, and in the nature of the revolution that it set in motion. Arabic grammar, lexicography, history, tradition, exegesis, and theology owe their inception to the central interest in the *Book of Allah.*

The style of the *Koran,* then, reflected the pre-Islamic rhymed prose; its language was that of 7th c. Mecca. But though it bore throughout the imprint of the same master mind, its later parts differed considerably from the earlier. In the first revelations were disclosed the Prophet's brilliant fancy, with touches, at certain intervals, of the seer's profound thought and flaming faith, tending to endow the work with an unusual accent. Any infractions of the rules of grammar or logic were here forgivable, for these shorter pieces, by which Muḥammad inaugurated his prophetic career, were not originally intended as models in Arabic rhetoric. But the case is otherwise with the later *suras.* Not altogether free of dramatic flights of the imagination, such as the sudden departures to adore God for the manifold manifestations of His power in the realm of nature, the later *suras,* nevertheless, represent an intellect that had finally attained stability and maturity. It is precisely for this that the dearly won placidity of the composer, the ever flowing stream of his verbose utterance, are now more open to the inroads of adverse critics, before whose eyes faulty diction and errors of judgment can no longer pass unnoticed. The lengthy narratives, abounding in religious meaning, are far more objectionable when they occur alongside a set of crude psychological inferences and gainless technical retreats from the beaten path. Yet these limitations and shortcomings are wiped out by the luminous prophetic personality that shines through the honored passages of the holy book, conceived in complete consecration to the will of God. Wiped out they are also, by the remarkable success of the *Koran* in nourishing the famished Arab soul, for the first time perhaps in Arabia's history, with a new and strange celestial food.

Aside from the Judaeo-Christian torches that illumined Muḥammad's vision, he drew upon the models of ancient Arabian soothsayers, to whom he owed his forms of blessing and denouncing. Thus the oldest *suras* are prefaced with oaths, invoking the most unexpected things, the fig and olive trees, Mt. Sinai, heaven, the signs of the zodiac, the dawn, the ten nights (the last nights of Dhu-al-Hijja, the month of Pilgrimage), the double and single (even and odd, symbolizing the rare, the unique; and, "double," that which can be matched). Among the techniques used is a kind of refrain which, however, never reaches the strophe measure. In addition to the frequent appearance of similes, the *Koran* effectively employs the *amthāl* (maxims) to make simple comparisons, and at times to give the impression that God has established the phenomena of nature expressly for the moral instruction of mankind. Historical allusions are likewise drawn to prove the ascendancy of God's purpose, and as a warning to men and nations.

The power of the *Koran* to capture the hearts of men has been recognized from the beginning by Moslem scholars, both Arabs and non-Arabs. Foreign converts came to appreciate the imperative need to retain the integrity of the Arabic language as a vehicle for the *Koran* and the sacred sciences that cluster around it. The study of Arabic literature, grammar, and rhetoric became the object of the best brains. It was everywhere attested, until the recent defection of Turkey and to a certain extent of Persia, that Islam cannot survive without a sound understanding of the *Koran* in the original language of revelation, and to that end the leading theologians bent their energies for many centuries. The *Book,* therefore, came to play an unrivaled role in moulding the spiritual development of Islam and the daily life of Moslems. Basically, the People of the Mosque, the Nation of Allah, the so-called Mohammedans, are worshipers of Allah, but in a true sense they are, above all, Koranists. No one may speak about the spiritual realm save by its authority. No literary creation, in the

Moslem and Arab view, can ever reach the peaks attained by the writings of those that follow the Koranic literary forms and patterns.

[In his *Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1840), Carlyle introduced Muḥammad as a prophet-hero of deep sincerity. This was a noteworthy reversal of the long accepted view of Western literature, that the Arabian prophet was but an impostor. The growth of Islamic studies, in Europe and America, since the middle of the 19th c. furthered a sounder evaluation of the *Koran's* place in world literature. Rodwell's translation of the *Koran* (1861) presented the *suras* in chronological order. Palmer's (1880), following the traditional order of the *suras,* had a pleasing literary quality. Translations by Moslem Indian scholars have since appeared, of which Muḥammad 'Ali's *The Holy Koran* (1920), reproducing the Arabic text alongside the English, is best known. *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (1930), by Marmaduke Pickthall, was the first English translation by an English convert to Islam. Pickthall sought to give a literal translation, without attempting the hazardous task of reproducing the full effect of the Arabic. In reality, he was content to give a legitimate interpolation, making no pretense to exhaust the meaning of "that inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy." Richard Bell of Edinburgh published a critical translation (1937–9) in which the material within each *sura* is rearranged, on the assumption that the passages of the holy book, first written on scraps of writing material, became confused in sequence when transcribed. Arthur Jeffrey's *Materials for the History of the Text of the Koran* (1937) is the most brilliant contribution in the field since Theodor Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans* (1909–19). On the interpretive side H. W. Stanton's *The Teaching of the Qur'ān* (1919) is useful. Samuel C. Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose* (1937) is limited to the Renaissance period, but it considers the influence of every aspect of Islamic culture on English literature. In masterly fashion, Byron Smith, largely through an intimate knowledge of the Arab-Islamic world, published *Islam in English Literature* (1939). Koranic studies have had a similar development in other Western literature, including German, French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish.]

Urbanization (A.D. 632–750). In a series of rapid forays the Arabs under the Prophet's successors swept into Syria and Iraq, and overpowered Heraclius, the Byzantine, and Sassanid Persia. Then they turned against Egypt, Eastern Persia, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula. Their incredible military victories delivered into their hands an empire extending from the Pyrenees in the west to the Pamirs in central Asia. In the course of these startling conquests, leadership passed from the power of the austere Orthodox Caliphs, who had set up their government in Medina, to the worldly-wise Umayyads, aristocratic kinsmen of the Prophet, who made Damascus their capital and gave Syria a century of imperial splendor.

The Arabian conquerors gradually assimilated large populations, possessing a higher grade of culture, to their own Islamic way of life; and they became urbanized, proficient in the arts of a settled society. The aggressive, youthful elements of central Arabia who had fought the spectacular battles of early Moslem expansion did not go home after victory. Most of them settled in Iraq, thence migrated farther eastward. Others moved along the new frontiers, finally taking up permanent residence somewhere between Egypt and Spain.

The most pressing literary need during the early part of Islam's opening century was to preserve the text of the *Koran.* Automatically this led to the adoption of a more adequate script and the formulation of grammatical treatises based on the authoritative standards

in current usage. The study of the *Koran,* its exegesis and exposition, gave rise to the science of tradition, laying thereby the cornerstone of the coming structures of theology and jurisprudence. In the solution of knotty grammatical and etymological problems, pre-Islamic poetry was a decisive factor. The collecting and memorizing of pagan literature grew into an activity consuming prodigious effort. Historical studies stemmed out of the oral genealogies and the desire to ascertain the origin and ancient doings of the Arabians. Source material was discovered in legend as well as in Judaeo-Christian literature. In connection with the Prophet's biography (*sīrah*) and military expeditions (*maghāzi*), some chronicles were made. Wahb ibn-Munabbih (d. 732) was an authority on the legendary history of his native al-Yaman. His insights in the field of South Arabian antiquities—the so-called "science of origins"—coupled with his alleged Biblical erudition enabled him to make a contribution to early Islamic theology and jurisprudence. In this period flourished the learned divine al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri (d. 728), recognized by most religious movements in Islam—rationalist, mystical, and orthodox—as the ultimate interpreter in whose teaching their systems are rooted. His discourses, preserved in many a recension, are couched in eloquent prose and bear witness to his piety and profound theological knowledge. The preponderant importance of oral instruction, however, kept the literary monuments of the period inferior.

The school of rhapsodists, or reciters, (*rāwiyahs*) was popular in this age. This school affected the authenticity and integrity of pre-Islamic poetry, as already noticed. A rhapsodist sometimes undertook to correct what verse he transmitted. Thus Ka'b ibn-Zuhayr, author of the famous panegyric on Muḥammad, *Bānat Su'ād* (*Su'ād has departed*), for which the Prophet gave him his own mantle. A much more grave practice of the rhapsodists was the insertion of their own verses into such earlier work. Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah (ca. 713–72) made such additions. His personal incompetence in grammar and syntax was brushed aside on the ground that his primary concern was for the masses, in whose interest the use of popular speech was justifiable. Ḥammād altered and interpolated the *dīwān* of al-Ḥuṭay'ah, one of the class of pagan poets called *al-Mukhaḍramūn* (of mixed breed: uncircumcized), who were born in heathenism but died after the preaching of Islam. He is accused of forgery by al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbi (d. ca. 786), who himself deserves the same reproach. Entire odes were fabricated by Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. ca. 800), a disciple of Ḥammād, who proceeded to incorporate them in ancient collections.

Sometimes a rhapsodist was also a poet of stature. Many a great poet began his career as an obscure rhapsodist in the service of a celebrated master. That was the relation between al-Farazdaq and al-Ḥuṭay'ah, between the latter and Zuhayr, and between Zuhayr and the two poets, Aws ibn-Ḥujr and Ṭufayl al-Ghanawi. The social status of a rhapsodist seems generally to have been rather humble. Thus the rhapsodist of the poet al-Miskīn is referred to as a slave (*ghulām*). Tradition has it that whenever Jarīr (d. ca. 729) wished to sit down and compose poetry he called upon his rhapsodist to bring in the inkwell and to add oil to the lamps. Abu-al-'Alā' al-Sindi, afflicted with a speech defect, used to delegate his freedman (*mawla*) to recite his verses by proxy. The rhapsodist of al-Akhṭal appears as an Arab of inferior rank.

But religious studies were now in the ascendancy. The absence of an adequate prose style prohibited an early expansion of such literature. The poets had been scorned by Muḥammad and thereafter frowned upon by the early Moslem community. But a reversion to the older tradition of literary Arabic was not long in coming. The revival took place in

Iraq, where the time-honored poetical spirit was not completely squandered, in a region relatively immune to the inroads of the new faith. When the theologians sought to check this restoration of pre-Islamic poetry, the bards flocked into Damascus and the other Umayyad courts, where they were accorded cordial reception; especially, al-Farazdaq, Jarīr, and the Christian al-Akhṭal* (d. ca. 710). They brought back, on an even grander scale, memories of al-Ḥīrah and Ghassānid courts, and emulated the pagan poets in style and technique.

The impact of urbanization brought radical changes in the structure (not the nature) of the ode. The old models continued to exist, even exist today, but in a considerably altered fashion. In the refined circles of Medina, under possibly Persian, perhaps Greek, influence, singers gathered in the service of the leisured aristocracy. The familiar *nasīb,* which had formerly been part of the ode proper, grew into a new love lyric, especially in the hands of 'Umar ibn-abi-Rabī'ah* (d. ca. 719). His poetry breathes a mellowness thitherto unknown, and thereafter unforgotten for its simplicity and gentleness on the ear. He sang his joyous refrains in all their captivating candor. Not long before him was the semi-mythical Majnūn (the distracted one), an early messenger of the romantic school, whose love for Layla still lives on. He has been identified as Qays al-Mulawwaḥ (d. ca. 699). The Umayyad caliph, al-Walīd II, filled many an idle hour with these revel-songs, as a natural adjunct to his drinking sprees. His opprobrious reign was interrupted in 743 by a revolt which in due season precipitated the downfall of the Umayyads and ushered in a new literary age.

The Ingathering Stage (A.D. 750–833). Literature under the early 'Abbāsids, heirs and promoters of Islam's physical and intellectual conquests, experienced an initial period of ingathering. The 'Abbāsids founded their capital, Baghdad (762), a world market towards which the wares of art, science, and literature converged, a splendid metropolis which set the cultural standards of the day. But into the composition of the rising Arabic literature there entered Hellenistic and Christian ideas, Judaic and Persian thought, Aramaic, Indian, and pagan elements. Greece came to the Arabs largely through the Syrians, Eastern Christians, and Ṣābians. The Church of the Nestorians and that of the Monophysites, in their various monasteries, had carried on since the 5th c. the study of the earlier part of Aristotle's *Organon,* as well as his *Categories, Hermeneutica,* and Porphyry's *Isagoge.* The second 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr (d. 775), was the greatest patron of Nestorian physicians. He encouraged them to teach. He took special interest in the purveying of scientific thought through the translation of Greek, Syriac, and Persian works. In this enterprise he was surpassed by the caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 833), under whom the apogee of Greek influence was reached. But in the aesthetic realm the otherwise receptive Arab mind shied away from the Greek legacy. The torch-bearers of Arabic letters turned rather to Persia. At a somewhat later date, India poured in her philosophy and science. Often syncretized with Mazdean and Manichaean elements, this contribution is obscured in the Ingathering Stage. Insofar as modern scholarship is able to ascertain, the first Moslem to acquire an accurate knowledge of Indian philosophy was the Persian Shī'ite abu-al-Rayḥān al-Bīrūni (d. 1048) whose long sojourn in the dark sub-continent enabled him to study its thought at close range. As a profound master of the physical and mathematical sciences, he is without equal in Arabic literature. To his canny observation he brought a high degree of restraint and devotion to scientific standards, as demonstrated in his two leading works, the *Monuments* and *India.* Contact with Buddhism in Bactria and

Sogdiana produced even greater influences on Islam and Arabic. In 772, an unknown Hindu astronomer came to Baghdad, bearing a treatise on mathematics and one on astronomy. The latter consisted of the earliest Hindu scientific works dealing with astronomy—the so-called *Siddhantas,* better known to the Arabs as *al-Sind-Hind* in the translation of Ibrāhīm al-Fazāri (d. ca. 777), the first Moslem to construct an astrolabe on the Greek model. This translation revolutionized the study of Arab astronomy. If it had no other significance than the introduction of Hindu numerals into Arabic, and thence through the works of al-Khwārizmi (d. ca. 850) as the Arabic numerals into the West, enough would have been accomplished to justify its inclusion among the epoch-making books of all countries and of all time.

The first bona fide institute of advanced learning in the Arab world was the *Baghdad House of Wisdom (bayt al-ḥikmah)* initiated by al-Ma'mūn in A.D. 830. The multifarious ingredients, assembled at the capital city, were quietly analyzed and clothed with caliphal sanction. In medicine, the vital assets and resources of the onetime Persian Sassanid studium at Jundishapur were held as models. In addition to its strategic function as a translation bureau, the Baghdad institute also became the envy of scholarship by reason of its academy, public library, and observatory. Here the caliph's astronomers not only made systematic observations, but also verified with remarkably precise results all the fundamental elements of *Almagest:* the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of the equinoxes, the length of the solar year. To this observatory al-Ma'mūn soon added another on Mt. Qāsiyūn outside of Damascus. The equipment in those days consisted of quadrant, astrolabe, dial, and globes. That affiliation in Baghdad of literary academy, translation bureau, and observatory is the most notable development in the domain of thought since the founding of the Alexandrian Museum in the early 3d c. B.C.

At the hospitable 'Abbāsid court, foreign personalities stole the show from the native-born Arabs who continued, nevertheless, to pursue their literary course. During this formative epoch, the philologists and grammarians had the right of way. The complex metrical system of Arabic prosody was once for all fixed by al-Khalīl ibn-Aḥmad (d. 791); his disciple, the Persian Sībawayh (d. ca. 793) settled the principles of Arabic grammar. Theirs was the school of al-Baṣrah; at al-Kūfah a less traditional rival school arose simultaneously, dedicated to a more liberal philology. In the halls of the former school, Rūzbih, a convert from Zoroastrianism, known as ibn-al-Muqaffa' (put to death as a Shī'ite heretic ca. 757) made a version of the Persian book of fables, originally the famous Indian fables of Bidpai, under the title of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah (Fables of Bidpai).* A hero-saga, the work broke with the established traditions of prose by its loose texture and detailed intricacies. But the real humanists of the period were the grammarians, many of whom did not lack realism. The dreaded sarcastic humor of abu-'Ubaydah (d. ca. 824)—a Jewish Persian—was supported by an encyclopedic knowledge. In his writings he championed the Shu'ūbīyah cause of the foreign-born, mostly Persians, against the Arab national party. His rival, al-Aṣma'i (d. ca. 830), a onetime courtier of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809), as editor, commentator, and critic of Arabic poetry, left the basis of nearly all that has since been written in the literary field.

It was clear, however, that some time had yet to elapse before the centrality of Koranic studies would be shaken. Under the spur of the eclectic school of Jundishapur and the Aristotelian logic on the one hand, and following the example of still raging philosophical-theological controversies in Christendom on the other, Neoplatonic influence in early

Islam appears in connection with the central problem of free-will (*qadar*). A movement of broad proportions soon arose, whose adherents came to be known as the Mu'tazilah (seceders, i.e., neutrals) because they withdrew from the controversial arena, following an independent course of belief in free-will rationalism. In retaliation, the orthodox group could do no less than anathematize all philosophy and philosophers. But the most signal development of the period was the emergence of a new poetry, distinguished by the employment of new similes. Its founder was the blind Bashshār ibn-Burd (d. 784) whose Persian birth is perhaps responsible for the heretical views that led to his execution at the command of the caliph al-Mahdi (775–85) as well as for that lively elegance of diction, depth of tenderness and feeling by which his name is kept alive.

To this age, seething with explosive ideas, belong two of the leading literary figures of the Arabic language, abu-Nuwās (d. 810) and abu-al-'Atāhiyah (748–ca. 828). Abu-Nuwās* is remembered as the court jester of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and as the hero of countless ludicrous adventures and facetious pranks in the *Arabian Nights*. In the opinion of competent critics, he ranks, nonetheless, above all other Arabic poets. A Persian by birth, he received his education at al-Baṣrah. Following a sojourn among the desert Arabs he settled in Baghdad where he soon eclipsed every court rival. His poetry included panegyric (*madīh*), satire (*hijā'*), songs of the chase (*ṭardīyāt*), elegies (*marāthi*) and religious poetry (*zuhdīyāt*). His wine-songs (*khamrīyāt*) won him universal fame. He urged his hearers not to shrink from excesses, since Divine mercy is greater than the sin of man. The scenes of luxurious dissipation and refined debauchery in which he excelled prove that Persian culture was not always a blessing to the Arabs.

Abu-al-'Atāhiyah* shows the indignation of the humble folk at laxity in high places. Of Arab stock, he was bred at al-Kūfah and earned his living by selling earthenware. Legend has it that despair in love drove him to asceticism. He was falsely charged with the adoption of a moralistic philosophy as a cloak for his rationalist views. For the first time in Arabic literature he demonstrated that a truly great poet could use the ordinary language of the people without foregoing his distinction. He gave religion its legitimate place in the poetical firmament.

Since the stream of religious poetry never dried up again, abu-al-'Atāhiyah may be considered a herald. That the expression of religious ideas through poetical compositions was widespread before his time may be inferred from the ante-Islamic gibes of the Abyssinian buffoon, abu-Dulāmah (d. ca. 780) and the open heresy of men such as the Persian Bashshār ibn-Burd (d. 784). Abu-al-'Atāhiyah's verse is imbued with a profound theological interpretation of history. The will of God is incessantly discovered in everyday affairs, the door to prayer is thrown open, and religion is not only related to all earthly matters but is expressly recognized as the decisive factor in contemporary events.

Most prose works at this stage of the literary transformation derived their origin from the religio-philosophical incentive. The four orthodox juridical schools of Islamic law formulated, under the label of *fiqh* (wisdom), the *juris prudentia* of the Romans, a system of religio-juridical thought. The earliest and largest school (*madhhab*) is the Ḥanafite, after abu-Ḥanīfah (d. 767), who flourished in al-Kūfah and Baghdad. His system is the most tolerant. A conservative school, the Mālikite, was founded by Mālik ibn-Anas (ca. 715–95) of Medina who expressed in a compilation of his own legal decisions, *al-Muwaṭṭa* (*The Leveled Path*), the dissatisfaction of the more orthodox Arab theologians with the foreign speculative schools of Iraq. A moderate school

was the Shāfi'ite, whose founder was Muḥammad ibn-Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (d. 820 in Cairo). The fourth legal system is the Ḥanbalite, after Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal (d. 855, in Baghdad); its extreme convervatism made it the bulwark of orthodoxy in Baghdad against rationalistic innovations. To this period also belongs the establishment of the independent study of history. Ibn-Isḥāq (d. 766) compiled a biography of Muḥammad, preserved in the revised edition of ibn-Hishām (d. 834). The historian al-Wāqidi (d. 823) composed *al-Maghāzi*, an account of the Prophet's military expeditions.

Under the Shadow of Empire (A.D. 833–1517). Politically the Golden Age of the Arabs was already in the background. After al-Ma'mūn (813–33) the mighty empire began to decay. The centrifugal forces are exemplified in the establishment of independent dynasties, as provinces cut themselves loose from the caliphate. The hitherto unchallenged splendor of Baghdad began to wane, as the political hegemony of the Arabs, once the hallmark of an imperial race, began to disintegrate. In distant parts of the Islamic world, in provincial courts and under semi-independent princes, the cause of letters prospered.

In Spain, under the brilliant Umayyads of Cordova (756–1031), a splendid chapter was being composed. Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi* (860–940) of Cordova, laureate of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III, was the most distinguished author. Al-Qāli (901–67), of Eastern birth, came to prominence at the University of Cordova in the reign of al-Ḥakam II (961–76). He wrote *al-Amāli* (*Dictations*), an admirable miscellany on ancient Arabic literature. Ibn-Ḥazm (994–1064), the most original thinker of Moslem Spain, wrote *al-Faṣl fi al-Milal* (*Division of Sects*), a pioneer work in comparative religion. The rise of minor Moslem dynasties in Spain enabled Seville, Toledo, and Granada to eclipse Cordova. The Mozárabs communicated elements of Arab culture to the other kingdoms of the north and south. The *Fables of Bidpai* were translated into Spanish for Alphonso the Wise (1252–82) of Castile and Leon, and ultimately used as a source by La Fontaine. The rich fantasy of Spanish literature indicates Arabic models, as does the wit of Cervantes. Ibn-Hāni (937–73), the licentious poet of Seville, betrays Greek influence; but the picaresque novel bears the impress of the *Maqāmah* (assembly), culminating stage of Semitic literature —whose creation in Arabic is credited to the Persian al-Hamadhāni (969–1008), whose rhymed prose is a blend of philosophical and moral curiosity, usually based on the adventures of a cavalier-hero.

In the literary realm Moslem Spain produced ibn-Zaydūn (1003–71), an accomplished poet and letter writer. The beautiful al-Wallādah (d. 1087) was the Sappho of Spain; and ibn-Quzmān, the wandering minstrel of Cordova. Lyric poetry of the *zajal* (vulgar singing) and *muwashshaḥ* (a double-rhymed poem, likened to a woman's gem-studded belt) forms attracted Christian interest, and developed into the Castilian popular verse form of *villancico*, which was extensively used for hymns and carols. From Arabic poetry, also, grew the definite literary scheme of platonic love in Spanish, as early as the 8th c. In southern France, the first Provençal poets appear toward the end of the 11th c. The troubadours may have been imitators of the *zajal*-singers. The *Chanson de Roland* springs from a military contact with Arab Spain.

Following the translation period (ca. 750–ca. 900) came the flowering of scientific activity (ca. 900–1100). The astrologer abu-Ma'shar (d. 886) taught Europe the laws of the tides. Four of his works were translated into Latin and his name, appearing as Albumasar, was accepted in the iconography as that of a prophet. The treasure-houses of Arab science began to disclose their contents. In Istanbul alone there are more than 80

mosque libraries, containing tens of thousands of manuscripts. Other collections exist in Cairo, Damascus, Mosul, and Baghdad, as well as in Iran, India, and North Africa. (On this side of the Atlantic the most impressive collection of Arabic and Islamic manuscripts is at Princeton University.) The first full-dress academy in the Arab world was the Niẓāmīyah school, founded in Baghdad in 1065–7 by the enlightened Niẓām-al-Mulk, the Persian vizier of the Saljūq Sultans Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, and patron of 'Umar al-Khayyām. In Cairo the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim established in 1005 a Hall of Science where astronomy and medicine were taught. 'Ali ibn-Yūnus (d. 1009) is the greatest astronomer of Egypt. Roger Bacon's *Optics* was based on the *Thesaurus Opticae* of ibn-al-Haytham (Alhazen), the Arab physicist and opticist that graced al-Ḥākim's court. The astronomical ingenuity of the Arabs is engraved on the sky. It blossomed temporarily at Cordova and Toledo. From the latter city, the astronomical Toledo Tables, drawn by al-Zarqāli (Arzachel, whom Chaucer calls Arsechieles) in 1080, took their name.

In the wake of the translation age also appeared the brilliant galaxy of Islamic philosophers. The most fertile and cultured minds engaged in the creation of a colossal syncretism, in which Plato and especially Aristotle prevail. The most eminent Arab thinkers representing the Aristotelian philosophy were al-Kindi (ca. 850), al-Fārābi (d. 950), ibn-Sina (Avicenna,* 980–1037), ibn-Bājjah (Avenpace, d. 1138), ibn-Ṭufayl (d. 1185), and ibn-Rushd (Averroës, 1126–1198). Beneath the surface of the works of these men was a reaction against Islam. Their thought-forms were never assimilated by Islam, nor did they succeed in winning the understanding of the common man. Like the billowy current-belts that traverse the ocean, always preserving their own coloration and direction without ever vanishing in the expansive waters that encompass them, these philosophers passed through Islam without wholly becoming part of it.

Crowning the 10th c. achievements is the work of *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (brethren of sincerity), a school (ca. 970) of Baṣrah and Baghdad encyclopaedists. Their composite 52 *Epistles* (*rasā'il*) cover almost the full gamut of contemporary knowledge and thought. Thereafter, encyclopaedic, biographical, and lexicographical productions continue to appear for some five centuries. Two Egyptians, al-Nuwayri (d. 1332) and al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418), wrote their respective encyclopaedias. The careers of illustrious physicians, whose medical knowledge and practice were incidental to their general scientific and philosophical interests, found a biographer in the Damascene ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah (1203–70), matched only by the Egyptian resident of Allepo, al-Qifṭi (d. 1248). Gigantic biographical dictionaries also came from the pens of al-Ṣafadi (d. 1363), in 26 volumes, and al-'Asqalāni (d. 1449). Abu-Naṣr al-Jawhari (d. ca. 1008), of Turkish origin, was author of a great lexicon, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (*The Genuine Ones*) which served as a model for later lexicographers. The *Lisān al-'Arab* (*Tongue of the Arabs*) of ibn-Mukarram (d. 1311) and the *Qāmūs* (*Ocean,* i.e., Dictionary) of al-Fīrūzābādi (d. 1414) are standard Arabic dictionaries.

Political theory developed its own literature. The chief judge of Baghdad under Hārūn al-Rashīd was the Ḥanafite jurisconsult abu-Yūsuf (731–98), the first to receive the title of *qādi al-qudāh* (Chief Judge). He wrote *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (*Book on Poll-Tax*). Ibn-al-Ṭiqṭaqah (b. ca. 1262), an unbiased Shī'ite, wrote *Kitāb al-Fakhri* (*Book of al-Fakhri*), the first part of which is a political treatise, the second, a résumé of the history of Moslem dynasties. In Spain, ibn-abi-Randaqah al-Ṭurṭūshi (ca. 1059–1126) of Tortosa was an Arab authority on law and tradition. His

Sirāj al-Mulūk (*Lamp of Kings*) is a treatise on politics and government, teeming with references to earlier Indo-Persian sources. The aforenamed Niẓām-al-Mulk (ca. 1020–1092) was a Persian statesman and student of politics. He wrote in Persian for Malikshāh the *Siyāsat-Nāmah* (*Treatise On Government*), probably the most important contribution of that age on the subject. The real theorist of power in Islam, however, is al-Māwardi (d. 1058) who taught in Baghdad and al-Baṣrah. His main work, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah* (*State Regulations*) is the most authoritative exposition of political theory in Sunnite Islam. Almost four centuries later, the philosopher-historian ibn-Khaldūn* (d. 1406)—the most imposing figure perhaps in the annals of Arabic literature—ascribed to political theory an importance evidenced by the extraordinary attention devoted to it in his *Prolegomena.*

The science of tradition, Koranic studies, and exegesis were meantime proceeding apace, preparing the way for theology and the developing field of religious thought. Al-Bukhāri (d. 870) and Muslim (d. 875) were the leading traditionists; their respective collections were entitled *Ṣaḥiḥ* (*Genuine*), purporting to preserve an authentic record of sayings and acts ascribed to Muḥammad and his companions. Abu-al-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari (d. 935), a former rationalist who had turned conservative, championed the orthodox cause. His many books are of a dogmatic and polemic nature. He originated and popularized a dialectic which was hurled against the heretics of the day. A contemporary of his, and like him a founder of a school of theology, was al-Māturīdi (d. 944). These two religious stalwarts formulated much of orthodox Sunnite theology. Two centuries later, the beliefs held by the new orthodoxy were given definitive form by 'Umar al-Nasafi (d. 1142), a jurist and theologian. To the same period belonged al-Zamakhshari (d. 1143) whose commentary on the *Koran* ranks with that of the later al-Baydāwi (d. 1286). A remarkable document in Arabic religio-philosophical thought is *al-Milal w-al-Niḥal* (*Religions and Sects*) by al-Shahrastāni (1076–1153), who reviewed the religious systems and philosophies of the world in the light of Islamic orthodoxy.

The lifeblood of religious thought increasingly came to be Sufism, a mystical movement which in the 12th c. created the beginnings of a vast reorganization in Islamic life, corresponding to the monastic orders of medieval Christendom. The works of al-Muḥāsibi (d. 857), the first Sunnite mystic who was steeped in theology, combined a concern for philosophical definitions with a rigorous quest for moral purity. His *Ri'āyah li-Ḥuqūq illāh* (*Observance of God's Rights*) is a manual on the inner life. The last of the early Sufis was abu-Ṭālib al-Makki (d. 996), whose *Qūt al-Qulūb* (*Food of Hearts*) is a mystical textbook in use to the present day. Preceding him are scores of zealots, such as Junayd of Baghdad (d. 909–10) and the matryr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922). 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jīlāni (1077–1166), a Persian who flourished in Baghdad, established the first Sufi fraternity—the climax of five centuries of Sufism practiced privately or in small, now forgotten circles. The greatest monist and pantheistic mystic of Islam was ibn-'Arabi* (1165–1240) of Spain. He wrote, traveled, and taught, and finally emerged as the supreme speculative genius of his faith, who gave Sufism the framework of its speculative philosophy. Embedded in an enormous mass of writings, not yet critically edited, his influence is detectable in many studies that form part of the rich legacy of Islamic mysticism. Perhaps *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* (*Meccan Revelations*) is his masterpiece, for it dominates the extensive domain of his productions.

Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Rūmi (d. 1273), the Persian mystic and poet, founded the Mawlawite fraternity of Whirling Dervishes. Mysticism was generally more congenial to the Persians than

to the Arabs, and its influence on Arabic literature is not to be compared with the extraordinary spell which it has cast over the Persian mind since the 11th c. The Arabs have only one Sufi poet, ibn-al-Farid* (1181–1235), that ranks with the Persian masters. Ibn-Masarrah (887–931) of Cordova had founded the Ishrāqi (illuministic) school. From Spain the ideas of this school were transmitted to the so-called Augustinian scholastics, such as Alexander Hales, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and Raymond Lull. The essential element of illuministic teaching—the metaphysical doctrine of light—reappears in *The Divine Comedy* which reproduces, a century after ibn-'Arabi, most of the pictures he had used of the realm beyond the grave. A staunch exponent of Sufi illumination is abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi (d. 1191). His literary activity revived the interest of the hither East in the illuminative life. The Shādhili fraternity is the strongest Sufi force in North Africa, where Morocco and Tunis, the main fields of its expansion, harbor the various sub-orders. Its founder is the Tunisian abu-al-Ḥasan-al Shādhili (d. 1258). A more recent doctor of this fraternity is the Egyptian abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhili (1407–1477–8). His *Qawānīn*, composed towards the close of the Mamlūk regime, reproduces within brief compass much of the essence of Sufism.

The Mongol invasion of Western Asia brought desolation, culminating in the sack of Baghdad (1258). In spite of the subsequent impoverishment of the Arabs, the chief centers of literary life in Syria and Egypt continued, until the coming of the Ottomans in 1517, to produce fitful signs of life. Detached from the heretical Fāṭimids of Egypt by the First Crusade, Syria was restored to communion with the orthodox East, though the unceasing struggle with the Franks left little leisure for literary pursuits. The most interesting work during the crusades is the autobiography of Usāmah (1095–1188)—a *tableau vivant* of those stormy days. Saladin's career was made the subject of several biographies such as those by his secretary 'Imād-al-Dīn of Iṣfahān (d. ca. 1201); his favorite Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād; and the later Damascene scholar abu-Shāmah (d. 1268). In Iraq and Persia, al-Ghazzāli (d. 1111) is the towering personality in the Islamic thought of the age. Al-Ḥarīri's (1054–1122) name is made famous by his *Maqāmāt* (*Assemblies*). From the mid 9th to the end of the 11th c., Sicily was part of the Arab world and produced a number of Arab poets, of whom the most celebrated is ibn-Ḥamdīs (ca. 1055–1132). He fled the island at the Norman conquest and took refuge in Seville, then fled again to Morocco with his patron al-Mu'tamid (1040–95). But Arab genius in the island did not bear fruit until the Norman period. For a century Sicily furnishes the unique spectacle of a Christian court at which Arabs occupied high positions and Arabic literature was better appreciated than under Moslem rulers. Among the many ornaments of the Norman Sicilian court were ibn-Ẓafar (d. 1169) and al-Idrīsi (d. 1166).

The Mamlūks (1250–1517), a military oligarchy of former white slaves, cleared their Syrian-Egyptian domain of the remaining crusaders and checked the Mongol advance led by Hūlāgu and Tīmūr (Tamerlane). Al-Būṣīri (1212–ca. 1296), of Berber extraction, is the only poet of the Mamlūk age that gained any enduring reputation. His fame rests upon his panegyric of the Prophet, called *al-Burdah* (*The Mantle*). A compiler of historical works was al-Maqrīzi* (1346–1442). Another, ibn-'Arabshāh (1392–1450), Damascus-born, was removed as a child to Samarqand by Tīmūr, of whom he wrote a brilliant biography. The dominating literary personality of the century preceding the Ottoman conquest is Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Suyūṭi* (1445–1505), interpreter and epitomizer of the Islamic classical tradition. The *Arabian Nights*, based on the Persian *Hezar Efsaneh*

(*Thousand Tales*) by al-Jahshiyāri (d. 942), received additions from numerous sources in different cultures but was not given its final shape until the 14th c. under the Mamlūks.

The relations established during the 7th and 8th c. between Arabia and Persia, and even more distant Eastern lands, gave rise to an active importation of subject matter for fables and fairy tales, ultimately compiled in the *Arabian Nights,* which the Arabs call *Alf Layla wa-Layla* (*Thousand and One Nights*). It is no exaggeration to recognize this work as the greatest saga book of the East. The received text is of composite authorship and has a polyglot background. The story of the growth of this book forms a fascinating chapter in the development of Eastern culture and its impact on the West. Transmitted to Arabic perhaps in the 9th c., the foreign material underwent a series of changes, involving the addition of two strata: that of Baghdad; and that of Egypt. The Baghdad stratum, ordinarily cast in solid, impressive style, features the court life of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809), together with the supporting personages: the vizier and executioner; it abounds in cullings from the anecdotes and foibles of the half-Persian poet of Baghdad, abu-Nuwās (d. 810) and the black bard and court jester abu-Dulāmah (d. ca. 780). The Egyptian stratum relies upon the magic art, making use of jinnis and *'ifrīts* (demons), producing a kind of picaresque novel with local Egyptian color. The *fāris* (knight) motif throughout the *Nights* is moulded by the Egyptian Mamlūk conception thereof, and the mores and folklore of the whole work reflect the atmosphere of the Nile Valley. There are, in addition to the foreign material and the two strata, a number of collections and cycles thrown in to make up the grand total of a thousand and one nights.

The frame-work of the *Nights* is the tale of King Shāhryār and his younger brother, Shāhzamān, who, betrayed by their wives, roam the world until, cured by their experience with a jinni, who was brutally double-crossed by his supposedly adoring spirit mistress, they decide never to trust a woman again. Returning to his throne, Shāhryār denudes his realm of maidens by taking a girl to bed nightly and ordering her executed on the morrow. It remains for Shāhrazād (Scheherazade), with the able cooperation of her sister Dīnazād, daughters of the grand vizier, voluntarily to seek the cruel king's couch. She narrates a story on the first night, reaching a point of critical suspense toward dawn. The listening king spares her to complete her narrative, but the second night the story grows more fascinating and brings forth another near climax. Shāhrazād is thus spared for a thousand and one nights, in the course of which she brings forth three sons, and at the close of which she comes out honored and surrounded with love.

This practice of interlacing one story with another is specifically Indian. It is observed in the *Mahabharata* and *Panchtantra,* where it also forms the basic feature of the frame-work. The tales appearing first, such as the Merchant and the Jinni; the Fisherman and the Jinni; the Porter and the Ladies in Baghdad; the Hunchback, etc., are excellent examples of the frame-work motif. Traceable to Indian-Persian origin are such tales as the Story of the Magic Horse; the Story of Ḥasan of Baṣrah; the Story of Sayf-al-Mulūk; the Story of Qamar-al-Zamān and Prince Budūr; the Story of Prince Badr and Princess Jawhar; and the Story of Ardashīr and Ḥayāt-al-Nufūs. Interspersed through the great majority of the tales are shorter or longer quotations of verse. The Baghdad stratum attracts attention to itself by its frequent use of poetry. The usual practice is to resort to poetry where a sentimental role must be played, be it joy or sorrow. No action, however, is dependent upon the poetical section, it being abundantly clear that the function of verse in the *Nights*

is purely as a decorative motif, if not altogether perfunctory. Identical verse quotations are repeatedly used in similar circumstances. There are also instances of the clumsy use of poetry, owing to error of insertion. Only rarely is the name of the poet cited. Those referred to by name are abu-Nuwās, ibn-al-Mu'tazz (d. 908) and Isḥāq al-Mawṣili (767–850). It is usual to preface a poetical quotation with the nondescript *wa-qāla al-shā'ir* (the poet said). In fact, the poetry reproduced is, in general, of a later variety and in no way represents the finest forms known in the classics.

It is clear, moreover, that the *Nights* do not form part of formal Arabic literature. The dignified man of letters could not afford to concern himself with fairy tales and the debauched attitudes of life. The historian al-Mas'ūdi (d. 956) in his monumental history *Murūj al-Dhahab* (*Meadows of Gold*) refers to an old Persian book "the story of the king and his vizier, and of the vizier's daughter and her maiden: Shīrazād and Dīnazād" (sic.). Al-Nadīm (d. 995) mentions the *Nights* at some length in his *al-Fihrist* (catalog), writing in 988, and states that it is "a vulgar and foolish book." The only other man of letters to notice the work is a so-called al-Qurti, whose statements are preserved in a recension incorporated in the works of al-Maqrīzi (1364–1142) and al-Maqqari (1591–1632). Al-Qurti is presumed to have composed a history of Egypt about the middle of the 12th c., in the course of which he compared the love adventures of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āmir (1101–30) with the tales of the *Nights*. Among the scholars of Islam, the unpopularity of the work remains to the present day. It is generally felt among them that the position of woman as portrayed in the *Nights* is unfair, as indeed it is. Extensive concubinage, laxity in sex morality, and a gaudy form of culture with woman as the personification of cunning and intrigue, are held to be the very negation of great literature. Yet the folk tales of the *Nights* may be heard in the streets and cafés of Beirut, Cairo, and Baghdad. They are privately read and are quietly whispered in the homes of the rich and poor, the pious and the worldly, all the way from Morocco to Central Asia.

[In the West, however, the work is not only more popular reading than the *Koran*, it surpasses any other Eastern masterpiece as a household classic. Thus the name of Hārūn-al-Rashīd, contemporary and distant ally of Charlemagne, became known in Europe and America, not quite as the "good Haroun Alrashid" of Tennyson but rather as a despotic ruler with an impulsive amiability and real taste for music and letters. During the period of the Crusades, European settlers in Syria must have heard stories from the *Nights* which they carried back. Chaucer's *Squieres Tale* is an Arabian Nights' story. The French translation of Antoine Galland (1646–1715) provided Europe with its text of the *Nights* for over a century. A discussion was thereafter to arise regarding the authenticity of the text. Hermann Zotenberg made, in 1835, an Egyptian recension from which most modern translations are made. Lane's translation, incomplete but enriched with a valuable commentary, began to appear in 1839; Payne's in 1882–84; Richard Burton's in 1885–88 reproduces Payne but retains the Oriental flavor. Enno Littmann's German translation (6 vols., 1921–28) is highly commendable. Through these and other translations the *Nights* has assumed a unique position among the immortal masterpieces of world literature. Its stories of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp; of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves (from which the catchword "Open Sesame" has come into the English language); the exploits of Sindbad the Sailor and many more enchanting tales, are part of every literate child's heritage.]

Early in the 13th c. the Muwaḥḥid dynasty (1130–1269), or Almohades, which like its

predecessor the Murābiṭ (1056–1147), or Almoravides, had been founded by a Berber, was overthrown in Spain by the Christians, who recovered the Iberian Peninsula save for a narrow strip of land running from Gibraltar to Granada. Few monuments of the Arabic literature produced here escaped the destruction ordered at the time of Ferdinand and Isabella's reconquest. Ibn-al-Khaṭīb* (1313–74) stands out as a writer above all his contemporaries for sheer mastery of the craft of letters. He is probably the last notable poet and writer of *muwashshaḥs* who died in Spain. Thereafter Hispano-Arab culture migrates to north-west Africa, with centers in Fez and Tlemcen. First Tunis, in the 13th c., then Fez, in the 14th, rose to prominence as citadels of culture. Tangier is the birthplace of Islam's foremost traveler, ibn-Baṭṭūṭah* (1304–77). The Moroccan historian 'Abd-al-Wāḥid, who sojourned in Spain, wrote in 1224 the most valuable work on the Almohades. The Tunisian ibn-Khaldūn (1332–1406) carved his unforgettable name as the inventor of the new science of history.

To this long-drawn-out period of literary effervescence, under changing conditions, belongs the enrichment of the Arabic language by a group of first-class historians and geographers. The two leading historians of the Arab conquests were the Egyptian ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam (d. 870–71), whose *Futūḥ Miṣr* (*Conquest of Egypt*) is the earliest extant document on the conquest of Egypt, North Africa, and Spain; and the Arabic-writing Persian al-Balādhuri (d. 892), whose main work, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, gave the origin of the Islamic state. Arabic historical composition reached its highest point in al-Ṭabari (838–923), and al-Mas'ūdi (d. 956), and after Miskawayh (d. 1030) started on a rapid decline. A chief judge of Syria, ibn-Khallikān (d. 1282), was the first Moslem to compose a dictionary of national biography. Before him, Yāqūt (1179–1229), greatest of Eastern Moslem geographers, composed a dictionary of literati, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, and ibn-'Asākir (d. 1177) sketched in 80 volumes the careers of notable Damascenes. Ibn-Qutaybah of Merv (d. 885) wrote, among other books, *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'* (*Poetry and Poets*), the first attack on pagan poetry, suggesting that merit rather than mere antiquity is the proper criterion of verse. His prose set the tone of the literary essay through many generations.

In the 10th c. literary criticism took the form of philological investigation of stylistic standards, with literary history in outstanding biographies such as al-Āmidi's (d. 987) comparative study of the poets abu-Tammām (d. ca. 846) and al-Buḥturi (d. 897). This impulse led to the application of Greek rhetorical reasoning to Arabic literature, through the work of Qudāmah ibn-Ja'far (d. 922). The unfortunate 'Abbāsid prince, ibn-al-Mu'tazz (d. 908), whose one-day caliphate ended in his assassination, composed *Kitāb al-Badī'* (*Book on Rhetoric*), the first important work on poetics, a pioneer experiment in building up rhetoric on purely Arabic lines of thought and observation. Abu-Hilāl al-'Askari (d. 1005) in *Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn* (*Book on the Two Skills*—poetry and prose) moulded the various discoveries made in the field of rhetoric and literary theory into a system that in both organization and documentation shows the progress achieved within two or three generations. As regards the miraculous rhetoric of the *Koran* (*I'jāz al-Qur'ān*), he presented an exposition that induced the Ash'arite theologian al-Bāqillāni (d. 1012) to deal in his book with the problems of rhetoric and criticism. He pointed out the occurrence in the *Koran* of the rhetorical figures used by the poets; he gave an aesthetic critique of part of the *mu'allaqah* of Imru' al-Qays; and also of a representative ode by a contemporary poet, al-Buḥturi. Aesthetic criticism is for the first time made the major concern of an important volume. To the literary élite of the

10th and 11th c. belong the two leading figures in medieval Arabic prosody, al-Mutanabbi* (d. 965) and al-Ma'arri* (d. 1057). The first is commonly regarded as the foremost master of Arabic verse. Though less versatile as a prosodist, the second achieved greatness largely through his scintillating wisdom and skeptical approach to ultimate realities.

Literary specialists began to look askance at the unwarranted generalizations of their predecessors, including al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869). Abu-Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibi (d. 1038) wrote an anthology of contemporary poets, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (*Solitaire of the Age*), a clear manifestation of scholarship and literary taste. A more rational treatment and critical analytics were evolved, paving the way for the literary giants of a latter day. Of these ibn-Rashīq (d. ca. 1070) wrote *al-'Umdah,* on the art of poetry, in which he expressed the view that moderns would receive greater recognition if they discarded the obsolete conventions. He bade the poets draw inspiration from nature and truth, instead of mimicking the old forms and techniques. 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jurjāni (d. 1078) and Ḍiyā'-al-Dīn ibn-al-Athīr (d. 1239), on the basis of a thorough rational training in the auxiliary sciences, were able to turn to the study of the more general aspects of literary expression.

The Low Ebb (1517–1800 A.D.). The establishment of the Ottoman Turks on the Bosphorus in 1453 and their destruction of Mamlūk authority in 1517 brought Arab civilization to its lowest ebb. The Ottomans, who had supplanted their Saljūq kinsmen in Asia Minor, had set up early in the 14th c. a kingdom which in time had absorbed the empire of the Byzantines as well as the dominions that had risen on the ruins of 'Abbāsid power. The hour had meanwhile struck for the westward disposition of world culture. The discovery of the new world (1492) took place in the same year that Spain under its Castilian sovereigns destroyed the last semblance of power of the Moslems. These events, together with the opening of the Cape of Good Hope route (1497), under Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) of Portugal and his successors, transferred world trade to new avenues, and made the Mediterranean a backwater until Napoleon rediscovered its significance. A general lethargy seemed to settle on the Arabic-speaking lands. In contrast with the awakening mind of Europe, a dark shadow lay over the Arab world from the 16th to the end of the 18th c. But authorship had not altogether vanished. The glorious Islamic record in Spain, always a stirring theme in the Arab memory, was compressed by the Algerian Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad al-Maqqari* (d. 1632) in a historico-literary work which has survived as the chief source in the field.

Political upheavals in the 13th and 14th c. had brought about the expansion of Islam in India and Malaya, the East Indies, China, Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Africa. The progress of Islam was normally accompanied by the spread of Arabic literature. In Moslem India, where Persian was the official court language, literary works in Arabic appeared sporadically, including two historical accounts: *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn* (*Contribution of the Persevering*) depicting the entry of Islam into Malabar and the conflict with the Portuguese; and a history of Gujarat. Minor theological treatises in Arabic were composed in distant Malaya. Perhaps the work that best represents the thought of the age was that of the Egyptian 'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rāni (d. 1565), the last great mystic of Islam. His autobiography, *Laṭā'if al-Minan* (*The Kindliest of Blessings*) is a record of his spiritual gifts and virtues. His *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār* (*Fecundating Lights*), better known as *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* (*Comprehensive Record of Classes*), is the leading biographical dictionary of the Sufis. He regarded theology as the first step toward mysticism, and sought to

harmonize the four great schools of jurisprudence. He contrasts the miserable lot of the Egyptian peasantry under the Ottomans with their comparative prosperity under the Mamlūks.

In Anatolia and Eastern Europe, the Turks at first showed more dependence on Persian than on Arabic models. During the 15th c. the only Arabic works written by Turks were on theological and scientific subjects. The incorporation of the Arabic-speaking world into the Ottoman Empire led to a slightly more extended use of Arabic for general literary purposes. The most imposing Arabic literary monument by a Turk is an elaborate bibliography of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works by Ḥājji Khalfah (d. 1658), a secretary of the Ottoman War Department in Constantinople.

Into Central Africa Islam penetrated from east and west. For many centuries Arab trading stations had been established along the east coast as far as Sofala. In the course of time, large Moslem colonies grew up in Zanzibar and on the continent. There is an important narration of the struggle between Moslems and Christians in Abyssinia, written about 1540 by a Somali Arab, 'Arabfaqīh. From Morocco, Islam had penetrated into the Niger territories in the 11th c. There too an Arab historical literature came into being in the 16th c., the most interesting work being a political and enthnographical account of the Soghay kingdom entitled *Tārīkh al-Sūdān* (*History of the Sudan*), by al-Sa'di, a native of Timbuktu.

Toward the close of this period, a religio-political movement rose in Arabia. Fired by the example of ibn-Taymīyah (1263–1328) of Ḥarrān, Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb (b. ca. 1720) of Najd tried to purge the simple creed of Islam of corruption, and to restore the religion of Muḥammad in its original purity. Those were the birth pangs of the Wahhābi reformation, which ran the gauntlet of Ottoman Turkey and in due course prevailed over Central Arabia. The versatile King ibn-Su'ūd (b. 1880) of Arabia was the shrewdest leader of this movement. As custodian of the Ka'bah, overseer of the pilgrimage, spokesman for the Arabs and the Moslems, ruler of an oil-rich dominion, he brought the importance of Wahhābism to the attention of the world. Out of this Islamic fundamentalism came the mysterious Sanūsi brotherhood, founded by Muḥammad ibn-'Ali-al-Sanūsi (1791–1859) of Algiers who died at Jaghbūb in the Libyan desert. Al-Sanūsi's program sought to regulate Islam by establishing an independent theocratic state on the model of that of the Prophet and his successors in 7th c. Arabia; it met disaster in opposing Italy's expansion, until the victory of the Allies in World War II brought the Sanūsis assurance from Great Britain (1944).

Under the influence of a number of remarkable scholars, philological studies continued during this grim and desolate age. In South Arabia al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍa (1732–91), last of the moderate Shī'ite, Zaydite, school of al-Yaman, kept the fires burning, with his valuable commentary, *Tāj al-'Arūs* (*Crown of the Bride*), on one of the standard earlier lexicons. Of far greater significance was his edition of al-Ghazzāli's *Iḥyā'*, also with an exhaustive commentary. The effect of his work, in which he abandoned pedantic dependence on earlier writers and used the sources at first hand, was to arouse throughout the whole Moslem and Arab world a new zeal for learning and to enkindle a fresh consciousness, vitalized by the tenacious personal faith of al-Ghazzāli. Out of the dreary low ebb a tidal wave was forming.

Days of Restoration (1800–1914 A.D.). Throughout the 19th c. and until World War I, Ottoman Turkey retained her sway over most of the Arab world. Constantinople continued as capital of a colossal empire, religious seat of a caliphate that wielded world-

wide authority. In this epoch no Arabic speaking land, with the possible exception of Syria, approached Egypt in her stride toward a literary restoration. On the valley of the Nile burst the dawn of modern Arab independence. The day was hastened by the policy and ambition of Muḥammad 'Ali (1769–1849), and his heirs, particularly Ibrāhīm (1789–1848), who coveted nothing more for Egypt than withdrawal from the Ottoman fold; a shrewd literary observer in this period, himself a participant in political life, was the Egyptian al-Jabarti* (d. 1825). The foundation stone was thus laid for a movement looking to Arab unification. Thereafter, Egypt pursued the course of revival, though for some time still her literature continued to reflect the Ottoman spirit, as in the prose and verse of Abdullāh Fikri (1834–90), 'Ali al-Laythi (ca. 1830–96), and 'Abdullāh al-Nadīm (1844–96). Despite waning prestige, the Sultan of Turkey continued to rank as the titular head of the world's Moslem community. Poets eulogized him as bearer of Islam's regal diadem. Thus Egypt's pro-Ottoman literary leanings persisted even through the world-shaking events of 1914–18.

The two leading spirits of Islam in this age were Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Afghāni* (d. 1897) and his illustrious disciple Muḥammad 'Abdu* (d. 1905). The former labored for the consolidation of Moslem peoples under the Ottoman Caliphate; the latter achieved lasting recognition as the chief modern reformer of Islamic theology. The literary masters of the time also were in continuous touch with the Sublime Porte. That they were recipients of special honors and favors from the Sultan is shown in the careers of 'Ali abu-al-Naṣr (d. 1880), Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥi (d. 1906), and Muṣṭafa Kāmil (d. 1908). Quite the same is true of the next generation of poets: Aḥmad Shawqi (1868–1932), Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871–1932) and Ismā'īl Ṣabri (1861–1923). Muṣṭafa Kāmil made no secret of his belief that Egypt's vital interests bound her to the brotherhood of Islam. Another notable literary personage had set the stage for the rising tide of pro-Ottomanism: the Syrian Christian convert to Islam, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804–87). Even in lands as remote from the center of Islam as Morocco, writers such as Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Salāwi* (d. 1897) retained their pride in the Islamic and Arabic heritage. Yet the concern of literary men with the Ottoman future was primarily characteristic of native-born Egyptians. Foreign-born Egyptians, whether Syrian or Iraqi, stood on either side. The Syrian-born Salīm Taqla (1849–92), founder in 1875 of the important Egyptian daily, *al-Ahrām* (*The Pyramids*), favored Ottoman union, as does the celebrated Egyptianized Syrian poet, Khalīl Maṭrān* (b. 1872). The opposite wing also boasted the allegiance of Syrian journalists and litterateurs, including Salīm Sarkīs (1869–1926), founder of *al-Mushīr*, an organ of anti-Ottomanism.

Under Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmi II (1892–1914) Egypt's role as a haven for Arab nationalists and a refuge for Ottoman liberals became more pronounced. Among the moderates was Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874–1922), who in 1897 instituted at Alexandria a journal, *al-Jāmi'ah al-'Uthmānīyah* (*Ottoman Union*), advocating a political organization of Near Eastern peoples against Western assaults. Anṭūn, the Syrian Christian resident of Egypt, by his appraisal of the situation drew the praise of the orthodox Moslem thinker Rashīd Riḍa (1865–1935), editor of *al-Manār*, organ of conservative Moslem theology in Egypt. An illustrious member of the moderate school was Jurji Zaydān* (1861–1914). Zaydān, with Adīb Isḥāq (1856–85), and others, felt that without the Ottoman bond the Arabs ran great risks. Their cry for reform, therefore, was not an incitement to revolt against the Sultan. In the same moderate center belongs the brilliant poet Walī-al-Dīn Yakan (1873–1921), Constantinople-born yet

thoroughly Egyptianized. His poetry pulsates with an intensity of wrath against the corrupt Ottomans; also, with a tender affection for his original Turkish homeland.

What has been said of Syrian immigrants in Egypt is somewhat true in other lands of their diaspora. The oversea Syrian in modern times has generally been a Lebanese, oftentimes a Christian, who abandoned his birthplace either fleeing autocracy and persecution or in quest of economic betterment. Under these circumstances, he might be expected to disdain the advantages of Ottoman citizenship. Nevertheless, many a former subject of the Sultan retained, while he sojourned in the Americas, a profound interest in Near Eastern affairs. The birth pangs of a new literary life in the homeland did not leave him indifferent.

It is easy to see why in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, and elsewhere, the bulk of the emerging literature should be devoted to panegyric. The center of attraction was the Sultan-Caliph. Every literary technique was utilized, to glorify the Caliph and his henchmen. Many of the poets and writers, who vied with each other in this field, were men of personal talent and integrity. But dominating all the strains of praise is a sharp note giving the impression of abject humility in the presence of an unbending high-handed dictator. This is patent in the anthologies of the early poets of this period, such as Buṭrus Karāmah (1774–1857), the pioneer Syrian litterateur, 'Abd-al-Bāqi al-'Umari (1790–1862), the poet of Iraq, and Nāṣīf al-Yāziji* (1800–71), a Lebanese who revived the medieval style and literary spirit.

The year 1908, amid turmoil and bloodshed, brought forth the long-awaited reforms, embodied in the new Ottoman constitution (*dustūr*). This momentous event had been foreshadowed in the 19th c. by the efforts of enlightened statesmen and intellectuals, of whom the most distinguished was Midḥat Pasha (1822–84). During his governorship of Syria, a vigorous literary movement arose, committed to revitalizing the national consciousness and opposing the arbitrary rule of Constantinople. Fiery odes protesting against tyranny were posted on the doors of mosques and churches. While the nightmare of Sultan 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd's reign (1876–1909) lasted, the new literary awakening either lived in exile or plunged into darkness. When the new constitution brought proof of the reality of Ottoman citizenship, free for all, a national pride, transcending classes, races, and geography, gripped the Near East. The power of that solidarity had manifested itself in the literature produced during the Russo-Turkish war (1878), the Greek war (1897), the Italo-Turkish war (1911) and the Balkan war (1913). The attitude of the Arab world, at the time of the Boer war (1899–1902), crystallized in a *qaṣīdah* (ode) by Khalīl Maṭrān, in favor of the South Africans. Even more significant is the pro-Japanese literature evoked by the Russo-Japanese war (1904–05). Japan was then the close friend and ally of Great Britain, with whom Arabic literary opinion often found itself in open conflict. But Russia —traditional foe of Turkey—was now successfully fought by Japan, and Arab applause swelled the writings.

Thus in the early 19th c. had come a determined attempt to revive the literary and philological heritage of the 'Abbāsids and the Andalusians. But Western culture, especially with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1798–1801), brought also a desire for modernization. To this, the contribution of Christian missions, mainly in Syria and Lebanon, was prodigious, producing the cultural movement of which the monumental works of Buṭrus al-Bustāni* (d. 1883) are a living symbol. The religious emphasis was now and then offset by writers trained in naturalist philosophy and the physical sciences, such as the rationalist Shibli Shumayyil* (d. 1916). In Egypt the new era was promoted by Muḥammad 'Ali

(1805–48) and his grandson Ismā'īl (1863–82). Rifā'ah al-Ṭiḥṭāwi (1801–73), sent to Paris as a student by Muḥammad 'Ali, was the first Egyptian poet to employ French forms and techniques. In 1894, Khalīl Maṭrān* launched the modern school of creative poetry, rooted in the classical tradition yet receiving its inspiration from the nominalist, existential Western philosophy. In 1908 he consummated these ideals in the publication of his poetical collection: *al-Khalīl* (*The Friend*). In time this new school reached a fuller development in Syria, as well as among Syro-American bards. By 1914 American poetical ideals and literary motifs had entered into the makings of the new Arabic literature.

April 24, 1913, brought to focus these various currents. On that day, the National Egyptian University was host to Arabic literature, which it honored in the person of Khalīl Maṭrān. Participating were the leading literary lights of the age, including Aḥmad Shawqi, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl Ṣabri, Jurji Zaydān, Shakīb Arslān,* Amīn Riḥāni,* Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān,* Marie Ziyādah, Anṭūn al-Jumayyil, Muḥammad Luṭfi Jum'ah, 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-Aqqād, Muḥammad Kurd 'Ali. This was a landmark in the reawakening of Aabic literature.

New Visions (1914–––). On the ruins of that hollow Ottoman citizenship and Near Eastern solidarity, shattered by World War I, there arose an Arabic literature suffused with the provincial spirit. The regional literary development owes its inception to two major events of the late 19th c.: (1) In 1860 civil war in Lebanon between the Druzes and the Maronites disturbed the status quo in Moslem-Christian relations. It led to the secession of Lebanon from the Ottoman Empire under an internationally guaranteed autonomy. The new consciousness of national dignity encouraged Lebanese poets and writers to enshrine the poetical productions of the age in new patterns of style. (2) In 1882, the British occupied Egypt. Thereafter Egyptian literature took up the cudgels against foreign domination, giving birth to a national literary technique and temper that swept through the other Arabic countries. Creative literary production, since 1914, proceeds in several directions. While preserving the local, regional color, it permeates the life of the Arab states, and particularly through the novel and the theater inspires a new revision of cultural unity and a profound sense of social community. Of deep significance at this stage was the integrating influence of Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf* (d. 1927), whose pure Arabic prose cut across regional and religious frontiers and proved the efficacy of the language as a vehicle of scientific thought as well as elegant literary sentiment.

The modern Arabic novel owes its origin to the fictional writings of Syrians at home and abroad. The Egyptian 'Uthmān Jalāl (1829–98), following the lead of Syrian pioneers, who based their works on French originals, published in 1892 an adaptation of *Paul et Virginie*. Aḥmad Shawqi (1868–1932), "the poet of Egypt," wrote *'Adhrā' al-Hind* (*Maid of India*), a fantastic but attractive novel, in the historical tradition set by Jurji Zaydān (1861–1914). Writers had in the meantime given thought to the possibility of conditioning the medieval *maqāmah* (assembly) to serve the purposes of the modern novel. Thus, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥi (1846–1906) in *Ḥadīth* (*Story of*) *'Īsa ibn-Hishām*; Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871–1932) in *Layāli* (*Nights of*) *Saṭīḥ*; and Muḥammad Luṭfi Jum'ah in *Layāli al-Rūḥ al-Ḥā'ir* (*Nights of the Perplexed Spirit*; 1912). The first Egyptian novel to set the pace for other works is *Zaynab* (1914; filmed in 1929) by Ḥusayn Haykal (b. 1888). Betraying the influence of the French psychological novel, it is nevertheless constructed out of definitely Egyptian ingredients. Two other Egyptian authors, 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Māzini (b. 1890) and Muḥammad

'Abdullāh 'Inān (b. 1896) have investigated the development of the Arabic novel. They urge enlightened support by the upper classes, recognition of woman's role in society, and a painstaking cultivation of the finer aesthetic imperative among the masses. Muḥammad Taymūr (1892–1921) made an attempt, in his collection of stories, *al-Shaykh Jum'ah,* to legitimatize the use of colloquial dialogue. But the imperturbable tenacity of classical Arabic is still strong; thus al-Māzini's *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib* (*Ibrāhīm the Writer;* 1931) rejects the vulgar idiom, as lacking flexibility and prohibitive of literary polish.

Arabic literature does not record the existence of an active theater until the mid 19th c. While non-Arabs entering Islam brought with them, sometimes in order to prove their racial superiority, compositions such as *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* and much of the original *Arabian Nights,* there seem to have been no Arabicized Greeks who sought to leave such an impression. The staging of the Greek drama, moreover, involved the appearance of women comedians—intolerable to Moslems—and scenes in which actors addressed gods and goddesses, an unthinkable phenomenon in a civilization whose official religion waged ceaseless war against idolatry. The cultured Arab, furthermore, was conservative in taste, relishing no substitute for pre-Islamic poetry. The Koran does not proscribe pictorial art, nor drama; but later exegesis thus interpreted *sura* 22:31: "And whosoever magnifies the sacred things of God it is better for him with the Lord . . . and avoid the abomination of idols, and avoid speaking falsely." Hence Islam flatly rebuked the production of figurative art, making no exception of the drama. The staff of scientists and artists accompanying Napoleon Bonaparte into Egypt included a number of dramatists who set up a theater in Egypt for army entertainment. It vanished with the evacuation; nevertheless, Egypt had seen a theater for the first time, even though she had nothing to play. Fifty years elapsed before the first Arabic play appeared, not in Egypt but in Lebanon. Qāsim Amīn (1865–1908), whose *Taḥrīr al-Mar'ah* (*Emancipation of Woman*) and *al-Mar'ah al-Jadīdah* (*The New Woman*) had shaken Arab society to its foundation, together with his associates and successors prepared the public mind for the new theatrical development.

Within the Christian Lebanese community, in his own home, Mārūn Naqqāsh (1817–55), born in Sidon and domiciled in Beirut, sponsored the staging of *al-Bakhīl* (*The Miser*), a translation of Molière's *L'Avare.* Two years later, his *Hārūn al-Rashīd* was played. The influence of the Italian stage upon Naqqāsh's activity is apparent. The new movement gained momentum, encouraged by increasing interest among educational institutions and private clubs. The plays of Najīb Haddād (1867–97)—translations of Corneille, Hugo, and Shakespeare—as well as those of Najīb Ḥubayqah (d. 1906), gained wide popularity, paving the way for more ambitious efforts. Another step was the development of poetical dramas, in which Khalīl al-Yāziji (1856–89) and the noted lexicographer, 'Abdullāh al-Bustāni (1850–1930), exercised leadership. The real turning point in the history of Arabic theatricals came with Aḥmad Shawqi* (1868–1932). With all their shortcomings, his *Maṣra' Klīyūbāṭrah* (*Death of Cleopatra;* 1929), *Majnūn Layla* (1931), *'Ali Bey al-Kabīr* (1932), *'Antarah* (1932) and *Amīrat al-Andalus* (*Princess of Andalusia;* 1932) provided the stage with effective material. Perhaps surpassing Shawqi is the aforementioned Khalīl Maṭrān—"poet of the two lands": Egypt and Syria—who in 1934 was made president of the *National Egyptian Society for the Promotion of the Dramatic Profession.* His friendship with Egypt's greatest actor, George Abyaḍ, dating from 1911 when the latter had completed his studies at the Conservatoire of Paris and sought transla-

tions of Shakespeare for his performances, stimulated Maṭrān to render the great English dramatist into Arabic. His *Othello, Merchant of Venice,* and *Hamlet* were warmly received. Thus the drama was further encouraged.

Shawqi's drama is nationalist in character. It was committed to defend the native heritage, going back to Pharaonic times; it spared no opportunity to stress the excellences of Arab culture, holding out the vision of pan-Arabism. His craftsmanship is evidence of the change experienced by Arabic literature as a whole. As an implement of erotic and heroic expression, as a medium for the description of scenic beauty and the conveyance of lyrical art, Arabic poetry now found numerous masters. As a vehicle of wisdom and philosophical ideas, it does not fall short. Sulaymān al-Bustāni (1856–1925) proved, by his translation of Homer's *Iliad,* the adequacy of the language for poetical narrative. Yet one looks in vain for an Arabic equivalent to the Spenserian stanza or the Alexandrine meter. Instead there is the phenomenal growth of 16 different meters, *buḥūr* (singular *baḥr,* sea), each designed to carry an especial form of thought or emotion. Shawqi in his theatrical compositions sought to reduce the network of rules and meters drawn about Arabic versification. His task was the enfranchisement of prosody, not by rebelling against rules but by broadening their scope in every direction and asserting that primarily Arabic verse must be a living thing. With the exception of Khalīl al-Yāziji (1856–89) and 'Abdullāh al-Bustāni (1850–1930), such playwrights among his predecessors as are known had not been first-rate poets, and even these two found it difficult to break the shackles of meter and rhyme. Shawqi used meter and rhyme as means to an end. He further perfected the art of dialogue and introduced the use of the vocative and the rhetorical apostrophe. As a prose writer he broke virgin soil in *Amīrat al-Andalus.* Here he abandoned the archaic pattern of exaggeration, tossed away pretentious verbiage and empty embellishment, taking the direct course of a modern writer. Between his earlier essays, *al-Shawqīyāt,* born out of the old-fashioned spirit, and the prose compositions of his later maturity, he had traveled the whole road from literary medievalism to the vision of a fuller day.

Among the bards of Syria, Egypt, and Iraq there awakened a broad world outlook with cosmopolitan, even cosmic, implications. The ideals of emancipated men, the perplexities of a changing life, the torch-bearing task of an exploring mind, the longings of the soul in its mystical endeavors, the materialistic goals disguised in the garb of piety and meekness: these, though not yet fully mature, are discernible in contemporary Arabic verse. Contemporary Arabic literature is breaking with its ancient moorings, and forging ahead towards the modern world. An outstanding, though somewhat bewildered, critic of Arab environment was the Egyptian Muṣṭafa Luṭfi al-Manfalūṭi* (d. 1924). He sounded grim warnings against a blind march towards the new world. His literary and moral admonitions may be said to stand alone in Arabic literature.

Perhaps owing to its disproportionate stature in the political and economic arena, Iraq, though in no way occupying the center of the literary stage, is representative of the new vision. Jamīl Ṣidqi al-Zahāwi (b. 1863), in his peculiar rhythm, contagious humor, prophetic tone and cynical style, blends the atheism of 'Umar al-Khayyām with the skepticism of al-Ma'arri. His *Thawrah fi al-Jaḥīm* (*Revolt in Hell*), in 430 couplets, is illustrative of his luminous mind. He knows, but does not follow, Dante and al-Ma'arri. The narrative opens when the angels Munkir and Nakīr visit the poet as he rests buried in the grave. He parries their questions with the stock replies of a believing Moslem. Then he stalls:

"I believed, then denied
Till they thought me a fickle man.
In truth, I am without the means to say
what my belief can be."

The poet digresses to weigh woman's legitimate place in society. Suddenly he soars heavenward. Of the existence of God he offers the classic Islamic evidence, then lapses again into rank agnosticism. Presently he emerges fearless with the announcement that "God is verily the ether," perhaps an adaptation of the Buddhist nirvana: "From him has this world of being sprung. In all its forms, to him it shall return." The description of Heaven is Koranic. Paradise turns up a characteristically Lebanese summer resort, with its ravishing females and pleasure-seeking males, its sensate objects, delectable dishes, intoxicants, and the fragrant aroma of the mountain-top haunts. Al-Zahāwi's closing pictures of Hell introduce the character of Layla, bride of his verse, and her beloved Samīr. A galaxy of bards, including al-Farazdaq, al-Akhṭal and Jarīr, are also there. Scholars, scientists, philosophers, all that denied a hereafter, people the region. One of these brilliant inmates invents a fire extinguisher, making possible the revolt against the custodians of Hell. The insurrectionists are subdued only through the intervention of the Divine Throne.

Al-Ruṣāfi (b. at Kirkuk; 1875–1945), another Iraqi bard of note, is of Kurdish descent, though bred in the Bedouin tradition. His Arabic has a desert twang, luring and captivating: "I prize my frankness in word and deed, loathing to brook hypocrisy. Ne'er did I cheat another soul, or give my word deceitfully. Little think I that good accrues from holding truth in secrecy."

Traveling throughout the Near East al-Ruṣāfi saw many extremes of Turkish and Arabic life. He opposed the British mandate, devoting his literary talent to the service of the extreme nationalist cause. When Iraq achieved independence and joined the League of Nations (1932), he rose to membership in the Chamber of Deputies. Al-Ruṣāfi links poetical potency and manliness. Hence his invariable continence while writing an ode, on the assumption that his vitality goes into the creation of verse. In his opinion, the Prophet Muḥammad himself was a master of verse, who composed his finest poems—the early *suras*—at a time of moderate sex life, that is, while his marriage to one wife only (Khadījah) lasted. Thereafter, his much-married career opens and his *sura*-odes decline in quality. In his study of the *Koran,* al-Ruṣāfi employed a rationalism somewhat comparable to "higher criticism" of the *Bible,* though he knew no western language. An unpublished biography of the Prophet by him demonstrates a non-conformist spirit. Thus he substitutes for the Islamic confession: "There is no God save Allah" the formula, "There is no God save Being." There is, thus, a pantheistic principle underlying both his and al-Zahāwi's religious beliefs.

Muḥammad Riḍa al-Shabībi (b. 1890) of al-Najaf, the Shī'ite center of pilgrimage where 'Ali is interred, is another poet of Iraq, and since 1924 a minister of education in the Iraqi government. Through the changing circumstances of his career, his dour religious allegiance remained unshaken in the Shī'ite Arab tradition of his forebears. His literary works bear the marks of religious distinction. His poetry is pietistic and devotional; he views the future with optimism and composure. Nonetheless, he opens his mind to certain scientific shibboleths, as "the survival of the fittest," and, in the same breath, assails the contemporary manifestations of idolatry. In the final analysis, he takes refuge in the mighty fortress of fatalism, finding no obstacle therein to the progress of Arab youth. In an essay, *The Alleged Superiority of the West,* he writes, "We are living in the age

of doubt, as some in the West say. Our doubt extends to the very roots of the culture which most Westerners desire the East to adopt. Deep at these roots one finds a contempt for the East and Easterners, a denunciation of the values for which the East stands. Small wonder, therefore, that the youth of the East should lose confidence in their own competence and the heroism of their ancestors. Indeed that confidence has vanished completely from the souls of some Easterners, being replaced by a sincere faith in the superiority of Westerners. . . .

"One must concede that the members of the human race approximate one another in talent and ability. In this sense there is neither East nor West. There are only human beings who successively alternate in leadership and conquest, in accordance with the unalterable cosmic laws of society and civilization."

The decade closing in 1940 was marked by a wave of literary ingenuity in Syria and Lebanon. Bishārah al-Khūri, editor of the Beirut paper *al-Barq* (*Lightning*), became a poet noted throughout the Arab world. Shibli al-Mallāṭ, together with the late Amīn Taqi-al-Dīn and Ilyās Fayyāḍ, drew public attention by their timely odes. In the new orientation of poetry, Lebanon's first trail blazer had been Salīm 'Anḥūri (b. 1855), author of a *dīwān* known as *al-Jawhar al-Fard* (*Unique Gem;* 1904). Together with his successors: Iskandar al-'Āzār, Felix Faris, Dāwūd Majā'iṣ, he made a determined effort to abandon the beaten paths. In the meantime writers and poets in the Americas deepened the link with modern forms and modes. On the crest of this tidal wave appeared 'Umar Fākhūri's weekly, *al-Ma'raḍ* (*the Exhibit*) in Beirut, and Shākir al-Karmi's *al-Zamān* (*Time*) in Damascus. To this decade also belongs a more serious concern with the history of literature, represented by the three treatises, entitled *al-Marāḥil* (*Stages*) of Buṭrus al-Bustāni, not to be confused with his more distinguished namesake and kinsman of the 19th c., and *Jibrān* by Mikhā'īl Na'īmah (b. ca. 1894), who has lifted modern Arabic biography to a high peak. In the more learned and critical domain stand out the contributions of Fuād Afrām al-Bustāni, author of *al-Rawā'i'* (*Wonders*), the orator and romanticist Niqūla Fayyāḍ, the distinguished man of letters and renowned professor of Arabic literature Anīs al-Maqdisi of the American University of Beirut, and Ṭāha Ḥusayn* (b. 1889) of Egypt, long recognized as *za'īm al-mujaddidīn* (leader of the modern school), who undoubtedly ranks as the foremost figure in the present *nahḍah* (awakening).

Oral Literature. There is an extensive, hitherto little known, oral literature, current among the Bedouins, tribesmen, fallāḥīn and illiterate masses of Arab society. Nor are the more enlightened classes of society immune to its beauty and vigorous expression. Much of it has roots in the ancient mythology of the Near East, or in medieval folklore. Stories have always had an appeal in Arab countries, from those recounted in the *Koran* and the competing translations from Persian, to the modern *ḥaddūthah* (story) told in the colloquial tongue. The *riwāyah* ("report") first appears as an oral recital of a narrative, or a poem, by a *rāwi* (rhapsodist). Today this is the ordinary word for "story," the usual word also for a "play," comedy or tragedy. During the early centuries of Islam, *ḥikāyah* (now, a tale) meant imitation and action by a *ḥākiyah* (professional rhapsodist). Narratives are *akhbār*, sometimes *aḥādīth*, and stories told for entertainment are *asmār* (night conversations) or *khurāfāt* (humorous myths). Perusal of the well-known *maqāmāt*, from al-Ḥarīri down, of the *amthāl* (beast fables) in *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* and elsewhere, as well as of the *ḥikāyah* strain in the *Arabian Nights*, shows the debt of all these to a strongly entrenched oral literature.

The codification of folklore began as early

as al-Nadīm (d. 995), compiler of *al-Fihrist.* Ibn-al-'Anbas was known both as astronomer and *nadīm* (conversationalist, boon companion) of al-Mutawakkil (847–61), and purveyor of sex (*bāh*) literature. In time, however, stories tended to become anonymous and to be associated with dubious subjects, such as the yarns of the *baṭṭālūn* (worthless heroes) and of Jiḥa, the male villain and clown of many fairy tales. The conception of literary art as an "imitation" of life led to the employment of the "story" in the portrayal of contemporaneous events. This is the nearest point reached by Arabic literature to the life of the road, where one lived by one's own wits, which is the hallmark of the picturesque novel. Such an oral cycle grew around the name of 'Ali al-Zaybaq, the Hunchback of the *Arabian Nights.*

In the contemporary folk songs of the Arabs one detects religious themes and historico-dogmatic traditions. The *'atāba* (plaintive complaint) oral verse of Syria-Palestine, the *mawwāl* Bedouin songs of camel-drivers, the *zalghūṭah* and *jalwah* wedding songs of rural and semi-urban communities, preserve the time-honored mores of the Arabs in modern garb. The popularity of this literature invades the most cosmopolitan areas. The Finnish scholar Aapeli Saarisalo (*Songs of the Druzes,* Helsinki, 1932) discovered at a group of Druze villages in northern Palestine a variety of folk songs revealing, in addition to Syrian characteristics, influence radiating from Egypt and Iraq. Specialized oral poetry includes the *maṭlū'* (plural *maṭāli'*) overtures and the *tanāwīḥ,* lamentation and funerary songs, akin to festivity at an Irish wake. Other gradations of folk song are commonly recognized by singers as *ghina* (or *ghunnīyah;* plural *aghāni, ghanāni*), popular warbles. The *mījāna* type may be illustrated by these sample lines:

O Mījāna! O Mījāna! O Mījāna!
The turtle-doves join my plaintive song!
Reclining beauty, within the palace gates,
May peace caress thy lovely face!
Thy eyelids taste this hour's bliss,
In leisure through the morning rest.
To thee, thy lover soon will come,
Imploring: "Why shuns us the beloved so?"

Another characteristically rural carol opens with the couplets:

'Ala Dal'ōna, 'ala Dal'ōna!
Shāyib Zamānak, ḥawwil min hōna!
Dearest Dal'ōna, fondest of women,
Luring me—an old and wasted fellow.
Thou knowest that I am old and ugly,
Why callest thou me then to be thy suitor?
Thy marriage paper sure I shall hand thee
Followed by divorce, thou little lady!

A frequently heard refrain, bearing the desert gusto, begins in this vein:

Nāri, ya nāri, nāri'alayhim
Ṭālat al-ghurbi wishtaqna layhim!
Fire, fire, fire!
The fire of long-suppressed desire,
Burning within for those far away.
Long has thy forsaking lasted,
Fire-like my craving rages!

A fairly representative anthology of contemporary folk songs heard at funerals, weddings and similar occasions was collected by Enno Littmann (*Neuarabische Volkpoesie,* Berlin, 1902) during his sojourn in Syria-Palestine.

A more sober strain runs through the oral literature identified with the *ta'ziyah* (funerary) passion play of 'Āshūrā', religiously observed through the Shī'ite Moslem world. The performance takes place in the first third of al-Muḥarram, first month of the Moslem year, climaxed in the grand finale of the tenth day, which is also a voluntary fast day

with the Orthodox Sunnites. The local techniques adopted in the execution of this religious drama vary in India, Persia, and Iraq. To a great extent, however, the plays have a similar core, considerably elaborated in its oral features. The last stages, reached on the closing day, are marked by great mourning, celebrated along pilgrimage and processional routes to the sacred places, particularly Karbala in Iraq, shrine of the martyr al-Ḥusayn, 'Ali's son. The death of 'Ali's two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, dominates the action, for which the term drama may be used only arbitrarily, with reference to the chain of 40 to 50 independent presentations which are generally given. The scenes derive their content from various sources and are mainly recited in the *hazaj* (trilling song) meter. Underlying the simple plot is a definite soteriology, brought out in accordance with the historical events but expressed above all in the fits of frenzy to which the professional mourners work themselves, in their ad lib. denunciations of the murderers of 'Ali and his two sons, and their heart-rending asides. In its elaborate, oral form the sacred play has received Hindu, ancient mythological, and local additions. Beyond the ten-day celebration, there is a sequel lasting forty days, during which the faithful await the return of the martyr's head which has been carried away to Damascus.

Both in folk literature and in the more complex forms of the written arts, there is every evidence that Arabic will continue its rich flourishing.

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ARAMAIC

ARAMAIC is the common denominator for a group of very closely related North-West Semitic dialects. The name first appears in cuneiform texts around 1100 B.C., as an adjective qualifying the Akhlame nomads. Instead of Aramaic the name of Chaldean was formerly in common use for the designation of the linguistic group; this misnomer was derived from an erroneous interpretation of *Daniel* ch.2,v.4, where the Chaldeans are introduced as speaking Aramaic to king Nebuchadnezzar.

Aramaic comprises the following major dialects: Old and Official Aramaic, Nabatean and Palmyrene (both of which are known to us only from inscriptions of comparatively little literary significance), Jewish Aramaic (in two dialectical forms as used in Palestine

and Mesopotamia), Samaritan, Christian Syro-Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic. Some modern Aramaic dialects are still being spoken by a dwindling number of persons.

Historical circumstances have assigned to some of these dialects roles of great importance as linguistic and cultural media. Consequently, the significance of Aramaic for the preservation and transmission of the literary heritage of the Near East cannot easily be overestimated. But it is difficult to form a definite judgment with regard to the originality of Aramaic literature. It would not be unreasonable to say that throughout its history Aramaic literature has been greatly dependent on outside influences. Moreover, some of the most noteworthy products of the Aramaic literary genius are either, as the writings of early Christianity, not preserved in their original language or, as the books of Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, appear to be entirely lost.

Old and Official Aramaic. In the 8th c. B.C. the rulers of various small Aramaic states in northern Syria had their deeds recorded in votive, memorial, and building inscriptions. These inscriptions are valuable as the Aramaic contribution to historiography and autobiography in their ancient oriental form. They do not represent the pure Accadian type, but show a distinct though as yet not clearly definable admixture of elements derived from the civilizations of the great powers of Asia Minor, like the Hittites and the Hurrians. Foremost among this group of inscriptions are those left behind by the two men named Panammu and by Barrakab, rulers over the principality of Ya'udi, which was situated half-way between Antioch and Mar'ash. Another such document was carved in stone by Zakir, the ruler of Hamah and Lu'ush (?). He described the victory he gained with divine help over Damascus and her allies.

By that time international treaty-making had evolved a highly developed literary form. The solemn invocations of various deities, and the description of the dire misfortunes that were to befall the party that might break the treaty, were largely formulary. But it was left to imagination and local usage to add a new touch here and there. A stone monument inscribed in Aramaic, which has been found near Aleppo, contains a treaty between Bar Ga'yah of Katikka (?) and Mati'el of Arpad. Formed after Accadian models, this treaty also appears to have undergone certain other influences, most probably Hittite.

The small though continuous trickle of Aramaic material assumes considerably larger proportions with the end of the 6th c. B.C. By then the administration of the Achaemenid Empire had spread the use of the Aramaic language and script as its official literary medium from Egypt to India. Among the inscriptions of the 5th c. the epitaph of an Egyptian woman called Taba, the daughter of Tahapi, appears to be the oldest specimen of Aramaic poetry. Its metre seems to disregard the quantity and number of syllables and to consist only in a fixed number of beats. This type of prosody, familiar to us from Hebrew literature, also occurs in the Aramaic portions of the *Book of Daniel,* as well as in Mandaic and, apparently, in some stray remnants of Aramaic poetry in other dialects. Syriac poetry, on the other hand, makes use of metres that count the number of syllables.

The papyri and leather documents, mostly of the 5th c., which have been discovered in Egypt, deal to a large extent with legal and administrative matters. But, in the papyrus archive of the Jewish military colony on Elephantine, an island in the Nile opposite Assuan, a few literary documents have also come to light. High upon a rock near Behistun, on the road from Susa to Hamadan, Darius I had recorded his *res gestae* in a factual and at the same time personal report. The original inscription, which was written

in three languages (Babylonian, Persian, and Elamite) was read by the Jews of Elephantine in an Aramaic translation.

Here we also encounter the oldest known version of the *Story of Ahiqar,* the wise councillor of Assyrian kings. Being childless, Ahiqar adopted Nadin, his nephew. He brought him up and instructed him with many wise sayings. When Ahiqar grew old, he recommended Nadin to the king as his successor. But once in power Nadin contrived to destroy his benefactor. Ahiqar managed to save his life and, in the hour of national need, he reappeared and rescued the king with his wisdom. Nadin was handed over to Ahiqar, and for his punishment had to listen to a new collection of wise sayings, a torture under which he died! Being a masterpiece of wisdom literature, the Ahiqar story has become the property of many nations. It is referred to in the *Book of Tobit* and has found entrance into Greek literature through the *Life of Aesop.* Through translations it became known to the Syrians, Armenians, Arabs, Turks, Rumanians, and Slavs. The Aramaic version from Elephantine is in a way less elaborate than the later texts. But it lacks no essential traits, with the possible exception of the fact that the first collection of educational sayings may have had no place in it. Ahiqar's wisdom was not an original creation of the Arameans. As far as the available evidence goes, it appears to have come to them from Accadian sources.

Through the discovery of the Elephantine papyri, modern scholarship became acquainted with genuine legal and administrative documents of the Achaemenid Empire. This fact has proved valuable beyond its intrinsic worth. For it served to confirm the disputed authenticity of the Aramaic passages in the biblical *Book of Ezra,* ch.4 v.7–ch.6 v.18 and ch.7 v.12–26. It has thus become clear that we must recognize in those passages an early instance of the use of original documents in a language other than that of the context (and with apparently only minor adaptations) in historical literature.

The *Old Testament* has preserved further remnants of Aramaic literature in the *Book of Daniel.* The folklore motifs, which appear in ch.2 v.4 to ch.6, seem to have been familiar to the inhabitants of Mesopotamia. Native story tellers might occasionally have given them a political slant. By the religious genius of Judaism they were shaped into a series of stirring short stories and as such incorporated in the *Book of Daniel.* Chapter 7 is also written in Aramaic, but it is of an entirely different character. Together with the following (Hebrew) chapters of *Daniel,* it forms the second part of the book and treats of eschatological visions, the most powerful theme of the (Jewish) Aramaic literature in the following centuries.

Another ancient literary form, which had been assiduously cultivated by the peoples of Mesopotamia, made its appearance in Aramaic about 300 B.C. Incantations were widely used to prevent all kinds of demons from bringing disease and death, bad luck in love affairs, and many other misfortunes. One of the formulas which had been worked out in order to combat the bad consequences of anger and wrath has been preserved in an Aramaic text from Uruk (Erech). The text was written in cuneiform characters, probably in order to increase its efficiency. The literary métier of fighting evil spirits lived on in Mesopotamia. In later centuries there appear, among other forms of incantations, a great number of bowls inscribed in their concave sides with incantation texts in Jewish-Aramaic, Syriac, Manichaean Aramaic, and Mandaic.

Lost Aramaic originals of Jewish and early Christian literature. Aramaic was the vernacular of an area extending from Palestine to Mesopotamia. It was used as such from the Persian period to the Arab conquest (539 B.C.–

641 A.D.). These facts have slowly found general recognition among scholars. On the basis of this knowledge, attempts have been made to prove that many works, which have been preserved not in Aramaic, but in other languages, especially Greek, are translations from Aramaic originals. Flavius Josephus stated himself that he had originally written his *Jewish Wars* in Aramaic. But if this was so, it is necessary to recognize that the Greek text, as we read it today, cannot be a literal translation, but must be an independent recension originally composed in Greek. Other works, however, have been shown through indirect methods to be translations from Aramaic. Among the writings, for which an Aramaic origin has been suggested, we find the *Book of Tobit,* the Greek translation of the *Book of Esther* (even for the Hebrew *Scroll of Esther,* as well as for *Ecclesiastes,* an Aramaic original has been claimed), the "Contest of the Three Youths" in the Greek *First Esdras* (chapters 3–4), the letters prefixed to *II Maccabees,* the *Book of Enoch,* the Four *Gospels, Acts, Revelation,* the *Fourth Esdras,* etc. The arguments for the probability of an Aramaic original are not equally convincing in all these cases. But the available evidence tends largely to support such probability for the majority. To judge from the preserved texts this literature, together with the *Book of Daniel,* must be considered as the finest artistic expression of religious feeling and creative imagination in Aramaic. Broadness of vision and poetical sensitivity are combined here with much intellectual clarity and purposefulness. These qualities are hardly ever found together in later Aramaic literature. Jewish Aramaic has lost part of its old grandeur and sweep, and Syriac Christian nearly all true poetical feeling, while Mandaic is devoid of intellectual discipline.

Jewish Aramaic literature. When the Hebrew language of the Bible was no longer understood by the common people, the recital of the Hebrew text had to be accompanied by the recital of an Aramaic translation (*targum*). A simple literal translation was not always sufficient. Certain passages required a short explanation. Others had to be re-interpreted in the light of the theological concepts of the day. Occasionally a homiletic excursus was added to the translation. The preserved targums show the development from simple translation to theological commentary. As a rule, the more recent the texts are, the more additional material they contain. The *Targum Onkelos* to the *Pentateuch* and the *Targum Jonathan* to the *Prophets* seem to have received their final form in Mesopotamia, in the first centuries of our era. The targums that were composed in the Palestinian dialect exist in different recensions. They are replete with interpretational and homiletic as well as poetical material, some of which may have been added at a comparatively recent date. The targums to the *Hagiographa* likewise received their present form at a recent date.

In addition to the interpretational and homiletic fragments found in the targums, special collections of such material have been made. They are called *midrash.* Most of the preserved midrash works are written in Hebrew, but some of them, which certainly antedate the Hebrew works, are Aramaic, as, for instance, the midrashic commentary on *Genesis* entitled *Bereshith Rabba.* All stylistic patterns and forms of oratory which are known to the preacher, and many a perfect example of story-telling, have found their way into Targum and Midrash.

The Jewish religious law as discussed in the Babylonian and Jerusalemian *Talmuds* is written down in Aramaic. But it so happens that Hebrew terminology frequently dominates the legal discussions to such an extent as to reduce the Aramaic element to a few connecting phrases. In addition to the legal discussions, both *Talmuds* contain narrative passages. Largely free from Hebrew admix-

tures, these relate in a simple language the stories of wisdom, superstition, and fancy, which in the course of centuries and under the impact of many civilizations had become the intellectual property of the Jews in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

Through its use in Targum and Talmud, Aramaic became a sacred language to the Jews, second only to Hebrew. It was used for literary purposes long after it had ceased to be spoken, and in regions where it had never been a spoken language. The main work of the Qabbalah, the *Zohar,* which appears to have been composed in Spain shortly after 1275, is written in such artificial Aramaic.

Samaritan. Much of the literature of the Samaritans, who today count about two hundred persons, is written in Hebrew and Arabic. Their Aramaic literature consists of a translation of the *Pentateuch,* a small number of liturgical hymns, and a very extensive poetical commentary on the *Pentateuch,* the *Memar* Marqa. Its author, Marqa (Marcus), appears to have flourished in the 4th c. A.D. In no way does his work differ from the Jewish midrash. But the lengthiness of the *Memar,* even though it is not preserved in its entirety, accentuates the lack of variety in form and constructive ideas peculiar to it.

Christian Syro-Palestinian Aramaic. From about 300 A.D. to the time of the Arab conquest in the 7th c., Christian groups in Syria and Palestine used their own dialect in their writings. Large portions of their translation of the *Old* and *New Testament* have come down to us. A few liturgical pieces and stories about saints in this dialect likewise are no original compositions.

A closely related Aramaic dialect is today still being spoken in Ma'lula and two neighboring villages of the Anti-Lebanon. But it has not developed a written literature of its own. Folk tales in this dialect have been collected by several scholars. They are told in the prolix, repetitious style of the little educated and contain interesting examples of the preservation of ancient stories and folkloristic motifs.

Mandaic. The Mandeans are a gnostic sect that presumably came into being in Mesopotamia no later than the 4th or 5th c. A.D. Mandean communities have survived until the present day, mainly in southern Iraq, where they have lived for many centuries. The most important of their holy writings is the *Ginza Rabba* (*The Great Treasure,* also referred to as *The Book of Adam*). The *Ginza* appears to have received its present form in the 8th or 9th c., but it contains many much older portions. In verse and prose the *Ginza* presents the Mandean views on cosmology and history. It includes various accounts of the religious mythology of the sect, as well as the ethico-religious code that governs the life of its members. It tells of the fate of the human soul after death and of the struggle of the elements of light and darkness for domination over mankind. Passages that are the product of an unrestrained and incoherent, though at times majestic and powerful, imagination alternate with others that are the simple, sincere expression of human feelings in the face of the divine. Thus the *Ginza* becomes the true mirror of a religion which combines an abstruse theory with a high ethical standard.

The other writings of the Mandeans do not differ in character from the *Ginza.* As far as their contents and form are concerned, the *Book of John* and the various *diwans* (i.e., scrolls illustrated with crude drawings) could as well have been parts of the *Ginza.* The liturgical literature is represented in rituals like those for the ordination of priests, the consecration of the cult-hut, the departed soul, or in prayers for the dead. Here, too, the burning desire of the soul to free itself from the darkness and corruption of this world and to behold the world of light and life has found manifold expression, as, e.g., in one of the prayers spoken at daybreak:

In the name of the Great Life
let the supranatural light be exalted!
From my sleep I arose early;
splendor that was abundant I have seen.
I have seen splendor that was abundant,
and light that had no end,
While I was clad in garments of splendor
and light was placed upon my shoulders . . .
Rise, O you who have been asleep!
Rise, O you who have been brought to fall!
Rise, worship and praise the Great Life,
and praise the image, the image of life
That is sparkling and glowing in supranatural light!

An astrological work and a number of magic rolls are further literary products of the Mandean priests.

Syriac. The Aramaic vernacular of the region centering around Edessa (Orhai, ar-Ruha', Urfa) became the literary language of the Christian churches in the area. Since the beginning of the 3d c. Christianity is found there, firmly entrenched. After the christological schisms of the 5th c. Syriac was used by Nestorians and Jacobites, later also by Melkites and Maronites. A vast literature was written in Syriac, by far the most extensive existing in any Aramaic dialect. The flourishing of Syriac lasted well into the 9th c. Then it gradually gave way to Arabic, in a slow process that continued until modern times. The 12th and 13th c. saw another short period of an exceptionally active literary life among Syriac writers; but, by then, they were profoundly influenced by Arabic literature.

Few of the preserved Syriac works antedate the 4th c. There can be little doubt with regard to the great antiquity of the *Letter of Mara Bar Serapion,* in which he exhorts his son to shape his life after the tenets of popular Stoic philosophy. A dialogue between Bardesanes (Bar Daysan) and a certain Awida appears to have as its author a pupil of this great heretic of the early 3d c. In Syriac the title of the dialogue is *The Book of the Laws of the Countries.* This title is derived from a chapter which describes the differences in the customs prevailing among different nations in order to refute the contention of the astrologers that the stars determine all human activity. The Greek translation of the dialogue is known under a more exact title: *On Fate.* For Bardesanes offered in the dialogue his solution of the problem of predestination. Human life, according to him, is governed by three factors: by natural laws, which are the same for all beings, by fate, which affects each individual differently, and by the freedom of the human will. Another fragment by Bardesanes, expounding his cosmological views, appears to have been preserved in his own words. An old gnostic poem is found embedded in the *Acts of Thomas,* the legendary Apostle of the Indians. It describes in allegorical form the descent of the soul unto earth and its return to heavenly splendor. The vivid, realistic account of the flood catastrophe, which befell Edessa in 201, seems to have been written by a contemporary of the event, although the *Chronicle of Edessa,* in which it is contained, dates from the 6th c. The oldest translation of the *Bible* also counts among the earliest literary products in the dialect.

Syriac literature is predominantly ecclesiastic in character. Scientific, scholarly, and philosophical literature was cultivated to a considerable extent, but comparatively little of it has survived. We have translations of Pseudo-Isocrates, Plutarch, Lucian, and Themistius. Some philosophical treatises and collections of sayings, the Greek originals of which are not preserved, are known through Syriac translations. *Two Books by Homer concerning Ilion* are said to have been th

work of Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785). The book is lost, and it is uncertain what its contents might have been; but Homer, in Greek at least, was well known to Syrian scholars. The *Physiologus* and the *Geoponica* were translated into Syriac. Ptolemy, too, was no stranger to the Syrians. With Galen's works they became acquainted mainly through the efforts of Sergius of Resh'ayna (d. 536). He was a fertile translator, whose activity extended into many fields of Greek scholarship. Aristotle and some of his Greek commentators were translated and commented upon. Preserved commentaries, like those of the cultured Bishop of the Arabs, George (d. 724), are dry and technical. Yet, the *Book of Treasures* by Job of Edessa (d. after 832), one of the few extensive, genuinely Syriac works of science that have come down to us, is an exposition of physical philosophy, which does not fall short of the high standard of similar medieval works. Through Iranian intermediaries the popular philosophy of the fables of *Kalila and Dimna* and the legendary *History of Alexander the Great* found its way to the Syrians. The famous *Grammar* of Dionysius Thrax was translated. Syriac national grammar, in general, is much indebted to the Greeks. But, in the service of theology, it developed into one of the most important, original Syriac contributions to scholarship. Rhetoric, too, can boast of at least one original work, *On the Science of Rhetoric* by Antonius of Taghrit (9th c.). Perhaps the most lasting effect of all these literary efforts is that which they had upon the formation of Arab civilization. Practically every branch of scholarship, each literary form, as it was cultivated by the Arabs, derived one of its formative elements from Greek sources. In the transmission of those sources, Syriac intermediaries played an important (though not exclusive) role.

The ecclesiastic literature also draws upon translations from the writings of Greek churchmen, especially in the first centuries of Syriac literary life. But the original output is large and at times of equal, if not superior, quality. In prose and verse, in the form of books, tractates, sermons, epistles, dialogues, there was produced a long series of expositions of dogma and ritual. Polemical works, directed against the heretics and heterodox, exist in equally large numbers. Liturgies and hymns are as well represented as *Bible* commentaries and homilies. Church and world history is not neglected, the latter is thoroughly imbued with the theological point of view of the respective authors. The biographies of churchmen and saints occasionally contain some fine, life-like passages. Martyrologies, such as the *Acts of the Persian Martyrs,* or the *Book of the Himyarites,* which describes the persecution of the Christians in southwest Arabia, paint good and evil in stark colors and succeed in creating a peculiar effect upon the reader. Mystical thinkers appear from time to time.

Aphrem (Ephraim Syrus) represents to the Syrians both the beginning and the culmination of their national literature. Born in Nisibis shortly after 300, he died in Edessa in 373. His life work was enormous, but many of the writings ascribed to him are not genuine. The fact that his work was to a large extent translated into Greek attests to his popularity. He wrote Bible commentaries, letters, polemics, homilies, but his fame rests on his achievements as a poet. His readers greatly appreciated the emotional fervor of his often unrealistic imagery. Thus, in order to express Edessa's hope that her heretical children might return to the fold of orthodoxy, he says (*Carmina Nisibena* No. 26):

O Physician prove
your skill on my limbs;
The torn-off parts of
my body restore,

So that all might think
they'd ne'er been torn off.
Since the Fiend loves my
faults and scorns my limbs,
Make them more beauteous:
The hideous one, grieved,
My beauty he'll see
and regret his zeal.
Let this knowledge of
pain warn me 'gainst it!
How sad, I am maimed
and those are torn off!
Let's beware, in last
health, lest we be lost!

The denunciation of worldly sins and of life's legitimate pleasures forms the dominant theme of his compositions. Within the limitations of this subject, the resourcefulness of his artistic craftsmanship is considerable. An older contemporary of Aphrem was Aphrahat, surnamed the Persian Sage. His homilies deal with the ethical and dogmatic problems of the church of his days as well as the political events, which were of importance for the growing Christian community in Mesopotamia. They have earned him recognition as a writer of lucid and exemplary Syriac.

Church poetry after Aphrem was further developed by men like Qurillona, Balai, Narses, and the elusive personality of Isaac of Antioch. It found another outstanding representative in Jacob of Serugh (d. 521). The broad flow of his homilies, which fill many volumes, leaves untouched few of the religious topics that were of interest to his readers. Among Jacob's letters, one addressed to Stephen Bar Sudhayle is significant for Syriac literary history. For Stephen is considered the probable author of a mystical work, which, in its unorthodox pantheism, has not its like in the whole Syriac literature. The work goes under the fictitious name of the Holy Hierotheos. In the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, which were composed around 500 A.D. and which tried to reconcile Neoplatonic philosophy with Christianity, this Hierotheos figures as the principal teacher of Dionysius Areopagita. The *Book of the Holy Hierotheos* appears to be a genuine Syriac representative of the Pseudo-Dionysian literature; other works were translated from the Greek, by Sergius of Resh'ayna.

The type of churchman that combined theology with scholarship found its best expression in the personality of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708). He excelled as a historian and grammarian. Essential literary problems did not escape his acute mind. Thus, he recognized that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of any reform of an inadequate script is the fact that such reform would consign the whole literature written in the old script to oblivion. Jacob of Edessa's age produced a remarkable mystical writer, Isaac of Nineveh. As to his time, as well as his ideas and his terminology, he stands on the threshold of Muslim mysticism. He is, however, strictly orthodox in his thinking and far removed from that bold individualism for which certain Muslim mystics are remarkable.

Annalistic historiography had been cultivated by Yohannan Bar Penkaye in the 7th c. Among its well-known representatives we count Dionysius of Tell Mahre (d. 845), who found followers in men like Eliya Bar Shinaya (d. after 1049) and Michael I (d. 1199). Dionysius' world history is of course largely dependent on its sources; only the treatment of the last hundred years could reveal the author's own concept of historiography. Stories concerning the Christian community are given most of the available space. They are well told, but no real attempt is made to integrate them into the larger framework of contemporary history.

In the 8th and 9th c. the influence of Aristotelian philosophy pervades the thinking of Syriac writers. This influence is obvious in the work of Timotheos I. (d. 823) and

Moshe Bar Kepha (d. 903). The latter especially was a fertile writer, who wrote commentaries on the *Bible* and on Gregory Nazianzen, a church history, dogmatical treatises and polemics, and a book *On the Soul*. In a sense he marks the end of the great period of Syriac literature.

The writers of the Syrian "renaissance" of the 12th and 13th c. include men like Dionysius Bar Salibi (d. 1171) and the aforementioned Michael I. (d. 1199). But the first place among them is reserved for Gregory Abul-Faraj, better known as Bar Hebraeus, because his father, a physician, is believed to have been of Jewish descent. Born in Melitene in 1225/6, he lived through the stormy years of the Mongol invasion. In 1264 he was chosen to be Maphreyan of the Orient, i.e., the spiritual head of the Jacobites of Mesopotamia and Persia. He died in 1286, leaving a literary heritage remarkable for its size and variety. He is the author of a Bible commentary, a work on canonic law, and church and world histories. His treatments of Syriac national grammar have remained standard works for the scholarly study of the dialect. Astronomy and medicine were cultivated by him. His philosophical books follow in the footsteps of Avicennian Aristotelianism, and his mystical and ethical writings are formed after those of al-Ghazzali. He did not disdain to write a volume of facetious stories and anecdotes. His poetical production, however, is of little significance.

Various modern dialects related to Syriac have continued to be spoken by Jacobites and Nestorians ("Assyrians"), and the members of the corresponding uniate churches, as well as by the Jews of Kurdistan. The use of those dialects can be traced back to the 17th c. Stories of folkloristic and literary character as well as worldly and religious poems have been written down in the Syriac alphabet at the instigation of western scholars. More material has been taken down phonetically. In 1829 a gospel text in modern Syriac was printed in London. Soon after (1840), American missionaries set up a printing press in Urmia (Rezaych) and tried to establish the spoken dialect as a literary language, using the Syriac (Nestorian) script. Other missions followed their example. The works that have been printed are largely religious and educational. With World War I this activity ceased. Since then the Nestorian diaspora in various countries appears to have carried on very little literary activity in the native dialect.

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FRANZ ROSENTHAL.

ARANDA—*See* Australian Aborigine.

ARAUCANIAN—*See* South American Indian.

ARAWAK—*See* South American Indian.

AREKUNA—*See* South American Indian.

ARGENTINIAN—*See* Spanish American.

ARMENIAN

THE cultural integrity of Armenia (Hayasdan) has been preserved despite intermittent centuries of political domination by foreign powers. The highway from Europe to Asia, crossroads of civilization from its earliest days, Armenia has felt the passage of many peoples, whose tongues have left their mark upon its speech. Armenian is an Indo-European language, but early immixed with Semitic and Old Persian words. Although there was probably a rich pre-Christian literature in Old Armenian (Hayqan or Haikan; also called Grabar), only a few traces of it have been preserved. Early histories now lost, however, as that of Marabas Catina, ca. 150 B.C., were used as source books of later, surviving, works. Grabar remained the literary language of Armenia until the mid 19th c., and is still used in the Armenian Church.

The adoption of Christianity, early preached and dominant by the time of Tiridates (286–342)—the Armenian is the oldest Christian National Church—brought Armenia from Persian cultural domination into the realm of the Western World. About 404 A.D. the Armenian alphabet (of 36 letters; in a form still in use for capitals) was devised by Mesrob Mashdotz (Mesrop Masdoty); Catholic writings came rapidly thereafter. Hymns and prayers were most frequent. Agathanage, secretary of King Tiridates, wrote (in Greek, translated into Armenian) a life of the King, and a biography of St. Gregory the Illuminator (239–325), first Patriarch of Armenia. Mesrob and Sahak (353–439) translated the *Bible* into Armenian. Few translations of the *Bible* have entered as fully into the lives of any people. Many of the *Bible* stories parallel the Armenian legends; many of its events occurred upon Armenian soil. Mt. Ararat is in Armenia; "Noah's vineyard" was swept off in an avalanche as late as 1840.

While the Greek and Syriac Fathers were being translated into the language, Moses, Archbishop of Khorene (mid 5th c.) wrote a history of Armenia; in this are preserved the fragments of epics, the songs and legends, of earlier times. Among the legends is that of the Culture Hero, Hayq, a curly-haired archer who, vanquishing the eastern hero Belus, established the kingdom of Hayasdan. The tale of Semiramis is told in colorful detail· she sought the love of King Arn the Beautiful, who remained faithful to his wife, repulsing these advances; thereupon Semiramis sent an army to capture Arn, and he died fighting. After his death, Semiramis remained in Armenia, founding the city of Van. Another favorite among the legends is of David of Sussan, a sort of Armenian Hercules, whose lively pagan humor and boisterous exploits are colored by interpolation of pious Christian thoughts. In addition to legends and myths, Moses tells of *tueliatz* (chronicle) songs, that also deal with the deeds of early kings and heroes. Other references suggest that there may have been an early Armenian drama.

Recounting the earlier stories of Armenia gave way in the later 5th c. to a veritable flood of translations, especially of the Church Fathers, from the Greek. During the administration (374–383) as Catholicos of Nerses the Great, a contemporary records the establishment of over 2,000 monasteries and other centers of learning, which in the ensuing years poured forth Armenian versions of Syriac and Greek originals. The *Homilies* of St. John Chrysostom, two essays of Philo on *Providence,* the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, are among the works otherwise lost preserved to us in Armenian.

Among the original works of the period are a vivacious account of current life and happenings (344–392) by Faustus of Byzantium

—later continued to 485 by Lazar of Pharp (Lazarus Parbetzi); a *History of Taron* (the story of Gregory) by Zenobius of Glak; a history of Vartan Manikomian and the "First Religious War" (451), by Eliseus (Eghishe) Wardapet, still popular reading:—Vartan fell in the battle of Avarair, where the Armenian Christians were overwhelmed by the Persians; he remains the national hero. Such figures, their devotion and their martyrdom, have held the Armenians as a spiritual unity despite their continual subjection. Over Avarair the nightingales still cry "Vartan, Vartan."

Sahak was prominent among the early writers of Church songs (*sharakans;* literally, rows of gems), which were composed in greater or less number continuously until the 13th c. Outstanding among later writers of *sharakans* was the 8th c. poetess Sahakadukt, in whose day rhyme (probably under Arabic influence) was added to Armenian verse.

The next two centuries were troubled times. Save for the regulation of the calendar, little cultural development is recorded. Religious writing, while extensive, consisted almost entirely of retelling *Bible* stories. In the early 8th c. there were numerous commentaries on religious works, notably those of Gregory Asheruni and John (Catholicos 717–728), and a history of the Caliphs by the priest Leoncius. Outstanding in the 9th c. was the Patriarch (Catholicos) Zachariah, whose eloquent homilies hailed the Church festive days, and who wrote canticles and many vigorous letters.

Lay as well as religious poetry helped make popular (St.) Grigor Narekatzi (951–1009), whose canticles are still sung in the Church; but whose odes and elegies, and especially his panegyrics, were widely known. He loved elaborations; in one poem he accompanies the word 'God' with 90 attributes. The flow of his rhetoric is most colorful in *Narek* (1001–2), a devotional work of 95 chapters of prose prayers that constantly soar into verse. It is a sincere and earnest outpouring, in rich and colorful diction and imagery, declaring that if all the world's trees were pens and the seas ink, they could not record his sins; but even greater is the lovingkindness of the Lord. Among his panegyrics outstanding are those on *The Holy Cross; The Virgins; The Apostles.*

Grigor Magistros (d. 1058) also wrote poetry, his main work being a retelling, in some thousand lines, of the *Bible* story from Creation to the Resurrection. Writing this (in three days, he states) for a Mohammedan who wished to know the Christian story, Grigor helped popularize the use of rhyme.

Arisdaguess Lasdiverdetzi wrote a *History of Armenia* covering the years 989–1071, emphasizing particularly the destruction of Ani (1064) by Alp-Arslan.

For a period of almost two centuries, Armenia was independent and comparatively undisturbed. Her authors flourished. Chief among the early writers of this period was Catholicos Nerses Glayetzi, called Shenorhali (the Graceful; 1100–73). Great-grandson of Grigor Magistros, Nerses became the most prolific poet of Armenia to his day. He wrote long poems. In his elegy on *The Fall of Edessa* (taken by the Turks, 1144), the city tells its own story. Though his hymns are in varied meters, he usually employed an 8 syllable line, with one rhyme throughout the entire poem. His *Jesus the Son* is in 4,000 such 8 syllable lines, almost every one ending in *-in.* Nerses employs various artificial devices—acrostics; starting successive lines with consecutive letters of the alphabet—but deftly, unobtrusively. His most lyrical and his best poems, however, are his *sharakans,* mainly in short lined couplets. He also wrote synodal orations and many important letters. His narrative poem of Armenian history was continued (1275) by Bishop Vahram Rabun.

In the 13th c. there was a renewed interest in, if not a fresh flowering of, fable. Animal

stories, some of folk origin, spread widely. Some were of known authorship, as in the *Book of Fables,* containing 150 tales by Mkhitar Kosh (d. 1213). The fables and folklore, while containing many of the elements usually found in folk expressions, have perhaps a deeper strain of mystic intent, or at least of allegory. Amid their mountains the people learned the power of natural phenomena; Dew, e.g., appears in many of their legends and tales as a mischievous and sometimes malevolent monster. The hero David of Sassun, in one of his adventures, slays forty Dews that have stolen "all the treasures of the world." The constant presence of ruling forces alien in race and religion gave to Armenian piety a more intense tone. Many pages of their histories read like martryologies; and among the folk, abstract ideas are personified, political or social impulsions slip into apparently innocent stories. Thus the fable of the owl and the eagle—The owl asked the eagle's daughter in marriage: "You rule by day, and I by night; it is fitting that we should form an alliance." The eagle acquiesced; but, after the wedding, when the groom could not see by day, nor the bride by night, confusion intervened. The falcons twitted the unhappy pair. —is directed against intermarriage of Christian Armenian and foreign pagan.

Long years of resistance, and the difficulties of adjustment to alien sway, bred inner strife as well, reflected in the bitter proverb: 'If a brother were a good thing, God would have provided one for himself.' Other typical Armenian proverbs manifest the practical, if not cynical, spirit their history induced: 'He that falls into the water need have no fear of rain.' 'A devil with experience is better than an angel without.' 'Before the fat grow lean, the lean are dead.'

Vartan Aigektzi (the Great; d. 1271) wrote the *Book of the Fox,* containing 144 fables; he was even better known for his *Universal History,* from the Creation to 1267; and was also author of numerous Biblical commentaries. The period produced many other fables.

Among many historians, grammarians, and religious writers within this period, three poetic figures stand prominent. Constantine Erzingatzi (of Erzingan; b. ca. 1260) wrote of nature, of love and beauty (which he identified). His is the first rich breath of spring in Armenian poetry; a quiet but deeply sensitive spirit speaks in simple terms of nature's bounty:

"It was dark; every stone was ice-bound; there was not a green herb; but now the earth arrays itself anew . . . The birds sing sweetly; the swallow chants psalms; the lark comes, reciting the praise of the morning."

Arabic and Persian influence appear in his work; the former, in many didactic poems; the latter, in the lengthy romantic narrative *Farman and Asman.* Hovhannes (John) Erzingatzi (b. 1250) wrote a *Key to Armenian Grammar;* an astronomical treatise; a commentary on *The Gospel of St. Matthew;* panegyrics to St. Gregory; and many religious and moral verses—but also some love and nature poetry. His work is particularly rich in colorful and fanciful figures. Like John Erzengatzi, the third of this group was a priest, Khachatur Kecharetzi (known as Frik; d. ca. 1330), of whose many poems, on love or religious themes, the most vivid is a long work addressed to God, complaining that evil thrives, and asking that the Armenians come within the blessing of the Lord.

The next four centuries found Armenia again under foreign domination, passing from power to power with the shifts of victory in the Ottoman Empire and its successors. Internal disputations also stirred the religious writers. Various chronicles were written in the 14th and 15th c., notably the (quite inaccurate) *History of Tamerlane,* with a supplement of events to 1447, by Thomas Med-

zopetzi. In 1565 the first book printed in Armenian was published, in Venice; and throughout this and the 17th c. the establishment of presses for works in Armenian continued, not only within the country but at many other centers: Milan (1624); Livorno (1640); Amsterdam (1660); Marseilles (1673); Constantinople (1677); Leipzig (1680); Padua (1690). While these presses were turning out, for the most part, religious commentaries or translations of religious works, native poetry continued to flourish.

Hovhannes Tulkourantzi (1450–1525) of Sis was another nature poet. Like all the other poets of Armenia, he wrote religious and ethical verses; but his heart throbbed in his lyrics of love and death, which he placed in opposition: how can one that loves a beautiful woman grow old and die? Mkrtich Nagash wrote love songs, and sad songs of exile and wandering. Grigoris of Aghtamar (b. ca. 1418) wrote the allegorical *The Gardener and his Garden; The Rose and the Nightingale,* and other mystic verse. Nahapet Kouchak (17th c.) wrote charming lyrics of love. Arakel Sunetzi, in the *Book of Adam,* a lengthy narrative interspersed with lyrics—e.g., *The Rib,* comparing a woman's curved face to the rib she is made from—tells how Adam chose damnation for love.

Such non-religious songs, mainly anonymous, are vibrant with love of the Armenian countryside. Despite the frequent sweep of alien forces over the land, these songs show little foreign influence; rather, they surge with patriotism, or mourn the lost freedom and glory. They may be grouped in four main divisions: (1) festive songs, gay and lively, rich in references to nature; (2) love and marriage songs, tender, often beautiful, reflecting the stern morality of the pious Armenian, with its emphasis on closely bound family life; (3) emigrant songs, of the spirit or the adventures of those that, from the many invasions, sought refuge abroad; and (4) laments. Their meter is syllabic, varying from 4 to 13 syllables in the line. The most popular forms are the 7 syllable quatrain, in triple rhyme, and the quatrain of alternating 7 and 8 syllable lines with 3 accents each, called—from the frequent subject—*antouni* (émigré).

These songs have long been popular throughout the Near East, being sung at festivals and friendly gatherings, by the *ashough* (minstrel). A few of the composers are known. Thus Sayat Nova (1712–95) both wrote and sang love songs. He later retired to a monastery; but came forth to sustain the reputation of his native Tiflis when an *ashough* from another town became noted there. Triumphant, he went back into the monastery. When Agha Mohammed Khan stormed the monastery, Sayat refused to turn Mohammedan, and was slain. His story is a frequent tale for later minstrels. These *ashough* both chant the songs and tell prose tales, which also have stock patterns, repeated phrases and other conventional devices for which the listeners wait—such as the signal that the telling has come to an end: "And three apples fell from heaven: one for the story-teller; one for the hearer; and one (this recipient varies) for the whole world."

Toward the close of the 18th c., the Russians swept into Armenia. In 1701, the Catholic Petro Mekhithar (Mkhitar Sepastatzi; d. 1749) had founded a Brotherhood in Constantinople, later this moved to the island of St. Lazarus, Venice, where it became the center of Armenian scholarship and culture, flourishing to this day. From its presses came a vivid and noble *History of Armenia* by Michael Tchamitch; a new version of the *Bible;* and a constant flow of patriotic and religious literature, as well as translations of great works, ancient and modern. Lord Byron studied Armenian at St. Lazarus, and helped in the publication of an Armenian-English dictionary. Byron said of the Armenians:

"Their virtues are those of peace; their vices, those of oppression." The oppression continued; but in such centers as that of the Mekhitharian Brothers in Venice the Armenian spirit and culture were sustained. Throughout the 18th and 19th c. religious studies and translations continued to pour from Armenian presses all over Europe.

After the mid 19th c., however, a new spirit entered Armenian literature. The various forms of the vernacular, especially as at Ararat and at Constantinople, had grown so different from the classical Grabar—in which all writing had continued—as to set a great gap between the literature and the people. This the new writers set about bridging, by the bold step of abandoning Grabar in non-religious works, and presenting their poems and stories, drawn from the lives of the Armenian people, in vigorous and direct Modern Armenian. Begun by Khachatoor Abovian in *Verk Hayastani* (*Wounds of Armenia;* 1858), this enriched vernacular found its first great use in the novels of Raffi (Hakop Melik Hakopian; 1837–88), who wrote over 30 novels of wide popularity—including the romance, *Khent,* and the historical novel of the years 364–400, *Samouel*—and won the field of lay writing for the contemporary tongue. In 1871, Grigor Ardzrounian founded the periodical *Mschak,* which championed the new directions of Armenian literature, and in which many of the new writers found their first welcome.

The misfortunes of Armenia, crossroads of the continents, were unending. Massacres by the Kurds in 1876 and 1877, by the Turks in 1896, sent many of the Armenians into Russia; there they were closely watched. Hope of security brought many back about 1905, for the greater and more systematic massacres of 1915. For about two years (1918–20) Armenia was an independent country, with its own Parliament; then once more it was parceled between Turkey and Russia. It is thus inevitable that the literature of these years should ring with echoes of the strife, or in other ways reflect the disorders of the country. Many of the Armenians, having been forced to take residence abroad, wrote also in French, Italian, English, or Russian; some wrote only in Armenian though in other lands; all manifest a deep concern for the fate of their country.

Avetik Isahakian (b. ca. 1860 in the Caucasus) wrote a novel *Master Karo,* a well written satire on contemporary life; then in the epic poem *Abu Lala Mahari* he pictures a man that turns from his wife, his home, and all the troubles of the land, to live at peace in the desert.

Earlier in the revival, first to give it power in strong and noble verse, was Kamar-Katiba (Raphael Batganian, 1830–92), who edited at Tiflis the short-lived weekly *The North,* to exalt his countrymen with ideals of liberty, and in the poem *The Tears of the Aras* presents the sacred river of Armenia lamenting the foreign domination over the land. Still in the classical Grabar the Catholicos Mkrtich Khrimean (Hairik; 1820–1907) wrote the vivid poem *The Meeting of the Kings* (1900), in which each monarch around the world tells wherein he sees his security - cannon; large spread of land; national wealth—until the King of Belgium rebukes them for not finding safety in God. Mikael Nalbantian (1830–66) was fervent in his preaching of humanitarian ideals; he helped the spread of socialism among the Armenians of the Caucasus; his *Song of Liberty* is a vibrant and vigorous appeal.

More lyrical are the simple strains of Archbishop Khoren of Lusignan (called Nar-Bey, Prince Light; 1841–93), who translated Lamartine into Armenian, and in his own works reflected the tenderness and love of nature of Lamartine's spirit. Most mournful of all Armenian poets is Bedros Tourian (1852–72), whose short life was worn with

poverty and wretched strain. His brother Eghishé Tourian (b. 1860) won to a greater calm; he became Patriarch of the Jerusalem Armenians. Few poets have had a greater command of the language, more power to win its words to musical rhythms, than Eghishé manifests, as in *The Pastoral Flute* (1909).

Sibylle (Mme Zabel Hrant-Asadour; b. 1863) is the favorite Armenian woman poet. Her verses, collected in *Reflections,* show a delicacy of phrase, subtly colored turns of expression, and fine nuances of feeling. Hovanes Thoumanian (b. 1869) tells a legend of Tamerlane in the narrative poem *The Convent of the Dove*—turning that tale of the conqueror to contemporary application; there are vivid imagery and power in his *With My Fatherland* (1916). Yergat Tigran (1870–99) wrote moving verse, as in *The Dying Poet,* collected in the posthumous volume *A Few Hours.* There is a more ardent imagination, with deep sensitivity and patriotic ardor, in the volumes—as *The Flowers of Memory; The Oasis*—of Roupen Vorperian (b. 1875).

Among the more recent poets the French influence is strong: the power of Baudelaire,* the comprehensive reach of symbolism. Love of country is, if possible, still more persistent a theme. Natalie Shahan (b. 1884) wrote *Songs of Love and Hate* (1915), which includes the poignant *The Agony of My Faith;* and, after World War I, *The Gospel of Revenge.* Astour Navarian (b. 1881) wrote the melancholy *The Sultanates* (1903) and the more tranquil *Autumn Sun* (1917), which is none the less fervent in devotion to the country. Daniel Varoujan (Tchiboukiarian; 1884–1915; killed by the Turks) was a vigorous poet, in his early *Shudders* and in *The Heart of the Race.* There is a more delicate sensitivity in the three volumes of Vahan Derian (1885–1920); in his *Twilight Dreams* the *Autumn Song,* though individual, is haunting with echoes of Verlaine. Roupen Sevag (1885–1915; killed by the Turks) in *The Red Book* (1910) wrote rousing verse about the massacres in Silicia; his poem *The Last Lullaby* has a deep and tender pathos. Bitter and concentrated are the *Crucified Dreams* (1912) of Hrant Nazariantz (b. 1884). Eghishé Tcharentz (b. 1897) has written brilliant verse in free rhythms, revolutionary in form and thought. Among those that have written Armenian poems in other lands are Alexander Kludjian, with *Poems* (Boston, 1938) and Khadjig Margosian, with *Palpitations* (N. Y., 1938).

The work in prose started by Raffi was carried along by many hands. Archag Tchobanian (b. 1872) not only popularized Armenian works abroad—he translated Chirvanzade, e.g., into French—but wrote poems in prose, fantasies, and stories (*Life and Dream*) in effective, colorful Armenian. Another leader in the use of a vivid vernacular prose was Roupen Zartarian (1874–1915; killed by the Turks). Forced to flee from Turkish Armenia, he edited *Razmigue* (*The Warrior*) from 1905 to 1908; after the 1908 Revolution his journal *Azatamart* (*The Free Fight*) was in the forefront of the intellectual movement in Armenia. His non-political writings have a quiet charm; they reveal a poetic spirit, sensitive to nature. The title of his *Tsaygalouiss* (*Night Light;* 1909) symbolizes the flame of the Armenian spirit shining through the dark hours of Turkish domination. One of the legendary stories in that volume, *The Bride of the Lake,* tells of a woman in love with the waters; her suspicious husband strangles her on the shore; the waters of the lake rise and engulf the village.

The *Oriental Tales* (1874) of Minas Tcheraz (b. 1852) were prefaced by a discussion of grammar—his innovations had begun as editor, in 1870, of *Ergrakount* (*The Globe*) in Constantinople—which touched

off a series of polemics; continuing the attack on Grabar in *National Education* (1876), Tcheraz helped greatly in the establishment of Modern Armenian diction and style. His bold innovations in language and grammar produced striking turns of phrase, and lent a vigor to his political writings. When not urging the cause of his country against the Turks, Tcheraz worked a light and lively vein, as in the short vignette *The Pasha with forty wives,* revealing how the Pasha kept his harem always at peace.

A pacifistic spirit marks the career, and gleams in the tales and stories, of Hambartzoum Arakelian (pseudonym Chahriar; b. 1855). At Tiflis in 1910 he founded the periodical *Aror,* to promote his aims for a peaceful world; in 1916 he was editor of *Mschak.* He had been earlier moved to write *Djhoud-Douchan* (*The Slaughter of the Jews;* 1902). In addition to his utterances on social themes, he wrote direct and pleasing narratives, the story *Zeythoun* (1896), and *Twelve Tales* (1908).

Keen psychological observation, an objective realistic spirit, animate the varied writings of Chirvanzade (A. M. Movsissian, 1858–1935). His early works include novels of the industrial world (*Fire at the Naphtha Plant;* 1883), of business (*Memoirs of a Manager;* 1883); psychological studies of love (*Mme Lisa;* 1884), and increasingly of the Armenian intellectual of the day (*One of the Moderns,* 1884; *Vain Hopes,* 1886; *The Exile,* 1890). His masterpiece is *Chaos,* its first draft banned by the Turks when it appeared in *Arevelkh;* published in book form in 1895. *Chaos* on a wide canvas studies with objectivity and insight the clash of various types and races in Armenia, and the conflicting ambitions and ideologies that tore the land. Chirvanzade has also contributed to the new art of the theatre in Armenia, with—for that land of close family ties—a daring drama of a wife who leaves her husband for another man, *Was She Right?* (1903), and a dramatic study of the Armenian business man, *On the Ruins* (1906).

More closely involved in the political fortunes of his country, but contributing largely as well to the cultural rebirth, was Avetis Aharonian (b. 1866). As a boy of ten he saw the horrors of the Kurd massacres; they give a melancholy tinge to his first volume, *Horkine* (1893). The massacres of 1896 brought a series of sketches and stories published in *Mschak—A Drop of Milk; A Piece of Bread; Neighbors*—in which grief, horror, and indignation fuse with deeply sympathetic portraiture of his countrymen. More and more Aharonian's life and writings were dedicated to his nation's fight for justice and freedom. He edited first *Mourch* (*The Hammer*), then *Arach* (*Forward*). His infrequent but rousing poems are mainly on national themes. His short stories, collected in *Toward Freedom* (1906), vary from stark tragedy (*Honor*) to poetic pathos (*The Mothers; The Abysm*). With the same purpose, he wrote a novel, *The Black Knight,* with warm pictures of various Armenian types across a wide and beloved landscape. He was also author of several plays. *The Valley of Tears* (1906), a symbolic drama against tyranny, was played with great success in Tiflis; it was forbidden in Russia. While in prison (1909) Aharonian wrote *The Predestined,* played to enthusiastic audiences in Tiflis and Bakou, showing the inevitable martyrdom—they are predestined to glorious death—of those that seek to serve humanity, justice, freedom. During the two years that Armenia won of precarious freedom, Aharonian was elected (1918) President of the first Armenian Parliament.

In essay, short story, and novel, many other writers added to the national picture and the national protest. Berjouhi Barseghian—whose husband was killed in the 1915 massacres, and who was a member of Parliament, 1919–20—wrote the realistic and sympathetic *After*

The Storm and *In Scorching Days.* Hamasdegh (Hambartzoum Gelenian; b. 1895 in Turkey, now in the U.S.A.) has written two volumes of short stories, *Rain* and *The Village;* a novel, *The White Horseman;* and an epic poem *The Sacred Comedy.* There is a kindly satire in his works, which picture in realistic vein the life and legends of the peasants. Grimmer studies of peasant life are in the masterly short stories of Steven Zorian (b. ca. 1880 in the Caucasus), who remained in the part of Armenia that became a Soviet Republic. Constant Zarian (b. ca. 1885 in the Caucasus) has written in French, and considerably in Italian, as well as in Armenian. He is thus more European than native; but in his many novels he lashes out in violent criticism of the times. Mari Beylerian wrote a realistic novel, *Upwards,* published in Smyrna, 1914. Eli Agsar's novel of Armenian family life, *The Will,* was published in New York in 1923. Short stories and sketches of Peniamin Noorigian are collected in the volume *The Vintage* (New Jersey, U.S.A., 1937).

In addition to the Armenians that remained and wrote, in Turkish or (mainly) Soviet Armenia, many—as we have observed—left their country for refuge elsewhere. (There are some 2,500,000 in Soviet Armenia; some 200,000 in the U. S. A.) A number of the refugees have continued writing in their native tongue; perhaps more have become citizens and—without losing their concern for the freedom and the valid growth of Armenia—have used the language of their new land. Thus Michael Arlen (Dikran Kouyoumdjian; b. 1895 in Bulgaria) became an English citizen and author of striking novels and plays, especially *The Green Hat* (1931). In the United States, William Saroyan (b. 1908) captured the public with the fresh fancy of his short stories, as in *The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze* (1934) and the imaginative lilt and warm human sympathy of his plays, as *My Heart's in the Highlands* (1939); *The Beautiful People* (1941). With Saroyan's encouragement, the periodical *Hairenik (Fatherland)*—founded as a daily in Boston, 1900, its weekly supplement with literary features edited since 1934 by Reuben Darbinian—collected from its pages into a volume the writings of almost sixty Americans of Armenian ancestry.

In Soviet Armenia not only has writing in the Armenian language continued—shaping itself fully into the thought-patterns of Soviet life—but there has been a steady interest in the language itself, culminating, under the editorship of Stepan Malhasyan, in the publication of the first complete *Armenian Dictionary* (4 v., 1946).

Armenian secular drama is entirely a product of the last one hundred years. There is a story that King Tigranes II (1st c. B.C.) invited Greek actors to Armenia, and that his son Artavazd wrote some plays. The next reference to the drama speaks of an Armenian tragedy, *Ripsime,* as having been presented in Poland in 1668. We know that in the early 19th c. the Mekhitharist Brothers in Venice began writing religious plays, over 100 being composed during the century. A theatre was opened in Trebizond in 1815; in Smyrna in 1836; these presented almost exclusively translations (into Turkish or Armenian) of French and Italian plays. In 1840 G. Chirmaghanian wrote a comedy satirizing corruption among the Armenian clergy, which was produced in Moscow. The emphasis in the drama, for some time, continued to be more pious. In 1845 Father Minassian wrote a classical tragedy in prose, *Khosrow the Great.* In 1856 Mkrditch Bechiktachlian (1828–68) lent great impetus to the drama, beginning his many productions of plays by other dramatists as well as his own. His own best plays are *Gornak;* the tragedies *Vahan Vahe* and *Arsaces II;* and the very popular *The Brigands.*

After the mid-century, theatres opened in other Armenian centers, as Orta-Keuz (1859). In these, lay comedies came increasingly to the fore, such as those by Hekinian satirizing the Armenians that were tending to abandon their own language and culture for those of their conquerors or of the land of their temporary refuge. Karekin H. Rechdouni (1840–79) as an actor was a favorite of the Constantinople stage. From monologues and one-act comedies–*The Trunk handed over to a distant heir* is a rollicking farce of the squabble over what proves to be a valueless inheritance–he moved on to effectively comic presentation of the customs and foibles of the Turkish Armenians, in such plays as *Niks-Niks; The 400 francs; The Lover with his collar in a box.* Gabriel Soondookian (Sundukianz; 1825–1911) was successful with *Bebo* and *The Ruined Family.*

Hagop H. Baronian (1840–91), though distinguished in the theatre, was even more widely popular. Beginning with *The Oriental Dentist* (1868), his satire was revealed as caustic if not savage. In the periodical *Thadron* (*The Theatre*), which under his editorship was banned eight times in its four years, he attacked the current hypocrisy among his countrymen in a series of biting profiles, 24 of which were collected as *National Big Hats* (1878). His realistic studies, his fierce satires, brought sharp attacks upon him; he went into business (1880) to finance the journal *Khikar*, but died in poverty. After his death he was acclaimed as a national genius, and his works were enthusiastically revived. Among his most successful comedies are *Gentleman Beggars; The Dowry; Uncle Balthazar.*

About 1870 the Turks, sensing the power of the theatre in sustaining national ardor, began to exercise a closer censorship; soon thereafter, and for a period of over thirty years, plays in Armenian were forbidden. Among the more recent productions are *Whom shall we follow after?* (1912) by Hovhannes Haroutuinian; *The Calvary of My Race* (1923) by Vahan Chrokasjian; *Cluck, Cluck* by Ervant Der Megerditchian (b. 1888; now in the U.S.A.). In Soviet Armenia, in addition to the already mentioned Sundukianz, Chirvanzade, and Aharonian, plays have been written by Mikael Patkanian, Hagop Garinian, A. Ieritsian, Ter-Krikorian, V. Papazian, L. Manvelian. There seems every likelihood that writings in Armenian–though with absorption into Soviet culture they may lose the national ardor and the tone of melancholy or protest that have long characterized them–will continue to flourish as a valid artistic and cultural expression.

H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, 2v., 1902; **V. Langlois** (from the French of), *Hist. of the Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus-Venice, with a compendium of the Hist. and Lit. of Armenia* (Venice), 1899; Z. C. Boyajian, *Armenian Legends and Poems*, with essay by A. Raffi on *Armenia, its epics, folk songs and medieval poetry* (London), 1916; C. F. Neumann, *Geschichte der Armenischen Lit.* (Leipzig), 1836; M. Banker, *Armenian Romance* (Grand Rapids, Mich.), 1941; *Hairenik* 1934–39 (Boston), 1939; F. Macler, ed. *Petite Bibliothèque arménienne* (Paris), 1910–1919; A. Navarian, *Anthologie des poètes arméniens* (Paris), 1928.

HAGOP E. MIKELIAN.

ARMORICAN–*See* Breton.

ASHANTI–*See* African.

ASHKENAZI–*See* Yiddish.

ASSAMESE–*See* Indian.

ASSINIBOIN–*See* North American Native.

ASSYRIAN–*See* Accadian; Canaanite.

ASTIGIANO–*See* Italian.

ATHEBASKAN–*See* North American Native.

ATTIC–*See* Greek.

AUSTRALIAN

AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE is a British theme with Australian national variations. Immediately this generalization has been made, the question arises as to what emphasis should be placed upon the elements specified. To the uncompromising British Imperialist and the partisan of deracinated supranationalist literature, allegedly founded in universal and eternal values, the Australian variations are trivial, embarrassing, or anathema. On the other hand, the nationalists, whether tepid or rampant, seize upon the variations with glee as proving the growing maturity of the literature. A great deal of literary discussion in Australia oscillates between these extremes, falling either into the error of unduly prizing local color or into the opposite error of assuming that the absence of local color is one of the criteria of excellence. Only the best critics assume that the essence of their task is to sift out of the very considerable body of Australian writing, much of which is difficult to come by even in Australia, those works that have strength, substance, literary merit. These books should eventually form a canon to which readers seeking a knowledge of the literature can turn with confidence. Such a canon does not exist today, except in the faintest and most debatable of outlines. The most profitable approach to literature in Australia, therefore, is along the lines of a study in cultural evolution. This allows one to designate certain works as of exceptional importance and value while at the same time including others which, though their intrinsic value as literature is slight, are nevertheless classics-by-default in that they admirably illustrate or epitomize phases of the literary story.

In a singularly complete sense the men and women who established the first Australian settlement had a new world to explore and report. Beginning in 1606 various Europeans had coasted along the shores of the continent, but none had closely circumnavigated it and none had gone ashore except for strictly temporary visits. Because Captain James Cook had, in 1770, the good luck to survey the hitherto unknown Pacific Ocean coast the British, a few years later, selected it as a place to plant a settlement. They wanted an isolated but humanly tolerable place for a penal establishment. When in 1788 the first few hundred settlers—convicts, their military guard, and civil officials—planted the original settlement at Sydney, not only was the exact shape of the continent unknown but the character of the interior was a total mystery. When unveiled, the country was found to be utterly different from the British Isles. The early pioneers found the land difficult to exploit and difficult to "understand." Even today, over fifteen decades later, complete mastery and understanding have yet to be won.

Several pioneers of the First Fleet, all from the governing group, left books on their experiences. Only later on did convicts able to write, draw, and paint arrive. Native-born free men did not begin to express themselves until the 1820's. By 1840 the transportation of convicts began to be abolished; after 1868, no more were sent to any part of the continent. Literature in Australia has been, in all but very minor early particulars, the creation of free men. The First Fleet narratives, however, have yet to be assimilated to the literary record, perhaps for the reason that they were strictly utilitarian in purpose. However, the two books of Captain Watkin Tench (1759–1833) of the Marines, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay* (1789) and *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson* (1793), have an attractive and definitely literary flavor. Such personal narratives have been remarkably plentiful in Australian

writing, but while the historians have found them immensely useful, their literary importance is still to be determined. Especially valuable are the narratives of the pioneer pastoralists, of the period before 1850.

The literary record is conventionally confined to works that were literary in intent, no matter how short of the mark they fell. From 1788 to the great goldrushes of the 1850's, which multiplied the population rapidly, the works of literary pretension that have survived, even as curiosities, are few. Conspicuous among them are Barron Field's *First Fruits of Australian Poetry* (1819), a book of short pieces that forms a most unpoetical introduction to Australian poetry, and William Charles Wentworth's *Australasia* (1823), a patriotic ode that won for the author a second prize in competition for the Chancellor's medal at Cambridge University. Wentworth (1790–1872) was a native-born Australian who had already made a name for himself in exploration and later had a distinguished career in politics. Field (1786–1846) was a British legal officer temporarily serving in Australia. These two versifiers were succeeded by Charles Tompson (1806–83), who produced a volume entitled *Wild Notes from the Lyre of a Native Minstrel* (1826) and Charles Harpur (1817–68), also native-born, who published his first volume, *Thoughts,* in 1845. Harpur is definitely the superior of the two and has claims to being the pioneer of poetry, as distinguished from verse. (See *Selected Poems of Charles Harpur,* edited by H. H. Gifford and D. F. Hall, Melbourne, 1944.) In prose fiction the pioneers were Charles Rowcroft (d. 1850), whose *Tales of the Colonies* (1843) is rather pale stuff in which fiction and the promotion of immigration go hand in hand; Henry Kingsley; and Catherine Helen Spence. The latter two have definite claims to permanent remembrance. Catherine Helen Spence (1825–1910) had a long career in social reform and journalism, during which she wrote several thesis novels, of which the one most often recalled today is *Clara Morrison* (1854). Henry Kingsley (1830–1876), brother of the more famous Charles, wrote *The Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn* (1859) as the result of a lengthy visit to Australia. It established firmly two traditions: the tradition of novels of pastoral life and the tradition of an Anglo-Australian exchange of talent. Several Englishmen—notably Anthony Trollope, Havelock Ellis, D. H. Lawrence—have essayed Australian novels as the result of a visit or temporary residence, and many Australians have made literary careers in England, among them Haddon Chambers, the playwright, Helen Simpson and, above all, H. H. Richardson. Also in this early period there is that enigmatic figure Daniel H. Deniehy (1828–65), who did a good deal of literary and political journalism and wrote a political satire, *How I Became Attorney-General of New Barataria* (1860), which is still amusing.

These writers did not succeed in naturalizing literature in Australia, nor were they encouraged to do so. While those colonists who were literarily inclined—and many of the pioneer pastoralists, as their books show, were highly educated—imported books and other reading matter very freely from England, they gave little patronage to local productions. The way of the writer was excessively hard, as Deniehy's career illustrates; but the three decades from ca. 1860 to 1890 were years of definite progress. The task still remained one of plowing virgin soil, but the plowing had permanent results and if none of the writers of this time reached the first rank, they nevertheless advanced the arduous task of subduing the new environment to man's imagination, made a permanent record of some memorable experiences, and even foreshadowed some permanent Australian values. The period is dominated in poetry by Henry Kendall and Adam Lindsay Gordon, in fiction by two men,

Marcus Clarke and Rolf Boldrewood, and three women, Ada Cambridge, Mrs. Campbell-Praed, and "Tasma." Of these Clarke, Boldrewood and Kendall established permanent reputations.

Henry Kendall (1839–82) had a slight but pure lyric gift, a charm of diction, and a genuine sensitivity to the Australian environment, especially the coastal river valleys of New South Wales. The superficially contradictory strains of melancholy and utopianism, which are found rather frequently in Australian writers, appear clearly for the first time in Kendall. Although a minor poet on a world scale of values, he looms large in the Australian record, because he took a long step forward beyond Harpur and because no work unquestionably superior to his was written until after his death.

Certainly Kendall was a far more significant poet than his contemporary Adam Lindsay Gordon (1833–70). Gordon, however, has enjoyed vastly more popularity. He has, indeed, been acclaimed time and again the greatest of Australian poets, in recent years especially by politicians and Englishmen seeking to say the "right thing" about Australian literature. The illusion is sustained by the fact that there is a bust of Gordon in Westminster Abbey, placed there in 1934 as a direct result of an intensive publicity campaign conducted by his English admirers, led by Douglas B. W. Sladen. Moreover, tags of Gordon's verse spring spontaneously to the lips of many Australians who otherwise are innocent of memories of poetry read or heard. But it is nevertheless the case that Gordon's poems will hardly bear the same weight of critical scrutiny as Kendall's. Professor Walter Murdoch said all that can be said for Gordon when he remarked in 1941, "His swinging ballads of action in the open air, with their simple philosophy of courage, endurance, and loyalty, appealed strongly to the Australia of his day; and some of them will, I believe, appeal to the Australia of tomorrow." This much would be freely admitted by Gordon's most persistent critics, were it not for the fact that the ludicrous over-valuation of his work stands obviously in the way of an understanding of more mature and substantial Australian poets.

Marcus Clarke* (1846–81) and Rolf Boldrewood* (1826–1915) both wrote far more than the two novels by which they are chiefly remembered. Clarke arrived in Australia as a boy of 18 and before he died at 35 dissipated his talent in a wide variety of journalistic undertakings. But when he was commissioned by a fiction journal to write a novel of convict life he produced a story that still stands as the best of its kind in Australian literature. *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874) is perhaps not a truly great novel; it is a "classic by default" of anything better of its kind, but it is a vivid and memorable story, which sooner or later almost every Australian reads. Boldrewood wrote a long string of novels after an adventurous career as pastoralist and police magistrate. Today it is a rare person that has read more than two or three of his books, most commonly *Robbery Under Arms*, serialized in 1882, published in book form six years later. This novel is a consistently interesting account of bushranging during the goldrush period. Boldrewood's observation of the Australian scene is conceded to be sound—social historians will one day make good use of his books—and he could manage a story, but there is no density in his work to make it true literature. *Robbery Under Arms* is, like Clarke's story of convict life, a classic-by-default. Although Australians have been consistently fascinated by bushranging, especially by the last of the bushrangers, Ned Kelly, no better novel on the subject than Boldrewood's has been produced. "Ned Kelly," writes Clive Turnbull, "is the best known Australian, our only folk hero." (See *Ned Kelly*, Melbourne, 1942.)

The novels of the three women of this period—Ada Cambridge (1844–1926), Mrs. Campbell-Praed (1851–1935) and "Tasma" (1852–97)—show definite signs of passing from popular memory into the exclusive keeping of the historians. In a brief preface to *Longleat of Kooralbyn* Mrs. Campbell-Praed remarked, "It is . . . to all English readers that I, an Australian, address myself, with the hope that I may in some slight degree aid in bridging over the gulf which divides the old world from the young." This is a non-literary purpose, of course, but apparently it was present in the minds of most Australian writers of the time. Indeed then and for years after, the patronage of English readers was necessary if an Australian writer was to enjoy a vogue in Australia. Even a man so obviously catering to Australian interests as Rolf Boldrewood had to wait upon success in England before he was really successful at home. In recent years, therefore, the inevitable process of sorting out the work of the past has led to the rejection of many writers that once were accepted as authentically Australian by English reviewers and readers with little or no direct knowledge of the country. What may be called Anglo-Australian literature perhaps had to precede truly Australian literature, but once the ascendancy of the latter became established, the Anglo-Australians were sure to be "written down." The three women novelists of this period have thus far succumbed even more completely to this kind of literary analysis than, say, the poet Adam Lindsay Gordon. Yet in each instance they produced one or two books that should be reprinted in any series attempting to present the history of the Australian novel; *e.g.*, *Longleat of Kooralbyn* (1881) by Mrs. Campbell-Praed, *Uncle Piper of Piper's Hill* (1889) by "Tasma," and *Not All in Vain* (1892) by Ada Cambridge.

Up to about 1890 the story of literature in Australia is, in an important sense, a prelude to Australian literature. With the 90's the Australians arrived. The 1890's were a time of crisis and reassessment. Between 1890 and 1914—the period loosely called "the nineties"—those Australian writers that today are most often cited as characteristically Australian produced their most considerable books. It was a crowded period in which a very great deal was written and published. Major figures of this time were Henry Lawson (1867–1922), Tom Collins (1843–1912), Bernard O'Dowd (b. 1866), and A. G. Stephens (1865–1933). Minor figures whose niches are defined include A. B. Paterson (1864–1941), Dowell O'Reilly (1865–1923), Barbara Baynton (1862–1929), Louis Becke (1855–1913), Louis Stone (1871–1934), C. J. Dennis (1876–1938), Randolph Bedford (1868–1940), Steele Rudd (1868–1935), Mrs. Aeneas Gunn (b. 1870), E. J. Banfield (1862–1923) and C. E. W. Bean (b. 1879). Debatable figures are Victory Daley (1858–1905), Price Warung (1855–1911) and E. J. Brady (b. 1869).

Henry Lawson* wrote a long list of vivid stories and sketches of life in the bush—on the farms ("selections") and stations, and along the bushtracks between—as well as in the cities, and a considerable quantity of popular verse. His art is instinctive rather than self-conscious. He wrote of what he saw and heard, inventing little, imagining hardly at all. He was an articulate common man, but a common man of temperament. His stories are clearly etched—their environmental circumstances are intensely real—his characters, while not profoundly explored, stand out vividly, the situations are almost invariably memorable, and his sentiments are unquestionably Australian. Even in his ambivalence Lawson is Australian: if there is a streak of melancholy in him, there is also an hilarious humor (even farce); if he can tell stories of callous cruelty, he can also indulge in tedious sentimentality. Probably no writer

ever got closer to the *heart* of Australia, a fact that accounts for his wide and continuing popularity. Somehow his stories, while hardly touching greater heights of sentiment and idea than his verses, are markedly superior. The verses enjoy a popularity equal to the fiction, but they definitely have small claim as literature. His best stories, nevertheless, could with profit be collected in a single volume. They are chiefly to be found in *While the Billy Boils* (1896) and *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901).

Tom Collins* poured the experiences of a lifetime into one book, *Such Is Life* (1903). He was over forty before he began to write professionally; he had been in turn a farm laborer, a farmer, a contractor for road building, a contractor carrying supplies to and wool from outback sheep stations, and an employee in the family's smalltown iron works. Yet he turned all this miscellaneous experience to very good account. Moreover he had thought deeply of politics and literature. He poured everything he had gathered into one huge manuscript, using the diary form to divide it into manageable sections. His story has to do with the life of the bullock drivers and their associates, friends, enemies, and hangers-on, in the outback during the 1880's. It also includes discursive essays on every topic that would occur to a thoughtful man in Australia. It is thus a compendium of distinctively Australian thoughts and conclusions about life, literature, and society. From no other single book can one learn so much about what constitutes the basic elements of the Australian leftwing outlook. Even though these have often been overlaid and distorted, they have a way of suddenly reappearing at crucial moments. It is for this reason that *Such Is Life* has waxed in reputation while books far more popular in their day have already waned. Even Collins's style, which has a Johnsonian ponderosity, has not been the handicap it might at first glance seem. The slow pace of the book forces all but the most careless readers to soak it up rather than hastily swallow it. The result is that, once really read, passages have a way of recurring in the mind long after. The book is written at a pace analogous to that of bullocks—slow, deliberate, easy-going, conducive to rumination. *Such Is Life* is an Australian classic, the most important single book yet written out of unmistakably Australian experiences. Collins's other book, *Rigby's Romance* (1921), is an anabranch of the main stream. It was subtracted from the original manuscript of *Such Is Life* to reduce its portentous bulk.

A. G. Stephens* was the outstanding literary critic of his generation; in fact, he is the only figure in Australian literature whose reputation rests on his criticism. From 1896 to 1906 he was editor of the literary section of the Sydney *Bulletin,* a weekly paper founded in 1881. *The Bulletin* had, while Stephens was literary editor, a more profound influence on the direction of Australian literary development than has ever before or since been exerted by a critical journal. Almost all the major figures, and most of the minor, felt the *Bulletin* influence. If only the weaker writers, whose work is now getting dusty, totally succumbed to the limitations of the paper—a weakness for local color and a passion for the laconic—it nevertheless reached out to embrace Tom Collins, Henry Lawson and all the other stars of the time. For Stephens had a passion for literature and an equal passion for Australia. He desperately wanted an Australian literature. After he parted with *The Bulletin* he continued to exercise a wide influence through his own paper, *The Bookfellow,* and his occasional booklets. "Yet the effect of all these books is fragmentary:" writes Vance Palmer in his memoir of Stephens; "added together they do not equate the vital, integrated personality that was Stephens. They are, in truth, merely a by-product of his active working life. He was a

journalist-critic, pouring his power into the weekly column, scattering his wit, badinage, common sense with a free hand, seeming to take letters lightly, yet, through the manly directness of his approach, making them an important and exciting part of life for his readers."

Bernard O'Dowd,* who stands in this company as poet, believed in poetry with a purpose. In *Poetry Militant* (1909) he pleaded for a poetry that would speak to the people about the problems and thoughts nearest to them, most important to them, most likely to lead them to higher accomplishments. Yet somehow he managed to escape the reproach of being a merely "inspirational" versifier. There was a strength in him that made him a great poet. His lyric gift is slight; his poems are burdened with a heavy weight of literary learning; like Tom Collins, with whom he has a definite affinity as a thinker, he spoke from a leftwing point of view. O'Dowd had in full measure that recurring Australian interest in utopia—in the prospect of building in Australia a far better society than man had ever hitherto known. There is a density and a drive in O'Dowd's poems that cannot fail to appeal to all who look for more than a song in poetry. Rough-hewn as his work is, it stands as a great monument in the midst of a vast plain strewn with the works of versifiers who were trivial singers to beguile an empty hour.

The minor figures of the time make a varied array. A. B. Paterson is remembered today for ballads—though he wrote prose also —*The Man From Snowy River, Clancy of the Overflow* and perhaps above all, *Waltzing Matilda,* which achieved worldwide fame during World War II. (See *The Story of Waltzing Matilda,* by Sydney May, Brisbane, 1944.) Dowell O'Reilly wrote a handful of poignant and moving short stories. Barbara Baynton produced a small book of somber bush studies which won the praise of Havelock Ellis. Louis Becke brought the South Sea islands into the Australian short story. Louis Stone left a novel that is a minor masterpiece, *Jonah* (1911), a study of slum life. Randolph Bedford dissipated his talent in a dozen directions, but his *Explorations in Civilization* (1916) is well worth reading. Steele Rudd wrote the funniest book in Australian literature, *On Our Selection* (1899) and created Dad and Dave, characters that have an active life quite outside the book. Mrs. Gunn wrote a classic of outback squatting life, *We of the Never Never* (1908) and a perennial favorite for children, *The Little Black Princess* (1905), a charming story of aboriginal life. E. J. Banfield carried nature writing, in which Australians have shown a persistent interest for several generations, to a high plane in such books as *Confessions of a Beachcomber* (1908). C. J. Dennis put the Australian "mug" into vernacular verse in *The Sentimental Bloke* (1915). C. E. W. Bean showed how journalism can become memorable writing in such books as *On the Wool Track* (1910) and *Dreadnought of the Darling* (1911). Victor Daley wrote a delicate lyric poetry that will always have fierce partisans; Price Warung left some tales of convict days that are in the genre complementary to Clarke's novel; and E. J. Brady brought saltwater ballads into Australian literature. It was an extraordinarily satisfactory period.

In the years between the two great wars Australian writers continued very active, but the magnetic power of *The Bulletin* had declined and no single journal of equal significance took its place. Old problems of getting books published and making contact with the Australian reading public were not as yet completely solved. Writers worked in isolation from one another. But if no critic gained the authority of A. G. Stephens, a number of able critics, including Furnley Maurice,* Vance and Nettie Palmer, Frank Dalby Davi-

son, M. Barnard Eldershaw and T. Inglis Moore, were certain to seize upon each worthwhile book as it appeared and celebrate its virtues. By printing their work in a variety of papers they wielded a wide influence and they raised standards markedly in the face of popular indifference. As the period ended with the outbreak of World War II it was apparent that the most important figures of the time had been Henry Handel Richardson (b. 1880?), Katherine Susannah Prichard (b. 1884), Brent of Bin Bin (true identity unknown), Vance Palmer (b. 1885), Miles Franklin (b. 1883), Eleanor Dark (b. 1901), M. Barnard Eldershaw (a collaboration of Marjorie Barnard, b. 1897, and Flora Eldershaw, b. 1897), Leonard Mann (b. 1895), Frank Dalby Davison (b. 1893), Christopher Brennan (1870–1932), Furnley Maurice (1881–1941), Hugh McCrae (b. 1876), William Baylebridge (1883–1942) and Shaw Neilson (1872–1942). Some of these com pleted careers begun much earlier, while others were definitely post-war figures.

Henry Handel Richardson* is the greatest of the many Australian expatriates. Born in Australia and educated there, she—for her real name is Henrietta Richardson—has made her career in England. Yet she nevertheless thinks of herself as contributing to Australian literature, in the development of which she takes a keen interest. Certainly *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony,* a trilogy completed in 1929, is one of the really great novels of Australian life. Yet the focus of Miss Richardson's interest is not primarily the Australian scene at all, but the character of Mahony. She is, above all, one of the most brilliant and satisfying of contemporary literary psychologists. Miss Richardson completely overshadows as a writer all other Australian expatriates of her time. The Australian books of Helen Simpson lack rewarding substance, as her other books lack durability; and after writing one memorable Australian novel, *The Montforts* (1928), Martin Mills took to writing light comedies of manners, English in setting. H. H. Richardson, like Henry James in American literature, is an expatriate that rose to greatness.

The strongest home-dwelling novelist of the period is Katherine Susannah Prichard.* In a series of novels of which *Working Bullocks* (1926) and *Coonardoo* (1929) are the best, she has made a major contribution to Australian fiction. Hardly less important are her short stories, some of which are collected in *Kiss on the Lips* (1932). A powerful competitor for first place in this period is Brent of Bin Bin, a mysterious figure whose pseudonym has never been penetrated, who has written a many-volumed novel of pastoral life of which three volumes have thus far been published: *Up the Country* (1928), *Ten Creeks Run* (1930) and *Back to Bool Bool* (1931). Brent's books carry the novel of pastoral life, initiated by Henry Kingsley, to its highest expression thus far. Miles Franklin, after producing a remarkable study of feminine adolescence, *My Brilliant Career* (1902), was for many years resident in the United States and England, engaged in labor journalism and social work. After the first war she returned to Australia and fiction with *All That Swagger* (1936), a novel of pastoral life and (in collaboration with Dymphna Cusack) *Pioneers on Parade* (1939), a witty satire on the socialites of the time. Miss Franklin is today the most active survivor of the nineties. It is appropriate that she wrote the most elaborate account of Tom Collins and his career (1944).

Vance Palmer's many novels are quiet and competent psychological studies. While lacking the robustness of Miss Prichard's, his books are, within their limits, distinctly meritorious, especially *The Passage* (1930) and *Legend for Sanderson* (1937). M. Barnard Eldershaw is primarily interested in psychological studies also, with a pronounced con-

cern for the stylistic graces as well. Her best novel is probably *Green Memory* (1931). As Vance Palmer has experimented with all literary forms—poetry, drama, short stories, novels, criticism—so Eldershaw has branched out into history, biography, and literary criticism. Mr. Palmer has written some first-class memorial essays, *e.g.*, on A. G. Stephens and Furnley Maurice, while Eldershaw has produced a fine study of the founding governor of Australia, *Phillip of Australia* (1938). Leonard Mann has specialized in the hard-boiled novel. Perhaps his best to date is *The Go-Getter* (1942). Frank Dalby Davison wrote a classic story of animal life, *Red Heifer* (1931) and has also produced a series of skilful short stories and short narratives on Australian and foreign subjects. He is profoundly interested in style, but not at the expense of substance. Eleanor Dark combines psychological insight with stylistic brilliance in novels, of which the most substantial thus far is *The Timeless Land* (1941).

Standing by himself, but touching literature and life at many points, is Professor Walter Murdoch (b. 1874), who made the familiar essay a popular form in Australia when it had practically disappeared overseas (see *Collected Essays*, Sydney, 1938).

Among the contemporary poets pride of place must go to Christopher Brennan,* deeply influenced by the French symbolists; almost all of his work was done well before World War I, but his reputation was consolidated and extended in the interwar period. Brennan is a poet that should be known throughout the English-reading world; he has suffered obscurity from having lived and worked in Australia. William Baylebridge* is a deeply philosophical poet whose work demands "attention of perusal" but rewards the efforts spent upon it. In form and manner he is traditional. Furnley Maurice,* on the other hand, was an experimental poet who wrote in many styles, skilfully in all, and whose influence will wax as the traditionalist stranglehold on Australian verse wanes. Shaw Neilson wrote lyrics of supreme delicacy of charm. Hugh McCrae* represents a tradition in Australian poetry, initiated in some measure by his father and continued by Victor Daley, which combines lyricism with a passion for decoration—for nymphs, fauns, and satyrs. Around these major figures was a standing army of versifiers, for in no country in the world do more people lisp in numbers than Australia. There is hardly a literate person on the continent who has not, at some time, written verse, and an astonishing number have published books of verse. Single poems of merit are remarkably common; Australia is a paradise for anthologists.

As in poetry, so in fiction and other branches of literature. The number of minor writers (or writers still minor as this survey is concluded) creates a puzzle for any critic determined on justice for all. Mention may properly be made of Ion Idriess (b. 1890), whose numerous books of adventure have enjoyed stupendous popularity and have contributed in their way to making the far reaches of the continent real to city-dwelling Australians; and of Frank Clune (b. 1894), who writes inimitable travelogues from the point of view of the "dinkum Aussie" (see *Frank Clune, Author and Ethnological Anachronism*, by Bartlett Adamson, Melbourne, 1944), full of local history and sardonic evaluations. John Dalley (1878–1935), Norman Lindsay (b. 1879), Brian Penton (b. 1904), Kylie Tennant (b. 1912), Xavier Herbert (b. 1901), Henrietta Drake-Brockman (b. 1901), Seaforth Mackenzie, and Patrick White have all written distinctive novels, many of which have been published overseas. In the United States, *e.g.*, Herbert and Tennant have enjoyed outstanding successes with *Capricornia* (1938) and *The Battlers* (1941), and White has had a *succes d'estime* with *Happy Valley* (1940). The outstanding ex-

patriate of this generation is Christina Stead, who has become an American citizen. Dal Stivens (b. 1912) and Gavin Casey have produced volumes of distinguished short stories. For the first time in the literary history of the country numerous plays have found publication, but no major playwright has appeared. Kenneth Slessor (b. 1901) and Robert Fitzgerald (b. 1902) are poets that have gained substantial reputations in the last few years.

The difficulties of writing and publishing during wartime have been enormous. But the energy is productive; the next period of Australian writing may be the most fruitful of all. A viable tradition is shaping up for writers to draw upon, for sustenance, for faith in the importance of their work. The younger writers (and some of the older ones), of whom the poets are the most active, have gathered around such magazines as *Angry Penguins*, which is self-consciously *avant garde*, or *Meanjin Papers*, which is intelligently aware of modern currents of literary thought, or associated themselves with such emphatically nationalist groups as the Jindyworobak poets. From the ranks of the young men and women whose work is now appearing in the little magazines will come the major figures of tomorrow.

E. Morris Miller, *Australian Literature: From Its Beginnings to 1935: A Descriptive and Bibliographical Survey*, 2 vols. (Melbourne), 1940; H. M. Green, *An Outline of Australian Literature* (Sydney), 1930; T. Inglis Moore, *Six Australian Poets: McCrae, Neilson, O'Dowd, Baylebridge, Brennan, Fitzgerald*, Foreword by C. Hartley Grattan (Melbourne), 1942; M. Bernard Eldershaw, *Essays in Australian Fiction: Richardson, Prichard, Davison, Palmer, Mann, Mills, Stead, Dark* (Melbourne), 1938, Nettie Palmer, *Modern Australian Literature, 1900–1923* (Melbourne), 1924; A. J. Coombes, *Some Australian Poets: Harpur, Kendall, Gordon, Lawson, Paterson, McCrae* (Sydney), 1938; P. R. Stephensen, *The Foundations of Culture in Australia*, (Sydney), 1936 (an expression of the extreme nationalist point of view); C. Hartley Grattan, *Australian Literature* (Seattle, Wash.), 1929 (Supplemented and elaborated in Chap. 9 of *Introducing Australia* (N. Y.), 1942); H. M. Green's essay, "The Development of Australian Literature," *The Australian National Review*, vol. 3, no. 14, Feb., 1938, and C. Hartley Grattan's essay, "On Australian Literature, 1788–1938," *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. x, no. 2, June, 1938, represent summaries of series of lectures delivered independently of one another under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the founding of Australia.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN.

AUSTRALIAN

(*Aborigine*)

WHEN AUSTRALIA was made known to Europeans it was found to be inhabited by several kinds of primitive, savage hunters. The most primitive of these hunting peoples were found on the island of Tasmania. They were dark-skinned, crisp-haired, short, negrito people, who used implements made from chipped stone flakes, unbarbed spears and small baskets. They were able to travel over the sea near land on crude rafts. They possessed no domestic dog.

On the Australian continent itself were more advanced types of hunting peoples. Those of the northern part of the continent tended to be tall, spindly legged, dark-brown-skinned with relatively sparse body-hair. Their head hair was usually dark and low-waved. The outstanding items of their material cul-

ture included ground-edged stone axes, bark canoes, stone and wood-barbed spears and a domestic dog.

Australians of the southern half of the continent tended to be shorter in stature, stouter of limb, a light tone of brown skin and their bodies were relatively thickly covered with body hair. Their head hair tended to be either low or deep waved with an occasional tendency to crispness. These "Southerners" were not as the "Northerners". Typically they did not know how to make their own edge-ground stone axes, and except in parts of Victoria either lacked them entirely or traded for them with peoples living to the north and north-east.

The Australians were divided into many hundreds of small tribes, each with a separate name, dialect, and tribal area. (Tindale 1940; has a map). Family groups of tribesmen wandered over their own territories whose boundaries were usually rather rigidly fixed.

Meagre as were their material cultures, all these people were well adapted to their environments, indicating long sojourns in their present homes. Their social organizations, unlike their material cultures, were complex and their stores of mythological lore and traditions were large. Their nature knowledge was often deep and of surprising accuracy, indicating strong powers of observation and deduction.

In the earliest days of white occupation of Australia, few took any interest in their culture. There were a few learned travelers who recorded their experiences objectively. The principal observers were missionary zealots, unfortunately eager to discover that the primitive beliefs were bestial, and they recorded them only as demonstrating how necessary it was to replace them by tenets of Old World faiths.

The early contacts between white European and aboriginal Australians led inevitably to the decimation and engulfment or disappearance of the Aborigines. Today they survive only in small isolated or degraded communities in settled districts, and, in a state of full cultural activity, only in the remotest confines of the Great Western Desert of Central Australia.

The legends and mythological tales of the Australian are all orally transmitted. In most tribes the spoken record is amplified by illustrative dance routines, ornaments, mnemonic rock paintings and carvings, and carved ceremonial objects of wood and stone. Stories of fixed form may occur over wide areas and may retain their principal elements, even when they are related in languages that are now distinct in structure and in word content. This seems to imply they are based on themes of considerable antiquity.

Elements of a stratification are evident, probably related to the historical sequences of events which follow the early occupation of Australia.

The stories range from the simple hunting tales of the more primitive Southern people, typified by the Tanganekald, through the aetiological stories of the peoples of the Darling River Basin to the complex totem animal and totem plant myths of such people as the Kukatja and Aranda of Central Australia and of the people of the northern areas of the continent.

The stratification of the forms of myths is not simple, and survivals of older forms may occur even in areas of the more advanced cultures. Traces of the clashes that arose from profound ethnic disturbances are seemingly preserved in the oral literature of the Australian Aborigines. They typify the endless frictions that must have accompanied the successive peoplings of the continent. The patterns for the stories must have been cut a very long time ago, but traces of the original form seem evident even in the stories of today.

Negrito *versus* Australoid stories are perhaps

best illustrated by the folk tales told in southern Australia. The Tanganekald for example, relate several stories of the *Thakuni,* tiny people that lived long ago among the coastal lagoons of the Robe district of South Australia. The *Thakuni* were feared for their staring eyes; one full glance from them could kill a man. It was proper to look at them only out of the corner of one's eye. They were able to make themselves invisible, living in mud huts hidden away on the remotest parts of the swamp lagoons. Ancestors of the Tanganekald combined to drive them away, and in one of the stories finally succeeded in pushing them into the sea where they became metamorphosed into jagged limestone boulders on the outer reef. In other stories they became transmuted into the fairy penguins (*Eudyptula*) that nest in burrows on small islands off the coast.

Similar stories, which may go back to days of ethnic clash between successive waves of Australoids, can be recognized in endless variety among the inhabitants of the southern and south central areas of Australia. The tale of the struggle between Eagle and Crow is the stock story of the "dual-moiety" peoples. As told among the Barkindji of the Darling River there is a clash of interests between an ancestral Eagle being (Kilpara) and the Crow man Makwora. Kilpara was tall and fair haired, Makwora was short, stout and dark haired.

Apart from the stories of possible cultural and ethnic clash, the oldest story elements, and also the simplest, seem to be represented by the tales of hunting and of food-gathering adventure. They seem to be most characteristic of the coastal peoples of South, Southwest, and Southeast Australia, where they are not overlaid by any heavy overburden of more complex culture myth. The few Tasmanian tales that have survived fall into this class. The patterns of the tales are simple and are kept alive by their intimate associations with the daily necessities of the food quest and the seasonal struggle for existence. These hunting stories reflect the narrow lives of their participants, chained as they are to the simple domestic activities that engross the greater part of the day of hunting and food-gathering peoples. To these simple elements are added the dramatic touches of surprise of the individual storyteller, based on either some half remembered cataclysm of nature, or an eclipse, or a meteoric shower, or some special food event of the past, such as the gastronomic wealth provided by a stranded whale. These tales are garnished with the petty mendacities that seem to be shared by hunters and fishermen the world over. The actors in these hunting and domestic dramas are almost always everyday human beings, or they behave like them. "The great hunt at Jurutung" is typical. It describes with a wealth of detail how kangaroos were driven onto a peninsula of land in the Coorong lagoon in South Australia, providing a slaughter and a feast that was an epicurean dream to a meat-loving and ever meat-hungry people. The "Story of Prupe" (Tindale 1938) is similar. It relates the cannibalistic behavior of an old woman, as an unusual variant of everyday life, and introduces a further element of the unusual in her sudden and dramatic destruction.

Overlying these stories and widespread in South Central Australia, the Darling Basin, and part of South Western Australia are the "man hero tales" merging into the "Eagle and Crow" type of story transitional to the complex animal and plant totemic stories of North Central Australia.

The man hero beings of these tales are generally conceived to be of gigantic size and to be capable of heroic feats impossible to present-day man. They were in no way considered god-like, nor were they the subject of any form of worship, although an earlier generation of missionary scholars did seek to identify

elements of a deity among them. The Wati Kutjara or the "Twin-men" of the Great Western Desert were able to "make mountains", to travel deep underground at will, to throw boomerangs with great effect, often cleaving mountain ranges and forming lakes and lake beds where their weapons fell to earth. Witness also the Jarildekald tribe's hero Ngurunderi, who by a single spear thrust cut the hundred mile long and 200 foot deep gorge of the lower Murray River, and who, when his truant wives were escaping across the sea towards Kangaroo Island (in a Ramindjeri story), transmuted them by a gesture of the hand into two rocky islands off Fleurieu Peninsula. Baiame, a heroic being of the Bigambul and Kamilaroi tribes of Northern New South Wales, was a man of similar capabilities.

In one sense these heroic beings were the "first comers" or "explorers" who "discovered" the country, ventured into it, fought the previous inhabitants, or braved its terrors; as one Jarildekald narrator said of Ngurunderi, "he made the country, prepared it for us so we could live in it". Ngurunderi formed and shaped the country for the Ramindjeri; he placed a sand bar here suitable for seine net fishing, a cockle beach there to provide women with a food-gathering place, and a rock hole elsewhere to give water to those that were to follow him. Not all of these ancestral beings were noted for their beneficent actions. Thus Mulda flashed a great light across the sky, as though he were pointing a magic "bone". (This may have been an astronomical phenomenon such as a comet or meteor.) Mulda caused a pestilence like smallpox so that many people died of the "sickness of Mulda"; he beckoned to them with his "pointing bone" and "the people had to die".

North of the areas dominated by the man-hero tales are to be found the animal-totem stories, typified by those of the Aranda of Central Australia. These stories extend northward almost to Cape York (McConnel, 1935–1936) and northwestward to the Kimberleys. In this great area human heroes are replaced by animals (and even plants) with the attributes of men. These animal beings are born, grow up, wander over their tribal country, fight, mate, live and die just like the present-day human folk, who are their descendants. In their full expression, these tales not only embody all that is remembered of past events but also serve as the vehicle by which newly initiated youths learn the names and characteristics of each place in their territory, together with the routes by which it is possible to travel across the oft inhospitable plains and mountains that form the country in which they live. The stories recall by name each water hole where the ancestral animal-being drank, even the saline or bitter springs he encountered, as he journeyed across the tribal territory. The animal-being, in the course of his adventures, killed other animals in certain places; these places remain prolific in providing the same kind of animal for the human descendants of the totem. Thus the rocky mountain pile where the ancestral Kangaroo-being with a heap of rocks formed an ambush for euros (the rock-dwelling species of Kangaroo) will provide euros in the proper season for the modern hunter. The stories have a useful basis for the living and they provide the geographical nomenclature of the country. Thus Kulaia Kutjara, ("two emus") is the place where two rocks remain at the site of the ancestral killing of two emus. During the 1931 Anthropological Expedition to Mount Liebig conducted by the University of Adelaide, an initiate Ngalia youth recited a list of over 300 totemic places he had visited during the previous year as part of his education into the mysteries of his totemic story.

In Central Australia these stories and their associated rites reach their most detailed expression. Possession of a totemic myth is there essential to the life and wellbeing of every

man, woman, and child. A woman never is told the secrets of her myth, possession of it is a prerogative of her male kinsfolk and her husband. The responsibility of narrating the stories, and the right to enact the "increase" dances associated with their dramatic highlights, are the great motivating features of aboriginal culture and the mainspring of all native life, art, and music.

In certain places such as near the tip of Cape York late cultural elements seem to have entered Australia, and myths of possible Papuan origin make their appearance. The degree of this Papuanization is a matter of dispute. Still farther north in the Torres Straits Islands the people, due to infiltration from the Papuan littoral, bear but little physical resemblance to their Australoid ancestors and their mythology is foreign to that of the rest of Australia (Haddon, 1912).

E. H. Davies, 1932, *Oceania,* ii, p. 454 (Aboriginal Songs of Central and Southern Australia), F. Fenner, 1941, *Records of the South Australian Museum* (Adelaide), v. 7, A. C. Haddon, 1912, Report of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, v. pp. 9–120 (Folk-tales), J. Mathew, 1899, *Eaglehawk and Crow* (London); U. H. McConnel, 1935, *Oceania,* vi, pp. 66–93 (Myths of the Wikmunkan); 1936, *Oceania,* vi, pp. 452–477, vii, pp. 69–105 (Totemic Hero Cults in Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland); K. Langloh Parker, 1897, *Australian Legendary Tales* (London), W. Ramsay Smith, 1930, *Myths and Legends of the Australian Aboriginals* (London); C. Strehlow, 1907–1911, *Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stamme in Zentral Australien,* v. 1 (Frankfurt-am-Main); Mythen, Sagen and Marchen des Aranda-Stammes in Zentral Australien), N. B. Tindale, 1935, *Records of the South Australian Museum,* v, p. 261–274, (The Legend of Waijungari, and the Phonetic system Employed in its Transcription); 1938, *Trans. Royal Society of South Australia,* lxii (Story of Prupe and Koromarange); 1939, *Records of the South Australian Museum,* vi, pp. 243–261 (Eagle and Crow Myths of the Maraura Tribe, Lower Darling River, New South Wales); 1940, *Trans. Royal Society of South Australia,* lxiv (Map showing the distribution of the Aboriginal tribes of Australia).

NORMAN B. TINDALE.

AUSTRIAN

AUSTRIAN literature has been regarded, in the main, as an integral part of German literature. Still, although they are written in the same language, they differ as human, as cultural, as political expressions. Austrian literature may be said, like that of Switzerland, to hold an intermediate position — distinctly linked to, distinctly separate from, that of Germany.

Austria was an ancient monarchy, once a part of the Holy Roman Empire, later extending more and more to the east of Europe; during the 19th c. the only large supranational state on the continent. Then, between the two World Wars, a small republic of German nationality, a mere fragment of the old Austria. And then, a victim of Hitler's "Reich."

Austria, though not in the political, is in the linguistic sense German. Its autonomy is not easily defined. Yet it exists. Identity of written and spoken language does not mean identity of inner language.

This Austria starts with the counter-reformation, with the Baroque period; its literature started soon after the political separation (1804) from the Holy Roman Empire. The characteristics of this literature, as compared with that of Germany, are: It is not nationalistic, but—mirroring the old monarchy —supranational, cosmopolitan, one of the cross sections of Europe. Not philosophical,

not Protestant, not abstractly ethical: Catholic in the sense not of a faith but of a cultural atmosphere, with Latin, Slavic, Jewish overtones; never excessively individualistic or collectivist. It is the expression of a society never separated from Europe. It might be called the Mediterranean form of German civilization.

Vienna and Prague constituted centers of an autonomous Austrian literature. Both cities open more toward the east and south and west than to the north. Like Byzantium, or Rome, or Paris, they have the gift of assimilating and transforming. Their society is a hierarchy. Among its permanent institutions is a theatre. Its authors are not easygoing, but often of sad if not heavy mood.

Since 1804, there have been two generations distinguished in Austrian literature. The two most eminent representatives of the first took up the tradition of Goethe, which, during the solitary decades of his old age, had not been followed in Germany; while here, in Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872) and Adalbert Stifter (1805–68), it was alive. They shared Goethe's reverent concern for the conservation of human values; his attitude (in a humanistic sense totalitarian) was theirs; Grillparzer's in the historical vistas of his later plays (*Ein Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg, Family Feud in Hapsburg; Libussa*); Stifter's in the insights into the forming of the individual, in his novels and stories (*Der Nachsommer, Late Summer; Studien; Witiko*). Grillparzer summed up two centuries of European civilization: "From humanism through nationalism to bestiality." Contemporary with the work of these two men are the fairy and folk plays of Ferdinand Raimund (1790–1836) and the brilliant, insolent farces of Johann Nestroy (1802–62), both rooted in the Viennese dialect. Contemporary, too, was an Austrian form of the European *Weltschmerz* and melancholy, as in the lyric poetry of Nikolaus Lenau (1802–50).

In the works of the generation born about 1870, Austria became fully conscious of itself. Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931), Richard Beer-Hofmann (1866–1945), Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), Leopold Andrian (b. 1875), were all bred in a rich cultural tradition. The plays and stories of Schnitzler present only a part of his personality. They are close to French literature, and show evidence of deep human insight. The dramatic poems of Beer-Hofmann (*Jaákobs Traum, Jacob's Dream; Der junge David, Young David*), fervent in their belief, are built on a grand scale. The work of Andrian's youth, symptomatic of Europe at the century's end, is akin to that of Holmannsthal's. The latter's poetry, while continuing the spirit of the great Romantic, Novalis, and in its later stages a renewal of the Baroque drama, is at the same time the expression of an authentic individuality (*Gedichte, Poems; Der Tor und der Tod, Death and the Fool; Das kleine Welttheater, Little Theatre of the World; Andreas, Der Turm, The Tower*). The contemplative and descriptive prose of his essays is among the most significant since Goethe. Apart from and opposing these men was Karl Kraus (1874–1936), eminent as a satirist and probing critic of civilization, and in his use of language. To a younger generation belongs Georg Trakl, of Salzburg (1887–1914), a strange and solitary dreamer (*Gedichte*).

From Prague rose two figures widely significant. Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), a lyrical poet of very high rank, unique and strange in the continuity of his evolution, is no less great in his prose than in his verse: *New Poems* I, II; *Die Aufzeichnungen* (*Notebook*) *des Malte Laurids Brigge; Duineser Elegien; Later Poems; Briefe* (*Letters*). The unfinished stories and novels of Franz Kafka (1883–1924), with their peculiar intensity of thought and vision, are eminent in the development of modern fiction: *Das Schloss* (*The Castle*); *Der Prozess* (*The*

Trial). After Rilke and Kafka came Franz Werfel (1890–1945), writer of poems, novels, plays; passionate, humanitarian, hater of war and wrong.

L. Andrian, *Österreich in Prisma der Idee* (Graz), 1937; J. W. Nagl, J. Zeidler, E. Castle, *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. 3, 4 (Wien), 1930, 1937; G. Bianquis, *La poésie autrichienne de Hofmannsthal à Rilke* (Paris), 1926.

HERBERT STEINER.

AZERBAYJAN–*See* Turkish.

AZTEC–*See* Mexican.

BABYLONIAN–*See* Accadian; Canaanite.

BAKAÏRI–*See* South American Indian.

BAMBARA–*See* African.

BANKS ISLAND–*See* Polynesian.

BANTU–*See* African.

BARKINDJI–*See* Australian Aborigine.

BAS BRETON–*See* Breton.

BASQUE

WE ARE considering here not Basque literature in Spanish (Baroja, Salaberría, Unamuno, etc.) or in French (P. Lhande and others), but Basque literature in the Basque language. In spite of the antiquity of the Basque people, references to whom we find even in the old Roman writers, the oldest work we have is a series of poems written by a priest (Bernard Dechepare) in 1545. Before that year we find only scattered material, like glosses or incidental paragraphs in Spanish or French books. After 1545 the production of Basque literature increases, especially in the hands of priests (Leiçarrague, Larramendi, Cardaberaz, etc.) who translated or wrote works of a religious character (the *Bible*, catechisms, etc.). There are, however, some profane works such as the proverbs of Ohienart (1657) and others, but not until the 19th c. does Basque literature become independent of the religious.

In 1802 we have the prose and poetry of Moguel, as well as his translations from the Roman classics; in 1826, the narration of dances and the history of Gipuzkoa by Iztueta, and the prose of the fantastic Chaho. In 1876 Manterola created for the first time a new literary school in San Sebastián, to be followed by others in the different capitals of the Basque country (Bayonne, Pamplona, Bilbao) each with its own periodicals.

At the beginning of the 20th c., thanks to the patriotic movement of Sabino Arana Goiri, all the literary tendencies centered in a patriotic literature which, together with a strong popular government, gave birth to Basque nationalism. After 1920 there has been a real renaissance of all forms of Basque literature (poetry: L. Jauregi, E. Urkiaga, J. M. Agirre; novel: Barbier; drama: T. Alzaga, A. Labayen; translators like J. Altuna of Oscar Wilde, Larracoechea of Grimm, Arrgei of Heine) and above all patriotic literature with several important publications.

Outstanding material of folkloric value are the popular tales and legends collected by Azkue and Barbier. They show the vitality of traditional and oral literature among the

Basques and how they preserved it throughout the centuries. It is easy to trace in them the different influences (Celtic, Latin, Romance, etc.) that the Basque people have undergone. After the destruction of Guernica and the fall of Bilbao into General Franco's hands (1937), the Basque Government, which was the aim of all of these literary and political movements, fled to France and afterwards to America. Thus Basque literature has survived in periodicals published first in Paris and after the occupation of France by Germany, in Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, and to some extent in the United States (Idaho). In the Basque country itself literary production has been discontinued, due to the Spanish government's proscription of all forms of Basque literature. Some writers in exile, however, have been able to produce works in the best Basque literary tradition, which show clearly the future tendencies of Basque literature. These are T. Monzon's poems *Urrundik* (*From far away;* Mexico, 1945) written in popular form and even using popular Basque musical melodies; *Yolanda,* a novel by J. A. Irazusta (Buenos Aires, 1945) and the translation by I. Zaitegi of Longfellow's *Evangeline* (Guatemala, 1945). Reflecting the spirit of its staunch people, rich in local tradition and love of the land, Basque has a secure, if not a major, place among the literature of the world.

Del espiritu de los Vascos (Bilbao), 1920; *Pinceladas vascas* (Buenos Aires), 1942, A. Allende Salazar, *Biblioteca del bascófilo* (Madrid), 1887; E. S. Dodgson, Some Notes on Baskish Books, *Notes and Queries* ser. 9, v. 8, 1901.

JUAN MANUEL BILBAO.

BASUTO—*See* African.

BEDOUIN—*See* Arabic.

BELGIAN

FROM THE Middle Ages on, Belgium, then part of the Lowlands, has had a bicephalous literature: it was Dutch in the northern provinces, French and to a certain extent also Walloon in the southern part of the country. When the French kings began to centralize their administration and to expand their possessions, the balance between the wealthy, thickly populated but poorly protected Flemish cities and the dynamic French state was upset. French influence made itself felt also in the cultural field. At that time the long pageant of Flemish authors who express themselves in French begins. It leads from Chastellain to Maeterlinck. It complicates the picture of literature in Belgium, but it makes evident the particular role that literature has played as a cross-road of cultural influences and reconciler of Gallic and Germanic influences, a melting pot of diverse tendencies. Usually economic conditions determine, to a great extent, the progress or the regression of a language: in modern times nationalistic feelings have often succeeded even in defeating the pressure of economic and political factors. The story of Belgian literary expression, therefore, is as interesting from the social point of view as it is from the purely aesthetic.

As the language of the Ile de France asserted its supremacy over the many French dialects and finally became *the* French lan

guage, so the language spoken in West Flanders and in Ghent was in the Middle Ages the most elegant among the Dutch dialects. Through force of circumstances it lost that position in the 15th c. to the Brabant-Antwerp dialect, but when after the wars of religion the southern Netherlands were separated and isolated from world economy by the Dutch, the elegant tongue became the dialect of the Holland province, a prominence it thenceforth kept. But almost the entire Dutch literature of the Middle Ages was written in the Flemish provinces. It is interesting and abundant: besides a number of delightful ballads and love lyrics, many of which still survive, as well as the highly valued mystic writings of Jan van Ruusbroec, and the probably not so orthodox poems of Hadewych, there exist the usual variants of the tales of the knights. A good many of the ancient writers, mostly poets, are highly didactic and encyclopedic in their compositions. The lyrical comments they made on contemporary events or fashions still have strength and value.

Three works stand out among an enormous production: *Reynard the Fox, Beatrijs* and *Elckerlyc.* All three are written on international themes which have been treated in practically every European country. *Beatrijs* is a short poem on a theme that has been recounted about 300 times from 1222 to our days: the story of the vergeress who leaves her convent to follow the call of her blood, who fares ill with a fickle lover and who after a sinful life returns to the convent to find that the Virgin has hidden her shame by taking her place. The Flemish version is by far the purest, most human, and most beautiful of all, ancient or modern. Together with great literary beauty it gives a deep psychological insight into the heart of man. (*The Tale of Beatrice,* New York, 1943). *Reynard the Fox* gives voice to the people, to the critical spirit. It glorifies the cunning of the fox who has to depend on his wits to defend himself against the powerful, the jealous, or the prejudiced. He is not exactly a moralist; in fact he is amoral, but he is faithful to his brood and fights for them. Theory does not embarrass him, functions do not impress him. He makes fun of the nobility and of the clergy alike, of the knights and of the stupid worker. It is a sarcastic epic, as depressing in its conclusions as the cynicisms of La Fontaine, but it is penetrated by such gallant lust of life that the amorality of the hero is thereby nearly obliterated. The third outstanding work is the drama in verse *Elckerlyc* or *Everyman.* It may or may not be the oldest version extant and therefore may precede the English counterpart, but as it stands, it constitutes an impressive presentation of the Christian *ars moriendi,* enlivened by symbolic figures of great presence and illustrative power. All three of these masterly and anonymous works of the 14th and 15th c. are still part of the active literature of Dutch-speaking countries today.

Among the didactic poets Jacob van Maerlant (ca. 1235–?), Jan van Boendale (ca. 1280–1365), and Jan de Weert should be mentioned, the first being considered "the father of all Dutch poets altogether." Besides *Elckerlyc,* the plays of *Lancelot* and especially *Marieke of Nymwege* are of significance.

Under the Burgundian dukes in the 15th c., literature, especially poetry, became mechanized through all too clear-cut classifications: poems had to be either pious, amorous, or gay; they were to be in the ballad form with envoi, etc. . . . Poetry spread out, but by spreading lost depth. The pious ballads were usually pedantic, the amorous often coarse and vulgar, the gay trivial and obscene.

Every village, every township, had its poetry society; the butcher and the baker as well as the candlestick-maker were supposed to produce their yearly dozen of ballads or their drama or comedy in verse. Ever so

often the representatives of the townships met and competed for days in a kind of *Sängerfest* or poetical Olympic games. Very little of that writing had literary value. What exists still of the *Seven Joys of Mary* (the First and the Seventh) is good theatre: some of the comical pieces have verve and a Rabelaisian power. One of the poets who displays uncommon acumen in his vision of social conditions and who has some of Villon's macabre humor is the Bruges city architect Anthonis de Roovere (?–1482).

The Dukes of Burgundy were French by origin and language. They had taste and encouraged art and letters: the luxury and brilliance of their court attracted a number of writers who found a tradition of French-writing authors already in Belgium. In fact, some of the oldest French texts had their origin on Belgian territory: the famous *Cantilène d'Eulalie* shows signs of Walloon dialect and there is no doubt that *Aucassin and Nicolette* was written in Hainaut. Real writing of significance in French, however, begins with the chroniclers: Froissart, Commines and Chastellain, Colin de Hainaut and Jean d'Outremeuse. They are to an unequal degree masters of French prose, although Chastellain, e.g., rightly apologizes for his sometimes inelegant French. The poetry produced by the Burgundian poets in French is not at all remarkable: it is weighed down with symbols and literary artifices whose subtle meanings escape us today.

The 16th c. was one of profound drama in the spiritual and artistic life of the Lowlands. Literature became a weapon for or against the Church or for or against Reform. The Reform produced a great number of anonymous songs, glorifications of Protestant martyrs, satires of the Roman hierarchy and of Roman dogmas, some of great literary quality. The champion of orthodoxy was Anna Bijns (1494–1575), a virile poetess who for many years attacked Lutheranism and the social upheaval created by the Reformation in the most masculine and eloquent language. Seldom has a faith been defended with such vigor; she excused the weakness of the Catholic clergy as all too human, chaffed about the wordly troubles into which the nuns and monks who had left their orders fell, and stated the Catholic position with perfect orthodoxy. Her work contains also some charming love lyrics, besides a number of religious poems which are purely verbal acrobatics of doubtful taste. An ironist of delightful humor was her fellow citizen Cornelis Crul (?–1551).

When the religious conflict had assumed a political aspect, the Reformation found a bilingual defender in one of William the Silent's counselors and aids, Philip Marnix van Sinte Aldegonde. Marnix was a poet of distinction and a good linguist. Against Rome he wrote a voluminous and frankly venomous book: the *Beehive of the Roman Faith*. The attack is fierce, coarse, and trenchant. With a vigor at least equal to that used by Luther, Marnix denounces the Church. He uses a Rabelaisian vocabulary; his images are striking; his wit, although not always of the best vintage, irresistible. In the literature of the Reformation scarcely any other book received more attention and had more convincing power. There was a Dutch as well as a French version of the book; translations appeared in English, in German, and in Latin.

Among the French authors, Jehan Lemaire de Belges (1473–?) was recognized as a forerunner of the Renaissance; among the Flemish writers, Jan van der Noot (1539 or 1540–ca. 95) played the same role. Both had more talent than real genius.

During the 17th and the 18th c., the Belgian provinces were economically cut off from Europe, unable to regain their former prosperity. Intellectual life was nearly at a standstill and that which did subsist was not very original. A fluent poet like Michiel de Swaen

(1654–1707) was an epigone of the Great Vondel. The revival of the Walloon dialect in the mid 17th c. produced charming poetry of but limited importance, as was also the work of the French writers of the Académie de Flémalle. Flanders was flooded with the picturesque writings of apologetic humorists like Adriaan Poirters (1605–74), of coarse descriptions of morals like the comedies of Willem Ogier (1618–89), who wrote a play on each of the cardinal sins.

In the 18th c., Hainaut gave birth to a French writer of eminence, the Prince de Ligne (1735–1814), a man of the world, a soldier in many parts, a diplomat, and a mellow cynic. He is sometimes more Voltairian than Voltaire, wrote exquisite French, and became wise through experience. His *Memoirs* are a prodigious panorama of European society on the verge of collapse and after the catastrophe. On his deathbed, during the Congress of Vienna, he asked himself: "What could I offer them in the way of amusement that they haven't had? The funeral of a Marshal?" There is not much that denotes his origins in this author of cosmopolitan taste and swaying loyalties. His reputation, like his ambition, was at all times European.

From the standpoint of literature, there is little to say about the publications in Belgium in the 18th c. and during the Napoleonic era: much scholarly work was done; foreign authors were gracefully imitated; here and there a minor talent blossomed, but there was in fact no literary life of any importance: somehow the soul of the country seemed in bondage.

With the birth of Belgium as an independent nation in 1830, literature in the country had its first chance in two hundred years to express the national characteristics. It labored, however, under a handicap which is inherent in its particular situation: the authors who wrote French belonged morally and intellectually to the orbit of French letters, while the Flemish authors had to fight for recognition in the field of Dutch letters. For both groups provincialism was the main danger, the more so since social conditions in Belgium had not kept pace for two centuries with the progressive ideas of France nor with the stolid bourgeois civilization of Holland.

The first manifestations of a national Belgian literature produced a rather paradoxical spectacle: two French-writing poets expressed the current Weltschmerz as well as the patriotic spirit. Both were of Dutch origin,—André van Hasselt (1806–74) and Théodore Weustenraad (1805–49). They were influenced by Lamartine and the other French romantics and wrote charming, melodious verse. The Flemings were luckier; they had from the beginning a novelist of talent to express their longing for greatness in a centralizing state that neglected their mother tongue. Hendrik Conscience (1812–83), an Antwerp schoolteacher whose father was a French immigrant from the Napoleonic period, published an historical novel, *The Lion of Flanders,* which besides possessing definite literary qualities, especially in the picturization of mass movements and battle scenes, gave them a tremendous inspiration. It exalted in the Walter Scott tradition the great deeds of Flanders in the heroic past and it became the bible of the national renaissance of Flanders. Conscience was a born storyteller who published more than a hundred volumes, in which he wrote of country life in the idyllic manner, and with a kind of afflicted scepticism about existence in big towns. Although social problems did not escape his attention, he never was either an accuser or a revolutionist. By nature he was essentially peaceful. He was never a stylist or even a purist, but the poor linguistic qualities of his writings are overshadowed by the warmth and the sympathy with which he tells his always enchanting and simple tales. He was extremely popular both in Belgium and abroad. Translations of

practically all of his works exist in every European language, and in Flemish letters he may be considered as a Dickens devoid of humor.

The brothers Renier (1812–80) and August Snieders (1825–1904) followed in his wake, as did Mrs. J. D. Courtmans (1811–90). They adopted his philosophy of life, which was one of optimistic realism. In the same vein, Anton Bergmann (1835–74) wrote a charming book of pleasant memoirs, *Ernest Staas,* which is still a Flemish classic. Among those who insisted on a more realistic, i.e., pessimistic view of life, were E. Zetternam (1826–55), whose brief career was devoted to the portrayal of social miseries, and Virginie Loveling (1836–1923), who in a great number of novels wrote movingly and accurately of provincial life without idyllic fringes. Poets like Julius de Geyter (1830–1905) and Julius Vuijlsteke (1836–1903) developed identical themes. Jan van Beers (1827–88) did so too, but with a distressing sentimentality. Karel Ledeganck (1805–47) was a purely romantic poet of the Lamartine school.

Strangely enough, Flemish writing became world-conscious through the strongly nationalistic poetry of Albrecht Rodenbach (1856–80), a cousin of the French author Georges Rodenbach. He applied to the historical themes of Flemish medieval history a combination of Schillerian pathos and Greek classicism that inspired the youth of the colleges and that possesses real power of evocation. His significance is political as well as literary, although in his very brief existence he never dealt with politics. His drama, *Gudrun,* has great lyrical qualities.

The one poet of genius Flemish literature can point to in the 19th c. is Guido Gezelle (1830–99). He combined a miraculous gift for melody and music-in-words with a purely medieval mystic conception of life. Untouched by modern discontent with the world, he remained as purely Gothic as the Flemish primitive painters. The world to Gezelle is an harmonious whole, inhabited by millions of symbols which point to the Creator: he depicts and interprets the fauna and flora of Flanders, he exults on the occasion of the church feasts. He is deeply and simply religious; life to him is seldom if ever a drama. He liberated Flemish prosody from pedantry and academicism by writing in a spontaneous, versatile, and always natural rhythm that put the classicists of his time to shame. An excellent linguist, he translated Longfellow's *Hiawatha* with grace and fidelity. Recognition of his great talent came rather late. Ideologically his poetry asserted few ideas; it implied, however, a thoroughly Christian conception of life in which submission to God's will was a sound antidote for aggressiveness in the social domain. There exist good English translations of some of his best poems, although the substance and form of his poetry is usually so well interwoven that justice cannot be done to it in another language.

In the latter part of the 19th c. Flemish authors reacted energetically against provincialism. Pol de Mont (1857–1931), a figure of transition, was the first to do so in several volumes of poetry, influenced by the French symbolists. He introduced into Flemish letters a note of sensuous and erotic Epicureanism that was entirely new. He preceded the movement for the liberation of Flemish letters undertaken by the writers of the review, *Van Nu en Straks,* (1893).

About 1881 the French authors of Belgium had been moved by the aims of Max Waller, and had rallied round a review called *La Jeune Belgique;* they reacted against the conservatism, the stuffiness, and the lack of universality that were apparent in the fortunately forgotten local lights that were then officially enthroned. Among the living they spared only Octave Pirmez (1832–83), a talented philoso-

pher of great distinction and, to a certain degree, of originality. Another exception in their auto-da-fé was Charles de Coster (1827–1879) who, although basing his great work, *Ulenspiegl,* (1867; American trans., Pantheon Books, N. Y., 1943) on purely local characteristics, on linguistic acrobatics and on history and folklore, succeeded in writing a book that still has international significance. It pictures the fight of the Lowlands against the Spanish domination, Flanders being symbolized by a joyous knave, the traditional Tyl Owlglass. It is a ribald tale permeated by the spirit of liberty, the will to defeat bigotry in any form. It takes great liberties with history, is fierce in its rather primitive anticlericalism, but it has all the qualities of the wood engravings that illustrate the incunabula or the pamphlets of the 16th c. It stands alone in the rather drab literary scenery of French letters in Belgium between 1830 and 1881.

La Jeune Belgique, as well as the *Van Nu en Straks* movement, wanted the Belgian authors to write not with an eye on local success, which could always be easily achieved by insisting on the colorful folklore and syntactical peculiarities of their countrymen. They wanted also to free them from conventions that were, in conservative Belgium at least, as strong as those that greeted Baudelaire's frank poems. Both movements succeeded very well, thanks to the fact that writers of real dimension understood the necessity for such a reform and dared to impose it on their countrymen. The shock was slightly heavier in Flemish letters than in French letters in Belgium, because the atmosphere in Flanders was even more behind the times.

Camille Lemonnier (1844–1913) introduced the Belgians to naturalism, which in some of his novels leads even to a sensuous pantheism. He was a "populist" without knowing it, but his writing often suffers from a baroque style and a heavily loaded vocabulary. His passion for nature in its physical aspect, his tempestuous lust for life, were an inspiration and a guidance for many young writers. Another naturalist of less stylistic power, Georges Eekhoud (1854–1927), devoted most of his work to a pessimistic picture of the ravages that rapid industrialization had made in Flanders; his short stories and novels about the peasantry of the Kempen region constitute a rogues' gallery which, however colorful, is not always convincing (*La Nouvelle Carthage,* 1893; *Kees Doorik,* 1883).

Eugène Demolder (1862–1911) and Georges Rodenbach (1855–98) sought refuge, the first in charming evocations of a pink-tinted past, the second in a combination of neurotics and medieval accessories which resulted in a well known novel, *Bruges La Morte* (1892). This is a remarkable attempt to represent the heroes of a tale as completely dominated by the atmosphere of a quaint, lovely 15th c. town, but it is purely arbitrary and smells of the literary workshop.

The two writers of international significance who came to the fore at the end of the 19th c. were French authors of Flemish origin: Maurice Maeterlinck (b. 1862) and Emile Verhaeren (1855–1916). Both had the advantages of intellectual freedom and frankness; both used abundantly the local motifs of the past and present, but in such a way as to decant their universal value. Maeterlinck undoubtedly brought new elements to modern poetry: *Serres Chaudes* (1889) bypassed symbolism in a subtle and extremely personal way and introduced poetry into regions not yet trodden. His dramatic works, as well as his philosophical essays, have somewhat obscured his importance as a poet, which is considerable in itself and capital in the history of poetical sensibility. Fame definitely came to him, and deservedly, when he published *La Princesse Maleine* (1890), *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1892), and *L'Oiseau Bleu*

(1909). Fatality as harsh as the Greek Ate leads man to love or death. In the brooding atmosphere of old castles the essential happenings of life almost all take on an ill-boding significance: the actors and their gestures are unreal; reality is elsewhere and what we do and say is but sham and echo. Maeterlinck's influence on modern drama has been world-wide. The solemn melancholy of his characters is the expression of the poetical mysticism that pervades all his essays on natural history, of which he always was an ardent student and a very eloquent interpreter.

Verhaeren's function was entirely different. To French poetry he brought a truly Germanic excessiveness, violence, abruptness. He sang his country's past in what to the French reader sounded like savage rhythms. They were, however, perfectly suited to the things he had to say: the barbaric splendor, the *hubris* of the Burgundian dukes, the clash of arms or the thundering noises of the modern machines. For like Whitman, he had become the poet of modernity, the bard of the railroads and the dynamos, of the steel ovens and the coal mines. He felt the great city, not as a cultural or civic center, but sitting like an octopus on the land, grasping the country yokels and sucking them into the drabness of the steel and cotton mills. He was eloquent and brutal, sonorous and convincing. The unpleasant beauty of modern industrial society and its workers was splendidly, sometimes inhumanly, sung by him. A drama in verse, *Le Cloître,* deals with a psychological problem, and in the later part of his life he wrote quiet verse of married bliss which has a warm intimacy of tone. His fame, once universal, has somewhat faded, although it is solidly founded.

Maeterlinck had had a precursor in Charles Van Lerberghe (1861–1907), who wrote a short play, *Les Flaireurs* (1889), which contains the themes of terror, agony, and destruction familiar in Maeterlinck's plays. His real significance, however, lies in his long symbolic poem, *Chanson d'Ève* (1907), which tells of "that divine childhood of the first woman" in pastel tones and subtle rhythms. So harmonious is her soul with nature that the original "fall" becomes a mere slip or stumble.

With these three important writers and some lesser figures like Grégoire Le Roy, Georges Virrès, Hubert Krains, and Edmond Glesener, Belgian literature in French became entirely mature and independent of narrow moral censorship. It had proved its national character as well as its universal human value.

The Flemish writers grouped around *Van Nu en Straks* relied for their artistic credo and for their philosophical basis on the guidance of August Vermeylen (1872–1944). He was a truly European mind, bent on getting Flanders "out of the ruts of the heavy, homely clay." A severe and inspiring critic, his leadership was undisputed: he asserted himself not only through vigorously written essays, but especially through a philosophical novel, *The Wandering Jew,* in which he displayed great stylistic gifts and a brave and noble thought.

The group under his able leadership developed along two parallel lines: a number of talented young writers portrayed the Flemish countryside and its inhabitants with no less enthusiasm than their predecessors, but without the complacent provincialism that had limited these men. They were strongly influenced by the impressionist school of painting and devoted much time and energy to the scenery and the climate. The inescapable influence of the environment upon man was one of their favorite themes. On the other hand, another group renounced entirely the rural amenities and wanted to achieve universality through the portrayal of city life and the study of the psychological motives of man's conduct.

Stijn Streuvels (Frank Lateur, b. 1871), a nephew of Guido Gezelle, was the outstanding talent in the first group. In his books nature absorbs man and reduces him to a minor role, as is the case with the small human figures in the first landscapes of the 16th c. His psychology appears rather simple, but he writes with loving lyricism about nature in every detail. His great novel, *De Vlaschaard* (*The Flax Field,* 1907), is an impressive fresco of the Flemish earth and of the primitive passions of the peasant. *Werkmenschen* (*Working People,* 1927) has truly epic qualities which make Streuvels akin to the great Russian and Scandinavian novelists. In his later works he broadened his mental horizon, studying human nature more carefully and with success.

Cyriel Buysse (1859–1932), with far less stylistic gifts, but a natural storyteller, gave a picture of Flemish peasant life that was accurate and not too enthusiastic. His novels are a chronicle of the rapid evolution in rural Flanders in the last fifty years. Maeterlinck used to count him "among the three or four great rural raconteurs of the last fifty years." He knows how to tell an anecdote, but he is devoid of the cosmic force that inspires Streuvels. His most typical book is *Het Ezelken* (*The Donkey,* 1914); his best, undoubtedly *Tantes* (*Aunties,* 1930).

Those authors whom conservative public opinion for quite some time considered "city slickers" and "scoffers," pointed with pride to the most worldly talent in their midst—the versatile, often precious, often irritating, but always provocative Herman Teirlinck (b. 1879). His novel, *Het Ivoren Aapje* (*The Ivory Monkey*), demonstrates his great talent for analysis and psychology, his elegant lyricism, his penetrating wit. It shows also his shallow sentimentality and triviality, but it is definitely metropolitan and worldly wise. He achieved real mastery in a novel of the 18th c., *Mijnheer Serjanszoon,* the story of a wig-wearing connoisseur of gracious living, professing a philosophy of Epicurean grace. It is a perfectly written book that stands out in Dutch letters, and none of his other novels ever attained its perfection. Later on he turned to drama: his influence in that field was revolutionary and decisive.

Another stylist of accomplishment was F. Toussaint van Boelaere (b. 1875), who writes as if from a distance on familiar rural topics, but who treats his subjects with a kind of intellectual detachment. *Landelijk Minnespel* is among his best short novels; *Turren* and *Jeugd* are other proofs of his talent. Maurits Sabbe (1873–1938) wrote gracefully of old Bruges in a philosophical, unpretentious way. Lode Baekelmans (b. 1879) devoted his novels to the melancholy atmosphere of the Antwerp harbor and to the shallow lives of the local petty bourgeoisie.

The writers of the *Van Nu en Straks* group insisted constantly on the right to individual expression; they rebuked every kind of conformity; and individualism, frankness, artistic liberty were their slogans. No one among them illustrated their theories better than Karel van de Woestijne (1878–1929). If he had used a universal language, he would have been recognized as the greatest lyric poet of his time. He spoke only about himself, a tortured man constantly wavering between mind and matter. Extremely sensuous, he expressed the age-old conflict in many volumes of poetry which constituted a dramatic autobiography (*Het Vaderhuis,* 1903; *De Gulden Schaduw, De Modderen Man,* 1920; *God aan Zee,* 1926; *Het Bergmeer,* 1928, etc.). He had a Gothic heart in a Renaissance body; the pious simplicity of Gezelle was foreign to him; everything in the world and in himself tormented him and was a problem. Brilliantly intelligent, very well read and hypersensitive, no one ever felt the tellurian urge with more strength and at the same time with more objections. Many poets had spoken of woman

in Flanders, either as the symbol of motherhood or as the image of sweet loveliness. He spoke of the eternal feminine, of its mystery and its menace, but with such a directness and warmth that comparisons in modern literature are difficult to make: if one could combine the burning heat of the mystics like St. Juan de la Cruz with the sensualism of Verlaine, that would approach van de Woestijne's permanent atmosphere. In his later life his verse became increasingly religious and ended in a mixture of self-castigation and mysticism. Since the Middle Ages no greater poet has lived in Flanders, and his influence on Dutch letters has been considerable. An exponent of modern baroque poetry, he dominated for a long time the poets of the first pre-war period and he still continues to cast his spell. Poets like Firmin van Hecke (b. 1884) and August van Cauwelaert (1885–1945) followed in his wake, slowly developing a personal tone. Jan van Nijlen (b. 1884), who owes nothing to the great master, is as he was a perfect humanist, looking at the world with deep sympathy, a touch of melancholy, but so contained that he never gestures wildly or shouts. He is as harmonious in his verse as the French poets of the Pléiade who candidly chanted the small but multiple pleasures of life.

René de Clercq (1877–1932) was the first to use social elements in poetry. Later he became a political poet. His verse was dramatic and prosodically excellent.

On the eve of the first World War Flemish letters were in full bloom: the traditional complacent depictors of life in the country as one sees it on the covers of seed catalogues and almanacs went on saying that every idiosyncrasy of every Flemish peasant was of world importance; a powerful group of internationally minded authors, although using the same raw material, raised it to a higher level; a small group of modernists drew attention to the social and sentimental consequences of life in the city; and a few sophisticated writers—André de Ridder (b. 1888), P. G. van Hecke (1887–1933), Gust van Roosbroeck (1888–1937) and others—tried to introduce a conservative public to the intricacies of existence in night clubs and among the demi-monde. These attempts remained rather clumsy.

Under the shadow of Maeterlinck and Verhaeren a number of French-writing authors had come to the fore. The most significant of them were poets: Iwan Gilkin (1858–1925), who wrote in very different moods. He was influenced by Baudelaire. He sang coarsely of the city and her horrors and spleen —and all of a sudden published a volume of poetical miniatures. Albert Giraud (1860–1929) is certainly the most French of the group, the purest Latin. His verse is nervous, sonorous, often magnificent. He is essentially and spontaneously an artist and his rejection of the bourgeois world is complete. His natural abode is the ivory tower; his alibi, the Parnassian doctrines. Valère Gille (b. 1867) is the third of the Parnassians, spiritually well balanced, evolving more and more toward a Hellenic quietism, which lends great charm to his fluent verse.

The poetry of Albert Mockel (b. 1866) is essentially musical and symbolic. He applies with scholarly precision a formula which tends to transform poetry into music. His prosody is extremely refined and studied, subtle and precise. His philosophical poem, *La Flamme Immortelle,* has great beauty and penetration: arid thought never hampers the aerial flight of fantasy and inspiration.

Although Fernand Séverin (1867–1931) belonged to the *Jeune Belgique* group, he stayed aloof from the symbolists and from Baudelaire; his inspiration was derived from the early romantic French poets and from 19th c. English poetry. He is a pastoral lyricist, very close to nature. From the pantheistic exuberance that permeates the *Chanson d'Ève,* by van Lerberghe, whose lifelong inti-

mate friend he was, to the spiritualism of his later years, it is a long way, but the evolution is logical. The landscape is always there but it becomes less and less real, more and more poetical, acquiring the fine quality of the typical Walloon scenery. His poems are transparent and fluid, classical in the best meaning of that word.

A symbolist of peculiar character was Max Elskamp (1862–1931). In almost infantile rhymes he tells of the joys and sorrows of the small Antwerp people. His poems sound like the tinkling of the arias on a slightly damaged music box: indeed, grammar and vocabulary suffer from time to time. They are unique and have a charm definitely their own, although their artistic value may be overestimated. He is a poet's poet, akin to Mallarmé. However, one often has the impression that the cave of mysteries he suggests may, after all, be empty. To the generation of poets of the 1920–1930 era, he was the master. Most of his poems appeared in *Louange de la Vie* (1898). Of his later works, only *La Chanson de la Rue St. Paul* (1922) added to his stature.

The first World War created a spiritual upheaval in Belgium which found its expression in literature even before liberation came. Morally, the youth were uprooted and perturbed: they felt obscurely that victory was being lost and that their elders, who before the war had ensconced themselves in petty individualism and sensualism, should be discarded. They looked for guidance to writers like Romains, Rolland, Vildrac, while the Flemish underwent the influence of German expressionism, of Werfel, of Rilke, and of the Frenchmen Claudel and Bloy. They revolted against every tradition, against classical prosody as well as the ideological heritage of the symbolists. The former generation had entirely neglected the social and political aspects of life: they would integrate them into poetry. The poet was no longer to contemplate his navel. His object was the universe, his task that not of an entertainer but of a judge, a moralist, a high priest of humanity. Verse became free to the point of anarchy; grammar and syntax were subjected to acrobatics often as painful to the eye as to the mind of the reader. These experiments coincide with what happened in other countries. However exasperating they might have been, some good finally resulted from them.

The opposition against individualistic literature was more marked in Flemish letters than among the French-writing authors. It had been heralded in 1916 by Paul van Ostayen (1896–1928) in a volume called *Music Hall.* This was influenced by the light verse of the young Viennese poets, but in *Het Sienjaal* (1918), the poet, adopting a free meter, proclaimed his interest in political and social problems and became a seer, a prophet of a new world. Anti-platonic to the extreme, he wanted the poet to be the spokesman of the community: the result was in fact far more political than poetical, and the poet barely escaped a jail sentence. In *Bezette Stad* (1921), he switched to dadaism with some picturesque effects, and finally reached the serene regions of pure poetry. In this last vein he achieved extremely refined musical construction (*Het Eerste Boek van Schmoll,* 1929). His experiments, his wild renunciations which drove his followers at a harrowing pace, were an amusing spectacle. To Flemish poetry he brought a refreshing impertinence and alertness, and whatever he wrote was a strong antidote against romanticism and pathos. His influence on Dutch letters, in Flanders as well as in Holland, was considerable and his peccadilloes of poor taste and hasty judgment were easily forgotten when his real merits were put in the balance. His fellow travelers were grouped around the monthly *Ruimte:* Achille Mussche (b. 1896), Wies Moens (b. 1898), Paul Verbruggen (b. 1891), Victor J. Brunclair (1899–1944),

Marnix Gijsen (b. 1899). Moens' poems were a mixture of the Bible and Tagore, solemn, harmonious, noble, humanitarian. *De Bloodschap* and *De Tocht* had a political and social, as well as a poetical, appeal. Their popularity was at one time very great. Verbruggen on the contrary was a Mozartian dreamer, refined and delicate, in whose verse the social element played a minor role. Brunclair followed closely, and with consistent talent, van Ostayen's always changing credos. Mussche was a social revolutionist, clamoring his disgust, despair, and hopes in psalms of joy and wrath. Of Marnix Gijsen (J. A. Goris), the perspective of years lets me say that he started out as a gesticulating, baroque expressionist but that he quieted down and tried to create a modernistic classicism. Jan Greshoff, the Dutch poet, states that he "humanized the modernism of *Ruimte* and modernized the humanism of *Het Fonteintje*." *Het Huis* (1925) contains most of his poems. His critical essays on poetry have been grouped in two volumes, *Peripatetisch Onderricht*. These young modernists were joined by a transfuge of the older generation, the baroque poet Karel van den Oever (1879–1926), who caught the spirit of the time and wrote impressive expressionist verse.

The standpoint of classical form and balance of mind was eloquently defended by the review, *Het Fonteintje*: the poets of this group were Maurice Roelants (b. 1895), Raymond Herreman (b. 1896), Karel Leroux (b. 1895), Richard Minne (b. 1891), with Urbain van de Voorde (b. 1893) in their wake. Their program was far less ambitious than that of their colleagues. They contended that poetry should have little to do with the ethico-social problems of the day and that it must be above all a confession. They were playful of mind and expressed themselves with an easy grace, achieving thus a goal that the neo-humanitarian poets, their opponents, all too often missed or overshot. "They were far more genuine, warmer, and more purely human in fact."

Roelants and Leroux wrote melancholy, introspective verse, intimate poetry of distinction. Herreman, an abundant poet and critic, developed stoic serenity. Instead of being humanitarian, he was simply human, adding light ironical touches to his undertones of sadness and resignation. Richard Minne was the most personal of the group. Self-irony and bitterness mix with sweetness and sympathy. He is an altogether compelling personality, although one may regret at times that he willingly destroys the atmosphere of a poem in order to upset the reader or to vent a cynicism that certainly conceals an unrest and an unspoken tenderness. Urbain van de Voorde writes philosophical sonnets about cosmic discontent in a noble, solemn language.

The French authors were perhaps less violent in their revolt against tradition: free verse was not new to them, and several of the "isms" that fired the Flemish poets they had already tried out. The poets that came back from the war brought new themes: Maurice Gauchez (b. 1884), *Les Rafales;* Lucien Christophe (b. 1891), *Le Pilier d'Airain*. Others sought to renew poetical inspiration through a change of setting, but they avoided the pitfall of bizarre exotism and consistently kept "human values in the foreground." The most brilliant was Marcel Thiry (b. 1897), an original mind obsessed by adventure. He interprets well the aspects of modern business and trade and the drama of man, lost and powerless among these anonymous forces in *La Mer de la Tranquillité*. Thiry harmonizes the elements of the conservative and the revolutionary school.

In 1931 the *Journal des Poètes*, led by P. L. Flouquet and P. Bourgeois, gave impulse to Belgian poetry. It became more diverse and vivid, the differences were spanned, and there was place for every manner of expression. Georges Linze, Constant Horion, Armand

Bernier, Maurice Quoilin, Robert Vivier, Henri Dubois, Gaston Pulings, Robert Guiette, are all poets with personal character and distinct poetical features. Roger Bodart, Auguste Marin, Maurice Carême, and Jules Minne are among those that believe that poetry should address itself not only to the inner circle but to the masses. José Gers, René Verboom, Paul Vanderborght and Léon Kochnitzky deserve not only mention but praise.

The death of two gifted poets was a severe blow to Belgian poetry: Odilon-Jean Périer (1900–28) was a poet of exquisite grace and sensibility; his verse is fresh and wise with a Mozartian fluidity. Eric de Haulleville (1900–41) was a disconcerting but charming fantasist, playful and ironical, who died before he had fully expressed himself.

When the oppositions between groups had subsided and no more anathemas rested on any style or artistic concept, attention was diverted from poetry to the novel. In Flanders, Felix Timmermans (b. 1886), an excellent storyteller, a moderately sensuous optimist, had acquired great popularity. It started when he published in 1917 a loosely composed book, *Pallieter:* a pæan to life, describing the idyllic existence of a literary idler in a paradisiac environment in Flanders. The hero of this book enjoys mystic poetry as well as fresh cranberries, the lyric poems of Gezelle as well as pigs' feet and early rain in his garden. By right he ought to be a pagan; he prefers to be a sensual Christian with occasional weaknesses. *Pallieter* was published at a time when the occupation was starving the Belgians. It sounded like a message from Eden. It reminded them so well of the cornucopias of Jordaens and Rubens that they took the book to their hearts. Timmermans' further works were more or less decorative: he used and abused the elements of the Flemish primitives and of Breugel to garnish the meager plots of his novels. In details he has an extraordinary power of suggestion: the world exists for him and he wants to enjoy it. Among his most perfect and typical writings is *Juffrouw Symforoza,* a plain, touching, delicate tale. In 1937 he wrote a surprisingly good book, *Boerenpsalm,* that celebrates Flemish peasantry with the power of Breugel. He was the chief exponent of the school of complacency, at ease in its comfortable limitations and unaware of problems of any kind. Among authors who exploited the same vein with popular success were Ernest Claes (b. 1885), Anton Thiry (b. 1888), Jozef Simons (b. 1888).

Strong reaction against this kind of writing, which represented Flanders as a permanent carnival of sentimental half-wits and picturesque yokels, was voiced by one of the older novelists, Willem Elsschot (b. 1882), and by three younger men, Maurice Roelants, Gerard Walschap (b. 1898), and Lode Zielens (1901–44). They had discovered that man's real object of study is man himself. Elsschot is a novelist of merciless humor and great moral courage, believing only sarcasm can defend man against his fellow men, and above all against his own emotions. He writes about average people, about their dreams of greatness, their frustrations and petty miseries. His hero is a protean Milquetoast, defenseless in a harsh world, constantly falling back upon the devotion of his family. The *décor* of life, the climate, has little or no importance; what counts is the sad and vulnerable heart of man. His best novels are *Villa des Roses, Lijmen, Tsjip en de Leeuwentemmer.* As a poet he wrote few but extremely powerful verses on the same themes, *Verzen van Vroeger.*

The novels of Maurice Roelants go back to the great tradition of Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe* and of other keen analysts of the human soul. Little happens in them—no dramatic incidents; the drama goes on in the minds and in the hearts of his characters. His

story as well as his style is perfectly simple and limpid. The atmosphere is transparent. As Greshoff puts it, "it is mystery in full daylight." Disdainful of picturesque and decorative descriptions, he centers his attention on the inner life of his personages and gives them an impressive stature. He is an excellent analyst who never loses the generous enthusiasm of the raconteur. *The Jazz Band Player* (trans. *Harvest of the Lowlands*, 1945), *Het Leven dat wij Droomden* (*Life as We Dreamt It*), *Alles komt terecht* (*Everything Settles Itself*), and *Gebed om een goed Einde* (*Prayer for a Good End*) prove his excellent craftsmanship and a wisdom that has deepened since his first novel, *Komen en Gaan* (*Coming and Going*).

The artistic credo of Walschap is more dynamic. To him a novel is above all a story, a tale often of violence and passion, but always full of events and conflicts. He renovated naturalism by means of a style that had no precedents· nature is non-existent, the *décor* disappears, furniture is mentioned only when thrown or demolished. He startled Roman Catholic readers by depicting the allegedly sane-living, devout Flemish villages like one of Dante's circles in Hell. They are, according to his penetrating analysis, sinful, morbid, and violent, victims of atavism and laboring under bigotries of every kind. Three generations of such folk are depicted in the trilogy, *De Familie Roothooft,* in which fate as unavoidable as in the Greek drama pursues its horrible course. In *Celibaat, Trouwen, Een Man van goeden Wil, Sibylle,* and many other novels, Walschap relentlessly continued his bas-relief of the Flemish notables in villages and small towns. His pessimism did not prevent him from celebrating the family and the life of the pioneer, who lived to the full regardless of any accepted morality. In his later works he voiced strong criticism against the Roman Church. Although the psychopathological elements in his books are obvious, still his profound belief in the greatness and goodness of life is no less evident. His style moves at a tornado pace.

Lode Zielens, who had fewer stylistic gifts and preoccupations, found his inspiration in his profound solidarity with the humblest people. He was a generous writer, deeply moved by his subject and often succeeding in moving his reader. Social misery does not incite him to declamation; he depicts it without false sentimentality. In his books the proletarians of the Antwerp docks and factories are no longer pitiful and colorful nitwits; they are real people, brave and weak, suffering or revolting. He overflows with the milk of human kindness, and his socialist convictions are expressed in his writings without any proselytism but as a natural background of his faith in mankind. Among his books, *De Gele Roos, Het Dyistere Bloed, Moeder, waarom leven wij,* are the most notable.

Other writers joined this small, energetic group· a philosophical essayist, Raymond Brulez (b. 1895), who used old tales as a pretext to prove his biting wit and to display his congenial epicurism (*Sheherazade*); Theo Bogaerts (b. 1893), whose uneven production contains at least one remarkable novel, *Vastenavond;* Filip de Pillecijn (b. 1891), who excels in suggesting poetical situations and who writes marvelous prose; F. de Backer (b. 1891), a penetrating psychologist; Albert van Hoogenbemt (b. 1900), and Maurice Gilliams (b. 1900), both highly introspective. The novels of August van Cauwelaert have an intimate charm, and the psychological analysis in *Harry* is a model of craftsmanship. Lode Baekelmans (b. 1879) lovingly speaks of Antwerp harbor and its international bums and beachcombers.

Among the younger generation, René Berghen, Marcel Matthijs, and N. E. Fonteyne (d. 1938) are the most interesting. Among the authors that came to light during or since the war should be mentioned Louis-

Paul Boon, a vigorous talent, Piet van Aeken, delicate and subtle, and Hubert Lampo, whose alliance of poetical feeling and intellectualism contains great promise. Johan Daisne (b. 1906), an abundant and versatile poet, wrote several lively novels.

Poetry again altered its course in Flemish letters about 1930. The social and ethical motives were forgotten. Pieter Buckinx (b. 1903), Bert Decorte (b. 1915), Karel Jonckheere (b. 1906), Albe (b. 1902), René Verbeeck (b. 1903), Jan Vercammen (b. 1906), reverted to pure poetry or to a mixture of styles. The most powerful, although at the outset strongly influenced, is Bert Decorte, a wonderful prosodist and a brilliant visionary.

Parallel with the action of the Flemish authors to free themselves from the specific Belgian background, the French writers also tried to draw away from the lure of the *Heimatkunst* to attain a more universal plan. The pre-war novelists Georges Virrès (b. 1869), Maurice des Ombiaux (1868–1943), Georges Garnir (b. 1868), Georges Rency (b. 1875), had continued their work. Marie Gevers (b. 1883) had produced charming novels of country life in Flanders. The younger generation broadened its scope. Already André Baillon (1875–1932), a typical Bohemian character, had written some moving and raw confessions which impressed the French critics very highly; Jean Tousseul (1890–1944), in a long and powerful novel, *Jean Clarambaux* (Eng. trans. Phila., 1939) had written the patient chronicle of a small Meuse village. It has the true aroma of the Walloon countryside: in this landscape, even suffering is harmonious. The book has the lovely sadness of Glück's ballet of the Elysian fields. Utter simplicity gives the style a rare nobility; a deep love of the humble makes it moving and unforgettable.

Franz Hellens (b. 1881), one of the most original present-day writers, moves on the border of reality and fantasy. He has been described as an explorer of uncharted realms of mystery, and indeed his heroes live in a world of their own where the borderlines are not very clear: it is evident that his sympathy lies with the hidden side of our psychic life. Hallucination and reality are intermingled and normality appears only as fraught with mystery and apprehensions of all kinds. He is no sociologist; his domain is the subconscious; involuntary reminiscences abound in his novels, reality itself to him is fantastic (*Réalités Fantastiques*, 1923).

The most successful of the younger Belgian authors who write in French is Charles Plisnier (b. 1896), a prolific and solid author who divides his attention equally between the psychological study of modern marital troubles and the atmosphere of latent revolution in Europe between the two world wars. Little in his work would permit him to be identified as a Belgian author; he is truly a European observer. His style is not exceptional, but his novels are well built and faultless in their logic and details. Power and intuition are evident in *Mariages* and *Faux-Passeports*. In 1938 the Goncourts for the first time abandoned their traditions by awarding Plisnier their annual prize, although he was not a Frenchman.

Among the women authors, Marguerite van de Wiele (b. 1859) belongs to the old school. France Adine (b. 1890), Julia Frezin (b. 1870), Madeleine Ley (b. 1901), Madeleine Bourdouxhe, express modern sensibility.

Dramatic art has long been a stepchild in Belgium. Feeble echoes of foreign dramaturgy did not brighten the stage very much, either in Antwerp or in Brussels. The dialect plays of Walloon playwrights were known only locally: they had their merits, however, especially a ribald farce by A. Delchef. During the 19th c. Flemish authors had produced some naturalistic plays—Lodewijk Scheltjens (1861–1936), novelist Cyriel Buysse—that portrayed Flemish country life in dark shades.

The revolution provoked by Maeterlinck's plays, the provocative lyricism of Verhaeren in *Le Cloître, Philippe II,* and *Hélène de Sparte,* resulted in a flowering of the French theatre in Belgium. Henry Kistemaeckers (1878–1935), after his first successes, was absorbed by the French scene, as was Francis de Croisset (1877–1937). Paul Demasy (b. 1884) also left Belgium for France. One of the most successful plays was due to Paul Spaak (1870–1936): *Kaatje,* which had the longest run a play ever made in the country. Marguerite Duterme, Armand Thibaut (b. 1881), and Gustave Vanzype (b. 1869) are excellent playwrights. Duterme is a full-fledged Ibsenian; Thibaut is an intellectualist of great directness; Vanzype, the most outstanding, is an exponent of theses and thought. He has a flawless technique and great mastery of dialogue.

Max Deauville (b. 1881) has great versatility and humor. In H. Soumagne's *Dieu* and *Madame Marie,* metaphysical problems are discussed in an unusual setting. Among the younger playwrights, Fernand Crommelynck (b. 1885) is the most arresting personality. He is explosive and tormented. His drama gives his audience a feeling of uneasiness, but the power of his imagination, the force of his conviction, are entrancing. *Le Cocu Magnifique* (1921) made him famous. It deals with the jealousy of a lover. The dramatic atmosphere is of a terrible intensity. The author nowhere appears as the equal of the audience, or of his personages; he is definitely their superior. Crommelynck seems gifted with a psychological second sight that permits him to step in when the situation is tensest and to lift it to the heights of Shakespearean drama. His art in *Le Cocu Magnifique,* in *Une Femme Qu'a le Coeur trop Petit,* is grandiose baroque which was immediately recognized as masterly. Herman Closson (b. 1901) is a debunker of historical figures. His *Godefroid de Bouillon,* his *Shakespeare,* are surprisingly human. Michel de Ghelderode (b. 1898) reverted to the style of the medieval farces and mystery plays, with a rich fancy and great technical ability.

Paul Demasy, although absorbed by Paris, remained a Belgian author. His theatre, devoted to the portrayal of fatality, is akin to the Elizabethan dramas.

The *Van Nu en Straks* generation produced one remarkable play in verse, *Starkadd,* by Alfred Hegenscheidt (b. 1866), a lyrical drama on the theme of the individual against society. It stood alone for a long time. Raf Verhulst (1866–1934) published many elegant plays in verse and a respectful, rationalistic drama, *Jezus de Nazarener.* The dramas of Cyriel Verschaeve (1874–1929) are lyrical declamations with occasional beauty, but devoid of scenic qualities.

Renewal came only in 1919 when Herman Teirlinck produced his *De Vertraagde Film* and in rapid succession added a series of other plays. He was an admirer of Capek, Gordon Craig, and other revolutionary playwrights. In his plays lights, sound, text, and all scenic devices had their importance. Above all, the audience had to take part in the play. The play was supposed to flow from the stage into the theatre. A real communion with the audience was sought, and often achieved. The plays of Teirlinck often sound trivial when one reads them; their effectiveness indeed depends on all the theatrical factors available. They defeated crude realism as a means of theatrical expression, and they certainly revolutionized the dormant Flemish theatre. Other playwrights followed his example: Willem Putman (b. 1900), Anton van de Velde (b. 1895), Paul de Mont (b. 1895).

Along traditional lines Ernest W. Schmidt (1886–1937), Gaston Martens (b. 1884), and Jos Janssens (b. 1888) achieved well deserved success.

Belgian letters in French as well as in Dutch have a decided individuality. Only

those writers who conscientiously tried to liberate themselves from their national characteristics achieved some kind of denationalization, to be absorbed by France or by Holland. They are, however, very few; almost all Belgian writers interpret with loving care the country in which they were born and which is—as said above—a spiritual microcosm of Europe, a citadel of Western European thought and sensibility.

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JAN-ALBERT GORIS.

BELLA COOLA – *See* North American Native.

BENGALI–*See* Indian.

BERBER–*See* Arabic.

BIGAMBUL–*See* Australian Aborigine.

BIHARI–*See* Indian.

BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO – *See* Polynesian.

BLACKFOOT–*See* North American Native.

BOHEMIAN–*See* Czech.

BOLIVIAN–*See* Spanish American.

BORORO–*See* South American Indian.

BRAZILIAN

BRAZIL's first literary document was the letter written on May 1, 1500, by Pero Vaz de Caminha, clerk of the discovery fleet, telling King Manuel of Portugal about the new land that Cabral had taken in the name of the king. Throughout the 16th c. other letters, log-books, and historical narratives were written by Europeans concerning Brazil, but the first writer to pen literature for Brazilians was the Jesuit teacher José de Anchieta (1534–97), who went to Brazil in 1552 and for about fifty years dedicated himself to writing religious playlets, hymns, poems, grammars, and sermons for his various charges. At the end of the century Bento Teixeira (1545–1618?) wrote an epic poem, the *Prosopopéia*, which was published in Portugal in 1601. Though this work is a far cry from Camoens' *Os Lusíadas*, which it tried to imitate, it is interesting for two reasons: it reflected the colonial attempt to follow Portuguese patterns in styles of writing; and, with its stanzas about Pernambuco's *recife* (coral reef), it initiated the appearance of Brazilian nature in Portuguese poetry.

Portugal was under Spanish rule from 1580 to 1640; hence it is not surprising that Portuguese poets fell under the sway of *gongorismo*

and *conceptismo,* the predominant movements in Spain during those years. One of the most famous Gongoristic poets of Portugal, Dom Francisco Manoel de Melo (1611–66), was sentenced to exile in Brazil. Moreover, in the wealthy city of Baía, where the Governor-General held court, cultivated society was headed by men who prided themselves on reading and imitating Góngora, Lope de Vega, and Quevedo, as well as the poets of the Italian and Portuguese renaissance. Of this group Gregório de Matos Guerra (1633–92) became the outstanding satirical poet of his day, with his biting and caustic criticisms of Baía society and his fearless condemnation of Portuguese rule. Among the prose writers, the most famous was Friar Vicente do Salvador (1564–1636?), who in his *História do Brasil* voiced a sympathy for Brazil and extolled the abundance and variety of her natural products.

Thus, Brazilian literature of the 17th c. was characterized by a growing spirit of nationalism, which found new strength in the colonists' struggle against the Dutch and French invaders. Even in the flowery, ornate sermons and letters of the renowned orator, Father Antônio Vieira (1608–97), who was always a loyal Portuguese though he spent fifty years of his life in Brazil, there was an echo of this new Brazilianism. This feeling of pride in native things is further seen in the descriptive poem *A Ilha de Maré,* whose author, Botelho de Oliveira (1636–1711), became the first Brazilian writer to send to press a volume of poetry.

In the first half of the 18th c. Baía continued to be a cultural center, and in that city, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, several academies were established in imitation of those of Lisbon, Paris, and Rome. The sentiment of nativism continued to seek expression in such works as *História da América Portuguêsa* by Rocha Pita (1660–1738) and the sacred epic *Eustáquidos* by Manoel de Santa Maria Itaparica (1704–68?). The dominant note of the century, however, was sounded by a group of Arcadian poets from Minas Gerais, whose pastoral evocations and use of indigenous materials were a reaction against decadent classicism, and show an effort to return to the simplicity of nature. This so-called Mineira school thus paved the way for the romanticists, and the six that attained greatest fame were Friar José de Santa Rita Durão, José Basílio da Gama, Cláudio Manoel da Costa, Tomaz Antônio Gonzaga, Inácio José de Alvarenga Peixoto, and Manoel Inácio da Silva Alvarenga. The first two distinguished themselves as writers of epics, the *Uraguai* (1769) of Basílio da Gama (1740–95) being considered the best Brazilian poem written during the colonial period; while the *Caramurú* (1781) of Santa Rita Durão (1722–84), with its desire to glorify events in Brazil from the discovery to the expulsion of the invaders, was described by a great Brazilian critic as "the most Brazilian poem we possess."

The other poets of the Mineira group were primarily lyrists, and in keeping with their idealism were identified with the *Inconfidência Mineira,* that premature attempt at rebellion against Portuguese oppression that brought death, imprisonment, or exile to its leaders. Of the lyrists, the two most famous were Cláudio Manoel de Costa (1729–89), because of the technical perfection of his poetry and his influence upon contemporaries, and Tomaz Antônio Gonzaga (1744–1807), because of his authorship of *Marília de Dirceu.* This "most esteemed book of love in the Portuguese language" described the poet's love for "Marília" both when hope smiled benignly upon them and later when sadness and despair overwhelmed him, alone in a faraway African prison. *Marília de Dirceu,* published in 1810, was the first belletristic work to be printed in Brazil.

An occurrence of great importance to Brazil was the arrival of the Regent Prince, Dom João, and all the Portuguese royal fam-

ily in Rio de Janeiro in 1808. Immediately the ports of Brazil were opened to the trade of friendly nations; the twelve years of Dom João's sojourn witnessed the establishment of schools and tribunals, the founding of the Royal Press and the Academy of Science, and the publication of the first newspapers. In 1815 Brazil was elevated to the rank of Joint Kingdom with Portugal and Algarve, and in 1822 independence was proclaimed, with Dom Pedro I as the first emperor. The political growth and independence of Brazil were naturally reflected in the works of the chief writers, and the 19th c. saw the emergence of a truly national literature.

During the first quarter of the century, however, poetry continued to feel the influence of the Arcadians. The outstanding poet was Antônio Pereira de Sousa Caldas (1762–1814), whose melancholic and pessimistic poetry seemed inspired by the subjectivity of de Vigny and the religious sentiment of Lamartine. The first romanticist of Brazil was the great patriot of Independence, José Bonifácio de Andrada (1765–1838), who at the age of sixty became an exponent of the new movement while in exile in France and published in Bordeaux as early as 1825 a volume of poetry written in the new manner. The triumph of romanticism was manifested by the popularity of Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811–82), who became the idol of Brazilian literary circles when his volume *Suspiros Poéticos e Saudades* appeared in Paris in 1836. These poems, as the title implies, were eloquent with patriotic sentiment and reechoed both the nativism and the religious feeling that preceding writers had expressed. Nature, native country, and religion, the main themes of Gonçalves de Magalhães' poetry, became likewise the distinguishing characteristics of most of the literature of this period.

In the 19th c., then, the literary pattern shifted from Portugal to France and England. Chateaubriand became the inspiration for the idealization of the Brazilian savage in the works of both the greatest romantic novelist of Brazil, José de Alencar (1829–79), and of one of her greatest poets, Gonçalves Dias (1823–64). It was the latter who, in *Y-Juca-Pirama* and in the unfinished *Tymbiras,* introduced into Brazilian literature the Indianist motif, but his treatment of the savage was merely another manifestation of his pantheistic attitude towards nature, another way of presenting the luxuriant tropical nature of Brazil. In his lyrics, and especially in his famous *Canção do Exílio,* he became the interpreter of the Brazilians' love for their native land and exerted a powerful influence upon succeeding poets, especially upon Casimiro de Abreu (1839–60), who became the poet par excellence of the nostalgic emotion termed *saudades.* Following the example of Alfred de Musset, Shelley, Byron, Espronceda, and Leopardi, other romantic poets, among whom were Alvares de Azevedo, Laurindo Rabelo, Junqueira Freire and Fagundes Varela, produced works redolent of morbidness, doubt, despair. Victor Hugo, however, in *Les Châtiments,* was the model for Tobias Barreto (1839–89) and Castro Alves* (1847–71) in their impassioned and eloquent poems. Certain critics have considered Castro Alves the greatest Brazilian poet because of his strong sentiment of nationalism and his appeal to the universal ideals of liberty and justice. Certainly his works, more widely read than those of any other poet of Brazil, sounded a new social note and played a decisive part in the emancipation of slaves and in the establishment of the republic. Among his most famous poems are *As Vozes da Africa, O Navio Negreiro, Pedro Ivo,* and *A Cachoeira de Paulo Afonso.*

The novel became nationalized with the works of Manoel Macedo, José de Alencar, Manoel de Almeida, Bernardo Guimarães, Franklin Távora, and Escragnolle Taunay. Though all of these novelists made significant

contributions, the figure that towers above all others is José de Alencar, author of thirty novels, the most famous of which, *O Guarani,* became the libretto for Carlos Gomes' opera *Il Guarani.* Though José de Alencar imitated the Indianist and regional novels of Chateaubriand and James Fenimore Cooper, his imitation was not servile. In both *O Guarani* and *Iracema,* plot served mainly as a pretext for the picturesque and majestic nature descriptions that are still noteworthy for their power of emotion and elegance of style. In the regional novels of José de Alencar and Bernardo Guimarães (1825–84), literature for the first time reflected the vast country reclaimed by the "bandeirantes" of the preceding century, an epic undertaking unsung in its day but destined to reverberate still further in *Os Sertões* of Euclides da Cunha* (1866–1909).

The germs of realism evident in Távora's regional novels and especially in Taunay's *Inocência* (1872) heralded the philosophic realism that appeared in the novels of Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis* (1839–1908). Both as a novelist and as a poet, Machado de Assis stood apart from any school, and through the force of his unusual personality and originality of thought gave new direction to Brazilian literature. His subtle humor and kindly satire found delightful and faultless expression in his mature novels and in many of his poems. Of the latter, *A Mosca Azul, O Sonêto do Natal* and *Círculo Vicioso* are especially famous for their psychological intensity. Among his novels his masterpieces are *Dom Casmurro, Quincas Borba,* and *Bras Cubas.*

In 1881, with the publication of *O Mulato* by Aluízio Azevedo (1857-1913), the naturalistic influence of Émile Zola and Eça de Queiroz made itself felt in Brazilian fiction. The movement was carried on by such novelists as Julio Ribeiro, Raul Pompéia and Inglês de Sousa; and by the end of the 19th c., realism was firmly entrenched. The regional character of Brazil's "emancipated literature" was strengthened still more by the appearance in 1902 of Euclides da Cunha's masterpiece, *Os Sertões,* a semi-historical description of the northern hinterland of Brazil. This book, together with *Canaan* (1902), "the epic of Brazil's melting-pot", by Graça Aranha (1868–1931), set the pattern for the intense nationalism found in the modern fiction of Brazil.

In poetry Luís Guimarães (1847–98) and Machado de Assis, with their exoticism, careful diction, and limpid style, were the precursors of the Parnassian poets, Alberto de Oliveira, Olavo Bilac and Raimundo Corrêa. Of these the outstanding figure was Olavo Bilac (1865–1918), a brilliant, sensuous poet, who excelled in interpreting tropical moods and voluptuous passion. The reaction against the Parnassian school produced few followers of Verlaine and Mallarmé. João da Cruz e Sousa (1862–98) and Alphonsus de Guimaraens (Alfonso de Guimarães; 1873–1921) were the most noteworthy Brazilian symbolists.

"Modernism" in Brazil has a special meaning, referring to the change in literary trends after the First World War. This movement, which had its inception in 1922 in the famous "Semana de Arte Moderna" of São Paulo, gained momentum after Graça Aranha's speech of resignation from the Brazilian Academy in 1924, and was further strengthened by the "Movimento antropofágico" of 1928. Thus, Graça Aranha, Mário de Andrade, and Oswald de Andrade became the exponents of the new attitude toward art and aesthetics. The revolutionists were especially concerned with reality, with Brazilian social, cultural, and racial problems; poets and novelists alike sought to create an art genuinely Brazilian, to express their ideas in a new form, and to make the style clearer and more direct and lucid. Graça Aranha likewise exerted his influence in directing the new current into the already existing channels of regionalism. In the social sciences the increasing activity

of anthropologists, ethnologists, and sociologists was also a powerful stimulus to writers of fiction. Outstanding in this respect were the works of Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1934), and *Sobrados e Mucambos* (1936). In the first of these dynamic books, *The Master's Mansion and the Slaves' Quarters,* Gilberto Freyre, by piecing together accounts from old documents, reconstructed life in colonial and imperial Brazil. In the second, *City Residence and Detached Servants' Quarters,* he made the same analysis of conditions in the early and middle 19th century. Such investigations of racial and economic questions were reflected in literature, and interest in the Negro was especially marked in both prose and poetry.

In the contemporary period, the chief concern of Brazilian writers is thus Brazilian social problems. Some of the most important novelists of this movement are José Lins do Rego, Jorge Amado, José Américo de Almeida, Jorge de Lima, Érico Veríssimo, Lúcio Cardoso, Graciliano Ramos, Marques Rebelo, Raquel de Queiroz, Diná Silveira de Queirós. Of these, José Lins do Rego is generally considered Brazil's foremost living novelist. He is best known for his 5 v. sugar-cane cycle, *Menino de Engenho* (1932), *Doidinho* (1933), *Banguê* (1934), *O Moleque Ricardo* (1935), and *Usina* (1936). In these chronicles, Lins do Rego evokes the life on the sugar plantations of northeastern Brazil and describes customs and habits from the days of slavery to more modern times, picturing the contrast between the rural civilization and the new industrialized life of the cities.

Following the examples of Machado de Assis and Artur Azevedo (brother of Aluízio de Azevedo), many recent writers have cultivated the shortstory. Chief among these are Monteiro Lobato, Antônio de Alcântara Machado, Adelino Magalhães, João Alphonsus, José Geraldo Vieira, Marques Rebelo, Peregrino Junior, Osvaldo Orico.

Another recent tendency has been to produce critical and biographical studies of the principal Brazilian men of letters. Among such critics and investigators are Velho Sobrinho, Afrânio Peixoto, Agripino Grieco, Elói Pontes, Almir de Andrade, Manuel Bandeira, Rosário Fusco, Nelson Werneck, Vianna Moog, Prudente de Moraes Neto, Lucia Miguel Pereira.

In poetry the outstanding writers from the *Modernista* movement to the present include the following: Mário de Andrade, Graça Aranha, Oswald de Andrade, Ronald de Carvalho, Tasso da Silveira, Augusto Frederico Schmidt, Andrade Muricy, Menotti del Picchia, Olegário Mariano, Guilherme de Almeida, Ribeiro Couto, Manuel Bandeira, Gilka Machado, Cecília Meireles, Augusto Mayer, Murilo Mendes, and Jorge de Lima. The last named is considered by many critics the greatest Brazilian poet of today; his most famous poems are *Banguê* and *Essa negra Fulô.*

Viewed as a whole, Brazilian literature of today appears to be the product of a generation that wishes to see Brazil as it is, and with realistic frankness and objective impartiality presents the conflicts and passions of humanity in scenes full of life and movement. It is a literature strongly national, yet fundamentally concerned with man and his eternal struggle to solve the problems of life.

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nually; Sílvio Romero, *História da Literatura Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro), 1888, 2 vols., 1902; *Compêndio de História da Literatura Brasileira* (In collaboration with João Ribeiro; Rio de Janeiro), 1909; Arturo Torres-Rioseco, *The Epic of Latin American Literature* (N. Y.), 1942; José Veríssimo, *História da Literatura Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro), 1916. *See* African; South American.

EUNICE JOINER GATES.

BRETON

IT IS THE common notion that Breton (also called Armorican Breton and Bas Breton, in Breton, *Brezonec*), the Celtic language spoken in Brittany (in Breton, *Breiz* and *Breiz-Izel*), is the direct survivor of the language of the Gauls, but such is not the case. Breton belongs to the triad of Brythonic Celtic languages, is closely related to Welsh and Cornish, and was brought to Brittany in the 5th and 6th c. by the inhabitants of southwest Britain fleeing before the inroads of the Saxons. It became a distinct language about the beginning of the 7th c. and broke into four main dialects: Léonard or Léonais, spoken in Finistère, the most conservative and regarded as the literary dialect; Trécorois or Trégorrois, spoken in the north of the peninsula, and Cornouaillais, in the center of the language group. While these varieties differ only slightly from one another, the remaining dialect, Vannetais, spoken chiefly in Morbihan, in the southeast, differs greatly from them, and, as regards pronunciation, is almost a strange language.

There are three periods in the history of Breton, and three periods, corresponding to the language, in the history of the literature: Old Breton, ranging from the mid 7th c. to the 11th c.; Middle Breton, from the 11th c. to the 17th, and Modern Breton. The honor of having definitely reformed and fixed the orthography belongs to J.-F. Le Gonidec, in 1807, when his *Grammaire Celto-Bretonne* appeared. Many studies have been published on various phases of Breton—grammar, pronunciation, syntax, and etymology—but as yet there is no complete dictionary of the language and its dialects. Though in the course of time, owing to political and social conditions, Breton has continued to give ground to French, it is still spoken by nearly a million and a quarter persons, "Bretons bretonnants," of whom perhaps half a million are monoglots.

By Breton literature is meant, in this brief account, literary productions in the Breton language. But there were many famous Breton authors who wrote in French instead: One needs to name only Chateaubriand, Lammenais, Jules Simon, Renan, Le Sage, Sébillot, and Souvestre. Again, though there is no extant Breton literature prior to the 15th c., all through the Middle Ages, the legends, traditions, and souvenirs of the Celtic homeland were kept alive in an oral form by Breton minstrels, who constituted a sort of bardic school and cultivated the old themes and meters. Their *lais bretons* are referred to, among others, by Marie de France, the 12th c. poetess, and by the 13th c. author of the *Chanson des Saisnes* "Song of the Saxons," who ranks the "matière de Bretagne" alongside the literatures of Rome and France; and to them we are indebted for the cycle of The Round Table and Tristan. On these grounds Renan says of the Celts: "This little people . . . is in possession of a literature which, in the Middle Ages, exercised an immense influence, changed the course of European imagination, and imposed its poetic motives

on nearly the whole of Christendom." Works in the Breton tongue were not so potent.

Owing to the inferior position held by Breton—French being the prevailing language of the upper classes—literature was much later in starting in Breton than in Irish and Welsh and has nothing to compare with these earlier flourishing literatures. To the earliest period (7th–11th c.) belong only glosses to some Latin words and some Latin names, and, somewhat later (1464), the *Catholicon,* a Breton-Latin-French vocabulary, which are of value and interest only to the historian of the language.

Breton literature really begins with the appearance (ca. 1475) of a *Life of Saint Nonn,* mother of Saint David, and for nearly two hundred years the literature is almost exclusively religious, of little originality and literary value, and translated or adapted from French or Latin originals. To the 16th and early 17th c. belong a large number of devotional works, such as the *Mirror of Death,* the *Mirror of Confession,* the *Doctrine of Christians,* hymns, carols, noels, a *Book of Hours,* and, above all, more than a hundred mystery and miracle plays, chiefly on *Old* and *New Testament* subjects and lives of saints, of which two score or so have been published, the most important being *Le Grand Mystère de Jésus* (1530) and *Le Mystère de Sainte Barbe* (1557), besides dramas based on the lives and deeds of such heroes as Huon de Bordeaux, Guillaume de Poitou, Robert le Diable, Louis Eunius, and episodes from the Carolingian saga and romances of chivalry. The plays commonly contain from 5,000 to 9,000 lines of twelve syllables, varied by some of eight, and are richly garnished with French words. Though often the work of farmers, weavers, or shoemakers, and crude and grotesque, they enjoyed a tremendous popularity among the people during the latter half of the 18th and first half of the 19th c. They provided the best distraction and most serious instruction, appealed to religiousness and thirst for ideal adventure, and opened to the imagination other worlds and strange people.

The dramatic tradition suffered a reverse when, because of abuses that had crept in, the theatre was condemned by the clergy about the middle of the 19th c.; but it was given a fresh impetus in August of 1898, when was founded, under the leadership of Anatole Le Braz, Charles Le Goffic, and Cloarek, at Ploujean, near Morlais, the Breton theatre of the people. The *Life of Saint Guennolé* was performed with great success and Ploujean was hailed as the cradle of the great popular theatre of the future. Four years later came the Theatre of Sainte-Anne d'Auray, which came to be known as the Breton Oberammergau. It owes its creation and success to the Abbé Joseph Le Bayon ("Job er Glean"), vicar of Bignan, bard, poet, and dramatic author, and to his collaborators and his troupe, the *Pautred Sant Guigner* (the lads of Saint Guigner, a commune in Morbihan). His first play, *En Eutru Keriolet* (1902), a tragedy in three acts, was a triumph: the performance was completely Breton, author, actors, language, setting, music, and *Keriolet* himself, the hero of the drama.

Le Bayon is the author of several other dramatic pieces, comedies as well as tragedies, and of poetry, both in Breton (*Sonnenneu hur Bro-ni*; *Songs of our Land*) and in French (*Le Converti de Notre-Dame*), and has no equal in the Vannetais dialect. His language is colloquial, rich and racy, as suits the nature of his work, and his versification is marked by elegance united to simplicity. He was also coach and director, and all through the winter months he taught his troupe, individually and in groups, verse by verse, gesture by gesture, pose by pose. With the greatest care he selected his cast, and so completely incarnated were they in the rôles they

played that they became known, not by their real names, but by the names of the characters they personated.

The most famous figure in the history of Breton literature is the Viscount Théodore Claude-Henri Hersart de la Villemarqué (1815–95), whose family was related to that of the author of *Atala* and *René*. In 1838 appeared his *Barzaz-Breiz: Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*—originally spelled *Barzas*, but in all subsequent editions *Barzaz*, a word unknown to either Breton or French and probably fashioned on an obsolete *barz*, "a bardic song." The work immediately attracted the attention of the world of letters. It was crowned by the French Academy, translated into most languages, and its influence was felt by poets, novelists, essayists, philologists, dramatists, and even historians.

La Villemarqué was unquestionably a very great poet and a man of remarkable talent, "before whose sublime songs," one enthusiast declared, "we are like dwarfs before giants," but he was not a scholar and had not the critical temperament. Consequently the *Barzaz-Breiz*, though a work of singular grace and perfection, is a work of art and not of history. It was written at the time when the French public were in the romantic mood and when it was supposed that a simple folktale had to be touched up to suit the taste of the day. Furthermore, at the time of the publication of his book, La Villemarqué knew very little Breton and had to call on more competent men to furnish the Breton material, establish the text, smooth out the rough places and give the whole a flavor of antiquity. In this work of collaboration La Villemarqué's principal assistants were his friends, two very expert Bretonists, the Abbé Henry of Quimperlé and the Abbé Guéguen of Nizon. They were the real authors of the *Barzaz-Breiz*; without their help La Villemarqué could have done nothing.

But one opinion is held to-day concerning the authenticity of the *Barzaz-Breiz*: part of it is pure invention; part of it consists of songs contributed by poets, some of whom, intentionally or not, passed over on La Villemarqué their own spurious compositions as genuine monuments of the popular poetry, and the whole was then worked up by the professed author with the assistance of his editors. Then, there is the question, How far, if at all, was Villemarqué culpable? Admittedly he had ascribed to the poems an antiquity and an historical interest to which they had no right. However, there is every reason to believe that, at the time of the preparation and publication of the work, this was his sincere belief and that he acted in the best of faith. At any rate he is not to be classed with the impostor of the pretended poems of Ossian. La Villemarqué's overpowering enthusiasm was Brittany. He revealed her poetry and legends to the world and rendered a distinct service to the cause of Breton letters. His great fault (or weakness) was that, during the long-drawn out controversy that raged over the authenticity of his work, he knew the truth, and he remained silent.

The polemics over the genuineness of the *Barzaz-Breiz* led directly to the scientific study and publication of Breton folk-songs. In this field François-Marie Luzel (1821–95) was preeminent. While La Villemarqué purposed the production of a literary masterpiece that would redound to the glory of Brittany, Luzel looked upon traditional tales and ballads as historical documents, to be treated and published exactly as they were handed down in writing or by word of mouth. He was also a poet, in French as well as in Breton, and his collection of Breton poems, *Bepred Breizad* (*Toujours Breton*), won the praise of Sainte-Beuve. He was known as "the Wandering Jew of Brittany." For two-score years, with tireless perseverance, he traversed the fields and farms and seaports, in search of the lore of his people. The harvest yielded nearly a

dozen volumes of *Contes Bretons* (1870), *Veillées Bretonnes* (1879), *Légendes Chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne* (1881), and *Contes Populaires* (1887), which he published with all their charm and also their flaws and imperfections.

These songs fall into two classes, *gwerziou* (sing. *gwerz;* Latin *versus*) and *soniou* (sing. *sone;* Latin *sonus*),

Et les noires *gwerziou,* rudes comme l'histoire,
Et les blanches *soniou,* douces comme l'amour.
(A. Le Braz)
And the black *gwerziou,* rough as history,
And the white *soniou,* smooth as love.

The *gwerziou* are the older and more tragic. Their subjects are taken from actual happenings, village scenes, tales of violence of all sorts, and they provide many dramatic situations. For example, the *gwerz* of Iannik Coquart (Luzel, *Gwerziou,* pp. 253, 259) was used almost scene for scene by Henri Bataille as the plot of his play, *Ton Sang, précédé de La Lépreuse, (Your Blood, preceeded by the Leperess)* which was produced with conspicuous success at the *Comédie Parisienne* in 1898. The *soniou,* on the other hand, are the lyric poetry of the race, and are more tender, less tragic and original, than the *gwerziou.* It is of these songs, some of which had already been published, though in a different setting, by La Villemarqué, that George Sand declared: "There are certain Breton *complaintes,* made by beggars, that are worth all Goethe and all Byron, in three couplets, and that prove that the appreciation of the true and the beautiful was more spontaneous and more complete in these simple souls than in those of the most illustrious poets."

The chief literary wealth of Brittany is her store of tales, legends, and ballads, which far surpasses that of the popular compositions collected in the other provinces of France. In a class by itself is the masterpiece of the Vannetais dialect, the Abbé Joachim Guillome's Georgic, *Livr el Labourer, (The Farmer's Book;* 1849), inspired by Virgil, of some 2,400 verses, remarkable for the beauty of its style and the interest of its subject.

One recalls the celebrated phrase of Arthur de la Borderie, the national historian of Brittany: "La Bretagne est une Poésie,—une Poésie dans le présent et dans le passé." And George Sand says: "A single province of France is the equal, in poetry, of what the genius of the greatest poets and the most poetic nations have ever produced: we venture to say that it surpasses them." The sentiment of the village churchyard pervades this poetry. Its dominant notes are sincerity, tenderness, idealism, a strong religious feeling, and a tone of sadness; its subjects are the hard toil of the farmer, the dangers of the fisherman's life, the beauty of nature, especially of the sea, a veritable cult of the past, and a burning love of the native land—personified as *En Hini Goz* (The Old Woman), just as the Irish figured their island as *An tseanbhean bhocht.* (The Poor Old Woman).

It would be impossible in this space to mention all the shining lights in the history of Breton literature. The following, however, of the last hundred years in chronological order and with the titles of their representative works, may be added to the names already given: Auguste Brizeux (1803–), *Kanaouennou (Songs), Telen Arvor (Harp of Armorica), Furnez Breiz (The Wisdom of Brittany),* best known for his poem in French, "Marie."; Prosper Proux (1812–), *Bombard Kerne (The Hautboy of Cornouaille);* Narcisse Quellien (1848–), whose *Annaik* is regarded as one of the most perfect models of Breton love; Charles Gwennou (1851–), poet, playwright, author of *Nozveziou Breiz (Breton Night Tales);* Anatole Le Braz (1859–), scholar, poet, novelist, indefatigable collector of Breton legends; Yves Berthou (1861–), author of *Dihun Breiz (The*

Awakening of Brittany), leader in the Breton regionalist movement; Charles Le Goffic (1863–), poet in French and Breton, best known for his "Âme Bretonne"; Claude Le Prat (1875–), poet, author of comedies, tales, and legends; Loeïz Herrieu (1879–), poet and playwright; François Jaffrennou (1879–), author of *An Delen Dir* (*The Harp of Steel*), poet, playwright, composer of *Bro Goz ma Zadou* (*Old Land of my Fathers*), adopted as the national hymn of Armorican Brittany.

H. Zimmer, "Die keltische Bewegung in der Bretagne," *Preus. Jahrb.*, 99, 454 f.; L. C. Stern, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, xi, i, p. 132 f.; J. Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne* (Paris), 1890; G. Dottin, *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, VIII, p. 93 f.; "Les Littératures Celtiques," p. 39 f. (Paris), 1924; A. Le Braz, *La Plume*, VI, 78f.; "Le Théâtre Celtique" (Paris), 1904; *Bleuniou Breiz, Poésies anciennes et modernes de la Basse-Bretagne* (Paris and Quimperlé), 1862 and 1904; Le Mercier d'Erm, *Les Bardes et Poètes Nationaux de la Bretagne Armoricaine* (Paris and Rennes), 1918.

JOSEPH DUNN.

BREZONEC—*See* Breton.

BUDDHIST—*See* Indian.

BULGARIAN

THERE ARE NO literary remains of the ancient Turko-Bulgarian language, which seems to have been the tongue of the people when they first entered the Balkans in the 6th c. Before the Christianizing of the people, Greek was apparently the only written language, as is shown by the inscription of the Bulgarian king at Madara and on the column of Omortag in Tirnovo. It is poor Greek at that.

There is still dispute as to the precise racial origin of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the 9th c. They were undoubtedly born near Salonika and educated at Constantinople, although they did their chief missionary work in Moravia. It was apparently for this mission that they created a special alphabet, which is usually supposed to be the Glagolitic, based on the Greek minuscule of the day; and into this Old Church Slavonic (also called Old Bulgarian) they translated parts of *The New Testament* and the service books of the Byzantine rite.

When Methodius died in 885, Boris, the first Christian ruler of Bulgaria, invited his two most prominent disciples, Saint Clement (d. 916) and Saint Naum (d. 910) to Bulgaria and aided them in opening schools for theological instruction. Saint Clement at Ohrid in the west prepared sermons for all the feasts of the year and Saint Naum in a similar school at Preslav and later at the monastery now called by his name on Lake Ohrid also worked to make theological material available for the Bulgarians in their own form of Church Slavonic.

Tsar Simeon (893–927) zealously supported the movement, but by the 11th c. the Glagolitic alphabet was entirely displaced by the Cyrillic, based on the Greek uncial letters. Simeon's reign was one of marked literary activity, but almost entirely in the theological field. Thus the Presbyter Ioan, the Bulgarian Exarch, prepared a *Book of Heaven* based upon the writings of St. John Damascene and also a *Shestodnev*, a collection of writings based upon the Greek fathers. Bishop Konstantin in 906 prepared a transla-

tion of four works of St. Athanasius against the Arians. Tsar Simeon arranged for the translation of many of the writings of St. John Chrysostom; translations of the *New Testament* and a considerable portion of the *Old* were made, and of all the books needed for the services of the church. At the same time on the Byzantine model there was made a translation of the *Chronicle of John Malalas* and in Byzantine style the monks began to prepare biographies of Bulgarian saints. Similarly we find traces of the translation of Byzantine hymns and sacred songs into the Church Slavonic.

By the 11th c. this active output of literature had slackened and the higher clergy, who had been the bearers of enlightenment and of literary productivity, tended toward other fields or to a more rigid asceticism. Literary production dropped even lower after the defeat and death of the Tsar Samuel at the hands of the Byzantine Emperor Basil Bulgaroktonos in 1018.

At the same time the country was plagued by the growth of Bogomilism, a Manichean religion preached by the Monk Jeremiah or Bogomil. We are told by the opponent of this movement, the Monk Kosma, in the 11th c., that the Bogomils had many books; but none have been preserved. They seem, however, to have influenced many of the apocryphal writings that have been preserved in Middle Bulgarian. Among other critics of the movement was Ilarion, bishop of Megla.

With the foundation of the Second Bulgarian Empire at Tirnovo in 1186, there came, under the Asen rulers, a new flowering of Bulgarian literature, which reached its height during the reign of Ivan Aleksander (1331–75). Of the writers of his day the Patriarch Evtymy, who died in prison after the Turkish conquest, was the outstanding author, with his biographies of the saints and his work in revising the Bulgárian Church books.

With the collapse of the Bulgarian Empire and its absorption into the Ottoman lands, the cultural level of Bulgaria, as of the other Balkan countries, fell rapidly. There was little or no opportunity for education. The influence of Greek and of the Patriarch of Constantinople increased, so that it almost seemed in the 18th c. as if Greek would completely displace the other Balkan languages. During all this time the chief literary productions were collections, largely modifications of the writings known under the name of Damaskin the Studite; but they included all kinds of apocryphal legends, many of Bogomil origin, and also the chief legends of mediaeval Europe, stories based on Troy and Alexander the Great, together with memories of the past greatness of Bulgaria.

At the same time there was a striking development of folksongs. In the western part of the country these were largely epic, connected with Marko of Prilep, the same theme that formed one of the Serb epic cycles. These songs did not receive as elaborate development as among the Serbs, but they retained greater connection with the historical events that they purport to recount. They are less poetical and in general more sober and realistic. In the east, lyric songs predominated.

It was in such a condition, where traces of the popular language were slowly making their way into the written forms of Church Slavonic, that modern literature took its rise in the *History of the Slavonic Bulgarians* by Father Paisi Hilendarski, in 1762. Father Paisi was a Bulgarian monk who wrote to remind his people of their great past. The work is distinctly critical of both the Serbs and the Greeks; Paisi contrasts with their defects the virtues of his own people, thus inspiriting a national resurgence.

We know very little of the life of Father Paisi; there is even no record of his lay name; but he was apparently born ca. 1722. When he was about forty he was a monk in the monastery of Hilendar on Mount Athos.

Sent on a trip to Karlovtsi, he had the opportunity to see Russian translations of the *History of the Slavs* by Maurus Orbini, which served as one of his chief sources. He apparently traveled around Bulgaria, reading portions of his work and allowing it to be copied.

Unlike the previous authors and historians, who had also all been monks, Father Paisi emphasized the lay character of history and placed more weight on national and patriotic motives than on religious miracles and motifs. He demanded the use of the native language; he appealed to the national pride of his people, to resume that place which they had once had in history.

The *History* of Paisi appeared at a critical time, when the Balkans were waking to the influence of Western Europe and of modern ideas. He was quickly followed by a long series of monks who worked seriously for the education of their fellows, as Sofrony Vrachanski (1739–1813?), Neofit Rilski (1793–1881), Neofit Bozveli (1780–1848). Soon the first of the laymen appears, in the person of Dr. Peter Beron (1797–1871). These men wrote for the people; they gradually shook off the Church Slavonic idiom and replaced it with the modern Bulgarian speech. Much that they did belongs in the field of education or of political writing, but they set the pace for the first half century and they were succeeded by more literary men: Georgi Sava Rakovski (1821–67), Lyuben Karavelov (1837–79), Vasil Drumev (1841–1901). Russian thought influenced the period; almost all had some connection with the revolutionary committees in Bucharest or elsewhere outside the Ottoman Empire.

To this group belongs Petko Rachev Slaveykov (1827–95), the first outstanding poet of Bulgaria. Considerably influenced by Russian literature, Slaveykov worked unceasingly as a publicist and teacher for his people. Yet he had a real, if limited, lyric sense and he was the first of the Bulgarian authors to achieve a poetic individuality.

The outstanding figure before the Bulgarian liberation was Khristo Botev* (1848–76). He lived a stormy life, wandering unceasingly in Bulgaria, Rumania, and Russia, and he became intimate with many of the Russian revolutionists before his ill-fated death. He left only 22 poems, but many of them rank among the Bulgarian masterpieces in their love of country and in their limitless passion for human and national freedom.

Botev died on the very eve of Bulgarian liberation. Once the country was free, there began a new period in its literature. The authors felt themselves no longer bound to spend most of their time in the formation of revolutionary societies and in wandering from one country to another to find support for their suffering countrymen. A new wave of hope spread over the land and a higher form of literary culture came to prevail.

The outstanding example of this new mood was Ivan Vazov* (1850–1921), the most versatile of all the Bulgarian authors. During his long and active career, he worked successfully in prose, poetry, comedy, tragedy, historical drama; and he trained an entire generation of younger authors. Also interested in describing the village life and the character of the Bulgarian people were Konstantin Velichkov (1855–1907); Todor Genchov Vlaykov (b. 1865); Georgi P. Stamatov (b. 1869); Anton Strashimirov (b. 1872); the bitter satirist Stoyan Mikhailovski (1856–1927); Aleko Konstantinov (1863–97), with his shrewd and humorous *Bay-Ganyu*, a clever and understanding picture of the Bulgarian peasant.

The increasing optimism and cultural opportunities of the new state led the next generation to seek for closer literary contacts with the literature of western Europe, and the imitation of the newer poetry. The trend was started by Pencho Slaveykov (1866–1912),

the son of the older author Petko Rachev Slaveykov. He spent nearly sixteen years in Germany, read Goethe, Heine, Nietzsche; but at the same time he wrote his best works on Bulgarian subjects as the *Korvava Pesn'* (*The Song of Blood,* 1911–13) in which he described the Bulgarian revolts of 1876. In the same general school were Peyo Kracholov Yavorov (1876–1914), an unhappy character who constantly aimed to present the conflicts in the human soul, and the more literary Petko Yu. Todorov (1879–1916), who at times introduced foreign motifs not too consonant with the Bulgarian national character. In prose of this period, the outstanding author was Elin-Pelin (Dimitar Ivanov, b. 1876), whose stories of village life have won recognition abroad.

1912 marked a turning point in the modern Bulgarian temperament. It opened with high hopes, with the Balkan Alliance in the first Balkan War; but the Second Balkan War in 1913 which cost Bulgaria Macedonia and the Dobrudja, and World War I, in which Bulgaria was allied with the Central Powers, were followed by further disturbances, which broke Bulgarian self-confidence and created a mood of depression. Many turned toward mysticism; others, to a renewed admiration of ancient Bulgarian history. Dimcho Debelyanov (1887–1916) was the outstanding poet of this period. He left only about 30 poems, but in their deep analysis of the author's feelings, they brought him lasting fame. There was a literary revival of Bogomilism, as in the *Bogomilski Legendi,* in 1912, of Nikolay Raynov (b. 1888), a professor of the history of art. Ivan Grozev (b. 1872) reflects the same tendencies. Todor Trayanov (b. 1882) is the recognized leader of the Bulgarian symbolists, with his *Bulgarski Baladi* (1921; *Bulgarian Ballads*). Nikolay Liliyev (b. 1885) has produced harmonious poetry.

In prose Bulgarian literature both before and after the liberation has in its major works confined its attention to the village; these writings far excel in quality and truth those works that have to do with the cities of Sofia and Plovdiv. First place is taken by Iordan Iovkov (1884–1938), with his stories of life in his native Dobrudja; also his *Legends of the Staroplanina* rank among the leading works of modern Bulgarian literature. Dobri Nemirov (b. 1882) also wrote an excellent novel *Bratya* (*The Brothers,* 1927) on the period just before the liberation of the country, of his Bulgarian historical novels *Angeloglasniyat* (*The Angel-voiced Singer,* 1938) gives an excellent description, with a strong patriotic tinge, of the Byzantine court of the time of the Komneni, with all their dignity and vice. The *Prosti Dushi* (*Simple Souls,* 1938) of Konstantin Mutafov presents humorous and yet understanding pictures of the Bulgarian village under changing modern conditions.

There is also a flourishing children's literature, to which many of the better writers, as Angel Karaliychev, have turned in recent years.

An exception to the general subjects of Bulgarian literature is seen in the *Blenove kray Akropola* (*Visions on the Acropolis,* 1938) of Dimitar Shishmanov (1889–1945), for a while Bulgarian Minister in Athens. It is a delightfully and irreverently reverent picture of the Athens of the Acropolis and also of the cafes and the alleys; but beneath glows a keen understanding of the permanent realities of art and of civilization. It is one of the few works to rise above a narrow nationalism and to comprehend in fictional form a culture other than that of Bulgaria.

In poetry Elizavieta Bagryana, although not a prolific writer, is undoubtedly the leading poetess of the day, but Dora Gabe and some of the other women writers are doing better work than most of the men. This is an interesting phenomenon, when we realize

that oriental customs still retain considerable force in Bulgarian social life.

On the eve of World War II, in which Bulgaria, thirsting for revenge, again cast her lot with the Axis, there was an active school of literary criticism with several new reviews, as the *Iskustvo i kritika* (*Art and Criticism*) edited by Georgy Tsanov, which were rivalling the old *Zlatorog*. The wisest critics, as Iordan Badev of the newspaper *Zora*, deplored the attempt to judge literature only by its social message and not to seek in it for other and higher qualities.

The destruction of much of central Sofia will undoubtedly have an important effect upon the writers concentrated in the area. Here were their coffee houses and their bookshops. It undoubtedly brought home to them the meaning of the war, in a manner that was not learned in 1918; but there is too little information available to estimate the effect of this war upon Bulgarian thought and literature. A curious historical chauvinism prevailed among the educated class after 1918; how this will hold, and how the attitude toward Russia-USSR that followed the last war will develop, no one can predict.

D. Shishmanov, *A Survey of Bulgarian Literature*, 1932; Boyan Penev, *Istoriya na novata Bulgarska literature* (*History of Modern Bulgarian Literature*), 1930–1936. *See* Yugoslav.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

BULU—*See* African.

BYZANTINE

BYZANTINE LITERATURE has been the preserver of the ancient Greek masterpieces to the modern world, mother of the Slavic, the Coptic, the Georgian, the Armenian, the Syriac literature, and, through the last, of Arabic science and philosophy, making through this again and through its own son, John Damascene, no mean contribution to the culture of medieval western Europe. As understood in this article, it comprises that written in Greek from the edict of Milan (313) to the capture of Constantinople (1453). It begins with the acceptance of Christianity by the Roman Empire. Thenceforward, only Christian literature voiced the vital philosophy and hopes of the Mediterranean world.

Inspired by the religion that had forced its way from cave and catacomb to the summit of power, Byzantine Literature opened in glory. The first period from Athanasius (295–373) to Photius (820–97) can challenge any; it attained supremacy in theology, pulpit oratory, and the hymn, produced a fine poet and a distinguished succession of historians. Most remarkable of all, it witnessed the spectacle of a whole populace capable of interesting itself keenly in the ultimate abstractions of metaphysics. This intellectual development, the heritage of antiquity, was kindled by ardor for the faith into resplendent theology and oratory. These two genres, together with the hymn, expressed perfectly the intimate heart and soul of the age; they succeeded in harmonizing the deep-seated conflict in its complex psychology.

The new era sprang from a curious alliance. On the one hand, it culminated a growth begun deep in paganism. To the Renaissance

of the 1st c. it owed the elements indispensable to its life, the logical astuteness of the popular mentality, and the favor universally enjoyed by oratory. The impulse to the Renaissance ("Second Sophistic" is an anachronistic misnomer) had stirred in men whom the vision of the radiant beauty of the Periclean past made poignantly sensitive to the unworthiness of their present. They resolved to restore Greek letters to splendor and to inspire all with an emulation of antiquity. They launched a crusade of education. The support of the government was enlisted and schools sprang up everywhere. The method of teaching was reformed. In the Hellenistic period, the compositions placed as models before the pupil were administrative documents and the letters of high officials. These the masterpieces of the golden age superseded. Though no original research was undertaken, the sciences were gathered into handy compendia, philosophy and history, particularly, recast to appeal to the ordinary reader. Not content to stay within the four walls of a classroom, the apostles of the Renaissance carried their message to the public. They gave oratory its vogue; they, too, originated a genre that proved immensely popular, the dramatic display. In this, some instructive topic from either history or philosophy was made the subject of a debate by a single individual representing both sides. Thus, for instance, it was Athenian law that the panegyric over those slain in battle should be delivered by the father of the bravest victim. The speaker would impersonate in succession the parents of two heroes of Marathon pleading the cause of their sons. The applause awarded his performance depended on the skill and fidelity to life with which he portrayed the fictitious characters and acted out the parts, on the merits of his arguments, and on his elocution. By such adroit methods the whole tone of society was in the course of centuries elevated. The audience was receiving a liberal education in philosophy and history while being at the same time entertained; its wits were sharpened to follow and appraise a close train of reasoning; its sense of style, the classic feeling for harmony and design and delight in fine, musical prose were reawakened. Above all, the image of the matchless past was held steadily before its eyes, and became the accepted standard for writer and reader alike. As a necessary preliminary to the program, the literary language, until then the Attic Koine, was reformed. This was not, as is commonly imagined, the speech of the people, but a conventional diction (as is every book idiom) legislated by the Hellenistic monarchies. It had already in the 3d c. B.C. begun to diverge notably from the vernacular. Its syntax was now modernized and its vocabulary purged of foreign words. This whole movement, due primarily to the accident that it did not penetrate deeply until after 100 A.D., had at first no effect whatever on Christian literature. The *New Testament*, completed too early to feel its impact, simply developed in the stylistic tradition of the previous epoch. To this the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists clung tenaciously, although the progress of the classical revival rendered it definitely antiquated in the 2d c. Their conservatism appears in their preservation of the Koine, in their preference for genres with no inner design, and in their recourse to Philo and Josephus for models of polemic and for philosophy. The inspired writings represent the natural and spontaneous evolution of the Jewish Hellenistic age; the later works, its reactionary prolongation.

Byzantine Literature always showed the traces of this dual origin. It is of capital importance for its entire history that it derived from two completely independent, widely disparate, and long established trends, the revived classic and the Jewish Hellenistic. The Patristic age achieved greatness precisely because it succeeded in combining adroitly the

best elements of both tendencies. The isolationism of Christian literature was brought to a stop by Clement of Alexandria* and Origen,* who in the 3d c. pressed Platonism into the service of the faith. Their work led directly to the brilliant development of theology and exegesis that inaugurated Byzantine Literature. The theology concerned itself at first with the fundamental mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation. By a happy application to the teachings of the Gospel of the philosophical concepts inherited from paganism, it unfolds the dogmatic content of the primitive revelation. The outstanding personalities were, in the 4th c., Athanasius,* patriarch of Alexandria, the champion of orthodoxy through fifty years of hardship and persecution, and the three Cappadocians, Basil of Caesarea,* his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa,* and his close friend Gregory Nazianzen,* the most influential in aftertime; in the 5th, Cyril,* patriarch of Alexandria, in the 6th, Leontius* of Byzantium, who introduced Aristotelianism; in the 7th, Maximus,* called "Confessor" for his sufferings in behalf of the truth; in the 8th, John Damascene,* who summed up the whole development in the first systematization of theology, *Wellspring of Wisdom.* After 450, interest turned to mysticism with two writers of note, the pseudo-Dionysius* the Areopagite (6th c.), and Maximus Confessor, the real founder of the science. As thinkers, all these men subscribed to the alliance of pagan philosophy with Christian dogma. But as writers, the Alexandrians, Athanasius and Cyril, adhered to the Hellenestic style of random discourse, going whither emotion or the association of ideas led, Cyril particularly never saying in one word what he can say in fifty. The Cappadocians, with their disciplined arrangement and classic unity, present a striking contrast. In biblical exegesis the school of Alexandria evinces the same conservatism; walking in the footsteps of the early Church and Philo, it espoused the allegorical interpretation (Cyril's bulky works give us a specimen of the method). The school of Antioch, however, in keeping with the system of expounding the classical texts then in vogue, took the scientific, the historical and lexicographical, approach. It produced the ranking figure in exegesis, Theodoret* of Cyrus (393–460), and had another remarkable representative in John Chrysostom.*

These accomplishments, however, lay primarily in the domain of thought rather than of belles lettres; it was the orator and the hymn writer that united the two basic trends into an artistic creation. Oratory, continuing its lofty role as educator of the public, brought to the masses the theology and exegesis of the masters. To follow the subtleties of these subjects exacted an amazing degree of intellectual preparation, and the keen audience was the Renaissance's best gift to the 4th c. Amid the host of preachers (we have a sheaf of sermons from almost every name) Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom excelled, each in a distinctive type. Chrysostom, active first at Antioch and later patriarch of Constantinople, generally accounted one of the world's great orators, won his pre-eminence in the homily. This was part of the exclusively Christian heritage, a composition of the loose, improvised sort with neither introduction nor conclusion, a running commentary on a section of scripture accompanied by a moral exhortation. He delivered this with fiery sincerity, yet with all the art and artifices accumulated in the experience of pagan antiquity. Gregory, on the other hand, took the highly organized encomium or advocate's plea and turned it to the panegyric of a saint or the defense of religion. Romanus (490–560), peerless as a composer of hymns, achieved a strikingly different reconciliation of the pagan and the Christian element. From the liturgy, for which, of course, his masterpieces were intended, he received the principle of his verse, stress and not length of syllable; his language,

the biblical Koine; and his subjects. But the purity of his diction, the regularity of his meters, his sense of structure, the perfection of unity in his tone, atmosphere, and plot, his skill in rhetorical figures and sound effects—all this is unalloyed classicism. But above and beyond any technical excellence, Romanus is a poet. He etches the sublime scenes of Holy Writ in vivid drama, with delicate tenderness, with intense love and devotion, with a directness and nobility reminiscent of Homer. He, as no other, makes one feel the God before ages in the lowly homes of men.

Such a free transfer of style from one genre to another went contrary to the classical rule that the type had to be maintained true to its origin, that, for instance, the choral ode in an Attic drama must be in the Doric dialect. This canon, however, had been disregarded from the inception of the Renaissance. Nevertheless, it had by no means been forgotten; the heroic verse of the 6th c. A.D. is still in the language and manner, if not the genius, of Homer. It is not too surprising, then, to find many of the traditional categories cultivated without the slightest effort to modify them. On the one hand, the romance and the mythological epic, even from the pen of Christians, remained as gross and idolatrous as ever, while secular history gave no more attention to religion than Thucydides to his gods. (Cf. Greek Literature.) On the other hand, the chronicle, ecclesiastical history, and hagiography persevered in the literary conventions of the early Church in which they had originated. The chronicle is the acme of structureless composition, a world history in almanac form, itemizing unconnected events year by year; it may enter under the same head a signal victory, a disastrous earthquake, and the tour of an uncannily trained dog around the Empire. Its language retains the syntax of the old-fashioned Koine, and, to emphasize the contrast with the classicist literature, its vocabulary has an unduly large foreign element, particularly Latinisms. It gives religious as well as secular history. The prominent chroniclers were Eusebius; John Malalas, most likely identical with John Scholasticus, the patriarch of Constantinople (d. 577); and Theophanes Confessor, who died in 817 a martyr in the Iconoclastic controversy. These were all well-educated men, and the style of their work is every whit as much a convention as the most polished oration of Gregory Nazianzen.

While the chronicle resisted the classicist tendency to the end, church history and hagiography both succumbed to it. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius* (263–339), "Father of Church History," bears the evident stamp of its origin from the chronicle. An invaluable collection of documents, it scarcely attempts a coherent narrative; thoroughly Christian in spirit, it is in diction and method a throwback to the Hellenistic age. With the addition of material from secular history and hagiography it was continued by Socrates (380–439), who was rewritten by his contemporary Sozomen with a view to better organization—the first essay at classicizing the genre. Taking up the story where they left off, Evagrius Scholasticus (536–612) goes down to 593, while he tries to keep the best features of his predecessors, documentation, attention to secular history, and hagiography, he writes an orderly developed account in the classicist fashion.

Hagiography followed a similar path. For the medieval Byzantine, the saint was the hero, the ideal, the celebrity, and hagiography in its various manifestations running the gamut from almost pure history to undisguised fiction was his epic, his spiritual reading, his romance, his sensational novel. Valuable a source as it often is, particularly for its glimpses of the social life of the time, it could never be cold fact even in the otherwise sober pages of a Socrates or a Sozomen; it had to have the marvelous and astounding.

Successor to the early apocryphal acts of the apostles and to the even earlier pagan Hellenistic tale of the wonder-worker, its first monument is the life of Anthony, the Egyptian hermit, by Athanasius. This is substantially historical but its aim is not biography but edification; it depicts the ideal monk. Numerous collections of saints' lives were made, the most notable being Palladius' *Lausiac History* (ca. 420) and John Moschus' (d. 619) *Meadow*, a variegated and delightful series of anecdotes connected with maxims and biographical sketches. Hagiography rose to a new height during and after the Iconoclastic persecution. These lives provide us with excellent information about the controversy. Their style is purely classicist.

Ultimately, too, all Byzantine poetry, liturgical and nonliturgical, became classicist. Only one great hymn appeared after Romanus, the anonymous *Acathistus* (i.e., 'not seated,' because the congregation stands during its rendition), a sort of *Te Deum* in honor of the Virgin Mother. Previous to John Damascene liturgical poetry was based on stress but he introduced quantity for some of his hymns. As for secular verse, the only sort ever cultivated by the Byzantines with any success was the epigram, in which Theodore Studites* (759–826), to mention one among many, displayed high originality, genuine sentiment, and a fine power of observation. George* of Pisidia (fl. 610–41), acknowledged the finest of medieval Greek poets, also a clever epigrammatist, has bequeathed a fair volume of verse, of which his didactic *Creation* and his *Lines on Human Life* have been most admired. The sole writer with the courage and independence to attempt the introduction of the popular stress meters into literature was Gregory Nazianzen. From him we have excellent versified autobiography, supposed by some to have suggested St. Augustine's *Confessions*.

Unfortunately, however, for this all-conquering classicism, the close sympathetic union between author and audience, without which the period's greatness could never have been, broke off after the 5th c. Literature retired to the Court and the cloister. Symptomatic of the change was the shift of theology from the fundamental truths, in which all were interested, to mysticism, with which only the monk was concerned. Likewise, from the reign of Justinian (527–65), history was no longer written for the general reader but for the emperor, the grandee, and the pedant. After Heraclius (610–41) court patronage ceased—for what reason no one knows. For two hundred years all activity was confined to monasteries, and the vast productivity of the previous centuries dwindled to the chronicle, the life of the saint, the hymn, and theology. Becoming esoteric, literature simultaneously became heavy with learning and extremely artificial. It developed an extraordinary flare for technique, a trait already prominent in the Justinian epoch. The last secular historian, Theophylactus Simocatta (d. 632), in his account of the emperor Maurice (582–602) must have figures of speech everywhere. Each sentence is practically a conundrum. Some of John Damascene's hymns have a complicated interlocking of stress and quantity; the stanza makes an acrostic—neither *tour de force* contributing to ease or intelligibility. Despite these tortured excesses, this substitution of ingenuity for genius, of scholarship for inspiration, a decay inevitably associated with a closet literature, the old spirit of classicism still had sufficient vitality to confer immense benefits. Judged merely as historian, Evagrius improves considerably on Eusebius. Theophylactus' sober, coherent, reliable narrative, for all its fantastic manner, so far excels that of the Arab Tabari or the Armenian Sebeos or the uncouth western chronicles as to be in a class by itself. Byzantine literature has suffered immeasurably from comparison with the

classic; but it does have the distinction of being the only medieval literature that even suggests the comparison.

Towards the middle of the 9th c., imperial patronage was renewed by Caesar Bardas, the towering figure of Photius emerged at the propitious moment, and the later period of Byzantine Literature began (850–1453). This second Renaissance differed from the first in essence, in spirit and aim. It had no interest whatever in the public and no missionary zeal for raising the general level of culture. It was for prince and scholar only, predominantly the latter. This erudite character was impressed upon it by the peculiar genius of its inspirer, Photius* (820–97), eminent man of affairs, of immense learning, whose personality and outlook forever after dominated Byzantine Literature. He is himself the phenomenon most distinctive of the later period and unparalleled in the previous epoch, the universalist, the master of every field of human knowledge, essayist in theology, exegesis, natural science, medicine, grammar, history, law. He had several successors, some perhaps of even more extraordinary attainments, among them Michael Psellus; Eustathius,* archbishop of Thessalonica (d. 1192), famous for his commentaries on Homer and Pindar; Maximus Planudes* (13th c.) author of one of the two extant anthologies of ancient poetry; Theodore Metochites, polyhistor and poet, councillor to Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328); and Nicephoras Gregoras* (1295–1359), pupil of Theodore and another universal-knowledge man.

Photius thus led his contemporaries back to antiquity in an antiquarian spirit and for antiquity's sake. He began with a busy collecting and copying of manuscripts to preserve what survived. To his impulse we owe most of what we have of the classics at the present day. To further the same end, he initiated a series of compendia, contributing himself a *Dictionary* and the *Library*, a comprehensive handbook of literature with biographies of authors, an often acute estimate of their value, and summaries of their works, about three hundred chapters in all. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus,* Emperor (912–59), continued with an encyclopedia of history and political science in the form of excerpts from previous writers arranged under various headings, e.g., embassies, virtues and vices, etc.; he also completed and revised the *Basilica*, a codification of law already started under his grandfather. From the same century we have the *Palatine Anthology* (cf. Greek Literature) of Constantine Cephalas, the encyclopedia of hagiography of Symeon Metaphrastes, and the *Dictionary* of Suidas, actually a sort of abridged encyclopedia with brief alphabetically arranged articles on philosophy, science, grammar, geography, etc., of inestimable worth for its literary items.

Most of the energy of this time went into the task of conservation, though personal composition, especially of history and chronicle, was not lacking. But the huge volume of independent production that astounds us under the Comneni and the Palaeologi began only at the end of the 11th c. with that remarkable personage, Michael Psellus* (1018–78), polyhistor and prime minister, second only to Photius in his influence on Byzantine Literature. He gave to the Empire its dying radiance, its last burst of glory before sinking beneath the horizon of history—a brave protest against fate, pathetic in that it achieved only brilliance, never greatness. It could not shake off the fetters of Photius' scholarship, and a new factor had arisen that made such a move imperative—the spoken tongue had changed to a form close to modern Greek, making the written as obsolete as Chaucer's English. But the idiom of prose was not affected—a result perfectly natural in view of the age-old convention of keeping the genre true to type. What had motivated the linguistic reforms of the First-Century Renais-

sance had been its ardor for popularization, but Michael Psellus, aristocrat, courtier, and timeserver, of consuming vanity and intense egotism, certainly never conceived any altruistic interest in the multitude. Yet, he had undeniable originality and extraordinary intellectual powers; he has been compared with Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon. He turned toward ancient Greece not merely for its own sake but to draw inspiration and a fresh viewpoint. He attained entire independence of the medieval tradition. He forsook the turgid style in vogue since Justinian, for an elegant, lucid diction. Breaking with the Eastern Church's Aristotelianism, he revived Plato and successfully defended himself against the charge of heresy. He brought Byzantine Literature for the rest of its career into closer contact with pagan antiquity than it had ever before been. He was in a sense the first Humanist.

The period of the Comneni and Palaeologi thus contrasted vividly with the earlier; its atmosphere was more classical, and consequently more modern, and it lacked the dominant religious accent. Theology, though not neglected, confined itself mainly to polemic, over universals (an interesting parallel to the West) and Psellus' Platonism, over reunion with Rome, and over Hesychasm, an odd system of contemplation practiced by the monks of Mt. Athos to catch a glimpse of the uncreated light from the Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor. Real advance was made in mysticism, the *Life in Christ* of Nicholas Kavasilas (d. 1371) being one of the most remarkable essays in the subject. But there was little original pulpit oratory, exegesis, or hagiography, and but one insignificant church history. In the nonreligious field, on the other hand, no genre was slighted, and numerous types were revived that had slept for centuries, e.g., satire and romance. Lucian was a great favorite. Apart from the essayists and polyhistors previously mentioned, the most distinguished work was in history. We have an almost continuous narrative from 813 to 1476, paralleled and supplemented by good chronicles (still, for the most part, in the biblical Koine) that fill the slight gaps. Many of the writers were members of the imperial family, e.g., Princess Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius Comnenus, whose *Alexiad* recounts her father's reign (1081–1118); her husband Nicephoras Bryennius' family chronicle of the rise of the Comneni; and the self-complacent story of his own achievements by one of the Palaeologi, John VI Cantacuzenus (1341–55). All the other historians were men of high political office who took an intimate part in the events they relate. As might be supposed, these narratives lack the cold detachment of the writers of the early centuries. They have, however, the advantage of colorful, if not always attractive, personality.

It was in its intense cultivation of verse, however, that the second period contrasted notably with the first. This interest naturally owed much to the example of antiquity, but it was due also in no small measure to the rise of a vernacular literature. Practically everything written in the popular speech was poetry. Its earliest monument, the folk saga *Digenis Acritas,* sings of the loves and adventures of a warrior defending his faith and his country against the infidel, a popular crystallization of the unceasing struggles with the Saracen. The action takes place in the middle of the 10th c. on the extreme southeastern boundaries of the Empire. The reader who came to this epic in the expectation of another Iliad would have a sore disappointment in store, but it has, for all that, some fine qualities, an idyllic enjoyment of patriarchal life and sincere patriotism. In the *Rhodian Love Songs* of the 14th and 15th c. is found the finest creation of the vernacular, an authentic lyric note and a pastoral simplicity comparable to Theocritus. We have a not inconsiderable volume, mostly from the

13th and later c., of didactic and historical verse, animal stories, romance, and a fairy tale of enchanted castle and distressed beauty and golden magic apple and all live happily ever after—even the wicked king, who repents!

Almost without exception, this vernacular literature observes the ancient convention of keeping the genre true to its origin. From the 11th c. onward, a lively effort was made to promote a literature in the vulgar tongue. Even authors of the aristocratic circles published in it: the *Spaneas* (1142) of Alexius, son of the emperor John Comnenus, a thoroughly Byzantine Polonius to his Laertes; the petition (1159) of Michael Glycas to be released from prison; and Theodore Prodromus' three begging effusions, a new and unpleasant species, an abject appeal for succor. Such compositions readily lent themselves to the everyday speech, because it was what the poor countryman actually employed in his suit to his lord and what everybody used in the familiar intercourse of the home. Michael Glycas* (who was blinded, his petition having the unhappy effect of reminding Manuel Comnenus of his existence) represented a type not uncommon throughout the period, the educated man with an interest not only in antiquity but also in the folk and life about him. It is to people of his stamp, well read and schooled but not scholars, that we owe all the vernacular literature; they made up both its writers and its public. Their work, however, witnesses to the difficulty inherent in the creation of a dignified literary medium out of the materials of ordinary conversation; they had continually to supplement the poverty of the current vocabulary from the literary stock. Except in the hands of a genius, such a curious admixture, if transferred to the inherited classic types, would have issued only in bathos. It was tried once. John II, Despot of Epirus (1323–35), commissioned an otherwise unknown Hermoniacus to do Homer into the idiom of the day. The project was bold and well-intentioned, evincing an admirable interest in the spread of education, but the result, one is forced to admit, an atrocity. The rest realized their limitations and kept the vulgar tongue strictly within the limits of the age-old convention. This is why all the vernacular poetry is so naive in tone and unsophisticated in subject.

In accordance with the same convention, the learned verse kept to its own sphere, but subject to large influence from the vulgar. This appears not only in its borrowing of the only new type, the begging poem, and in its parallel revival of the Hellenistic romance, but especially in its meters. It employs freely the popular "political verse" based on stress, not quantity. Of the vast output, the epigram leads in quality, John the Geometrician* (10th c.) and Christopher of Mitylene (11th c.) being especially successful. The reader can get a good idea of the extent and variety of the other material from an enumeration of the stuff turned out by the prolific Theodore Prodromus (12th c.): a romance; a dramatic parody entitled *War of the Cats and the Mice; Friendship Banished,* a dialogue dealing with the advantages of friendship; *Lament over the Neglect of Learning* (mostly his own, by an inappreciative world); an astrological poem; *To a Picture of Life; Verses on the Twelve Months,* a sort of *Shepherd's Calendar;* innumerable occasional poems, mostly begging, on the successful military expeditions or marriages or births or deaths in the royal household; religious compositions on the feast of the Epiphany, all the saints in the calendar, the Fathers of the Church, Trinity, etc.; in addition to all this, epigrams and riddles. He has some witty satire, a bit Rabelaisian: *To Machaon,* an old man who married a very young woman; *The Lewd Old Woman; The Bearded Oldster.*

A very characteristic manifestation of Byzantine genius common to both the earlier

and the later period is epistolography, always in prose. The private correspondence of nearly all the authors mentioned above and of hundreds of others was collected and published after their death, was, in fact, written with just such an eventuality in view. It is of fascinating interest not only for the personalities involved but for its vivid picture of the society and manners of the day. Thus, to choose an instance at random, we have the missives of Nicholas, a tenth-century patriarch of Constantinople, to the Arab Emir of Crete, to Symeon, Prince of Bulgaria, to the Pope, to Emperor Romanus I, to an Armenian baron, besides, of course, those to his friends, subordinates, etc. Again, the letter was the normal form for the political pamphlet, the scientific article, and for all legal enactments, which were usually couched as communications addressed to an official. It could, moreover, be employed for a wide variety of compositions, as by Athanasius, for example, for his biography of Anthony, his *History of the Arians*, and for many of his theological tracts. Epistolography is generally regarded as having reached its apogee in the fourth century. However, it remained a favorite literary type at all times and kept a high level.

Over this whole brilliant civilization the Turkish conquest passed like the night. Its scholars wandered aliens in western Europe, its promising vernacular literature glowed faintly for a brief space and died.

Otto Stahlin, *Christliche Schriftsteller in Wilhelm von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* von Wilhelm Schmid u. Otto Stählin, II, 2 (6ed. Munich 1924: *Handbuch der Altertums-wissenschaft*, VII); Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2 ed. with collaboration of A. Ehrhard and H. Gelzer, Munich, 1897: *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft*, IX); Berthold Altaner, *Patrologie* (Freiburg im Br., 1938); A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison), 1929 (new and revised French ed., Paris, 1932); J. M. Campbell, *The Greek Fathers* (New York, 1929: *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, 34). *See* Arabic.

MARTIN J. HIGGINS.

CADDO—*See* North American Native.

CADUVEO—*See* South American Indian.

CAINGANG—*See* South American Indian.

CALABAR—*See* African.

CALIFORNIA INDIAN—*See* North American Native.

CAMEROONS—*See* African.

CAMPECHE—*See* Mexican.

CANAANITE

IMMEDIATELY prior to a series of calamities that overtook it between the years 1250 and 1000 B.C., the sphere of Canaanite culture comprised, if enclaves and exclaves are disregarded, the entire Syro-Palestinian coast to an average depth of about forty miles. The disasters of the last 250 years of the second millennium B.C. reduced it essentially to Phoenicia and some exclaves. During the first millennium B.C., the Phoenicians extended it again by founding numerous colonies overseas; the most famous of these is Carthage. But the creative period of Canaanite literature lies before 1000 B.C. This is certainly true of

the Canaanite literature that has actually been recovered, and is probable for the best of the other Canaanite literature that there are good reasons for believing to have existed, some of which may yet be found.

1. *Extant Canaanite Literature.*

All the Canaanite belles-lettres of which a direct knowledge is possible were brought to light during the years 1929–1933 by the excavators of Ras esh-Shamra, the site of ancient Ugarit, on the Syrian coast opposite the northernmost point of Cyprus. Composed in a previously unknown dialect of Canaanite which we call Ugaritic, they are recorded in a previously unknown script, which we call the Ugaritic alphabet, upon clay tablets that the excavators found in and about the ruins of a sort of writing school and library. Some of these tablets are dated by colophons in the reign of a certain King Niqmadd; a state document proves that this Niqmadd was a vassal of the famous Hittite monarch Suppiluliuma, who is known to have reigned from ca. 1380 to ca. 1340 B.C. and to have brought northern Syria under his sway ca. 1360 B.C. However, the literary works found in Niqmadd's library, or at least earlier recensions of them, may have been composed considerably earlier; cf. the more famous library of the Assyrian king Asshurbanapal. The literary treasures recovered from the library of Niqmadd are exclusively poetic. The three most important items are *three epics,* all of them in very fragmentary condition, which are designated upon the tablets themselves as respectively (1) *Baal,* (2) *Aqhat,* and (3) *Keret.*

Baal pertains entirely to the realm of mythology. It relates how the *rain-god* Baal, who is 'lord of the *earth,*' rose from a relatively lowly estate among the gods by successively vanquishing several formidable antagonists, mostly of a *marine* character. Such episodes were no doubt suggested by the often violent beating of the sea against the land in an apparent effort to engulf it. In the course of his adventures, Baal even loses his life—whereupon, of course, the earth is visited by drought—but by and by he revives again. This motif is obviously suggested by the annual alternation of rainy, verdant winter and rainless, parched summer in Syria. In many a difficult situation, Baal receives invaluable aid from his friend, the cunning inventor-and-craftsman-god Kothar, and particularly from his sister, the ferocious but potent warrior-goddess Anath.

The Baal epic may have served liturgical purposes in the same way as the Babylonian epic of creation; which, because it relates how Marduk was made king of the gods for vanquishing the sea-dragon Tiamat and her cohorts, served as the 'lesson' for the annual festival of Marduk's enthronement, the Babylonian New Year's Day. The other two epics, on the other hand, especially *Keret,* may well have been recited primarily for the purpose of affording pleasure and instruction.

Aqhat comes under the heading of legend rather than of myth. The titular hero, Aqhat, is the son of Daniel, a man noted for reverent worship of the gods and conscientious administration of justice among men, probably a king but withal a man. In legends, however, the relation between gods and men can be very close. Aqhat hunts with a bow which his father obtained for him from Kothar. Its beauty and/or efficiency inevitably arouse the cupidity of the martial Anath. Inasmuch as Aqhat refuses to exchange his bow for any gift she offers, she commissions a henchman of hers to dispatch him. Aqhat's death, like Baal's, results (though indirectly) in a blight upon the fields; and, again as in the Baal epic, it is the victim's sister—in this case Paghat—who sets out to wreak vengeance upon Anath's henchman. Unfortunately, the continuation is missing. Perhaps Daniel's piety induces the gods to find some means of

releasing Aqhat from the netherworld. In any case, the preserved parts of *Aqhat* are quite charming.

Keret too is legend rather than myth. The titular hero, King Keret, is of divine descent. But he is the king of a human community; and his wife, Lady Hurriya (his courtship of whom was rather unusual and romantic) is doubtless a mortal, though ravishingly beautiful, woman. It seems that not all the children she bore him are equally worthy. This fact is brought out by a severe illness of Keret's. During the crisis, at least one son and daughter of his behave in an exemplary fashion; but while Keret is recuperating, his eldest son Yassib hypocritically suggests that his father, who has so long neglected the king's duty of administering justice, ought to vacate the throne for his benefit. For this Keret roundly curses him. Unfortunately, the conclusion is again wanting.

Canaanite poetry is of the utmost importance for the study of Hebrew poetry. The two are closely akin not only in language but also in technique. Both Canaanite and biblical poetry employ parallelism of clauses and phrases with the same, sometimes monotonous, regularity and with the same characteristic variations. Both employ stock pairs of synonyms in parallel: to a considerable extent, the same pairs and in the same sequence. They also share many stock similes and metaphors. The meter is primarily accentual, the quantities of all syllables being no more important than in English verse and their number rather less so. Biblical poetry even alludes to Jehovah by an epithet, 'the Cloud-rider,' by which Canaanite poetry designates Baal, and to some of the exploits of Baal as exploits of Jehovah. In fact, it sometimes adapts whole passages of Canaanite verse. Of course, Canaanite literature was itself, like almost every other, indebted to foreign influences, notably Sumero-Accadian, Hurrian, and Egyptian.

2. *The Lost Canaanite Literature.* (a) *Cosmogony and History:*

The genuine Phoenician mythology that underlies the euhemeristic account presented by Philo of Byblus (2d c. A.D.) in Greek was unmistakably akin to that which we find in Ugaritic literature, but at the same time diverged from it considerably. It was a Byblian crystallization of the common Phoenician tradition, for which Philo doubtless drew not only upon oral sources but upon a written Phoenician source or sources: most likely, as he himself claims, on the work of one Sanchuniathon of Berytus (the Berytians being also of Byblian 'nationality'). According to Philo, this Sanchuniathon lived before the Trojan War, but that date is probably too high. Still a third, Sidonian, crystallization of the same tradition was embodied in the Phoenician writing(s) that served as source(s) to Eudemus (late 4th c. B.C.) and Mochus (probably later).

There certainly existed in Phoenician a chronicle of Tyre, covering at least the period from the middle of the 10th c. to 532 B.C., which was translated into Greek by Menander. The Jewish historian Josephus (1st c. A.D.) has preserved some reliable data from Menander's translation.

(b) *Lyrical and Didactic Poetry:*

That the Canaanites possessed psalms might have been assumed on general principles. Now one Canaanite hymn and what may be a series of 'first lines' of others have actually been recovered at Ugarit. We can gain some idea about still others from the fact that *Psalm 29* of the *Bible* is demonstrably adapted from a Canaanite hymn. Again, it is well known that the *104th Psalm* is modeled *ultimately* upon the *Hymn of Akhenaten* (1377–1360 B.C.) *to the Sun;* but the *direct* borrowers of this hymn are far more likely to have been Akhenaten's, or one of his successors', Canaanite subjects than

the Israelites at any period of their history. For it is very suggestive that in the reign immediately following that of Akhenaten, Abimilki, the Tyrian vassal of Egypt, had his letters to the Egyptian court written by an Egyptian scribe, and that though the latter wrote them in Accadian, which was the language of diplomacy, he embodied in them translations of Egyptian hymns. As a matter of fact, the Canaanite world was under Egyptian cultural influence from about 3000 B.C. on, and from about 2600 B.C. to 1150 B.C. it was under more or less effective Egyptian rule most of the time. Accordingly, the Egyptian songs of thanksgiving of around 1200 B.C., which have such striking echoes in the *Psalter*, were no doubt also mediated to Israel by the Canaanites. (In general, this also applies to the Sumero-Accadian factor in Hebrew psalmody.)—So, too, the framework of the *Song of Songs* (*Canticles*) has been shown to be borrowed from the Egyptians, while the contents embody some Sumero-Accadian elements. (Cf. *Canticles* 3:7–8 with Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* II, p. 239, ¶625. There can be no question but it is the latter document [7th c. B.C.] that preserves the more original form of the idea; which is doubtless older than either, and is in any case typically Mesopotamian—not least of all in the choice of the number 60.) Here again we are historically limited to an hypothesis of Canaanite mediation, so that this genre too must have been cultivated by the Canaanites.—In the case of the very strong Egyptian element in Hebrew wisdom literature, the hypothesis of Canaanite mediation derives additional support from the strong Phoenician coloring of the language of the older Hebrew wisdom literature, notably of the *Book of Proverbs* (e.g., 'wisdom' is occasionally called *hokmot*, a purely Phoenician form corresponding to the Hebrew *hokmah*.).

W. F. Albright, *Studies in the History of Culture* (1942), p. 11–50; *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), p. 182 n. 35; *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, January 1945, p. 5–31; H. L. Ginsberg, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, VIII, 2 (May 1945), p. 41–58; *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1946); English Section p. 166–8[8–10]. *See* Egyptian; Hebrew.

H. L. GINSBERG.

CANADIAN

I. *English*

ENGLISH Canadian literature cannot be described as flourishing before the federation of the provinces in 1867. The reasons for this slow growth are many. Canada was, and still is, a thinly populated country. As late as 1840, in a territory larger than that of the United States, fewer than a million people could speak English and many of these were illiterate. Cities did not exist. Saw mills and grist mills, breweries and distilleries, prospered, but there were few bookshops and no publishing houses. The people were scattered on lonely farms far from any large community, so that the social conditions which encourage the writing of novels, plays, or essays were completely lacking. Verse was written in quantity, but when it is not so derivative as to amount to an exercise, it is uninspired doggerel. Moreover most of the settlers were pioneers, almost exclusively concerned with surviving. Literature, if it existed for them, was the literature of England. Even today Canada has no national library; and, in spite

of the fact that the population is overwhelmingly of non-English origin and tradition, some of its universities, particularly those staffed by recent immigrants from British universities, have no courses in either Canadian or American literature.

Though Canadian literature cannot be said to have flourished until after 1867, an historical sketch must give some account of its early growth. The first literary journals in British North America were published in Nova Scotia. Here, there also appeared, in the early years of the 19th c., the prose of Joseph Howe and Thomas Chandler Haliburton and the poetry of Oliver Goldsmith, grandnephew of the English author. Goldsmith, like Joseph Howe and many others of his contemporaries, wrote with an English accent. His *Rising Village* of 1825 describes the Canadian rural scene in heroic couplets and in phrases culled from his 18th c. masters. The settler is a "peasant" or a "swain" who has crossed "stormy seas" to turn the "gloomy shades" into "verdant meads" bathed in "silvery dew" and end his days among "the grass-clad hillocks of the sacred dead."

In 1828 Joseph Howe bought *The Novascotian* and made it a medium for his essays and those of the members of a club which he formed. Howe's best papers, reminiscent now of Addison, now of Burke, are on the freedom of the press, a freedom that he won for his native province.

But the most important figure whose work appeared in *The Novascotian* was Thomas Chandler Haliburton.* Born near Windsor, Nova Scotia, he grew up in a literary environment. After becoming a member of Howe's club, he began to contribute satirical sketches written in dialect and built around the character of a shrewd Yankee pedlar, Sam Slick. Sam comments on everything from vegetarianism and teetotalism (both of which he deplored) to the problems of slavery and representative government. Of the logical development of democracy he says: "I do believe, arter all . . . this universal suffrage will make tools of us all; it ain't one man in a thousand knows how to choose a horse, much less a member . . ." In 1837 these sketches were added to and published as *The Clockmaker.* Containing new material and written in a new style, this is the first specimen of prose in Canada that can be described as native, as distinctively North American. *The Clockmaker* established Haliburton's fame as a humorist, and his other books, like *The Attaché* and *The Old Judge,* were widely read on both sides of the Atlantic.

In Upper Canada (Ontario) a native literature was much slower in appearing than in Nova Scotia. The historical novels of Major John Richardson, *Wacousta* (1832) and *The Canadian Brothers* (1840) have been overrated. They are even cruder in plot, characterization, and dialogue than their model, Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans.* "Uttering a savage laugh, the monster spurned her from him with his foot, when quick as thought, a pistol was discharged within a few inches of his face; but with a rapidity equal to that of his assailant, he bent aside his head and the ball passed harmlessly on." Quite as unaccountable is the critical judgment that has preserved the poetry of Charles Heavysege. His reputation rests on the publication, in 1857, of a tedious dramatic version, in prosaic blank verse, of the life of Saul. Typical is the hero's speech as he sends David to bring him a hundred foreskins of the Philistines:

> Sad is the fate that does compell me!
> Sad, sad that he must be pushed on to slaughter;
> As sad to sacrifice my favorite daughter.

Charles Sangster (1822–93) and Charles Mair (1838–1927) are the first Canadian

poets whose work is still readable. In general their styles are derivative: phrases, images, and rhythms of Spenser, Keats, Pope, and Byron keep recurring, but occasionally Canada is seen and felt directly as in some of the Spenserian stanzas that comprise Sangster's *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay,* or in Mair's *August:*

When every field grows yellow, and a plague
Of thirst dries up its herbage to the root . . .
When every morn is fiery as the noon,
And every eve is fiery as the morn,
And every night a prison hot and dark . . .

More vigorous and direct and more highly colored is the verse of Isabella Vallancy Crawford (1850–87). Some of her images are striking:

The slaughtered deer . . .
His eyes like dead stars cold and drear.

From his far wigwam sprang the strong North Wind
That rushed with war cry down the steep ravines
And wrestled with the giants of the woods;
And with his ice club beat the swelling crests
Of the deep water courses into death.

In her *Malcolm's Katie* (1884), a melodramatic love story in verse, are vivid descriptions of the life of the pioneer and of the hungry hordes that followed him:

The settler finds
His solitary footsteps beaten out
With the quick rush of panting human waves
Upheaved by throbs of angry poverty . . .
So shanties grew
Other than his amid the blackened stumps;
And children ran with little twigs and leaves
And flung them, shouting, on the forest pyres
Where burned the forest kings . . .

Coincident with the federation of the provinces appeared for the first time a group that were to produce an important body of literature which was both Canadian and North American. Between the years 1860 and 1862 were born Archibald Lampman,* Duncan Campbell Scott, Bliss Carman, Charles G. D. Roberts, and William Wilfred Campbell. In a sense Roberts may be regarded as the founder of this group. His *Orion* of 1880 was the first Canadian work to receive general critical approval in both England and the United States. On reading *Orion,* Lampman was encouraged to continue writing his verse, and when he began to publish, Roberts was one of the first to appreciate his work. Finally it was to this "dean of Canadian literature" that Carman turned for guidance in his early days as a poet.

Today Roberts is read more for his animal stories than for his verse. In his finest lyrics, he achieves coherence and clarity of expression:

When the hay lies loose on the wide barn floor,
And a sharp smell puffs from the stable door,
When the pitchfork handle stings in the hand,
And the stanchioned cows for the milking stand,
Oh, merrily shines the morning sun
In the barn yard's southerly corner.

But many of his poems suffer from faulty imitation of his English masters, from unhappy rhymes, awkward inversions, cloudy imagery. It was with his tales of nature that Roberts made his great contribution. He anticipated his fellow-Canadian, Ernest Thompson Seton (*Wild Animals I Have Known, Two Little Savages,* and other books on similar themes) in his introduction of the short story of the animal, which he saw as an individual with lively senses and intelligence. In books like *Earth's Enigmas* (1896) and *The Kindred of the Wild* (1902), written with an accurate eye and a deftness of touch, he presents the animal not as a means of conveying an obvious moral lesson as in Kipling's *Jungle Book,* but as a creature in its own right with an individuality that arouses a sympathetic understanding and holds the imagination of the reader.

The verse of Roberts's cousin, Bliss Carman, has failed the test of time. Writing with more verve than any member of the group, he is most original in *Low Tide on Grand Pré* (1893). But even here his diffuseness, his fondness for the cliché, his sentimentality, and his echoes from Tennyson and Swinburne are more obvious to this generation than they were to his.

While Roberts and Carman wrote of the Maritimes, Campbell, Scott, and Lampman were seeing Ontario for the first time. William Wilfred Campbell, consistently underrated, has written one of the most powerful literary ballads in Canadian Literature—*The Mother* (1893) – and some of the finest poems descriptive of nature – *Lake Lyrics* (1889). In contrast with the optimism which colors the verse of Roberts and Carman, Campbell's mood is sombre. He is most effective in describing lonely, desolate, wintry scenes:

That night I felt the winter in my veins,
A joyous tremor of the icy glow;
And woke to hear the north's wild vibrant strains,
While far and wide, by withered woods and plains,
Fast fell the driving snow.

Duncan Campbell Scott is the most elegiac and the most intellectual of these poets of the "Golden Age." "Life's failure and its bitterness" are to be endured with stoic fortitude. But beauty and consolation are to be found in nature, in memory, and in "Gathering the tears and terrors of this life," and "distilling them to a medicine for the soul." Not so vivid a painter of the Canadian scene as Campbell or Lampman, nor as lyrical, he has seen people more clearly and sympathetically. Beside the Indians of his *The Forsaken* and *Watkwenies,* those of Cooper and Richardson are wooden and lifeless.

The greatest of the group, Archibald Lampman,* suffers from the same limitations as the others. The range of his best poems is narrow—a romantic delight in the beauties of nature—so repetitious in theme and mood and yet so skilfully expressed that they have led to his being called the leader of the "maple tree" school. As with Wordsworth, nature is to Lampman a refuge. Hating the city with its growing industrialism, he longs for the silence, the quiet, the peace of the countryside. Unlike Wordsworth, he is almost exclusively a descriptive poet concerned with sensation. His finest lyrics in *Among the Millet* (1888) and *Lyrics of Earth* (1893) are sensitive impressions of scenes in the Ottawa valley at various seasons of the year. None of his contemporaries has observed so accurately or written with so sure a touch:

From plains that reel to southward, dim,
The road runs by me white and bare;
Up the steep hill it seems to swim
Beyond, and melt into the glare.

Upward half-way, or it may be
Nearer the summit, slowly steals
A hay-cart, moving dustily
With idly clacking wheels.

Although the members of this group were the first to rise above the imitative and the mediocre, they all worked a slender romantic vein. With the exception of Duncan Campbell Scott, they were unsuccessful in the handling of ideas. But their achievement was brilliant in comparison with that of the novelists of their time. In 1887 William Kirby published *The Golden Dog*, a story of love and adventure in Quebec just before the conquest. Loose in construction of plot, prolix in style, it is yet an improvement on Richardson's *Wacousta*, for Kirby carefully studied the period and was able to create an illusion of historical truth. A much more selective work is Sir Gilbert Parker's *Seats of the Mighty* (1896). His plot is more closely knit, and his characters, although talking like those in *The Golden Dog* with a fluency rarely heard outside the Senate, are more human. But stiffness, breaches of good taste in spite of an obviously moral intention, and an almost total lack of those little aperçus which are to be found in great novels—all more apparent today than in his own time—have weakened his reputation.

Modern Canadian prose really came of age just before the first World War, when Stephen Leacock* published his *Literary Lapses* (1910). Here for the first time was a style that was mature, idiomatic, and gracefully clear and simple, and an attitude that was adult. Uniting traditions from both England and the United States and adding something of his own, he published books almost annually from 1912 to the year of his death in 1944, books of entertaining nonsense and of lively, perceptive criticisms of life and letters on this continent and in England. His subjects range from the small Ontario barber shop to the British House of Lords, from a moving appreciation of O. Henry to a witty defense of Charles II, from the absurdities of a federal election to the antics of the scholarly faker. Canadians read him not from a sense of patriotic duty but for sheer delight. Others find a similar enjoyment.

As contemporaries of Leacock appeared some competent essayists and short story writers. Peter McArthur with his *In Pastures Green* (1915) and *The Red Cow and her Friends* (1919) records with gentle humor life on a small Ontario farm. W. H. Blake, besides translating the greatest novel written about Canadian life, Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* (1921), expresses his admiration for the French Canadian and his love of rural Canada in a series of charming essays, *Brown Waters* (1915). Good short stories had appeared as early as 1896, when Duncan Campbell Scott published *In The Village of Viger*, and Charles G. D. Roberts began to use this form in his stories about animals. But after World War I appeared writers like Harvey O'Higgins, Merrill Denison, and Morley Callaghan, whose work compares favorably with the best produced on this continent. Callaghan has not only contributed to the development of the short story, but in novels like *They Shall Inherit the Earth* (1935) has written some of the most mature fiction to be published by a native Canadian. Writing in a stylistic tradition that had its beginnings with Ernest Hemingway, he is concerned chiefly with people who are involved in the age-old predicaments of human emotions or are struggling to adapt themselves to a chaotic social environment. He has a sensitive ear for idiom, for common speech rhythms, and a profound understanding of the feelings of ordinary people. His interests and methods show his kinship with the American naturalists from Stephen Crane to J. T. Farrell. Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* (1945), stylistically is not so competent as

Callaghan, nor does it show so clear an understanding of human emotions; but in the handling of his plot, in the development of his characters, in his *obiter dicta* on the contemporary scene, and especially in the significance of his subject—English and French relations in Canada—MacLennan is greater than Callaghan. Moreover, unlike the novels of Callaghan, which are North American, MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* is something rare in full-length fiction: it is neither American nor English but Canadian.

Canada has had its "best sellers" in the novels of Ralph Connor, Mazo de La Roche, and Lloyd C. Douglas. Of these three Mazo de La Roche is the most skilful in manufacturing readable stories. With echoes now of Hardy, now of Galsworthy, and now of Sheila Kaye-Smith her works, from *Jalna* (1927) to *Whiteoak Heritage* (1940), reveal an unusual ability to create character, scene, and mood. Whether her novels are literature is difficult to say. They are not, however, Canadian in the sense that Mac Lennan's stories are Canadian. Nor are they American. In none of these stories does the native reader find a recognizable setting or character. Perhaps her books may be most accurately described as mid-Atlantic, so that their ultimate fate will be either the greatness of universality or the oblivion of the void.

Although Canadian prose has developed rapidly within recent years, it has never formed so significant a part of the literature as Canadian poetry. Owing to the sparsely settled country and a people preoccupied with earning a living, writers of essays, fiction, and drama have no national outlet for their talents. Only a few journals—*The Toronto Saturday Night*, a weekly; *The Canadian Forum*, a monthly; and the quarterly reviews of the Universities of Dalhousie, Queen's, and Toronto encourage fiction and the essay. No theatrical centers exist, and except for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, a dramatist has no outlet for his art. The public for verse has been even smaller than that for other forms of literature, but because verse does not depend so much on an urban society as the essay and the drama, it has continued to pour forth in a relatively large volume. Before and during World War I, Marjorie Pickthall maintained the romantic tradition of her predecessors—but with a difference. In *The Drift of Pinions* (1913), *The Lamp of Poor Souls* (1917), and *The Woodcarver's Wife* (1922), she responds in delicate, dreamy lyrics, sometimes reminiscent of the poets of the Irish Renaissance, to the beauty of the native scene. But she has done more. Poems like "Resurgam" and "Quiet" are moving expressions of a mysticism faintly pre-Raphaelite, and her "Père Lalement" is the finest lyric on a religious theme in the literature:

My hour of rest is done;
On the smooth ripple lifts the long canoe;
The hemlocks murmur sadly as the sun
Slants his dim arrows through.
Whither I go I know not, nor the way,
Dark with strange passions, vexed with heathen charms,
Holding I know not what of life or death;
Only be Thou beside me day by day,
Thy rod my guide and comfort, underneath
Thy everlasting arms.

With the publication of E. J. Pratt's* "The Cachalot" in *The Canadian Forum* in 1925 occurred a minor revolution in the nation's verse. Breaking with a tradition that was narrowly romantic in form and content, he extended the pattern and scope of poetry in theme, imagery, and diction. Whether it is a whale or a man, he depicts his subject with a boundless energy and on a heroic scale, and more than that, with a realism in detail hitherto unknown in Canadian letters. His "Cachalot" is

Unmatched on either sea or land—
A sperm whale in the pitch of prime . . .
The bellows of his lungs might sail
A herring skiff—such was the gale
Along the windpipe; and so large
The lymph flow of his active liver
One might believe a fair sized barge
Could navigate along the river . . .

But both the old and the new are to be found in his verse. His rhythms are, for the most part, conventional, and his ultimate intentions are liberal and humanitarian. When he is at his best, he uses material that is contemporary and human to write sweeping narratives of sustained energy. As narrative poems his *Roosevelt and the Antinoe* (1930) and *The Titanic* (1935) have not been equalled in contemporary literature. Not so good as his stories in verse but still competent are his satires "The Great Feud" and "The Fable of the Goats." Never obscure or difficult, always rich and varied, he has achieved a greater popularity than any other Canadian poet.

Contemporary verse has developed along two main lines. There is the verse of social consciousness in which the poet is trying to make some adjustment to difficult political and economic conditions. To this group belong Dorothy Livesay, A. M. Kline, and Anne Marriott. The latter in *The Wind Our Enemy* (1939) gave to a disaster in the life of the American West—the drought—the most moving expression to appear in print:

Wind
filling the dry mouth with bitter dust
whipping the shoulders worry-bowed too soon,
soiling the water pail, and in grim prophecy
greying the hair.

Then there is the verse that seems to derive its inspiration partly from the 17th c. metaphysicals and partly from Pound, Eliot, and the later Yeats. Generally speaking, this verse is cryptic and difficult in its rebellion against the subject matter and form of the immediate past. But it has variety, with its subjects drawn not only from the contemporary social world but also from the mental and emotional life of the individual. One of the most intelligent and competent writers of this verse is A. J. M. Smith, whose *News of the Phoenix* (1943) is an epitome of the highly conscious, highly concentrated art that characterizes the group.

From this brief survey many authors whose names fill the pages of histories of Canadian literature have been omitted because their work does not meet standards that transcend the community or because their work, while brilliant, has been slim and unsustained. For the latter reason, poets like John MacRae with his elegiac variation of the rondeau *In Flanders Fields* and Tom MacInnes with his quaintly noisy lyric, *Zalinka* can be only noticed in passing. On the whole the literature of Canada, conforming to alien conventions, is imitative of the literature of England, or of the United States, or of both. Much of the material used is new, but it is communicated in patterns that are not native, so that the result occasionally seems artificial. Perhaps this development is inevitable; perhaps it is further evidence of the gradual amalgamation that seems to be taking place in the language and literature of English speaking peoples. Regional literatures have appeared and they may lead to the distinctly Canadian expression that some have hoped for. But anything like the creation of a national literature for Canada seems, at present, extremely unlikely.

Archibald MacMechen, *Headwaters of Canadian Literature* (1924); W. E. Collin, *The White Savannahs* (1936); E. K. Brown, *On Canadian Poetry* (1943); A. J. M. Smith, ed. *The Book of Canadian Poetry* (1943).

C. J. VINCENT.

II. *French*

THE historian Garneau (1809–66) is the real founder of French-Canadian literature, since it was by his labor and his artistic skill (*Histoire du Canada,* 1845–48) that his compatriots knew the complete story of their heroic past, the daring enterprise that had opened up the hinterland of the continent, and had at the same time spread the seed of the faith watered by martyrs' blood. It is a remarkable fact that Garneau was a self-educated layman, independent in his views, when what culture existed in French-Canada was almost exclusively in the hands of the church, the one directive force and center that had survived the *ancien régime.* L'Abbé Ferland, in fact, in his *Cours d'histoire du Canada* (1861–65) sought to emphasize more clearly the debt which *le Canadien* owed to the Church, but L'Abbé Casgrain, continuing the work of Garneau, launched a vigorous appeal for the creation of a French-Canadian literature.

All these pioneers of the Canadian mind used to meet in the bookstore of the brothers Crémazie in Québec, and one of these brothers, Octavie (1827–79), with his access to the rich harvest of French romanticism, was the first poet of the French-Canadian renaissance. His "Drapeau De Carillon" sings of

Tout ce monde de gloire où vivaient nos aïeux,
Leurs grands jours de combats, leurs immortels faits-d'armes,
Leurs efforts surhumains, leurs malheurs et leurs larmes . . .

That glorious age when our sires were alive,
Their great days of battle, their immortal exploits,
Their superhuman toil, their sorrows, their tears . . .

Here the poet strikes the eternal note of French-Canadian literature. Here is the unsung "Works and Days," left to his followers to tell.

The first novel, the first 'tales of a grandfather' of Canadian stock, came from the pen of an old seigneur, Philippe de Gaspé (1786–1871), whose *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863) may be called the *Waverley* of Canadian literature. A young highlander, Arché, and a young Canadien, Jules, are school friends at a Jesuit college at Quebec. Later they fight on opposite sides in the campaigns of Wolfe and Montcalm. The Scot is assigned the task of burning the home of his friend but, the war ended, they become reconciled. Arché loves Blanche, the sister of Jules, who refuses him. "There is," she says, "a stream of blood between us." They live side by side in an ever closer friendship under the healing touch of time. The story, rich in historical incidents and typical descriptions of the period, sets the pattern of an oft-told tale. Marmette (1844–95) tells stories of typical figures of the *ancien régime.* Laure Conant (1844–1924) writes idylls of old colonial days. Napoléon Bourassa in *Jacques et Marie* tells the sad story of Evangeline's land, Acadie. He and De Gaspé soften down the racial bitterness to a mutual respect. French-Canadian novelists since Confederation have been less generous.

A younger member of the Crémazie *cénacle* was Louis Fréchette (1839–1908), lawyer, journalist, legislator, and the first Canadian poet to win laurels in France. A romantic, he is strongly influenced by Hugo. *Les Fleurs Boréales* (*Northern Flowers*) and *Les Oiseaux de Neige* (*Snow Birds*) are his *Feuilles d'Automne* (*Autumn Leaves*). He too seeks to bend the epic bow in his *Légende d'un Peuple,* but does not rise above the level of a chaplet of episodes. La Salle's heroic journeying, the great exploits of D'Iberville and Dollard, are ample themes, and Garneau has left

their record; but Fréchette's talent is rather lyric. It is fair to judge Fréchette by his line, by his imagery. America is the land of great rivers: its highways, its manifest and chiefest source of beauty, and its pride. Hence his image of the Mississippi

Comme un réptile immense au soleil engourdi . . .
Écharpe de Titan sur le globe enroulée,
Le grand fleuve épanchait sa nappe immaculée,
Des régions de l'Ourse aux plages d'Orion,
Baignant le steppe aride et les bosquets d'orange,
Et mariant ainsi dans un hymen étrange
L'equateur au septentrion.

Like some huge reptile dozing in the sunlight
Or Titan's scarf wrapped round a continent,
Sprawl the calm reaches of the mighty stream
From where the Great Bear dips to where Orion rises
Tempering the snow-clad plain, cooling the orange groves,
Joining together in mysterious union
The Northland and the South.

Americans are well aware that they are part of the *spectacle de l'univers,* and the idea here is universal—astronomical even. But the development of the theme is sketchy. Through his glass the poet sees only a silhouetted vision of La Salle, Marquette, Joliet, followed by

Doux fântomes flottant dans le vague des nuits
Sweet phantoms drifting in the deep of night—

who are Atala, Chactas, and then Evangeline! Mark Twain close up has seen the real epic of the Mississippi, and that closer vision we find occasionally even in a minor poet like Benjamin Sulte:

La hache au dos, causant, marchant,
La fatigue amène le chant.
Frappez d'estoc! Frappez de taille!
Les troncs aux flancs retentissants!
("Les Bûcherons").

Walking, Talking, Axe on Shoulder!
When weary we begin to sing,
"Strike with the axe, with biting blade,
Until the trunks resound again."

This more intimate, this closer approach, is found in poets such as Sulte and Beauchemin, whose best medium is not the alexandrine, but the older measures of Béranger, even of LaFontaine. ("La Cloche de Louisbourg": Beauchemin; "Les Canadiens des vieux pays": R. Tremblay; "La Fille des bois": Desaulniers; all in Fournier: *Anthologie des poètes Canadiens*). Of the poets of this era we may say that they rose up at the call of Garneau and Casgrain, pointing a clear way to the recent growth.

The turning point from ancient to modern is found perhaps in Charles Gill (1871–1918). Eastern Canada is a land of such striking splendor that rarely can the poet escape its thrall, and this Canada is the land of the great river, which ends in a mysterious rift, a canyon full to the brim, making a broad highway to the sea. The sailing ships that first tacked the length of the great reaches of this channel, the small craft that slipped from port to port, knew these shores as the modern liners do not, and the newcomer following the northern shore when he reached the Saguenay saw a mysterious stream girt in by two great buttresses rivaling the pillars of Hercules. To these were given the names of Cap Trinité and Cap Eternité. The sublimity of this prospect and situation, which can be but lamely told in prose, is set forth in *Cap Trinité* by Charles Gill, whose artistic vision sees all its significance. He was both painter and poet. A product of the vir-

ginal Canadian soil, he was trained in the ateliers of Paris, where he learnt the discipline that the art of the painter requires, and which he applies also to the composing of his poetry. The poem *Cap Trinité* must be savoured slowly and knowingly. No quotation can do justice to these verses which reveal the message—

Quand le roi des rochers et le roi des étoiles
Nous parlent à midi dans le style de Dieu.

When the Lord of the Rocks and the Lord of the Stars
Speaks at noontide with the voice of God.

The study of the poem reveals a noble form, an aesthetic which for a poet-painter is natural and sincere, since for him language is only the symbol of what he feels and expresses in the more plastic *genre*.

As we approach the end of the century the poets become more numerous, their art and execution, richer. The names that stand out are Lozeau, Nelligan, Morin, Chopin, Blanche Lamontagne; but more throng close on their heels. There is a suggestion of *l'art pour l'art*; the product often seems an exercise in virtuosity rather than the more naive talent of the past.

Nelligan (1882–1900) "he is lost at the ford, the beautiful youth," is the most haunting memory.

Je sens voler en moi les oiseaux du génie,
Mais j'ai tendu si mal mon piège qu'ils ont pris
Dans l'azur cérébral leurs vols blancs, bruns et gris,
Et que mon coeur brisé râle son agonie.

I feel the birds of genius that hover over me,
But I've set my snare so ill that they've taken flight to the blue,
White wings or brown or grey,
And left my broken heart to wail its agony.

A few petals from his blooms—

Ma mère! que je l'aime en ce portrait ancien,
Peint aux jours glorieux qu'elle était jeune fille. . . .
Ma mère que voici n'est plus du tout la même;
Les rides ont creusé le beau marbre frontal . . .

My mother! How I love her in this old-world portrait
Painted in the glorious days when she was a maid;
My mother that's here is no longer the same,
For wrinkles have furrowed her marble brow.

Ah! comme la neige a neigé!
Ma vitre est un jardin de givre.
Ah! comme la neige a neigé!
Qu'est-ce que le spasme de vivre
A la douleur que j'ai, que j'ai!

Ah how the snow has fallen!
See its flowers on my window pane!
Ah how the snow has fallen!
What is this brief throb of life
To the pain that weighs me down!

at once make clear that here is poetry, the magic note, music, yet natural too.

Lozeau, paralytic for life, looked out on that life with a serenity that drove dark care away: "A man, who from his sick bed, gazed through the window at the sky, the trees, the falling rain, and swirling snow; and gave to each a voice and a song." Here is a resignation which arouses all our sympathy:

O Jésus prends mon coeur entre tes mains divines.
Vois! il est tout mon or, ma myrrhe et mon encens.
Je te l'offre chargé de chagrins frémissants,
Car dans sa chair les jours ont planté leurs épines.

Dear Jesus take my heart within thy holy hands,
Lo! it is all my gold, my myrrh, my frankincense.
My offering! the load of all my racking pain,
For in my flesh life too has thrust its thorns.

His "Intimité" is our most delicate expression of a love real and intense, but essentially spiritual.

Contemporary with Lozeau are Tremblay (b. 1878; *Les Canayens y z'ont ça d'bon*) and Beauregard (b. 1881) whose *Les Vieux Canons* recalls *Les Forts* of Hugo and whose *Patinage* is an admirable tour de force. René Chopin (b. 1885) has poetic vision and fantasy in his *Feu Printanier,* the picture of a fire of twigs and dead branches burning on the hearth; and in his *Paysages Polaires* he envisages the grim Far North which, as the stars and the night sky and *la bise* (north wind) remind us, is our everlasting background. *Les Grenouilles* and *Venue du Printemps* are two brilliant sonatas on *The Frogs* and *The Coming of Spring.* Paul Morin (b. 1889) is French in matter and manner alike. His *Mississippi* seems to echo a song of Fréchette: if academic work does not interfere, one should hear much more from this author of *The Enamel Peacock* (1911) and *Poems of Ashes and Gold* (1922). Blanche Lamontagne (b. 1889) is the poet of the regional idyll, whether in verse or prose: *When the Lamps Are Lit, The Spinner at the Window, Ancestors' Laughter,* all echo her feeling for her beloved Gaspésie. A wish for her might be that

Et maintenant assise en la clarté du ciel
Dans les rayonnements du matin éternel,
Elle file le lin d'une divine toile
Sur un rouet que Dieu fit avec une étoile.

And now seated in the brightness of heaven
In radiance of the eternal day
She spins divine a fabric
On a wheel that God has fashioned from a star.

Of more recent date are the finely gifted artists, Paul Gouin and W. Choquette. Critics accuse the latter of still profusely sowing wild oats in which the blooms are lost, but Gouin has perhaps marked his high water level in his *Médailles Anciennes* (*Old Medals*), the title of which indicates both the style and the theme. A. Desrochers displays the power and the insouciance of the 20th c. poet that ranges near and far, who has sung even of the slaughter of the pig—*pourquoi pas?* (The poor animal is introduced as *l'Yorkshire!*) and his sufferings—*and squeals*—are not spared us. In a sequence of sonnets (*La Naissance de La Chanson; The Birth of Song*) Desrochers describes from first-hand knowledge the heroic task of the lumberman in the Quebec forests. It is as if in these bucolics he wished to give permanent poetic form to a national task, treated more often with sentiment or melodrama than with artistic truth. The sacred groves of Canada in their season are alive with song. In their good time the nightingales will come.

Prose fiction made a tardy arrival in French Canada, apart from the popular romantic stories, already mentioned, of Gerin Lajoie, Napoléon Bourassa, Laure Conant, and Marmette. The appearance of Hémon's *Maria-Chapdelaine* (1916) worked a revolution, for publishers that had not considered Adjutor Rivard's *Chez Nous* (1919) as in any way an event, after the Paris publication (1924) of Hémon's book were more receptive to a school of novelists that dealt with the theme that poets had been treating for sixty years:—*chez nous* (us, at home). It is not inappropriate to deal with these novels in the order of the date to which they refer. Laure Conant in *L'Oublié* (*The Forgotten One;* 1892) had given an idyll of early Canadian life.

She sees the heroic episode of Dollard of Ville St. Marie as a crusade, its characters as saints; but *L'Oublié* is a little too like a stained glass window: it represents its figures in attitude rather than in action. We must supplement this picture by L. P. Desrosiers' *Les Opiniâtres* (*The Stubborn Ones;* 1941) which tells of the tragic struggle of the infant colony of Trois Rivières to hold out against the menace of the Iroquois. The history is deftly worked into the story. Soberly and faithfully the writer calls up the scene, his characters gradually evolving without aid of any meretricious or melodramatic art. Gerin Lajoie had in 1862 told in *Jean Rivard défricheur* the story of a back to the land movement; in *Nord-Sud* (1931), one of the most serious of *romans canadiens*, Desrosiers tells of the lure of Californian gold to the hard-timers of the late forties. His hero Vincent debates on p. 80 of this novel whether he shall go and at p. 300 decides to go. There is no vital incident in between, but the hero has fallen in love with the really charming Josephte, whose parents have to abandon their sand-invaded farm and start late in life a new clearing in the north. The prospect is more than our hero can face and with a last embrace he leaves Josephte, who watches him from her window disappear in a flurry of snow. The characterization of the various types is well done. Hippolyte, Vincent's father, the *quéteux-poissonneur* (fish-pedler), a bohemian type, the blind Michon with his philosophy of life, Hippolyte's brother the notary, clearly etched in few words—one would swear one knew the very rasp of his voice; *le vieil* Antoine and his duckshooting with Vincent is a passage of extraordinary richness. Deliberately the author has eliminated any dramatic incident, as he sets the two hopeless lovers against their Laurentian countryside. *En guettant les ours, souvenirs du 'Vieux Doc'*, by E. Grignon (1930), redresses the balance of much that is overintrospective in the novelists' *canayens*. It is Adjutor Rivard's *Chez Nous* set in action, dramatized. It just gives *le canayen* as he is and sees himself. It takes the reader from Montreal hospital to St. Agathe, to church, to school, to a hotel, a fishing-camp, to a death bed; in sunshine, in storm, in every mood and every moment. Here at any rate one is natural. Art and literature can look after themselves. It is surely a false note in that fine book *Menaud, maître draveur* (1937) by L'Abbé Savard, that his hero Menaud awakes to the horror of his situation only on hearing his daughter read a passage from *Maria-Chapdelaine*. The *Maître Draveur* takes his son Joson with him on his last 'drive' in the *chantiers*. The *draveurs* are a race apart and Joson is just ready to assume his father's mantle. In the camp at night Menaud reveals to the *draveurs* the bonds of their servitude, while extolling their heroic prowess. That prowess is shown the next day when the jamming of the logs takes place and Joson and Alexis his chum break it up. But Joson, too daring, is lost in the icy water. After long searching, as night falls, Menaud from his intimate knowledge of every rock and eddy in the stream, brings to the surface his dead boy. In the second half of the book Menaud in defiance of the company, who have leased and banned his woods, takes to the life of *coureur des bois*, free-trapper and free-shooter. Alexis joins him, saves the old man when overtaken by a blizzard and marries his daughter to keep up the old stock. There is great beauty and great poetry in this story—the dripping woods, the swirling torrent, the stark bitterness of arctic nights, the camp *veillée* (camp-fire watch), the long mourning train that brings the young warrior home to his last resting place. *La Ferme des pins* (by Bernard, 1929) tells the story of a *Québec Anglàs* who finds he is being swamped by the rising tide of *Canadiens* in a district once an Anglo-Saxon stronghold. His children,

even, are passing into the other camp. Nothing is left him but to "take thought and die." The tale is well presented and should be a great consolation to the writer of *L'Appel de la race,* that cry for *Canadien* race-consciousness (*see below*).

French Canadian literature has been so introspective as to be canalized; the individual, the spontaneous, are rather lacking. The poets most strongly under the influence of metropolitan culture do not necessarily alter this; there is something in the reproach of Mgr. Roy, the dean—almost the censor—of *littérature canadienne,* that they are exotics. Still the new school of critics, Asselin, Pelletier, Dugas, Marion, vindicate the right of French Canadian writers to break free from Mgr. Roy's leading-strings. M. Asselin accuses clerical education of cutting off Canadian youth from a knowledge of modern French writers. M. Pelletier assails the higher educational system for being stereotyped and outmoded—though he admits that a demand for reform is coming from within. Yet there is no ground for thinking that the literary activity of M. Montpetit, L'Abbé Maheud, L'Abbé Groulx, Le R. P. Lamarche—all professors—is outside their professional activities; and indeed student life in Montreal and Quebec seems to be bubbling with intellectual excitement. This is reflected in the publishing world: In Quebec there is a more significant Press of ideas than elsewhere in Canada.

Where then can one say that in this century French Canadian literature has thrust up a vigorous growth, shown strength, originality, and style? First of all among publicists and orators, beginning with the nationalist leader Henri Bourassa (b. 1868). Without the width of Laurier's generous mind, his speeches and writings showed a power of incisive argument, a culture, and style that put him in the front rank of polemists in the Dominion. Curiously enough his place, as publicist at least, has been taken of recent years by one in sharp contrast with him, the editor of *Le Jour* (*The Day*), Jean Charles Harvey (b. 1891), journalist and *littérateur.* Alongside of Bourassa was the Quixotic figure of Olivar Asselin (1874–1937), self-taught, yet with a rapier-like style, purely French. An instinctive artist, though his journalistic efforts afforded him scant time for polish, Asselin as a critic showed small mercy to the second-rate, thus exercising a wholesome influence on a nascent literature needing the stimulus of a high standard. The causes his generous nature espoused were frequently unpopular, but he won friends even among his opponents. An enemy of "imperialism," an instinctive isolationist, in 1914 he fought and bled for France. Much of his writing is evanescent in theme, but the friend and disciple that collected his writings after his untimely death did well to entitle them *Pensée française,* for here we have the *élan* and verve of French thought. A journalist must be brief. It is his calling and merit. Asselin's introduction to the Fournier anthology *La Pensée Française* shows this at its best. But he judges Laurier almost as severely as Michelet does Louis XIV.

Montpetit, sage, economist, and man of letters, in his leisure moments writes on things at large (*Au service de la tradition française,* 1920), Canadian, American, Norman, even Poitevin, with a naturalness and charm that give him a unique place in *lettres canadiennes.* When he visits France with a deputation—and a choir—he speaks as one at home on both sides of the Atlantic. When from his Latin fortress in Quēbec he contemplates that American civilization which cannot be quite kept at arm's length or when, resignedly, he seeks to fathom the mysteries of the Anglo-Saxon character, he expresses himself always with insight and with charm. L'Abbé Groulx (b. 1878), professor at Montreal, nationalist and propagandist, has sought to awaken in the youth of Quēbec a

new race-consciousness. His history is instinct with the sense of ancestral ties; his eloquence, prophetic rather than evangelist. He has expressed his thought, perhaps his bias, in two novels. In his *L'Appel de la Race* Lantagnac, an anglicized *Canadien* with an English wife, hears the call of the race, which impels him to leave all and follow it. In his *Au Cap Blomidon* J. Bérubé leaves the Ottawa valley and goes east, full of the desire to recover his ancestral home in Acadia. The descendant of the usurper, Mr. Finlay, takes him as steward. He offers to buy the estate but the malignant son of Finlay wishes to keep it and seeks to murder Bérubé. The Finlay family is subject to visits by avenging ghosts, who eventually get rid of the usurper. It is curious that De-Gaspé and Napoléon Bourassa, eighty years nearer the troubles, write of them with less bitterness than L'Abbé Groulx.

It is rare in French Canadian letters that one finds a popular success that reaches out beyond the more select circle of readers. Such is *Un homme et son péché* (*A Man and His Sin;* 1936) by C. H. Grignon, a study of a rustic miser. The characterization is exact and pitiless. The miser's figure is thrown in relief by that of his submissive wife. We recognize an *âme damnée* who indeed meets his doom (unhappily perhaps to be resuscitated for the radio *feuilleton*). Mention should perhaps be made of the poems of Jean Narrache (pseudonym of E. Coderre), which voice the feeling of the underdog in depressed Montreal of the thirties. Here you see and hear *ouvriers, 'yabs,' quéteux.* The author is reproached with making Québec speech seem a patois in his *Je parl' pour parler* (1939). It is said he is a sentimentalist, as was Rousseau, but in places one hears the solemn accent of Villon. *Assuré contre les accidents* and *Soir d'été* (in the slums) ring true, while *Conte de Noel* is a tale told with art and feeling. In these two last works, as in Savard's *Maître Draveur,* there is perhaps a more genuine local color than has been attained in any Anglo-Canadian story. In saying this one must note that Marius Barbeau, as our foremost folklorist, really is our Minister of Local Colour.

Thus French Canadian Literature has for the most part sprung from the soil. It has followed the call of L'Abbé Casgrain and the precepts of Mgr. Roy. The influence of French movements has made itself felt to a certain extent, Romanticism with Crémazie and Fréchette, Symbolism with Nelligan (so says Asselin). Mgr. Roy notes that *le Paon d'émail* (by Morin) is exotic in its tone. But on the whole these are exceptions; Asselin complains that French Canadians do not have sufficient acquaintance with current French literary masterpieces to be able themselves to produce an adult literature, but the Québec clergy in control of education have been resolute that they will have no hand in corrupting Canadian youth with the excesses of naturalism, and even a critic from outside like Georges Vattier admits that the Canadian clergy have proved their right to be the shepherds of their flocks. Hence French influence has been less significant than might be expected. The regional novelists of the *roman du terroir* have cultivated the same field as that in which the poets have delved. But they have followed the pattern of René Bazin rather than of Maupassant or Zola. Such a course does not exclude the production of a great literature. The authentic Scott owed his greatness to his love for, his knowledge of, two hundred years of Lowland history and legend. The reading and culture of a student of a Quebec *collège classique* may yet produce a like power of expression.

Mgr. Camille Roy, *Hist. de la litt. canadienne,* Imprim. de l'Action Sociale (Quebec), 1930; M. le Chanoine E. Chartier, *La vie de l'esprit au Canada Française;* B. Valequette (Montreal), 1941; Marius Barbeau, *Le Folklore Canadien Français, T. R. S. C.,* 1916; *Journal of American Folklore,* 1916, '17, '23, '26, '31; Fournier et Asselin, *Anthologie de Poètes*

Canadiens, Granger (Montreal), 3d ed. 1938; L.'Abbé Al. Dandurand, *La poèsie canadienne-française,* Levesque (Montreal), 1933; *Nos Orateurs,* 1935; *Le roman français-canadien,* 1937; Ed. by Mm. les Abbés Laverdiere et Casgrain, *Le journal des jesuites 1610–1791,* Brousseau (Quebec), 1871 [the *Book of Genesis* of le Canada Français, source of Garneau, Parkman, and poets and novelists]; André Siegfried, *Le Canada, les deux races,* Colin (Paris), 1906; *Glossaire du parler français au Canada,* l'Action Sociale (Quebec), 1930; Al. Pelletier, *Carquois,* Lib. Act. Can-Fr. (Montreal); George Vattier, *Essai sur la mentalité canadienne française,* Champion (Paris), 1927; *L'Action Catholique,* journal (Quebec); *Le Devoir* and *Le Jour* (both Montreal).

W. M. CONACHER.

Canadian and Louisiana Folklore.

FRENCH CANADA possesses a great abundance of popular lore. Folk tales were currently told until the last generation, and can be heard even today from older people, in whose memory they linger. An examination of the 190 tales from French Canada published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* between 1916 and 1940 shows a wide variety of types; animal tales, tales of magic, religious stories, romantic tales, tales of stupid ogres, farces, and cumulative stories, are all represented. The great majority of these folk tales were brought to Canada from Northwestern France in the 17th c. and the early 18th. Variants of almost all of them will be found in printed European French collections. In spite of their numerous contacts with Indians in the early days, the French in Canada did not borrow any material from them.

Tales of magic constitute by far the larger part of the Canadian repertory. *The Dragon-Slayer, The Magic Flight, Cupid and Psyche, Tom Thumb, Snow-White, Cinderella, The Maiden without hands,* and *Demi-coq* (*The Rooster Cut In Two*), tales of magic of such wide currency in European folklore as to need no summary, were almost universally known in Canada at one time. Many others, not so easily identified by title only, used also to be very popular with local *conteurs.* Summaries of a few of these will give a better idea of the general nature of French-Canadian tales of magic.

A youth in the service of a fairy enters a certain room against her prohibition, and as a mark of his disobedience his hair turns to gold. Thereupon, a horse to whom he has been kind advises him to leave at once to avoid punishment. They run away together and reach a court, where the lad, who wears a skull cap to hide his golden hair and pretends to be a scaldhead, finds employment as the king's gardener. With the help of his horse he wins a tournament three days in succession, and marries the princess, who has fallen in love with him. . . . A woman wanders for years in search of her lost husband, who is a pig by day and a prince by night, and wins him back after a long series of tribulations. . . . A young man who does not know what fear is will have no rest until he has found out what it is. In the course of his wanderings, he frees an enchanted princess, after going through many frightful experiences, but refuses to marry her as long as he has not been frightened. As he is about to leave on new adventures, she invites him to dinner. During the meal a meat pie is served. When he proceeds to cut it, a live pigeon placed in it by the princess flies off, and he is scared. Now that he knows what fear really is, he agrees to marry her. . . . Three sons are sent by their father on a quest for a wonderful remedy. The youngest finds it, thanks to the help of various animals to whom he has been kind. . . . A lion, an eagle, and a caterpillar are fighting over some food. A youth comes along, and divides it to their satisfaction. In gratitude, they give him tokens that enable him to transform himself into a lion, an eagle, and a caterpillar. Thanks to this power of self-transformation, he frees a princess held in captivity by an ogre, and takes her back to her father's home, where they

are married. . . . An old man receives from a fairy a napkin that covers itself with food, an ass that drops gold, and a stick that will beat anyone against whom it is directed by its master. When the napkin and the ass are stolen from him, their owner calls upon the stick to beat the thief, who is compelled to give them back.

A fairly large number of stories deal also with certain popular superstitions that were at one time a matter of common belief in rural sections of the province of Quebec. French-Canadian folklore has its share of tales about haunted houses, will-o'-the-wisps, goblins, and bewitched animals. More interesting and more typical, however, are the stories about the *loup garou,* or werewolf, and the *chasse gallery.* Uneducated people used to believe that a man who kept away from the reception of the sacraments for many years could fall under a special spell of the devil, who then compelled him to take at night the form of a wolf, wild dog, horse, or bull, and roam the countryside until someone broke the spell by hitting the animal on a white spot in the middle of its forehead and causing some blood to flow. The *chasse gallery* was an infernal flight through the air in a birch canoe by men who had fallen under the power of the devil or who were atoning for some grievous sin. This flight through the air was accompanied by wild barkings, the rattle of chains, and a trail of fire, all of which indicated its super-natural character.

It is surprising that few tales dealing with God, the Virgin, and the saints should have been recorded among such a religious people as the French of Canada. They do not hesitate to tell stories or anecdotes about priests, but it is uncommon to hear any of a rabelaisian or anticlerical character. The belief in magic was always very rare, even among the country people, although some copies of books of magic like the *Petit Albert* are known to have been in circulation.

Romantic tales or *novelle* are not particularly numerous in French-Canadian folklore. The most interesting of those recorded is perhaps the story of the wager made by a husband about the chastity of his wife. Before leaving on a long trip, a man wagers with his neighbor that his wife will remain faithful to him during his absence. Through trickery the neighbor secures three golden hairs that grow on her left shoulder. When the husband comes back and is shown this token of her alleged unfaithfulness, he leaves home. Years later they meet again, she proves her innocence, and thereafter they live happily together.

A fairly large number of anecdotes associated with a definite locality will be found in printed collections. Such material is important for its many details of popular customs and beliefs. Pseudo-marvelous stories about heroes who accomplish seemingly impossible tasks by trickery or sheer luck are also common. To this type belong *The Master Thief of Paris* and *Martineau-Stale-Bread,* a variant of *The Brave Tailor, or Seven At a Stroke.* The conventional anecdotes of European folklore describing the ludicrous experiences of numskulls and stupid ogres have been told by many generations of Canadian *conteurs.* Finally, among the animal tales, several have even today a special appeal, particularly among children. In one of these stories, a hen, a turkey, and a fox live near a forest. The hen builds a house of straw, the turkey one of mud, and the fox one of brick. When winter comes, the wolf, who is hungry, in turn blows down the houses of the hen and the turkey, but, being unable to blow down that of the fox, he enters by the chimney, falls into a big cauldron full of boiling water, and dies. In another tale Pou (the louse) drowns in a kettle, while his companion Puce (the flea) is away. When Puce returns and discovers this, she goes out of her house and starts weeping. A dog, a tree, a

bird, a pile of dung, and a fountain join her in her mourning and express their grief at Pou's death, each in his own peculiar way.

French Canada has not only a rich treasure of folk tales, but also a large repertory of folk songs. As in the case of the folk tales, almost all of these were brought over from northwestern France by the early settlers. They have been handed down from one generation to another with such devotion that they are much better preserved in Canada than in the country of their origin. The Archives of Folk-Song, organized at the National Museum of Canada by the eminent ethnologist Marius Barbeau, contain the melodies of about 5,000 songs and the texts of some 7,500. In this remarkable collection are to be found not only lyric songs, but also narrative songs or ballads, known in French as *complaintes*. The first type is especially common in the region of Montreal, while the second is mostly heard below Quebec, in isolated sections such as Charlevoix county and the Gaspé peninsula. Among the *complaintes* that have been particularly popular throughout the centuries both in France and in Canada are *Renaud, Germine, Blondine, Marianson, Les Trois Roses Empoisonnées, Le Retour du Mari Soldat* (*The Husband Back From the Wars*), *Le Méchant Guillon* (*The Wicked Knight*), and *Blanche comme la Neige* (*White As the Snow*), to mention only a few of the most famous. These songs, most of which are among the oldest of the entire French repertory, tell tragic tales of somber beauty that takes one back to a distant past, in some cases to early medieval times. They are set to haunting melodies, which have preserved in Canada a purity of archaic style seldom found in those recorded in France. French-Canadian folklore is even richer in lyric songs than in ballads. The love songs of French Canada present a wide variety of subjects and musical forms, and include many specimens of rare beauty. Songs of religious edification, dance songs, and drinking songs are also well represented in the Canadian collections. As local singers have been little influenced by modern musical fashions, their songs have kept to this day the great flexibility of rhythm that characterized the folk songs of France in the earlier stages of their history. The archaic style of many Canadian songs is evidenced by the numerous embellishments or grace notes to be found in them, seldom now heard in France.

Louisiana, settled for the most part by Frenchmen and Canadians who migrated there during the first half of the 18th c. and by Acadian exiles who came from 1765 to 1785, once had a flourishing French culture, which reached its highest development just before the Civil War. Although by 1890 New Orleans was well on its way to complete Americanization, French continued to be spoken by both white and colored people in hundreds of rural communities. There the process of assimilation was much slower, until fifteen or twenty years ago, when, with the coming of good roads, compulsory school attendance, the automobile, and the radio, American ways began to seriously undermine the old French background. It is still relatively easy, however, to find in isolated communities of southern Louisiana older persons who remember songs and tales widely known during their youth. At that time the stories of *The Seven-headed Beast, Blue Beard, The Sleeping Beauty, Tom Thumb, Snow-White, Cinderella, The Magic Flight,* and *The Singing Bones,* to mention only a few from the widespread European stock, were great favorites. The large group of Negroes that still speak a French dialect, variously referred to as Creole French or Negro French had, until the beginning of this century, a fairly large repertory of folk tales. These were mostly animal tales. Two characters, Compère Lapin (Bre'r Rabbit) and Compère Bouki,

played a very prominent part in the Negro French folklore of Louisiana. Bouki, a Ouolof word meaning hyena, no longer has for local *conteurs* any specific connotation, except that of some greedy and stupid animal. Bouki is always the victim of Lapin's cunning. No story is more genuinely popular with both Negro and white folk than that of *The Tar Baby and the Briar Patch,* in which Bouki is again outwitted by Lapin. The Louisiana-French version of this story differs from the Uncle Remus versions published by Joel Chandler Harris, in which the part of Bouki is played by Bre'r Fox.

Nowhere perhaps are the contributions of the older population groups of southern Louisiana to the local pattern of culture better reflected than in their folk songs. These fall into three categories: songs of European-French origin; "Cajun" songs; and Negro-French songs. Each of these groups presents such well-defined characteristics that it is an easy matter to distinguish one group from the other. Songs of European-French origin came to Louisiana either directly from France or through Canada. Among them are to be found *J'ai fait une belle trois jours, trois jours,* I got myself a sweetheart, three days, three days ago; *Mon père m'a donné un mari, Grand Dieu! quel homme, quel petit homme!* My father gave me a husband, Heavens what a man! what a little man!; *Cadet Rousselle; Oh! j'ai passé le long du bois où l'hibou chantait* I went along the woods where the owl was singing; *Le joli tambour, The Handsome Drummer; On a resté six ans en mer,* We were six years at sea; *Mon père avait cinq cents moutons,* My father had five hundred sheep; *C'est la poulette blanche,* It's the white hen; and *C'est une fille de quinze ans, Oh! grand Dieu, qu'elle est amoureuse!* She's a girl of fifteen! oh Heavens! how she's in love! These songs vary much more from the European-French versions in words and music than in rhythm, which generally presents only minor differences from the European originals.

"Cajun" and Negro-French folk songs are of a highly unconventional pattern and as such present peculiarities of structure and melody not to be found in any group of French songs belonging to the North American repertory. "Cajun" songs are sung in those isolated communities inhabited largely by people of Acadian extraction, particularly in the region around Lafayette and Saint-Martinville, where they still form an integral part of the local culture and can be heard at country weddings and rural dances. They often have but a few lines, repeated over and over to the accompaniment of an accordion, and their melodies are generally marked by a great flexibility of form based upon quarter-tone intervals, the portamento style of singing, and an irregular number of lines to the stanza. *Les Clefs de la Prison, The Prison Keys; La Valse de la Grand' Chenière; Toutes les larmes que j'ai versées,* All the tears I have shed; *J'ai fait tout le grand tour du bois,* I went all round the woods; *Quand je suis parti pour le Texas,* When I set out for Texas; and *Mais si j'ai une belle ici, Belle,* If I've a babe in town, babe; are among the most interesting of the "Cajun" songs.

Negro-French folk music in Louisiana is now only a dim memory of a distant past, which goes back to the days before the Civil War. Dances of African origin, like the bamboula, the calinda, and the coundjaille, and most of the songs and melodies to which these dances were executed, have long been forgotten by the descendants of the former slaves. Contrary to what has happened in Haiti, Negro-French songs that have come down to us in Louisiana contain no vestiges of African beliefs and customs. The religious motif, one of the distinctive features of Negro folk music from the other sections of the United States, is entirely lacking in them. With a few exceptions they are very short,

and the words, often trivial when not entirely meaningless, are usually completely subordinated to the melody. Among Negro-French folk songs worthy of mention should be listed *Michié Préval; Un, deux, trois; Vous conné 'tite la maison,* You know the little house; *Aurore Pradère; Mon l'aimé toi, chère . . . comme cochon l'aimé la boue,* I love you, dear as the pig loves mud; and *Pauv' piti mom'zelle Zizi, Poor Little Miss Zizi.*

Marius Barbeau, Gustave Lanctot, *et al.*, "Contes Populaires Canadiens," (Seven series containing 190 folk-tales), *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXIX (1916), 1–151; XXX (1917), 1–157; XXXII (1919), 90–167; XXXVI (1923), 205–272; XXXIX (1926), 371–449; XLIV (1931), 225–294; LIII (1940), 89–190; Marius Barbeau, Georges Mercure, Jules Tremblay, and J.-E.-A. Cloutier, "Anecdotes Populaires du Canada," *Ibid.,* XXXIII (1920), 173–297; Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, *Folk Songs of French Canada* (New Haven), 1925; Marius Barbeau, *Romancero du Canada* (Toronto), 1937; Ernest Gagnon, *Chansons Populaires du Canada* (Quebec), 1865; Alcée Fortier, *Louisiana Studies* (New Orleans), 1894; *Louisiana Folk-Tales, in French Dialect and English Translation* (Boston and N. Y.), 1895; Irène Thérèse Whitfield, *Louisiana French Folk Songs* (Baton Rouge), 1939.

JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE.

CARIB—*See* South American Indian.

CARIBBEAN—*See* African; Spanish American.

CARIRI—*See* South American Indian.

CAROLINE ISLANDS—*See* Polynesian.

CASHINAUA—*See* South American Indian.

CASTILIAN—*See* Spanish.

CATALAN

CATALAN is spoken at present by about 6,000,000 persons along the eastern part of the Spanish peninsula down to Murcia, in the Balearic Islands, and in the French department of Pyrénées Orientales.

For the origin of Catalan literature as for that of Catalonia we must turn to France. After his southern expeditions against the Saracens, Charlemagne set up a series of counties in the Marquisate of Gothia, among which that of Barcelona soon predominated and became the nucleus of the Catalan nation. Likewise, beginning in the 11th c., southern France or Provence provided the pattern of literature which the Catalans were to follow shortly thereafter.

As a consequence of the fall of the Roman Empire, and with the gradual disintegration of vulgar Latin throughout the Romanic lands, the formal documents that have come to us from the time of the Carolingian dynasty began to show an increasing influx of words taken over from the common speech. Regular attempts at literature in the popular speech of the Romanic countries date from the 10th c., after the Church councils of Reims and Tours had ordered the clergy to preach to the peoples in their vernacular and to translate for them the homilies of the Holy Fathers. Conventional Latin was kept for formal purposes.

The 11th c. witnessed the attainment of a fair degree of stability in the affairs of the lands of the counts of Barcelona, as a result of a series of Church edicts called "Pau e Treva" (Peace and Truce) engineered in 1027 by far-sighted prelates like the famous Abbot Oliva of the Ripoll and Cuxà monasteries. Coinciding with the blossoming of literature in Provence the noblemen, in their

leisure, became conscious of the value of learning, and troubadours found welcome in their castles. This century witnessed also the codification of common law under the name of *Usatges* or *Usualia,* which provided a constitutional charter for the Catalan lands of the counts of Barcelona a century and a half before the English drew their Magna Carta. Although not formally translated into Catalan until the 14th c., they were regularly quoted in the vernacular.

Starting with Berenguer de Palol (1136–70), Catalan troubadours used Provençal language and forms in their poetry. These minstrels used to travel from one nobleman's court to another throughout Occitania, that is, the Languedoc and Catalan lands, and provided entertainment with poetry and songs and music often composed by themselves. They were not necessarily professionals, for we find numerous noblemen among them, and at least two Catalan kings took pride in showing their skill in this fashion: Alfons I (1152–96) and Peter II (1171–1213).

In 1151 an event took place that altered the destiny of Catalonia. Up to then the rulers of most of the lands formerly called Marca Hispanica and Septimania had been called "Counts of Barcelona." But with the marriage of Count Ramon Berenguer IV to Petronella, the heiress to the neighboring Kingdom of Aragon, the two houses were united for nearly four centuries under the title of "Kings of Aragon." The rulers continued to reside in Catalonia and the language of the court was Catalan, as was the military leadership and the navy used in their great expansion across Mediterranean lands and water. But because of the technical preeminence of the title of "king" above that of "count," as well as the unwillingness of the Aragonese to give up this literal prerogative, Catalan history was made in the name of the Kings of Aragon. This has been a constant source of confusion among modern historians.

Perhaps the most remarkable product of old Catalan literature is found in the field of historical prose. Four *Chronicles* stand out. That of James I (1218–76) relates the conquest of Majorca by the Catalan armies and navy and those of Valencia and Murcia in cooperation with Aragonese forces, the whole account interspersed with personal anecdotes of the King. This was followed at the end of the century by the *Chronicle* of Bernat Desclot, embracing the history of Catalonia from 1035 to 1285. That of Ramon Montaner (1265–1336) tells in brilliant narrative style of events during four reigns, and contains an account of the famous expedition of the Catalan Grand Company against the Turks and Greeks. And finally, the *Chronicle* of Bernat Descoll in collaboration with King Peter IV (of Aragon; Peter III of Catalonia) written in a very straightforward and purposeful manner, embraces Peter's reign (1336–87) as well as that of his father Alfons IV.

The name of Ramon Lull (1232–1315) stands out as a universal figure among those who wrote in Catalan. He was the first man to write metaphysics in a Romance vernacular, in an effort to clarify the tenets of the Christian doctrine among the multitudes and the unbelievers. His *Libre de Contemplació* is a sort of encyclopedia of asceticism; his *Blanquerna,* a utopian novel of a young man driven to contemplation, is full of allegories and plans for religious and social reforms. Among his poetic works, which reach a high degree of perfection, are *Desconhort,* in which he expresses discouragement for his unavailing earthly efforts, and the *Libre d'Amic e Amat,* a song of pure mysticism.

Following by force of tradition the lead of the Provençal troubadours, the Catalans decided in 1393 to found the institution of the Floral Games, under the auspices of King John I. It was to be an annual contest with

grants of jewel prizes wrought in the shape of flowers for the best literary compositions submitted by their authors to a Consistory of experts. They adhered to the norms of the new school of Toulouse, but the language was normal Catalan.

The 15th c., sometimes called the classical period, is an epoch characterized by the influence of the three great medieval Italian poets. A perfect product of this epoch, Ausiàs March (1397–1459) is the most famous of all poets in lands of Catalan speech, although he never competed at the Floral Games of Barcelona. His *Cants d'Amor,* in flawless petrarchan style, are addressed to a loved one, pouring out his heartaches with a deep analysis of spiritual love. *Cants de Mort* is a series of short poems in the same style, describing his evil fate and the transformation suffered by Love after the death of the Beloved. The *Cant Espiritual,* perhaps the finest poem of March, is a deep-felt prayer to God, begging for His grace at the approaching hour of the poet's departure from this earth.

Other widely known poets of this period are: Jordi de Sant Jordi (d. before 1449) who composed the *Passió d'Amor,* a series of old songs, and other poems, very delicate and full of pure emotion, for which he provided suitable music; Joan Roiç de Corella, with *Oració a la Verge Maria,* of true religious inspiration; and Jaume Roig (d. 1479), who wrote the *Spill* or *Libre de les Dones* in 12,000 verses of bitter and glib satire against women in the style inaugurated by Boccaccio's *Corbaccio.*

The poetic school of Barcelona was left somewhat in the shadow by the fact that the royal court had moved for long periods either to Valencia or to Naples. Only the writers that followed the traditional patterns of Toulouse remained, and they were too conventional or stilted to reach greatness. Their compositions have been handed down mostly through manuscript anthologies ("Cançoners") which wealthier persons took pride in owning. Many of the authors would doubtless show to greater advantage if the bulk of their compositions were found with more sequence and completion: men like Arnau March, Luis de Vilarasa, Masdovelles, Lleonart de Sors, Francesc Farrer, Pere Torroella, Antoni Valmanya; also Andreu Febrer, who left a very fine poetic translation of the *Divine Comedy;* and Fra Rocabertí, author of *Gloria d'Amor* in imitation of Dante.

The Catalan prose novel was born in the 15th c. from the strange combination of the sentimental Italian novel and the Breton romances of chivalry blended with a strong current of native realism. Bernat Metge (1350?–1410), in the purest and most elegant Catalan prose ever written, gave us *El Somni,* composed from Latin classic and Italian sources, with a very personal interpretation that was the result of vast humanistic knowledge. An unknown author wrote the erotico-sentimental novel *Curial e Güelfa,* its plot drawn from the Italian novellino, but treated as a story of Catalan chivalry in a markedly realistic tone. The other famous novel of adventure in that period is entitled *Tirant lo Blanch;* its author is probably Johanot Martorell. The subject matter in the main is a brilliantly dramatized account of the exploits of the Catalan Grand Company through Greece and Turkey, treated in the manner of the novels of chivalry but without any trace of the absurd, which is the reason why Cervantes and others have praised it highly.

About the 10th c., the Church awoke to the need of giving to the illiterates a dynamic picture of the *Scriptures* and of the deeds of the Fathers of Christianity. In Catalan, too, the clerics devised simple dramatizations, mystery plays; these gradually took on greater variety and freedom. The oldest "misteri" in Catalan that has been preserved is that of *Sant Esteve* of the cathedral of Girona, dated

1380. During the following century, many mystery plays were staged in certain permissible parts of the churches or monasteries, and the *Misteri de l'Assumpta (Assumption of Mary)* of the cathedral of Elx is represented even today in much of its medieval form and color. Another well-known religious play, *La Dança de la Mort,* portrays Death talking to the Holy Father, the Emperor, the King, the Knight, the Merchant, etc., and finally commanding every mortal to follow him without exception. *El Sermó del Bisbetó* (little bishop) dramatizes the story of King Herod and the adoration of the Magi Kings; it is remarkable in that one of the characters, a boy, is allowed to satirize the customs of priests, noblemen and women. Written in the 14th c., it was staged regularly until the end of the 16th.

Of the lay theatre in the Middle Ages that could escape the prohibition of the Church nothing has remained in writing, but it is known that popular *cantidanses* were staged at the crowning ceremonies of some of the kings. We have also knowledge of *entremesos* built around historical and allegorical themes, presented in the course of banquets of magnates.

Another historical event that soon proved an almost mortal blow to Catalan literature was the union of the crowns of Aragon (including Catalonia) and Castile, under Ferdinand and Isabella. Then began the real decay of life and literature in Catalonia. Foreign rulers lorded it over the land; native noblemen moved to Castile, where the Court resided; and the remnants of the upper classes sought to imitate the language of the sovereigns. The hegemony of Castile over Spain and the rest of Europe, supported by the immense power acquired in the New World, brought about and coincided with the decadence of Mediterranean peoples, first and foremost among them the Catalans who, in addition, were forbidden to trade with the American territories until the end of the 18th c.

Catalan literature lay practically dormant till the beginning of the 19th c.; only popular and religious forms were kept alive by the eager demand of the humble classes. A single name stands out in two hundred years: the Rector of Vallfogona (1582–1623), who wrote copiously for the only public he could appeal to: the uncultured. Catalan was no longer an official language, and after the War of Succession, Philip V of Bourbon even forbade the priests of Catalonia to preach in Catalan to their parishioners (1716); fortunately, the bishops countered by forbidding the preaching of the Gospel in any language but Catalan.

The first sign of the amazing modern renaissance of Catalan literature appeared in 1814, when Josep Pau Ballot published a *Gramàtica y Apologia de la Llengua Cathalana.* The romantic currents of Europe reached Catalonia and brought about an urgent desire to unearth old traditions and customs. Riding on this wave of traditionalism, Catalonia found herself again. It also happened to coincide with the fall of the Spanish empire of Castile.

In 1833, Bonaventura Aribau published an *Oda a la Pàtria,* which sounded like a clarion call in defense of the land and its language. As the patriotic movement took on impulse, even Valencia and Majorca joined. The Floral Games had been discontinued in the 15th c.; but now, under the leadership of Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818–84), a great scholar of medieval history and an inspired writer, they were reinstated in the city of Barcelona (1859), where they have been kept going with great vigor ever since. Even now, during the frightful repression of a rigidly centralist and totalitarian government, this yearly literary tournament has been held successfully by Catalan exiles living in various Spanish American countries, preserving the traditions of their land.

In the field of poetry, among the first

great names to be mentioned we find Jacint Verdaguer (1854–1902), who wrote two epic poems, *L'Atlàntida* and *Canigó*, and a number of *Idilis i Cants Mistics*, showing a great imagination and a richness of vocabulary unsuspected in a language that had been kept at a dialect level for three centuries.

Joan Maragall (1860–1911) had a broad cultural foundation, a modern poet not tangled in temporary fads, yet conscious of every European literary movement. His works, simply expressed, embody imagination and realism, depth of thought and of emotion. Some of his best poems are in *Visions i Cants*, *Seqüències*, and *Cants Homèrics*.

Josep Carner (b. 1884) is the undisputed leading poet of modern Catalan literature. No other writer has reached such mastery of the language. Highly intellectual, he is flawless in conception, execution, clarity, and rhythm, showing withal a touch of irony that comes from having lived through many and varied experiences. He has written twenty-odd collections of poems, and his production continues even in exile.

The theatre started its renaissance, or rather its birth, early in the 19th c., with low-brow productions intended only for uncultured audiences, the noble characters speaking Castilian and the uneducated Catalan. With Frederic Soler's witty parody *L'Esquella de la Torratxa* (1864), however, the Catalan theatre gets definitely started on solid ground, portraying the realities of its time, as opposed to the poetry of the Floral Games which for a long time persisted in evoking the far-off past.

The greatest name the theatre has produced is without doubt that of Angel Guimerà (1847–1924). Among his productions must be mentioned the tragedy *Gala Placidia* (1879); *La Boja* (1890); and *Terra Baixa* (1898), a powerful drama of rural life which has been translated and produced successfully in many foreign lands. Guimerà is also a great poet, of romantic inspiration and naturalistic technique.

There are likewise many novelists, historians, and journalists, philologists, and scientists writing in Catalan, worthy of any modern European national community. Among the outstanding institutions of the present day, which must be mentioned as the source of leadership for pure Catalan culture, is the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, with its highly efficient *Biblioteca de Catalunya*, numerous research bodies, and a long series of learned publications. There is no question that Catalan literature will continue to flourish.

A. Ballesteros y Barretta, *Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal* (Barcelona), 1919–1936; Josep Comerma, *Historia de la Literatura Catalana* (Barcelona), 1924; Joan Gili, *Catalan Grammar* (London), 1943; M. García Silvestre, *Historia Sumària de la Literatura Catalana* (Barcelona), 1932; Arturo Farinelli, *Italia e Spagna* (Torino), 1929; Jaume Massó Torrents, *Repertori de l'Antiga Literatura Catalana* (Barcelona), 1932; R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (N. Y.), 1918; Manuel de Montoliu, *Manual d'Història Crítica de la Literatura Catalana Moderna* (Barcelona), 1922; Lluis Nicolau d'Olwer, *Resum de la Literatura Catalana* (Barcelona), 1927; E. Allison Peers, *Catalonia Infelix* (N. Y.), 1938; A. Rovira i Virgili, *Història Nacional de Catalunya* (Barcelona), 1922; Ferràn Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya* (Barcelona), 1934–35; F. L. Critchlow, *Chronicle of Pedro III of Aragon* (Princeton), 1934.

P. BACH-Y-RITA.

CELTIC—*See* Irish.

CHACO—*See* South American Indian.

CHAGATAY—*See* Turkish.

CHAGGA—*See* African.

CHALCO—*See* Mexican.

CHALDEAN—*See* Aramaic.

CHEROKEE—*See* North American Native.

CHIAPA—*See* Mexican.

CHIBCHA—*See* Mexican; South American Indian.

CHICKASAW—*See* North American Native.

CHILEAN—*See* Spanish American.

CHINESE

CHINA POSSESSES an immense amount of literature, which enjoys a continuous development from the Age of Bronze to the present day. For four thousand years generation after generation of "the children of the yellow earth" have tried to put something of their life into words. At first they attempted to speak their everyday thoughts and feelings through the simple songs of daily action:

When the sun rises, I toil;
When the sun sets, I rest;
I dig well for water;
I till fields for food.
What has the power of the ruler to do with me?

As time went on, the soul of the Chinese people found a readier and fuller utterance in odes and ballads. They sang them with the accompaniment of flute or string instruments. Their singing has been a powerful influence for good and their voice could not be silenced. Said the Duke of Shao to Lin Wang (878–842 B.C.), the 10th king of the Chou dynasty:

> It is more dangerous to shut the people's mouths than to block the waters of a river. To block the progress of a river means to force it to expand, and thus do more harm than if it had been allowed to take its natural course.
>
> The Son of Heaven knows how to govern when all officials and scholars are free to make verses, the blind bards to sing their ballads, the historians to keep their records, the ministers of music to give their advice, the hundred artisans and all people to speak of anything. . . .

Freedom of speech is one of the most precious things that have come down from the Chou period and since then the Chinese have exercised it with reason—the guide of their daily life. By exercising this freedom with reason they have been able to express their ideals and interpretations of life not only in verse and prose-poetry but also in books on history, philosophy, and government, and in fiction and drama, all of which make up the literature of China.

Extant evidences such as the inscribed bones and bronze vessels of the Shang dynasty recently unearthed show that 3,500 years ago the Chinese already had a well-developed written language, from which the modern Chinese language has evolved.

The Chinese Written Language.

The invention of the earliest form of the Chinese written language is ascribed to Ts'ang Chieh,[1] recorder at the court of the renowned ruler Huangti (ca. 2697–2596 B.C.?). The system of writing consists of signs of various types—pictograms, ideograms, phonograms, and "borrowed" signs—which are collectively called *tzu* or "characters." In the course of time the number of characters has been in-

[1] In Chinese (save for some moderns) the family name precedes the given names

creased and each has assumed different shape or form as the style of writing it has varied from generation to generation. But no matter in which style it is written, it is "so beautiful in itself and its units so wrought about with subtleties that a poem is but an elegant stringing together of minor poems . . ." It appeals to the eye. With its call upon visual imagery, "it has a complete roundness, a higher relief than is possible in a language of phonetic construction."

The written characters may be divided into two groups, simple and compound. For example, the signs for sun and moon are simple characters. By combining these two signs a compound character "bright" is formed. (The symbol *jih,* sun, combined with *yueh,* moon, forms the symbol *ming,* bright.)

The characters are monosyllabic. They sound like such words as *hoe, toe, sing, wing, now, how.* Many have the same sound though their composition and meaning differ, like English homonyms such as *meat, meet, bare, bear, dear, deer, four, fore.* Variations of the meaning of one and the same character are not indicated by means of inflexional affixes. Thus in English *light* and *quiet* are used as noun, adjective, or verb; *read* is used in the present, past, and future tenses without changing its form; and *sheep* is used both in singular and plural. Many characters differ from each other in form yet have similar meanings, or have similar forms yet differ in meanings. They are somewhat like synonyms and antonyms in English.

The characters are usually combined to form idioms, the meaning of which can be deduced from the component parts, as in English railway, highway, steamboat, pathfinder, lovingkindness, skyscraper.

Not a few characters used as names of plants, flowers, trees, insects, birds, animals, and of persons, real or supernatural, carry certain symbolical meanings or allude to certain historical subjects.

The characters are formed by strokes, dots and lines. A dot is said to be like "a rock falling from a high cliff"; a horizontal line is like "a mass layer of clouds in battle formation"; a vertical line is like "an old, stout and strong vine"; a sharp downward stroke is like "a broken wave"; a sweeping downward stroke is like "a sharp sword cutting a rhinoceros horn"; a sharp curving stroke is like "a strong crossbow," and a sweeping curving stroke is like "a rugged pine branch hanging down from a cliff." All strokes must be delicately balanced against each other and at the same time belong intimately to each other in the composition of the character.

In ancient times the characters were written with a kind of fountain pen upon laths of bamboo or wooden slips. The top of the pen was a reservoir holding the ink, probably a black varnish. The body of the pen contained a thread or wick to regulate the flowing of the ink. Later a pencil of soft wood was used. This pencil with its point dipped in the ink was good for writing on bamboo and wooden tablets but not on silk strips. To replace it a writing brush made of camel's hair was invented by General Meng T'ien (3rd c. B.C.).

As writing materials the bamboo and wooden tablets were clumsy and the silk strips expensive. In A.D. 105 they were replaced by paper, invented by Tsai Lun, of rags, hemp, and bark of the mulberry tree. Fragments of this paper have recently been discovered.

In writing, the direction of lines is from top to bottom: the lines run vertically from right to left. Nowadays it is common to write the characters in Western fashion, horizontally from left to right.

From remote times to the present day the Chinese have lived on one and the same language, in spite of changes in the shapes and sounds of the written characters. This language has produced a literature in each period of China's long cultural history.

I. The Classical Period (ca. 2000–202 B.C.).

The earliest centers of the Chinese art of writing are found in the Yellow River basin, which is the cradle of Chinese civilization, where the first traditional and historic dynasties were established.

According to traditional accounts, the first dynasty was Hsia, founded about 1994 B.C. by Yu the Great, who was noted for his flood-control works. Yu is said to have cast nine large bronze tripods upon which were engraved the descriptions of the nine regions of his realm. His exploits are recorded in a section of the *Shu Ching* (*Document of History*) known as *Tribute to Yu.*

The Hsia dynasty was succeeded by the Shang (ca. 1523 B.C.–1027 B.C.). Sometime between the years 1500 and 1200 B.C. the rulers of Shang established their capital in Anyang and changed the dynastic name to Yin. Recent archaeological discoveries unearthed in the northern part of Honan province, where the ancient capital Anyang was located, show that (1) during the Shang-Yin period, the Chinese were not only industrious tillers of the good earth but also builders of walled cities and towns; (2) they had developed the bronze industry and were making bronze ceremonial vessels of exquisite workmanship; (3) they had developed the ceramic and decorative arts and discovered the use of glaze; and (4) they already had a well-developed language.

Inscriptions on the discovered artifacts reveal that during the Shang-Yin period the foundation was laid for much of the later development of Chinese culture, and a scanty literature was produced. A few specimens in the form of odes and declarations are found in the *Shih Ching* (*Book of Songs*) and the *Shu Ching* (*Document of History*).

The Shang-Yin dynasty was overthrown by the founders of the House of Chou. The fortunes of this dynasty were intimately connected first with the region west of the present city of Sian (in Shensi province) and next with the environs of the city of Loyang (in Honan province). It was started gloriously by the wise statesmanship of King Wen, King Wu, and the Duke of Chou, who organized the state machinery. King Wu established schools for the education of the nation's youth. We learn that his own son, the heir presumptive to the throne, was educated at one of these schools like the son of a common laborer. "In this," says Professor Hirth, "he laid the foundation of that democratic principle which has, up to the present day, been characteristic of the system of education and the subsequent promotion to high offices among the Chinese."

The Chou dynasty maintained its prestige and integrity for about three centuries. It has left to posterity certain significant legacies. Mention may be made of (1) the germ of a well-worked out system of government, which served as a model for succeeding dynasties; (2) some fundamental economic and social institutions and basic rules of propriety, which were later embodied in the *Chou Li* (*The Rites of Chou*) and *Yi Li* (*Ceremonial Customs*); (3) cultural relics, mostly bronze vessels, which reveal in part the literature, art, life, and customs of its time of prosperity; (4) a body of literature now found in the *Shih Ching, Shu Ching,* and *Yi Ching* (*Book of Changes*).

From 771 B.C. the Chou dynasty began to decline, but continued to exist till the 3d c. B.C. when it was replaced by the Chin dynasty.

During the period of decline, China (then known as the "Middle Kingdom") was divided into a number of feudal states. These states were confined to a comparatively small area, lying for the most part between the Yellow River in the north and the Yangtze in the south. They were nominally under the reign of the king of the Chou dynasty, but actually under the control of the feudal

princes, who gave lip service to the king and did what was right in their own eyes. The feudal princes lived in luxury and splendor. They exploited the people, the majority of whom were farmers. Frequently they waged war upon each other for self-aggrandizement, making the period in which they lived a period of lawlessness, of widespread suffering and degeneracy.

The feudal princes vied with one another in luxury, elegance and hospitality. They tried to make themselves popular by welcoming scholars to their courts as honored guests and advisers. The scholars enjoyed safety of travel and freedom of speech. They went about teaching, giving examples of heroic virtues and devoted friendship, and championing the cause of the common people, who suffered much from want and hardships of all kinds. Their activities turned the period of turbulence into a period of literary culture and an age of philosophers.

The outstanding philosophers of the period were: (1) Lao Tzu,* the "Old Fellow," who showed mankind "the Way and Its Power" in his great prose poem *The Lao-tzu Tao-teh Ching*; and taught men to requite injury with goodness. (2) Confucius* (551–478 B.C.), Lao Tzu's junior contemporary, who unveiled to mankind the light of reason, speaking not as a seer but as a teacher, and who devoted himself to what is fundamental, holding that well-being is its own reward. In his teachings he did not express belief in a future life. Some of his sayings and doings were put down in *The Confucian Analects* (*Lun Yu.*), *The Great Learning* (*Ta Hsueh*), and the *Chung Yung*, which is variously known as "The Doctrine of the Mean," "The Conduct of Life," and "Central Harmony." (3) Mo Tzu (ca. 500–420 B.C.), the great altruist, whom H. R. Williamson described as "an Apostle of Universal Love, a Spartan with pacific convictions, a Stoic without the Stoic's fatalism, a Utilitarian with a religious mentality, a Socialist believing in an autocracy of virtue." In the opinion of Leo Wieger, Mo Tzu was "the only Chinese writer of whom it may be thought that he believed in God; the only apostle of love and champion of right that China has produced." His teachings were recorded in a work bearing his name. (4) Mencius (Meng Tzú,* ca. 372–289 B.C.), a follower of Confucius and a severe critic of Mo Tzu, a "mentor of princes," and a champion of the principles of democracy, who declared that in a nation the people are the most important and the head of the state is the least important of all. He believed that man is by nature good and that the function of education is to lead people to become aware of their goodness and endeavor to be good for something. Like Lao Tzu, Mo Tzu, and other humanitarians, he denounced war but preached the right of revolution even in the face of the feudal lords. He left to posterity *The Meng Tzu.* His work, together with the *Confucian Analects,* the *Great Learning,* and the *Chung Yung* formed the *Four Books,* which every school boy in old China was required to study. (5) Hsun Tzu (also known as Hsun Ch'ing,* ca. 298–238 B.C.), the realist and "moulder of ancient Confucianism," who enunciated the doctrine that man by nature is bad, though he is the noblest of all creation. Hsun Tzu, however, was not a pessimist, for he believed that human nature, though originally evil, could be changed to good by means of education. He advocated the setting up of an ethical standard by which every person must abide, if society is to be spared conflicts and individuals, anxieties. Being a poet as well as a philosopher, he would like to see man harmonize his raw instincts by music and by the performance of ceremonial acts, which would make poetry of daily living. He put his ideas into beautiful literary form, as shown by the book that comes to us under his name.

Other prominent thinkers whose names

should be mentioned were: Shang Yang (d. 338 B.C.), the "totalitarian," founder of the Legalist School of political thought, who as "guest minister" of the feudal state of Chin, encouraged the people to open up virgin lands for cultivation, and made new laws and enforced them with severity. He punished even the crown prince, who happened to have violated one of the new laws. One of his great admirers was Han Fei (d. 233 B.C.), a disciple of Hsun Tzu and a deep student of the Legalist School of political philosophy. Han Fei in his teachings laid emphasis upon the necessity of being true to the truth of things. In politics he stressed the importance of the "undeviating administration of the law," as Shang Yang had insisted, and the need for statecraft on the part of the sovereign. His writings and those of Shang Yang are among the most important milestones of political thought and literature.

The great thinkers and writers mentioned above lived mostly in the Yellow River valley. In the Yangtse River region there appeared contemporaneously a number of lyric poets, who invented a new form of poetry and introduced a wealth of new material in the form of folklore and folk songs of the inhabitants of the districts watered by the great Yangtse and its tributaries. The new form of poetry was called *Fu* (prose-poem). It differed from the *Shih* in the *Shih Ching* in three respects: first, it was usually a long poem consisting of from 200 to 400 lines of unequal length or irregular meter; second, it was highly allusive and allegorical; and third, it was meant to be recited and not sung.

Among the poets of the Yangtse River region, the best known was Chu Yuan* (ca. 328–285 B.C.). For a time Chu Yuan served as minister of the lord of the feudal state of Ch'u. The incompetency of his liege lord and the intrigues and corruptions of the courtiers drove him to such utter despair that at last he drowned himself in the Milo River. (This sad event is commemorated annually throughout China on the "Dragon Boat Festival Day.")

But Chu Yuan is not dead! He had cast away his body so that his spirit of loyalty might live forever. Reading his short poem, *The Soldier's Dirge*, and his long poem of 376 lines entitled *The Li Sao* (*An Elegy on Encountering Sorrows*), one would pay him the same tribute as he paid to the unknown soldier:

Though thy body was stricken, thy soul has
taken immortality;
Thou art the captain among the ghosts, a hero
among the dead.

The age in which Chu Yuan lived was termed "the Age of Warring States." The civilization of that age was depreciated by Chuang Chou, the "eloquent follower of Lao Tzu." Chuang Chou* (also called Chuang Tzu, d. 275 B.C.?) hated the formalism of the privileged men and undertook to expose their hypocrisy. In scathing terms he boldly spoke, laying bare the weakness of mankind and discounting civilization and its arts. He so flayed the followers of Confucius and of Mo Tzu that the scholars of his day were quite unable to refute his criticisms. Yet he was also a constructive thinker. In colorful anecdotes and simple parables he gently spoke, leading men to self-examination and to quest for spiritual freedom and a new life. We come to know him well through the book entitled *The Chuang Tzu*. We admire his sense of humor and illuminating wit, the sweep of his imagination, his underlying earnestness and devotion to truth, and his inimitable, charming style of writing.

In 220 B.C. the prince of the feudal state of Chin succeeded in overthrowing all the rival warring states and in establishing the Chin dynasty. He founded the Chinese Empire and styled himself Shih Huang Ti ("The

First Emperor"). His name was connected with the construction of the Great Wall and the destruction of numerous literary documents. Because of his "burning of books" and "burying alive" of a number of Confucian scholars, his name has been defamed. After his death (210 B.C.) the empire was in chaos. A commoner named Liu Pang rose, and after several years of hard struggle, restored peace and order to the country. In 202 B.C. Liu Pang accepted the throne offered by his followers and established at Changan the famous Han dynasty, which lasted nearly four hundred years.

II. The Confucian Period (202 B.C.–A.D. 220).

For its military exploits, its civil attainments, and its agricultural, commercial, intellectual, and artistic activities, the Han dynasty is famous. The Empire extended east to north Korea, west to present Szechuan province, north to Inner Mongolia and south to Indo-China. In spite of occasional armed conflicts with the Hsiung-nu outside the Great Wall, the vast empire enjoyed a long period of domestic peace during which the arts of civilization were further developed and were greatly enriched by cultural contacts with distant friendly countries.

Learning was encouraged by the enlightened rulers of the Han dynasty, and, as a result, the Augustan Age of Chinese Literature was ushered in. Books, hidden behind walls or buried in graves when Shih Huang Ti started to destroy the ancient documents, were now brought out of their hiding places and studied. A mass of classical and historical literature, as well as belles-lettres, was produced. The literary compositions, both metrical and unmetrical, distinguished themselves by new modes of expression, which were terse, dignified and graceful, reflecting the stateliness of the age, and by "a tone of practical common sense strikingly and logically expressed."

In 136 B.C. several learned scholars were commissioned to work on the discovered ancient documents, resulting in the production of the "Five Classics": *The Book of Changes* (*Yi Ching*), *The Documents of History* (*Shu Ching*), *The Book of Songs* (*Shih Ching*), *The Record of Rites* (*Li Chi*), and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chün Chiu*). These were regarded as the sacred books of Confucianism, which was made the religion of the state by Emperor Wu (140–87 B.C.). In 157 A.D. the texts of the "Five Classics" were revised, authorized, and engraved on 46 large stone tablets. Numerous commentaries on these Classics were written by scholars who freely took whatever elements they could assimilate from the teachings of the ancient philosophers, and incorporated them into their works.

While some of the scholars were engaged in compiling the ancient works, others busied themselves with the writing of history. Of all the historians of the Han period, the most gifted and learned was Ssu-ma Chien* (ca. 145–97 B.C.), author of *Shih Chi* (*Historical Records*)—a history of China from remote antiquity to his time, in 130 sections, arranged under five headings. This monumental work became the model for later historiographers. Its merits and defects were carefully weighed by the critical historian Pan Piao (3–54 A.D.), father of Pan Ku (32–92 A.D.), who intended to carry on the work of Ssu-ma Chien and proposed to inaugurate a new style of historical writing. Pan Ku started to write a history dealing with China of the first two centuries before Christ. His work was halted when he joined a punitive expedition against the Hsiung-nu. After his death, his work was completed by his widowed sister, the gifted Lady Ts'ao (whose maiden name was Pan Chao*). Lady Ts'ao had been helping her brother with the compilation and arrangement of the materials. When her work was finally finished, it was titled *Chien Han*

Shu (*History of the Former Han Dynasty*) and published under her brother's name.

The names of the other famous writers are too numerous to mention, but at least a few should be introduced here: (1) Chia Yi, a minister of Emperor Wu, a prolific and elegant writer, whose book *Hsin Shu* (*New Writings*), dealing with the most important administrative subjects of his time, has since served as a model for all state counselors. (2) Liu An, grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty, author of the widely-read philosophical work *Huai Nan Tzu,* which aimed to magnify the philosophy of Taoism. (3) Tung Chung Shu, a philosopher, who attempted to combine the philosophy of Taoism with the historical principles of Confucianism, in his book, the *Chün Chiu Fan Lu.* Tung held that human nature is neither good nor bad, but is inclined in two directions, and that it will become good or bad according to one's training, instruction, or education. He believed that neither goodness nor its opposite would ever become inherent and urged that man should be so educated that his "action will always be in harmony with Unity." Due to his efforts and the efforts of scholars like him, Confucianism was made the religion of the state. (4) Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, a romantic poet at the court of Emperor Wu, famous for his prose-poems (the *Fu*), in which he described with great skill certain aspects of court life, such as the great hunts, the water pageants, and the dances of the court beauties. (5) Mei Sheng, a contemporary of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, the author of a series of prose-poems known as the *Seven Incitements,* in which he described the worldly pleasures formerly pursued by the Crown Prince of Ch'u. To Mei Sheng was attributed the composition of part of the famous *Nineteen Old Poems* which, as Arthur Waley pointed out, "had an enormous influence on all subsequent poetry. . . ."

A number of beautiful songs and ballads written by anonymous poets of this period have survived along with the works of the known poets. Some of them are now available in English.

The Han dynasty has given to the world of learning not only fundamental works on classics, history, philosophy, and poetry, but also fascinating works on medicine, astronomy, military science, physical science, mathematics, astrology, physiognomy, and interpretation of dreams. The works have been preserved and catalogued. The first catalogue appeared in 6 B.C. The first bibliographer was Liu Hsiang, a polished writer and the author of two interesting books: the *Lieh Nu Chuan* (*Biographical Sketches of Noble Women*) and *Shuo Yuan,* a book of anecdotes of the feudal princes, Confucius and others.

About the year 120 A.D. there was published the *Shuo Wen,* the first etymological dictionary of the Chinese language. It contained more than ten thousand characters, each of which was painstakingly explained. It was the work of Hsu Shen. From a study of the characters found in this word-book, one can learn much about the state of civilization of ancient China.

III. The Period of Taoist and Buddhist Influence (220–590).

After four centuries of cultural brilliancy, China entered into a period of political darkness. In 220 A.D. the empire was divided into three states: the Wei, with capital at Loyang —the national capital of the empire since 25 A.D.; the Shu or Shu-Han, with Chengtu as its capital; and Wu, with Chinling (now Nanking) as its seat of government. The interesting characters of these three states were critically studied by the historian Chen Shou (233–297), who wrote the famous *Record of the Three States* (*San Kuo Chi*), with wonderful portraits of men, which he drew with "much graphic power, with great good sense, honesty, and kindheartedness" as Plutarch did in his *Parallel Lives.*

In 265, the three states were conquered by the founder of the Tsin dynasty. The empire was reunified, and the people once more lived a stable existence.

The empire under the Tsin dynasty, however, was destined not to enjoy peace long. The government gradually became corrupt and inefficient, unable to keep the various racial groups of Mongol, Tungusic, and Turkic blood inside and outside of the Great Wall under control. The ambitious and adventurous leaders of these alien groups rose and set up kingdoms in the Yellow River region. They fought among themselves for political supremacy and attempted to destroy the Tsin dynasty. In 317 the Tsin government moved its seat to Nanking, where it existed till 420.

Between 420 and 589 four Chinese dynasties—Sung, Ch'i, Liang and Chen—were established in succession at Nanking. These together with the former Wu state and the Tsin were known as the "Six Dynasties."

In 386 the Topa people of Turkic blood succeeded in overpowering all the armies of their rivals and set up the Pei-Wei dynasty, ruling the whole of the Yellow River region. The Topas allowed themselves to be absorbed by Chinese civilization and became Chinese in manners and habits. But after a century and a half of peaceful existence, they became warlike again. They fought among themselves, and, as a result, there sprang up two Topa dynasties in succession: the northern Ch'i (550–557) and the northern Chou (557–581).

During this period of political darkness, the light of Taoism and Buddhism shone brightly, showing the afflicted people the way of escape and salvation. The scholars, whose spiritual longings had not been satisfied by the conventional doctrines of the opportunistic and degenerated Confucianists, were attracted to these two religions. At first they made a deep study of the *Tao Teh Ching* and the *Chuang Tzu* and wrote commentaries on them; in doing this, they developed a broader philosophy of Taoism. Briefly stated, this philosophy encouraged men to follow Tao, the Way of Nature, and be one with it. This means non-interference with the course of Nature, letting everything take its own course. A man should be one with Tao; and he who is one with Tao would be indifferent to externals and would not permit any political and social change to affect his peace, for Tao, as the creative force, the supreme intelligence and spiritual source, is ever silent and indifferent to the alternations of adversity and prosperity, to the vicissitudes of politics and to all kinds of mutations. He would withdraw "from matter and form" and regard life and death as if they were but day and night; gain or loss, wealth or poverty, would be nothing to him.

The study of Taoist philosophy as well as Taoist mythology prepared the scholars for the study of Buddhist sutras, which were translated from the Sanskrit by learned monks from India and Central Asia, such as Kumarajiva and Chih-hsien. In the sutras, the Chinese scholars found not only an interesting system of Buddhist theology and a body of Buddhist legends, but also a variegated system of philosophy, which dealt with the study of the function of the mind, the doctrine of consciousness, the theory of triple personality, the problem of reality, and the current doctrine of salvation of the soul by faith.

Since this time, the men of letters in China have accepted the best and the finest from Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, and created a personal religion of their own. To them Confucianism is only a system of ethical teachings dealing with human relations and governmental administration, while Taoism and Buddhism are living religions, which introduce to mankind something that Confucianism does not have, something ethereal, transcendental, spiritual.

The influence of Taoism and Buddhism

was already felt in the closing years of the Han dynasty and during the period of Three States. This is clearly shown by the works of the "Seven Scholars of Chien-an" and the "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove." Many of these scholars and worthies withdrew from the world of woe and worry, spending their time in quiet scenic spots writing poetry and drowning all cares with rice wine. One of the "Seven Worthies" named Liu Ling (3rd c.) described himself in these words:

> He regards eternity as but a single day and whole centuries as but an instant of time. The sun and moon are the windows of his house; the whole universe is his courtyard. He wanders unrestrained and free. He dwells within no walls. The canopy of heaven is his roof; his resting place is the lap of the earth. He follows his fancy in all things. He is never for a moment without a wine jar in one hand and a cup in the other. . . . To him the affairs of this world appear but as so much duckweed on a river. . . .

During the period of political darkness, a host of celebrated writers appeared. They bequeathed to posterity many masterpieces of literary art, some in a novel style of composition known as *p'ien-ti,* which differed from the existing styles by its nicety of expression, elegance of form, clever coupling of sentences, skilful balancing of word-sounds, and its use of suggestive synonyms and classical allusions. The use of classical allusions has become a vice in polite literature of later periods.

The writers who left their mark on literature were the Nature-poets. The greatest of all Nature-poets was Tao Chien* or Tao Yuan-ming (372–427), whose poems were mostly occasional pieces, but constitute some of the most precious gems of Chinese literature. In them is expressed his philosophy of life, which is to love Nature, to rejoice in obeying the mandate of Heaven, to be content with one's lot, and to seek freedom of the spirit. Tao Chien saw in the commonplace things, such as flowers, trees, birds, and hills, a deep meaning of life. Said he:

> In these things there lies a deep meaning;
> Yet when we would express it, words fail us.

The poetry of Tao Chien, like that of Wordsworth, was "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings." It was great "because of the extraordinary power with which he feels the joy offered to us by Nature" and because of the extraordinary power with which he shows us this joy, and rendered it so as to make us share it. As a man, he was "a beacon shining through the ages, forever a symbol to the lesser poets and writers of what the highest human character should be."

The interests of the writers of this period were as varied as those of the Han period. Some were interested in literary review and literary criticism, as had been the fearless literary critic Wang Chung (27–97). Some engaged themselves in writing commentaries on the existing philosophical works; others took interest in the diffusion of practical knowledge, and, in doing so, produced an entirely new type of literature. There was Hsi Han (3rd c.) who wrote a book on botany, entitled *Flora of the Southern Region* (*Nan-fang Ts'ao-mu Chuan*). There was Shen Huai-yuan (5th c.) who wrote a *Geography of South China.* A book dealing with east Asia entitled *Commentary on the Water Classic* (*Shui Ching Chu*) was produced by Le Tao-yuan. Other works are the *Chien Tzu Wen* (*Thousand Character Classic*) and the *Hui Wen T'u* (*Magic Square of Poetry*). The *Chien Tzu Wen* is a primer containing exactly one thousand characters, no two of which are alike. They are arranged in 250 lines and in rhyme, each line containing

four characters. It was a very remarkable primer, for it aimed to give the school children a comprehensive view of things. Its author was Chou Hsing-tzu (d. 521). The *Hui Wen T'u* was invented by Lady Su Wei (4th c.). It was a series of several hundred poems composed of 841 characters, which were so arranged that the poems formed a solid square figure that could be read both forward and backward, and both upward and downward. The poems ranged from three to seven characters in a line.

During the latter part of the period under discussion, there appeared the first collection of selected works of a large number of poets and essayists that flourished from the 4th c. B.C. to the 4th c. A.D. It was known as *Wen Hsuan (Choice Literary Extracts)*. The editor was the learned prince Hsiao T'ung (501–531) of the Liang dynasty at Nanking, who classified the selected works into several categories, such as descriptive prose-poems (*Fu*), old poems, elegies, eulogies, memorials, letters, and essays. Since his time several anthologies have been compiled and published.

IV. The Golden Age of Chinese Poetry (590–960).

After nearly four centuries of political disunity, the tendency toward national unity again asserted itself, and an era of cultural greatness was ushered in. The empire was consolidated and reorganized, first under the brilliant but short-lived Sui dynasty. During the Sui period, the Great Wall was repaired and extended and the Grand Canal and other canals were built. Changan (now Sian) and Loyang, magnificent capitals of the Han dynasty, were restored to their old glory. Learning was greatly encouraged and a group of distinguished scholars was appointed to compile and edit an encyclopedia for the diffusion of knowledge. A new civil service examination system was instituted to select men of learning and ability for office. Official aristocracy, which existed during the latter part of the preceding period, was suppressed.

Court intrigue and extravagance and border warfare brought about the quick downfall of the Sui dynasty. It was succeeded by the T'ang.

When the T'ang dynasty (618–906) was in power, peace and order once more prevailed in the empire. Chinese authority and influence were extended from Korea to Central Asia and from Mongolia to Indo-China. At frequent intervals the kings of several states in India and Indo-China, the caliphs of Medina, the rulers of Korea and Japan, sent envoys with gifts to the Chinese court in Changan. The national government was never so liberal and generous, so progressive and efficient. The great emperor T'ai Tsung (627–694) promoted learning and art, and improved the social and economic conditions of the empire so that the people in remote districts might enjoy the blessings of unity and peace. Imbued with the spirit of Confucius, who taught men to keep their old learning "warm" and to learn anything new, he upheld Taoism and Buddhism, and, at the same time, welcomed the coming of the followers of Zoroaster, Nestorius, Mani, and Mohammed, and gave them permission to introduce their faith to the people.

The reign of T'ai Tsung and of other worthy sovereigns made the T'ang dynasty an era of exceptional brilliance. During this period Chinese civilization attained a very high level, far in advance of other civilizations. Even the political decline of the dynasty failed to stem its progress, because of a general concentration of the spiritual and intellectual energies of the Chinese in creative activities. There were inventions and discoveries such as block printing, gunpowder for making fireworks, the compass, astronomical instruments, air-conditioning devices, and new techniques in industrial and fine arts. Education was widely spread. The world's

first newspaper—the *Court Gazette*—was published.

Chinese civilization spread to Korea and Japan. Chinese literary taste and social conventions prevailed throughout those countries, where the ability to read and write Chinese became the distinguishing mark of a highly educated man and woman, and where the literature was imitative of Chinese ideals and forms.

The most wonderful literary production of the T'ang era was poetry. At different periods before this era, hundreds of great poets appeared, mused, sang, and left to posterity their precious gems of verse. The cultivated men of T'ang carefully studied them, seized all that was best in them and then developed new styles of their own. They composed and sang their songs of joy and sorrow, bringing into full play their spiritual energies and their inspired powers of imagination, unconsciously ushering in the Golden Age of Chinese Poetry.

The poets of T'ang, like their predecessors of the earlier periods, derived their views of life from the "Three Religions." From Confucianism they learned the joy of living in accordance with the rules of propriety, the art of cultivating friendly human relations, and the importance of fulfilling one's duty well. From Taoism they learned the love of Nature, the art of being in the world, and the idea of immortality. From Buddhism they acquired a new view of the cosmos, a sense of compassion, and a way of escape from "the world of dust." What they learned from these three religions or philosophies they synthesized in their imagination; the result was the outpouring of great lyric poetry.

There were several forms of lyric poetry: (1) The regulated five-words-to-a-line, four-line form; (2) the regulated five-words, eight-line form; (3) the regulated seven-words, four-line form; (4) the regulated seven-words, eight-line form. In these we find some interesting features: (a) The tonal arrangement of the words. The words in one line balance with those in the next in tones, which are of two kinds, namely, *flats* and *sharps*. The arrangement appears usually as follows:

Sharp	*sharp*	*flat*	*flat*	*sharp*
Flat	*flat*	*sharp*	*sharp*	*flat*
Flat	*flat*	*flat*	*sharp*	*sharp*
Sharp	*sharp*	*sharp*	*flat*	*flat.*

(b) The last words of alternate lines are rhymed. (In the eight-line poems, the 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 8th lines are rhymed; sometimes the first line also.) (c) The words of one line parallel as parts of speech those of the next to form a couplet; thus noun with noun, verb with verb, adjective with adjective, and so forth. (In the eight-line poems the first and last couplets may not have the words thus paralleled.) (d) Words are seldom used twice in the same poem unless they are repeated for effect.

There were also unregulated five-words and seven-words poems, with as many lines as the writer desired. Sometimes a few words were added to certain lines to gain effect. Then there was the unique five-word or seven-word epigram known as "stop-short," so called because of its abruptness and, as it is said, "it is only the words that stop, the sense goes on."

The number of major and minor lyric poets of the T'ang era that filled the history of Chinese literature with their glittering poetry was no less than 2,200, and the number of poems they composed, both long and short, no less than 48,000. At the beginning of the 18th c., their works were collected and published by order of the emperor K'ang Hsi (1662–1722). From this collection, a scholar of that century selected 311 masterpieces by 77 poets and published them as a *Family Reader for Children*. This reader or anthology has been the most popular volume of T'ang poetry from the time it was first published to the present day. Even illiterates

today are familiar with its title and some of its contents, and are acquainted with the names of such outstanding figures as Wang Wei, Li Po, Tu Fu and Po Chu-yi.

Wang Wei (699–759) was a cultured, thoughtful and religious soul, in whom "the various aspects of life found consummate expression." He was a Confucian gentleman, a devout Buddhist, and a Taoist, all at the same time. In this he was typical of his age, and "his was the type of character chiefly admired." Having had a poverty-stricken youth, he was ever ready to give a helping hand to any promising young man. He was faithful in discharging his official duties and found recreation in verse-making and painting. Being always in fellowship with nature, he was able to make his poems pictures and his pictures, poems. His poetry and that of his school was "an inexplicable mixture of the apparently concrete and definite with the thoroughly elusive and intangible."

Li Po* (701–762) was a born poet, a romanticist, who wrote spontaneously in praise of nature and of all that is beautiful. Like Wang Wei, Li Po was a Confucian scholar, but his sentiment was that of a Taoist. He was a free-lance writer, who showed originality and initiative in his work. He mastered the conventional technique and traditional patterns, but would not allow himself to be bound by them. His lyrics are marked by subtlety of thought and beauty of expression, pleasing rhythm and good form. They are also distinguished by a delicate buoyancy and a sensitiveness to beauty in nature. He wrote:

Tonight I stay at the summit temple,
Here I could pluck the stars with my hand,
I dare not speak aloud in the silence,
For fear of disturbing the dwellers of Heaven.

Li Po traveled extensively and hoped that some day he could join the company of "the dwellers of Heaven." He sang:

Far away I watch the immortals riding on colored clouds
Toward the Jade City of Heaven with hibiscus in their hands.
And so, after I have traversed the nine regions of the world,
I'll follow Saint Lu Ao to the Realm of Great Purity.

(It may be said here that a Chinese poem dressed in English loses much of the simplicity of form and the beauty of the music, the word-picture, the hidden idea and the suggested image of the literal idiom found in the original, which cannot be reproduced. It is like a flower; we can draw it and show its color, but we cannot delineate its delicate scent.)

Tu Fu* (712–770) was a realist, a poet of sorrow, who bewailed the sorrows of separation, the decay of imperial authority, the crumbling of society, the sufferings of the poor peasants, the horror of war. He, too, wrote courageously and freely, but did a good deal of hard thinking on the technique of composition before taking up his brush. His careful choice of words and his superb technique of verse-making won the admiration of his readers. The depth of his sympathy for the afflicted and the tenderness of his feeling toward the distressed touched the hearts of his fellow-countrymen, who affectionately called him "the Sage Poet." He believed in the power of poetry so much that he even prescribed it as a cure for malarial fever! He was one of those few poets that did not turn to Taoism or Buddhism for consolation when they suffered from misfortune and world-weariness. He appeared to have subjected himself completely to the traditional lines of Confucian thought. As a Confucian he believed in self-reliance, self-discipline, and self-realization, and in the importance of regarding all things tranquilly.

Po Chu-yi (772–846) was a statesman and

a popular poet. He enjoyed popularity even during his lifetime, not only in his own country but also in Korea and Japan. We read that his poems were "on the lips of princes, ladies, ploughboys, grooms, and children," and were "on the walls of village schools, temples, and even ships'-cabins." This popularity was due not merely to the simplicity of his language and the fineness of his feeling, but to a large extent to the fact that he wrote on themes of universal human interest. In many of his narrative, descriptive, and romantic poems, he vividly depicted the happenings of this workaday world, and boldly satirized the follies and vices of his time. In the closing years of his life he compiled and edited his own works. In one of his poems he told us that all his life had been spent in writing, that he had written 70 whole volumes, dealing with 3,000 themes, and that though he knew well that his writings would be scattered and lost in the end, he could not bear to see them thrown away while he was still living; hence, he had them collected. Copies of his complete works were then presented to the important monastery libraries in the cities with which he had been intimately connected. He respected youth, calling a young man the "prince of friends," and compared the feelings of love and friendship to grasses.

Many of the poems of Po Chu-yi and other T'ang poets appeared to have been modeled after some of the folk songs, of which a word needs to be said. Since the Chou period, village singers and rustic lovers have been singing their songs of joy and sorrow, of love and woe. Unlettered as they were, somehow they knew how to put their feelings into words of their everyday speech. The rustic simplicity of the style and the unadorned beauty of their melody were early recognized by the court musicians of the Han dynasty, who collected the songs to form the *Yofu* (*Music Treasury*). From the Han period on, the common people continued to produce their own songs, which furnished a model and an inspiration to the poets not only of the T'ang dynasty but of the succeeding periods.

Prose and general literature of the T'ang period shared the glory of poetry. At the beginning of the T'ang era, the prose style known as *p'ien-ti* was still in vogue. A composition written in this style by a gifted writer is always beautiful to read and see, for the language employed is very musical and flowery and appeals to the eye as well as to the ear. It is not very easy, however, to express one's ideas naturally, explicitly, or vigorously, if one chooses to write in that style. During the 8th and 9th c., two outstanding writers discarded this style and wrote freely, creating a new form of composition. One was Han Yu* (768–824), who ranked high as philosopher, poet, and essayist and who was famous for his outspoken attack upon the degenerated form of Buddhism. The other was Liu Tsung-yuan* (773–819), an intimate friend of Han Yu, a celebrated poet and essayist and a calligrapher of highest excellence. Both Han and Liu wrote on philosophical and satirical themes in a clear, powerful, robust style. Their masterpieces are characterized by simplicity of form and richness of thought. Han denounced vehemently those that preached superstitious doctrines in the name of Lao Tzu and of Buddha, while Liu studied calmly the best features in Buddhism, which he believed to be fundamental.

During the T'ang period, the Confucian Classics and classical commentaries were systematized, and histories of the preceding dynasties were compiled. The most important historian was Liu-Chih-chi (661–721), who was renowned for his keen insight in textual criticism. In his *Understanding History*, he criticized the historians of the past for their timidity and political bias. Besides works on history, books on astronomy, mathematics, and medicine were written. The greatest astronomer and mathematician was Li Chun-feng

(602–670), author of several volumes on mathematics and inventor of an astronomical instrument for locating the positions of the constellations and planets. The most celebrated physician was Sun Ssu-mao (d. 682), whose work *Thousand-Gold Precious Prescriptions* is still used by the Chinese physicians of the old school as one of their textbooks for the study of certain kinds of diseases and their medicines. A book on tea, known as *Ch'a Ching,* was written by a learned recluse, Lu Yu (d. 804), dealing with the art of tea drinking and describing the different kinds of bowls and cups preferred by tea drinkers in his time.

A new type of literature known as *Chuan Chi* (*Rare Tales*) was developed at this time. It is a kind of short story of romance, chivalry, and adventure, written by writers primarily for the entertainment of their friends. Some of the tales were written entirely in prose, some in verse, and some in a mixture of prose and verse. Many of these are still extant.

V. The Period of Literary Prosperity (960–1280).

In 906 the T'ang dynasty fell and the empire was dismembered by self-seeking generals. Between the years 906 and 960 the Yellow River region was ruled by five dynasties, which followed one another in rapid succession; the rest of the broken empire was held by self-styled kings. The empire was reunited in 960, when the Sung dynasty came to power and established its capital at Kaifeng, the present capital of Honan province.

The Sung dynasty was quite popular with both the masses and the intelligentsia, in spite of the fact that it lacked military prowess and energy to hold back the Khitans and the Golden Tartars, who, in succession, rushed into and occupied the Yellow River region. The invaders succeeded for a time in humiliating the Sung emperors, but they in turn were absorbed by Chinese civilization, as invaders of China seemed always to have been. They willingly accepted Chinese learning and culture, and finally became Chinese in their modes of living and thinking. They established themselves in what is now Peiping (or Peking).

In 1127 the Sung dynasty transferred its seat of government from Kaifeng to Hangchow (the present capital of Chekiang province), where Yo Fei and other generals gathered to make preparations to recover territory lost to the Golden Tartars, but without success.

Though marked by military weakness, the Sung period was distinguished by cultural brilliancy. During its time great encyclopedias, historical works, learned prose, and lyric poems were produced in large numbers; the Institutes of Classical Studies were established; a State Academy of Painting was founded; a monumental work on architecture and many thousands of books on various subjects were published. It was in this period that block printing was improved by the invention of the movable type, that the compass was applied to navigation, and a simple mechanical device, the abacus, was widely used for calculation.

The Sung period was celebrated for its experiment in state socialism conducted by the statesman, essayist, and poet Wang An Shih (1021–86); for its philosophy of Neo-Confucianism, expounded by Chu Hsi* (1129–1200) and Lu Chiu Yuan (1139–92); and for its wonderful painting, its delicate pottery, its beautiful porcelain. It was celebrated for its numerous intellectuals, who, while tasting the bitters of life, found time to savor some of its sweetness, who, in times of war and in periods of peace, painstakingly and cheerfully carried on the lofty traditions of the preceding periods not only in art and philosophy but also in general literature, and diligently worked for the cause of civilization and truth.

Among the intellectuals of first rank, who have made the Sung period one of literary prosperity were the following:

Ou-yang Hsiu* (1007–72), poet, essayist, historian, and statesman, who wrote on all kinds of subjects, grave and gay. He was the author of *Hsin T'ang Shu* (a new history of the T'ang dynasty) and numerous essays and poems. Among his masterpieces were *The Autumn Sound and the Cicada* in which he interpreted the meaning of life in these words:

> Plants and trees fall in due season. Sorrow cannot keep them from fading. . . . Has man, who is the divinest of all things, an adamantine frame, that he should outlast the giants of the grove? A hundred cares wreck his heart and countless anxieties trace their wrinkles on his face, till his soul is bowed beneath the burden of life. And still he seeks decay when vainly groping for the unattainable or grieving over his ignorance of that which can never be known. After all, who is it that saps his strength, save man alone?
>
> Though man shares the brief span of life, yet his song echoes a hundred years after him. . . .

Ssu-ma Kuang (1019–86), a conservative Confucian statesman and a renowned historian, who wrote a general history of China from the Chou dynasty down to the end of the T'ang dynasty, known as *Tzu Chi T'ung Chien* (*A Mirror of History: An Aid to Governmental Administration*). His boyhood life has been an inspiration to Chinese schoolboys. The story was told that on one occasion, while playing the game of "hide and seek," a playmate of Ssu-ma Kuang climbed to the top of a huge water jar and fell into it. The other boys were so frightened that they started to run away. The boy in the jar would have been drowned but for the presence of mind of Ssu-ma Kuang, who quickly picked up a rock and cracked the jar. The water flowed out and the boy was saved.

For practical purposes Ssu-ma Kuang's *Mirror of History* has not been as useful as "an aid to governmental administration" as the historical work of a 13th c. scholar named Ma Tuan-lin, author of the famous *Wen Hsien T'ung Kao* (*Thorough Researches in Historical Records and Figures*). Here one finds a mine of information on the development of China's governmental, judicial, economic, monetary, and other systems as well as on the lives of great historical figures and on natural phenomena observed by astronomers from earliest times to 1120 A.D. This great work was first published in 1321.

Su Shih* or Su Tung-po (1036–1101), a prolific essayist, lyric poet, "literary painter," noted calligrapher, and a good statesman, of whom H. A. Giles said:

> Under his hands, the language of which China is so proud may be said to have reached perfection of finish, of art concealed. In subtlety of reasoning, in the lucid expression of abstraction . . . Su Tung-po is an unrivalled master. . . .

As a scholar-statesman, Su Tung-po was a faithful follower of Confucius. As a poet and artist, he drew inspiration from Taoism and Buddhism. As a philosopher he welded the sublime teachings of the "Three Religions" into one. He expressed his philosophy of life in these words:

> Do you understand the meaning of life as revealed by the flowing water and the bright moon? The water passes away but is never gone. The moon waxes and wanes but really does not increase or diminish its size. Now if we regard things from the aspect of impermanence, then we see that even the universe cannot last for an instant.

If we consider them from the aspect of permanence, then you and I, in common with all matter, shall exist through eternity. . . .

Now all things in this universe have their owners. If a thing does not belong to me, not one particle of it can I take. But the fresh breeze which blows across the river, the bright moon which shines upon the hills—these are sounds and sights to be enjoyed freely and everlastingly. They are the eternal gifts of the Creator and their enjoyment is inexhaustible. . . .

All things are worth enjoying and are consequently sources of pleasure. . . .

I enjoy myself under all conditions because I roam beyond the limits of a material world.

Lu You* (1125–1210), probably the greatest poet of 12th c. China. He was a patriotic soul. Not a single day did he forget the suffering of his fellow countrymen in the Yellow River region, who longed to be rescued from the yoke of the Golden Tartars. He scorned those in power that preferred peace at the cost of submission to the Tartars. He wrote spontaneously, expressing his love of nature as well as his devotion to his country. Here are a few specimen lines, translated literally:

My country is still unavenged.
The strong men are growing old.
At midnight my precious sword mutters
To itself in its sheath . . .

I would not murmur like a sick man;
I would not die in my bed.
Rather I would drive myself forward to battle,
Singing my song jocundly, and die on the field.

Li Yi-an (also known as Li Ching-chao, b. 1081), a lyric poetess of first rank and a research scholar of high repute. She assisted her husband, Chao Ming-cheng, in compiling a book on Chinese archaeology, to which she wrote the introduction. There she told the story of her happy married life, of the invasion of the Golden Tartars, the fall of Kaifeng in 1127, the transfer of the Sung court to Hangchow, and the loss of most of her possessions and of her learned husband. She concluded the story by saying:

> And what have I now? Nothing, save the incomplete sets of books edited by my late husband. . . . What more can I say than this, that nothing can be considered as one's own and kept forever.

Li Yi-an was an expert writer of a form of metrical composition known as *Tz'u*, which has been highly developed since the T'ang period. She wrote numerous poems, but only one thin volume of her verse has survived. Two poems from her work. *The Polished Jade* (*Sou-ju Tz'u*), in Sophia Chen Zen's translation, read as follows:

I

I seek and search,
I am forlorn and forsaken,
My heart is sad and full of sorrow.
I find it hard to rest,
With the weather now cold, now warm.
How could two or three cups of wine
Stand the strong wind of the evening?

The ground is strewn thick with yellow flowers,
Worn out and wretched.
Who will pluck them?
Alone I watch by the window,
Will it ever be dark?
The Wut'ung tree is trembling, with the misty rain.
At night they sound together,

Dropping, dropping,
Dripping, dripping.
Ah, how could all these be expressed
By the mere word "sadness"?

II

Who keeps company at the bright window?
My shadow and myself, we two.
And when the lamp burns out,
Even the shadow forsakes me.
Alas, alas!
What a sorrowful me!

VI. The Age of the Novel and of Dramatic Literature (1280–1368).

The cultured Sung dynasty was overthrown by the Mongols. In 1277 Kublai Khan declared himself emperor and established his court at Peking and named his dynasty "Yuan." He respected Chinese learning and upheld all the Chinese institutions. During his reign a number of Europeans, including Marco Polo, came but they did not acquire an understanding of Chinese civilization.

Many of the self-respecting scholars refused to serve Kublai Khan and his successors. Forced to live in retirement, they began to take up fiction-writing by way of pastime.

Fiction-writing had been started by some of the scholars of the T'ang period. Yuan Chen, an intimate friend of Po Chu-yi, wrote *The Story of Tsui Ying-ying*, and Po Hsing-chien, younger brother of Po Chu-yi, wrote *The Story of A Pretty Girl*. Stories such as these were known as *Chuan Chi* (*Rare Tales*). During the Sung period also, stories of this type were written.

The fiction-writers of the Yuan period wrote solely for their own enjoyment and for the entertainment of friends. They took the folk tales and so re-touched them with the brush of intelligence and artistic genius that the stories were transformed into masterpieces of literature.

Among the masterpieces were *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Kuo Chi*) and *All Men Are Brothers* (*Shui Hu Chuan*). Each of these has undergone several revisions.

Most of the novels were loose in plot and didactic in purpose; they were written in simple language and in a popular style. Each chapter of a story usually began and ended with a verse, and descriptions were often in verse-form.

Very little is known of the lives of the fiction-writers. They preferred to live in blessed obscurity. Their writings were regarded by the conservative classical scholars as merely "little arts unworthy to enter the Hall of Literature," and by themselves as nothing but "babbling nonsense."

The Mongol khans were fond of theatrical entertainment. They were not content to see the Chinese puppet shows, which had been in vogue since the Sung period. The khans encouraged song writing and play acting, and, as a result, playwrights appeared like bamboo shoots coming up after a heavy spring rain, as the Chinese say. During a period of fifty years over 500 plays were written, of which 100 were later selected as classic examples of dramatic literature. A few of them were translated into European languages in the 18th and 19th c., *e.g.*, *The Orphan of Chao* by Chi Tien-hsiang, which was adopted by Voltaire, who wrote the play *Tchao Chi Kow Eul, ou l'orpheline de la Chine; The Circle of Chalk* by Li Hsing-fu, and two short plays, *The Sorrow of the Han Palace* and *The Flower Ball.*

One of the best plays is the *Hsi Hsiang Chi* (*The Romance of the West Chamber*) in 16 scenes, by Wang Shih-fu, whose language is "as beautiful as the falling snow, and as soft as the moonlight." It depicts the love story of a young scholar and a beautiful girl. The play is based on Yuan Chen's story of Tsui Ying-ying.

According to Western standards the plays

of the Yuan period were imperfect. They did not have climax and anti-climax, and other features found in the Shakespearean plays. The language employed in writing them, however, was a fascinating language, characterized by directness, simplicity, and richness in tonal and musical qualities.

During the four centuries following the Yuan period both the novel and dramatic literature were developed on systematic lines. According to their contents the novels may be classified into five general types:

(1) The historical novel, as represented by *The Romance of Three Kingdoms.*

(2) The religious and philosophical novel, as represented by *The Record of Western Travels* (*Hsi Yu Chi,* translated by A. Waley, under the title *Monkey*).

(3) The novel of social manners, as represented by *The Gold-Vase-Plum* (*Chin P'ing Mei,* translated by Clement Egerton as *The Golden Lotus*).

(4) The love romance, as represented by the *Red Chamber Dream* (*Hung Liu Meng,* translated and adapted by Chi-chen Wang in his *Dream of the Red Chamber*).

(5) The novel of chivalry, as represented by *All Men Are Brothers* (*Shui Hu Chuan,* translated by Pearl Buck), and by *Flowers Seen in a Mirror* (*Chin Hua Yuan,* by Li Ju-chen, a widely read scholar of the late 18th c.).

(6) Tales or short stories, as represented by *Chin Ku Ch'i Kuan* (some of the stories are available in English translation, such as E. B. Howell's *The Inconstancy of Madame Chuang and Other Stories*). *The Liao Tsai* (*Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio,* by H. A. Giles) also belongs to this class.

Most of the novels were written in the vernacular. In length they are comparable to the Russian novels of Tolstoy and Dostoievsky, and in looseness of plot they are like those of D. H. Lawrence.

The dramatic works produced from the 13th to the 18th c. can be conveniently classified into two types, namely, the northern and the southern. The northern type usually deals with historical and supernatural subjects, while the southern type centers its interest in romance. Both are full of beautiful lyric poetry, which, to some literary critics, far surpasses the T'ang lyrics in power and beauty. Among the dramatic works available in English are *The Breeze in the Moonlight* (trans. George Soule De Morant), *The Romance of the Western Chamber* (trans. H. H. Hart), *The West Chamber: a Medieval Drama* (trans. S. I. Hsiung), *Lady Precious Stream* (trans. S. I. Hsiung) and *Famous Chinese Plays* (trans. Lewis Charles Arlington and Harold Acton).

VII. The Age of Classicism (1368–1890)

The Mongols were driven back to the Mongolian steppes in 1368 and the Chinese throne was restored to the Chinese by generals under the founder of the Ming dynasty.

The Chinese empire of the Ming period (1368–1644) comprised what is known as China Proper, an area of about 1,532,000 square miles with a population then of about 70 million. The seat of government, originally established at Nanking, was in 1409 removed to Peking, which was rebuilt on a scale of unprecedented magnificence.

During this period sea-borne trade prospered. Trade was carried on with Japan, Korea, Annam, Siam, Ceylon, India, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Philippines. Envoys from these lands came at intervals to Peking with tribute. Chinese under the leadership of Cheng Ho conducted naval expeditions to the "Western Ocean" from 1405 to 1424. Adventurers and traders from Portugal, Spain, and Holland came in succession from 1517 on. Following the traders came the Jesuit missionaries with their knowledge of astronomy,

mathematics, geography, and mechanics, as well as their faith.

For a long time peace prevailed in the greater part of the empire, and the artisans had opportunity to develop their industries and to improve their artistic products, such as porcelain, bronze work, lacquer-ware, and embroidery, for all of which the Ming dynasty is famous. The scholars, however, with the exception of some fiction writers and dramatists, did not produce any creative work. They were content to adhere to the classic style in literature, and, as a result, there were no great poets like Li Po, Tu Fu, or Po Chu-yi, who had made the T'ang dynasty great. In 1403, two thousand of them were commissioned to compile an encyclopedia, which should embrace the whole range of China's classical, historical, and philosophical literature as well as belles-lettres. After five years of literary labor, they produced the *Yung Lo Ta Tien,* which is probably the most gigantic encyclopedia ever known, comprising as it did, about 22,800 Chinese volumes. It was not published, because the cost of printing was prohibitive. In the course of time, most of the volumes were destroyed by fire or lost.

Only the names of two great men of letters need to be mentioned: Wang Yang-ming (Wang Shou-Jên,* 1472–1528) and Hsu Kuang-chi (1562–1633). Wang Yang-ming was a distinguished soldier-scholar-statesman-philosopher-poet, whose teachings were accepted wholeheartedly by the exponents of *Bushido* (the soldier-scholar's code) in Japan, where he was called Oyomei, but were not well received by his conservative fellow-countrymen of letters, who were occupied with the Neo-Confucian teachings of Chu Hsi* of the Sung dynasty. In his teachings, Wang Yang-ming emphasized the importance of the development of "intuitive knowledge," and of making theory and practice one. He believed that the human mind is creative, that the mind itself is the embodiment of all the laws of nature and of all the principles of morality, and that nothing exists in the universe independent of the mind; and because of this the mind in its original nature is devoid of all evil, which like dust, can be easily and should be always swept away.

In 1601 there arrived at Peking the great Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci, who resolved "to win the Chinese people through their scholars, and to win the latter with the science of Europe." In a short time he succeeded in converting some members of the imperial family and some officials of high rank. Especially noteworthy was the distinguished statesman Hsu Kuang Chi, who was baptized in 1603 under the name of Paul Hsu. With his help, Ricci was able to publish his scholarly treatises on religion, geography, astronomy, and mathematics, and to render valuable service in improving the Chinese calendar. Hsu Kuang Chi himself wrote several important books, of which the most significant is the *Nung Cheng Chuan Shu* (*Complete Writings on Agricultural Administration*) in 60 volumes. It deals with such subjects as agriculture, sericulture, animal husbandry, irrigation, food, and the prevention of famine. It was first published in 1640, with many fine wood-cut illustrations.

The Ming dynasty fell before the inroads of the Manchus, who in the early part of the 17th c. built an empire in Manchuria upon the ruins of the Golden Tartars. In 1644 the Manchu armed forces entered Peking, took the Chinese throne, and established the Ching (or Tsing) dynasty.

The Chinese made desperate attempts to recover the throne for the Ming dynasty, but after fighting for fifteen years they found themselves exhausted and were compelled to submit to the Manchu rule. The Manchus obliged them to follow their custom of shaving the front part of the head and braiding the hair at the back to form a queue. But, like

the other invaders from the north, the Manchus became so steeped in the learning and civilization of the Chinese that they were mentally and spiritually assimilated.

The Manchus produced two mighty rulers for China: K'ang Hsi (1662–1722), and Ch'ien Lung (1736–96). Under these two long-lived rulers economic stability was restored and the Chinese empire was extended from Manchuria to Tibet and from Outer Mongolia to the islands of Formosa and Hainan. Chinese influence and authority extended to Korea, the Ryu Kyu islands, Annam, Siam, Burma, Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim. The influence of Chinese civilization reached even Europe. The classical and dramatic literature, as represented by the few translations introduced by the Jesuits, exercised a profound influence upon the thinking of Leibnitz, Voltaire, Goethe, and Quesnay. Chinese silk, porcelain, wall paper, and many forms of Chinese art and crafts brought back by traders affected the rococo, which was prevalent during the 17th and 18th c.

During the reigns of K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, Chinese scholars labored in the fields of philology, history, and literature, reconstructing ancient texts and giving to the world monumental works on classical literature such as the following:

Tu Shu Tsi Cheng, an illustrated encyclopedia in 1,628 volumes of about 200 pages to each; *Chuan T'ang Shih,* a collection of poems written by 2,200 poets of the T'ang dynasty; *Pei Wen Yun Fu,* a concordance to all literature, of over 18,000 pages; *K'ang Hsi Tzu Tien,* the standard dictionary of the Chinese language since its appearance in 1716; *Erh Shih Sze Shih,* the "Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories" in 771 volumes, first published in 1740; and *Sze Ku Chuan Shu,* the greatest collection of Chinese literature, compiled by over 300 scholars in 10,223 volumes: compilation began in 1773 and was completed in 1782; materials were arranged under four headings—Classics, History, Philosophy, and General Literature.

During the K'ang Hsi era several creative writers appeared. Mention may be made of three: (1) Huang Tsung-hsi (1610–95), a critical historian and philosopher. One of his best known works is the *Meng-ju Hsueh-an,* an historical survey of all the schools of thought that arose during the Ming period. (2) Ku Yen-wu* (1613–95), a brilliant student of the classics, history, geography, archaeology, philology, political economy, and poetry. In his studies Ku Yen-wu endeavored to make use of the widest range of sources. He advocated the inductive method of literary research and discouraged philosophic speculation. He wrote numerous volumes of very high quality on subjects he had studied, including a volume of verse. (3) Wang Fu-chih (1619–92), a profound philosopher, classicist, and poet, whose writings "are marked by shrewd judgment and critical acumen and embody at the same time his political philosophy," in which he declared that the best form of government is the one that can be of greatest service to the people.

Scholars that possessed a scientific earnestness for truth and a skeptical attitude toward tradition and who expressed their views fearlessly and vigorously also appeared during the Ch'ien Lung era. We introduce here five of them. (1) Yuan Mei* (1716–98), a literary critic, an essayist of the first rank, and one of the three great poets of 18th c. China. He maintained that the function of poetry is to delight and that great verse depends not on adherence to form but on the poet's knowledge, genius, and individuality. He stressed the importance of free expression and recognized no authority, even classical tradition, if it seemed to him unfounded. He believed in education for women, and desiring to develop the hidden literary talent of young women, he undertook to teach a group of them the art of composing finished verse. Of

the women that studied under him, 18 became noted poetesses. He left to posterity a number of poems, essays, and miscellaneous writings. These, together with the poems of his brother and of the poetesses that had studied under him, were published under the title *Sui Yuan San-shih Chung* (*Thirty kinds of Literary productions from the Sui Garden*). (2) Tai Chen* (1724–77), a very distinguished scholar and philosopher, whose two works on the writings of Mencius and the *Origin of Goodness* are the most important contributions of 18th c. China to philosophy. He asserted that man's intelligence surpasses that of all animals, and that by using his intelligence man can develop those moral graces that will make him a true gentleman. (3) Chiang Shih-chuan (1725–85), a great dramatist and one of the three great poets of his time—the other two being Yuan Mei and Chao Yi (1727–1814). He was a severe critic of the works of Li Po and other makers of verse. He wrote a number of plays, from which nine have been selected as the best and published under several titles, the last being *Ching-jung Wai-chi* (*The Other Collection of the Writings of Ching-Jung*—the courtesy name of Chiang). His poems were published in 31 Chinese volumes. Some of his verses are of startling quality. (4) Tsao Hsueh-chin (1719–66), author of the famous *Hung Lou Meng*, a realistic Chinese novel of the first order, known in English as "Dream of the Red Chamber." In its original the *Hung Lou Meng* had 80 chapters. Later, 40 more chapters were added to it by Kao Ao. The complete novel describes in detail no fewer than 420 personages of varied importance. It is written in an easy but charming style, "full of humorous and pathetic episodes of every day human life and interspersed with short poems of high literary finish." (5) Li Hu-chen (ca. 1763–1830), author of a unique novel of 100 chapters entitled *Chin Hua Yuan* (*Flowers in a Mirror*). In this novel the author exhibited his encyclopedic knowledge of philology, phonology, poetry, medicine, astrology, classics, and, above all, his ideas concerning the position of women in society. He describes numerous women of talent and shows that they are not inferior to men, even in civil and military achievements. He revealed himself not merely a thinker but also an artist, who studied and interpreted the lives of women with sympathy and understanding.

The glorious period of 120 years during which K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung ruled was followed by a gloomy period during which disastrous uprisings and foreign aggressions took place.

From 1800 to 1890 China produced no writer of world fame. There were traditional poets and essayists, whose names have adorned the pages of literary history, but their literary accomplishments are yet to be evaluated. Their themes were objective and occasional. A few did reflect the spirit of the age in their works. Mention may be made of (1) Chin Huo (1818–85), author of a book of touching poems entitled *The Song of the Autumn Cicada*, describing what happened to the people and his family during the Taiping Rebellion; and (2) Huang Tsun Hsien (1841–1905), author of a volume of verse dealing with the conditions of his country and of the several foreign countries he visited.

In the late 19th c. several novels of high order were written by scholars, to depict the social and political conditions of the time. The most popular ones were: *The Heroic Children* (*Er-nu Ying-hsiung Chuan*) by Wen Kang, whose vivid descriptions of the family and official life of the Sinified Manchus are still admired; *Chinese Officialdom* by Li Po-yuan, whose aim was to raise the moral tone of the nation; *The Travels of Lao Tsan* by the famed archeologist and traveler Liu Tieh-yun (1856–1910), who set forth

fearlessly the social, economic, and political problems that demanded immediate solution.

VIII. The Modern Period.

Since 1890 China has entered into a period of transformation, brought about by contacts with modern western civilization.

In 1898 a Reform Movement was started by two eminent scholars: (1) K'ang Yu-wei (1852–1927), author of several significant books such as the *Tatung Shu* (*The Grand Commonwealth*) and *Kung Tzu Kai Chih Kao* (*Confucius Changes Institutions: A Research Study*), which are original in design and full of theoretical wisdom and creative thinking; (2) Liang Chi-chao* (1873–1929) a prolific writer, who wrote with robustness of outlook and buoyancy of spirit and with a profound knowledge of the history and philosophy of his country. Among his best known works are *Methods of Studying Chinese History, A Critical Study of the Works of Mo Tzu,* and *A History of Chinese Political Thought of the Pre-Chin Period.* His essays and poems and miscellaneous writings have been collected and published under the title *Yin Ping Shih Wen Tsi,* in several volumes.

Before the inauguration of the Reform Movement, a Revolutionary Movement was started by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Sun Wen* 1866–1925), father of the Chinese Republic, and author of *San Min Chu Yi* (*The Three Democratic Principles*) and of *Sun Wen Hsueh Shuo* (*The Doctrine of Sun Wen*), which teaches that "it is easier to do than to know."

In 1917 a literary movement was started by Dr. Hu Shih* and Prof. Chen Tu Hsiu to make *pai-hua,* the "plain language" or popular dialect, the uniform language of education and literary composition, because it is written as spoken. The success of the movement has brought about several changes in literary composition:—(1) the cultivation of a personal, familiar style; (2) the abolition of classical allusions; and (3) the introduction of occidental terms and style and punctuation marks.

The years between 1917 and 1937 were epoch-making in the long history of Chinese literature. During those years a new China was coming into being, and a new school of vigorous writers rose. The new writers rid themselves of the restrictions of classical forms; they created new literary fashions. They made great use of periodicals as channels for the transmission of "new thought." They wrote what they called new fiction, new poetry, new prose, new history, and new drama, in the supple language of the daily speech. Their works represented three trends of thought, namely, liberal, nationalistic, and communistic. Among those whose writings have exerted great influence upon the reading public are the following:—(1) Chou Shu-jen* (1881–1936), better known as Lu Hsun (Lusin) who has been called the Maxim Gorky as well as the Bernard Shaw of China, because of his realism and humanitarianism, which equal those of Gorky, and because of his ability to discern the irony of life and to expose satirically the ugly side of society, as does Shaw. His best known works are *The Autobiography of Ah Q* and *A Brief History of Chinese Novels.* (2) Kuo Mo-jo* (b. 1892), one of the most productive writers of present-day China, who has written ten good novels, half a dozen excellent plays, five volumes of poems, six volumes of essays, and twelve translations of German and Russian authors, such as Goethe's *Faust* and Tolstoy's *War and Peace.* (3) Hu Shih* (b. 1891), a sober, earnest, dispassionate and rational philosopher, essayist, poet and scholar, who wrote both in Chinese and English. His best known works are *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China, History of Chinese Philosophy* (V. I), *The Collected Writings of Hu Shih* and *Experiments* (a collection of poems written in *pai-hua*). (4) Lin Yutang* (b. 1895), a mellow, refined, witty, and stoically calm writer, who became

world-famous after the appearance in English of his *My Country and My People* and *The Importance of Living*. Among his best works in Chinese are *Woti Hua* (*My Talks*) and *Tahuang Chi* (a collection of essays and miscellaneous writings.) He compiled two significant books: *The Wisdom of Confucius* and *The Wisdom of China and India*. (5) Lao Sheh (Lao Shaw) a versatile writer of satirical plays, novels and poems, whose wit is compared to that of Mark Twain and whose language is as frank and plain as that of Ernest Hemingway, whose *Rickshaw Boy* became an American "Book of the Month Club" choice.

Since 1937, Chinese literature has been dominated by the war of resistance against Japanese military aggression. Almost all the themes are connected with China's life-and-death struggle with Japan. Most of the writers look upon their work as part of the total war effort. The bulk of war literature has taken the form of novels, plays, poems, or publicistic articles, in all of which patriotic motives prevail. Among the novels, the most exciting are Chen Shou-chu's *Spring Thunder*, which tells how farmers organized themselves and fought the invaders; and Yao Hsueh-ying's *The Red Turnip*, which depicts the transformation of a timid and ignorant peasant into a fearless soldier and of a "camp slicker" into a first-class warrior. Among the poems, the longest is Tsang Keh-chia's *Blossoms of an Old Tree*. This 5,000-line poem depicts the guerrilla warfare in Shantung and the heroism of the defenders of a city there. Among the plays, the best are Kuo Mo-jo's *Chu Yuan*, which tells the story of the poet-patriot Chu Yuan of Classical China; and Tsao Yu's *The Lady in White*, which deals with the story of a woman doctor who works selflessly to relieve the sufferings of the wounded soldiers and fights courageously against social evils.

Because they had to work under tremendous handicaps and difficulties, the wartime Chinese writers could not bring their work to a high level. None of them so far has made any attempt to give a picture of China's war of resistance as a whole, in a large scale novel or a vast war epic. A few of them, however, have been working to hasten the coming of the age of World Literature through writings that have a universal appeal.

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SHAO CHANG LEE.

CHIPEWYAN—*See* North American Native.

CHOCO—*See* South American Indian.

CHOCTAW—*See* North American Native.

CHOROTEGA—*See* Mexican.

CHRISTIAN HYMNODY

Greek Hymns. Hymns, defined by St. Augustine as "praise to God with song," have been used in the Christian Church from its beginning, although in different ways and degrees in different times and places. The first book of praise used by Greek-speaking Christians was the Septuagint version of the psalms, although there are in the Pauline epistles fragments of what seem to have been original hymns of the Apostolic age. These probably resembled canticles in form and were sung by a cantor, with a refrain sung by the congregation. By the end of the 4th c. Christian hymns had assumed a form that distinguished them from psalms on the one hand and prose canticles on the other, so that by a hymn we now understand a metrical sequence of words in a symmetrical arrangement of stanzas, either rhymed or unrhymed, not directly quoted from the *Bible,* and intended to be sung in a service of worship.

There are a few examples of Christian song dating from the 3rd and 4th c., the best known being that with which Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215) closes his *Paedagogus, Stomion polon adaon* (translated by H. M. Dexter, *Shepherd of tender youth,*) the candle-lighting hymn (Hail! Gladsome Light), and the corresponding morning hymn called *The Great Doxology,* an extended form of the *Gloria in Excelsis.* These last two were in general liturgical use by the middle of the 4th c. The earliest examples of a more popular type of Christian hymnody were produced about the middle of the 4th c. by St. Ephraem (d. 373) who wrote Syriac hymns, and St. Gregory Nazianzen (d. ca. 390) who wrote Greek hymns, in each case to counteract the influence of the hymns by which the Gnostic and Arian heretics of the period were spreading their doctrines. The real founder of Greek hymnody, however, was Romanos, (d. ca. 560) who wrote 80 "contakia," poems of twenty to thirty strophes of varying structure. In the 8th c. St. Andrew of Crete (d. ca. 740) created a hymnic form known as a "canon," one of his hymns running to 250 strophes. St. John of Damascus later in the same c. cultivated the same form. In the 9th c. an important group of hymn-writers was connected with the monastery of the Studium of Constantinople, the best-known being St. Joseph the Hymnographer (d. ca. 883), St. Theodore, and his brother Joseph. The "contakia," "canon" and other forms of Greek hymnody were long, diffuse and rhetorical, neither intended for nor adapted to congregational and popular use, but they were incorporated in the Divine Liturgy of the Eastern Church, for the very voluminous character of which their immense number and length is in part responsible. By the 10th c. the impulse that had produced them was practically exhausted; there are only a few examples of later date, chiefly emanating from the Basilian convent of Grotta Ferrata near Rome.

Greek hymnody remained unknown to western Europe until the appearance in the middle of the 19th c. of translations (or adaptations) by John Mason Neale and others of a small number of selected hymns.

Although much scholarly work has since been done in this field, the remoteness of Greek hymnody from western tradition, in its liturgical character and setting, its immense bulk, its great variety of forms, and the complex problems of its development, have limited acquaintance with it to a small group of specialists, and the hymnody of western Europe since the 4th c. has had an entirely independent evolution.

Latin Hymns. The earliest Latin hymns were those by Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, (d. 366) who in the course of his exile of 4 years in Asia Minor noted the great influence of the popular Syriac and Greek hymns, and sought to introduce hymn singing into the western Church. The few items of his verse that survive, with one or two hymns doubtfully attributed to him, served no further than to point the way to possible developments; it was Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (340–397) Hilary's younger contemporary, who was the real founder of Latin hymnody. About a dozen hymns can with some assurance be attributed to him. About 80 more, written in his style and soon after his period, are called "Ambrosian." Of these a very few may be by him, but the great majority are certainly by others following his example. The finest of his hymns are *Aeterne rerum Conditor; Deus Creator omnium; O Lux beata Trinitas; Splendor Paternae gloriae,* and *Veni Redemptor gentium.*

The hymns by Ambrose are marked by depth of thought set forth with an austere simplicity and terseness of language. The meter is that of iambic dimeter, substantially the same as modern long meter, but unrhymed; the quantitative principle of classic Latin verse was abandoned in favor of the rhythmical or accentual principle in use for popular verse (as had also been the case with Greek hymnody), so that the hymns by Ambrose were recognized at once as poetry for the people. The use of the Ambrosian hymns spread rapidly and, as they were adopted by St. Benedict (6th c.) for regular use in the Breviary offices, this earliest hymnody of the Latin Church was fortunately preserved. Ambrose also introduced antiphonal chanting from the East, and initiated the development of church music carried on later by Gregory the Great (6th c.).

A younger contemporary of Ambrose, the Spanish author Prudentius, produced early in the 5th c. two poetical works, the *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon,* which gave him widespread and lasting reputation as a Christian poet. The first is a collection of lyric hymns for the several hours of prayer in the day and for the festivals of the year. The second commemorates the martyrs of the Church, especially those of Spain. Although intended for private reading, and cast in a rich variety of verse-forms, some of his hymns were taken into the Breviary in abbreviated form, and, as Ambrose had set the form for the more austere liturgical hymnody, Prudentius set a type of more florid and exuberant festival verse which many later writers followed. The most famous of his hymns are the one for Holy Innocents, *Salvete flores martyrum,* one for Christmas; *Corde natus ex Parentis,* and the hymns for Lauds, *Nox et tenebrae et nubila,* and *Lux ecce surgit aurea.*

About the close of the 5th and beginning of the 6th c. Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers (d. ca. 605), half ecclesiastic, half troubadour-courtier of the Merovingian period, wrote much verse, including the great hymn on the crucifixion, *Vexilla regis prodeunt,* which the author composed for the reception of a fragment of the so-called "True Cross" that the Emperor Justin II had sent to Queen Rhadegunda, who was Fortunatus' patroness. The hardly less beautiful

Pange, lingua, gloriosi
Proelium certaminis,

is also generally attributed to him, though with less certainty. These two hymns are among the great classics of Latin hymnody.

Two centuries later the revival of letters under the empire of the first Carlovingians produced a few hymns. Paulus Diaconus (d. 799) wrote a poem on John the Baptist which included the hymn, *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris,* noteworthy not only for its excellence but because Guido of Arezzo in the 11th c. borrowed from its successive lines the syllables *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la,* to serve as names of the successively rising notes to which the opening lines of the hymn were sung, and these syllables (with a change of *ut* to *do*) are still in use. To Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, (d. 821) is attributed the Palm Sunday hymn, *Gloria, laus et honor;* and Rabanus Maurus (d. 856) was the author of several hymns, including one of the greatest, *Veni, Creator Spiritus.*

The famous monastery of St. Gall at this period, and long afterwards, produced a series of writers of hymns and sequences, of whom Notker Balbulus (d. 912) is the most important. In his time no satisfactory system of musical notes had been developed, and melodies had to be memorized and orally transmitted with the aid of very inadequate notations. Notker found great difficulty in remembering the elaborate cadences with which it had become customary to decorate the final *a* of the word *Alleluia* in the Gradual between the Epistle and the Gospel. About 862 a monk came to St. Gall with an Antiphonary in which Notker found words with little meaning set to the troublesome notes as an aid in memorizing them. Impressed by the idea Notker undertook to write more suitable words, each syllable set to a single note. Since the music followed the Alleluia it became known as the sequence, and since Notker's words were in rhythmical prose they were called proses, though the term sequence is now more commonly applied to them than to the music. Notker wrote about 50 proses, the best known one of this early period (though doubtfully attributed to Notker himself) being *In media vita in morte sumus,* translated in the burial office of the *Book of Common Prayer* as *In the midst of life we are in death.*

The noble character of Notker's proses led to the rapid spread of their use in northern Europe, and to the writing of many others by a succession of authors of whom the greatest was Adam of St. Victor (d. 1177); but long before the time of Adam the prose form of the sequence had given way to verse forms indistinguishable from hymns, the only distinction between sequences and hymns being that the former were used in the Mass, the latter in the other offices of worship of the church.

In most medieval missals of North European origin, proper sequences were appointed for nearly every Sunday and holiday, but the use varied according to locality. When the Roman Missal was revised in 1570 all sequences were eliminated save four, viz.

(1) *Victimae Paschali* (for Easter), of unknown authorship but illustrating the transition from the early irregular, unrhymed Notkerian sequence to the rhymed sequences of Adam of St. Victor.

(2) *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (for Pentecost), one of the greatest pieces of Latin sacred poetry, which has been attributed to several persons, the probable author being Pope Innocent III (d. 1216). It is written in a verse form not found earlier than 1150.

(3) *Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem* (for Corpus Christi), written by St. Thomas Aquinas ca. 1260.

(4) *Dies irae, dies illa* (Requiem Mass). This sequence is certainly of Italian authorship, and probably was written by Thomas of Celano, a Brother Minor of the Franciscan Order (13th c.) and the biographer of St. Francis of Assisi. It is the most majestic of

all sequences, perfect in form, a poignant expression of medieval fear of the day of judgment. Like an earlier hymn on the same subject, *Gravi me terrore pulsas,* by Peter Damiani (1007–72) it was written not as a hymn but as a meditation, the two concluding strophes being added later to adapt it to liturgical use.

To these four sequences retained in the Missal from the medieval use there was added in the 18th c. a fifth, viz. *Stabat mater dolorosa* (Friday after Passion Sunday), which stands with the *Dies Irae* as a supreme achievement of the religious verse of the Middle Ages. It is certainly of Franciscan origin but is doubtfully attributed to Jacopone da Todi (1230–ca. 1306), who wrote Laude, popular religious songs in the Umbrian dialect. As in all the Franciscan poetry, the personal note is emphasized.

Adam of St. Victor was the greatest hymn-writer of the 12th c., one of the foremost in the whole range of Latin Christian poetry. He lived long as a monk in the famous monastery of St. Victor outside Paris, and wrote a large number of sequences, of which perhaps the two finest are one on the martyrdom of St. Stephen,

Heri mundus exsultavit
Et exsultans celebravit
Christi natalitia,

and one for Easter,

Zyma vetus expurgetur,
Ut sincere celebretur
Nova resurrectio.

Adam produced verse which combined perfection of form with sublimity of thought and richness of allusion hitherto unequalled, and never surpassed. After the drastic revision of the Missal and the Breviary in the 16th c., his sequences disappeared alike from use and from recollection, and were rediscovered only in the 19th c. The number of poems that can be attributed to him is uncertain, since there were other writers of the Victorian school using the same style of verse, one of whom produced the great sequence *Laudes Crucis attollamus.* The 12th c. also saw the production of the great poem *De Contemptu Mundi* by St. Bernard of Cluny, beginning *Hora novissima tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus,* which ran to 3,000 lines in leonine meter. Three passages from it, translated by J. M. Neale: *The world is very evil; Brief life is here our portion,* and *Jerusalem the golden,* have come into widespread modern use.

In the next century Arnulf of Louvain (ca. 1240) wrote a poem *De Passione Domini* the last section of which, *Salve caput cruentatum,* was the inspiration of Paulus Gerhardt's great German hymn *O Haupt voll Blut und Wünden,* well-known in its English translation by J. W. Alexander, *O sacred head, now wounded.* But the greatest 13th c. hymn-writer was St. Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–74). His reputation as a scholar and theologian led Urban IV in 1264 to assign him the task of preparing a Mass for the newly established Feast of Corpus Christi. For it he wrote the sequence *Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem,* referred to above, and also a hymn for vespers,

Pange lingua gloriosi
Corporis mysterium,

and a hymn for private devotion,

Adoro te devote, latens Deitas,
Quae sub his figuris vere latitas.

These three hymns are the supreme dogmatic poems of the Middle Ages, closely woven precise expressions of the dogma of the Real Presence, wrought out with austerity of form but with sublime grandeur and beauty of

phrase. They were the last great utterances of the Latin church poets, although for many decades thereafter Latin hymns were produced in great abundance. These later hymns, however, exhibited a steady decline in form and degenerated into sentimental trivialities.

By the 14th c. Latin could no longer compete with the growing use of national languages, and poets increasingly wrote in their native tongues. The immense body of Latin hymnody, produced during a period of about 1,000 years and rivaling in extent and excellence the later hymnody in German and in English, steadily receded into the background of men's minds. The Roman Church itself helped to consign much of it to oblivion (until it was rediscovered in the 19th c.) by the revision of the hymns of the church instituted by Pope Leo in 1513, who sought to eliminate what to scholars of the classical revival of the Renaissance seemed the barbarisms of the medieval writers. A revised hymnary was published in 1523, and successive steps led to the revised Roman Breviary of 1632. Thereafter a great proportion of the medieval hymns and sequences disappeared from use, while most of those that were retained were drastically re-written. The modern ritual of the Roman Church, therefore, contains only a very small part of the great body of Latin hymnody and in forms greatly modified from the original. The only notable fresh Latin hymns were those included in the *Paris Breviary* of 1736, written in strict classical style, for the most part by Charles Coffin (1676–1749) and by the brothers Claude (1628–84) and Jean Baptiste de Santeuil (1630–97).

German Hymnody. The Reformation produced a fresh outburst of Christian song, and almost all the hymns written since the early part of the 16th c. have come from Protestant sources. Since in the Roman Church singing had been restricted to the clergy and to the religious in the monastic orders, the Latin hymns were practically unknown to the laity, and modern hymnody, in the sense of popular religious lyrics in praise of God intended to be sung by congregations in public worship, is a fresh creation characteristic of Protestantism.

Prior to the Reformation there existed a considerable body of popular religious song on the continent of Europe. Wackernagel collected nearly 1450 German examples dated between 868 and 1518, some of them translated from the Latin, some mixed Latin and German. In Bohemia the followers of John Huss (*Unitas Fratrum*) produced a hymn-book as early as 1501. For the most part these songs were for use outside the churches. Luther, who was a poet and music lover, gave the German people the *Bible,* a catechism, and a hymn-book in their own tongue, and he early saw in hymn-singing a potent instrument for the spread of his teachings. He is credited with 37 hymns, written between 1523 and 1543, most of them in 1524. The most famous is *Ein' feste Burg,* based on *Psalm 46,* written in 1529. His hymns are simple, clear-cut, confident, and effective. He encouraged others to write hymns, so that during his lifetime a considerable body of German hymns came into wide-spread use. He drew on many sources for his hymn tunes, making use of adaptations from popular melodies as well as from the traditional music of the Roman Church. Thus the Reformation sang its way into the hearts of the German People. Luther's influence in this respect is comparable to that of Ambrose as the founder of Latin hymnody.

The 2nd period in German hymnody (1570–1648) was one of controversy, followed by the miseries of the Thirty Years' War. It saw the production of a good deal of subjective verse and of "hymns of the cross," but its finest utterance was Martin Rinkart's *Nun danket alle Gott,* which expresses the feeling of relief at the coming of

peace. The 3d period (1648–80) is that of pietism, marked by a group of mystical writers, of whom the outstanding figure was Paulus Gerhardt. This pietism soon developed into an evangelical revolt against the cold formalism into which the Lutheran Church had stiffened, and produced the "Second Reformation" (1680–1757). In the German Reformed Church this was represented by two great hymn writers, Joachim Neander (1650–80) and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697–1767). Two of Neander's finest hymns are joyful exultations: *Himmel, Erde, Luft und Meer,* and *Lobe den Herren.* Tersteegen wrote in a more mystical vein, illustrated by his *O Gott, O Geist, O Licht des Lebens,* and *Verborgne Gottes liebe du,* translated by John Wesley as *Thou hidden love of God, whose height . . .*

The latter part of this period also saw the rebirth of the Protestant movement known as the *Unitas Fratrum* (Moravian Brethren), which had originated more than 2 c. earlier in Bohemia but had been almost extinguished. It came to new life at Herrnhut under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf, who was a prolific hymn writer, though sometimes led into fantastic emotional extravagances. In his hymn collections he laid the foundations for the Moravian hymnody of the present day.

The period of Rationalism or "Enlightenment" which followed (1757–1817) witnessed a reaction against the earlier German hymnody. The form and language of some of the early hymns had come to seem uncouth, and many of them were drastically recast to suit the temper of the rising rationalism. Although much mediocre verse was written to promulgate the current views, very few hymns of good quality were produced, for although this was the classical period of German literature and poetry, none of the great poets of the day, except Klopstock, had any sympathy with what seemed to them the outworn concepts of evangelical religion. With the evangelical revival ca. 1818 there was a new outburst of Christian song, which lasted until the latter part of the century, but the great period of German hymnody lies between 1523, when Luther began hymn-writing, and the death of Count Zinzendorf in 1760. It is estimated that German hymnody includes about 100,000 hymns, approximately the same as Latin hymnody. Although John Wesley after his voyage to America in 1735 translated a few German hymns, they remained, as a whole, unknown to the English speaking world until the mid 19th c., when a considerable number were translated, chiefly by a small group of English women, especially Catherine Winkworth, who published *Lyra Germanica* (2 v.) 1855–1858.

Psalmody. In the Reformed Churches that followed John Calvin congregational singing was long restricted to the use of metrical psalms. Calvin, who was neither a poet nor a musician, would permit no "man-made" hymns, nor any tunes that were not grave and devotional in character. He employed the poet Clément Marot and other writers to translate the *Psalms* into French verse, for the use of his congregation at Geneva, leading, by successive steps, to the publication of the complete *Genevan Psalter,* 1562. The music was prepared for the most part by Louis Bourgeois, who drew on various older and mostly unidentified sources for his psalm-tunes.

This Genevan psalmody set the model for congregational singing in the Reformed Churches, of which psalm-singing became as characteristic a mark as hymn-singing was of the Lutheran Church. The Genevan psalmody was used by the Huguenots in France and by the later French Protestants down to the 19th c., although supplements of hymns that were based on, or were paraphrases of, *Scripture* were slowly admitted to use in the course of the 18th c. The French Protestant minister, César Malan (1787–1864) gave the

first strong impulse to hymnody among French Protestants with his collection *Chants de Sion* (1828), which included many of his own hymns and tunes. His influence in substituting hymns for psalms is comparable to that of Isaac Watts in England. His book was followed by *Chants Crêtiens* (1834) by Henri Lutteroth, which included a good deal of verse by earlier poets, hitherto not used as hymns, set to good music. This was the classical period of French Protestant hymnody, subjective and pietistic in character. As in France, so in Germany and Holland, the Reformed Churches at first used only metrical psalms, often set to other tunes than those used in Geneva. The German Reformed Church, however, early yielded to the influence of its hymn-singing neighbors, and in the 18th c. produced at least the two great hymn-writers, Joachim Neander and Gerhard Tersteegen, noted above.

English psalmody goes back to Thomas Sternhold, groom of the robes to Henry VIII, who as early as 1548 published a collection of 19 metrical psalms, which he had written and sung for his private edification. He died in 1549 but in that year an enlarged edition with 37 psalms was published posthumously, and in a 3d edition, 1551, John Hopkins included seven that he had written, though he disclaimed any comparison between his work and Sternhold's "most exquisite doynges." When great numbers of English Protestants fled to the Continent from the persecution that began with the accession of Queen Mary Tudor, they came under the influence of Calvin. Using the metrical psalms by Sternhold and John Hopkins as a basis, and adding others by various writers, they printed at Geneva incomplete English psalters in 1556 and 1561, and after their return to England, following the accession of Elizabeth, John Day of London printed for them *The Whole Book of Psalmes, Collected in to English Metre by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others.* It was commonly called *Sternhold and Hopkins,* until the appearance of the *New Version* by Tate and Brady in 1696 led to its being nicknamed *The Old Version.*

Probably because the Anglican authorities inclined to Calvin's objection to "man-made" hymns, no translations of Latin hymns were included when the English *Book of Common Prayer* was compiled (except the *Veni Creator Spiritus* for ordinations). This lack of any provision for hymn-singing led people to seize eagerly upon the metrical psalms, and psalm-singing, both in church and outside, spread with great rapidity. Neither the English metrical psalms nor the majority of the tunes to which they were set reached the level of excellence of the French *Genevan Psalter,* but the ballad meters in which they were written were familiar and popular and the tunes were singable. The typical ballad stanza was in iambic quatrains, 4, 3, 4, 3, (now known as common meter); but iambic quatrains of tetrameter lines (long meter), and iambic quatrains), 3, 3, 4, 3 (short meter), all usually rhymed a, b, a, b, were occasionally used. The ballad stanza set the form in which the greatest number of English hymns have been written, although in the 19th c. other, more elaborate meters were introduced in increasing measure, in part due to the example of German hymnody, in which a great variety of verse forms was in use.

The Old Version acquired a prestige second only to the *Book of Common Prayer;* it remained in use in some parts of England to the 19th c., although after 1696 the smoother and more modern verse of the *New Version* gradually came to occupy most of the field. In Scotland the *Scottish Psalter* was developed along similar lines, culminating in the version of 1650, which in many respects was superior to the English psalmody and which remains the only version of the psalms used by Presbyterian Scotland to the present day. In New England the Puritans, seeking

a metrical version of the psalms that should adhere even more closely to the original Hebrew than did *Sternhold and Hopkins,* published in 1640 at Cambridge, Massachusetts, the first book printed in the English-speaking colonies, which, with the revised edition of 1652, is commonly called *The Bay Psalter.* To modern eyes most of this psalmody appears archaic and lacking in poetic merit, but it met the demand for an exact rendering of the inspired scripture rather than for smoothly flowing verse.

English Hymnody. Until the 18th c. psalmody alone was, with rare exceptions, used in worship in the English speaking world, although a considerable body of English verse suitable for use in worship was in existence, notably Bishop Ken's morning and evening hymns (1695). In 1707–9 Isaac Watts (1674–1748) published his *Hymns* and in 1719 his *Imitations of the Psalms,* free paraphrases cast in the form of hymns. A number of Watts' hymns remain in use, notably the one based on the 90th Psalm, *Our God, our help in ages past,* and

When I survey the wondrous cross,
On which the Prince of glory died.

These were quickly taken up by the Non-Conformists, and were followed by the hymns by Philip Doddridge (1702–51), notably his *Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve;* Charles Wesley (1707–1788), and others. Wesley's hymns gave fire and wings to the Methodist revival; indeed the Methodists long sang little else. He was a very prolific writer, often degenerating into an unreal sentimentality, but his finest hymns are among the great treasures of Christian song, as *Hark! the herald angels sing,* and *Love divine, all love excelling.*

The Church of England, however, clung to psalmody until near the end of the c., when the hymnbooks of the Anglican writers Toplady, Cowper, and Newton slowly led to the introduction of hymn-singing. Except for the hymns of these three writers almost all those produced in England in the 18th c. were the work of Non-Conformists. In the 19th c. the situation was in a measure reversed. The Non Conformists produced fewer and on the whole less distinguished writers, although James Montgomery was a conspicuous exception. The Church of England, on the other hand, having at length broken away from psalmody, poured out a great volume of new song, beginning with Reginald Heber's hymns (pub. posthumously, 1827). His most famous hymns are *From Greenland's icy mountains,* and *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty.* During the next half century a large number of hymns of fine quality, chiefly by Anglicans, came rapidly into use, set to the new tunes of the English "Cathedral School" of composers. Whereas the hymnody of the 18th c. most frequently struck an evangelical note of personal introspection in terms that often sound morbid to modern ears, that of the 19th c. Anglican writers was predominantly objective, with emphasis on the collective aspects of the Christian life, although both words and music are often sentimental, a tendency exemplified at its worst by F. W. Faber. The most notable of these Anglican hymn-writers were H. W. Baker: *The King of love my shepherd is;* S. Baring-Gould: *Onward, Christian soldiers;* J. Ellerton: *Saviour, again to Thy dear name we raise;* J. W. Neale, who translated or adapted many hymns from the Greek Liturgy; J. H. Newman: *Lead kindly Light* (written before his conversion to Roman Catholicism); Catherine Winkworth (translations from the German); and Christopher Wordsworth: *O day of rest and gladness;* but there were many other writers of fine quality in this period.

There being no official hymnal in the Church of England a great number of collections were published, for the most part

quite mediocre until the appearance of *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* 1861. This notable collection had by far the widest acceptance, but in this c. its leadership has been contested by the *English Hymnal* (1906) and *Songs of Praise* (1927). The flood of new hymns slackened as the 19th c. drew to a close, and only a few hymns of outstanding quality have been written in England in this c. Of these the finest is by Canon G. W. Briggs (b. 1875): *Lord of all majesty and might.*

The whole body of English hymnody (including the metrical psalms and hymns by American writers) has reached proportions approximating those of the Latin and German hymnody, and is a much more adequate expression of modern religious thought.

American Hymnody. American hymnody is, strictly speaking, a subdivision of the English. *The Bay Psalter* reigned supreme in New England for a century, after which it was slowly replaced by the hymnody of Watts and his school. In the Middle and Southern colonies, either the *Old Version* or the *New Version* of the Psalms was more generally used. Gradually supplements of hymns were added to the psalm-books, but very few books in which hymns were predominant appeared until the 19th c., and for a long time the only hymns contained therein were those of the English writers of the 18th c. In the late 18th c., the Methodists introduced the Wesleyan hymnody, but it had little influence in other groups until after the turn of the century. Although a few hymns were written by Americans before 1800, they had almost no general use and are now forgotten. The earliest American hymn still in use is Timothy Dwight's *I love thy church, O God,* written about 1800. The Episcopalians, chiefly in the Middle States, found their needs largely supplied by the flood of hymns from the Church of England, and their official *Church Hymnal* has followed English models. Probably the best-known American Episcopal hymnwriters are Bishop G. W. Doane (1790–1850) with his *Fling out the banner, let it float,* and *Softly now the light of day;* and Bishop Phillips Brooks: *O little town of Bethlehem.*

The Methodists were even more under the domination of Charles Wesley until near the end of the 19th c. The Baptists had an outstanding hymn-writer and editor in S. F. Smith (1808–95), author of *My Country, 'tis of thee.* His missionary hymn, *The morning light is breaking,* is also used today. The Presbyterians clung longest to psalmody, but have had a few writers of good quality, the most widely known being J. W. Alexander with his translation *O Sacred head, now wounded.* The Congregationalists, including both the Orthodox and the Unitarian wings into which they split in 1825, produced the earliest and the most prolific group of American hymn-writers. The Orthodox wing has had a succession of good writers, each of whom has produced one or more hymns of fine quality. Among them are E. W. Shurtleff (1862–1917) with *Lead on, O king eternal,* and Washington Gladden (1836–1918) *O Master, let me walk with thee.*

The hymnbooks of the Congregationalists have generally been of good quality, the most influential being Henry Ward Beecher's *Plymouth Collection* (1855). The Unitarians, though numerically a very small body, belonged socially and intellectually to that strain of the Puritan stock from which came the literary awakening known as "the New England Renaissance," which began ca. 1815 and continued through most of the c. Their hymnwriters—far more numerous than those of any other denomination—have produced about half of the hymns of exceptional excellence written in this country. Their hymnody has been characterized by two major strains: on the one hand there is a strongly mystical note; on the other hand, a stirring call to action for the welfare of mankind. The most notable Unitarian writers have been W. C. Bryant

(1794–1878); O. W. Holmes (1809–94) with *Lord of all being, throned afar;* Samuel Longfellow (1819–92), the best American hymn writer of the middle of the 19th c.; Samuel Johnson (1822–82); E. H. Sears (1810–76); and F. L. Hosmer (1840–1929), the foremost American hymn-writer during the last quarter of that century. The best of S. Longfellow's hymns are *One holy church of God appears,* and *God of the earth, the sea, the sky.* S. Johnson's *City of God, how broad and far,* is widely used in the English-speaking world, as is Sears' *It came upon the midnight clear.* Hosmer produced a score of hymns of fine quality, notably

> *O Thou who art of all that is*
> *Beginning both and end,*

a flawless lyric, *O Thou, in all Thy might so far,* and what has been called one of the noblest hymns in English,

> *Thy kingdom come! On bended knee,*
> *The passing ages pray.*

Two other types of American religious song must be briefly mentioned. One is the Negro *spiritual,* of which several hundred examples have been collected. The *Spirituals* are religious folk songs, often of great beauty, springing out of the heart of the Negro people both before and since the days of slavery. The other type is the revivalist *Gospel hymn,* promoted by Moody and Sankey, the origins of which go back to the 18th c. but which swept the country ca. 1870–1915. These songs were immensely popular, though for the most part of very inferior quality. They represent an aspect of American religious life much less influential than formerly.

Although the American contribution to the great body of English hymnody is still relatively small in quantity, the better portion of it is of high excellence as a modern interpretation of religion, and is finding increasing use in England.

There are two noticeable current tendencies in English hymnody. In the Anglican Church there is a steady increase in the use of translations of the early or medieval Latin hymns, set to "proper" plain-song melodies. The other tendency is away from the use of hymns with a doctrinal emphasis toward those that sing of the application of religion to the life of the world. Although there has been a slackening in the production of new hymns since 1900, there is no reason to believe that the stream of English hymnody has in any degree run dry.

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HENRY WILDER FOOTE.

COAHUILTEC—*See* Mexican.

COASTANOAN—*See* North American Native.

COBEUO—*See* South American Indian.

COCOPA—*See* North American Native

COEUR D'ALENE—*See* North American Native.

COLOMBIAN—*See* South American Indian; Spanish American.

CONGO—*See* African.

COOK ISLAND—*See* Polynesian.

CORA—*See* Mexican.

CORNISH

THE CORNISH language is closely related to Welsh, and probably in the early periods the two had a common literature with only minor dialectical differences. No literature in its Cornish form has come down to us from these early times, although some of the words quoted by John of Cornwall in the notes to his Latin translation of *The Prophecy of Ambrose Merlin concerning the Seven Kings* (which must have been written about 1155) suggest that his original was in Cornish rather than in Welsh, the form in which it is known today. The earliest piece of literature which can properly be called Cornish as distinct from Welsh consists of 41 lines of verse, apparently the speeches of a single character in a *gwary* or play. These lines are written on the back of an old charter which is dated 1340, but the poetry seems to have been written somewhat later, perhaps about 1400.

The oldest complete work is *The Passion of Our Lord* (*Pascon Agan Arluth*), the earliest manuscript of which is in a mid 15th c. hand. It is hardly more than an expanded version, with a few additions from apocryphal sources, of the Gospel story, beginning with the temptation in the wilderness and ending with the resurrection. It is written in 259 stanzas of eight lines each. All the remaining works from the years before 1700 are examples of the *gwary* miracle or mystery play, not differing greatly from the mystery plays of England or France. The plots were taken from the *Bible* (including some apocryphal books) or from the life and miracles of a saint; comedy scenes involving the low characters were usually added. The plays were in verse, and were acted in the open air in those circular amphitheaters now called "rounds." It is believed that such plays were acted at least as early as the 13th c., but the oldest we have are the three *Ordinalia*, found in a manuscript of the 15th. The *Ordinale de Origine Mundi* takes the story from the creation down to the building of Solomon's temple and the martyrdom of Maximilla for believing in Christ; at the end the minstrels are exhorted to pipe and the audience to return on the following day. The *Passio Domini* takes the story from the temptation in the wilderness to the crucifixion, with the addition of much apocryphal matter; after it the audience is exhorted to come early on the morrow to see how Christ rose. The *Resurrectio Domini* includes the harrowing of Hell, the legend of Veronica, and the death of Pilate, and also the legend of the Tree of Life which became the Tree of the Cross. Somewhat later than these *Ordinalia* plays is *The Life of Meriadec* (*Beunans Meriasek*) which was written (or copied) in 1504 by "Dominus Hadton." Since Meriadec, under his Cornish name of Meriasek, was patron saint of Cambourne, and since some of the scenes of the play are laid in Cornwall, this play comes nearer to being native drama than any of the others. The work contains a great jumble of anachronisms, but some passages are of considerable literary merit; it is so long that it required two days for presentation. Latest of all the extant plays is *The Creation of the World* (*Gwreans an Bys*), which tells the Biblical story from the creation to the flood. According to a note in the manuscript it was written by William Jordan of Helston in 1611, and the corrupt state of the language in which it is written shows that the play is late. Jordan, if he is the author rather than merely the transcriber, has borrowed heavily from the *Ordinalia* plays.

At the Restoration, the Cornish did not secure either the *Bible* or the *Prayer Book* in their own language, as the Welsh did, and the language soon declined. Edward Lhuyd, a

Welshman, wrote in Cornish the introduction to the Cornish section of his *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707), and printed the story of John of Chy-an-Hur, "written about forty years since." He also wrote an elegy on William of Orange in rhyming triplets (1702), and John Tonkin of St. Just composed fourteen quatrains on James II and William of Orange, probably about 1695. John Boson of Newlyn wrote (but did not publish) a prose tract *A Few Words about Cornish* (*Nebbaz Gerriau dro tho Carnoack*), probably about 1700, and there are a few other scraps of prose and verse, but nothing deserving the name of literature. Cornish as a primary language died out about the end of the 18th c.

But as a secondary language it retained a faint flicker of life, and attempts have been made to revive it. In 1859 and 1861 the German linguist Sauerwein sent two rather good poetical epistles in Cornish to his friend Edwin Norris. In 1901 and 1902 *Celtia* published several poems in Cornish, but the real father of the linguistic and literary revival (*An Dasserghyans Kernewek*) was Henry Jenner.* A number of younger men have followed his lead, and the orthography of the language has been standardized, text-books have been written, dictionaries have been compiled, and new words to meet modern needs have been formed out of old Celtic roots. Translations have been made of the *Gospel of St. Mark*, of some of the *Psalms*, and of the Welsh stories of *Pwyll* and *Branwen*. Sermons have been preached in Cornish, speeches have been delivered, programs have been broadcast on the radio, and a Gorseth Kernow has been formed after the fashion of the Welsh Gorsedd. The backbone of the movement was the magazine *Kernow*, written entirely in Cornish, which offered those that wrote in the language an opportunity for publication. Since the national tradition had been broken, the poets took as their models English poetry, or occasionally Welsh. Most of their work is amateurish, but Caradar (A. S. D. Smith), the editor of *Kernow*, displays considerable metrical skill and some of the poems of Map Melyn (Edwin Chirgwin) show signs of poetic feeling. The so-called short stories (*whethlow ber*) are really no more than anecdotes, some of them very brief, and are not literature; but Hal Wyn (R. St.V. Allin-Collins) has written interestingly of his travels in Russia (*Covyon a Russy*) and Talek (G. R. Hooper) about *A Cornishman in Cataluña* (*Kernow yn Catalunya*). The movement may ultimately, as its sponsors hope, produce a true national literature, but up to the present the revival is purely academic.

Henry Jenner, *A Handbook of the Cornish Language* (London), David Nutt, 1904; *Kernow* (Perranporth, Cornwall), April 1934 to March 1936 (*The Passion of our Lord* was printed as a supplement.); Edwin Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama Edited and Translated*, 2 v. (Oxford), U. Press, 1859; Whitley Stokes, *The Life of Saint Meriasek, Bishop and Confessor* (London), Trubner and Co., 1872; Whitley Stokes, *Gwreans an Bys. The Creation of the World, a Cornish Mystery* (Berlin), A. Asher & Co., 1863, in Vol. for 1864 of the *Transactions of the Philological Soc.*

JOHN J. PARRY.

COSTA RICAN—*See* Mexican; Spanish American.

CREEK—*See* North American Native.

CRETAN—*See* Greek.

CROATIAN—*See* Yugoslav.

CROW—*See* North American Native.

CUBAN—*See* African; Spanish American.

CUSH—*See* Ethiopic.

CYPRIAN—*See* Greek.

CZECH

CZECH LITERATURE presents a curiously mixed picture, because it has largely coincided with the complicated and almost episodical history of the Czech state, which has known periods of great prosperity and long periods of almost-complete submergence in the Hapsburg dominions. Each period of national prominence has brought its own literature; but through them all, it is the philosophers and thinkers that have pointed the path.

The Apostles of the Slavs, Saints Cyril and Methodius, preached in the Great Moravian Kingdom of Samo in the 9th c. This Eastern influence left no works, but a definite mark upon the thoughts of the people. With the foundation of the principality and later the Kingdom of Bohemia as part of the Holy Roman Empire, a devout and serious part of the territories came under the spiritual domination of the Pope. Hence we find that the earliest chronicles, as that of Kosmas of Prague (1045–1125), are in Latin, the language of the Western Church.

A few glosses of the 11th c. and the song *Hospodine, pomiluj my* (Lord have mercy upon us), at least that early, mark the beginning of the vernacular literature. There was a rapid development by the early 14th c., when there appeared in Czech many of the Latin legends based on the apocryphal gospels and the historical epics of the day, as the Alexander saga. To this period also belongs the first chronicle in Czech, the *Chronicle of Dalimil,* in verse, and the *Book of Rožmberk,* ascribed to the courtier Petr of Rožmberk (1312–46), which describes the social conditions in Bohemia of the day, and the general system of laws. There were also crude beginnings of dramatic scenes arranged as interludes in the *Gospel* accounts.

After the foundation of Charles University in Prague in 1348, prose commenced to take precedence over the poetic tales, and the religious and political unrest began to manifest itself in serious literary attacks upon the conditions of the day. It led to new translations of part of the *Bible.* Tomáš of Štítné (1331–1401), a pious layman, studied in Prague, then for many years lived in the country and occupied himself with various writings, as *The Books of General Christian Matters* (*Knížky o obecných věcech křestianských* 1374) and other criticism of the loose manners of Christians. He had been largely influenced by the reforming preachers as Jan Milíč of Kroměříž (d. 1374). At the end of the century the ideas and perhaps the writings of John Wyclif appeared in Prague and aided in the formation of the new spirit, which coincided with the end of the reign of the Luxemburg dynasty and the beginning of the Hapsburgs.

The new spirit was summed up by Mistr Jan Hus (1364–1415) who as Rector of the University of Prague and Court Preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel led a strongly nationalistic movement, which caused the withdrawal of the German students and faculty from the University of Prague. He reformed the Czech orthography and made the language much more systematic and literary. But most of his works, either in Latin or in Czech, were concerned with his religious teachings and his attempts at the reformation of the Church.

His most important pupil was Petr Chelický (1390–1460), who wrote several tracts and the two works, *Postila* or *Book of Interpretations of the Gospel for the Whole Year,* and *Sieť viery pravé* (*The Net of True Faith*). In these he set forth his views of Christian living, based on absolute non-resistance and in many ways anticipating the writings of Leo Tolstoy. Naturally he was a severe critic of the organization of the

Church; his followers soon grouped themselves into the Bohemian Brethren.

For the next 150 years Czech literature was largely occupied with religious controversy. The leaders of the Utraquist Church and of the Bohemian Brethren poured out a long series of books defending their point of view. The Catholic leaders soon turned to the vernacular, in works more important for their content than for their literary style. Jan Blahoslav (1523–71) was the first of the Brethren to appreciate the need for more formal education. He started a translation of the *New Testament;* the complete *Kralice Bible* was printed in 1579–93. This set the standard of the Czech Protestants for centuries, it was an excellent piece of work, although it was translated from the Vulgate without consulting original manuscripts. There were also several volumes of travel experiences, as that of Martin Kabátnik, who before 1492 had visited Constantinople and Jerusalem in an attempt to find the true church. Of the histories of the period we can mention that of Václav Hájek of Libočane (d. 1558), who was strongly Catholic, and also the *Historical Kalendar* of Daniel Adam of Veleslavín (1545–99). These historical and polemical works were more important in setting the tone of the period than were the hymns and the sacred songs that had been developed by the reformers from the time of Hus.

Humanism was carried into Bohemia, but before the literature could break away from narrow religious themes the Thirty Years War commenced and the disastrous battle of the White Mountain in 1621 checked the promise. The Protestant leaders, nobles and peasants alike, were forced into exile or executed. The Jesuit leaders of the Catholic reaction did their best to destroy all that had been written in the native language.

As a result, the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren and one of the greatest of Czech thinkers and educators, Jan Amos Komenský,* better known under his Latinized name of Comenius (1592–1670), was compelled to spend most of his life abroad in Poland, Sweden, Holland. A great educator, he brought out his *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart,* an allegorical poem with moral teaching, his pictures of contemporary society, the *Orbis Pictus,* the first illustrated text book, and writings on methods of learning languages and other themes.

From the time of Komenský until the end of the 18th c. there was little of importance written in Czech. The University of Prague was turned into a Jesuit Academy, and the language of the uneducated and enslaved peasantry seemed destined to die out. In the meantime, the policy of the later emperors, especially of Joseph II, tended to replace Latin with German. This policy, and the desire to study folk customs and folk speech, produced a revival of the native tongue.

Again a scholar led the movement. Josef Dobrovský (1755–1829), the founder of Slavonic philology, was born in Slovakia but educated in Bohemia. For a while he was a novice in the Jesuit Order before its suppression; later, a rector of a seminary; but he spent most of his time as a private scholar. His main works were written in German, as the *Ausfuhrliches Gebaude der bohmischen Sprache* (1899) and *Geschichte der bòhmischen Sprache und Literatur* (1818), or in Latin, as the *Institutiones linguae slavicae dialecti veteris* (1822). Despite this fact, these works served as the beginning of the national revival and at the end of his life Dobrovský could see that the Czech language had been modernized by his influence and started on a new path. He, himself, had been a typical man of the Enlightenment, but he was able to understand the younger romanticists who came to take up his work.

The leader of the next generation, Josef Jakob Jungmann (1775–1847), was a man of different character. Educated almost entirely

in German, he was swept by the Romantic movement into the spirit of Czech, and commenced to translate Milton and others of the world classics into the language. He published a school grammar and also a large Czech-German dictionary. With him literary Czech began to leave the study and appear as a practical tongue.

His enthusiasm stimulated others, especially Václav Hanka (1791–1861), who suddenly produced two ancient manuscripts, that of *Kralúv Dvůr* and of *Zelena Hora.* These were enthusiastically received by the Czech Romanticists as genuine examples of old Czech poetry. There was, however, considerable doubt as to their authenticity and the battle of the Manuscripts raged until late in the century. Thomas G. Masaryk proved that they were forgeries. The dispute was renewed during the Republic by the political enemies of Masaryk.

The first important poet was the Slovak Jan Kollár (1793–1852). At the University of Jena he came under the influence of the German Romantic movement; he sought to rouse a similar movement among the Slavs and in a long cycle of sonnets, *The Daughter of Slava,* he set forth the past glories of the Slavs and issued a call for a new brotherhood. Kollár attempted to present in his poetry the old traditions of the Slavs, but he pitched them in a key that was new in Czech literature and he created a current of thought that has not yet lost strength.

Much of the same idea was expressed in prose by Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795–1861), who passed several years at Novi Sad in Serb territory before moving to Prague. His great works were in the field of science rather than of pure literature, as his German *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur* and still later his Czech *Slavonic Antiquities.* They displayed his unusual scholarship and served to increase the interest of the Czechs in their Slavonic brothers. His friend, František Palacký (1798–1876), of a family belonging to the Czech Brethren, was the great master of Czech history and the leader of the people for a half century. Both men had a wider influence than any of the poets of the day and are still looked upon with high favor by all patriotic Czechs.

Outside of the collectors and adapters of folk songs in the Romantic spirit, as František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852) and Karel Jaromir Erben (1811–70), the outstanding poet was Karel Hynek Mácha (1810–36). His Romantic poem *May* is now recognized as the first great Czech poem. With its brooding over human fate and human sin, together with the marvelous descriptions of nature, Mácha broke a new path in Czech poetry, not fully appreciated at the time. Similarly, in prose, Božena Němcová (1820–64) wrote folk tales and the novel *Babička,* which is a realistic yet poetic picture of Czech peasant life.

To the same generation belongs the satirist and journalist Karel Havlíček Borovský (1821–56), who had spent a year and a half in Russia as tutor and had become disgusted with the Russian autocratic system. Yet he grasped the essence of the style of Gogol and on his return to Bohemia he became the most fearless and bitter publicist of the day. Exiled to the Tyrol, he died soon after his release. His journalistic writings and his satirical poems at the expense of the Russian and Austrian monarchies established him among the literary leaders of his country.

The next generation, under the leadership of Jan Neruda (1834–91), found Czech literature definitely organized. Neruda was the leading figure of his day, whether in poems as the *Písně Kosmické* (*Cosmic Songs*) and *Ballady a romance* (*Ballads and Romances*) or in his *Tales of the Malá Strana,* in which with amusing realism much in the spirit of Dickens he describes life in the old quarter of Prague. There was a simplicity and a

matter-of-factness about his work that made him popular, concealing his skill and artistry. Vítežslav Hálek (1835–74) wrote *Evening Songs* (*Vecerní Písné*); Adolf Heyduk (1835–1923), lyrics and epics in which he painted the beauties of nature and the thoughts that they inspired in him. Karolina Světlá (Johanna Mužáková, 1830–99), is the George Sand of Czech literature.

From the 1870's, Czech literature tended to divide into two streams of authorship. The one group, emphasizing the national tradition and appealing to the examples of the older writers, sought to continue their methods and adapt them to the changing needs of the population. The other group, gathering around the journal *Lumír* (named after a legendary Czech bard), sought to introduce into Czech literature an international tone. Their recognized leader was Jaroslav Vrchlický (Emil Frida, 1853–1912), one of the most prolific writers in world literature. He translated into Czech many of the leading poetic works of the world, from Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, to Hugo, Whitman, and Mickiewicz. He also produced a large number of original works in all fields of poetry. With him may be ranked Julius Zeyer (1841–1901), with themes from Scandinavian, Celtic, Spanish, and Oriental sources, and studies of the *Song of Roland*. He was a true cosmopolite in life as well as in writing. Josef V. Sládek (1845–1912), of this group, spent some time in America; he translated many of the plays of Shakespeare.

Of the group that supported the native traditions and relied for foreign connections chiefly on the other Slavonic nations, especially Russia, Svatopluk Čech (1846–1908), drew from Czech and other Slavonic themes; his *Písné otroka* (*Songs of a Slave*) sets forth the Czech case against the Germans. Yet Čech was not primarily a militant writer; he hated war and belonged rather in the pacifistic tradition which had appeared again and again in Czech literature. Many of his poems and his satirical stories became very popular; for a while he was regarded as the leading Czech poet. In the same group were Eliška Krásnohorská (Eliska Pechová, b. 1847), the leading poetess of the Czechs, and František S. Procházka (b. 1861). The same spirit developed a group of writers of historical novels, as the priest Václav Beneš Třebízský (1849–84) and Zikmund Winter (1846–1912). The greatest of these was Alois Jirásek (1851–1930), whose works covered the entire period of Czech history and who was selected to receive President Masaryk on his return to Prague after World War I. His novels were immensely popular and helped rouse the Czech national spirit during the first World War. Among the regional writers of prose describing the peasant life in various parts of the country are Karel V. Rais (b. 1859) with his tales of northern Bohemia; Karel Klostermann (1848–1923); Jan Herben (1857–1936); Josef Holeček (1853–1929). Ignát Herrmann (b. 1854) continued the tradition of Neruda with his stories of the quaint sides of Prague life.

With the 80's came the influence of Thomas G. Masaryk* (1850–1937), the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic and the real teacher of his people for over half a century. He inculcated in the younger generation a deep appreciation of the meaning and consequences of democracy and a critical realism that was often combined with a severe condemnation of parts of the old tradition. The critic František Xavier Šalda (1867–1936) also proved himself an independent spirit, skeptical of received opinions and working toward a higher conception of art. The result was a serious study of the Russian and French naturalists and realists, and a definite criticism of Czech life. Růžena Svobodová (1868–1920) presented impressionistic descriptions of the life of women and girls under the prevailing social order; Matěj Anas-

tasia Šimáček (1860–1913), studies of the factory existence; Karel Čapek-Chod (1860–1927), pictures of bourgeois decadence in Prague. Fráňa Šrámek (b. 1877) analyzes various emotional conflicts, and in his *Stříbrný Vítr* (*Silver Wing*) and *Tělo* (*Body*) pushed even farther the impressionism that had succeeded the older and stricter forms of naturalism. Anna Marie Tilschová (b. 1873) is noted for her social novels.

An important position belongs to Josef Svatopluk Machar (1864–1942), one of the outstanding social poets and prose writers of the day. He was a decided anti-cleric and opposed to most traditions, which he criticized sharply in his epic series, *Svedomí věků* (*The Conscience of the Ages*). In other works he devoted himself to a study of pagan Rome. Petr Bezruč (b. 1867) was the spokesman for the Silesian Czechs in their struggle against the Hapsburgs and the Poles; in his imitations of the untaught miners he produced strong if somewhat rough poems. Antonín Sova (1864–1928) combined the Czech traditional character with great sensitivity. Otakar Březina (1868–1929) was a great mystical poet, considering humanitarianism in relation to the entire universe.

Among the lyric poets of this period were Otokar Theer (1880–1917), and Karel Toman (b. 1877). Decadence and neo-romanticism came in with Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic (b. 1871); Viktor Dyk (1877–1931), one of the collaborators of Masaryk, a man of keen satiric wit, became a leading Czech nationalist. Other writers in these moods include Stanislav K. Neumann (b. 1875) and František Gellner (1880–1914).

The greatest figure in modern Czech literature is Karel Čapek* (1890–1938). He shows keen and satirical sense of observation in his *Sketches* from England, and other countries. He achieved fame abroad by his plays and novels questioning the value of machine inventions as *R. U. R.* (*Rossum's Universal Robots*); *Adam the Creator; The Makropulos Secret; The Factory of the Absolute; The White Scourge.* His brother Josef collaborated in *The Life of the Insects.* Čapek tried to combine melodramatic effects with deep philosophical discussion. His *Conversations with T. G. Masaryk* give one of the clearest and most attractive pictures of the great President.

Čapek achieved his fame during the period of national independence; other dramatists include František Langer (b. 1887) with his play *Through the Eye of a Needle,* he was drawn from his writing to serve as chief of the Czechoslovak Army Medical Service abroad. Of the definite poetry which resulted from World War I most striking was the work of members of the Czechoslovak Legions in Siberia: the novelist Rudolf Medek (1890–1938); Josef Kopta (b. 1894); František Kubka (b. 1894). The best known work of the period is *Švejk the Good Soldier* by Jaroslav Hášek (1884–1923), which illustrates the curious mixtures of humor, stupidity and cleverness that formed the basis of Czech resistance to their oppressors. The novel is uneven but an excellent whimsical study of the people and their character.

There was also a strong tendency to study ethical and social problems after the war, as by Josef Hora (b. 1891) and Jiří Wolker (1900–24). On the other hand, Vitězslav Nezval (b. 1900) has endeavored to form a school of abstract versification. Among the newer novelists Vladislav Vančura (1891–1943) has applied modern principles of style, and has enriched the vocabulary by the use of old words. Among other younger writers are Jan Weiss, Egon Hostovský and Vladimir Neff.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis in 1939 put an immediate end to this development. Karel Čapek died between the Munich settlement and the occupation. Other writers have perished at the hands of the Germans or from the hardships of the occu-

pation. Only a few succeeded in escaping abroad; but we can be sure that even those authors that have survived within the occupied country will resume the sober preoccupation with democracy and social problems that have always marked Czech literature. *See* Slovak.

Paul Selver, *Czechoslovak Literature*, 1942; Arne Novák, *Přehledné dějiny české literatury*, 1921.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

DAHOMEY—*See* African

DAKOTA—*See* North American Native.

DALMATIAN—*See* Yugoslav.

DANISH

THE Old Northern Runic characters, used by the Nordic languages until about the 13th c., consisted of vertical, horizontal, and diagonal lines, which were easily worked into wood and stone. The circular line was never used. The word 'runoz' means 'secrets.' The first literary productions in the Nordic languages were recorded on large stones, and consisted mainly of primitive historical sagas and memorials.

A large collection of folk songs has been preserved from that early period (until ca. 1200 A.D.): (1) the mythical, which dealt with themes from the Nordic mythology, (2) the magical, which were descriptive of transformations and transmutations of things and people, (3) the historical, which recorded outstanding events, and (4) the heroical, which centered about a single valiant person.

Several runic stones have been found inscribed with the civil laws of the land. Outstanding among these are King Valdemar's *The Law of Zealand* and King Valdemar II's *The Law of Jutland.* A collection of old Danish proverbs, several historical sagas, and monumental memorial stones are also noteworthy; among the latter stand the great Jellinge runic stones, done in memory of the Danish king Gorm the Old and his queen Thyra.

While the old Nordic language continued to be the common medium of speech and writing among the people in general, Latin was fast becoming the cultural language, as early as the 12th c. The first major literary production was written by Sakse (1160–1220), who later was called Saxo Grammaticus* because of his linguistic excellency. He was a clerk in the service of Bishop Absalon, the founder of the capital city of Copenhagen (the merchant's haven). The great work of Sakse, in 16 volumes, was the Latin *Gesta Danorum (the Deeds of the Danes).* This monumental work was, shortly after, freely translated into the Danish language by a certain Brother Niels, who wrote it in verse as *The Danish Chronicle in Rhyme,* and brought its historical data up to his own time. The *Gesta Danorum* has been an informative and inspirational source for many later works.

The Lutheran reformation, which came to Denmark shortly after its beginning (1517) brought about a cultural change in the folk life of Denmark. The language was gradually being evolved from the old Nordic to the beginning of the modern Danish; the Gothic

and Latin characters were introduced and used in preference to the runic. The ideas of the different theological schools of thought became the property of the general public and were commonly discussed in the vernacular, both in speech and writing.

It was quite natural that the literature of this period of religious transition was of a theological nature: learned dissertations written in Latin, and general exhortations written in Danish. The scholar Christiern Pedersen (1480–1554) wrote primarily in the Danish language; his works embrace a *History of Denmark,* a chronicle of Holger Danske (Holger the Dane), and many other writings of a secular nature. His greater influence was as translator of the *Psalms* of David and the *New Testament.* He was co-editor of the first translation of the *Bible* into the Danish language, under the auspices of King Christian III; this became a monumental literary achievement.

The powerful bishop of Viborg, Hans Tausen (1494–1554), was the Lutheran reformer in Denmark. He translated the *Pentateuch* from the original Hebrew, and also wrote a polemical volume in allegorical poetic form about *The Lie and The Truth.*

Peder Plade (Petrus Pladius; 1505–60) was the first Lutheran bishop of Zealand. He participated in the translation of the *Bible,* and translated Luther's *Small Catechism.* He also wrote a *Handbook for Pastors* and the first *Altarbook* for the services. His greatest contribution, however, was his *Book on Pastoral Visitation,* which has been discovered only recently. Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) was the son of a poor peasant, but rose to become the most learned and honored theologian of his day. He became generally known as the Teacher of Denmark. Most of his theological discourses were written in a thorough and beautiful Latin, but his book, *The Way of Life,* in Danish, became his greatest work, with far and deep reaching influence. Jesper Brochmand (1585–1652), bishop of Zealand, also wrote extensively on theological subjects, and his work, *Universae Theologiae Systema,* became a textbook in many European universities. In Danish he wrote devotional books on the *Sanctification of the Sabbath,* with expositions on the Gospel and Epistle text of the year.

Anders Sorensen Vedel (1542–1616), Brochmand's contemporary, was a many-sided genius. He was a master as a preacher, a poet, a scientific archaeologist and historian, and wrote extensively in all capacities. Of greatest merit is his collection of old Nordic folk songs, and an excellent translation of Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* into the Danish language, which work had far-reaching influence in cultivating an intense love for the Danish language and promoting national patriotism.

The daughter of the famous king Christian IV of Denmark, Leonora Christine (1621–98), was married to Corfitz Ulfeldt. Count Ulfeldt was charged with treason and forced into exile, but Leonora Christine remained faithful to him through all the consequent hardship. Eventually she was seized in England and brought to Denmark for trial, her faithfulness being interpreted as evidence that she was co-guilty with her husband. While she was imprisoned in the Blue Tower in Copenhagen, from 1663 to 1685, she wrote the most remarkable volume of the century in the Danish language, *Jammerminde* (*Lamentable Memories*), a series of reflections on suffering and patience.

In 1569 appeared the first Danish hymnbook, which was collected and edited by Hans Thomissen; but Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) was the first Danish hymnwriter of note. Kingo edited the first part of *The Spiritual Choir* in 1661 and the second part in 1681, after which he was assigned by King Christian V to edit a hymnbook for the Danish church, which he only partly finished. How-

ever, his hymns and his preparatory work on the hymnbook became the foundation of later hymnbooks. His poetic language was at times crude, but contained a sublime flight of thought, a deep and warm emotionalism, and a picturesque and parabolic presentation of profound truths, which has merited him the title of being the first lyrical poet of Denmark. Many of his hymns are still in use, the most famous being his morning and evening hymns, and especially his hymn of *Farewell to the Vanity of the World.*

Secular literature was meanwhile not neglected. Count Mogens Skeel (d. 1694) was the first Danish dramatist. His writings were largely satires on the life of the nobility at the royal court, and must have been influenced by Molière. The Danish dramatic art, however, reached a permanent peak in the comedies of Holberg.

Ludvig Holberg* (1684–1754) was born in Bergen and studied in Copenhagen, after which (1702) he traveled extensively in Europe and England.

His first literary productions were of a historical nature, *An Introduction to the History of the European Kingdoms* (1711), followed by *The Danish History of the 17th Century,* for which he was appointed Professor Extraordinarius at the University. After another extensive tour of the principal universities and cities of the continent he returned and began writing on the subjects of jurisprudence, through which he became involved in judicial polemics, and through these literary skirmishes developed his humoristic genius and the power of satire. Thenceforth he devoted himself exclusively to the art of satirical comedies.

His *Peder Paars* is a biting satire of the classics of Homer and Virgil, which were being deified in cultural circles. His prolific writings led to the founding of the Royal (King's) Theatre, 1722; this, however, met opposition from the pietistic movement, a religious school of thought introduced from Germany. As a consequence, the stage enterprise became a financial loss to Holberg and his associates.

Holberg nevertheless continued his writing of comedies, which were pointedly directed toward the pedanticism of the foreign elements in Danish culture, e.g. *Erasmus Montanus; Honest Ambition;* and also toward the naive and crude pietism of the peasantry, e.g. *Jeppe on the Mount; The Confinement Chamber.* The most famous of his comedies, besides the above mentioned, are *The Political Monger; The Masquerade; The Wavering One; Jean de France; Gert Westphaler; Jacob von Thyboe;* and *The Miser.* The Royal Theatre, reestablished through his work in 1747, has continued ever since.

Around 1720, Holberg again wrote some historical works, as *The History of the Kingdom of Denmark,* and later a *Common Church History* and also *Hero Tales* and *Heroine Tales.* His vivid narrative descriptions of people and events, without too many burdensome details, appealed to the people, and his ardent love for Danish thought and language, as well as for national and personal honesty, proved to have a purging effect on the Danish social life. Through all the extremities of fortune and misfortune of life Holberg died honored by his country and beloved by his people, and known as the Father of Danish literature. His comedies are still popular on the Danish stage.

Christian Falster (1690–1752) was by profession a philologist; but, influenced by Holberg and by his studies in the Roman classics, especially Ovid and the satirist Juvenal, he wrote eleven satires on the common vices and pedanticisms of his day. His satires, sharper but less humorous than those of Holberg, were well received by the public.

Hans Adolphe Brorson* (1694–1764) is the second great hymnwriter in Danish hymnology. Whereas Kingo's hymns were

marked by sublime majesty and power, Brorson's were characterized by beauty and simplicity of thought and form; while Kingo was the exponent of profound theological truths, Brorson was the interpreter of personal and emotional experiences and reactions. He was the pastor, then bishop, of Ribe, when the pietistic movement was at its height, and was greatly affected by its sombre and serious, even severe, view of life. Brorson's hymns, however, also bore the distinct marks of his innate pessimism, augmented by the burdens of personal sorrow and adversity. But through these clouds radiate the kindliness of his soul and the valiant triumph of faith, even to the point of jubilant exultation. His volume, *The Rare Treasure of Faith* (1739), was the hymnbook of the Danish congregation for several generations. After his death his *Swansong* was published (1765).

The range of subjects of his hymns covers the entire religious life. The hymn on Creation is in itself a worship of God in nature. Among his Christmas hymns the two outstanding are *Here come, Lord Jesus, thy little children,* and *Now found is the fairest of roses.* As taken from his own religious conviction, his confessional hymns are stern and penetrating, as *Come, human heart, and give account,* but also balanced by a direct and tender pleading, as *Alas, if you but knew,* which pictures the grievousness of the slavery under the fetters of sin. The hymns on faith are marked by subjective understanding of the nature of faith, as *The faith, which embraces Jesus;* the exercise of patience, as *Here we must tarry in silence;* and the volitional steadfastness, as *Stand fast, my soul, stand fast,* and also the hymn *I walk in danger everywhere.*

As Brorson arrives at the theme of the Christian hope, his poetic flights rise to similar sublimity as in the hymn *O Holy Spirit, my heart yearns to be in that fair city,* and the crown of all his hymns, *The Great White Host,* which, sung to Grieg's melodious chorale, is becoming a classic in all communions.

The peasant Ambrosius Stub (1705–58), though not prolific in his production, through his natural and plain thoughts and expression has become one of the most beloved writers of Denmark, and is recognized as one of the greatest in poetic beauty. His secular writings bear the marks of contentment without competitive ambition, and his hymns are of a most sympathetic understanding of his fellowmen and a childlike, yet firm reliance on God's care and grace. His description of *Life as a Voyage* is a calm realization of the shifting fortunes of life. His outstanding hymn, *Undismayed whatever Fortune,* ends with the coda *If I but in grace abide, undismayed whate'er betide.*

Johan Herman Wessel (1742–85) was born in Norway, near Christiania, and was a nephew of the famous naval hero Tordenskjold. He went to Copenhagen for continued study in languages and the fine arts. There he soon found himself in jovial and spirited company, in which he spent his undisciplined life in carefree loitering. He and his friend Ewald remained obscure, ignored by the elite of culture and society, partly because of their manner of life, but more so because especially Wessel had ridiculed the prevailing atmosphere of foreign influence in Denmark. His wits were particularly directed against the French and Italian artificiality in the scenic art. In 1772 he wrote his first and greatest work, *Love without Stockings,* which was a cunning parody of the French tragedy, and the public exuberantly recognized the caricatures of the play. Of Wessel's minor productions, which were mostly all in sarcastic or humorous vein, there should be mentioned *The Fork,* and *The Blacksmith and the Baker.* Wessel was matchless in spontaneous wit, but an early sickness combined with melancholy ended his literary career.

While Wessel and Johannes Ewald (1743–81) lived at the same time and in many respects were twin, yet they were also distinctly different. Wessel was what he was by nature, but Ewald was what he was by accident. His broken romance was the painful turning point in his life. He sought balm for his suffering in irregular and unseemly living, and in such associations he was much sought after because of his lovable and kind disposition, together with his cheerful humor.

In contrast to his manner of living, we find in Ewald's writings a purity and nobility free from any reference to or reactions from his temporal misery. He considered the poetic muse a gift from God, which should be devoted to the service of the good and the divine only. After his broken romance, he wrote *The Temple of Good Luck* and *Adamiade,* which he later rewrote as *Adam and Eva.* It was, however, by his *Cantate of Mourning,* written at the death of King Frederik V, 1766, that he gained renown. He now wrote *Rolf Krage,* in prose, and also *Harlekin Patriot;* but these were of an experimental nature. In *Balder's Death,* a great success on the stage, he reached the pinnacle of his ability.

Under improved financial circumstances, he wrote *The Fishermen,* which was his last major work. In it are found some very beautiful arias, as *A seaman with courageous heart; Little Gunver,* and the Danish national air, *King Kristian stood by lofty mast in smoke and steam.* A hymn, *Rise, Hero bold, from Golgotha,* was found among his papers after his death.

Ole Johan Samsoe (1759–96) is known primarily through his one major work, *Dyveke,* of great literary merit. Besides this, he wrote some *Nordic Novels,* and at his early death left several plans and outlines for historical and dramatic works.

Thomas Thaarup (1748–1821) wrote several songs and cantatas, besides his three short dramas: *The Harvest Party; Peter's Wedding;* and *The Homecoming.*

The Harvest Party, his first and best, was written for the wedding of Crown Prince Frederik (VI) and Marie Sophie. The plot is extremely simple, as representatives of all walks of life join together in joy and praise of the good of the fatherland and the royal house, which finds expression in several songs of nationalistic character.

Two strong movements in Denmark now affected the national life: the French Revolution, with its demand for a free public national life; and opposition to the dominating Germanic and Anglican forms and ideas of life. Champion of both was Peter Andreas Heiberg (1758–1841). In *The Adventures of a Crown-Dollar,* he directs his satirical attacks against the institutions of the land; and in his *Triumphant Entry Ballad* he similarly ridicules the epidemic of titles, orders, and decorations, which, he says, are given to idiots only. The military authorities receive their share of sarcasm in *The Vons and the Vans,* and the commercial interests are the target of *Virtuoso No. 2.*

In *The Observer,* a periodical published by Rahbeck, Heiberg directed an attack against the English minister in Copenhagen that resulted in a suit. His motives were not only nationalistic, but frequently personal in character and jealous in disposition, aroused when he was passed by for the office of Notarius Publicus. These sentiments found expression in *My Political Conversion, Political Dispatch,* and *Exploration in Languages.* His continuation of hateful attacks in the political and literary periodicals finally caused his enforced exile (1800); he spent the remainder of his life in Paris.

Knud Lyne Rahbeck (1760–1830) had a great influence on Danish literature, not so much through his own original productions, which were few, but through his publication of obscure and forgotten works of other poets

and writers, together with his analytical and critical comments, especially *On the Comedies of Holberg.* But perhaps his greatest influence was through his home, the famous House on the Hill, where he and his admirable wife, Kamma, entertained the aspiring youth of Danish thought and art, which moved in and out of the House on the Hill as members of the family. Here was the exchange and the market place of the new school of thoughts and ideas. Rahbeck himself was not of any particular school, but understood and shared in all, wherefore he became the center of the group and the confidant of its individuals. He edited *The Observer,* a periodical, which was an open clearing house of free expression for all, as well as his own criticism. His final *Memoirs* gives a valuable perspective of Danish culture and literature in the years before 1800.

Jens Baggesen (1764–1826) published his *Comical Novels* at 21. He was a natural poet. His first opera, *Holger Danske,* however, met with sharp criticism; and being very temperamental, he left the country and traveled about Europe. His *Labyrinth* interestingly records his wanderings. In his restlessness he repeatedly returned to Denmark and left again. While residing in Paris he wrote *Rhymed Letters.* At one time he was professor of Danish literature at the university of Kiel, where he published some poetry in German, *Gedichte von J. Baggesen* and *Parthenais oder die Alpenreise,* an idyll in 12 songs. He was the chief defender of the classical point of view, against Oehlenslaeger's romanticism.

Jakob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), as bishop of Copenhagen, was primarily a theological writer, of great depth and clarity. He was an unusually well-balanced personality in intellectual and emotional judgment, and consequently of no particular trend or movement. He was, however, a strong opponent of rationalism, which was then flourishing as an antithesis to the declining pietistic movement. Mynster's volumes of *Sermons* and *Meditations on the Christian Doctrine* are profound in thought and popular in language, and his cultural influence was felt in political and national aspects, as well as in religious and literary realms, as a governing criterion. However, because of his insight and appreciation of the good and the true in whatever different phases and manifestations, he was critically pronounced by Kierkegaard as being neither fish nor foul.

Hans Christian Orsted (1777–1851) is primarily known as a physicist, the discoverer of electro-magnetism. But his scientific writings have such literary merit and value, that the general public welcomed them. Besides his purely scientific pursuits, he was animated with a love for his country, its history and language, endeavoring to bring the results of his research into the service of the people and to the honor of his country. He wrote and lectured frequently on such cultural subjects as *The Danish Character; Thorwaldsen and his Fatherland.* His brother, Anders Sando Orsted, outstanding as a judicial and political scientist, shared with him a most admirable character. Anders has contributed *My Life and My Times* to the wealth of Danish literature.

Adam Gottlob Oehlenslaeger* (1779–1850) is the Shakespeare and Schiller of Danish literature and culture, the turning point from the old school of conventional and reasonable demands to the new ideas of freedom in thought and form, where the emotion and imagination take possession of the poetic expression. His poetic gifts found their first outburst when he was but 9 years old, in his *Morning Hymn.* Without much formal education, he devoted his youth to voluminous reading, especially of Nordic mythology, which proved to be virgin soil for his inspired imagination in his mature productions. He associated with the young intellectual clique that gathered at Rahbek's House on the Hill,

and with such outstanding leaders of thought and science as the Mynster brothers and the Orsted brothers. His intimate acquaintance and friendship with Henrik Steffens, the apostle of Romanticism, proved to have a directive and decisive influence on his whole life and work. His first major poetry, *The Golden Horns,* had a revolutionary effect on the national consciousness, to the extent of a general patriotic awakening.

Before that time, Oehlenslaeger had several novels and poems ready for publication, but *The Golden Horns* had such a regenerating effect on himself, that he discarded his former writings. Instead, he produced another collection out of his new vision, among which are *The Lion Knight, The Death of Haakon Jarl,* and the admirable *Saint John's Eve Play.* He was now recognized as the prophet of the new era. In rapid succession there followed his poetic writings, *The Long Island Journey; The Gospel of the Year; Vallunder's Saga,* and his masterpiece, *Aladdin,* which bears the mark of autobiography. Also *Thor's Journey to Jothunheim, The Nordic Gods,* and *Jesus in Nature.* He went to Halle in 1805 and there wrote *Haakon Jarl* and *Homelonging.* He met Goethe at Weimar and wrote *Baldur the Good;* he went to Paris and wrote *Palnatoke,* with only male characters, and *Axel and Valborg,* a glorification of the Nordic woman. He went to Rome where he wrote *Corregio.* Upon his return (1809) he was honored with lucrative positions, which seemed to put an official stamp on his writings, such as *The Castle of Robbers* and *Ludlam's Den.* He wrote the great dramatic trilogy *Helge* (1814), and *Dina* (1842).

Oehlenslager seldom took part in the feud that centered about his name and writings, which were attacked by the classicists, especially his *Aladdin* (1805), challenged by Baggesen. He was established as the genius of the Scandinavian culture, who had revived the Nordic kinship. He contributed to the Danish hymnal the beautifully allegorical hymn, *Teach me, o forest, to wither in beauty!* He remains outstanding in several fields.

Steen Steensen Blicher (1782–1848) is called Denmark's first realist. In his novels, he describes the different strata of folk life in Jutland, as *Christmas and Harvest Vacations; The Hunter from Aunsberg; The Robber's Chamber,* which stories portray the well-to-do; *Marie, The Knitting Room,* and *The Hose Mongers,* which deal with peasant life and are written, in part, in the peasant dialect of Jutland. He has also drawn from the past, as in *Telse, The Pastor in Torning, The Village Deacon's Daughter.* Among his lyrics are *Migrating Birds, Bauta Stones,* and *Soren Kanne.* In addition, Blicher edited the periodical *The Northern Light,* and was the instigator of the large folk-gatherings on Mount Heaven, popular meetings of a general cultural nature.

The awakening of the national consciousness which Oehlenslaeger had inaugurated by his Nordic and his mythological dramas found its completion in the historical and cultural works of Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig* (1783–1872). His works are of gigantic scope and character; the Danish boundary and language are too limited backgrounds for his magnitude.

The lectures of Steffens and the poetry of Goethe brought Gundtvig to intellectual independence and freedom of thought. His first productions on Nordic themes received little attention. His dissertation on *Religion and Liturgy* seemed to point to the reformatory prophet in the making, who later would rise to fuller heights. Soon after came his *Nordic Mythology* and the epic-dramatic *Episodes from the Downfall of the Nordic Might.* A brief interpretation of *The History of the World* brought him notoriety and opposition, because of his many individual evaluations of world characters. Among his other historical, poetic, and theological works are *Roskilde*

Rhymes; Dannevirke; and translations of Sakse and Snorre, and *Beowulf.*

He published several volumes of *Sermons and Meditations,* marked with depth and power in spirit and language. After a tour of England, which land he affectionately included in the Nordic sphere, he rewrote the *Nordic Mythology* and his *World History,* and published *History Rhymes for Children.* In the meantime, Grundtvig's marvelous gift as a writer of national songs and hymns came more and more to the fore, and he published his outstanding *Hymnody to the Danish Church.*

His influence was so manifold that it penetrated the cultural, social, political, and religious life of the country. His glorification of the Danish was not intended as disparagement of other nations, but in the sense that the Danish is best for the Danes. The Folk High School movement and the Cooperative movement were, directly and indirectly, the outgrowths of his influence, as was the ecclesiastical Grundtvigian movement, which largely effected a semi-religious fusion of the national, cultural, and Christian elements in the human society. Other works by Grundtvig are *The Church's Response* and *Memories of a Generation.* Most outstanding his hymns remain; if translated in proper spirit and form, they would be among the greatest in the world. Those on the Church and Pentecost are among the most monumental, as *Built on the Rock the Church doth stand; God's Word is our great Heritage; This is the Day which the Lord hath made; The Blessed Day with Joy we see; The Sun now shines in all its Glory; Thou, Who proceedest from Father and Son, Spirit of God in the Highest.* Such hymns as *The Hand of God,* which is outstretched courting the human heart; *The Church Bell; As Dew on new mown Meadow;* and his *Farewell to this earthly Life,* are transcendent in majesty yet natural in sympathetic expression.

Several of Grundtvig's contemporaries are worthy of note. While Christian Molbech (1783–1857) was not an original writer, he nevertheless exerted a constructive influence, in a threefold capacity, on the writers of literature. He was a collector and editor of older literary productions which otherwise would have been lost. He was a lexicographer of note; his linguistic authority was the ultimate criterion. Finally, as a literary critic he was respected by the writers, who feared his judgment and cherished his praise.

Although academically trained, Christian Hvid Bredahl (1784–1860) chose to live, under limited economic conrcumstances, on his small farmstead which he worked himself. Under such primitive circumstances he wrote his productions under the common title of *Dramatic Scenes,* which were published in six parts. His writings were recognized and acclaimed, as he had a powerful and resonant style, and expression all his own. He was moved with a deep understanding of the human emotions, which he portrayed in dark and deep colors, the strength of which has given a lasting power to his creations of character.

From authoritative sources outside his own nationality, Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787–1832) has been called the greatest philologist and etymologist in any language; a mere glance at his accomplishments sanctions such evaluation. Through his linguistic studies he exerted a tremendous influence on the literary world both in Denmark and elsewhere. As a youth he learned Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, and Greenlandish with their dialects, and translated the Icelandic *Hejmskringla,* to which he wrote a grammar and dictionary. The classical languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Sanskrit, were his delight. As he traveled in foreign countries he learned their languages, both phonetically and grammatically. He mastered the Nordic runic; the Slavonic; all the European tongues; Arabic and Tibetan, Chi-

nese and Indo-Chinese; and the languages of India. It has been declared that he spoke with native fluency 55 languages, and studied their history and development; to several of them he wrote grammars.

Through his writings, he pointed out that the natural objects were the primary incentives of all languages, and this basic principle came to revolutionize the linguistic sciences, of which he has been called the father. As a consequence, he emphasized the historical and genetic kinship between the seemingly most remote languages, as Sanskrit and Lithuanian, Greek and Nordic; and his famous pupil, Niels Matthias Petersen, said that Rask had pierced beyond the confusion of Babel to discover the original unity of the linguistic multiplicity.

Rask's literary contributions consisted in letters written to his colleagues from his travels and studies, besides many works on the different languages, of which Old Nordic, Icelandic, and Danish were his chief studies. He had numerous offers from the great European universities, but chose to remain in the service of his country until his untimely death. His motto was, Everything that I can do I owe to my fatherland.

In the field of literary production, the most diversified writer of the period was Bernhard Severin Ingemann* (1789–1862), leader in the romantic movement. Ingemann published the first part of his *Epic and Lyrical Poems* in 1811; the second part, in 1812. These caused little attention, but his genius was discovered in 1814 when he published *The Black Knights,* in which the emphasis is on the inner nature, with slight concern for externals. From then on he turned his efforts toward the dramatic field, with *Masiniello; Blanca; The Voice of the East; Reinald the Wonderchild; The Lion Knight; The Shepherd of Tolosa; Tasso's Liberation.*

He did not, however, entirely forsake the lyrical writing, but published *The Subteraneans,* a fairly tale from Bornholm; *The Travel-Lyre,* and *Tales and Stories.* After travel in Germany, where he met Tieck, and through Scandinavia, he returned to Denmark and produced a series of novels, which are the chief basis of his lasting fame.

Ingemann's historical novels are based on old national characters and episodes: *Valdemar the Victor; Erik Menved's Youth; King Erik and the Implacable; Prince Otto of Denmark.*

His contributions to national song and hymn are invaluable; they are marked by tender love and childlike confidence: *In distant Belfries Evening Bells are pealing; Peace over town and countryside; A Castle stands in Western Sky; The Sun is rising in the East; Christmas is here with Joy untold; Beautiful Nature, Marvelous Heavens; The Great and skillful Master; How blessed, how blessed to have Peace in the Soul.*

Johannes Carsten Hauch (1790–1872) sought to emulate Oehlenslaeger, but when his first literary attempts were disappointments, he resolved to devote himself to the physical sciences. His latent poetic gift, however, eventually came to the fore and he wrote the romantic story of *Hamadryads,* and the melodrama *Bajazet.* Later, in Rome, he wrote the tragedy *Tiberius* and the drama *Gregorius VII.* After his return to the homeland he published several novels: the historical romance *Vilhelm Zabern* (1834); *The Maker of Gold; A Polish Family; The Castle on the Rhine; Robert Fulton.* These were followed by dramas: *Honor lost and won;* the very successful *Tycho Brahes' Youth* (1852); and several lyrical poems which, although he was now an older man, sparkle with youth and love, in *Romances and New Poems.*

Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791–1860) was in the truest sense of literary nobility. His father was the famous P. A. Heiberg, who had been exiled because of his literary satires; his mother, who had divorced her husband be-

cause of his exile, was an author in her own right. Johan moved freely in the Rahbeck household of the House on the Hill, and mingled with the cultural and literary elite, as well as in the home of his mother and stepfather, the Count Gyllenborg, where he associated with the social and official aristocracy of Danish and foreign circles, as well as with his father's friends in Paris. This atmosphere naturally had a formative influence on the youth, although he developed into a thoroughly independent and individualistic personality. He also appreciated the contacts he made on his travels, especially his acquaintance with the Spaniard, Calderón,* but such contacts never distorted the character of his genuinely Danish poetry. His first productions were *The Marionette Theater,* the romantic play *Courageously Dared is Half Won,* and the comedy *Christmas Merriment and New Year's Prank.*

In Germany he became acquainted with the Hegelian philosophy, which ignited his soul, and which he introduced into Danish literary circles through his *Discourses on Human Freedom.* In the style of the French vaudeville he wrote *King Solomon and Jorgen the Hatter; The April Fools; A Fairy Tale in the Rosenborg Garden; The Inseparable.* With his vaudevilles he wrote an interpretative discourse on *The Vaudeville as a Dramatic Art,* attacking his critics. His national play, *Elf Hill* (1828), with King Christian IV its hero, became his famous masterpiece. For the next 20 years, he was unquestioned master of the Danish stage.

Heiberg published for his mother, Thomasine Christine Gyllenborg (1773–1856), under a pseudonym, a number of novels; especially noteworthy are her *Everyday Stories,* published in the periodical *The Flying Post.*

The early poems of Poul Martin Moller (1794–1838) portray him as the typical, jovial, and carefree, yet noble-minded Danish student: *The Hunter's Song; Green is the Hedge in Spring.* On his tour to the Orient he wrote the tender *Joy for Denmark* and *Scenes in the Rosenborg Garden.*

After his return he wrote the unfinished *The Fairy Tale of the Danish Student,* in which the curly Frits is his own portrait. His distaste for the pedantic in political officialdom is expressed in *The Official Estate in Olsebymagle,* and *Artists among Radicals.*

As S. S. Blicher is the poet of Jutland, so is Christian Winther (1796–1876) the poet of Zealand. His literary debut was a student song, *Masters we are in the Realm of the Spirit.* His first major production was a collection of poems, *Woodcarvings,* in which he presents idyllic love scenes in the setting of the lovely countryside. Inspired by his own romance, he wrote the outstanding *Fly, Bird, Fly, over the waves of Lake Furre,* together with other songs that emphasize the beauty of North Zealand.

His greatest work is *The Flight of the Hart,* a story of love in the time of Erik of Pommeranius. He also published *An Evening Scene, The Two Little Stones,* and *The Year of Grace.*

The foremost disciple of Heiberg, in his departure from romanticism toward realism, is Henrik Hertz (1797–1870). His first literary attempts are some anonymous plays for the stage, but his public recognition came with his *Ghost Letters.* After a European journey, he wrote several vaudevilles: *The Debate in Policequarters; The Poor Man's Zoo.* Among his poetic dramas are *The House of Svend Dyring; King René's Daughter;* and *Ninon.* His plays *The Savings Bank, The Visit to Copenhagen,* and *A Method of Cure* are of importance in the history of theatrical art, as they were staged without song and music. Of his lyrics, the best known are *The Battle on the Wharf,* and *Hirschholm Poems.*

Anders Nicolai de Saint-Aubain (1798–1865) wrote all his novels under the name of Carl Bernhard. His works are among the most

cherished in Danish folk literature, especially such stories as *The Commissioner; The Children's Dance; The Favorite of Luck; Chronicles from the time of Christian II;* and *Old Memories.*

Emil Aarestrup (1800–56) was a physician by profession, but wrote some lyrics unusual in their picturesque and vivid language, in his 2 volumes of *Poems.* Among these are *The Young Poet,* and *Torsten and Trine.* He was prompted by Christian Winther to write, but is more strongly influenced by Oehlenslaeger and Heine.

Of an even more esthetic and musical nature was Ludvig Boedtcher (1793–1874), who to satisfy his desires went to Italy, where he spent a great part of his life in a butterfly existence. In 1856 he published his first collection of *Poems, New and Old,* and after his death his *Later Poems* were published. Several have an Italian background, as *The Meeting with Bacchus,* and *The Return to Nemi,* while others have Danish themes, as *Harvest Memory; Fredensborg; An Evening at Home.*

The satirist Frederik Paludan-Müller (1809–76) made his debut with 4 patriotic romances that went unnoticed, but by his poem *The Lady Dancer* he caught the public attention. His masterpiece is *Adam Homo* (1841–48), which is a satirical presentation of the 'average' human being of the time, though it contains some lyrical love scenes. His wife exerted a healthy religious influence on him, in which spirit he wrote *The Skypilot and the Atheist; Benedict of Nurcia; Abel's Death.* He also borrowed from Greek mythology, in *Amor and Psyche,* and *Tithon.* His dramatic poem *Kalanus* has an Indian background. In prose, he wrote the novels *The Fountain of Youth,* and *The History of Ivar the Lucky.*

The life of Hans Christian Andersen* (1805–75) is a fairy tale. As a poor boy he went from Odense, Funen, to Copenhagen, without purpose or address. Helped by the well known philanthropist Collin, he wrote his first poem, *The Dying Child.* This was followed by his first book, *A Journey on Foot* (1829). At first he was generally admired, but due to the criticism of older writers and because of his awkward stature, he soon found himself the victim of harsh public opinion. He went to Italy, and upon his return in 1835, he found that sentiment had turned in his favor; his *Improvisor* was received with enthusiasm both in Denmark and in Germany. In the same year, he published the first of *Fairy Tales told for Children,* which made him world famous. A new one followed, every Christmastide.

He also published several novels: *O. T.; Only an Organ-Grinder.* His comedies were very successful: *Ole; The Sandman; More than Pearls and Gold;* a lively sequel to Holberg's *The Lying-in Room* is Andersen's *The New Lying-in Room.* His *Picture Book without Pictures* is closely related to his fairy tales. Andersen also contributed some excellent songs, which are loved in all Danish circles. Among these are *In Denmark I am Born, there is my Home; Jutland; As a Runic Stone;* and his famous *Lullaby.* Traveling widely, Andersen wrote several books of his travels. Bedecked with honor, and in childlike satisfaction, he summarized his years in *My Life's Fairy Tale.*

The political unrest that affected Denmark during the revolutionary period in Europe found vigorous expression in the personality and the works of Parmo Carl Ploug (1813–94). He was a political orator and leader, especially among the student youth. He wrote political student songs, like *Long was the Glorious Northern Tribe,* which were published in the collection *Verses and Rhymes of Poul the Rider.* The Dano-Prussian war (1848–50) inspired such songs as *Easter Bells are pealing.* Ploug's happy home life is reflected in the *Sonnets,* and the larger narrative poems, *Queen Margretha; Griffenfeld;*

A Kiss; Tell me Little Karen; Beautiful Sound. The disastrous war with Germany, in 1864, cast a gloom over his life, as expressed in the *Three Timely Poems.* Ploug was a pronounced opponent of the great Georg Brandes, critic, and rationalist, and of his followers Schandorph and Drachmann.

Because of his influence, mention should be made of Sören Aabye Kierkegaard (1813–55) a theologian, opposed to Hegel's objective philosophy, who satirized dogma, and declared that religion is an individual concern.

As a young student, Jens Christian Hostrup (1818–92) wrote several jovial songs which gained wide popularity, as *Now for the Danish Students;* later, he wrote student comedies, like *The People across the Street; Tales from the Journey on Foot; Sparrow among Cranes; Soldier Frolics.* His comedy *Thunder Weather* is staged without musical accompaniment, like the plays of Henrik Hertz; but Christian Winther exerted a greater influence on the character of his writings. Later in life Hostrup became a pastor; he entered into a deeper and more realistic phase of life, almost with regret for his past poetic pursuits. "What do I profit that in my poetry dreams become life, if with my poetry life becomes but a dream?" However, Hostrup did not end his literary career, but wrote *Eva,* which is akin to Ibsen's *A Doll's House.* He retold his life in *Memories of Childhood and Youth,* and after his death his *Poetic Remnants* was published.

From his youth Meir Aaron Goldschmidt (1819–87) was a natural opponent of the conventional; his first literary attempts, as editor of *Corsaren,* were in the form of sharp political criticism of the government and the national institutions. He grew more conservative, however; his novels–colored by his Jewish background–are masterpieces of linguistic art, with a style of his own, wherethrough most of the contents are clearly read between the lines. They include *A Jew; The Heir; Homeless; The Raven; Stories from My Uncle's House; Stories and Realities;* and, finally, *Memories and Consequences from my Life,* in which he interprets life in the light of fate.

Christian Richardt (1831–92) is the greatest lyrist of the three-leaf clover group, Hostrup–Ploug–Richardt; some of his songs are as classical and as popular as those of Grundtvig. His *Declarations* were written as a student; soon after followed *Short Poems,* which gained a wide circulation. These contain samples of his whole poetic scope as a national, Scandinavian, nature, and religious writer, with cantatas and poems for children as well. He published other poetic collections of a tender religious nature, *The Sower; Columbus; Nazareth.* Among his greater works are an opera, *Drot and Marsk,* and a geographical poem, *Our Land.*

Among his foremost national songs are, *Friends, look at the Danish Chart; O Welcome, Little Lark;* and among his hymns the best known are *A Cross was the Savior's cruel repose; Teach me; Sparkling Starlight; Always Fearless on the Way.*

It was at first the ambition of Hans Vilhelm Kaalund (1818–85) to become a sculptor; but his poem of welcome to Thorvaldsen, the great Danish sculptor, indicated unusual poetic gifts, which he developed in the epic, *King Haldan the Strong,* and his speculative poem, *The Valkyrie Gondul;* but they did not gain much attention. He continued with *Fables and Varied Poems,* and *Fables for Children,* which were marked by lyric beauty.

His recognition was established with *A Spring,* followed by *An Autumn.* The Royal Theatre successfully presented his drama *Fulvia.* He never lost sight of his high and noble ideals, which he valiantly sustained in the struggle between idealism and realism in the literary sphere of his day. His poems *To the Reality,* and *On the Plains, never in the Heavens blue,* together with his child rhyme, *The Stricken Wild Duck,* are among his best.

The first productions of Christian Knud Frederik Molbech (1821–88), *Pictures from the Life of Jesus,* did not point to any outstanding poetic gift, wherefore he devoted his efforts to translation, especially of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1851). In his poetic collection *Dawning* is found the beautiful poem *The Spirits of Nature,* which was written as a memorial to H. C. Orsted, the physicist. Molbech wrote one drama, which met with great success, *Ambrosius;* it is based on the life of the Danish poet of that name. His *Poetic Remnants* contain some excellent writings, as *Falling Leaves,* and *Oehlenslaeger.*

Hans Peter Holst (1811–93), while not one of the great writers, produced a few excellent poems, as the *Memorial Poem for King Frederik VI,* and *The Little Trumpeter. The Dying Fencer* is marked by expressions of deep pathos, while the humorous element is predominant in *From My Youth.* Holst's plays, *William and Emma,* and *A-ing-fo-hi* are of less importance.

As a zoologian, Jörgen Vilhelm Otto Bergsoe (1835–1911) was on his way to scientific recognition when an eye sickness cut short his career. He had already written several scientific and popular works, as *From Field and Forest.* His first novel, *Piazza del Popolo* (1866), gives a vivid description of the capital city of Copenhagen, with its characteristic life, in unusually imaginative colors. Likewise his story *From the old Factory.*

His lyrics, *Flower Vignettes,* are not outstanding but his *Memoirs,* published in several volumes, are informative of the times.

Johan Christian Brosboll (1816–1900) published all his writings as Carit Etlar. He became a very popular writer of folk novels, as in his youthful production, *The Son of the Smuggler.* He had a vivid imagination and created unusual, poignant plots, and situations with considerable tension. His historical novels have a solid and realistic background; his descriptions are exact and richly detailed. Among his foremost novels are *The Chief of the Tribe; The Master of the Queen's Guard; Stories from the Castles; The Steward of the Weapons; The Prisoner of Kaloe.* In addition, he wrote several comedies, as *Mr. Lauge with the Heavy Hand; In Dynekilen; Tordenskjold in Marstrand.*

Herman Frederik Ewald (1821–1908) surprised the public by an anonymous, voluminous novel, *Valdemar Crown's Youth,* which gained a wide reading circle. Then in rapid succession followed *The Nordby Family* and his historical novels, of which the foremost are *The Scotch Lady at Thjele; Anna Hardenberg; The Valdemar Invasion; The Swedes at Kronborg; Knud Gyldenstjerne; Niels Brahe.* His works are akin to Ingemann's, but very careful and exact in the description of the persons and the places of his plots.

As a translator of Shakespeare into the Danish language, Christian Ludvig Edvard Lembcke (1815–97) merits a place in Danish literature. A lyricist of note, he wrote some of the most beloved songs of national character, *Our Mother Tongue is Lovely; Thou beautiful Land with Hills and Vales; I know a House with quiet Chambers.*

Throughout his youth, Erik Bogh (1822–99) travelled restlessly through Sweden and Norway until he found his ability as a writer of plays, mostly in vaudeville form. His first such was *New Year's Night,* 1850. His editorials in the daily *The People's Paper* had an enormous public; they were published in book form as *This and That.* He published over 100 vaudevilles and plays, some of which were rearrangements of foreign importations. *The Lenten Party* is his most notable. His gay light verse and humorous stories were received with enthusiasm: *A New Rhyme about Mr. Madsen;* the story *Bertel and the Donkey.* He wrote one novel, *The Vexations of Jonas Twermose.* In his *Memoirs* he contributes to the picture of his times.

Burning with national zeal in the turbulent times of European revolution, Hans Egede Schack (1820–59) took active part in the political struggles in Denmark, but his youthful nature was divided between the imaginative and the realistic. He eventually found himself as a confirmed realist and sought through his novel, *The Fantastics,* to point out the danger of spiritual illusions. This may be called the first naturalistic novel in Danish literature. Schack's untimely death closed a remarkable literary career.

As a theological candidate Carl Henrik Scharling (b. 1836) pursued his studies at the University of Erlangen, Germany, where the Lutheran theology made a lasting impression on him. Later as professor at Copenhagen, in ethics and the philosophy of religion, he wrote several major works, as *Christian Ethics and Dogmatics,* as well as popular discourses on Lutheranism or Grundtvigianism, and *The Lutheran Confession.* His literary scope also included several humorous novels, written under the name of Nicolaj: *New Year's Time in Noddebo Parsonage; My Wife and I; Sverre Priest and Joevik.*

As journalist on *The Daily* and later as its editor, Vilhelm Topsoe (1840–81) practiced a sharp and ironical pen. He published several *Travelogues,* which were followed by his first story, *Jason and the Golden Fleece.* Then *Modern Pictures,* and *From the Book of Studies,* established him as a prominent stylist and penetrating analyst. His influence was felt in the later school of realism, which recognized him as its teacher. His collected stories were published in 3 volumes after his death.

The great cultural movements that had swept Denmark, with such men as Steffens, Oehlenslaeger, and Grundtvig in the philosophical, esthetic, and religious realms, were beginning to show marks of stagnation, were lapsing to pallid imitation. From early youth Georg (Morris Cohen) Brandes* (1842–1927), a brilliant student, realized this condition and a desire to become the regenerator of the national spiritual and cultural realms took possession of his ardent spirit. He was primarily influenced by the profound philosopher Brochner, at the University of Copenhagen, and Brochner's respect for freedom of thought and its sovereign right. Brandes thrust himself into the fray, liberating himself from the religious hold of Kierkegaard and the philosophical bondage of Hegel, which first had captivated him. He defied Rasmus Nielsen, Kierkegaard's disciple, who had attempted to reconcile faith and reason; to Brandes, reason only survived. Likewise he separated himself from Heiberg's doctrinal esthetics, criticized Paludan-Müller's *Adam Homo,* and took issue with Ibsen on his negativism. His productions of this period consist of *Aesthetic Studies,* and *Critiques and Portraits* (1870). Brandes engulfed himself in foreign literature, especially the French dramatists Dumas and Augier, and the critic and historian Taine, on whose aesthetics he wrote his doctoral dissertation. He then turned to English positivism, translating John Stuart Mill's book on *The Subjection of Women* (1869).

Brandes returned from a European journey more than ever convinced that he was to be the herald of a new age. He produced a rounded perspective of the forces at work in contemporary culture, as Romanticism in Germany, the reaction in France, naturalism in England, and the "Young Germany" movement, which together comprise the monumental work, *Main Currents in 19th Century Literature.* Among his critical portraits are *Sören Kierkegaard; Danish Poets; Esaias Tegner; Disraeli; Lassalle.* He lectured, and later edited in book form, material on *Goethe; Shakespeare; Hebrew Poetry; French Lyrics; Men of the Modern Rejuvenation; Men and Works; L. Holberg; Impressions from Poland; Impressions from Russia.*

An immediate and great following of young intellectuals gathered around Brandes. He exerted an awakening influence with his critical and atheistic attitude, also on the conservative and confessional theistic elements in Danish society, rousing a controversy for a whole generation. As is the case with all great prophets, his disciples were not equal to the task of full apprehension and comprehension of his philosophy of life, and their works at times are distortions and even caricatures of the original. But Brandes' critical method and acumen made him an international force.

Holger Henrik Herholt Drachmann (1846–1908) started his artistic career as a painter. He began writing articles for a monthly and some sketches in prose, *With Chalk and Charcoal.* Soon after followed his *Poems,* including *English Socialists,* which gained the praise of Brandes; and Drachmann proved to be Brandes' outstanding disciple. His prolific productions embraced all the literary forms. Most important were the novel *Tannhäuser,* sketches *From South of the Boundary, Songs from the Ocean.* He also wrote seamen's stories, *At the Faith; Troth of the Seaman;* and the tales *The Princess* and *Half of the Kingdom.* Later works include *Youth in Song and Poetry;* the fairy tale *East of the Sun and West of the Moon;* the plays *Strandby People,* and *The Shadow Pictures; Mountain Songs* and *Fairy Tales,* which included his most famous play, *Once upon a Time* (1885). He produced another volume of poems in *The Book of Songs,* and an autobiographical novel, *Outwritten* (1890). The play *Renaissance* and the melodrama *The Smith of Volund* were followed by other melodramas, *Snefrid, The Dance at Kolding Castle,* and–his last work–the play *Mr. Oluf is Riding.*

Drachmann possessed a wide command of language, giving expression to all the shadings and extremes of emotion. He is one of the chief poets of the late 19th c.

Leopold Budde (1836–1902) can be called the people's writer. He wrote about and for the common people. His work as superintendent of a large orphanage gave him a special knowledge and love for children, which greatly colored his writings. He published tales and stories, told much in the form of Andersen's fairy tales. His *Pictures from Christmas Eve,* and *From the Early Teens* (which age he calls the scallawags) were told in very entertaining style and with a great deal of moral application. Zakarias Nielsen (b. 1844) belongs to a class of country school teachers who in that period produced a great deal of story writing, little of which possessed any literary qualities. However, Zakarias Nielsen, through intensive application to literary studies, developed a style of his own, which gained him a distinct place in literary circles. His lyric, *A Meeting,* has become a standard recitation on almost any school program. His writings were very sympathetic, somewhat serious in character: *New Times; The Sea Gull; The Great Power; The Fountains.*

P. A. Rosenberg (b. 1858) was primarily a literary and dramatic critic. In his discourses he became an outstanding opponent of Georg Brandes and his school of radicalism, which he attacks in *The New Century,* a dramatic work. Of his other plays, *Henning Tondorf, The Donvig Parsonage, The City by the Sea* are the best. Besides his dramatic works, Rosenberg contributed to philosophy and biography, as in *The Spirit of the Greeks; The Spirit of the Romans,* and studies of Rasmus Nielsen and Sören Kierkegaard, the two outstanding theological and philosophical thinkers of his day. In his last years he exerted a constructive and highly esthetic influence on the dramatic arts in Denmark as censor, critic, and director of the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen.

Alfred Ipsen (b. 1852) was at first a disciple of Brandes, but in his later development broke from this school, attacking it in *Georg Brandes, A Book about Right and Wrong.*

His first literary production was a collection of poems, *Along the Green Paths,* which he later surpassed in *Sonnets and Songs.* His dramatic work, *Mephistofeles,* is profound in thought, as are his *Stories from the Land of the Imagination.* He wrote a unique travel book, *Holland.*

I. P. Jacobsen (1847–85) was as a youth a student of botany and an ardent disciple of Darwin, whose works he translated into Danish. However, besides a frail constitution he had inherited from his mother a strong poetic tendency, which was ignited by his contact with Georg Brandes. He was a master of language, both colorful and detailed, as in his novels: *Marie Grubbe; Niels Lyhne* (trans. as *Siren Voices*); and his stories: *Mogens; Mrs. Fonss.* In his short life he also wrote a few poems of lasting beauty and value.

Karl A. Gjellerup (b. 1857) also came early under the influence of both Brandes and Darwin, and in opposition to the official orthodoxy of the church, although he had prepared himself for a theological career. His first work, *An Idealist,* was a challenge in this relationship. He wrote a most beautiful requiem, *Spirits and Times,* on the death of Darwin. His love for the classics brought him to Greece; upon his return he became an opponent of the school of Brandes, as in *The Year of Travel.* Through a turbulent spiritual crisis, he became attracted to Buddhism, which influenced several of his later works. Some of his best works are on Nordic themes, as *Brynhild;* the tragedy *Hagbart and Signe;* and his greatest drama, *Wuthhorn.*

Henrik Pontoppidan (b. 1857) is a thoroughly independent writer, therefore most thoroughly Danish, choosing his characters and settings from the common Danish life, and interpreting the cultural and spiritual movements among the people. His major works are *Memories; Earth; The Promised Land; The Day of Judgment; Lucky Per.*

Sophus Schandorph (1836–1901), one of the disciples of Brandes, became a staunch and productive realist. He wrote several novels, as *The Children of the Forester;* but far better are his many shorter tales, among them *Stine becomes a Farmer's Wife; A Tour To Copenhagen in the Olden Days; An Oldenborre Business Man;* and especially *A Pleasant Christmas Eve,* which embodies all his better qualities. Sophus Bauditz (b. 1850) in 1889 published *Stories from a Forest Estate,* which captivated the reading public, because of its fresh and cheerful view of life and its love of the Danish countryside. His major works include *Tales from the Garrison; The Hjortholm; The Well of Absalon; Tracks in the Snow.* They are all characterized by the same freshness of thought and language, and are very popular.

Herman Joachim Bang (b. 1857), through his contributions to several dailies in Copenhagen, developed a literary skill in portraying the emotional, nervous atmosphere of metropolitan life. Everybody read his columns. His first drama, *Hopeless Generations,* created a tremendous stir, being censored because of the moral daring of certain scenes. Bang continued to write stories: *Stuk; Tine; The White House; Michael; Those Without Fatherland.* He also wrote several novels, of which the best are: *Solitary Dwellers; Under the Yoke.* Bang moved in the extremes of thought and life, never in the sphere of the commonplace. His descriptions of everyday occurrences became sensational; he saw things none others had seen, or said things none others had said. He was greatly influenced by the French naturalism of Balzac and Zola, as well as by his countryman Brandes.

Carl Ewald (1856–1908), after some journalistic attempts, published a collection of short stories, which did not reveal any great talent. Then under a pseudonym he published *The Old Parlor,* which attracted a great deal of attention. Thereafter he wrote constantly, with varied quality and success.

As James Singleton he wrote *James Singleton's Journeys in Foreign Lands.* His book *Cordt's Son* is a continuation of *The Old Parlor,* while *In the Garden of Sulamit* is a sharp satire on the pietism then prevalent with the church. The best of his writings are his fairy tales, best indeed since Hans Christian Andersen. Noteworthy among them are *My Little Boy; The Children's Crusade; Queens without Crowns; The Nuns; The Mistletoe; The Empty Parlors; The Spider; The Earth and the Comet.*

Karl Larsen (b. 1860) was a master in euphony of language and in psychological observation. His literary products cover a great variety of social strata and individual characters. He is at home in the strictly nationalistic as in the foreign elements of thought and life. His first works were two short plays, *Honor,* and *Women.* Then came a collection of legends and short stories, *The Speckled Book;* also a book of travels, *Circles,* in which he introduces the character, Hans Peter Egeskov, who lives on in *Outside the Class Distinctions.* Among his other works are *Doctor IX; Kresjan Vesterbro,* which portrays a Copenhagen type; *From the Old Fortifications,* which was later dramatized. He also wrote stories dealing with the problems of marriage: *A Woman's Confession; Aksel Halck's Notes;* as well as some books of purely educational and historical nature: *During Our Last War* (the Prussian-Danish war of 1864); *The Language of Soldiers on Land and at Sea; The Dragoon Niels Kjeldsen and his Assassin.*

Gustav Johannes Wied (b. 1858) tried many different ways of making a living. His first book, *Silhouettes,* became a swift and surprising success. His works include many stories, novels, comedies. Among the novels is *Childlike Souls;* among the dramas are *The Generation; The Wickedness of Life.* He published *The Four Satires,* directed toward the various strata of human society, the nobility, the clergy, the middle class, and the peasant. As a humorist, Wied is equal to Schandorph; his satires are sharper, more penetrating and merciless; his caricatures are inescapable. Others of his plays are *The Weaker Sex; Her Old Grace; Erotics; Straight Wills.*

Johannes Jorgensen (b. 1866) gave early indication of a fine poetic nature, in *Verses,* which sparkle with exquisite beauty. His spirit was akin to French symbolism, which he introduced into Danish literature in the stories *Summer* and *The Tree of Life.* This development culminated, in the early 1890's in his collection of poems, *Sentiments,* and in the publication of the periodical, *The Tower.* Then Jorgensen underwent a serious crisis in his view and way of life. He had been of an irreligious attitude, but now he found in the esthetics of the Roman Catholic church the liberation of a latent yearning, which he has expressed in the polemical volume, *The Lie and the Truth of Life.* Breaking from his former circle of friends, he devoted his efforts to the promulgation of his new appreciation of life, as in the story *The Last Day* and in *Poems,* superb in thought and form. His parables are unique and thought-provoking: *The Thread from Above; The Poet.* His many masterly books all serve the purpose of his new religious conviction: *The Pilgrimage; From Vesuvius to the Skaw;* and a biographical study of Francis of Assisi.

Jeppe Aakjaer (b. 1866) is one of the great poets from the peninsula of Jutland, from which he takes his themes, characters, and thoughts. Frequently he writes in the dialect of the Jutes, as did S. S. Blicher before him. Although he was a student of Blicher, and published *Letters and Deeds from the Life of Blicher,* he was influenced by Robert Burns. He lived close to nature, which was his inexhaustible theme, in such poetic volumes as *At Large; The Songs of the Rye.* He

has also written some novels, as *The Children of Wrath.*

Johannes Knudsen, (b. 1858), a teacher in the Danish Folk High School and later a pastor, sought his way in such works as *Bengt; The King's Brother;* and other novels in poetic form, but found himself and his method of expression in the novel *The Old Parson,* which roused great opposition because of its paradoxes and its critical attitude toward established moral concepts. Out of this challenge sprang more mature novels: *Growing; Clearing;* the unique *Mind; Urup; The Teacher.* Through all these, Knudsen weighed the accepted norms of life, and often attacked the traditional humane, democratic way of life. His characters are of dominant stature, his language plain and forceful, yet picturesque. As spokesman for liberation from imposed yokes, for independence, he is a staunch figure in Danish literature.

Johannes V. Jensen* (b. 1873), in his debut as a writer, with the novel, *Danes,* did not reveal the poetic greatness of his later productions. He grew in poetic mastery through the novels *Einar Elkjaer; The Folks from Himmerland,* to the historical novels on King Christian II: *The Death of Spring; The Great Summer; Winter;* later combined into one volume: *The Fall of the King.* Thereafter Jensen chose his themes from all the continents; through his linguistic rhythms and vivid imagination, he transports his readers into the reality of his creations. Among these works are *New Stories from Himmerland;* a novel, *The Wheel,* set in Chicago; an archaeological novel, *The Glacier;* and *Little Ahasuerus.* His volume, *The American Continent and its Colonization* gained for him world-wide recognition and the Nobel Prize. He has infused a new vigor into Danish literature, of which he is the foremost representative in this age.

Hans Lassen Martensen* (1808–84) is outstanding in the field of theology, yet a fit companion to his contemporaries Oehlenslaeger and Grundtvig in the dramatic and poetic arts, and to the Oersted brothers in the field of science. He came under the influence of German theology and philosophy, especially Schleiermacher and Hegel, without being absorbed by their thought, but rather ripening his own theological views and system. He was soon recognized as an outstanding theologian; students from Protestant Europe absorbed his discourses on Speculative Dogmatics, Ethics, and Philosophy of Morals, through his lectures at the University of Copenhagen. His *Dogmatics* became a textbook in many European theological schools; his master work, *Ethics,* is still the standard reference work on the subject. Martensen had mystical inclinations, and was from early youth a devoted student of Jakob Boehme and his theosophic speculations. His last book was of memoirs, *From My Life.*

Vilhelm Beck (1829–1901) was instrumental in checking the rationalistic tendencies from the influence of Georg Brandes; a deep and far-reaching religious movement gained momentum from his powerful preaching, as the leading spirit of the Inner Mission Movement. This religious movement within the Lutheran State Church of Denmark was especially active among the common people, who devoured his volumes of sermons and devotional literature as daily bread. He also wrote *Catechetical Instruction,* and, finally, *Memories from my Life.*

Olfert Ricard (b. 1872) became the defender of academic youth in its struggle with destructive criticism. He also was a pastor of the Lutheran State Church. As leader of the Y. M. C. A., Ricard became the spiritual guide of youth as a body. His writings introduced a comparatively new note into the literary field. He wrote entertainingly and intimately of spiritual subjects, injecting his wholesome sense of humor and applied psychology into books of Christian content,

The Life of Youth; Christ and His Men; The Spirit in the Apostolic Church. His national and spiritual songs are poetic gems. The problems of astronomy are related to the spiritual life by H. Martensen–Larsen, in *The Starry Heavens and Our Faith; The Great Problems of our Universe.* He delved into the mysteries of spiritism, from an analytical point of view, and wrote some obscure books on Life after death. His *Doubt and Faith* is his greatest contribution. Through the Bible School, Skovgaard–Petersen has exerted a profound and stabilizing influence on the academic youth of Denmark. His many booklets on problems of Christian thought and life, addressed to the students of his day, have had far-reaching influence: *The Importance of Faith for One Who Wishes to Succeed; Can One Live on Rationalism?* and *The Secret of Faith.* His extensive travels, his keen observations, mark his books *The Land Where the Fountains Sprang; The Bible in a Thousand Tongues.* While profounder in thought and in his scientific approach, however, he did not possess the general appeal of the picturesque oratory and sympathetic understanding of Ricard.

The younger writers show evidence, while responding to the spirit of the time, that the stress of World Wars has not destroyed the great traditions of Danish literature.

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C. M. VIDEBECK.

DELAWARE INDIAN–*See* North American Native.

DIDINGA–*See* African.

DOBU ISLAND–*See* Polynesian.

DORIC–*See* Greek.

DUBROVNIK–*See* Yugoslav.

DURANGO–*See* Mexican.

EASTER ISLAND–*See* Polynesian.

ECUADORIAN–*See* South American Indian; Spanish American.

EGYPTIAN

THE literary activity of the ancient Egyptians extended over a longer span of time than that of any other people on earth. If the term literature is freely construed to include every type of written document, Egyptian literature began before 3000 B.C. with scattered inscriptions in picture signs as yet unreadable, continued in the hieroglyphic and in the more cursive hieratic and demotic scripts, to end about 750 A.D. with Coptic documents written mainly with the Greek alphabet in the last degenerate stage of the Egyptian language. Thus Egyptian writings are known from a period of approximately 3,800 years. The Coptic translation of the Bible, made soon after the conversion of Egypt to Christianity,

is still read in the modern Coptic Church. Hence it may be truthfully stated that the literary tradition of ancient Egypt, begun some 5,000 years ago, still echoes today in the ears of a million Arabic speaking Egyptians. For the present purpose, however, the word literature must be understood in the narrow sense, and the principal forms of Egyptian literary expression alone can be discussed.

Scholars usually divide the literary history of Egypt into five different stages, based on the linguistic character of the written records. (1) Old Egyptian was the language of the earliest period, from the dawn of history, when writing began, to about 2400 B.C. (2) Middle Egyptian, the idiom of the "classical age," extended roughly from 2400 to 1300 B.C. It is the richest period of Egyptian literature. (3) Late Egyptian was a stage of linguistic development dating from 1550 to 700 B.C. (The overlapping dates illustrate the human tendency to write a dialect long after it has passed from daily speech.) Late Egyptian is likewise rich in literary documents, though a marked decline is detectable by this time. (4) Demotic is the term employed to describe the language and script of the period from 700 B.C. to 470 A.D. Many business, religious, and magical texts originated during this era, as well as scattered pieces of more strictly literary character. (5) Finally, the Coptic, already referred to, was the latest stage of the native Egyptian language. It was a not easily traceable development from Late Egyptian or Demotic, used principally to render into the vernacular the newly arriving Christian teachings. Since probably ninety-five per cent of all strictly literary documents surviving from ancient Egypt originated in the first three of these periods, our discussion will be confined to them.

It is quite evident that the Egyptian language developed considerably in 3,500 years; literary products of the earliest time must have been no less bizarre to the people of later ages than are the *Canterbury Tales* to us moderns, less than 600 years after Chaucer. We know, likewise, that various dialects were spoken in the elongated Nile valley, that a Delta dweller was not understood in Upper Egypt. Such considerations have little bearing on our understanding of the literature, however, and they are ignored in this discussion.

Because of the peculiar nature of Egyptian writing it is impossible to appreciate fully the finer aspects of the ancient literature. For, as long as the native scripts remained in use, that is, from the earliest period until the adoption of the Greek alphabet, the Egyptians wrote the consonants of their words only, but left the vowels entirely unindicated, as in unpointed Hebrew writing. Since the moods and tenses of the verbs and possibly other nuances of the language were expressed to a large extent by these unwritten vowels, their loss has deprived modern scholars of a major key to the comprehension of the inscriptions. As a result, Egyptologists are obliged to exercise considerable imagination and acumen when rendering an ancient text, if they would fairly and fully represent the intentions of the writer. Nevertheless, most Egyptian records can be understood today, and renderings by competent scholars may be accepted with confidence.

Any survey of Egyptian literature must amply stress the fact that we possess today but an insignificant fraction of all that the ancients produced. Not only is papyrus, the favorite writing material of the Egyptians, an exceedingly fragile substance, but there were entire eras when men were encouraged for religious reasons to destroy all the writings and pictures left by the "pagans" of the Nile valley. Thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of their manuscripts and other records were ruthlessly burned or broken to pieces. What has survived the ravages of nature and the hand of man is for the most part the documents that had been laid with the dead

in inaccessible tombs, cast out on rubbish heaps, or buried by falling buildings in ruins of towns. It is thus quite by accident that we possess the large number of literary pieces that have come down to us. From these scattered examples we can only surmise the literary treasures that once existed, but we can never accurately estimate from them the original extent of the various classes of literature.

What evidence we have appears to indicate that the two literary forms most meagerly represented in ancient Egypt are the epic and the drama. There is indeed no surviving example of a developed epic nor any good reason to suppose that it ever existed. The nearest approach to it is the poem celebrating Ramesses II's "victory" over the Hittite confederation at Kadesh on the Orontes river (1295 B.C.). The composition is a highly extravagant account of the youthful king's personal exploits in a battle which Ramesses was alleged to have transformed "by himself alone" from disaster into victory. The long poem may contain a germ of truth, but most of it is highly embellished fiction. Nevertheless, Ramesses II was so delighted with it that copies were carved in at least three of his principal temples. A century later, Ramesses III (1198–67 B.C.) plagiarized its most impressive phrases and applied them to himself with utter disregard for truth or for the historical situation of his time. It is doubtful whether the poem ever enjoyed sufficient popularity to attain wide circulation, but it was probably read by thousands of visitors to the state temples and in the manuscript copies on papyrus, one of which has survived to the present time.

The drama as we understand it was wholly unknown to ancient Egypt. On the other hand, religious dramas on the order of the mystery plays of the Middle Ages were often performed and much appreciated. That they developed at an early date is revealed by the fact that portions of them are preserved in the *Pyramid Texts*—long inscriptions carved on the interior walls of the royal pyramid tombs of the Old Kingdom—the earliest body of literary texts that has survived. A late copy of another very ancient text, known to scholars as the *Monument of Memphite Theology*, actually preserves some of the dialogue of an ancient religious play. However, the best example is a drama depicting the accession to the throne (1972 B.C.) of King Senusert I of the Twelfth Dynasty. A number of performances occurred, probably in the principal cities, with the king himself in the leading rôle, while other parts, portraying the various gods, were taken by priests from the temples, some wearing masks and others without them. There is evidence that this type of play, celebrating the accession of a new king, went back to the dawn of history; and it may have continued as long as Egypt remained an independent state. Since the text of such dramatic works would have been most appropriately written on papyrus rather than carved on monuments of stone, it is most probable that many others have perished. Indeed, quotations from one which portrayed the life and death of the popular god Osiris have survived on a tombstone from Abydos, and its chance preservation illustrates very effectively the fortuitous manner in which these ancient works of literature have come down to us.

Egyptian lyric poetry is abundant and of a high order. Its metrical structure is entirely unknown, since the pronunciation of the language has been lost. It is probable that the Egyptian lyrics made no use of rhyme; however, the uniformity of sentence length and general structure in many of the poems is strong evidence for the division into verses and stanzas. There is wide employment of parallelism of meaning between successive verses, familiar to all in the Psalms and other Hebrew poetry. The Egyptian had a marked fondness for punning, and this practice is frequently encountered in the lyric poetry, as

well as in the prose. Lyrical themes and forms vary greatly, but, since our means of studying the latter are limited, our judgment of Egyptian lyric poetry must be based almost entirely on the subject matter.

The oldest Egyptian lyrics are preserved in the *Pyramid Texts*. For the most part, they possess but little literary merit. They consist mainly of magical texts designed to protect the dead king from harm on his way to the abode of the dead. Among them is an occasional hymn in praise of the king. These texts gradually developed into the *Coffin Texts* of the Middle Kingdom and they, in turn, into the *Book of the Dead* of the New Kingdom. Altogether a large body of material, little of it would appeal to the modern reader and none of it is in the slightest degree comparable with the sublime religious poetry of the *Old Testament*. Nevertheless, these three collections of religious texts contained or, in some instances perhaps, inspired hymns to the gods of exceptional worth. They culminated about 1375 B.C.—long before any of the *Old Testament* was written—in the truly noble monotheistic hymn to the sun-god Aton which is probably to be attributed to the Pharaoh Akhnaton himself. Its exalted concept of a single, universal god in control of the world but interested in the lowliest creatures of earth, and the eloquence of its poetic expression, are united in one of the great literary treasures of the Egyptians. It did not, however, spring full panoplied from the head of Zeus, for the New Kingdom produced many hymns to the gods which contain here and there passages of beauty and grandeur.

Although the *Pyramid Texts* contain the earliest hymns in praise of the Egyptian king, a much superior collection, in honor of Senusert III (1878–40 B.C.) of the Twelfth Dynasty, comprises perhaps the largest body of lyric poetry from the classical period. While they reveal considerable progress over the literary forms of the Old Kingdom, these poems are surpassed in turn by the hymns of victory addressed to kings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The finest of the latter was carved on a great stela set up in the imperial temple at Karnak in praise of Thutmose III, greatest of the pharaohs (ca. 1470 B.C.). It is very formal in style, with strict parallelism of members, its language impressive to the point of grandiloquence, its metaphors vivid and effective. It was sufficiently popular that for several centuries portions of it were appropriated by later kings and carved on their own temple walls. A slightly later hymn of this type, in honor of the Pharaoh Merenptah (ca. 1228 B.C.), contains the only mention of Israel in an ancient Egyptian inscription.

Egypt has given us a considerable number of love lyrics. Unfortunately, many of them are preserved in damaged and corrupt copies, so that our appreciation of their genuine beauty is somewhat curtailed. In general they are reminiscent of the *Song of Solomon* and, like most Egyptian poetry, bold of concept and rich in imagery. One of them depicts a pair of lovers in an orchard and relates the hospitality extended to them in speeches by the various fruit trees of the garden.

Easily the best of the Egyptian lyrics is a portion of a famous book describing the dialogue of a discouraged man with his own soul. He is disposed to suicide and in the following verses sings of his longing for death:

Death is in my mind today
As when a sick man regaineth his health,
Like rising up after an illness.

Death is in my mind today
Like the fragrance of myrrh,
Like sitting in shelter on a windy day.

Death is in my mind today
Like the perfume of lotus blossoms,
Like tarrying at the brim of the wine-bowl.

Death is in my mind today
Like the withdrawal of a rainstorm,
As when men return to their homes from the wars.

Death is in my mind today
Like the clearing of the sky,
As when a man graspeth that which he hath not understood.

Death is in my mind today
Like the longing of a man for his home
When he hath spent long years in captivity.

It may well be doubted whether this simple little poem is surpassed by any other piece of writing known to us from the land of the Nile.

No one who reads the poem *In Praise of Death* can question the Egyptian's capacity for fine writing. The Middle Kingdom, in which it was written, not only produced the best literary works that we have, but it was the age in which the language and orthography exhibit[4] the greatest consistency and precision. Among the outstanding masterpieces of this age are several noteworthy examples of the short story, a literary form that was probably invented by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom. One of the best of these is known as *The Shipwrecked Sailor.* Its opening words reveal that it may have been a story within a story, that is, the only surviving member of a cycle similar in plan to *The Thousand and One Nights.* In this event it is evident that we possess but a few isolated specimens of all the tales in the repertoire of the wandering storytellers of old. *The Shipwrecked Sailor* recounts the adventures of the sole survivor of a storm at sea. He was cast ashore on a magic island ruled in lonely grandeur by a giant serpent possessed of superhuman wisdom and power. The solitary monster treated the sailor with kindness and, after relating the tragic circumstances of his own life, finally sent him home in a ship laden with rich gifts. That is all: the narrative is brief and direct, unadorned and altogether simple. With all its defects, it is a remarkable if primitive contribution to the development of the short story.

Most famous and best loved of Egyptian tales was *The Story of Sinuhe.* This has survived not only in several papyrus manuscripts, but numerous excerpts on "ostraca"—fragments of white limestone much used by the Egyptians for informal and temporary records—indicate that it was copied and studied for generations as a favorite of the people. Sinuhe was an Egyptian noble who fled the country upon the sudden death—perhaps the assassination—of King Amenemhet I of the Twelfth Dynasty (1992–72 B.C.). With the reason for the flight somewhat conspicuously withheld, an element of mystery pervades the narrative and notably heightens its effect. The wanderer safely escapes to Syria, where during his long exile he marries the daughter of a local chief and rears a family. Nevertheless, he never recovers from homesickness and eagerly accepts the bidding of Senusert I, who had succeeded the deceased king, to return to the court, in order that he might ultimately die in his native land, as every true Egyptian should. The tale contains many charming details as well as numerous elements of high literary excellence, including Sinuhe's psychological attitude toward his precipitate flight, the dramatic account of a combat between Sinuhe and a foreign invader of his adopted country, and, at the end, a humorous description of his reception at the royal palace after his return in the garments, coiffure, and with the manners of a Syrian.

Another work of the classical age, scarcely inferior to *The Story of Sinuhe,* is *The Eloquent Peasant,* the account of a wronged farmer who was permitted to plead his case repeatedly, without judgment, before a district magistrate merely in order that his eloquent

appeals for justice might be taken down in writing for the amusement of the king. This story is a good example of the Egyptian raconteur's love for stylistic gymnastics. Such artificiality ruined many an Egyptian composition, but it well typifies the self-consciousness that developed in the literary tradition, and sometimes, when properly restrained, its results were not displeasing.

The short story continued to be a favorite form of expression in Egypt for over a thousand years. From the later period we have several examples written in Late Egyptian and at least one in Demotic. Worth mentioning are *The Doomed Prince,* a story of love and inexorable fate; *The Tale of the Two Brothers,* which begins with an episode similar to the *Old Testament* incident of Joseph and Potiphar's wife; and, finally, the remarkable narrative of *The Travels of Wenamun,* an emissary of the pharaoh during the decline of Egypt's prestige, when an ambassador was no longer honored and welcomed in every Asiatic port.

Recently discovered monuments have introduced us to a hitherto almost unknown type of Egyptian composition. It consists of a series of loosely combined tales of the personal prowess of certain Egyptian kings, mainly in the field of sports. The best preserved source is a stela found not long ago near the great sphinx. It contains several informal sketches of sporting exploits in the youth of Prince, later King, Amenhotep II (1450–25 B.C.) of the Eighteenth Dynasty. We are told of archery and rowing contests in which he excelled all his competitors, of his great physical strength, and of his skill in the breaking and training of chariot horses, greatly to the pride and joy of his famous father, Thutmose III. Other fragments of the same sort make it evident that such intimate stories of the private life of Egyptian royalty enjoyed a wide appeal.

Among the best of all the writings surviving from ancient Egypt is the so-called Wisdom Literature, best exemplified in the *Old Testament Book of Proverbs.* We have specimens of such works from nearly every period, and their number amply reflects the highly developed penchant for moralizing among the Egyptians. Some of them are collections of precepts intended for the guidance of the young. The latest, composed not long after 1000 B.C., contains a few passages so similar to certain verses in *Proverbs* that borrowing one way or the other must be assumed. Contrary to the rule that most Egyptian literary works are anonymous, most of the Wisdom Books are attributed to definite authors, as if the Egyptians put a special premium on their contents and desired to remember the names of their creators. Typical and most outstanding of these books is that known as *The Proverbs of Ptahhotep,* which purports to be the work of a Fifth Dynasty vizier of that name (ca. 2400 B.C.). Copies in both Middle and Late Egyptian have come down to us, as well as an excerpt on a scribe's writing tablet, perhaps used as a schoolboy's writing exercise. Thus it remained popular for at least a thousand years. It contains maxims regarding arrogance, the conduct of officials, ambassadors, and men in positions of leadership, table etiquette, marriage and relations with women, obedience to parents and superiors, and many others.

Closely related to the wisdom books and, like them, probably to be considered the invention of Egyptian writers, is a group of pessimistic compositions that may be classified as pleas for social justice and honest government. They point to the conditions of widespread distress and poverty in the land and offer suggestions regarding cause and cure. One of them includes a *post facto* prediction of relief from national misery by a sort of messianic deliverance through a coming king. Others are highly artificial in style, revealing conscious attempts at fine writing, with more emphasis on form than content. One writer,

indeed, specifically expresses his desire to write in language not employed previously and to say things never uttered by the sages of old.

Purely historical writing did not exist in ancient Egypt. There are of course countless texts that we classify as historical, but not one of them was the product of purely historical intention. Accounts of their exploits in war and in peace were composed with propagandistic aims alone for the pharaohs. They were offered from their point of view only, and thus we are assured that defeat never attended an Egyptian army nor misfortune an Egyptian king. Nevertheless, the importance of such royal records cannot be exaggerated. They constitute our principal source of information about their subject matter, and, biased though they are, careful analysis makes it possible to form a picture of ancient Egypt which, at least in its main outlines, cannot be very far from the truth.

No discussion of Egyptian literature can ignore that huge body of texts known as the school writings. These are manifold in type and content, but all alike they owe their survival to the fact that they were copied, sometimes on long papyrus rolls, as school exercises by boys who were learning the scribe's profession. Many an important literary piece has come down to us, often in almost illegible schoolboy scrawls and sometimes accompanied by the corrections in red ink of the master. For the most part, they are written in the Late Egyptian idiom, many of them dating from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. As might be expected, not a few of them exalt the scribe's profession and vividly depict, in contrast, the vicissitudes and misfortunes, for example, of the soldier's life or that of the different tradesmen, of all, indeed, who, unlike their authors, are ignorant of letters. They are a revelation of the bureaucratic Egyptian state in the New Kingdom. To read the school writings is to be convinced of the rapid decline of this state and of the inevitability of its early downfall.

In such small compass it is difficult to do justice to Egyptian literature; and some important classes of writing, such as the medical and mathematical books and certain remarkable penitential psalms, must be passed over in silence. If judged by the standards of the Hebrews and the Greeks, it must be admitted that the Egyptian is not a great literature. It is unlikely that a single Egyptian work can be characterized, like the *Apology* of Plato, the *Book of Ruth,* or Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* as immortal. These writings must, however, be read and appreciated in the light of the time in which they were created, with consideration of the fact that some of them were the first of their kind to appear in the expanding life of man, and, above all, in the probability that they have exercised a greater influence on the literatures of the world than we shall ever know.

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KEITH C. SEELÉ.

EIRE—*See* Irish.

ELLICE ISLANDS—*See* Polynesian.

ENGLISH

THE OLD ENGLISH, or Anglo-Saxon, Period: 428–1066. *Celtic and Roman Britain.* Of the pre-Celtic inhabitants, called Iberians, we know only enough to say that they were, very probably, a dark-complexioned race of the Neolithic Age which began about the time that England became detached from the European continent. Of the Celts we know rather certainly a few things: that there were two main branches of them, the Gaels in the north and west, and the Britons in the southeast; that their religion was Druidic, involving a hierarchy of divinities, a faith in a Supreme Being, and a belief in immortality, emblematized in the mistletoe and the oak. The Celtic influence on English literature is suggested in such river-names as Avon and Thames, and summed up in *The Mabinogion,* a collection of Welsh tales, published under that title in the 19th c. Of the Roman occupation it is necessary to recall only that it was begun, in 55 B.C., by Julius Caesar, resumed by the Emperor Claudius, in 43 A.D., completed in 84 AD., and brought to an end in the year 410. Evidence of Latin words of this period is found in such place-names as Lancaster (*castra,* camp) and Berwick.

Early Anglo-Saxon History. When, in 410, Rome was sacked by Alaric and the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain, the Celts there, though civilized, were left helpless against barbarian invasion. There is a legend that a band of Jutes, led by Hengist and Horsa, had been invited by the Britons to fight off the northern Picts and Scots; and that, finding the land helpless and to their liking, these Jutes remained and settled in the southeast in Kent and on the Isle of Wight. The Saxons followed and settled on the south and east coasts; the Angles made their invasion farther in the north where they founded the kingdom of Northumbria, giving to the island, in time, its new name of England. These invasions began in 449. The Saxon monarchies of Sussex, Wessex, and Essex were established by about 550; the Anglian monarchies of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, by about 650. The most important civilizing force of the period was the introduction of Christiainty. The triumph of Christian over pagan culture was gradual. It proceeded from two centers: through the influence of Ireland in North Anglia; through the influence of Rome in Kent. The seat of Aidan's episcopate, in the north, was Lindisfarne; that of Augustine's episcopate, in the south, was Canterbury. After the Synod of Whitby, in 664, Catholic Christianity became the adopted religion of England.

The Anglo-Saxon People and their Ideas. The acceptance of Christianity by the people was never complete; paganism existed side by side with it throughout the period. The Anglo-Saxons were a stern people. They fought and feasted barbarously. But religious and family feeling was strong among them. They were deeply moved by signs of nobility and honor. They admired courage, loved even as they feared the sea, revered womanhood, stressed the virtues of loyalty and hospitality, and repressed fancy and sentiment. They strongly believed in fate. When this belief was touched by the Christian religion, it took the form of a faith in a divine Providence. Their manner of living was rudely simple. Yet wealth was not unknown to them; and their taste for rugged nature and works of severe beauty was frank and strong. The language spoken by them was in one or another of the four Germanic dialects, Anglian, Mercian, Kentish, and West Saxon. The last of these, in time, became the standard literary dialect. Cultural history among them began in the monasteries. There, by 600 A.D., learning and letters began

to flourish. By 650 A.D., education had begun to be popular, and Christian monks in Northumbria had begun to produce their Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

Early Anglo-Saxon Literature. The earliest writings reflect the ancestral life on the Continent. Poetry surpassed prose. The principle poem of the age was *Beowulf.* Besides this now famous epic, there were epic fragments like *Finnsburg,* related to *Beowulf;* and *Waldhere,* related to the German epic, the *Nibelungenlied.* Among the surviving lyrical and elegiac poems, there are chiefly these: *Widsith,* a melancholy, retrospective travel-poem, regarded generally as the oldest poem in the English language; *Deor's Lament,* a philosophical poem of fate and consolation; *The Wanderer,* a wistful, graceful elegy; *The Seafarer,* picturing life at sea, and showing the influence of Christian thought; *The Ruin,* a poem of deep feeling centering in the thought of earth's decay; a love poem called *The Husband's Message;* some interesting enigmatical poems called *The Riddles,* and healing songs called *Charms.* These poems were written in unrhymed alliterative lines. Each half-line contained two accented syllables; three of the four usually began with the same letter. This regular stress on syllables, together with the repetition of an idea in parallel lines, gave the verse a rhythmic quality and a cumulative effect that pleased the ear and moved the hearer to deep feeling as he listened to the harp-twang and chant of the bard or scop.

Christian Poetry and Prose. The three important writers of this early period were the poets Caedmon and Cynewulf, and "The Venerable Bede." Caedmon is known as the "Father of English Song." The group of poets that followed him flourished about the year 700. They wrote hymns and biblical paraphrases, in alliterative style, using frequent kennings. The school of Cynewulf flourished in Northumbria between 750 and 800; though the poems *Christ* and *Elene,* Cynewulf's masterpieces, are preserved for us only in the West Saxon dialect. The Cynewulfian poems are lyrical and full of feeling for nature. One of them, *Andreas,* based on a Greek story, has been called a Christian Odyssey. Another, *The Dream of the Rood,* is famous for its intense religious passion; as is also *The Phoenix,* for its radiant picture of the hope of immortality. The prose of England before 800 was chiefly Latin. Its great master in Northumbria was Bede, the saintly scholar and historian who lived ca. 673–735, and wrote the *Ecclesiastical History,* a source-book of first importance to students of early English history. Among other English writers of Latin in this early age, two especially deserve mention: Aldhelm, ca. 650–709, Abbot of Malmesbury, and later Bishop of Sherborne; and Alcuin, ca. 735–804, theologian, teacher, and friend of Charlemagne.

Beowulf is a folk epic. Its background is continental. It is preserved for us in a manuscript written ca. 1000, in the late West Saxon dialect, though it was composed ca. 700. The verse is powerfully alliterative and rich in kennings (poetic descriptions in place of the simple name of an object). The poet was probably a Christian; but the material of the poem is pagan. Its narrative is made up of four main episodes: (1) Beowulf's fight with Grendel; (2) his slaying of Grendel's dam; (3) the hero's return to the land of the Geats; (4) his fight with the fire-dragon, and his death. Behind the story lay a quantity of ballad material ready for use by the poet. Some of this material was historical; much of it was mythological. Hygelac, king of the Geats, for example, is usually identified with Cochilaicus who, ca. 512, raided the lower Rhine valley, with the aid of Beowulf, his nephew. Those that see in the narrative a great myth variously identify Beowulf with the sun-god driving away the dark winter mist, or with mankind struggling against brute nature, or with civilized society attempting

to establish itself permanently against a barbarous or savage surrounding. Attempts to associate Beowulf with Beow, an old Teutonic god of crops, are variously accepted and rejected. The poem is rich in famous and imposing scenes, like those of Beowulf's arrival at Hrothgar's hall, Grendel's stealthy assault, the fearful fight with the water-hag, from which Beowulf emerges alive "with God's assistance," the defense of the treasure-hoard, and the burning of Beowulf's body. The poem is majestic and melancholy. It is justly praised for its sustained descriptive and narrative power and its comparative social refinement and good taste.

Later Anglo-Saxon Literature. The first Danish invasion occurred in 787. It ended the early period of literary activity in Northumbria. In about 850, the Danes undertook a complete conquest of England. The hero of the time was Alfred the Great, whose reign extended from 871 to 901. Peace with the Danes was established in 878. Thereafter Alfred dedicated himself to setting up a good government, to giving himself and his people an education, and to advancing literature and religion. He established Wessex as a center of literature, patronized writing, and himself made translations of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care,* Orosius' *History,* and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy.* Alfred secured, to help him and his people, the services of Asser, a Welsh teacher who later became bishop of Sherborne and wrote in Latin a *Life of Alfred.* This late period, between 850 and 1066, was mainly one of prose. The writers wrote, chiefly, histories and homilies. The most important book of the age is probably the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* of which there are several preserved revisions. In it the deeds of Alfred are fully and interestingly represented. The latest version, the so-called *E-text,* ends with the year 1154. The *Chronicle* contains *The Battle of Brunanburh,* a vigorous epic poem, dated 937, and brilliantly translated by the poet Tennyson. Mention should also be made of *The Battle of Maldon,* recorded under the date 991.

Of the prose writers of the period, best known are Aelfric, the Grammarian, for his *Sermons;* and Archbishop Wulfstan, for his *Homilies.* Both belong to the period of the monastic revival, between 950 and 1000. The year 1000 is noteworthy also as the date of the West Saxon *Gospels,* the *Exeter Book,* a manuscript containing the Cynewulf poems, and the Robert Bruce Cotton manuscript containing the poem *Beowulf.* Generally speaking, the prose of the period is free and picturesque, elevated, conversational, expository. In conclusion, it is important to note that there lived, ca. 975, a St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester who, in addition to his *Benedictine Rules,* wrote *Concordia Regularis,* a manual of directions for acting a trope or altar-play in the church.

The Middle English period: 1066–1500. *The Anglo-Norman People.* The Norman influence was felt in England even before the Conquest in 1066. Thereafter, for three centuries, it prevailed, introducing French culture to the English court, from which it spread into the nation's literature. The Normans, though once sea-roving Norsemen, had become a highly civilized people, daring and brilliant, yet sagacious and practical. They were naturally light-hearted, vigorous, yet refined. They liked song, beautiful clothing, illuminated manuscripts, and good architecture. The institution of chivalry, with its stress on knightly behavior, and a religious reverence for womankind, was their peculiar gift to England. The Crusades, begun soon after the Conquest, stimulated in the Normans these knightly religious thoughts, out of which came the aristocratic form of literature known as the metrical romance. By the year 1200, Gothic architecture, with its pointed arches and vertical lines, had been adopted, and cathedrals were being built at

Rochester, at Durham, and at Canterbury. By 1230 Cambridge was a recognized university, by 1250 Roger Bacon, returned from Paris, was lecturing at Oxford which was then a university more than seventy-five years old. Everywhere in the monasteries scholarly monks were reading and writing Latin. For two centuries the most significant books written in England were in that language.

The Beginnings of Middle English Literature. The need of a literature in the language spoken by the people was earlier recognized by the Church than by the Court. The first writings, accordingly, were religious. They were written with deep devotion, some of them at great length: the *Ormulum,* a Gospel verse-homily, ran to 20,000 lines; *Handlyng Synne,* a timely and not altogether dull book, contained 12,632 lines; the *Pricke of Conscience,* true to its name, was composed of 4,772 octosyllabic couplets. Perhaps the most interesting poem of this early Anglo-Norman time was *Ancren Riwle,* a nun's manual of religious counsel, containing, besides theological teaching, much insight into feminine character, and good humor. Of the known religious writers of the period, the most attractive was Richard Rolle of Hampole, who died ca. 1350. He was a saintly mystic. He wrote epigrams, minor sacred poems, several prose works, and canticles in praise of the Virgin and of Christ.

Miscellaneous Types of Writing. Not all writing between 1100 and 1350 was religious. There were lyrics, like *The Cuckoo-Song,* ca. 1250, and the delicately spontaneous love poem *Alysoun,* ca. 1300. There were debate poems, like *The Owl and the Nightingale,* 1,795 lines long, serious and witty, yet gay and graceful, a contest between the happy and the grave natures of men, and called by a recent critic "the greatest poem of medieval England before the days of Chaucer and *The Pearl.*" Besides, there were fabliaux, usually coarse satires on prevailing manners; there were exempla, moral sermons abounding in humorous anecdotes; there were the bestiaries, stories of natural history told to teach moral or religious truths. And there were the first miracle and mystery plays, dramatizations from the lives of saints or *Bible* scenes, the earliest important one of which was the *Harrowing of Hell.*

The Metrical Romance most fitly characterizes the age. It is medieval and courtly, having its origin in the Latin and French literatures. Its chief characteristics are chivalry, religious mysticism, devotion to social nobility, love of adventure, a romantic reverence for woman, idealization of the past, of moral virtue, of knightly behavior and valor. It is customary to speak of the content of these metrical romances as drawn from three sources: the "matters" of Britain, of France, and of Rome. The source material of Rome was mainly classical and centered in the conquests of Alexander; that of France dealt with stories about Charlemagne; that of Britain surrounded the tales of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. The style of the metrical romances unites a delicate extravagant fancy with natural passion; it shows a fondness for color, for nature, for things antique, for human sentiment, for the mystery of dreams, of religion, of death, and of the supernatural. Altogether, it is a mature form of writing and appeals to a well civilized, if not a sophisticated, reader.

The Arthurian Legend. There is a slight quantity of English material preserved in the metrical romances that is not of Celtic but of Anglo-Saxon origin. It is represented in such pieces as *Havelock the Dane,* and *Guy of Warwick.* But the Celtic matter predominates, and may be summed up in the legend of Arthur. This legend, generally speaking, began with Gildas, a British historian that lived ca. 550. It was continued by the Welsh Nennius, ca. 800. It took definite form in the Latin history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ca.

1150; and is further developed by the Norman writer Wace, ca. 1175, whose work formed the basis of Layamon's *Brut,* ca. 1200. The Arthurian story grew by slow degrees. Nennius makes Arthur the great Briton leader against the Saxons. Geoffrey introduces Modred the traitor and Merlin the magician; and he first refers to Avalon where the dying Arthur was healed of his wounds. Wace makes of Arthur the warrior a Norman knight, and stresses the legend of the Round Table. Layamon writes out the story completely, doubling Wace's 15,300 lines, adds such legends as those of Lear and Cymbeline, later used by Shakespeare, makes a Saxon monarch of Arthur, and gives to his sword a magic power and origin. The *Brut* is a typical Middle English poem, strongly alliterative in parts, but showing the influence of the time by introducing sections of couplets marked by assonance and simple rhyme. It deserves mention that two French Arthurian poets, Chrestien de Troyes and Marie de France, added greatly to the legend as it traveled between England and France, ca. 1175.

The Age of Chaucer. The year 1350 found England in the midst of political and social changes. The basic cause was the war with France, which was to develop into the Hundred Years' War. The victories at Crecy and Calais, in 1346 and 1347, gave England a foothold on the Continent. But misfortunes followed for England after the broken truce, in 1369, forcing her to a further truce in 1396. There was a temporary peace until 1415. In that year, an English victory at Agincourt reopened the long struggle. In 1420 Henry V was declared ruler of France. In 1422 England and France were again at war. In 1431 Joan of Arc was burned at Rouen. Soon thereafter France regained almost all of her lost possessions. The war ended in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople. By then, England was a changed country. The Middle Ages had given way to the Renaissance. The change, begun in Chaucer's day, was itself radical and decisive. The war's initial cost led to taxation, to tyranny and, in 1381, to the Peasants' Revolt. It probably, also, contributed to the Oriental plague known as the Black Death. England's population decreased; labor became scarce; and the common man began to rise in importance. Feudalism was threatened, and began to decline. The English Church was gradually having its attention directed to individual religion.

John Wycliff, at Oxford, was translating the *Bible* for the people and laying, through it, the foundation of Elizabethan prose. His followers, the Lollards, read the Holy Scriptures and made them the basis of their demands for political and social freedom. William Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* owed its origin to this popular religious and social movement. Next to *The Canterbury Tales, Piers Plowman* is the most significant poem of the period. It is written in alliterative verse, and is Anglo-Saxon in style and spirit. The poem has come down to us in versions of varying length and social or religious emphasis: the *A-text,* ca. 1360, is the shortest; the *B-text,* ca. 1380, is an expansion of the visions of Piers and of Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best; the *C-text,* ca. 1395, contains the addition of new visions of a majestical and mystical character. *Piers Plowman* is not an artistic poem. It lacks Chaucer's genius, his supreme sense of form. But its picture of the world as a "fair field full of folk," of the lovely lady, Holy Church, of truth's tower and falsehood's dungeon, and of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Virtues, is strong and instinct with genuine religious feeling. Midway between Langland and Chaucer we may place the still alliterative verse-romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* and its companion poem *The Pearl.* The first of these is plainly Arthurian; the second shows an advance in thought that points to Elizabethan times. Both poems are colorful and mystical.

Sir Gawain is a typical medieval knight. The poet of *The Pearl,* by contrast, is a theologian and a cleric. Besides these poets, living in Chaucer's time, there was the aristocratic, pious, and moralizing poet John Gower, who was born in 1325, lived like a medieval landed gentleman in Kent, wrote three then esteemed masterpieces in three different languages—the *Speculum Meditantis* in French, the *Vox Clamantis* in Latin, and the *Confessio Amantis* in English—was a friend of Chaucer, lived his last days devoutly in the priory of St. Mary Overy, in the nave of which he lies buried, beneath his sculptured figure, his head, garlanded with roses, resting on his three chief volumes. The *Confessio Amantis,* completed in 1393, is a long, fluent, digressive poem of stories on the Seven Deadly Sins. To this period belongs also the Scottish patriotic poet John Barbour whose *Bruce,* in 6,000 couplets, celebrates Scotland's emancipation from the yoke of England.

*The Poetry of Chaucer.** Chaucer was born ca. 1340 and died in 1400. His life is best divided into three periods: the early years of French influence, ending in 1370; the middle years of Italian influence, to 1385; and the later years of English influence. The French influence in his youth was natural. It was everywhere felt. Chaucer himself served in a campaign of the war. The *Roman de la Rose* was then popular, and Chaucer undertook a translation of it. This famous allegory of love in which "the lady is symbolized by a rosebud which the lover desires to pluck, but which is kept beyond his reach for many thousand lines," served the poet as a model for the dream-vision and Maytime setting that became a part of his early poem, *The Book of the Duchess,* an elegy whose theme is the death of Blanche, the Duchess of Lancaster, wife of John of Gaunt. By 1375 Chaucer had read and begun to translate the *Consolation* of Boethius; and the great medieval thinker's philosophy is evident in Chaucer's *The House of Fame,* a love poem in which the goddess Fame rules arbitrarily over the destinies of her petitioners. By this time also Chaucer was studying Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and feeding his mind on the humanism of the early Italian Renaissance. The poem *Troilus and Criseyde* shows this influence, especially that of Boccaccio. In Chaucer's hands the old story becomes in essence a poetical novel. In *The Parliament of Fowls* Chaucer combines personal characterization with social satire as he classifies English society into "the birds of prey, or the nobility; the worm-fowl, or the bourgeoisie; the seed-fowl, either the clergy or the agricultural class; and the water-fowl; or the mercantile class." In *The Legend of Good Women,* Chaucer writes in praise of great women such as Cleopatra, Dido, and Lucrece, "saints of Cupid," who died for love. These poems, and others, prepared the way for his masterpiece, *The Canterbury Tales,* famous alike for their story, their character-study, and their good-humored philosophy. In them Chaucer is the great poet, combining in a full, balanced measure the gifts of the keen observer, the wise man among men, the humane spirit of the gentleman, and the skilful artist. The *Prologue* is an extraordinary canvas of character sketches in which the qualities of the typical and the individual human traits, as well as the attitudes of sympathy and satire, are delicately held together in continual, pleasant balance. The knight's chivalric temper; the coy tenderness of the prioress; the loud voice and coarse manner of the miller; the convivial monk; the clever physician; the good parson; the unworldly Oxford scholar: these are become an imperishable part of our literary heritage. And the *Tales,* set in the framework of a London-to-Canterbury pilgrimage, carry out the poet's aim of giving us a descriptive story of life in England in the Middle Age, held in solution by a philosophical mind capable of discerning the truth applicable to all time. Besides his command of the

art of writing comedy and tragedy, Chaucer's mastery of verse forms pleases and amazes us. He introduced, or further developed, the seven line rime royal, or Chaucer stanza; the eight line stanza to which Spenser later added an alexandrine to create the Spenserian stanza; and the ten syllable heroic couplet. In addition, he introduced the terza rima, and made skilful use of such French forms as the roundel and the ballade. Chaucer is a poet of clear thought, moderate passion, and tranquil, playful imagination. His strength, chiefly, is in his kind heart and his good taste. His influence on writers after him has been continuous and strong.

The Fifteenth Century was one of upheaval. The Hundred Years' War continued to 1453; thereafter, the War of the Roses followed, to 1485. There was unrest in Scotland, leading to the assassination of James I. The decline of the papacy aroused Protestant reform, and led, in turn, to the Spanish Inquisition. The Revival of Learning stressed the classics, probably at the expense of a creative native literature. Yet literature was not neglected. Rather, it was in a process of germination for the great Elizabethan harvest. Latin was cultivated. The *Bible* was read and beginning to be translated; Chaucer's influence was being felt in both England and Scotland; the popular ballad was given its first great creative impulse; the miracle and morality plays were developing into the English drama; Sir Thomas Malory was compiling and translating the Arthurian romances, William Caxton was establishing a printing press at Westminster and publishing *The Canterbury Tales* and *Morte d'Arthur*; and, in Norfolk, the Paston family was writing its eleven hundred letters of valuable information concerning social life during the century.

Of the men that wrote in England under Chaucer's influence, three deserve mention: John Lydgate, who has been called the English Virgil; Thomas Occleve, a narrator in verse; and John Skelton, the most original, lively, and realistic of the three. In Scotland, Chaucer's name was honored by such poems as James I's *The King's Quair*, Robert Henryson's *The Testament of Cresseid*, William Dunbar's *The Thistle and the Rose*, and, in the next century, Sir David Lindsay's *The Dream*.

*Sir Thomas Malory.** The most important single literary work of the 15th c. was Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. It epitomizes the disappearance of the Middle Ages, the age of chivalry, and the end of feudalism. It is a book of idealism and nostalgia; of contemporary realism, and the inundation of an age's dream; of simple, colorful, noble prose. Little is known of Malory except that he probably fought with the Earl of Warwick in the War of the Roses. He compiled the story of Arthur from both French and English sources. Arthur is made the central figure; and the quest of the Holy Grail is the story's determining theme. It is a book of enchantment, a great prose mosaic, romantic to the core. Roger Ascham, in the next century, regarded it as a dangerous book; but its influence throughout literature, from Spenser to Tennyson (and the American E. A. Robinson) has been beneficial and strong.

The Popular Ballads. If *Morte d'Arthur* was an aristocratic book, the ballads that were now finding their way into English literature could be called a book of the people. Their origin was popular and traditional. These ballads, or stories in song, did not simply happen into being, without benefit of authorship. Rather, each ballad was probably the work of one poet after another, each of whom kept the form of the oral poem fluid until, with the invention of printing, this form became fixed. The number of these ballads, as we have them in the collection known as Percy's *Reliques*, exceeds three hundred. Their themes, generally, are of three kinds: (1) historical events, usually battles and border feuds; (2) supernatural tales of ghosts and

fairies; (3) romantic stories of love and death. Stirring action, dramatic situation, tense dialogue, and a lyrical refrain are the typical characteristics of the ballad. The *Robin Hood* ballads form a continuous narrative, or cycle, centering in Robin Hood, a popular hero of Greenwood Forest. The measure of the ballad is a four-line stanza, usually consisting of a pair of seven-stressed rhymed couplets.

The Beginning of the Drama. The drama, rising rapidly during the century, had its origin in the church, where the miracle plays celebrating the church year were presented. In time these plays passed into the control of the medieval guilds, by which they were offered as holiday entertainment and instruction to the people. Soon, in towns like York, Chester, Coventry, and Wakefield, there were cycles of plays representing *Bible* stories and the lives of saints. Besides these, allegorical plays symbolizing the virtues and vices became increasingly popular. They became known in England as morality plays. The greatest of the moralities was the play *Everyman,* published ca. 1520.

The Renaissance: 1500–1700. The Renaissance is viewed variously, as a rebirth, and as a reaction. Humanism was a going back to the classics, as well as an intellectual awakening; and the Reformation owed much of its inspiration to a return to the Church Fathers. The "New Learning" was brought from Italy to England soon after 1500. It was promoted at Oxford by John Colet; at Cambridge, by Erasmus; and, throughout England, in church and state, by the brilliant scholar and statesman, Thomas More. More's *Utopia,* written in Latin in 1516, was translated into English in 1551. It pictured a new society based on a life of reason. It owed much to Plato's *Republic;* and it inspired Bacon, in 1626, to write the *New Atlantis.* To this new humanism the Renaissance added a lively interest in nature, in astronomy, geology, navigation, and geographical discovery. The court of Henry VIII (1509–47) was the center of events in church and state. To him humanism, nationalism, and the Reformation were identical with the great cause of England; and the literature of the period reflects these united interests.

The New Poetry and Prose. Besides Thomas More, four early writers, in particular, represented the poetry and the prose of this new age: Thomas Wyatt (1503–42); Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey (1517–47); Thomas Elyot (1490–1546); and Roger Ascham (1515–68). Wyatt, a diplomat, lived in Italy, read the sonnets of Petrarch, imitated them in English love sonnets that were conventional but sincere, and wrote, in addition, his own version of the *Penitential Psalms.* Surrey was more brilliant and more versatile. He was a soldier, a courtier, and an envoy in Italy for Henry VIII who sent him to the Tower and the scaffold for treason. Surrey's sonnets are graceful. The rhyme scheme they use has been made famous by Shakespeare His translations of parts of Virgil's *Æneid* are the earliest blank verse in English, his paraphrases of the *Psalms* are noble and dramatic. Elyot was a diplomat and a Greek scholar. His *Governor's Book* is concerned mainly with the education of an English gentleman. It owes much to Machiavelli's *Prince,* and probably influenced John Lyly in writing *Euphues.* The gentleman studies the classics and engages in outdoor sports, says Elyot; and he adds quaintly· "Wrastlynge is a very good exercise . . . so that it be with one that is equal in strength or somewhat under, and that the place be softe so that in fallinge theyr bodies be not bruised." Ascham was a scholar and the tutor of Princess Elizabeth. He, too, stressed education for culture in his *Toxophilos,* and in *The Schoolmaster.* But, following Aristotle, he held that the end of knowledge is virtue; and, being thoroughly English, he opposed imitating the Italian literary style and social manner.

The Elizabethan Age. Ascham represents

Elizabeth's England. Her father, Henry VIII, had ruled almost as an "Italianate" prince. He was a tradesman, a man of vulgar habit; ruthless; fond of courtly splendor; a patron of art; a self-styled Catholic. Elizabeth was sagacious and politically minded. She represented the patriotic, national spirit of the English people. She encouraged every activity that made for the unity and glory of England. The political climax of her reign occurred in 1588 with the defeat of the Spanish Armada; the literary monument erected to her glory was the poet Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Henry VIII had a taste for magnificence, and for a vigorous literary style. He allowed them to be combined in the *Book of Common Prayer*, prepared under Archbishop Cranmer's direction, and famous for its union of the sonorous Latin, the direct and pithy Anglo-Saxon, and the lyrical Hebrew characteristics of its style. By contrast, Elizabethan prose is quite generally didactic and practical. Wherever it is purposely literary, it is stilted and artificial. But Elizabethan poetry is singularly original and spontaneous. Examples of these types of Elizabethan style are found in the didactic, bald, but vigorous *Chronicles* of Richard Hakluyt, the Euphuism of Lyly, and the exquisite songs of such lyrical poets as Thomas Nashe, Thomas Lodge, and Robert Greene. Yet prose, too, by the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603, had distinguished itself in the restrained eloquence of Richard Hooker, the profound reflections of Lord Bacon, and the somber organ notes of passages in the writings of Sir Walter Raleigh. Altogether, while Elizabethan poetry turned toward the lyric and the drama, the prose of the period was, for the most part, either musical and "biblical," or scientific and didactic.

Representative Elizabethan Writers. The most representative and versatile among the minor writers of the time was probably John Lyly (1553–1606). He was a court poet and "university wit." He wrote fiction, poetry, and drama. His *Euphues* is a record of the culture of the period: its attempt at urbanity; its worldliness; its cynicism; its need of religious faith. Euphuism, today, is remembered as a style of writing. Its chief traits are those associated with literary artistry: a delicate antithesis; poetical rhythm and alliteration; elegant phrases; subtle and witty allusions to materials of specialized knowledge. The cynical, the moral, and the pleasurable are deftly combined to make a relish of smart talk in such a sample of Euphuism as this: "Come, therefore, to me, all ye lovers that have been deceived by fancy, the glass of pestilence, or deluded by women, the gate to perdition; be as earnest to seek a medicine as you were eager to run into a mischief; the earth bringeth forth as well endive to delight the people as hemlock to endanger the patient; as well the rose to distill as the nettle to sting; as well the bee to give honey as the spider to yield poison."

Less famous than Lyly as a writer, but more important as a person, was Philip Sidney.* He was the ideal Elizabethan: poet, scholar, soldier, diplomat, courtier, and writer of romance. He wrote, as he lived, nobly, and to please persons of good taste. His *Astrophel and Stella* is a sequence of 108 unequal sonnets; his *Arcadia* is a pastoral romance written in prose interspersed with verse, praising country life, after the pattern of Virgil and Theocritus. His *Defense of Poesie* is his most important work. It is well written, in a calm critical spirit, and in a gentle idiomatic style. In contrast to Lyly and Sidney, there were the University Wits that lived by writing, and often lived violently and died tragically. Such were Marlowe, Greene, Peele, and Nashe. They wrote lyrics, romances, and plays. Perhaps the most interesting was Nashe, whose *Unfortunate Traveller* is a picaresque story of adventure written in the style of a journalist.

Christopher Marlowe* was, certainly, the most important of the four writers. His place as a dramatist is close to Shakespeare. Like Greene and Peele, he was a brilliant poet. But, whereas Greene's genius was in romance, and Peele's in song, Marlowe's was in the epic style turned to uses of the drama. In this gift he stands foremost among Elizabethan writers. His *Tamburlaine, Doctor Faustus,* and *The Jew of Malta* are masterpieces of stately and impassioned poetry. Their common theme is the lust of power; and Marlowe's treatment of it is on a plane of titanic and rhetorical splendor. The plays abound in monologues of the "high astounding terms" characteristic of the Elizabethan stage. Marlowe's *Edward II* is a historical play, typical of the Renaissance. Its theme is human ambition; man's rise to power by his wit; and the story of the self-trusting hero's betrayal, his downfall and death. It is a play of pathos and rich poetry, persistently suggestive of Marlowe's own life in its early brilliance, its flaming exhibition of genius, and its violent end. Marlowe was stabbed to death in a tavern, in 1593, at the age of twenty-nine.

The Development of the Drama. The story of the English drama before Shakespeare falls into two periods. It began with the mystery plays, which had their origin in the church and were presented in England as early as the 12th c. By 1500 the famous Chester, York, and Wakefield *Cycles,* or groups of plays, had been fully developed. By then, also, the miracle play, which dramatized the legend of some martyr or saint, had risen to take its place beside the mystery, or biblical drama. By 1529 *Everyman,* the best of the morality plays, had been written. The second period began when the interlude made its appearance. The master of this form of impersonation was John Heywood, whose *The Four P's* was presented sometime before 1560. The Renaissance added the classical influence of Latin literature, and the result was *Ralph Roister Doister,* the first actual English comedy, written ca. 1540 by Eton's headmaster, Nicholas Udall, for the entertainment of his boys. Equally classical in construction, but more natively realistic, was the comedy *Gammer Gurton's Needle,* written, it is believed, by William Stevenson, Fellow of Cambridge, ca. 1560. In 1562 Norton and Sackville presented the play *Gorboduc,* the first English tragedy, patterned after Seneca. The classical influence was further strengthened by Lyly and his child actors who ca. 1588 presented at the English court such neatly poetical and allegorical plays as *Endymion, the Man in the Moon.* By then the English drama was on its way of swift and great development. Its years of splendor were between 1580 and 1610. Throughout the period, two schools of writers contended for supremacy in the English theatre. They are known to us as the classical dramatists, and the popular playwrights. The leading representative of the former was Ben Jonson; of the latter, William Shakespeare.

Summing up the English drama's development, we may say that the three types of comedy, tragedy, and history are, in the course of time, subjected to the three transverse influences of the folk or native taste for realism, the scholarly or classical stress on literary form, and the courtly or romantic desire for the rich and free imaginative life. The plays throughout the Elizabethan period are in the various combinations of these types and trends.

*Edmund Spenser** (1552–99) stands among his readers, first of all, for pure poetry. He is the poet's poet, the artist in words, the creator of a world of beauty pleasing to man's heart and fancy. Spenser's life may be divided into four periods. There were, first, the years at Cambridge, six or seven of them, given to sound scholarship, especially to the classics, and more particularly to Plato. Then followed a short period of sojourn in the north

of England, where his study of pastoral poetry and archaic diction contributed to his writing of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. In this the influence of Virgil, of nature, of rustic life, assumed form to become a definite characteristic of Spenser's later poetry. After that, probably in 1578, the poet went to London. Here he met Philip Sidney, entered into the service of the Earl of Leicester, and sought to establish himself in Queen Elizabeth's court. His failure to impress the Queen, either at this time or later, was a disappointment to him. But literature, very probably, gained thereby. For in 1580 Spenser, as secretary to Lord Grey, went to Ireland where, during years of solitude, and free from the distraction of court intrigue, he wrote *The Faerie Queene*. In 1586 he purchased Kilcolman Manor, in the county of Cork; in 1589 he was visited there by Sir Walter Raleigh; in 1590 he went with Raleigh to London, but returned without the gift of preferment; in 1594 he married Elizabeth Boyle who was the inspiration of the *Epithalamion* and the *Amoretti*. In 1596 he was again in London and, while awaiting recognition by the court, wrote *Prothalamion*. In 1598 the severe British rule caused the Irish people to rebel. Kilcolman Manor was sacked and burned; Spenser fled to London where, in 1599, he died.

Spenser's poetry exhibits a variety of traits and influences. At one moment it is classical and pastoral; at another, chivalric and medieval; at still another, nationalistic and patriotic; or, again, richly sensuous and adventurous; or, reformative, idealistic, and pervasively moral. Purity of diction and a classic temper are everywhere noticeable features of his work. The *Hymns* are noble, melodious, and chastely sensuous. The *Shepherd's Calendar* is conventional, rustic, technical, and fanciful—a work of Renaissance vigor and virtuosity. *The Faerie Queene* is a romantic epic, an allegory dedicated to virtue, to religious faith, and to a nation's mission and destiny. Its famous Spenserian stanza is the poet's own invention. Spenser declared that the poem's aim was "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." The story of the poem centers in Gloriana, Queen of Fairyland, and her twelve knights who represent the twelve Aristotelian virtues, the sum of which is represented in Arthur, the ideal knight. The theme of the poem is the conflict between these virtues (Holiness, Book I; Temperance, Book II; Chastity, Book III; Friendship, Book IV; Justice, Book V; Courtesy, Book VI) and their contrasting vices. The allegory is threefold (moral, religious, and political-historical) and involved. But the romance is intensely chivalric; the verse, sweetly melodious; the display of fancy, satisfying. Altogether, Spenser is England's supreme poet of vision, fancy, verbal music, and idealistic thought.

Minor Elizabethan Poets. Of more than average importance, for his intellectual powers and his noble style, is George Chapman (1559–1634). He was both poet and dramatist. He is especially known for his vigorous and fiery translation of Homer; and for his profound and unusual poem *The Shadow of Night*. More lyrical than Chapman, more sensuous or rapturous, as his theme was mundane or sacred, was Thomas Campion (1566–1619). He was the true singer, the poet-musician, who composed songs as well as poems, and played the lute. He was, besides, a physician and, as his work on the *Art of English Poesie* shows, a literary critic. Two other writers of the time were Samuel Daniel (1562–1619) and Michael Drayton (1563–1631). Both wrote elegies, epistles, and sonnets. Daniel is the more melodious and graceful; Drayton, the more vigorous, voluminous, and fiery. Both are Spenserian in their stress on the pastoral and moral treatment of England's history. Both are now chiefly remembered for their sonnet cycles:

Daniel's *Delia;* and Drayton's *Idea*: the former for the sonnet "Care-charmer Sleep, son of the sable night"; the latter, for the sonnet "Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part." Raleigh (1552–1618), besides his prose *History of the World,* composed some memorable lyrics, such, for instance, as his *Pilgrimage,* and *Even Such Is Time,* written, it is supposed, near the time of his execution; and poems of worldly-wise satire like *The Lie*—poetry characterized by the contemporary critic Puttenham as "most lofty, insolent, and passionate." Mention should be made of Edward Dyer, courtly poet and Sidney's friend, who wrote the typical Elizabethan poem "My mind to me a kingdom is"; and of Thomas Kyd, the last of the so-called University Wits, who wrote, in Seneca-like style, the horror and murder drama *The Spanish Tragedy.*

*William Shakespeare** (1564–1616). Of the life of Shakespeare, we possess facts enough to establish his identity. But these outward facts give us no deep insight into the poet's mind and character. Of this knowledge of him, Shakespeare's works are the sole, but sufficient, source. By the records, we know that he was born in Stratford-on-Avon, in Warwickshire; that his father, John Shakespeare, was a merchant who held various municipal offices; that his mother, Mary Arden, was a woman of gentle blood, and some inheritance; that, at the age of eighteen, he married Anne Hathaway, who was twenty-six; that he arrived in London, probably in 1588, to enter on a career; that by 1592 he was a rapidly rising playwright; that by 1597 he was financially able to purchase a home in Stratford; that his career as playwright ended in 1611 or 1612; that he then returned to Stratford where he died, in 1616, and was buried in the chancel of the village church.

It is customary to divide Shakespeare's activity as a poet into four periods. The first period (1590–94) was one of apprenticeship, in which he wrote such well known plays as *Love's Labour's Lost, A Midsummer Night's Dream,* and *Romeo and Juliet.* In each of these, the single theme of love is treated; but variously: in *Love's Labour's Lost,* it is courtly love, dealt with in the artificial, Euphuistic style popularized by John Lyly; in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* love is presented in the fairy land of poetry, in the various guises of a noble sentiment, a magic trick, a satirical farce, and a tedious burlesque; in *Romeo and Juliet,* love is a tragic passion that carries the two young lovers, precipitately, from ecstasy, through desperation, to an unavoidable death. Besides other plays, the first period is marked by Shakespeare's writing of two successful poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece,* which are classical in story, sumptuous in description, and frankly sensual in their appeal. The second period (1595–1600) was significant for its historical plays, for the poet's creation of his first immortal group of characters in comedy, and for the writing of most of the sonnets. In *Richard II, Edward III, Henry IV,* and *Henry V,* he taught the London populace history, drama, and patriotism, and enriched its store of comedy, principally in the character of Falstaff. In *Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, Twelfth Night,* and *The Merchant of Venice,* he created such incomparable feminine characters as Beatrice, Rosalind, Viola, and Portia, and such characters of high comedy, or of farce, as Touchstone, Jacques, Sir Toby Belch, and Sir Andrew Aguecheek, and presented them to his audiences in a succession of romantic scenes with wit, with sentiment, and in exquisitely beautiful verse. The *Sonnets* represent an amazing example of formal diction, joined to profound personal feeling. *Julius Caesar,* if it belong to this period, was the period's single tragedy; and it foreshadowed what was to come: Caesar and Brutus, both

strong personalities, led to ruin; the one by ambition, the other by uncertain, good intention.

Shakespeare's third literary period (1601–09) was one of sorrow. In the great tragedies, *Hamlet, Othello, King Lear,* and *Macbeth,* the pathos is deep and unfeigned; in *Antony and Cleopatra,* tragedy enters history, and encounters bitter satire; in *Troilus and Cressida,* the tragedy of faithlessness in love turns the poet to an almost fierce cynicism; in *Measure for Measure,* tragedy contends with comedy to find a solution of the problem of evil on the higher level—as the play's title suggests—of the ethics of the Gospels. Finally, in the fourth period (1610–12) the cloud of gloom passes from the poet's mind and he writes *Cymbeline, A Winter's Tale,* and *The Tempest.* In them a serene tenderness returns to the poet's work. In the first of these plays we see the beautiful and intelligent Imogen, and we listen to the song, "Hark! Hark! the Lark," sung to assuage her grief; in the second, we visit some Arcadia on English soil, where the daffodils sway in the wind to the tune of the merry jay; in the third, Shakespeare bids the stage farewell, in Ariel's song to Ferdinand, which suggests its own application to the poet of the words:

> Nothing of him that doth fade
> But doth suffer a sea-change
> Into something rich and strange.

Shakespeare's fame is world-wide. His influence on literature has been immense. His contemporary Ben Jonson, a good critic, said: "I did love and honor him, on this side idolatry, as much as any." Men in his day referred to him and to his art as "gentle." He was indifferent to fame. He took no care to preserve his plays; he made no mention of them in his will. It is by their worth that his name and his work endure.

Shakespeare's Contemporaries. The most important of these was Ben Jonson* (1573–1637). He was famous as poet, critic, and dramatist. His tastes were classical. He emphasized form. His lyrics are chaste, tender, and delicate. In his prose work *Timber* he held that poetry is the highest form of art, that tragedy should teach while it pleases, that comedy should discipline the reader or hearer through its disciplined style. Jonson's play *Every Man In His Humour* was a realistic study of London society. The comedies *Volpone* and *The Alchemist* are merciless satirical studies of two human vices: the first, of greed; the second, of gullibility. The lesson Jonson wished to teach was that every man should be "in his humour." His critical judgments were sane. Yet he had a fiery imagination, nimble wit, and the gift of being entertaining. He ruled well the "tribe of Ben" who were his followers, and admonished them to write with care for construction, and with restraint.

After Jonson, in importance, were Francis Beaumont (1584–1616) and John Fletcher (1579–1625). Fletcher's father had been a clergyman; Beaumont's, a lawyer. The significant fact for literature was these two writers' partnership in writing such plays as *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, A King and No King, The Scornful Lady,* and probably also *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.* To these plays Fletcher contributed a keen observation and joy of life, and a brilliant wit; while Beaumont gave to them high seriousness and a strong moral quality. The joint effect, at its best, was one of singular beauty and power.

Born in or close to the year 1570, were the dramatists Thomas Middleton, Thomas Heywood, Thomas Dekker, and John Webster. Middleton was a Londoner who knew the city's happiest and most sordid aspects of life, and wrote realistically about both. He wrote —singly and in collaboration—pageants, masques, tragedies, comedies, and romantic

dramas. His most famous play is *The Changeling,* a horror tragedy, interspersed with passages of exquisite poetry of Shakespearean style. Heywood is remembered for his sound scholarship and extraordinary literary productivity, his genial nature, and the wholesome moral tone of his writing. He excelled in the domestic drama. His masterpiece is *A Woman Killed With Kindness,* a play of touching pathos in its representation of sin and penitential remorse. Dekker, judged by his writings, was a genius. In his person he was coarse, congenial, light-hearted, humorous, strongly patriotic. His literary style reflected these traits, a combination of realism, romance, poetic power, and charming, disarming naivete. His fame rests on three works: *The Shoemaker's Holiday,* a jolly comedy about a shoemaker that became Lord Mayor of London; *Old Fortunatus,* a vividly romantic play, held by a modern critic to be comparable to Marlowe's *Faustus;* and *The Guls Hornboke,* a humorous prose work criticizing the foppishness and gullibility of the typical Elizabethan Londoner. Webster was perhaps the greatest of these minor Shakespearean playwrights. His best play, *The Duchess of Malfi,* is weighed down by devices of physical horror, the "grisly paraphernalia of the madhouse, the graveyard, and the shambles." But, above these and intact in the play, two things are strikingly noticeable: certain sudden illuminating passages of poetic insight and power; and a stress on character as uncontaminated by hideous, sordid surroundings.

Space permits here only the mention of four other playwrights whose work marked the drama's decline: John Marston, Philip Massinger, John Ford, and James Shirley. In background, they were Elizabethan, but not in talent and taste. Marston's *The Malcontent* begins pleasantly and wittily, but deteriorates into bombastic violence and a false pose. Massinger's ability is best shown in his bitter portrait of Sir Giles Overreach, the miser, in the play *A New Way to Pay Old Debts.* Ford's poetry is melodious; but the temper of *The Broken Heart,* his best play, is one of morbid melancholy. In Shirley's *Hyde Park,* written in 1637, on the eve of the Puritan revolution, we see a witty, realistic, modern play attesting to the author's good education and cultural background.

The Seventeenth Century, generally, is characterized by the close of the Tudor dynasty; the rise, tyranny, and fall of the Stuart kings; civil war between Royalists and Parliamentarians; the gradual rise of the middle class; Puritanism, representative of middle class piety, morality, and individualism; a resultant national disunity, wane of enthusiasm, and of imaginative freedom; a growing interest in philosophy, in science, in commerce; in literature, an increasing emphasis on prose; in poetry, a marked diversification of writers into groups, such as the Spenserians, the Metaphysicals, and the Cavaliers; and, late in the century, the significant rise of neo-classicism. The prose of the century, too, was varied in type: Bacon's was scientific; Sir Thomas Browne's was poetical and biblical; Jeremy Taylor's was florid and oratorical; Izaak Walton's was informal and conversational; Milton's was stately and sustained; Bunyan's was richly vernacular; Dryden's was clear and critical; Samuel Pepys' was familiar and journalistic. Altogether, it was a full century, less exuberant than the 16th, but rich in achievement, in solid thought, in writing of distinct style, and in trends felt in our own day.

*John Donne** (1573–1631). Of the century's minor poets, his genius and influence give the first place to Donne. His personal career is as interesting as his professional skill. Through his mother's family he was related to Thomas More. His secret marriage to Lord Egerton's niece cost him a promising social position. For his services as a lawyer and poet to the Earl of Somerset he was rec-

ommended to King James, given holy orders, appointed Royal Chaplain and, in 1621, made Dean of St. Paul's. During the remaining ten years of his life, the power of his preaching equalled that of his poetry. For this power of originality Dr. Samuel Johnson later gave to him, and to his school of poets, the name "metaphysical." The term was not misapplied. For Donne's method of composing poetry was not only realistic and analytical, but philosophical. His best poems are more than self-revelations, half exposed to us and half concealed by the poet's learning and his use of subtle and fantastic language. They are honest and thoroughgoing examinations and evaluations of life against the highest standards. His well known poems, *Go, and catch a falling star,* and *Love's Deity,* for example, present woman as an enigma, not as a mystical being. As woman, she is an unpredictable, inconstant, natural creature; what she may become through saintly Christian living, is indicated in the poet's divine poems and sermons. Donne distinguishes between the mundane and the supramundane worlds. He keeps them in the separate categories in which they belong; though in daily experience, as he shows, the human and the divine often appear to be strangely intermingled. It is, the poet holds, their close juxtaposition in daily life that leads us to confuse good with bad, love with lust; and we easily fall into this confusion if we read Donne, as we often do other poets, by a process of "absorption," instead of using the critical, "thinking imagination." Summed up, Donne's chief traits are represented in a combined use of reason, passion, and imagination, which work together as a kind of catalytic agent causing conventional compounds of ideas to fall apart and to re-form into new and realistic concepts. It is for this quality in Donne that his influence on modern writers is especially recognized.

The Religious Poets. Four of these achieved minor distinction. George Herbert* (1593–1633), Donne's friend, after a brilliant Cambridge career, became rector at Bemerton, a country parish, where he lived a simple saintly life and wrote poems, later published as *The Temple.* The poems vary in form. Some are sonnets; others are written in astonishingly free verse; some appear on the page in diagrammatic form, as, for example, the form of the cross. The religious feeling in them is intense; the thought clear, sane, orthodox. Such representative poems as *The Pulley* and *The Collar* are more than outwardly unconventional, they illustrate the deep conflict between the soul and the world. Richard Crashaw (ca. 1612–49), also a Cambridge poet, theologically educated, and a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, wrote odes and hymns of extraordinary mysticism and imagination. In poems like the *Hymn to St. Teresa* and *The Flaming Heart,* Crashaw rises through his lyrical, subtle, penetrating power to ecstatic grandeur. His strength is in his use of the symbols of Christ's passion, and of Christian apocalyptic language. Henry Vaughan (1622–95) was a Welsh country physician who, first, imitated the poetry of Donne, then felt Herbert's inspiring influence; but who found his own special gift, as a poet, in his mystical vision of the created world as an emanation of the Divine Spirit. His poems, *The World,* beginning, "I saw Eternity the other night," *Departed Friends,* beginning "They are all gone into the world of light," and *The Retreate,* are deservedly famous. The last of these unmistakably influenced Wordsworth's *Ode on Immortality* —as Crashaw's *The Flaming Heart* influenced Francis Thompson's *The Hound of Heaven.* Thomas Traherne (ca. 1634–74), Oxford student, and later a country rector in the vicinity of Hereford, was long neglected as a poet, and almost forgotten, until he was rediscovered by Bertram Dobell early in our century. His *Poems* and *Centuries of Meditations* are

rich in musical cadences and religious thought.

The Cavalier Poets. While Jonson, through his return to classicism, was attempting to keep poetry from falling from the Elizabethan heights, and the metaphysical poets, turning to Christianity and to Plato, exalted poetry as the interpreter of the divine mystery, the Cavalier poets, debtors alike to Shakespeare, to Spenser, to Jonson, and to Donne, were content with their allegiance to King Charles and King James and the Royalist cause. Thus richly endowed and expressly limited, their poetry is intensely personal and lyrical, and ornamented with jewels of delicate imagery. Richard Carew (1594–1638) wrote such apparently careless word melodies as that beginning with the lines:

Ask me no more where Jove bestows,
When June is past, the fading rose;
For in your beauty's orient deep
These flowers, as in their causes, sleep.

John Suckling (1609–42) and Richard Lovelace (1618–58) were gallant, rich young men who lost their fortunes in the cause of King Charles. Suckling became cynical; Lovelace retained his chivalry and love of knightly honor. Their romantic, lyric genius has left its mark, age after age, on subsequent poetry.

*Robert Herrick** (1591–1674) was the most important of the poets of this group. He was born in the height of Shakespeare's career and died in the year of the death of Milton. He has aptly been called half clergyman, half Cavalier. After living in London as a society wit, he took orders, and was appointed to a vicarage in Devonshire, which he lost with the rule of Cromwell, and in which he was reinstated after the Restoration. His poetry is a combination of the classical, the Cavalier, and modern realistic trends. Though sensuous, it does not betray him into mere "sensibility." His description of nature is quaint, but free and true; his delineation of passion is frank, yet detached. He is, as he calls himself, the "free-born Roman," living in "dull Devonshire," and creating by his poet's fancy a population of gods and mistresses, and leaving them to us in a collection of nearly a thousand short poems, published, in 1648, under the title of *Hesperides.* His collection of religious poems, *Noble Numbers,* published in the same volume, is smaller but hardly less important. It is expected, in a criticism of Herrick, to list the characteristics of his poetry as those of a charming Arcadian hedonist, possessing the mood of a pagan, and a knack for finding the inevitable word. He was an epicurean, with an exquisite taste for uncorrupted pleasure. The poem beginning "Whenas in silks my Julia goes," and the *Litany to the Holy Spirit,* may serve to represent, separately, his secular and his sacred poetry.

Minor Restoration Writers fall into three groups: poets; dramatists; prose writers. Of the poets five especially should be mentioned. The first of them is Andrew Marvell (1621–78), Cambridge graduate, tutor in the family of Lord Fairfax at Nun Appleton, Puritan, friend of the poet Milton. Marvell's reputation rests on his noble *Ode to Cromwell* and, more particularly, on his Appleton poems written in praise of simple country life. He owed much to Horace and, in turn, gave much to Wordsworth. Abraham Cowley (1618–67) was precocious, famous in his time, eclectic in his literary tendencies and tastes, and much indebted to Jonson, to Donne, to Spenser, to Pindar, and to the English *Bible.* He is read today almost exclusively for his conversational *Essays in Verse and Prose,* the most popular of which is entitled *Of My Self.* Edmund Waller (1606–87) was traditionally the first to use the closed couplet, and is remembered for his literary service to John Dryden and perhaps more popularly for his two anthology pieces,

"Go, Lovely Rose," and *On a Girdle;* John Denham (1615–69) is author of *Cooper's Hill;* Samuel Butler (1612–80), of the satirical anti-Puritan *Hudibras.*

Of the writers of plays after the Restoration, in 1660, John Dryden was of course the greatest. His influence equalled that of Beaumont and Fletcher, who were then more popular than Shakespeare and Jonson. In the reopened theatres where actresses were now playing the feminine roles, and the plays were either dramatized heroic poems or comedies of manners, there was, besides much gaiety, little enthusiasm for good drama. Dryden's only success with tragedy was in *All for Love.* Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682) was good tragic drama. Etherege wrote *Sir Fopling Flutter;* Wycherley wrote *The Country Wife* and *The Plain Dealer;* Congreve wrote *Love for Love* and *The Way of the World.* After them came John Vanbrugh with *The Provok'd Wife;* and George Farquhar with *The Beaux' Stratagem.* The plays, generally, were brilliant in dialogue, in repartee, in stagecraft; impudently witty, and unmoral.

The great prose writers of the century were Milton, Bacon, Dryden, and Bunyan. After them, in their approximate rank, were Robert Burton (1577–1640), Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82), Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), Thomas Fuller (1608–61), Izaak Walton* (1593–1683), and Samuel Pepys (1633–1703). Of these, Burton has attained fame through his *Anatomy of Melancholy.* It is a book of learning and brooding. Man's history and his sense of life's burden are anatomized. It reflects the world-weariness that had taken the place of earlier Elizabethan eagerness. Browne's two prose works, *Religio Medici* and *Urn Burial,* have lately increased in literary popularity. Besides its antiquarian learning and religious mysticism, the prose of Browne has a cathedral organ quality, a sustained melodious majesty, unsurpassed except in the English *Bible.* There is a fastidiousness in his style, a subtle harmony of diction and thought, that give one the feeling of reading in an enchanted tongue. But for enchanting landscape, luxuriant metaphor, and for a deep sense of the beauty of holiness, the 17th century reader most often went to the tracts or sermons of Jeremy Taylor. His *Holy Living and Holy Dying* became a classic in the religious English home after the Restoration. Not equal to that of Taylor, but brilliant and witty, was the prose of Fuller. He was, like Burton and Browne, an antiquarian. Gathering learning from every source, he seasoned what he wrote with the salt of anecdote and wit. His style, as represented in his *Worthies of England,* is the peculiar delight of those whose literary tastes run to caviar. Walton and Pepys are inimitable writers, but at opposite poles. Walton was a biographer, who wrote the *Lives* of Donne, Herbert, and Hooker. But, at the age of sixty, he made for himself, as he said, "a recreation of a recreation" and wrote *The Compleat Angler,* a charming book on the art of fishing, and the good life. Pepys, as a minor government official, began in shorthand, in 1660, the writing of his *Diary,* which he continued to 1669. The work, deciphered in 1825, comprises eight volumes of extraordinary historical and personal self-revelation. It is a simple, intimate, candid human document. Its style is that of completely confessional writing; and the result is a psychological portrait of human experience. Mention, in this rich century of prose, should be made of the *King James Bible* (1611); of the character-writing of Thomas Overbury, John Earle, and Bishop Hall; of the essay style of Sir William Temple, friend and patron of Jonathan Swift; of John Evelyn's *Diary;* and of the influence of John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding.* The main trend of literature, it

can be seen, is toward mundane considerations and man's critical reasoning.

*Francis Bacon** (1561–1626). The importance of Bacon lies in his work in two fields: the one is represented by *The Advancement of Learning;* the other, by the *Essays.* Time, fortunately, has caused his political career to be overshadowed by his contribution to literature, to philosophy, and to science. He was not, in the classical sense, either a scientist or a philosopher, but the popularizer of an experimental method of gaining complete knowledge and control over nature. "Two words," Macaulay tells us, "are the key of the Baconian doctrine—Utility and Progress." Bacon's mind was analytical; his moral thinking, subtle and unintuitive; his imagination, rich; his observations, broad and worldly-wise. The earlier essays are concise and acidulous; the later ones, generally, are milder, discursive, and richly brocaded.

*John Milton** (1608–74). This poet's works are best studied in three periods: (1) that of his education and his early poetry, to 1640; (2) the years between 1640 and 1660, given mostly to prose, and to the writing of sonnets; (3) the remaining years of his life after the Restoration. Milton was born in London. His preparatory years were spent at Cambridge and at Horton where he read deeply in literature, philosophy, and theology. In 1629, at Cambridge, he wrote his first important poem, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity.* Between 1632 and 1634 he composed *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso,* two poems dedicated to the active and the contemplative life of man. In 1634 he wrote *Comus,* a graceful allegorical play enjoining the audience to "Love Virtue; she alone is free." *Lycidas,* a pastoral elegy, followed in 1637. It united classical and Christian concepts in the idea that poets are shepherds of souls. After a year on the Continent, mostly in Italy, Milton returned to England to write for the cause of liberty. His most important tract of the period was the *Areopagitica,* an eloquent defence, in classical style, of the freedom of the press. The sonnets written during this time are noble in thought and masterly in construction. Those beginning with the lines, "Avenge O Lord thy slaughter'd Saints," "When I consider how my light is spent," and "Methought I saw my late espoused Saint," are well known and typical. But it was in *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regain'd,* and *Samson Agonistes,* written mostly after 1660 during the poet's blindness, that Milton's genius was fully revealed. Here his full powers came to expression: his Elizabethan sweep of imagination; his Puritan moral grandeur; his profound scholarship, rich in classical allusions; the majestic organ sound and melodious beauty of his verse; his mastery of diction, of character delineation, of description; the stateliness of his mind; the severe purity of his inmost thought; the magnitude of his theme, and his extraordinary comprehension of it. These qualities, and others, place Milton in a class apart and unrivalled among English poets. The *Paradise Lost* consists of twelve books that tell the story (1) of the rebellion of Satan, his expulsion from heaven, and his building of an evil kingdom in hell; (2) of the creation of the Earth, Satan's journey through the realm of Chaos, his arrival at the Garden of Eden; (3) of the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve, their supplication for mercy, the promise to them of the coming of Messiah, and, at the end of the poem, their expulsion from Paradise. As *Paradise Lost* centers in the fact of temptation, so also does *Paradise Regain'd;* but in this poem the tempter is foiled, the temptation is overcome, and the way is prepared for man's restoration. *Paradise Regain'd* is stately and melodious; but it lacks the epic grandeur of *Paradise Lost.* The poem *Samson Agonistes* is Greek (Aeschylean) in literary construction, Biblical in allegory, autobiographical in temper and tone, Puritan in

its deeper significance. Puritanism, like Samson, fallen into disgrace, will live on in English life through its death. Such was Milton's conception of his cause, well summed up in the poem's closing lines:

Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

*John Dryden** (1631–1700). Dryden's career coincides fully with his age. He was educated under Puritan influence, Cambridge, in his years there (1650–54), was much the same as in the student years (1625–32) of Milton. When, in 1660, the monarchy was restored, Dryden became a Royalist. In 1666, after several sea victories over the Dutch, London was swept by the Great Fire; and Dryden wrote *Annus Mirabilis,* the poem that made him nationally popular and, a year or two later, poet laureate. In 1681–2, when the Earl of Shaftesbury tried to set up the Duke of Monmouth in the place of the Duke of York to succeed Charles II to the monarchy, Dryden wrote *Absalom and Achitophel,* which marked him as master of the heroic couplet and of political satire. Since James, the Duke of York, was a Roman Catholic, the controversy over his succession was both political and ecclesiastical; and Dryden, inevitably involved in it, without much consistency but with a certain commendable insight into theology, wrote on both sides of the question. In 1682 he published *Religio Laici,* a verse-argument against Deism and in support of the Church of England. Five years later, having become a Roman Catholic, he wrote in defence of his adopted faith, the excellent allegorical poem *The Hind and the Panther.* Besides these his best poems, he wrote plays of four kinds: heroic plays, or epic melodramas; comedies; tragicomedies; and tragedies. Most of these plays, written to please the current taste, and for bread, required hard work and gave him little pleasure. The tragedy *All for Love* was the exception. It is the story of Antony and Cleopatra, written in noble blank verse and composed as pure classical drama; and Dryden, in 1695, said of it: "I never writ anything for myself but Antony and Cleopatra." In addition, he wrote stately rhetorical odes, like *Alexander's Feast,* a poem in praise of music, lauded by Pope, but by a recent critic referred to as perhaps "only immortal ragtime"; operas; translations from Ovid, Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace, including a noble paraphrase of the Latin hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus;* several famous *Prefaces,* notably that published with the volume *Fables Ancient and Modern* in which, for all purposes of literary study, he rediscovered the poet Chaucer; and, finally, a critical essay of almost flawless prose entitled *Of Dramatick Poesie.* Dryden was the pre-eminent Restoration man of letters. Excelling in poetry and drama, he was supreme in his mastery of prose. In it his great gifts were most apparent: the power of clear, copious thought; the use of concise, fluent, idiomatic language; the exercise of sound judgment; the energy of will and the industry of intellect, against adversity, to achieve distinction as one of England's outstanding men of letters.

*John Bunyan** (1628–88), a tinker's son, had no formal education. He learned to read and write in Elstow village; became a soldier in the Civil War; was married; read religious books, especially the *Bible;* felt himself convicted of sin and was converted; joined the Baptists at Bedford, and began to preach. With the Restoration, in 1660, he was arrested for preaching and put into prison, where he remained for 12 years. Freed in 1672, he became pastor of the Bedford church. In 1675 he was again in prison for six months for preaching without the King's

license; but was, after that, unmolested. Of Bunyan's works, three stand out especially: *Grace Abounding,* which is his spiritual autobiography, and whose theme may be summed up in the words "salvation through heavenly grace"; *The Pilgrim's Progress,* his great masterpiece, an allegory on the theme that man is a pilgrim on earth, journeying from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly Jerusalem; *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman,* the realistic story of a sinner who lives like a contented brute, but is a lost soul. Bunyan's style has puzzled the critics that ask how he learned to write. Four causes may be suggested to account for the eloquent vitality and amazing success of his books: (1) the great intensity and the integrity of Bunyan's religious emotion; (2) his practical interest in the concrete fact or object; (3) his vivid sense of the distinction between the natural and the supernatural world orders; (4) his daily ardent reading of the English *Bible.*

The Eighteenth Century. The literature of the century falls generally into three periods: (1) the Augustan Age, also called the age of Pope, marked by the triumph of classicism (1700–44); (2) the age of Johnson, in which classicism gradually declined (1744–84); (3) the short transition period, often named after Burns and Blake, that saw the definite rise of romanticism (1784–1800).

After the rule of Charles II (1660–85) and James II (1685–88), a constitutional monarchy was set up in England under William and Mary (1688–1702). The reign of Queen Anne (1702–14) was followed by the passing of the crown to the Hanoverians, George I (1714–27), George II (1727–60), and George III (1760–1820). The time was ripe for new political, social, intellectual, and religious movements; and it became the definite character of literature to have a share in them.

The main trend of the century was away from the romantic imagination and toward reason, law and order, propriety and moderation, good manners, better morals, and a sense of social prestige and respectability. The free creative imagination of the Renaissance was not allowed to die: it survived in the poetry of Pope's contemporary, James Thomson; and, after 1750, through its stress on feeling, on rural life, on interest in man as man, it began gradually to challenge the supremacy of the poet of classical wit and reason in the work of such men as Gray, Collins, Macpherson, and later more decisively in the romantic poems of Cowper, Burns, and Blake.

But it was not the "enthusiast" but the "wit" that ruled the century. The philosophic naturalism of Hobbes and Locke overshadowed the age of Pope. Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1731), was the Augustan model. He was a deist, rejecting all supernatural revelation for a religion based on a study of nature. He looked on decency as good taste, morality as a fine art, natural instinct as good, and philosophy as a gentleman's pursuit. This became Pope's adopted view. But it was not the view of Swift, who took the age severely to task for its callous, groundless satisfaction with itself.

In the age of Johnson the picture changed. England was becoming industrial; the land and the factory were brought to the attention of the people and their leaders; a broader sense of humanity resulted; Johnson's man of common sense supplanted the genteel egoist. Literature, abandoning its rationale of a false optimism, came down to earth. Writers that were not genuine poets gave up being "poetical" and wrote good prose. The essay was the age's most striking type: it was informative, a civilizing influence, and an experiment in developing a serviceable, modern English style. It was in the novel that the century's prose came nearest to the "earth-

liness" that characterized the time. The best of literature in the age of Johnson is perhaps summed up in the poetry, the fiction, and the comedy of Oliver Goldsmith.

*Alexander Pope** (1688–1744) was the true Augustan. He was London-born, urban and mercantile in outlook, egotistical, fastidious in taste, eager for patronage, and an indefatigable borrower. His great passion was for the classics of antiquity; his greatest gift was the brilliant use of satire; his weapon of power was the closed or heroic couplet. He made many friends—among them, particularly, Addison and Swift—but was too sensitively dependent upon them and easily offended by them. A current of sentiment and romantic feeling ran through him, as is shown in his early *Pastorals* (1709), the descriptive *Windsor Forest* (1713), his tragic telling of the familiar story in *Eloisa to Abelard* (1717), and in the melodramatic story of love and death, *The Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady* (1717). His respect for the church and devotion to his mother attest to a noble trait in his character.

Pope's main work consists of five important poems: (1) an *Essay on Criticism* (1711), dedicated to writing "correct" poetry, according to the classical example of Homer and Virgil, and the principles set forth by Aristotle, Longinus, and Quintilian; (2) *The Rape of the Lock* (1712), a mock epic of "undiluted wit," in which trivialities are treated as things of great state, and—in a later edition—sylphs and gnomes assume the importance of Greek gods and goddesses; (3) a translation of the *Iliad*, a masterly poem less like Homer than like Pope himself; (4) the *Essay on Man*, addressed to Bolingbroke, a superficial deist, —a brilliant poem of quotable epigrams on the theme "whatever is, is right"; (5) the incomparable *Dunciad*, a full quiver of arrows of satire hurled, with considerable malice, by Pope against his enemies. Pope's weakness is in his too often shallow thinking and rhetoric; his strength is in his cutting wit and extraordinarily brilliant diction.

*Jonathan Swift** (1667–1745). Swift's life was a long, hard journey brightened by a few moments of exquisite joy. He was forced to meet a succession of personal, political, and ecclesiastical problems. He shared the fortunes of the Tory party, which collapsed with Queen Anne's death, in 1714, driving Swift back to Ireland, as he said, "to die like a poisoned rat in his hole." The office of Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin was an unwanted burden. The Irish, for long, mistrusted him. He was tormented by Hester Vanhomrigh who followed him from London to Ireland. Yet by his writing he helped the causes and persons opposing him. He was most often tortured into writing by the injustice of what he saw. Only Stella and his letters to her, collected in the *Journal to Stella*, have the freedom from tension and the gentleness of which Swift was capable.

His first essay, *The Battle of the Books*, was playfully satirical, concluding with the epilogue on the bee and the spider in which he said that the Moderns, like the spider, spin their thoughts out of themselves, while the Ancients, like the bee, go to nature to fill their "hives with honey and wax; thus furnishing mankind with the two noblest things, which are sweetness and light." His next book, *The Tale of a Tub* (1704), twitted the Catholics, Anglicans, and Presbyterians for their interdenominational quarrels. The *Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708) treated with irony the plight of deists and freethinkers who dreaded to be found without a solid object on which to try their wits. By his *Drapier's Letters* (1724), written against debasing Ireland's coinage, he made himself an idol to the Irish people. In his famous, but ferocious, *A Modest Proposal* (1729), he attacked the cannibalistic exploitation of the Irish by the English aristocracy; and in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), now

so innocently popular, Swift's bitterness deepened into a contempt for mankind. He had seen too much of evil; his heart was sick; the story was his revenge.

Swift, today, holds the reader by his easy skill in narrative, his minute realism, his clear diction, his trenchant wit, his sensitiveness to human outrage, and his strong moral indignation. Mention should here be made of two of Swift's friends that achieved minor literary distinction: Dr. John Arbuthnot, physician and wit, who created the character of John Bull; and John Gay, poet of light song, balladist, and author of the famous *Beggar's Opera.*

*Daniel Defoe** (1660–1731) was a literary adventurer. He had a journalist's eye for sensational facts; he was a master of minute details; he liked politics and public controversy; he had a broad and remarkably shrewd insight into elementary human nature. His pamphlet *An Essay upon Projects* (1698) illustrates what he liked to do, and did well; it advocated improving the nation's bank and paving its highways. It was his genius to find the moral theme in the sensational story. His tract, *The Shortest Way With Dissenters* (1702), written in irony, and pleading for religious toleration, was misunderstood. Official London pilloried Defoe for it; but the people pelted him with flowers. But Defoe's homespun realism, his disregard for grace, good taste, and error in diction, often led him to disregard the actual facts, and to create arbitrarily such a graphic piece of pseudo-historical writing as, for example, *A Journal of the Plague Year.* The story is not an authentic account of the London Plague of 1664–5; it is documented fiction so minutely written as to create verisimilitude.

This documented realism found its proper medium in the story *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Here it mattered little that the narrative should be art, or the facts authentic. The reader, he held, could be counted on to flatter himself on knowing "facts" when he read them. Defoe's show of exactitude, therefore, easily disarmed the reader. Where art would demand the study of a given character, Defoe contentedly offered instead an "exact" sketch of what the man was. In a word, he followed, not art, but nature. The name of Defoe thus stands for the stress on realism, on naturalism, and on melodrama that causes many persons that read a modern daily newspaper or reporter's book on the War, either to mistake it for, or to prefer it to, a work of literature.

Addison and Steele. The names of Joseph Addison* (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729) are inseparably associated with English life in the Augustan age. Through *The Tatler* and *The Spectator,* two short-lived journals, they greatly influenced the morals and manners of the age of Queen Anne. Addison was a poet, a playwright, and an essayist. Steele, besides writing essays and plays, was active in politics. Both were Oxford men. Addison was the more formally educated. Steele tended, as writers often did, to be a free lance. *The Tatler* appeared in London on April 12, 1709, and continued to January 2, 1711. *The Spectator* was published from March 1, 1711 to December 6, 1712. The journals came at a time when the theatre, patronized by the Royalists, was declining; and the novel, frowned on by the Puritans, was not yet developed. Addison's contribution to them was more generally cultural and social; Steele's was individual and domestic. Their united aim was to civilize English middle class society and cultivate in it general good taste and private virtue. The sources of information and means of distribution for *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* were the clubs, coffee-houses, and chocolate-houses of which, since 1688, there had come to be a large number. Isaac Bickerstaff in *The Tatler,* and Sir Roger de Coverley in *The Spectator,* came to be the best known, though fictitious, char-

acters of the city. The literary style of Addison is generally characterized as classical and fastidious; that of Steele, as impetuous and sympathetic. It may be said that the entire English-speaking and English-writing world owes them a debt for improving the use of its language. *The Spectator* overspread these bounds, journals modeled on it being founded throughout Europe.

*Samuel Johnson** (1709–84) was the century's most important man of letters. He was a bookseller's son; and he himself wrote not only poetry and fiction but upward of two hundred issues of *The Rambler* and *The Idler,* a variorum edition of the *Plays of Shakespeare,* ten volumes of *The Lives of the English Poets,* and *A Dictionary of the English Language.* Yet his fame, ultimately, rests not so much on what he wrote as on what he talked of, what he believed, and what as a man he was. His early life was one of hard struggle; the later years were filled with labor and sorrow, but cheered by rich friendships. He came to London; became a Grub Street writer; lived in poverty; laid plans for the *Dictionary;* worked seven years, from 1748 to 1755, to complete it; wrote his best poem of sound conclusion, *The Vanity of Human Wishes;* and, after 1755, as the *Dictionary* brought him fame, though little money, he opened his home to the poor and penniless, wrote *The Idler,* wrote *Rasselas,* in 1759, and, in 1763, welcomed the acquaintance of Boswell. In 1764, with Reynolds, Burke, and Goldsmith, he founded the famous "Club"; in 1765 he published the *Shakespeare*—living now often with the Thrale family, his friends. Between 1770 and 1775 he revised the *Dictionary,* went with Boswell on a tour to Scotland and the Hebrides, and visited France. Between 1777 and 1781 he wrote the *Lives* of fifty-two poets. He was then in his seventy-third year. He died at seventy-five.

Dr. Johnson's work, generally speaking, is of one piece. It shows learning, orderly thinking, moral wisdom, and common sense. His social views are conservative. He admires the poor honest man, the man of sturdy yet tender heart, the man in whom faith overcomes fear. He is a good critic in his own field; outside it, his strong bias of opinion makes him sound dictatorial and unsympathetic. The traits which, in his *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791), Boswell seems to find in his hero, are a massive strength, a keen wit, a love of tradition, a readiness in argument, a reverence for religion, a hunger for enjoyment, joined with a melancholy disposition, an unusual critical and discriminative faculty, and a profound understanding of humanity. Johnson's prevailing style shows the influence of his lexicographic labors. It is weighted with Latin words, with learning, antithesis, and accumulative detail; yet in his latest and best work, *The Lives of the Poets,* his diction is singularly free and vital; and his famous letter to Lord Chesterfield shows the concise diction and control of strong passion that he commended in others, and could himself command, but did not often go to the trouble to put into writing. Johnson created literature by living in its domain rather than by cultivating its fine graces. He was no dilettante, but an iconoclast, a smasher—and builder—of altars.

Richardson and Fielding. Fiction was perhaps the most distinctive type of writing of the 18th c. It was nearer to the middle class than either poetry or the drama. Samuel Richardson* (1689–1761) satisfied the growing popular hunger for social experience and for a literature of feeling, of domestic familiarity, of moving pathos and pity. Henry Fielding* (1707–54) met the intellectual need of the age for good critical comedy. Richardson's was the novel of sensibility; Fielding's, the novel of realism. Each wrote two important books. Richardson's letter-style, used in writing *Pamela,* made him fa-

mous. The theme of the story is in its subtitle: "Virtue Rewarded." It is the story of a girl who preserves her honor and falls in love with her tempter. In *Clarissa,* a seven-volume work, Richardson traces the fortunes of the heroine, through her betrayal and seduction, to a tragic end. Richardson's style has the minute emotional quality of the psychoanalyst whose purpose is "to show the purity and excellence of a woman's heart." Fielding's two principal novels are *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones.* They are realistic and picaresque in character, the antithesis of *Pamela* and *Clarissa;* and are intellectually, rather than emotionally, stimulating. Where Richardson portrays individual human sentiment, Fielding depicts natural passion, man's irrationality, and social vice.

Smollett and Sterne. With these two writers the novel became completely realistic and sentimental. Tobias Smollett* (1721–71) turned into a naturalist in fiction in his two picaresque stories *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle;* and into a mellow, almost tender and whimsical, writer of satire in *Humphrey Clinker.* The first two are vigorus, almost boisterous sea and rogue stories; the last is famous for its letters of comedy on life in Bath. Laurence Sterne* (1713–68) was a subtle, whimsical, Rabelaisian humorist. His life seemed as irresponsible as his writing. Yet, in both *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey,* we see evidence of a positive, if eccentric, genius. The characters of Uncle Toby and Yorick are inimitable examples of the sporting, sentimental, yet accurate portraiture of Sterne's pen. His style, through its "sprinkling of dots, dashes, asterisks, and index hands; uncapitalized sentences, one-sentence chapters, and blank pages," represents, even now, a novelty in composition.

In Oliver Goldsmith* (1728–74) there was more than the novelist. He was also, perhaps at heart chiefly, a poet; and he achieved distinction in the essay and the drama. He was the son of a poor Irish Protestant family. He tried, in succession, to be a clergyman, lawyer, doctor, teacher, and actor; and, at last, succeeded, extraordinarily, as a writer. It is to his great credit to have produced three masterpieces in three literary fields: in poetry, *The Deserted Village;* in drama, *She Stoops to Conquer;* in the novel, *The Vicar of Wakefield.* A common theme runs through them all; it is the romantic and arcadian longing for the better life, for home, the trust of friends, the full life of the heart. Goldsmith's first poem was *The Traveller.* In this he expressed, in rhymed couplets, his idyllic longing for home. In *The Deserted Village* he went beyond mere idyllicism to enshrine with a touch of magic, and an almost sacred light, the days of his own youth. The poem is realistic and concrete, as well as fanciful and romantic. Besides, there is in it a homely philosophy, such as these words illustrate:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

Through all of Goldsmith's work, including his essays, there run the "graceful, delicately humored, commonsense," and a "tender sadness of mood." Goldsmith, more than any other writer, reflects the changing age. The elegance and satire of Pope are left behind by a literature that has tasted of life; first, through a contact with nature; then, through a feeling for humanity; and, after that, through the forms of art that embellish and portray life's deeper meaning. Goldsmith has been called a writer of exquisite sensibility. But he is more than that; for in his art, or style, the music and the mood blend into a harmony that suggests man's age-old longing for Utopia.

The Gothic Romance. By 1765, classicism had spent its main force. A new interest, centering in medievalism, began to take its place.

In that year Bishop Percy published his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*. The ballads and metrical romances, long neglected, came to recognition; and, with them, the desire to invest history with the quality of personal experience. In reaction to the rationalism of the century, the stress was laid on emotion, on mystery, and on violence. The hero and his adventures returned to the attention of literature. Horace Walpole, in 1764, wrote the *Castle of Otranto*. In 1762 Macpherson had produced *Ossian*. These writings stretched the human imagination to its utmost limit. Walpole, living at Strawberry Hill, a house patterned after a Gothic castle, lived over again the 13th c. life in Italy, its terror—as he imagined it—and its supernaturalism. Macpherson created a sensation in Europe by his literary forgeries purporting to be translations of the Gaelic poet Ossian. In them the Celtic spirit was revived in song and story. Their spirit was the heroic in a setting of "mountains and mist." They were written in epic style. The supernatural was strong in them; and the accent was on the violent and primitive. Thomas Chatterton, a boy poet, in 1770 had written the *Rowley Poems*. Like Ossian, they purported to be translations, but were original poems, medieval in setting, archaic in language, and romantic in spirit. The influence of these "Gothic" writers and "medieval" poets was great. It helped to create the Romantic movement. To this group belongs also Mrs. Ann Radcliffe, whose *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) has the typical Gothic characteristics: a dark forest; a half-ruined castle or abbey; ghosts; a villain; romantic delight in nature; stress on emotional experience.

Later Georgian Writers. Particular note should be made of Edmund Burke (1729–97) and Edward Gibbon (1739–94). Burke was, in reality, a man of letters in the political service of his country. He was intellectual, aristocratic, conservative. The style of his parliamentary speeches is impassioned and noble; and it is worth remembering that he began his career by writing a treatise on the *Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. Gibbon was a classical scholar and, when he wrote *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, an avowed sceptic and free-thinker. His industry, his passion for accuracy, and his noble Latinized style, commend his work highly, though his history is too exclusively rationalistic and political.

The 18th c. sought, above all, to be correct, in reasoning, in morals, and in manners. Letter writing therefore became with it an art. Horace Walpole wrote brilliant letters, three thousand of them altogether, witty, terse, and graceful, though superficial in thought. Lord Chesterfield's *Letters* are justly famous for their persistent influence on both English manners and English prose. Equally significant, but more vigorous in temper and diction, and revelatory of the time, are the anonymous *Letters of Junius*, published in the London *Advertiser* between 1769 and 1771. The masterpiece among the century's letters probably remains that of Dr. Johnson to Lord Chesterfield, in which Johnson emancipates literature from the caprice of lordly patronage in the now classic words:

"I hope it is no very cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the public should consider me as owing that to a patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself."

Burney and Sheridan. Perhaps no writers, except Goldsmith, adorned the age of Johnson more than did the authors of the novel *Evelina* and the play *The Rivals*. Both authors were then young: the novelist was admired by Johnson as "little Burney"; the playwright, as the prodigy of the "Club." Both were thoroughly Georgian in their aristocratic

background and drawingroom taste. Frances Burney (1752–1840) wrote, besides *Evelina,* the two novels *Cecilia* and *Camilla,* unequal to the first story; and the *Memoirs of Dr. Burney,* her father, by which, for its weighty style, she earned the title of "a Johnson in petticoats." Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816) succeeded David Garrick as manager of Drury Lane Theatre and climaxed his career with the production of *The School For Scandal,* a contrived rather than created play of stage devices, hard wit, soft sentimentality, farce, and melodrama. The play succeeded, and still succeeds, by its timely and happy management of all the tried and dependable stage tricks of comedy put to use in the display of the weaknesses of human nature.

Thomson and Young. In point of time these two poets belonged to the age of Pope. But their poetry was of a new order. Outwardly it was quite neoclassical, Latin in diction, ornate and formal in construction. But its blank verse, used instead of the Augustan heroic couplet, its feeling for nature, substituted for the study of man, its particular preference for rustic to urban life, and its pervading strain of melancholy, marked it as definitely romantic. Edward Young (1683–1765) composed his *Night Thoughts* in 1743 and followed it, in 1759, with his letter of criticism, *Conjectures on Original Composition,* asserting the poet's right to reject literary models and rely on his own genius. A world-weariness, touched but not dispelled by religious faith, pervades the *Night Thoughts,* whose strength is in their pathos, and whose weakness is in their surrender to sentimentality. James Thomson* (1700–48) was the greater of the two poets. His *The Seasons* is a work of landscape. It has the objectivity of things seen with the eye. Yet it has the lure of the idyllic, and intensity of feeling. The people in the poem are rustic. Their manners are homely. In depicting them the poet, though himself sincere, sometimes uses words, like *wish,* and *sigh,* and *resolve,* that give the reader a merely sentimental, and not a participative, pleasure. In *The Castle of Indolence* Thomson uses the Spenserian stanza with a melodious charm, a descriptive touch, and a playful satire that may almost be called Elizabethan. What the poem lacks is, as we should expect, Spenser's garlanded yet chaste felicity of diction.

Gray and Collins were not companion poets. Thomas Gray* (1716–71) lived most of his life at Cambridge. William Collins (1721–59) went to Oxford and spent his short literary years in London. But both poets were enamoured of classical beauty, stressed the discipline of literary form, and wrote imaginative, elegiac poetry of a definitely Romantic trend. Gray is commonly regarded as the true transition poet. His odes on *Spring, Eton College,* and *Adversity* are typically Augustan in their bent toward convention and sentiment. Their diction and description point to the influence of Dryden. The *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* goes a step nearer to nature, giving landscape, integrity of feeling, and romantic atmosphere to lines of chaste, melodious verse that tell "the short and simple annals of the poor." But Gray's romanticism does not come to full expression until *The Bard, The Fatal Sisters,* and *The Descent of Odin.* In these poems themes of Welsh and Norse mythology are treated with imaginative intensity, in a medieval setting. His essentially romantic nature exhibits itself also in his *Letters* and his *Journal,* in which the perfect word is found to express the most delicate feeling. Collins wrote with an equally pure style. His *Ode to Evening* is exquisitely melodious. It is a perfect picture, to use Wordsworth's epithets, of a poet's thought that is altogether "bright, solemn, and serene." The ode on *The Passions,* dedicated to Music, is deservedly popular, while that on the *Popular Superstitions of the Highlands* is rich in romantic sugges-

tiveness. But it is the short ode beginning with the line "How sleep the brave who sink to rest" that deserves, for its melodious restraint, to be called perfect.

Cowper and Crabbe were entirely unlike in temperament and taste. But they possessed one common trait: neither poet was in the least sentimental. William Cowper (1731–1800) was extremely sensitive to reality. He suffered by what he saw; or, in happy contrast, was healed by it. Rural nature and friends were his genuine delight. He was subject to attacks of insanity; religious doubt was an agony to him, but out of the reality of his experience and faith he wrote such of his great hymns as "O for a closer walk with God," and "God moves in a mysterious way." His one long poem is *The Task,* an uneven poem, famous for its scattered descriptions of rural life. Of his shorter pieces, the poem *On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture* is perhaps the most popular. His *Letters,* by some readers preferred to his poetry, are lucid, charming, whimsical, and penetrated by authentic feeling. George Crabbe (1754–1832) was an honest realist. He wrote of what he saw; and his attention was on the sordid poverty of 18th c. rustic life. His important poem is *The Village,* which he chose to write in the early-century, non-idyllic form, the heroic couplet. With a storyteller's gift he laid bare the influence of environment upon human character, in quotable, striking lines. Not equal to Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* as pure poetry, Crabbe's *Village* is a stern reminder of the fact of evil in the world, and a sympathetic attempt to correct it.

*Robert Burns** (1750–96) was Scotland's great poet. His very provinciality accounts for his genius. His purest songs were of love, its joy and its pain; and his pride was in his native country, its glory, its support of free, honest men. He was haunted by a strong imagination; a fearful conscience; a passion for drink, for love, and for song. Above all, poverty, a stony soil, and hard labor, increased his sorrowful lot. Until he was twenty-six, he farmed on stony ground, and composed immortal songs; then, for two short winters, he went to Edinburgh where he was lionized by a literary circle, but not happy; after that, he returned to the farm where he was married to Jean Armour with whom he lived till his death, at thirty-seven. Burns wrote songs, satires, and poems of nature and humanitarian feeling. Love-songs like *Mary Morison, Highland Mary, Ae Fond Kiss,* and *To Mary in Heaven,* are examples of the poet's gift of blending tenderness and pathos in tuneful melodies of Scottish dialect. His *Address to the Deil* is witty, good-natured satire, issuing from a man of an active Scottish conscience. The poems *To a Mouse, To a Louse,* and *A Man's a Man for A' That,* illustrate Burns' use of humor, sympathy, and a flawless poetical diction to express a political and social philosophy. *Tam O'Shanter* is an excellent ghost story, unforgettably told. The very popular *Cotter's Saturday Night* is in a class by itself. Scottish dialect and pure English appear together in it. It is a poem of simple speech and moral dignity. Its setting is a typical peasant's home in Scotland. The central figure is a portrait of the poet's own father. The picture is that of a contented rural family.

The fame of Burns rests on his lyrics. These breathe with lilting, spontaneous warmth,—as, for instance, in the lines:

O my luve's like a red, red rose,
That's newly sprung in June:
O my luve's like the melodie
That's sweetly played in tune.

*William Blake** (1757–1827) stands alone among the writers of his time. He is known to us as mystic, poet, artist, prophet, and social philosopher. He lived his life in London; became an engraver; illustrated Young's

Night Thoughts, Blair's *The Grave,* the *Book of Job,* and Dante's *Divine Comedy;* wrote *Poetical Sketches,* in 1783, *Songs of Innocence,* in 1789, and *Songs of Experience,* in 1794; summed up his "confession of faith in the eternal Christ" in a remarkable poem called *The Everlasting Gospel;* and wrote, between 1789 and 1822, a series of prophetic books of which *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* on the union of body and soul, of God and man; *Jerusalem,* on the conflict between the eternal Gospel and natural religion; and *Milton,* containing the exalted lines beginning with "And did those in ancient time," are typical examples. On its external side Blake's art is Gothic, uniting vast energy and passion with mystery and supernaturalism. But, more intrinsically, his style has the lyrical purity and spontaneity of the Elizabethans, the divine grandeur of Milton, the revelatory, worshipful beauty of the English *Bible.* Blake moves the reader by his style. It is more than the man writing; it is the prophet's and reformer's weapon, his shining blade of revealed truth. Many passages in Blake's longer poems are obscure. The word of vision in them penetrates beyond the exterior rules of reason. But whatever is generally clear has in it a simple purity of expression, a childlike wisdom that illuminates without astonishing, that haunts and waylays without engendering fear. He appeals to the childlikeness, the immediate perceptivity of the soul. Poems like *Piping Down the Valleys Wild, The Lamb, Infant Joy, The Tiger, The Clod and the Pebble,* and *Holy Thursday,* are examples of the perfect union that, Blake believes, exists between divine inspiration and a poet's act of literary composition. It is in the poems, or fragments of poems, in which this union is fully consummated that Blake lives today.

The Nineteenth Century. It is conventional to divide the century into two distinctive periods: (1) the Romantic period (1798–1832); and the Victorian age (1832–1901). In keeping with formal distinctions, we further divide the early Romantic writers (Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Scott), who were writing before 1815, from those (Byron, Shelley, Keats, Lamb, Hazlitt, and De Quincey) whose principal work was done after Waterloo and the Peace of Austria. Similarly, historians of English literature subdivide the Victorian age into the early Victorian (1832–1848); the mid-Victorian (1848–1867), and the late Victorian (1867–1901).

The Romantic Period (1798–1832). Politically, perhaps, the most important events of the period did not take place on English soil. They were the battle of Trafalgar (1805) and the battle of Waterloo (1815). "Peterloo," or the Manchester Massacre, occurred in 1819. King George III died in 1820. Trade unions were legalized in 1824; Catholic disabilities were removed in 1829; King George IV died in 1830; the Reform Act, giving political strength to the middle class, was passed in 1832. It was clearly a period of social revolution.

It was natural that literature should reflect this unrest, together with the ideas of such reformers as Rousseau in France, Lessing in Germany, and William Godwin and John Wesley in England, who had offered romantic and humanitarian solutions to current political and social problems. In general, the doctrines of liberty, equality, and fraternity were accepted by the writers: the earlier Romantics accepted them hopefully, and with reservations; the later Romantics more eagerly, desperately, and with a note of impatience and rebellion. The imperialistic dream of Napoleon tempered the revolutionary passion of such poets as Wordsworth and Coleridge; the reactionary international alliance that followed the Peace of Austria embittered the hopes of such later idealists as Byron and Shelley. The age, consequently, was one of social disturbance, intellectual ferment, and

intense creative literary activity. Poetry ruled the period. Individualism and the imagination were in power. Next to poetry in importance was the essay, the particular domain of Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Hazlitt, and De-Quincey. The drama was neglected; but the novel, after 1810, flourished through the genius of Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott.

*William Wordsworth** (1770–1850). The first noticeable fact about the poet is his long life. To him the years, and what happened in them, brought the inevitable change. His youth was radical; his maturer years were conservative. Yet there is a unity in his large work that defies a rigid departmentalization. The *Prelude,* called by one modern critic (DeSelincourt) "the essential living document for the interpretation of Wordsworth's life and manner," and begun by the poet while Napoleon was terrorizing Europe, recounts with keen passion the experience of the earlier years, as in the words:

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very Heaven!

It is convenient to divide Wordsworth's life into five periods: (1) the preparatory years between 1770 and 1792, (2) the years of revolutionary disturbance between 1792 and 1795, spent chiefly in France; (3) the years of recovery, between 1795 and 1799, spent in the company of his sister Dorothy and the poet Coleridge, in the South of England; (4) the richly productive years, between 1799 and 1815, when the poet had settled in the Lake District, at Grasmere; (5) the remaining years of literary activity, conservative tendency, and national honor, from 1815 to the poet's death in 1850.

Within this outline, his poetry falls into various types: pastorals, like *Michael,* dealing with the broken hopes of an old shepherd and his son; descriptive, philosophical poems, like *Tintern Abbey,* Gothic in its stress—resembling that of the Anglo-Saxon *Wanderer*—on the ivy-clad ruin, symbol of nature's triumph over the works of man; narrative autobiographical poems, like *The Prelude,* which records the story of the growth of the poet's mind; simple, but intensely emotional songs, like the famous *"Lucy" Poems;* poems of simple, solitary delight in nature, like *I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud;* odes like *Intimations of Immortality,* a masterpiece of lyrical and religious sublimity on the nature of the world and the soul; and, finally, sonnets of pure diction and restrained emotion, unsurpassed, perhaps, in English literature. Viewed in its entirety Wordsworth's poetry is noted for its simple, austere beauty. It owes its simplicity to the deep influence of rustic nature; its sincerity to a close contact with the primitive instincts of man; its pathos to a blending of realism in description with lofty philosophical meditation; its chaste diction to the poet's austere egoistic nature. The one defect of much of his work is its prosaic moralizing monotone. The uninspired Wordsworth is dull and wordy; but, at his best, his tenderness, his serene spirit, and his moral elevation, make his poetry great. Wordsworth is sometimes regarded as chiefly a nature poet. A more careful reading will show him to be the poet of man; more particularly, of the soul, which—through Wordsworth's Platonic-Christian conception of the world—finds its eternal abode in God. Mention, finally, should be made of Wordsworth's *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* (edition of 1800) which, together with *The Prelude,* furnishes a basis for the study of both the poet and his work, and makes his plea for everyday diction.

*Samuel Taylor Coleridge** (1772–1834) was not so greatly endowed with the divine soul of poetry, but more versatile, sensitively poetical, and self-critical than Wordsworth. He was a man of stupendous genius: poet, scholar, literary critic, lecturer, metaphysician, and theologian. While Wordsworth has made

us everywhere more sensitively aware of nature, we owe to Coleridge the equally great gifts of pure poetry and pure philosophy. Coleridge valued art and thought as he valued the supernatural order of the world above the natural. Nature was therefore one aspect of his expressed genius; art was another; literature and history were equally important to him; and philosophy was his lifelong preoccupation. His life was one of suffering; some would say, of tragedy. He was an unearthly dreamer; his early education was spoilt by the tyranny of Master Boyer; his work was made hard by bad health; bad health brought on the use of opium; the bad habit diminished his powers; his sense of lost powers brought him agony of soul. Yet the fact of his bodily pain and mental anguish should not be over-stressed. For, of the three principal periods of his life, the first (between 1797 and 1800) was rich and happy because of his association with William and Dorothy Wordsworth; and the last (between 1816 and 1834) was made peaceful and fruitful through the friendly hospitality of Dr. Gillman. Meanwhile, it is well to note that from his suffering spirit there issued wise criticism, and poetry of superlative beauty. It was his belief that poetry was an art, and that its aim was "the communication of pleasure." In his *Lectures on Poetry* he follows Milton in saying that "it is essential to poetry that it should be simple, and appeal to the elements and primary laws of our nature; that it should be sensuous, and by its imagery elicit truth at a flash; that it should be impassioned, and be able to move our feelings and awaken our affections." Coleridge wrote as he believed. His poetry is small in bulk, but rare in beauty. Most of it was written between the years 1797 and 1802. It may conveniently be divided into three groups: (1) purely romantic poems, like *Kubla Khan, Christabel,* and *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner;* (2) personal, more classical and philosophical poems, like *The Eolian Harp, The Nightingale, Frost at Midnight, Hymn Before Sun-Rise, Dejection: An Ode, Youth and Age,* and *Work without Hope;* (3) patriotic and political poems, like *Religious Musings, Ode on the Departing Year, France: An Ode,* and *Fears in Solitude.* In the first group the stress is on meter, vivid pictorial description, the medieval and the Oriental, a multitude of allusions based on vast reading, and, more profoundly, the conflict between the forces of good and evil. The *Ancient Mariner* is a masterpiece in the music of its verse and the depth of its thought. Its theme of sin, which sets the soul adrift "alone on a wide, wide sea," of penance, and of redemption through love, is treated with a depth of insight comparable to that of Milton. The personal poems have dignity, command of diction, deep feeling for nature. Through the later ones—*Dejection: An Ode, Youth and Age,* and *Work without Hope*—there runs a note of transcendentalism, with its counterpoise of pathos, which suggests the statement of Hazlitt that in Coleridge "Poetry and Philosophy had met together; Truth and Genius had embraced, under the eye and with the sanction of Religion." Of the political poems, the *Ode to France* is perhaps the best. The thought in it is that freedom resides alone in the soul of man. Besides his work in poetry, Coleridge tried his hand at the drama (Act 1 of *The Fall of Robespierre,* and *Remorse*) and at journalism (*The Watchman,* and *The Friend*). His great prose work is the *Biographia Literaria,* a stupendous, discursive work on philosophy, religion, politics, literature, and criticism. The work may perhaps justly be compared to that of Aristotle. Another work of Coleridge, not to be overlooked, is the *Aids to Reflection* in which he makes his famous distinction between the logical Kantian Reason and the higher poetical faculty of Understanding or spiritual illumination. Finally,

there is the *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* which is regarded by one modern critic (J. M. Robertson) to be Coleridge's "most seminal work."

*Sir Walter Scott** (1771–1832), as artist and thinker, ranks below Coleridge and Wordsworth. He was neither philosophical nor critical. He cared little for style. Form, in the classical sense, did not interest him. He lacked the power to create great characters, to grapple with profound problems, to constrain his pen to do chaste writing. He was a story-teller with a superlative gift of song. History was his principal interest, almost his chief passion. the history of Scotland; and of the Middle Age. Literature, we may say, was not an invention with him, an architect's design or pattern for living; it was life. He was born in Edinburgh; educated, not for a life of letters, but for a career in law; held public office; entered business with the publishing firm of Ballantyne; and, in 1812, purchased the nucleus of the estate of Abbotsford. In 1813 he was offered the position of poet laureate, but he declined and recommended, in his stead, the poet Southey. In 1814 he completed his first novel; in 1820 he was made a baronet; in 1826 he accepted the financial responsibility involved in the ruin of the firm of Ballantyne. After that he wrote ceaselessly, in spite of illness, almost till his death, in 1832.

Scott's literary career falls into two distinct periods: the first, from 1802 to 1814, was one of poetry, the second, from 1814 to 1832, one of prose. He began with an interest in collecting Scottish border ballads. These he repaired, touched with his own gift of song, and published in 1803, under the title *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.* In 1805 he published *The Lay of the Last Minstrel,* a verse narrative, "a hybrid between an old ballad and a medieval romance," which demonstrated Scott's exuberant lyrical gift and brought him instant fame. In 1808 followed *Marmion,* a metrical romance, featuring the story of the Scottish army's last stand at Flodden Field. The most popular of Scott's poems was *The Lady of the Lake,* which appeared in 1810. It gave the Loch Katrine Section of the Trossachs a classic fame that it has retained to this day. It contained the best of the poet: an excellent story of a hero, a heroine, and a villain; tragic intensity; breathtaking glimpses of Highland scenery; violent yet romantic action; the ballad spirit; and a mastery of fresh, spontaneous verse. Other poems followed, but none equalled this thrilling story. When, in 1814, *Waverley* appeared, it was in the same general strain of romance; only the work was now written in prose, and made larger demands on the dramatic use of history that was Scott's most compelling interest. The novels, published anonymously, came from his pen in rapid succession: *Guy Mannering,* in 1815; *The Antiquary* and *Old Mortality,* in 1816; *Rob Roy,* in 1817; *The Heart of Midlothian* and *The Bride of Lammermoor,* in 1818; and others, less well known, during these same five years. In 1819 *Ivanhoe* appeared, breaking new ground, leaving Scotland and the period near to the author for a picture of medieval England. Without abandoning the Scottish theme in *The Abbot,* in 1820, he published *Kenilworth,* in 1821, picturing Elizabethan England. In 1822 he wrote *The Fortunes of Nigel* dealing with the England of James I; in 1823, *Quentin Durward,* dealing with the 15th c. France of Louis XI. Two other novels of distinction were *The Talisman,* a tale of the Crusades, published in 1825, and *Woodstock,* written in 1826, on Cromwell and Charles II, at a time when Scott himself was suffering from financial ruin and the death of his wife. Besides these and other novels, Scott wrote dramas, of which the *Ayrshire Tragedy* is the best, and *Lives* of Swift and Dryden, of whose *Works* he was editor. His own *Life,* one of the great

biographies of English literature, was written five years after his death by John G. Lockhart. Scott's influence on the English novel, together with his debt to Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne who influenced him, is notably evident in the work of Dickens, the heir plenipotentiary of the romantic tradition in English fiction.

Jane Austen (1775–1817). Scott, after Jane Austen's death, reread her novel *Pride and Prejudice* and said: "That young lady had a talent for describing the involvements, and feelings, and characters of ordinary life. . . . The Big Bow-wow strain I can do myself like any now going; but the exquisite touch, which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting . . . is denied me. What a pity such a gifted creature died so early!" Here, in this setting of contrast with Scott, we have the essential information we need to appraise the work of Jane Austen: the title of her masterpiece; her artistic talent; its application to the study of human character in everyday life, her regrettable early death. Miss Austen's world was not large. Her father's rectory in Hampshire; a temporary residence in Bath; then a house in Chawton, again in Hampshire: these furnish the setting of her novels. The places and persons of which she wrote were therefore real to her. They were not merely a part, but the whole, of her experience, which by her artist's skill she constructed into stories of exquisite comedy of realism.

Her novels may conveniently be arranged into three groups: (1) *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice;* (2) *Mansfield Park* and *Emma;* (3) *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion.* The first two are pictures of contrast: of Elinor's common sense and Marianne's romantic emotion; of Darcy's pride, and Elizabeth's prejudice, in relation to the important institution of marriage. The next two novels are a more detailed study and more mature comedy. Here analysis uncovers domestic triviality; comedy borders on satire; and realism touches on pathos. The theme of *Mansfield Park* is the worldly life represented in the character of Mary Crawford set in contrast to the unworldly life of the heroine, Fanny Price. The ironical humor of *Emma* has its cause in the heroine's humiliation at finding herself outwitted in match-making by love and fate. *Northanger Abbey* is a satire on the Gothic type of romance; *Persuasion* is a "brief, tender, wistful love story, with a vein of subdued pathos, and a happy ending."

Southey and Landor may properly be placed together. They were life-long friends. Both wrote voluminously; both were gifted, industrious, honest. Neither quite outgrew his amateurish enthusiasm; neither was therefore a great writer. Robert Southey* (1774–1843) began his literary career early, chose, quite ambitiously, to write epics; wrote the epic *Joan of Arc* in two months; and found writing rather too easy, inviting from Lord Byron the satirical line of "an epic from Bob Southey every Spring." Having written out of his blood his early radicalism in behalf of the cause of a free France, in thousands of lines, four-fifths "worthless," and one-fifth "purple patches," Southey turned his still actively romantic talent to writing a group of heroic poems on the great mythologies. By 1814 he had produced *Thalaba,* the story of an Arabian hero; *Madoc,* on the adventures of a Welsh prince; *Kehama,* based on a Hindu theme; and *Roderick,* the result of the poet's interest in Spanish lore. After that, having become a conservative Tory, Southey went to work at prose. He wrote biography, history, and criticism. Of all his works, these now principally survive: His *Lives* of Nelson, Cowper, and Wesley; a few ballads, like *The Inchcape Rock;* a few battle poems, like *The Battle of Blenheim;* his *Vision of Judgment* which provoked Byron's satire; and his *Letters,* and the Sterne-like holiday piece *The Doctor,* which

show Southey as the substantial, cheerful, and wholesome companion of men.

Walter Savage Landor* (1775–1864) belonged to two centuries. He was born in the age of Johnson, outlived all the Romantics, and saw the flowering of literature in Mid-Victorian England. His temperament was made of healthy, vigorous stuff, often violently explosive; but he was himself, by resolution and taste, a lover of things Grecian: architectural beauty; purity of style; lofty thought; chaste diction; delicate feeling; the lovely simple line of poetry; and the serene, orderly, philosophical attitude toward life. He may, with due allowance, be called a minor Milton. His most important long poem *Gebir,* an epic in blank verse, Oriental in setting, and a protest against tyranny, suggests Virgil in its imitation of the Grand Style. The poetical drama, *Count Julian,* with its nobly-conceived hero, its setting in the history of Spain, is of equal classical quality. But it is by Landor's shorter poems and his *Imaginary Conversations* that he is best known. Of these shorter pieces four are typical and particularly popular: (1) *The Hamadryad,* a cameo epic of Grecian texture; (2) *A Fiesolan Idyl,* a delightful little work in the tradition or strain of Theocritus; *Rose Aylmer,* a tender elegiac poem in memory of a beautiful girl who died at the age of twenty; (4) *On His Seventy-Fifth Birthday,* the classic quatrain by which he is now mostly remembered, when he says:

I strove with none; for none was worth my strife,
Nature I loved, and next to Nature, Art;
I warmed both hands before the fire of life,
It sinks, and I am ready to depart.

Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* are prose dialogues of splendid style and dignity. They are intellectual, but not original; rich in feeling, but not quite realistic. The best part of them, probably, is the occasional tense moment of silence in which all that is gathered up in speech is released in a strong distilling emotion.

*Charles Lamb** (1775–1834). In writing of Lamb, ordinary criticism comes to a standstill. A listing of the facts is like planting a hedge through which the real Lamb, the man and the writer, invariably escapes. One critic calls him a poet, quite justly perhaps; but the 1830 volume of *Album Verses* is not great; and the wistful piece of free verse *Old Familiar Faces* is the only poem—besides, possibly, *Hester,* a lyrical ballad—with which we associate his name. His *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* (1808) shows that he was a discriminating but not a very scholarly critic; and the *Tales from Shakespeare* owe their fame to Lamb's feeling for great literature, rather than to a statement of the principles that govern poetry in general, and an application of these principles to specific poems, on which, as Coleridge said, criticism must be based. It is as a letter-writer, and as a familiar essayist, that Lamb has won enduring fame. In his *Letters* and his *Essays* it is the man speaking to whom we listen. In them he so identifies himself with his material, and so buries his artist's skill beneath an apparently conglomerate mass of information, that we are aware only of the pleasure of reading the composition which cost the author much discipline and pain to write.

Lamb lived his life in London: the early significant years, at Christ's Hospital School, with young Coleridge; the later long period, as clerk in the East India House. London; his sister; his friends; old books; the Elizabethan dramatists; the seventeenth century writers, Sir Thomas Browne, Burton, and Fuller; the literary club, the good meal, and good wine; deep sorrow, made endurable by good humor; all things medieval, quaint, old-fashioned; neglected people; the country scene in Hertfordshire, associated with his

mother, his grandmother, and the good housekeeper Mrs. Field—these were his world, and of them he wrote. The *Essays of Elia* appeared in two editions: the first, in 1823; the second, in 1833. Among its representative essays are these: (1) *The Two Races of Men,* —namely, those that borrow, and those that lend; (2) *A chapter on Ears,* beginning with the long, quizzical sentence: "I have no ear—for music"; (3) *Dream Children,* the tender reverie of a childless man; (4) *The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers,* typical of Lamb's gift of seasoning pity with exalted good humor,—as when he says: "I reverence these young Africans of our own growth—these almost clergy imps, who sport their cloth without assumption; and from their little pulpits (the tops of chimneys), in the nipping air of a December morning, preach a lesson of patience to mankind"; (5) *Poor Relations,* an excellent piece of character study; (6) *A Dissertation Upon Roast Pig,* a deliciously flavored, popular essay; (7) *Old China,* delicately contrasting past family poverty with its present plenty; and (8) *The Superannuated Man,* Lamb's authentic story of how it feels to be "free" after spending thirty-six years at a clerk's desk.

Lamb's character and gifts may be summed up by saying that he knew how to endure suffering with patience; to answer foolish men with good wit; to treat his friends tenderly; and to write as he lived,—yet with this difference: that what life itself denied him, his art and imagination richly supplied.

*William Hazlitt** (1778–1830) was less affectionate than Lamb, but more brilliant. He had no gift of making friends; he was not successful in marriage; he invited much unfavorable criticism by his willful, radical views; he was an egoist; he was a self-styled "good hater," as well as lover; he had no formal education; he lacked patience for profound study; he had nothing of the grace of humility. But, as all who knew him declared, he could write. His father wished him to be a Unitarian clergyman. But he himself desired to be a philosopher and a painter. He had a passion for speculation, and an eye for form and color. These he put to use, and soon found an outlet for them in critical writing. He wrote with boundless energy, beginning with himself. His essay *On Going a Journey,* though written in 1822 and not his first, is typical of his essay style. His infectious vigor, his pleasurable egocentricity, his love of nature, of undisturbed action and solitude, his enjoyment of good books, of contact through them with men of genius, with fresh lines of poetry, with high thoughts; his impressionistic method of composition; his scholarship; his intuitive good taste;—all these are well illustrated on a single page of this essay. He says: "I like to go by myself . . . Out of doors, nature is company enough for me. I am then never less alone than when alone." Then he quotes the poet: "The fields his study, nature was his book." After quoting from Cowper, Shakespeare, Gray, and Milton, on one page, he has Sterne say: "Let me have a companion of my way"; but promptly answers him: "In my opinion, this continual comparing of notes interferes with the involuntary impression of things upon the mind." After delighting himself with his own thoughts, touching on the mystery of human existence, he concludes with Shakespeare that we do best to "give it understanding, but no tongue."

Hazlitt brings the same lively imagination to the criticism of literature. His method throughout is impressionistic: to judge by intuition and good taste; to discriminate between the familiar and the vulgar; to catch the inspired word on the wing; to discern everywhere "the true idioms of the language." This gift of responding to an inspired speaker or writer is well shown in Hazlitt's *My First Acquaintance with Poets,* in which he unites a well-stocked memory, a warm appreciation,

and brilliant observation, with sound judgment, in passage after passage, until he says, speaking of being with Coleridge: "I had a sound in my ears; it was the voice of Fancy—I had a light before me; it was the face of Poetry." His best work in literary criticism is probably contained in three works: (1) his *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (1817); (2) his *Lectures on the English Poets* (1818), and (3) the masterly but prejudicial book *The Spirit of the Age* (1825). Altogether, Hazlitt is a writer whose gusto for life, apt and brilliant diction, and infectious enthusiasm for great literature, place him in the list of those whom everyone must read.

Leigh Hunt. Near to everything that was then called romantic in English literature stood the name of Leigh Hunt* (1784–1859). He was a literary figure, a Hercules in defence of the younger poets, especially of Keats who in the course of time felt Hunt's somewhat too paternally protective hands laid on him. Hunt wrote well, with eager warmth, and generally wisely, notably in his *Examiner* which ran for a dozen years, lashing courageously in defence of struggling romantic talent at the hard reviewers in *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh Quarterly.* His friends were many. His fame today rests on 1) his informative *Autobiography,* with the dramatic narrative of the burning of Shelley's body; 2) a stimulating essay on the nature of poetry; 3) the familiar humanitarian poem *Abou Ben Adhem;* 4) a cluster of lyrics of which the best known, probably, is the deftly executed *Rondeau,*

Jenny kissed me when we met,
Jumping from the chair she sat in;
Time, you thief, who love to get
Sweets into your list, put that in:
Say I'm weary, say I'm sad,
Say that health and wealth have missed me,
Say I'm growing old, but add
Jenny kissed me.

*Thomas DeQuincey** (1785–1859). To understand DeQuincey, it is desirable to have the facts and events of his life before us: his Manchester background: his precocity—he could write Greek fluently at the age of thirteen; his irregular education; his homelessness in London where, lonely and starving, he met the outcast Ann who saved his life; his short, astonishing career at Oxford; his opium habit; his marriage and large family; his loneliness after his wife's death; his years, thereafter, of extreme solitude in Edinburgh, where he lived in apartment after apartment, filling each with his own papers and then locking its door; in the face of this fact, his rare but impressive social entertainment of writers and friends; finally, the unanimous testimony to his gentle, scholarly character, as Emerson, for example, attests in his *Journals,* after meeting him in 1848: "A small old man of seventy years, with a very handsome face . . . speaking with utmost deliberation and softness . . . and refined . . . in manners."

DeQuincey was, in a pure sense, a man of letters. His chief interest was in the writings of great men. He was, by disposition, a philosopher; by nature, a dreamer; at heart, a poet; in his method, a psychological explorer; in his theory of writing, an "impassioned" artist. His "talent for silence," together with his "vast capacity for veneration," tended to shut him in with such a prose writer, for example, as Sir Thomas Browne, until the very soul of the writer's meditative genius and music entered into him. DeQuincey himself said that he sometimes wrote merely to amuse the reader; that, at other times, he addressed himself to the "understanding as an insulated faculty"; and that, at its best, his prose aimed at the results of "impassioned" verse that was ornate, rhythmical, and emotional to the highest degree. His self-criticism is well summed in his statement: "There is, first, the literature of knowledge, and, sec-

ondly, the literature of power. The function of the first is to teach; the function of the second is to move." Of the great quantity of his writings, published at first mostly in *Blackwoods* or the *London Magazine,* three are famous: (1) *The Confessions of an Opium Eater* (1822–1856), an autobiographical essay of bizarre facts, delicate fancy, and classic dignity; (2) *The English Mail-Coach* (1849), which contains the extraordinary *Dream Fugue: The Vision of Sudden Death,* evoking the sensations of a "Gothic" musical composition; and (3) the *Suspiria de Profundis* (ca. 1845)—"Sighs from the Depths"—an analytical, biographical piece of prose-poetry, whose last section, *Levana and our Ladies of Sorrow,* is a dream-legend worthy to be called DeQuincey's little masterpiece for its mysterious haunting beauty. Its closing words, spoken of him to Our Lady of Darkness, reflected DeQuincey's subtly romantic mind and style: "Him, this young idolator, I have seasoned for thee . . . See that thy scepter lie heavy on his head. Banish the frailties of hope, wither the relenting of love, scorch the fountains of tears . . . So shall he be accomplished in the furnace . . . So shall he rise *before* he dies. And so shall our commission be accomplished which from God we had—to plague his heart until we have unfolded the capacities of his spirit."

*George Gordon, Lord Byron** (1788–1824). With Byron, Romantic literature took a new turn. It had been deeply serious, nostalgic, idealistic. He touched it with irony and saturated it with realism. To Wordsworth and Coleridge, poetry had been essentially a contemplative art. Scott had turned it toward action. It remained to Byron to give it the fascination of individual experience and of natural and spontaneous speech. Byron made poetry live and talk. The poet, writing, himself talked through a sophisticated hero. This hero, sufficiently like Byron, was, at different, unpredictable moments, lavishingly generous, enticingly mysterious, wildly adventurous, tenderly self-pitying, openly vulgar, and devastatingly cynical Byron did not make of poetry something exactly like life, or its exact opposite. He allowed life and poetry to intermingle. On one level, Byron is plainly naturalistic; on another and higher level, he is clearly an ethical and a supernaturalistic poet. It is on this antithesis between nature and man's free spirit that such poems as The *Prisoner of Chillon, Childe Harold, Manfred,* and the best of the *Hebrew Melodies* depend for their excellence and strength.

Byron's life, for an understanding of his poetry, may be divided into three periods: (1) the years, to 1811, which comprise his education at Harrow (1801–05) and at Cambridge (1805–09), and his Continental travels (1809–11); (2) the five years from 1811 to 1816, spent in England, in London society, after his sudden rise to fame following the publication of the first two Cantos of *Childe Harold;* (3) the remaining eight years, from 1816 to 1824, during which he lived on the Continent, mostly in Italy, and wrote his most significant poetry. Byron wrote voluminously, without forethought or afterthought. He did not feel himself dedicated to literature. He was by nature, and from choice, an observer of the world. His influence on literature was strong; it was greatest on the great writers: Goethe, in Germany; Victor Hugo, in France; Pushkin, in Russia; Browning, in England. Byron's first important work was *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* a travel-poem of four Cantos, of which the third, a great Nature canto, was the best, in its description of the Byronic hero in a setting of historical and scenic grandeur,—as in the stanza which begins,

And Harold stands upon this place of skulls,
The grave of France, the deadly Waterloo!

The romantic tales, *The Giaour, The Bride of Abydos, The Corsair,* and *Lara,* written in 1813–1814, captivated London by their turbulent, passionate, Oriental strain of melodrama. The *Hebrew Melodies* won for Byron a place as lyric poet by the delicate charm of such lines as,

She walks in beauty, like the night
Of cloudless climes and starry skies;
And all that's best of dark and bright
Meet in her aspect and her eyes.

There followed, between 1816 and 1823, *The Prisoner of Chillon,* an elegiac monologue, idealizing François de Bonnivard; *Manfred,* a poetical drama of defiance, pride, and despair, after the pattern of Marlowe's and Goethe's *Faust; Beppo,* a Venetian story-poem in the mock-heroic style; *Mazeppa,* a thrilling tale of a Polish nobleman who, for punishment, was bound naked on the back of a wild horse of the Ukraine; tragic dramas, like *Marino Faliero, Sardanapalus,* and *The Two Foscari,* based, as Byron said, on the general theme of "suppressed passion"; the satirical *Vision of Judgment,* in which Byron lashes furiously at King George III, and the Lake Poets; the anti-calvinistic drama *Cain;* the unfinished lyrical drama *Heaven and Earth;* and *Don Juan,* a brilliant epic satire of Byronic genius and vast proportion, and perhaps his most popular work.

*Percy Bysshe Shelley** (1792–1822) had a career in one respect like that of Byron. It, too, began in England, and ended on the Continent. The same year, 1816, divided the two literary periods for both Byron and Shelley. But, in contrast to Byron, Shelley was chiefly a lyrical poet, a philosophical idealist, and a social reformer. Shelley's great gift was that of song. His intellectual aspiration was to comprehend abstract or ideal beauty; and his aim as a poet was to give to this ethereal idea, this eternal truth, outward symbolical expression. His ruling passion was an all-embracing love for humanity. To comprehend truth and beauty; to invest them in song; and, through song and poetry, to regenerate and reform the world: this was, in brief, Shelley's vast aim. His life, and his literary work, in its wide compass, were directed toward that end.

Shelley was born in Sussex; educated at Eton and Oxford; married to Harriet Westbrook, a girl of sixteen, before he was twenty. There followed a journey to Ireland; Shelley's settling in London; his meeting of William Godwin, the radical reformer; and the poet's elopement with Mary Godwin. After that, socially ostracized, the Shelleys lived on the Continent, mostly in Italy, where Mary Shelley, after Harriet's death, established a household, entertained distinguished guests, and fulfilled Shelley's dream of the perfect wife. In the year of her husband's *Prometheus Unbound* (1818) Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley wrote *Frankenstein,* continuing the tradition of the Gothic novel with the tale of a man-made monster that destroys its maker, anticipating the mechanical men, the robots, of today.

Shelley's first poem of some importance was *Queen Mab.* It was a juvenile, radical work, opposed to all institutions, including Christianity, property, and marriage, and offering instead a belief (1) in Necessity, (2) in the Spirit of Nature, (3) in the perfectibility of man. The maturer Shelley called the poem "villainous trash." In 1816 the poet published the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty,* a Platonic poem tinged by the doctrine of Necessity. In the same year he wrote *Alastor,* a delicate, swiftly moving poem in which Shelley's own spirit is torn between two desires: the desire for solitude and death; and the longing to love, and to be loved, by humanity. Two years later he published The *Revolt of Islam,* a vigorous poem, written in the Spenserian stanza, but still disturbed by the antithesis of

revolutionary violence and intellectual, universal love. In *The Cenci,* a tragedy written in 1819, the conflict between the passions of hate and love is intense, and is strongly reflected in Shelley's intermixture of a romantic atmosphere and an austere, classical attention to style. In the next year appeared the *Prometheus Unbound,* Shelley's masterpiece, a work of lyrical and philosophical grandeur, amazing in its lofty brilliance, its symbolism, its idealism; showing that the poet had found himself. Out of the conflict of ideas, of good with evil forces, rises Prometheus, type of the man who, as the bringer of intellectual light and divine love, will set humanity free. Early in 1822 Shelley completed the poem *Hellas,* a lyrical drama inspired by a reading of Aeschylus, and the cause of Greek freedom from Turkish rule. It was the poet's last major work.

But Shelley is almost better known to us for his shorter poems. Among them, the pastoral elegy *Adonais,* lamenting the loss to the world through the death of a poet; and *Epipsychidion,* a sensitive, impassioned, Platonic poem which Shelley himself called "an idealized history of my life and feelings," are outstanding examples. Even more attractive and typical of Shelley are such lyrics as the *Ode to the West Wind, The Sensitive Plant, The Cloud,* the *Ode to a Skylark, To Night, When the Lamp is Shattered,* and *The Triumph of Life.* Exquisite imagery, delicate and tragic emotion, sweet music, and the poet's humanitarian spirit move through these lines of *A Dirge*:

Rough wind, that moanest loud
  Grief too sad for song;
Wild wind, when sullied cloud
  Knells all the night long;
Sad storms, whose tears are vain,
Bare woods, whose branches strain,
Deep caves, and dreary main—
  Wail, for the world's wrong!

*John Keats** (1795–1821). When Shelley wrote, in his *Defense of Poetry,* that "poetry makes immortal all that is best and most beautiful in the world," he may well have been thinking of Keats, whose death the literary world was then lamenting with Shelley in *Adonais.* For Keats, like Shelley himself, had proved that beauty and truth endure in the monuments that poets build to them, that, as Keats wrote in the opening lines of his poem *Endymion,*

A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet
  breathing.

There is little else to say about Keats. His life was short. Events and poems were pressed into it and lodged there, like gold in a rock's rift. He was born a livery-stable keeper's son; educated for surgery; and introduced to poetry—to Spenser and, through Chapman, to Homer—by his one-time headmaster's son, Charles Cowden Clarke. He met Leigh Hunt, publisher of *The Examiner,* who published the sonnet, *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer,* which began Keats' career as a poet. In 1817, with Shelley's help, he published his first *Poems.* In 1817–18, he wrote *Endymion,* a poem in heroic couplets, owing much to Spenser, but original, imaginative, colorful, and neo-Platonic in its main theme, which was the poet's search for, and communion with the Spirit of Beauty. The volume met with harsh criticism in *Blackwoods* and the *Quarterly.* In 1818 his illness came on him. He toured Scotland; met Wordsworth; returned to his dying brother Tom; and began writing *Hyperion,* a difficult undertaking, left incomplete to us, and in two versions: the first, patterned on Milton's *Paradise Lost,* stressed the overthrow of the

dynasty of Saturn; the second, probably following the pattern of Dante's *Divine Comedy,* sought, in a vision or allegory, to attain complete philosophical or divine knowledge of truth. Late in 1818, Keats met and fell in love with Fanny Browne. In the following January he wrote *The Eve of St. Agnes,* a luxurious love-poem in Spenserian verse. By March of that year, he had written *Isabella,* a sweetly tragic story of love and suffering, told in *ottava rima,* and based on a tale in the *Decameron.* By June 1819, he had composed *Lamia,* based on a story in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy,* about a young philosopher who, against all sage advice, fell in love with Lamia, the serpent-woman, symbolizing poetry,—and causing Keats to say:

Do not all charms fly
At the mere touch of philosophy?

By September of this great creative year for Keats, he had completed the five great odes: the *Ode to Psyche,* a measured, stately dedication of poetry to love; the *Ode on a Grecian Urn,* famous as a pastoral poem in marble; the *Ode on Melancholy,* brief, poignant, classical, in its statement that melancholy dwells with beauty—"Beauty that must die"; the ode *To Autumn,* rich, mellow, with the odor of harvest in every line; and the *Ode to a Nightingale,* romantic, tender, tragic, in its flight, on the "viewless wings of Poesy," which, lately for Keats, had

Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

By March, 1820, Keats was too ill to write. He died in February, 1821, not yet twenty-six. But he left to the world, besides these listed poems, other works: short metrical romances, like *La Belle Dame sans Merci* and the *Eve of St. Mark;* poetic dramas, like *Otho the Great;* sonnets of restrained emotion and rare classical quality, like those beginning, "When I have Fears," and "Bright Star! Would I Were Steadfast as Thou Art"; and *Letters,* as autobiographical and critical as any in literature.

Minor Romantic Poets include: (1) Thomas Campbell (1774–1844), for his naval ode *Ye Mariners of England:* (2) Thomas Moore (1779–1852), for his *Irish Melodies,* containing songs like *Oft in the Stilly Night,* and *The Last Rose of Summer,* and his *Lives* of Sheridan and Byron; (3) Thomas Hood (1799–1845), for his strong, compassionate social poems, *The Song of the Shirt; The Bridge of Sighs;* (4) Thomas Love Peacock, for the excellent lyrics he incorporated, here and there, in his novels.

The Victorian Age (1832–1901). It was typical of Victorian literature that it was in intimate touch with contemporary life and thought. It was an age of complex interest in political and scientific theories, in religious ideas, in ethical and esthetic principles, in cultural and social problems and changes. Poets, novelists, and prose writers, alike, wrote against a background of five important issues: (1) the claims of the new natural science; (2) the widening distance between orthodoxy and liberalism in religion; (3) the conflict between freedom and authority in government; (4) the relation of man to the machine in industry; (5) the relation of progress to tradition in the nation's culture. These were variously interwoven.

The world of the Victorian writer was complicated. It was modern. Ideals strove against compromise; religion was exposed to a corrosive secularism; the individual stood up against the masses of humanity. Literature matched legislation and Christian missions in the cause of social reform. The prevailing trend of the age was puritan and rationalistic. It led to the belief in individual virtues, of

which thrift and independence were of chief worth. This belief led to the reasoned conclusion that the typical modern Englishman was the man of material success; it created the strong English industrial middle class; it produced the Victorian Whig, typified in Macaulay; it established the economic principle of *laissez-faire;* and, through the added, ameliorative teachings of John Stuart Mill, it won for itself the philosophic title of Utilitarianism. The ameliorative reforms that followed were good. But they did not go deep enough. They rested on the economic ideal of prosperity, reinforced by the puritan ideal of piety, and thus created what Matthew Arnold called the *Philistinism* of the middle class. Ruskin called this pious satisfaction in material well-being *Mammonism.* Carlyle called it devil's logic, the spirit and the world in rags. Newman, probing to the root of the evil, regarded it as religious apostasy. With these forces, good and bad, the Victorian writers undertook to be concerned. It is to their great credit that, amidst this social complexity, these cross-currents of thought, they created literary works of enduring worth. It is customary to divide the years of the Victorian age into three periods: (1) the years of transition, between 1832 and 1848, in which the traditional, aristocratic, Tory idea of a dynamic society, a society viewed as a spiritual organism, began to give place to the wealthy, middle-class utilitarian Whig philosophy, based on a mechanical conception of society; (2) the years between 1848 and 1867, during which these two conceptions—the one Tory and romantic, the other Whig and rationalistic—were held in the state of cultural equilibrium that we associate with Mid-Victorianism and the "great peace of the fifties"; (3) the years between 1867 and 1901, which witnessed the disturbance of this equilibrium through party politics, centering in Disraeli's Tory stress on the ideas of empire and allegiance, and Gladstone's rival Whig ideal of individual enterprise and liberty.

Generally speaking, the writers of the age were confronted with its problems according to the pattern of thought prevalent in one or other of these groups: the Broad Church, or High Church, Anglicans; the Roman Catholics; the Evangelicals; the romantic liberals; the secularistic Benthamites; the esthetic medievalists; the nationally-minded imperialists; the labor-minded Socialists; the authority-minded and force-minded proletarians; the avowed skeptics; the philosophical positivists, advocates of a scientific religion of humanity; the mass-democrats; and the classical Epicureans. The poets tended to be prophets, and the prose writers became critics, of an age between two ages. Looking backward, they saw the past through the colorful glass of romance. Looking forward, many saw a great spiritual tradition engulfed in a tide of materialism. Others, supported by a faith in the future, were optimistic. Still others, standing between a vanished past and an uncertain future, chose to live in the experience of "the exquisite moment."

*Thomas Carlyle** (1795–1881). No Victorian was more sensitively aware of his age than Carlyle. He lived in it with his whole being, suffered from its shortcomings, discovered and elaborated a formula for its regeneration. He was born in Scotland; educated in Edinburgh; surrounded in his youth by a puritan atmosphere; and early directed to a study of those German writers and thinkers—Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, and Novalis—whose names were associated with romanticism in literature and idealism in philosophy. Choosing literature as his profession, he made of it a vigorous, and sometimes vehement, instrument for the criticism of life. His practical aim was to teach men how to live. This aim involved a philosophical inquiry into the nature of man and the world. He held that the reality of the world is

spiritual, not material; that man comes to understand it through intuition, not through reason; that the logical reason of man is mechanistic, but the intuition is creative; and that the world's great men, its heroes, its makers of history are men of insight into the *divine idea* of which the world of nature and the history of civilization are the outward form, or expression. The story of how Carlyle arrived at this point of view is told by him in his first book *Sartor Resartus.* The means of arriving at it, he declared, was twofold: the renunciation of personal happiness; and the fruition of the soul's agony in a state of blessedness, also known to readers of Carlyle as his gospel of work. History, Carlyle held, was itself such a gospel: the story of heroes, of their divine insight; of mankind's awakening through them, its agonizing struggle, its crown of thorns, its ultimate blessedness. The other writings of Carlyle were an elaboration of this principal thought. *Sartor Resartus* appeared in 1834; *The French Revolution,* in 1837; *Chartism,* in 1839; the lectures on *Heroes,* in 1840; *Past and Present,* in 1843; the *Latter-Day Prophets,* in 1850; the *Life of John Stirling,* in 1851; *Shooting Niagara,* in 1867; and *Frederick the Great,* between 1858 and 1865. These adequately represent Carlyle: his great vigor; his fiery imagination; his Germanic diction; his scorn of liberalism; his philosophy of the world as Spirit; his hero-worship; his gospel of work, of vision through struggle, of the might of right, of history as revelation. At his best, Carlyle is an inspiring prophet. At his worst, he merely fulminates, coining and uttering words of "sound and fury," on the Bismarckian doctrine of authority and force.

Other Historians and Philosophers of the time generally followed one of three courses: (1) that of the Utilitarian school, which stressed individual liberty and self-interest; or (2) that of the natural science, which followed the new doctrine of evolution; or (3) that of the Hegelian school, which looked on history as the unfolding of the essential spirit and meaning of the world.

John Stuart Mill (1806–73), and Thomas Babington Macaulay* (1800–59), may be said to belong to the first school. Both men lived busy, contented lives, above the need of struggle; both were liberals in politics; both followed an even course of reasoning, trusted the everyday logic of events, looked at the facts broadly, "usefully." Both wrote in a scholarly, intellectual, clear prose style: Mill, in his *Autobiography* and in his essay *On Liberty;* Macaulay, in his useful and detailed *History of England.* Macaulay's *Essay on Milton* shows, equally, his powers of delineation and his lack of penetrating insight. It pleases the reader, temporarily, with its neat antitheses and epigrams. But it leaves him unsatisfied when, for example, the essayist can say nothing greater of the poetry of Milton than that it is "a fine frenzy, doubtless, but still a frenzy"; that it "produces an illusion on the eye of the mind"; that the truth of poetry is "the truth of madness," in which "the reasonings are just, but the premises are false"; that the poet requires of himself, and of us who would read him, the credulity and imaginativeness of a child. The height of Milton's "great argument" is clearly beyond Macaulay's view.

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), and Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–95) represented the new evolutionary science. Both were popularizers. Both sought, first of all, to elucidate their subject and to inform the reader. But, essentially, Spencer was a philosopher; Huxley, a man of letters. Unless we are scholars, if we read Spencer's *Principles* today, it is to look into his orderly and spacious mind. Huxley belongs to literature. His *Lay Sermons,* and *Science and Culture,* have the artist's imagination and grace; suggesting, at times, the truth of Wordsworth's statement that poetry "is the impassioned expression

which is in the countenance of all science." James Anthony Froude (1818–94), influenced first by Newman, and later more definitely by Carlyle, wrote history as if it were a great unfolding drama; not a play to please popular taste, but an Aeschylean pageant of moral action, fulfilling a high purpose. His *History of England* treats of the Renaissance as a living spectacle of meaningful events.

*Alfred Tennyson** (1809–92) was the typical Victorian poet. He understood the age, reflected it in his temper and manner: in his eclecticism; his versatility; his hesitancy between faith and doubt; his stress on science; his cautious liberalism; his sense of honor, of tradition, of "art for man's sake," of the need of social reform and of "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control." The Poet's background was severely simple and religious. His education, at Cambridge, was thorough and classical. His choice of literature as a profession was almost inevitable. His marriage, his appointment as poet laureate, and his publication of *In Memoriam,* in 1850, were signal events in his long, tranquil, poetical career.

Tennyson's work bears the unostentatious mark of his character. In its structure, it is rugged, yet delicate; in its spirit, it is romantic, yet classical. It abounds in pictorial description of natural scenes. The English landscape is forever kept alive in it. But the poet values his art above nature. Nature, to him, is the world of the human creature; art is in the domain of man's spirit. The progress toward perfection, in nature, is slow, requiring, according to the poet's belief in evolution, perhaps "twenty millions of summers" to reach "the noon of man." But, in his art, the poet reaches perfection, or almost perfection, now. Yet he values life more than art; for, to Tennyson, the life of man is encompassed in the existence of God. Much of his poetry, therefore, is religious; and it is in such poems as *In Memoriam, Two Voices, Vastness, Akbar's Dream,* and *Crossing the Bar,* that thought, feeling, and melody unite to symbolize the poet's highest expression of faith, which he declares to be perfect love, and the soul's immortal union with God.

During the long period between his *Locksley Hall* and *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After,* Tennyson wrote a variety of great poems; lyrics, pastorals, English idyls, classical pieces, romances, patriotic poems, philosophical poems, and dramas. The volume of *Poems,* published in 1832, contained chiefly, *The Lady of Shalott,* a poem contrasting the worlds of romance and reality; *The Lotus-Eaters,* based on a story in the *Odyssey; The Palace of Art,* an ornate pictorial poem on the relation of art to life; and *Oenone,* a classical and tragic picture of Oenone whom Paris has deserted for Helen of Troy. In these poems there is a stress on technique, a remarkable blending of sound with sense. In the *Poems* of 1842 appeared *Morte d' Arthur,* stately and mystical in its treatment of the character of King Arthur; *Ulysses,* classical to the core, yet romantic in its representation of life as adventure; *Locksley Hall,* a dramatic picture of a visionary youth living in the Victorian age; and the sixteen-line poem of pathos ending in the lines,

Break, break, break,
  At the foot of thy crags, O Sea!
But the tender grace of a day that is dead
  Will never come back to me.

The poem *In Memoriam,* of which these lines are the prelude, began as an elegy, but grew into a stately philosophical poem of 131 short lyrics of remarkably pure diction and sustained feeling, on the related themes of hope and fear, faith and doubt, death and immortality, against the background of a poet's dreams in a world of cold reality. The narrative poem *The Princess,* dealing with the problem of feminism in Victorian So-

ciety, is now remembered for its famous lyrics: *Sweet and Low; The Splendor Falls on Castle Walls; Tears, Idle Tears; Home They Brought Her Warrior Dead; Ask Me No More; Now Sleeps the Crimson Petal; Come Down O Maid From Yonder Mountain Height.* The great *Ode on Wellington* assured him national fame; the *Charge of the Light Brigade* struck the patriotic chord; *Maud* did likewise, preferring war to a people's stagnation. The *Idylls of the King,* rich in the expansion of its theme of "Sense at war with Soul," and *Enoch Arden,* are less firm than Tennyson's best work, and oversentimental. Of the dramas *Queen Mary, Harold,* and *Becket,* representing a historical trilogy, the last is outstanding. Of the later short poems, *Lucretius* is written with intense passion in a fine classical style; *The Higher Pantheism* is a mystical expression of Tennyson's religious faith; the poem *To Virgil* is a masterly salutation of one great poet by another; *Akbar's Dream* is a "magnificent prophecy of the ultimate religion of the spirit"; and *Crossing the Bar* is an immortal song, quite beyond praise. Altogether, Tennyson's influence has been extraordinary. As a deliberate artist he is probably unsurpassed in English literature; and his outlook on life, through Victorian eyes, is realistic, assuring, and sane.

*Robert Browning** (1812–89) stood opposite Tennyson, but not opposed. The two poets were friends. Tennyson was the popular poet; Browning, the poet of the select, intellectual class. Browning's life falls into three distinct periods: (1) the years before his marriage to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, in 1846; (2) the next fifteen years, to Mrs. Browning's death, in 1861; (3) the remaining 28 years, to the poet's death, in 1889. Browning was city born; of sturdy mixed racial stock; of non-conformist parentage; talented in art and music; an omnivorous reader; interested in foreign cultures; interested in sports. He stressed good health; and, all his life, cultivated a cheerful outlook on life. The world knows the story of his romantic marriage. He was thirty-four; Elizabeth Barrett was forty. They lived in Italy, mostly in Florence. Their home became a haven for traveling writers.

In 1833, Browning published *Pauline,* a poem of youthful self-revelation; in 1835, *Paracelsus,* a detailed study, in five scenes, or crises, of a noble soul's aspirations, through intermittent failure, toward a complete balance of love and knowledge; in 1840, *Sordello,* a poem in six books, replete with allusions to the vast experience and knowledge incident to the development of the poet's soul. In 1837 he produced *Strafford,* a play which Macready staged at Covent Garden with little success. Between 1841 and 1846 he wrote, among other poems, *Pippa Passes,* dealing with the regenerative influence of Pippa's song on certain supposedly fortunate, but sinful, people; *A Blot in the Scutcheon,* "a tragedy of passions—of Nemesis overtaking the innocent"; *Colombe's Birthday,* a political-historical play, simple and touching in its picture of the "triumph of true love over worldly ambition"; and such excellent shorter poems—some dramatic monologues, others lyrics—as *My Lost Duchess, In a Gondola, The Bishop Orders his Tomb,* and the beautiful lines of *Home-Thoughts from Abroad* beginning,

> Oh, to be in England
> Now that April's there.

In 1850 Browning wrote *Christmas Eve and Easter Day,* in which spiritual experience counterbalanced skeptical speculation. In 1855 he published *Men and Women,* perhaps his most brilliant and representative volume. The poems in it were written in Italy, many of them doubtless under Elizabeth Browning's influence. Typical, among

them, are *Love Among the Ruins, Evelyn Hope, Fra Lippo Lippi, The Statue and the Bust, Andrea del Sarto, Saul, Cleon, The Grammarian's Funeral,*—poems of rare intellectual, dramatic, and lyrical power.

After Mrs. Browning's death, the poet lived chiefly in London. The volume, *Dramatis Personae,* published in 1864, became famous for such poems as *Abt Vogler, Rabbi Ben Ezra,* and *Prospice,* in which the best of Browning's art and philosophy are well summed up in the words:

All that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure.

After 1864, for 25 years, works of magnitude came from his pen: *Balaustion's Adventure,* based on *Alcestis,* a play by Euripides; and *Aristophanes' Apology,* its sequel, were typical of the poet's absorbing interest in Greek literature. The masterpiece of this period was *The Ring and the Book,* based on the *Yellow Book,* a story of the trial of one Count Guido Franceschini for the murder of his young wife Pompilia. In the poem, story-arguments of Guido, Caponsacchi, Pompilia, and the Pope, reach true magnificence.

The genius of Browning lies equally in three fields: the intellectual; the dramatic; and the lyrical. His subtle, psychological, display of the forces that make, or destroy, character is matched by the brilliant native gift of song. It is these qualities, together with the poet's vast energy and learning, his interest in humanity, in history, in philosophy, literature, and art, that sometimes make his poetry seem esoteric and incomprehensible. Browning's thoughts, indeed, are as complex as life itself. But his teaching or philosophy is, in reality, simple. Against a clear knowledge of evil, he asserts the power of love to affirm the good. Love, he holds, is the divine property, or true form, of the soul which is immortal. As the soul, by stages in its growth, assumes its true form, it reaches beyond this earthly life into eternity. Life, here, is not enough for man. He needs eternity for the unfolding of what is instinct in him. No wall divides heaven and earth. Men who love stand on heaven's ramparts and look into the face of God.

The style of Browning is now simple, now complex. At one moment it seems overloaded, cloudy, obscure; at another, it breaks through with a flash, and is transparently clear. Not all of his poetry is equally good. He is therefore best judged by his best.

*Matthew Arnold** (1822–1888) was a poet; a writer of lucid, conversational prose; and a major critic. His poetry is classical, restrained, philosophical, and somber. He himself believed that good poetry is essentially noble, written in a spirit of "high seriousness," and on "sound subject matter." A poet, he held with Wordsworth, was great to the degree to which he succeeded "in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life." His peculiar merit is that he gave to criticism a place only a little below poetry. He thought of the literary critic as the poet's protector; the man of superior endowment, sound scholarship, and good taste; acquainted with the best of what has been written; able to discern, by comparison, what is well done today; and eager to promote the cause of literature among other worthy men. Arnold was himself such a good critic.

He was born at Laleham near the Thames, in 1822, the son of Dr. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby; was educated at Rugby and Oxford; steeped his thought in the rural scenery surrounding Oxford; disciplined his mind through a study of the classics; acquainted himself with London society, while serving as private secretary to Lord Lansdowne; felt himself tossed between the de-

sire for romance, for the fellowship of Oxford, for implicit religious faith, and the stern voices of doubt and duty; accepted, in 1851, in order to have the income to marry, the office of inspector of schools, which he held for 34 years. For ten years, from 1857 to 1867, he held the professorship of poetry at Oxford. He twice visited and lectured in America, in 1883 and in 1886.

The poetry of Arnold is genuinely classical. It is serious and restrained; deliberately, if not completely, objective; artistically economical and unsentimental; expressive of the nobler passions; chaste in diction; strong in the use of contrasts and antitheses that purify and elevate in their effect; and successful, at intervals, in reaching, through cadence and harmony, the noble heights of the ancient Greek poets. The volume of his verse, as we should expect, is not large. But it is significant. The sonnet *Quiet Work* records that nature has taught him the lesson of two duties, "of toil unsevered from tranquillity." In another sonnet he finds Shakespeare smiling and still, "out-topping knowledge." In these sonnets he touches the chords that are the prelude to his work. *The Forsaken Merman* is half natural magic and romance, half criticism and Sophoclean sorrow. *The Scholar-Gypsy,* similarly, reflects the contrast between the romance and the sophistication suggested by Arnold's thought of Oxford. *Sohrab and Rustum,* based on a story in Firdausi's *Book of Kings,* is Homeric, but consciously ornate; *Balder Dead,* reviving a Teutonic myth, is energetic and well wrought, but less original and less impassioned. Arnold's best poetry is found in such pure and classic pieces as *The Buried Life,* with its sense of isolation and sudden release "When a beloved hand is laid in ours"; *Thyrsis,* an elegy immortalizing the poet's friend, Arthur H. Clough; *Rugby Chapel,* written in memory of his father; and *Dover Beach,* summing up, in a solemn Sophoclean mood, and in Homeric diction, the loneliness of the soul that sees "the sea of Faith" recede, and now only hears "its melancholy long withdrawing roar." Like patches of sunlight, interspersed with rain, are the seven love-poems written by Arnold under the title of *Switzerland,* of which the one addressed *To Marguerite* is unforgettable in its resigned loneliness.

Arnold's social criticism was directed against the Philistinism of the British middle class, satisfied with material success. By his gospel of culture, communicated through the tradition of good literature, he sought to save England from decline. The central and representative ideas of the large body of his critical work may be found in Arnold's *Preface* to the *Poems* of 1853; his *Function of Criticism* (1864); his *Culture and Anarchy* (1869); his *Study of Poetry* (1880); and his *Discourses in America* (1884).

*John Henry Newman** (1801–90). Newman's contribution to literature was indirect, but great. He did not, like Arnold and Carlyle, choose letters as a profession. His major preoccupation was with theological study and religious reform, to which he dedicated the genius of his translucent prose style. He wrote as he lived, unostentatiously, seeking, first, the pure bare truth; then, the logical idea to express it; and, after that, the sentences whose subtle delicacy, music, and pleasing cadence, conveyed not only the word's meaning but his own deepest thought. Arnold, hearing Newman from the pulpit of St. Mary's at Oxford, remembered, after forty years, how Newman stood up before the people and "in the most entrancing of voices, breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music—subtle, sweet, mournful," said: "After the fever of life, after weariness and sicknesses, fightings and despondings, languor and fretfulness, struggling and succeeding; after all the changes and chances of this troubled, unhealthy state—at length comes death, at

length the white throne of God, at length the beatific vision."

Newman was born in London; attended Oxford; was granted an Oriel fellowship; was elected vicar of St. Mary's; came under the influence of John Keble, in 1827; went to Italy, in 1832; wrote the hymn, *Lead, Kindly Light,* in 1833; joined the Tractarian or Oxford Movement; wrote *Tract XC,* in 1841; was admitted to the Roman Catholic Church, in 1845; published *The Idea of a University,* in 1852; his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* in 1864; the poem, *The Dream of Gerontius,* in 1866; and, in 1870, the *Grammar of Assent.*

Newman restored to the sermon its 17th c. literary status. But his fame rests on the *Apologia.* In it he reveals his mind, not only in utter candor, but in its entire content. The book is more than an apology, or autobiography. It is the revelation of a soul, and deserves a place by the side of Augustine's *Confessions,* Pascal's *Thoughts,* and Bunyan's *Grace Abounding.* In his *Idea of a University,* Newman stresses the distinction between "useful" knowledge and the higher "liberal" knowledge which no age can ignore; in the *Grammar of Assent,* he examines, with singular clarity, the nature and function of the "illative sense," or special faculty of the mind to form judgments that serve as a ground for religious faith. *The Dream of Gerontius,* now set to music, is a consoling, inspiring poem on the journey of the soul after death. Newman's fame rests, (1) on his pure style; (2) on his unequalled knowledge of early Church history; (3) on his insight into the relationship of man's reason to religion; (4) on his contribution to the literature of self-revelation.

John Ruskin (1819–1900). The Victorians were reformers. They looked on literature as the great agent for the enlargement of the mind and the regeneration of human society. The leading prose writers offered individual solutions to the contemporary problem: Carlyle, his gospel of work; Arnold, the tradition and pursuit of culture; Newman, the discovery of the historic religious faith; Ruskin, the application of Nature to art, and of art to daily life.

It is customary to divide Ruskin's life into two periods, each of special interest: the first, the fine arts; the second, social and economic reform. The two interests were actually one cause to him: his economic socialism was the natural outgrowth of his ethical theory of art. Put into general terms, Ruskin held that, as man is redeemed from misery, and society from slovenliness, by honest work, so work itself is redeemed from bitter toil by an appreciation of beauty, in art, and in nature. Ruskin was a voluminous writer; and his ideas are reiterated in the various works. Yet these ideas are never mere repetitions; they spring up into new life, like fresh grass and flowers; and, therefore, reading him, by the method of surrender, rather than of mastery, may become a rare, and oft repeated, experience of pleasure.

Ruskin was miseducated by his mother; his marriage was pre-arranged and unfortunate; his mind, after 1860, was often under a dark cloud. He was tragically frustrated in love and, at one time, close to the loss of his religious faith. He was severely and relentlessly criticized. Yet his labors were enormous, and he wrote volume after volume of still very much read books. First in importance among them was the five-volume work *Modern Painters,* published between his 25th and 40th year, an exposition of the principles underlying the art of J. W. Turner, and an analysis of four types of landscape painting: "the Heroic (Titian); the Classical (Poussin); the Pastoral (Cuyp); and the Contemplative (Turner)." In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture,* and *Stones of Venice,* he studies and defends Gothic architecture against its rival, the Renaissance type; shows that a people's architecture reflects its moral

temper; and lists the seven Gothic Lamps: sacrifice; truth; power; beauty; life; memory; and obedience. In applying these ethical and esthetic principles to the practical and social life, he wrote, principally, *Unto this Last* (1860–62), and *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), dealing frankly with the adoption of Christian principles as the basis of a people's social and economic life; the *Crown of Wild Olive,* containing four lectures: *War; The Future of England; Work;* and *Traffic,* or trade; *Fors Clavigera,* consisting of 96 letters addressed to the workingmen of England, in behalf of St. George's Guild, pleading for social justice in the name of England's ancient religious tradition. At seventy, Ruskin wrote *Praeterita,* his own autobiography, a work, as we should expect, of delicate pathos and self-revealing content.

Dickens and Thackeray. The novel was an essential vehicle for the communication of 19th c. thought. It offered the scope and panorama necessary to a study of the Victorian age. The trend toward realism, represented in Fielding, in the 18th c., was carried further by Thackeray, and completed in the later work of Thomas Hardy. The romantic trend, rooted in Wordsworth's philosophy, was evident in the novels of the Brontës, and given full expression by Dickens. Social reform, and the study of character in its relation to environment, were the novelists' two principal themes: the former owing much to the French Rousseau; the latter, to the German Goethe.

Charles Dickens* (1812–70) and William Makepeace Thackeray* (1811–63) had much in common. Both wrote of England, and the domestic scene; both shared the humanitarian outlook, and wrote with deep compassion; both began as journalists; neither was an architect of plot. But the contrast between them is more marked: Dickens had no formal education; Thackeray was given the best education, at Charterhouse in London, and at Cambridge; Dickens lived and wrote exuberantly, at a high pitch of self-expenditure and enjoyment; Thackeray lived and wrote by a wisdom born of sorrow. Dickens had little sense of style; Thackeray was a literary craftsman. Dickens wrote with rich emotion of the suffering lower class; Thackeray depicted with intense pity and irony the pretension of the middle class. Dickens vaulted to fame. Thackeray climbed to it slowly.

The literary career of Dickens falls into three periods: (1) the early period, to 1842, in which he wrote, in quick succession, *The Pickwick Papers,* the *Adventures of Oliver Twist, Nicholas Nickleby,* and *The Old Curiosity Shop;* (2) the middle period, to 1860, made famous by the five great novels, *David Copperfield, Bleak House, Hard Times, Little Dorrit,* and *A Tale of Two Cities;* (3) the final period, to 1870, in which he wrote *Great Expectations,* and left unfinished at his death *The Mystery of Edwin Drood.* These works were representative. There were many others, notably the inimitable *Christmas Carol.* In all of them there were the unmistakable signs of Dickens' genius: the variety and vigor of his characters —Uriah Heep, Scrooge, and Micawber, suggest themselves at once; his amazing power of observation—he was a reporter whom no event escaped; his realism, touched with pity —the sight of suffering children moved him profoundly; his idealism, tempered with a sense of the grotesque, and of humor; his essential acceptance of the "Wordsworthian poetry of life."

Behind Thackeray's success lay the discipline of hard, dark years: the loss of family income; his wife's mental illness; and the slow stirring of a naturally indolent nature and critical temper. He began, as he said, to write of rascals; and then turned to writing of snobs. He published most of what he wrote in *Fraser's* and in *Punch.* The stories were

not designed to bring him quick fame. Then, in 1847, at thirty-six, he began to write *Vanity Fair.* In it character, situation, irony, and pity were wrought into a work of art. Other novels followed, of which four are great: *Pendennis* and *The Newcomes,* into which Thackeray put much personal history, and something of the manner of Fielding's *Tom Jones; Henry Esmond,* a novel of excellent portraiture and plot, dramatic, romantic, yet somber, with an 18th c. background, introducing the reader to the literary characters of Addison, Steele, and Swift; and *The Virginians,* an international novel, a sequel to *Esmond,* and the outgrowth of the novelist's lecture tour in America.

Other Victorian Novelists were George Eliot* (Mary Ann Evans, 1819–80), George Meredith* (1828–1909), and Thomas Hardy* (1840–1928). Mary Ann Evans, who wrote under the pen name of George Eliot, was born in Warwickshire, in the Shakespeare country. Her youth was a stormy struggle between strong passion and an extraordinary intellect; between a growing skepticism and an inherited Evangelical faith. Her association with intellectuals and freethinkers, and her domestic life with George H. Lewes, stirred Victorian England; but not more so than the series of her powerful novels, beginning, among others, with *Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story,* and moving almost at once to the height of her strength in *Adam Bede, The Mill on the Floss,* the Italian Renaissance novel *Romola,* and the great industrial novel *Middlemarch.* In all of them, local color, the dignity of common life, tragic passion, and moral philosophy intermingle to produce the suggestion of epic grandeur.

Meredith was less philosophical, and more brilliantly and humorously intellectual, than George Eliot. He possessed an active, volatile Welsh-Irish nature, aristocratic tastes, analytical genius, and the lively critical acumen which commended him to the late Victorians, who were beginning to form new judgments of the age. By his definition of the Comic Spirit—which was the benevolent spirit of laughter at human faults, without any contempt or hate toward men—he himself characterized his own work. Like Chaucer and Shakespeare, he wished to make gentlemen of men. His principle aim in such outstanding novels as *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel, Evan Harrington, The Egoist,* and *Diana of the Crossways,* was to reduce eccentricities in men and women, to make them more tolerant of one another—especially, the old and the young—and so make life, in close touch with nature and the earth, more richly livable. Meredith had no special interest in mid-Victorian social reform. His world was the individual: the world of man and woman; his body and mind; his nature and spirit; his participation in the world of men, and his detachment from it. Meredith, in a word, was a poet; more Greek than English; fond of imagery and allegory; sharing, with the poet Swinburne, the exuberant vitality of the earth spirit; and working with a clear, architectural consciousness of literary style. His best poems include *Modern Love,* sometimes called a novel in verse, composed of fifty sixteen-line "sonnets"; *Love in the Valley; The Woods of Westermain,* an enchanting, symbolical poem on Nature; *The Thrush in February;* and a typical sonnet called *A Certain People,* in which he touches on the puritans, in whom

> Conscience shows the eying of an ox
> Grown dully apprehensive of an Axe.

Hardy, more than George Eliot or Meredith, was a philosophical novelist. In George Eliot's novels the conflict between passion and reason is usually resolved; in Meredith's, the spirit of laughter purifies men's minds and motives. But in Hardy's stories the root of tragedy lies deeper. It is in the nature of

things, of the world, that man, with an inherited weakness in him, must suffer. Hardy's own pity does not minimize the tragic state of his characters in the novels *Far from the Madding Crowd, The Return of the Native, The Mayor of Casterbridge, Tess of the D'Urbervilles,* and *Jude the Obscure.* Instead, the paradox of Nature's cruelty and man's pity deepens the effect of tragedy in them; and the effect is still further augmented by Hardy's austere style and architecturally ordered plot, within which he writes of the persons of his stories with a warm sympathy and simple dignity that suggests, but goes beyond, the pathos of Wordsworth.

A similar strain of tenderness and helplessness runs through Hardy's poems. The epic-drama, *The Dynasts,* a colossal poem on the Napoleonic wars, presents us with kaleidoscopic scenes of Napoleon's greatness, fulfilling, with an almost easy irony, the destiny decreed to it by the world's fate. The shorter poems, like all else Hardy has written—except *The Dynasts*—are saturated with the writer's love of Wessex,—its heath country; its river valleys; its historic castles, abbeys and Roman roads; its people, plain farmers and villagers, rooted in the soil. The chaste diction of Hardy, the somber, nostalgic touch of his mood on the measure of his lines, can be felt when, writing of beautiful women of former days, he says:

They must forget, forget! They cannot know
  What once they were,
Or memory would transfigure them, and show
  Them always fair.

Minor Writers of the Novel. Among these, the sisters Charlotte Brontë (1816–55) and Emily Brontë (1818–48) deserve first rank: Charlotte, for her *Jane Eyre,* which is, in part, the story of her own intensely passionate spirit in a bleak setting of the northern Yorkshire moors; Emily, for her *Wuthering Heights,* written in a similar setting, but with the more tragic passion of a poet, capable of composing also such authentic and poignant poems as *The Philosopher, The Night is Darkening, Shall Earth no More Inspire Thee?* and *Remembrance,* which ends on her life's key-note,

Once drinking deep of that divinest anguish,
How could I seek the empty world again?

The official biographer of Charlotte Brontë was the novelist Elizabeth Stevenson Gaskell (1810–65), author of the novels *Mary Barton,* dealing with the industrial life of Manchester, and *Cranford,* an exquisite idyll of English village life. Two writers of talent, nearing but not reaching genius, were Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803–73), who, in 1834, wrote the famous melodramatic historical romance *The Last Days of Pompeii;* and Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) who used the novel perhaps too extensively as a political instrument, but succeeded in touching life more universally in *Sybil,* a novel of social study, of the station of the rich and the lot of the poor. A very versatile writer among the Victorians was Charles Kingsley (1819–1875) author of three popular books: *Water Babies,* a fairy tale for children; *Hypatia,* a novel of muscular Evangelicalism, on the struggle of Christianity with paganism; and *Westward Ho!* a story of Elizabethan setting, but of Victorian middle class outlook. Comparable to Kingsley in industry, but a writer of romance and a disciple of Dickens, was Charles Reade (1814–84), honored author of *The Cloister and the Hearth,* a Renaissance novel believed by some critics to be "the greatest historical novel in the language."

More important, and comparable in rank to the Brontës, was Anthony Trollope (1815–82). His *Chronicles of Barsetshire,* among a multitude of other books, were an immediate success and are still read, like Dickens, for

the incidents and people who make up his world. The six novels that constitute the Chronicles: (1) *The Warden* (1855); (2) *Barchester Towers;* (3) *Doctor Thorne;* (4) *Framley Parsonage;* (5) *The Small House at Allington;* and (6) *The Last Chronicle of Barset,* are essentially one story, in which the reader comes to live as really as though he had always known Barsetshire, its land, its villagers, their manners, the "very clothes they wear," and the Cathedral that was the center of their community life. The cathedral series fulfilled Trollope's desire that "a novel should give a picture of common life enlivened by humor and sweetened by pathos."

Five minor authors deserve mention, each for a single good novel: (1) Thomas Hughes (*Tom Brown's School Days,* 1857); (2) Richard Blackmore (*Lorna Doone,* 1869); (3) J. H. Shorthouse (*John Inglesant,* 1880); (4) Mrs. Humphry Ward (*Robert Elsmere,* 1888); and (5) Samuel Butler (*The Way of All Flesh,* 1884), who in his social attitude "belongs to the 20th c. and is the precursor of Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy, and Shaw." These are but a few out of a host.

The last of the Victorian story-writers, and one of the greatest, was Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94). He was of Scottish birth; brought up as a Puritan; but, at heart, much of a Bohemian. His was essentially a youthful spirit. Two traits are strikingly evident in his writing: (1) the romancer's spirit of adventure; (2) the artist's careful attention to style. He wrote, besides his three best known novels, *Treasure Island, Kidnapped,* and *The Master of Ballantrae,* books of adventure, like *Travels with a Donkey,* exciting short stories, like *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,* essays, like *Virginibus Puerisque* and *Studies of Men and Books,* and several volumes of poems, like *A Child's Garden of Verses.* A mild stoicism pervades his work. It reflects his courage against adversity and ill health, and issues forth in the playful tenderness so close to tears that is Stevenson's peculiar charm.

The Pre-Raphaelite Poets. With their arrival, it was clear that a new element had entered Victorian literature. Ruskin had contributed to it by his stress on the application of art to the people's social and economic life. But the Pre-Raphaelites went further; they saw in beauty, and in the arts which engendered and fostered it, the sole hope of a new life. The men that began the movement were painters, three young men particularly: Holman Hunt, Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1828–82); and they found their model in the clear detail and pure, bold color of the painters before Raphael. Rossetti, of Anglo-Italian birth, self-schooled and self-directed, found his deep, life-long interest in the Middle Age. In it, as if he had been Chaucer, he steeped his mind: in its emphasis on religion, on Chivalric love, and on its constant contact with great architecture and art. To this influence he owed the three main characteristics of his poetry: (1) its symbolism and mysticism; (2) its frank sensuousness; (3) its artistic attention to the exact pictorial word. The classic example of Rossetti's style is the poem *The Blessed Damozel,* in which romantic love, mystical vision, brooding sorrow, pictorial description, and echoing music, are fully blended, as for example, in the nearly closing lines,

> She gazed and listened and then said,
> Less sad of speech than mild,—
> "All this is when he comes" . . .
> Her eyes prayed, and she smiled.

Other poems, like *Sister Helen* and *My Sister's Sleep,* reveal similar traits; the former showing the ballad strain which Rossetti used successfully in *The King's Tragedy,* a narrative of the career of James I of Scotland. The most famous work of the poet is *The House*

of Life, a collection of sonnets, the expression of his love for Elizabeth Siddal, his wife.

The most energetic of the Pre-Raphaelites was William Morris (1834–96). This sturdy Welshman was actually three men in one: poet; handicraftsman; and practical social reformer. At Oxford he read poetry: Tennyson; Browning; and Chaucer, who became his lifelong example and teacher. After Chaucer, Ruskin most inspired him. In London, he turned to architecture; and on meeting Rossetti, tried to paint. His earliest important poems were *The Defense of Guenevere* and *The Haystack in the Floods*: the first was Arthurian, but—unlike Tennyson's *Idylls*—realistic, dramatic, episodic; the second, a ballad of gruesome detail and restrained passion. While at work on designing, illuminating manuscripts, and printing books, he wrote voluminously, in a careful yet easy style, producing three notable poems, *Jason*, *The Earthly Paradise*, and *Sigurd the Volsung*; and, besides, good translations of the *Aeneid*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Beowulf*. *Jason* is a Greek romantic-epic tale; *The Earthly Paradise* is a collection of medieval romances and Greek legends planned after Chaucer; *Sigurd* is Morris' version of the Germanic *Volsunga Saga*. In reading these poems, one is, first, pleased by the poet's Chaucerian delight in life; then surprised by the bold primitive spirit with which his Norse heroes challenge and face death.

The Pre-Raphaelite poet who talked freely of death, but who was among the Victorians most eager for the experience of life, was Algernon Charles Swinburne* (1837–1909). His stress on instant experience, on sensation, on pagan ideas, on art for art's sake, indicates that he belonged less to the 19th c. than to ours. Swinburne's nature was sensitive and impressionable. It absorbed everything that was romantic in Nature and classical in art. His admiration for the ancient poets, particularly Lucretius and Sappho; for the French poet Baudelaire, and the Italian patriot Mazzini; for Shakespeare, Shelley, and Landor; for lyrical poetry, especially the Greek chorus and the elegy; for ringing, rhythmic words, long and short, that fitted the anapestic measure and were alliterative; for Biblical imagery, parallelism and paradox; for heroes of every sort; for freethinkers and Bohemians, amounted to a passion. Poetry was an excitement to him,—poetry and the sea; the sea was a mother to him even more than the fruitful earth.

Swinburne's poetical work consists mainly of (1) two volumes of *Poems and Ballads*, containing such representative pieces as *The Triumph of Time*, *The Garden of Proserpine*, *A Forsaken Garden*, and *Ave atque Vale*; (2) the two brilliant lyrical dramas, *Atalanta in Calydon*, and *Erechtheus*, which are Grecian in thought, though lacking in Hellenic penetration and restraint; (3) a trilogy of romantic dramas on Mary Queen of Scots: *Chastelard*, *Bothwell*, and *Mary Stuart*; and (4) the volume *Songs before Sunrise*, containing, among others, the poems *Hertha* and *To Walt Whitman in America*, in which, as one sea-born poet to another, Swinburne calls to Whitman to

Make us too music, to be with us
As a word from a world's heart warm,
To sail the dark as a sea with us,
Full-sailed, outsinging the storm.

We do not read these lines, searching for their thought. We hear them, and we see the brilliant words rushing forth, like an eager swimmer, to be immersed in a stream of sensation. Swinburne is at his best where no philosophy is involved; where he may take a classic myth with its own clear thought and build it into a setting, like a shrine for a Greek goddess, as, for example in the chorus in the *Atalanta*, in which

The ivy falls with the Bacchanal's hair
Over her eyebrows hiding her eyes;
The wild vine slipping down leaves bare
Her bright breast shortening into sighs.

Minor Victorian Poets. Among the best known of these were the two women poets Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861) and Christina Rossetti (1830–1894). Mrs. Browning's work is marked (1) by its humanitarianism; (2) by its debt to the Greek pastoral poets; (3) by its depth of tenderness; (4) by its frequent delicate examples of lyrical beauty. Her one ambitious poem was *Aurora Leigh,* a long romance written in blank verse, noble, realistic, dealing with woman's freedom and love in the Victorian age. She translated *Prometheus Bound;* wrote *Casa Guidi Windows* and *Poems before Congress,* mainly on Italian subjects; and an early volume of *Poems,* containing *The Cry of the Children,* published in 1844, which proved to be a famous literary document on social reform. But her great work was the *Sonnets from the Portuguese,* fifty-four of them, dedicated to Robert Browning, simple in style, sincere in feeling, "giving expression to a pure and passionate love."

Christina Rossetti found in love's renunciation, rather than in its fulfilment, a theme for her poetry. Religion, its mystery, and the love and faith it inspired, were her principal interest. By them she judged the world, both its evil and its beauty. Her poetry is exact and penetrating. She undertook no major piece. The poems are individual, delicately and austerely written. They are, at once, tender and severe; intuitive and intellectual; wistful and skeptical; passionate and ascetic; melancholy and gay. Her *Goblin Market* is an original poem expressing, in symbolism and mystery, the hunger, the goodness, and the danger of life. Her *Nursery Rhyme Book* expresses the poet's longing for domesticity; *The Convent Threshold,* by contrast, yet by a clear analogy, expresses the soul's longing for its true home. The lyric *My Heart is like a Singing Bird,* illustrates her gift of luxuriant song; the song *When I am Dead, My Dearest,* is perfect in form and haunting in feeling; and *Uphill* is a little masterpiece centering in the poet's idea that life is a pilgrimage upward to death.

A third significant minor poet was Arthur Hugh Clough (1819–61). Like Arnold, his distinguished friend, he was interested (1) in the question of religious faith and doubt, (2) in the cause of national culture, (3) in the contribution of poetry to this cause. Clough went to Oxford; saw the Oxford Movement in full flower; reacted against it, toward a liberal rationalism; came to America, in 1852; met Emerson; returned to England, in 1853; married, and accepted work with the Office of Education; and, after ten years, went to Switzerland in search of his health, and later to Italy, where he died. His poems show the influence of a Victorian rationalism merging into realism. But, against this fateful trend, they reveal the poet's moral and spiritual courage. The unfinished *Dipsychus* illustrates, as Clough himself said, "the conflict between the tender conscience and the world." A vein of gently ironic humor runs through this and other poems, as, for example, through *The Last Decalogue* where we read:

Thou shalt not steal; an empty feat,
When it's so lucrative to cheat: . . .
Thou shalt not covet, but tradition
Approves all forms of competition.

A fourth minor Victorian poet was Edward Fitzgerald (1809–83), a close friend of Tennyson. After leaving Cambridge, he interested himself in the study of foreign literatures, and so was led to the reading of the Persian Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat.* Fitzgerald's translation, which followed, was his masterpiece. It became instantly popular for its

dual strain of a rich, luxurious sensuousness, and a skeptical, melancholic sense of wonder that a life so beautiful must end and man must die.

A fifth minor poet of the age was James Thomson (1834–82), a melancholy and desperately heroic man, who saw the nature of things evil, faced what the sensitive spirit most fears by the loss of faith, and wrote, among other poems, the *Doom of a City* and *The City of Dreadful Night.* The poems were written with sustained imagination; they reflected the influence of Shelley, of the German poet Novalis, and of Dante; and they voiced the apprehension of thoughtful Victorians who witnessed the slow decline of Orthodox religion and the rise of a modern materialistic philosophy of life.

The End of the Victorian Age. The literature of the last decade of the century reflected a number of definite trends: (1) toward the estheticism of Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde; (2) toward the romanticism of Robert Louis Stevenson; (3) toward the pure classicism of Robert Bridges; (4) toward the realism of Rudyard Kipling and George Gissing; (5) toward the naturalism of George Moore.

The main trend was toward realism. Subordinate to it, there was the notable emphasis on light, free composition, informing, experimenting, and entertaining, as, for example, in the *Pinafore,* the *Mikado,* and the other light operas of Gilbert and Sullivan; in *Alice in Wonderland* and the *Hunting of the Snark* stories of Lewis Carroll; and in the skillful use of the old French verse forms by such writers as Sir Edmund Gosse, Andrew Lang, and Austin Dobson. Of surpassing importance, though a minor literary trend, was the poetry of such religious poets as Francis Thompson and Gerard Manley Hopkins, who probably owed much of their inspiration to the ideas of Newman and to the devotional verse of John Keble's *The Christian Year* (1827).

Pater* set forth his view of life as esthetic pleasure, and his conception of art, or poetry, as "expressing romance in a classical form," in three principal works: *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873); *Marius the Epicurean* (1885); and *Appreciations* (1889), which contains his famous essay *On Style.* As a critic, Pater was an impressionist intent on recording mainly his own exquisite sensations in the presence of a masterpiece, and doing so in language of fastidious taste and with needle-point distinction. His conclusion to *The Renaissance,* once omitted, and later restored, sums up what he has learned from Plato, Epicurus, Marcus Aurelius, and Novalis, and has, as he says, through "intellectual excitement" and the "poetic passion," made his own. The two most familiar sentences in it deserve quoting: "To burn always with this hard, gemlike flame, to maintain this (intellectual) ecstasy, is success in life . . . Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the brilliancy of their gifts some tragic dividing of forces on their ways, is, on this short day of frost and sun, to sleep before evening."

Wilde's thirst for sensation and excess injured his reputation. But his essays on literature, his fairy tales, and particularly his plays, *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895), both brilliant comedies of manners, established his fame, and re-established—after its neglect since Sheridan—the English drama.

Bridges, who lived to be eighty-six, belonged—like Landor—to two ages. He wrote Victorian lyrics that rivalled Tennyson in their classicism; and approached the spontaneity of the 17th c. poets in such songs as *Behold the radiant Spring,* and *O golden Sun, whose ray my path illumineth.* And he lived to write, in our own time, *The Testament of Beauty,* a long poem that owed much to Plato, to Lucretius, to Milton, and set

forth his aristocratic creed of Beauty to be attained through nobility of mind and breed.

Kipling,* belonging equally to both centuries, and a vigorous writer of fiction and poetry, drew pictures of Anglo-Indian life, wrote stories for children, and composed ballads,—all of them instinct with his genius for what is elemental in man: his thirst for adventure; his tribal loyalty; his self-reliance; his responsiveness to violence, to sympathy, to animal life, to the supernatural, and to song. Kipling wrote no artistic books; nor any dull ones. His aim was to entertain and stir the reader. His most popular works include the *Barrack Room Ballads* (1892); *The Seven Seas* (1896), a book of poems; the novels *Kim* (1901) and *The Light that Failed* (1890); the two *Jungle Books* (1894–5); and the volume of short stories, *The Day's Work* (1898).

Probably no more significant poem was written at the close of the century than Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven;* and none better depicted the late Victorian age: its increasing materialism; its dissatisfaction with its own state; its sense of "traitorous trueness" in clinging "to the whistling mane of every wind"; its inescapable realization that, despite the new science, the disillusioning realism, the refuge sought in art, in the social consciousness, in the strength of the naturally endowed hero, or superman,

Still with unhurrying chase,
And unperturbed pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
Came on the following Feet,
And a Voice above their beat—
"Naught shelters thee, who wilt not shelter Me."

The Twentieth Century. The late Victorian trend toward realism continued. It was expressed in an increasing urban and secular spirit; in greater and bolder scientific progress; in a receptivity toward the Continental influence of such writers as Zola, Dostoievsky, and Nietzsche; in a marked emphasis on sociological prose, on a pragmatic philosophy, on the Freudian psychology, and on experimental poetry. During the first decade, between 1900 and 1910, the "Edwardians," represented in Barrie, Bridges, Conrad, Kipling, and Yeats, were intent on maintaining the literary tradition. But the second decade, between 1910 and 1920, brought the World War and, with it, a realistic change. Such "Georgian" writers as Masefield, Walpole, and Maugham were in open revolt against the Victorian view of life. After 1912, Imagism, with its stress on form and technique, greatly influenced poetry. Biography, in the hands of writers like Strachey, became psychological; and, under the influence of André Maurois, of France, writers of fiction and biography freely interchanged methods. By 1930, the sophistication begun in the 1890's was complete. Generally speaking, the dream of science to subordinate nature to the wishes of man had failed. Nonetheless, experimentalism, naturalism, individualism, and a stoical disrespect for tradition, in England as in America, characterized the arts. Literature had come under the sway of sensation; and writers sought to find an outlet in a wider range of technique.

The trend toward "originality" has perhaps been the most significant trait of poetry since late Victorian times. Examples of it are found in the Pre-Raphaelite stress on design; the estheticism of Wilde; the Parnassian impressionism of Pater; Swinburne's mounted race with the prancing anapest; the return to the old French forms—the ballade, rondeau, rondel, and the triolet; then, in protest to these, the muscular insistence on "more life," begun with Henley, expressed to the full in the delight in science, machinery, and empire, in the poetry of Kipling, and given an animating, "new" touch by the

"mixture of beauty and brutality" in the poetry of Masefield.

Meanwhile lyrists like Yeats and De la Mare were at work getting new gold out of old mines: Yeats, by discovering and retelling beautiful Gaelic legends; De la Mare, by directing the searchlight of his fancy toward hidden mysteries in old nursery tales. This attention to a specialized technique in which novelty was put side by side with tradition, and the new irony encroached on the old lyricism, was later illustrated in the poetry of Humbert Wolfe who wrote the tantalizing verses:

> Like a small gray
> coffee-pot
> sits the squirrel.
> He is not
>
> all he should be,
> kills by dozens
> trees, and eats
> his red-brown cousins.
>
> The keeper, on the
> other hand,
> who shot him, is
> a Christian, and
>
> loves his enemies,
> which shows
> the squirrel was not
> one of those.

The Shock of the War. By 1914, a more serious trend had shown itself in English poetry. The Georgians had become war poets. They had turned their attention from the pastoral to the national theme: the younger poets, like Rupert Brooke, with hope and adventure; the more seasoned soldier-poets, like Siegfried Sassoon, with satire and disillusion. Only a few, like W. H. Davies, sang innocently and simply of "England's green and pleasant land."

Opposite the Georgians were the intellectuals. They were realists; but they were also scholars, analysts, and technical artists. Their chief literary instruments were two: a keen satire against false naïveté and the prevailing materialism; and a specialized use of symbolism, designed not only to let the reader "fill the gaps between thought and figure," but, more significantly, to point to the distinction between the visible object, or world, and its hidden symbolical meaning. Representative of those whose attitude was mainly theoretical, were the three Sitwells; the most influential, probably, among the constructive poets has been England's adopted son T. S. Eliot. Eliot's technique, but with a varying emphasis on hope for tomorrow, survives in the poetry of C. D. Lewis, H. W. Auden, and Stephen Spender.

Fiction and Drama. The plays, novels, and short stories, in the 20th c., follow, in the main, the trends of poetry. These trends, broadly speaking, are represented by six groups of writers: (1) those of Victorian background, like John Galsworthy and Bernard Shaw, who are aware of both tradition and the need of reform; (2) those of the new world order, like Rudyard Kipling and H. G. Wells, who look on literature as an agent of public discussion and political power; (3) artists, like Henry James and Joseph Conrad, who sedulously follow the demands of literary style; (4) psychological writers, like James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, who follow, with their art, the total "stream of human consciousness"; (5) scientific realists, like Aldous Huxley, who are caught between a rationalistic and a naturalistic philosophy of life; and (5) dream-realists, like James Barrie and J. M. Synge, who try to reconcile man's ideals with his hard fate.

In poetry, the Victorian tradition was represented by Bridges; the Irish movement, by

Yeats; the realistic movement, by Masefield; the Georgian revival, by Davies and Munro; the protest against Victorianism, by Drinkwater; the Imagist movement, by Aldington; the metaphysical movement, by T. S. Eliot. In the drama, four writers stand out particularly: Shaw, reflecting the influence of Ibsen; Barrie, standing between the conflicting trends of realism and romance; Lord Dunsany, representing the Irish theatre; and Galsworthy, dealing constructively with social problems. In prose, the current tendencies are strong and various: Bennett, Galsworthy, and Wells are realists and social reformers; Walpole and Maugham follow the example of rigid social criticism set by Butler's *The Way of All Flesh;* T. E. Lawrence and Ford Madox Ford represent those who write of the World War; Joyce and Rebecca West write of the psychology of sex; Katherine Mansfield perfects the short story; Lytton Strachey "humanizes" biography. The list of important names in English literature between the years 1900 and 1946 is large. It is possible, in this survey, to give particular attention only to the most representative.

Hopkins and Bridges. Gerard Manley Hopkins and Robert Bridges* were both born in 1844. Hopkins died in 1898; Bridges, in 1930. The two poets are far apart; yet they belong together. Bridges, in 1918, "discovered" Hopkins and introduced him to the world in the *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins,* to which Bridges himself wrote an illuminating preface. Bridges' poetry is lyrical, graceful, and restrained. It is artistically pleasing, technically correct, an expression of urbanity, equable temper, and classical beauty. His controlled hexameter and constrained Platonism lay a quieting and orderly hand on all he writes; and the accents of his measures, in the *Shorter Poems* as well as in the greater *Testament of Beauty,* fall with cooling, pattern-giving softness, like snow in London, "hushing the latest traffic of the drowsy town." By contrast, Hopkins' poems are remarkable examples of ascending rhythm and passion. They are instinct with originality. Something is uncovered in them. It is the freshness and beauty of the world, the world of nature, of song, and especially of the Divine Spirit,—a beauty and purity restored to life,

Because the Holy Ghost over the bent
World broods with warm breast and with Oh!
bright wings.

Hardy and Housman. Thomas Hardy* (1840–1928) wrote fiction and poetry saturated with local color, architectural in design, charged with elemental feeling, and philosophical in temperament. Natural law, social circumstance, human struggle, and the soul's vision, are his favorite themes. Pity and fear, the purification of the spirit through suffering, the world's unworthiness of its great men, are thoughts that run through Hardy's mind as they run through the minds of Aeschylus and Milton. The typical example is the suffering of Clym in the novel *The Return of the Native.* The Napoleonic drama *The Dynasts* is a work of epic grandeur, in which the fate of the strong man is tragic because he is heaven-forsaken. Yet such poems as *The Darkling Thrust* and *The Oxen,* while reflecting the skeptical modern trend, contain echoes of "some blessed hope" stored up in the legends of religious faith.

A. E. Housman* (1859–1936) is known to us by his three volumes of lyrics *A Shropshire Lad* (1896), *Last Poems* (1922), and *More Poems* (1936). The thoughts in them are not profound; they are gleaned from daily experience, and touched with the mellow light and bitter frost of an aging hope. A subtle inescapable mood of pessimism is engendered in the reader chiefly by Housman's style: by his faultless diction, his ingratiating scenes of intimate and homely life, his

pungent use of the English idiom, his attention to tone, his inevitable turning from playful humor to pathos. There is no loud laughter, no violence, no false note in his poetry; nor any profound sophistication. Rather its flute-notes please the taste for what is bittersweet,—as in the lines:

With rue my heart is laden
for golden friends I had,
For many a rose-lipped maiden
and many a lightfoot lad.

By brooks too broad for leaping
The lightfoot boys are laid;
The rose-lipped girls are sleeping
In fields where roses fade.

Kipling and Masefield both stressed activity. Each, in his own way, wished above all else to write a song, to tell a story, to celebrate the common man, to point out and hold fast to the familiar object. Rudyard Kipling* (1865–1936) boldly chose unaristocratic themes, martial music, mechanical devices, and primitive life for both his stories and his poems. His philosophy was pragmatic; his art, "vigorous," some would say, superficial, journalistic, hard. He was unquestionably brilliant, patriotic, and realistic. His energy, curiosity and versatility opened vast fields of study to him. Typical of his best short stories is *The Man Who Would be King;* of his novels none excels *Kim;* children everywhere delight in the two *Jungle Books* and the *Just-So Stories;* and among his poems the *Recessional* rightly holds a lasting place of fame.

John Masefield* (b. 1874) writes less exuberantly than Kipling but with intenser passion. The sense of conflict is strong in him: the conflict between brutality and beauty, between good and evil; between divine mercy and man's sin. The poems *The Widow of Bye Street* and *The Everlasting Mercy* show the forces of destruction and regeneration at work in the world. In *Dauber,* —the tragic story of the boy who wanted to paint the wild sea and was drowned in it— the poet is in his element. His genius for word-painting, his passionate sense of rhythm, of nature's savage fury, of creation's triumphant song, are illustrated in line after line of the poem. The salt sea is in his blood. Realistic adventure and spiritual ecstasy exist side by side also in the shorter poems; and one is almost surprised at Masefield's masterly use of the sonnet to express the calm contemplation of Beauty, after a fiery enveloping experience, in the words:

If, as I gazed, . . . Beauty . . .
Would lean to me and revelation come . . .
Joy with its searing-iron would burn me wise,
I should know all; all powers, all mysteries.

Davies and De la Mare. William H. Davies (1870–1940), the son of Welsh parents, lived for a time in America where, while tramping in Canada, he fell beneath the wheel of a passenger train and lost his right foot. Later, in a cheap lodging house in London, he began to write the exquisitely simple and beautiful poems that make his name immortal. His work is not profound; but it is genuine. It has what may be called innocence: sensitivity to nature; freshness of touch; purity of vision; delicacy, and yet directness of communication. There is something very close to Herrick and to Horace in this Georgian poet who, without intending to be either classical or philosophical, says,

How precious is this living breath!
Is it not Man's ingratitude
That looks for better after death?

Walter de la Mare (b. 1873) is essentially a romantic poet. He writes particularly for the

child's imagination as it survives in the mature man. He has a genius for fanciful and whimsical expression, and for treating a supernaturalistic theme. The poem *The Listeners*, e.g., is deservedly famous for the use it makes of "moonlight" language and edge-of-consciousness imagery to represent the closeness of the invisible world of spirits to the world of men. We are arrested by the poet's choice of words that either echo through the poem, or shimmer "like silver fruit upon silver trees," or haunt the imagination with the picture of a man who, on the porch of a solitary house, gropes gloomily in the half-dark night with

a hope-wearied hand
Over keys, bolts, and bars,

to find the door to his lost companion. De la Mare's whimsical touches and delicate harmonies move the reader to awe and leave him with a definite sense of pathos. His books of verses for children, notably *Peacock Pie* (1913) and *Down-a-Down Derry* (1922), are replete with the still magic of such lines as these:

Yet slumber lay so deep
Even her hands upon her lap
Seemed saturate with sleep.

The War Poets are, chiefly, Siegfried Sassoon (b. 1886); Rupert Brooke (1887–1915); Wilfrid Owen (1893–1918); and Robert Graves (b. 1895). Compared to one another, Brooke was the young Cavalier who turned from sophistication to self-sacrifice in the war; Sassoon, the Georgian lyrist who became the bitter critic of the war; Owen, the sensitive, ingenuous poet of noble spirit, disillusioned by the war, and killed in it, ironically, ten days before the Armistice. Graves has been the most versatile and "growing" poet, passing in the pursuit of his art successively through three stages, from the Georgian gentleman to the soldier poet, and after that to the metaphysical disciple of 17th c. John Donne.

Poems like *The Great Lover* illustrate the muted romantic strain in the temper of Brooke,—as when he calls forth inanimate objects, giving them all the "dear names men use, to cheat despair." Climactic lines like "I looked on your magnificence," in the poem *Dining-Room Tea,* and his longing as he writes from a café in Berlin,

Ah God! to see the branches stir
Across the moon at Grantchester!

show the unmistakable Georgian qualities of a fastidiousness and nostalgia that are characteristic of the young poet. His fame today rests securely on one outstanding sonnet, *The Soldier,* beginning with the lines,

If I should die, think only this of me;
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England.

Sassoon's strength lies in his close juxtaposition of dream and disillusionment. In the poem *Counter-Attack,* the blood and mud seem almost to destroy the poetry; yet something of which the poem is the profound expression survives. The later work of Sassoon, represented in *The Heart's Journey* (1928) and *Vigils* (1935), probes more deeply toward the serenity of the soul to which "silence is the ultimate guide." Owen shares Sassoon's bitterness against war, but with a deeper feeling for pathos. He rises above mockery in the *Apologia* in which he says:

I, too, saw God through mud . . .
I, too, have dropped off fear . . .
And sailed my spirit surging, light and clear,
Past the entanglement where hopes lay strewn.

Yet, in the sonnet *Anthem for Doomed*

Youth, he too speaks out in protest and pity against "the monstrous anger of the guns," and the "demented choirs of wailing shells." Owen's restrained passion—interrupted by his outcry against suffering, but restored by his strong alliterative diction—marks him as an unusual poet. The poetry of Graves is variegated. It moves from the nonchalant ballads and rhymes in *Country Sentiment* (1919), to the stark but tender beauty of the poem *In the Wilderness,* and from there to the stern and subtle metaphysics of the poem *Pure Death.* It is evident that, in this movement from the lyrical impulse to a poetry of pure diction, Graves is in search of the truth that lies beyond sensation.

The Younger Poets. C. Day Lewis (b. 1904), W. H. Auden (b. 1907), Louis MacNeice (b. 1907), and Stephen Spender (b. 1909). Lewis is of Irish parentage. He is a vigorous poet, candid, lyrical, and passionately humanitarian. His creed is brotherhood; his political views are communistic. A fire of indignation burns in many of his lyrics in which, as a modern critic says, he "drives metaphysics and revolution tandem." The reader, overcoming certain subtleties in his poetry, feels the drive of passion behind the poet's creed,—as when he calls on men to "cease denying, begin knowing." Auden is more insistent than Lewis, more vigorous, more satirical. The driving force of Auden's verse play *The Dance of Death* is felt in line after line of impatient logic, striking, as with an ax, at the roots of a class society. Structurally, his composition follows that of T. S. Eliot, laying stress on idiom, rhyming consonants, varying meter, close analysis, subtle symbolical meaning,—as in the poem *The String's Excitement,* in which he describes the longing for assurance as taking the form "Of a hawk's vertical stooping from the sky," and the tears of those whose dreams disobey the command of the hard facts, "the lunatic agitation of the sea." Spender, more than Auden, trusts human emotion, is sensitive to the warm and intimate aspects of beauty, and sensibly and intensely moved to wonder, to pity, to courage. The lyrical and elegiac notes are strong in his best poems; and something Georgian in the love of unspoiled nature stirs in him, something nostalgic as he compares the old with the new, in such lines as in *Statistics*:

Lady, you think too much of speeds,
Pulleys and cranes swing in your mind;
The Woolworth Tower has made you blind
To Egypt and the pyramids.

MacNeice gives us the always-pleasing descriptive picture of contemporary life in such typical poems as *Sunday Morning; Morning Sun; Museums; Birmingham.* Nothing subtle is attempted in them, nothing philosophical; there is in them simply the long line, the open vowel, and the familiar and meaningful word, as, for example, when the sun is seen streaking the purple mist, and

Everything is kissed and reticulated with sun
Scooped-up and cupped in the open fronts of shops
And bouncing on the traffic which never stops.

Mention should here be made of T. S. Eliot, whose poetry and prose criticism solidly influenced the younger writers in the 1930's. Though born in America (in 1888), he has since 1915 lived in England, and since 1927 been a British subject. Beneath the critical analysis in his poems there lies a sub-stratum of philosophical thought. On the surface we see the modern man's frustration, the triviality of his life, casually but relentlessly described in the accent and idiom of the poem *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,* in which "the evening is spread out against the sky like a patient etherized upon a table"; and men, living on toast and tea, lift and

drop grave questions on the plate, and measure out life with coffee spoons. But beneath this picture of life's banality, its nausea to the taste of civilized man, there is the soul's hidden hunger, expressed and appeased in such poems of Eliot as *Journey of the Magi; A Song of Simeon; Ash-Wednesday; The Rock.* Eliot won fame by the publication, in 1922, of his most noted poem *The Waste Land,* in which he pictured the modern world as helpless, without a faith, and so without a culture.

The Novelists. Twelve of the recent novelists require here especially to be noticed: Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), artist in words, author of sea-stories like *Typhoon;* H. G. Wells (b. 1866), primarily not the artist but the sociologist, a voluminous and discursive writer, propagandist of ideas, and reformer,. author of sea-stories like *Typhoon;* H. G. conversation and criticism directed against the vulgar use of human genius; Arnold Bennett (1867–1931), a descriptive humorous realist, a laborer with facts, "unoriginal" but "intense" in his treatment of middle-class life, "morbidly avaricious of beauty," as he says of himself, and famous for his masterly novel *The Old Wives' Tale,* and for the creation of the characters of Edward and Hilda in the four Clayhanger Novels; John Galsworthy (1867–1933), fashionably educated (in contrast to Bennett), the humane artist struggling to depict characters and situations of objective reality, and succeeding in an eminent manner in the three novels and two short stories that together make up the literary triumph of *The Forsyte Saga;* Somerset Maugham (b. 1874), brilliant and versatile writer of drama and fiction, artist, man of insight, known by his many short stories, but most of all by his highly autobiographical novel *Of Human Bondage;* D. H. Lawrence (1885–1930) subjective, sensitive, descriptive writer, capable of singularly evocative expressions of natural beauty, less the artist than the experimenter in pseudo-psychology and eroticism, popular particularly among intellectuals for his best novel *Sons and Lovers;* Sir Hugh Walpole (1884–1941), a naturally gifted storyteller, habitually acrid and often melodramatic, zestful, inventive, a literary craftsman, at different times, in the schools of Henry James and Joseph Conrad, and especially of Anthony Trollope, whose Barchester novels almost certainly influenced his best-known novel *The Cathedral;* James Joyce (1882–1941), a psychological novelist and literary experimenter with an extraordinary gift for music and sense of rhythm, intent on pushing over the walls of tradition and "disregarding standards of intelligibility and comprehension" in his typical "stream of consciousness" novels *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake;* Aldous Huxley (b. 1894), brilliant, satirical, scientific in temperament, analyst of the "soul split between passion and reason," indebted to D. H. Lawrence in setting forth this problem, and offering a solution to it, in the two novels *Point Counterpoint* and *Eyeless in Gaza;* Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923), by contrast to these restless writers, a serene artist, yet spontaneous and warm, mysteriously subtle in her treatment of the pain and joy that cannot be expressed, and achieving by the time of her early death the mastery of the short story form in such examples as *Prelude; Bliss; Mr. and Mrs. Dove; The Garden-Party;* Virginia Woolf (b. 1882), literary critic, artist in diction, impressionistic writer, expert in the use of ellipsis and symbolism as she uses them, for example, in the unusual story *Mrs. Dalloway.*

The Modern Drama. Among the writers of drama since 1890, seven especially deserve to be remembered. Most outstanding is George Bernard Shaw* (b. 1856). The heir to Ibsen and Nietzsche, he combines brilliance of intellect with moral reform. His weapon is a sharp wit; his main theme is the

conflict of wills; his goal, or ideal, is a society of men of superior intelligence and invincible will,—in short, a community of supermen. By his Nietzschean habit of the inversion of accepted moral values, he finds it possible to produce a crop of vigorous ideas without the need of being especially original. His plays from *Man and Superman* (1903) to *Back to Methuselah* (1922) stress this view of the underside of men and society,—showing, so to speak, the under-belly of the creeping human creature, and his attempt at walking upright. Shaw's reputation for ingenuity is justified in *Pygmalion,* the story of a simple girl who becomes an important lady by being taught to talk like one. Critics incline toward the view that *Heartbreak House* (1917), a story of England, may be his best work.

Next to Shaw in talent is Oscar Wilde (1856–1900). He wrote his plays in the 1890's; but they belong, by their brilliant bohemian wit, to our modern time. *Lady Windermere's Fan* and *The Importance of Being Earnest* are unquestionably good drama. They are delightfully and harmlessly snobbish, unconventional, and replete with epigrams. Arthur Wing Pinero (1885–1934) and Henry Arthur Jones (1851–1929) wrote plays, both comedies and tragedies, of varied worth, all of them keyed to the demands of successful theatre. Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray,* and Jones' *Michael and His Lost Angel,* are their most influential works. James M. Barrie (1860–1937) and John Galsworthy* (1867–1933) were equally distinguished contemporaries, but wrote markedly dissimilar plays. Galsworthy wrote *Justice; The Silver Box; Strife,* all of them social plays of carefully formed craftsmanship. Barrie wrote to please his fancy, to stir the milder sentiments, to divert and entertain. His plays have earned and generally deserve the epithet of "whimsical"; and the repertory of almost every theatre-goer of this generation includes such of his productions as *Peter Pan; Quality Street; The Admirable Crichton; A Kiss for Cinderella; Dear Brutus.* Of the younger writers of plays none probably has a better talent for the theatre than Noel Coward (b. 1899). His work ranges from the ironical war play *Post Mortem* and the panoramic *Cavalcade* to the melodramatic play *The Vortex* and its light and entertaining counterpart, the comedy *Hay Fever.* One notices, in Coward's plays, particularly two marked characteristics: (1) the gift of spirited and sophisticated dialogue; (2) the mastery of the comic art of free laughter.

The Irish Theatre. The movement for a national drama in Ireland was begun about 1900. After 1904 it centered chiefly in Dublin's *Abbey Theatre,* where William Butler Yeats (1865–1939) and John Millington Synge (1881–1909) were for many years the principal playwrights. Yeats was first of all a poet of lyrical genius, interested in the ideas underlying Ireland's folklore in legend and myth. Synge's gifts lay in the composition of drama and in the power to depict Irish peasant life. Yeats wrote as one whose pen was touched with magic; Synge wrote with moving realistic passion. If the Irish drama developed especially through Yeats' literary influence, it may be said to live most intensely today through Synge's plays. Both invite our careful reading, which might conveniently begin with Yeats' popular prose play *Cathleen ni Houlihan,* or his poetical play of fairy content, *The Land of Heart's Desire,* and with Synge's simple and moving tragedy *Riders to the Sea,* or perhaps the considerably misunderstood *Playboy of the Western World.*

Besides Yeats and Synge, writers and poets like George Moore, Edward Martyn, George Russell ("AE"), Padraic Colum, Lady Gregory, Lord Dunsany, and, more lately, Sean O'Casey, supported the Irish Theatre Movement and wrote significant plays. Among them, Colum, with his stress on peasant

agrarian life in the play *The Land,* and O'Casey, through his picture of the slums of Dublin in the realistic comedy *Juno and the Paycock,* are good representatives.

Modern Prose. Writers of prose in England in the present century have less often turned to the purely informal essay than to history, biography, contemporary problems, and literary criticism. In these fields much work of distinction has been done, notably by five men: Max Beerbohm (b. 1872), author of an amusing novel *Zuleika Dobson,* master of an intensely personal, sensitive, and urbane prose style; G. K. Chesterton* (1874–1936), hearty and witty, yet serious and deeply religious exponent of the good life for man; W. H. Hudson (1842–1922), naturalist and gifted narrator of adventures centering in South America; Lytton Strachey (1880–1932), biographer, inventor of an eclectic device for idol-smashing, and the author of a book which—perhaps quite contrary to his plan—became a tribute to Queen Victoria; and T. E. Lawrence (1888–1935), author of the famous *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* a strange, autobiographical, fascinating book. Besides these, there have been such other writers of excellent prose as Edward Lucas (1868–1938), biographer of Charles Lamb; Hilaire Belloc (b. 1870), gifted satirical essayist; J. B. Priestley (b. 1894), master of an allusive style, as in his essay *Seeing Stratford;* Harold Nicholson (b. 1886), subtly elucidating literary and political biographer; Osbert Sitwell (b. 1892), author of *Escape with Me,* a charming account of a journey from England to China; while A. C. Bradley (1851–1934), Walter Raleigh (1861–1922), A. Quiller-Couch (1863–1944), W. P. Ker (1855–1923), Gilbert Murray (b. 1866), John W. Mackail (b. 1859), Herbert Grierson (b. 1868), Edward Gosse (1849–1928), Oliver Elton (b. 1861), and I. A. Richards (b. 1893) who, with C. K. Ogden, has stressed semantics, or the science of the meaning and function of words (and has undertaken the classification of 850 essential words known as Basic English), together may be taken to represent—though incompletely—the best literary criticism of today. The number and variety of literary products of our day, and the ever-increasing number of readers, give us assurance that the tradition of literature in England is undiminished in vitality and contains the promise of a progressively greater cultural heritage in the years to come.

The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.; J. J. Jusserand, *Lit. Hist. of the Eng. People;* Garnett and Gosse, *Eng. Lit.;* W. J. Courthope, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry;* H. A. Taine, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.,* Legouis and Cazamian, *A. Hist. of Eng. Lit.;* H. D. Traill, *Social Eng.,* 6 v.; Sir P. Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to Eng. Lit.; Eng. Men of Letters* (biographies), A. C. Baugh, *A Hist. of the Eng. Language,* W. H. Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer;* C. S. Baldwin, 3 *Medieval C. of Lit. in England;* G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wyclif;* G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer and His England;* A. C. Swinburne, *The Age of Shakespeare;* Wm. Hazlitt, *Lectures on the Lit. of the Age of Elizabeth;* Geo. Saintsbury, *Hist. of Elizabethan Lit.;* A. H. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theater;* A. Wynne, *Growth of the Eng. Drama;* B. Willey, *The 17th C. Background;* Geo. Saintsbury, *The Peace of the Augustans;* L. Stephen, *Eng. Lit. and Society in the 18th C.;* E. Gosse, *18th C. Lit.;* J. Dennis, *The Age of Pope;* T. Seccombe, *The Age of Johnson;* T. S. Perry, *Hist. of Eng. Lit. in the 18th C.;* Lovett and Hughes, *A Hist. of the Novel in England;* O. Elton, *A Survey of Eng. Lit.: 1780–1880;* E. Bernbaum, *Guide through the Romantic Movement;* H. A. Beers, *Eng. Romanticism;* Geo. Saintsbury, *19th C. Lit.;* A. H. Thorndike, *Lit. in a Changing Age;* G. K. Chesterton, *The Victorian Age in Lit.;* J. W. Cunliffe, *Eng. Lit. in the 20th C.;* H. Williams, *Modern Eng. Writers.*

HENRY M. BATTENHOUSE.

ESKIMO—*See* North American Native.

ESTONIAN

THE Estonian language is akin to the Finnish and throughout the entire history there has been a steady influence exerted upon the people from their more numerous Finnish neighbors. The Estonians, numbering less than one and a half million, have during the past centuries been subjected to the same foreign influences as the Finns. Yet the history of Estonia is even more tragic than that of Finland, for the people have been since the dawn of history under the harsh jurisdiction of Germans, Swedes, or Russians, and they have been free to develop in their own way only since the recovery of national independence in 1918.

The folklore is very rich; there are literally thousands of songs that have been carefully collected and studied during the past century. Some of them very obviously refer to the old pre-Christian culture of the people, before the beginning of German domination. Others are concerned with the customs, habits, and rites of the peasants. Some deal with the sea, others with the various lakes and rivers of the country, but they all throw light on the psychology and interests of the people and are a real national treasure.

The language was first used for religious purposes, even before the beginning of the Reformation, which carried most of the population into the Lutheran Church. Thus a Catholic catechism was prepared in the early 16th c. by the Prince Bishop Johannes Kievel of Saaremaa. The first book preserved, however, is a catechism by Johan Koell of Tallinn, with an Estonian translation by Simon Wanradt, printed in 1535. Other works followed with the Lutheran ministers, but the vast majority concern only religious teachings; the Germans, and later the Swedes, did little to broaden the cultural interests of the people in their own language. In 1730 the entire *Bible* was brought into Estonian, largely financed by Count Zinzendorff and the Moravian Brethren.

Secular literature began with the writings of Kristian Jaak Peterson (1801–22), who imitated the classical models in some poems prepared for the Tartu Students' paper. In 1838 there was founded *The Learned Estonian Society,* which took up the work of collecting the folk material. This and the influence of the *Kalevala* in Finland encouraged Friedrich Reinhold Kreuzwald (1803–82) to prepare the *Kalevipoeg, the Son of Kalev.* This is a compilation of ancient material to form a continuous epic poem and, like much of Estonian literature, it is written in the eight syllabic trochaic line, which well fits the natural rhythm of both Estonian and Finnish.

About the same time Johann Voldemar Jannsen (1819–90) founded the first newspaper in Estonia, the *Perno Postimees (Pärnu Postman).* His daughter, Lydia Koidula (1843–86), who assisted him in his work, developed into a patriotic and successful poet, but she found conditions of life unsympathetic; even her children cared little for their mother tongue. Her lyrics are far more successful than her prose. She also wrote the first Estonian play, an adaption of a drama of Korner, *The Country Cousin.*

It was not long before the Romantic period vanished before the march of realism, which was of course the dominant note in St. Petersburg at the time. The authors showed a tendency to radicalism in the Russian style, although the dramatist August Kitzberg (1852–1927) drew upon historical material. The dominant figures were Juhan Liiv (1864–1913) with his lyric poems and his short stories, and especially Edvard Wilde (1865–1933) with his trilogy on Estonian village life, and other stories, as *The Milkman of*

Mäekula, most of which lay stress on the hopeless and unjust position of the peasantry. Such writers pointed the way.

After the Revolution of 1905, Gustav Suits (b. 1883) founded with some friends the *Noor-Eesti (Young Estonia)* movement, which aimed to introduce more of Western literary culture into Estonian national life. Besides his work as a professor of the University of Tartu, he wrote many striking poems and critical pieces. To the same school belongs Friedebert Tuglas (1886), who has a remarkable atmosphere of fantasy and mystery in many of his short stories. He is also one of the leading Estonian critics. Another writer of this group was Villem Grunthal Ridala (d. 1941).

There was a considerable amount of dignity and restraint in the *Noor-Eesti* writers; this seemed excessive to some of the writers after the recovery of independence, hence there arose the *Siuru (Blue Bird)* group. It cultivated a more literary but also more sensuous and even passionate style, as in the works of Henryk Visnapuu, of Johannes Semper, and of Marie Under, the outstanding poetess of the country. It was not long before the old wave of realism began to return; neo-realism became the dominant mood. One of the leaders in this school is Mait Metsanurk (Edward Hubel), who is far to the left, demanding social justice for his abused and unfortunate people. Another is Anton Hansen (Anton Hansen Taamsaare, 1871–1941) with his five volume novel, *Truth and Justice,* which describes the life of the peasants and ends with a note of resignation and of submission to God and the moral law.

The drama has been well developed, with Hugo Raudsepp as the leading author of both comedies and serious pieces. The Finnish authoress Aino Kallas, wife of the Estonian Minister in London, has turned to Estonian and is one of the most versatile of the authors.

With each succeeding year there was a marked growth in Estonian literature, as it steadily assimilated the spirit of Western Europe. There are historical novels, as those of Mait Metsanurk and of Karl Hindroy, who is rather aristocratic in feeling. It can be said that the various authors, whether in prose, verse, or the drama, have remodeled both the Estonian language and the literature so that it is a worthy partaker in European culture. Practically all types of modern writing are found, and newer authors, as Mart Raud, continue to broaden the field.

There is a firm democratic basis in the literature that befits the Estonian people, who are pictured in all of their varying moods; but the sudden intrusion of a Communistic government and absorption by the Soviet Union, with the death or exiling of large numbers of the population, have given the work a blow the more effective because of the small number of workers in the field. We can only hope that these authors and many others will arise to present once more the native culture of the Estonian people.

E. Howard Harris, *Literature in Estonia* (London), 1943.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

ETHIOPIC

THE country whose literature is described below has been known under various names. By the ancient Egyptians it was known as Nubia, or a part thereof; in the Bible it appears as Cush; its early Christian population called it Ethiopia; and the Arabs called

it Ḥabash, the origin of our name Abyssinia. The official name of the country is Ethiopia.

Ethiopia, about 350,000 square miles in East Africa, extends from Eritrea in the north to British East Africa on the south, from Somaliland on the east to the Sudan on the west. It has four chief divisions, Tigrê in the north, Amhara in the center, Shoa southeast of Amhara, and Galla in the south, all with an estimated population of about 11,000,000.

The indigenous people were Negroes, but in pre-historic times Hamitic tribes entered the country. These two peoples are still well represented. Long before the Christian era, Semitic tribes, at different times, migrated across the Red Sea from South Arabia into Cush; the two most important were the Ge'ez and the Amhara—the former settling in the north in the region of Axum, and the latter east and southeast of Lake Tsana. It was these South Arabians who gave the country its dominant culture.

The language, closely akin to the South Arabian Sabean, was Ge'ez; when the name Cush was changed to Ethiopia, the language was called Ethiopic. The characters of the Ethiopic language are Sabean in origin, and with the exception of a few instances previous to about 350 A.D., Ethiopic texts are always written from left to right, unlike most Semitic scripts. Ethiopic ceased as a spoken language ca. the 10th c. A.D., but as a literary language it continued for several centuries longer. However, it still remains the ecclesiastical language of the country. There were three dialects of Ge'ez, namely, Tigrê, Tigriña, and Amharic, the last of which has replaced Ge'ez, although Tigrê and Tigriña are still spoken. Amharic has been the official language since ca. the end of the 13th c. Ethiopic literature exists almost entirely in manuscript form, for printing is a 20th c. importation.

Ethiopic literature has many limitations. Much of it consists of translations from Greek, Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac; independent works too often followed foreign models; and originality was far too rare. Considering, however, her many physical and cultural handicaps, Ethiopia has made a useful and worthy contribution to the literatures of the world.

The Pre-Christian Period.

Although legend would carry the history of Ethiopia back to the time of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, its literature cannot be traced earlier than about the beginning of our era. Indeed, the documented history of Ethiopia begins at that time. Kings of Semitic stock ruled there, with Axum as their capital; inscriptions of the time are extant. One, in Greek and Ethiopic, tells of the wars of King 'Aizana; another, in Ethiopic only, comes from the reign of Ela-'Amida; both were written ca. 350 A.D. There are also two inscriptions of the time when Christianity was taking root in the country, the time of King Tazana. Among the earliest extant inscriptions, two are written in Ethiopic with Sabean letters, indicating the South Arabian character of the Pre-Christian culture of the new kingdom. But the Greek character of the early Church in Ethiopia soon made itself felt, for, while two of the inscriptions of the 4th c. were written from right to left, those of Tazana of the 5th c. are from left to right, like Greek; as are all succeeding documents.

To the 13th Century.

According to a story (on the testimony of Rufinus, a contemporary of St. Jerome, and preserved among others by the ecclesiastical historian Socrates) Frumentius, one of two companions of a certain Meropius of Tyre, fell into the hands of King Abreha of Ethiopia. After the king's death Frumentius and his companion were permitted to return home, but Frumentius tarried in Alexandria. There he met St. Athanasius, and being a Christian he interested the Patriarch in the young

Church in Ethiopia, and begged him to send a bishop. Thereupon Athanasius consecrated Frumentius and sent him, in the mid 4th c., as the first Bishop of the Ethiopic Church. The Ethiopians became enthusiastic Christians and, with the early spread of monasticism, a Christian mark was pressed on the culture and literature of the country, which has remained its chief characteristic. Under the influence of Alexandria, the church in Ethiopia became Greek in character; practically all translations before the 13th c. were from Greek, and Greek literature was the model of all original works.

Early in the 6th c. King Elesbaan made several expeditions into South Arabia in defence of his fellow-Christians. After the fall of these so-called Solomonic kings, their successors founded the dynasty of Zâguê, the descendants of the more ancient line going to Shoa. However, the Zâguê dynasty came to an end in 1270, and Yekuno Amlâk, from Shoa, of the Solomonic line, restored the dynasty. In this he was ably assisted by Tekla Hâymânot, who later became the national saint of Ethiopia, and whose biography is one of the best works of the Golden Age of Ethiopic literature.

The priests, with very few exceptions, were and are the learned class, and the writers; their names, as in the case of other oriental authors, we rarely know. It was Christianity that gave the impetus to literature; the first great literary task of Ethiopic writers was the translation of the *Bible.* Just as the King James version, from Hebrew and Greek, is an English classic, so the Ethiopic *Bible,* including the apocrypha and extra books such as Enoch and Jubilees, from Greek, is an Ethiopic classic. Most, if not all, the books of the *Bible* were translated during this period; there is still extant a manuscript of the early books of the Old Testament believed to date from the end of the 13th c. The translators are anonymous.

There is every reason to believe that the *Liturgy,* with its 16 anaphoras, as well as other services of the Church, with their many sonorous passages, were complete before the end of this period. Indeed, it is likely that Frumentius brought with him from Egypt the Greek liturgy of Alexandria, which was soon translated into Ethiopic, and formed the nucleus of the elaborate Ethiopic liturgy of later times. It is in these elaborations that we meet with the earliest original literature of Christian Ethiopia. Some parts of them show high literary skill. Belonging to this period also are the three important works, the *Qerlos,* the *Rules of Pachomius,* and the *Physiologus.* The *Qerlos* is a collection of theological documents, a splendid monument of the earlier period; and both the *Rules of Pachomius* and the *Physiologus* contain passages of brilliant translation.

The Renaissance.

After a dark period under the dynasty of Zâguê before the 14th c., the newly restored Solomonic dynasty was challenged by Mohammedan attacks from without and by ecclesiastical dissensions from within. Two important kings of the 14th and 15th c. did much to influence the course of literary activities. 'Amda Ṣeyon (1312–42), while opposing the Mohammedans, opened the way for literary intercourse between Arabic and Ethiopic, and at the same time established an internal confidence which guaranteed the necessary leisure and tranquility for literary pursuits; and Zar'a Yâ'qob (1434–68), while making progress in Church reforms and in the organization of his kingdom, not only established his reputation as a patron of literature, but was himself an important author. Due to Mohammedan influence, the bulk of translation was now from Arabic; although there was some from Coptic, now the language of the mother Church in Egypt.

This was the great period of hymnology, both in translation and in original works—

hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, called the *Waddâsê Mâryâm* (*Praises of Mary*), arranged for daily use; hymns for Saints' Days, called *Egzi'abher Nagsa* (*The Lord Reigneth*), perhaps collected by King Zar'a Yâ'qob, with passages of lyrical beauty; another collection for daily use, called the *Organ of Praises*; also the *Likeness of Mary*; and a collection of six-lined stanzas, called *Sellâsê*, all ascribed to King Nâ'od; as well as collections of hymns for various festivals.

Some of the best original work of the period is to be found in the various lives of saints and martyrs, such as the *Life of Tekla Hâymânot*, great national saint of the 13th c.; of *Yârêd*; *and of Na'akueto la Ab*. But the *Book of Hours*; the *Acts of the Apostles*; apocryphal gospels, such as the *Book of the Birth*, the *Wonders of Mary*, and the *Wonders of Mary and Jesus*; sayings of the Fathers, such as *Gannat*, and *Stories of the Honored Fathers;* and other apocryphal works, such as the *Interpretation of Jesus*, contain nothing of value from a literary point of view. However, the translation of Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, made by an unknown author at the suggestion of King Lebna Dengel, contains passages of great expressiveness, as does a work against heresies called the *Book of Mystery*.

One of the most important books in all Ethiopic literature is the original work called *Kebra Nagast* (the *Glory of Kings*). It claims to be historical, but is really legendary in character. In the first of its three parts, the period from Adam to David is covered; in the second part, a history of the kings of Ethiopia since the time of Solomon is traced; and in the third part, the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament are recounted, with many a flash of true literary inspiration. Of less value from a literary point of view, but of considerable historical merit, are the various *Chronicles*. The earliest extant deal with the wars of King 'Amda Ṣeyon; they are in very good verse of marked simplicity and artlessness. Of translated works of history, two of this period may be mentioned: the *Chronicle* of Joseph ben Gorion, entitled *Zênâ Ayhud* (*History of the Jews*) tracing Jewish history from Cyrus to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.; and the *Universal History* of George the Egyptian.

Of great value from a theological point of view but inferior as literature is a translation, the famous *Sinodos*, which contains, besides various theological and moral discourses, and lists of the Canons of seven councils, the well-known *Constitutions of the Apostles*, the *Statutes of the Apostles*, and the *Canons of the Apostles*. Somewhat similar to the *Sinodos* is the *Synaxar*, a Church calendar, a translation from the Arabic, but with later native material dealing with saints and martyrs. Although in prose, it has many passages in verse, some of which are of considerable charm. Thus, in honor of Elijah:

Hail to Elisha, who of Elijah asked,
On his ascent to heaven, a double portion!
Therein he found a power that mighty proved:
Twice he prevailed therewith to raise the dead,
And twice therewith he parted Jordan's stream.

The well-known *Didascalia*, though from the Arabic, itself from an earlier Greek text, contains some unusually fine passages, especially where the translator makes very free with the text, adding liturgical matter and prayers of his own composition. The whole work is a discourse on Church life and customs. An almost equally famous book is entitled *Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ*, also from Arabic from an original Greek, and also with passages in verse of pretty lines and phrases, to which the subject lends itself. There are four parts to the work. The first is an apocalypse telling of the second coming

of Christ; the second contains regulations about worship and discipline, the third pretends to be the words that Jesus spoke to His disciples after His resurrection; and the last contains an account of the ascension.

One of the latest writers of this period was King Zar'a Yâ'qob, who had composed for him, or composed himself, seven different works. The most important of these, and one confidently ascribed to the king himself, is *Maṣḥafa Berhân (Book of Light)*, a condemnation of the magic ceremonies and immoralities of the time, with many striking passages of considerable ease and grace. It formed part of the king's enlightened effort to reform and to counteract the crude magic and superstition which were all too characteristic of the age.

The Golden Age.

Before the end of the 15th c., in the reign of King Eskender, 1478–95, an envoy of the king of Portugal brought back to Europe an account of the Christians of Ethiopia. In 1513 Helena, who was then regent for her son Lebna Dengel, terrified by the Moslems, sent for help to Portugal. During the reign of Lebna Dengel, the famous Graṅ, Emir of Harar, gained victory after victory, which resulted in another appeal to Portugal and also to Pope Paul III, by Lebna Dengel's son and successor Claudius. A Portuguese fleet landed at Massowa on the Red Sea; soon the Mohammedans were defeated; Graṅ was killed in 1543. In the following year the Jesuits arrived, but Claudius opposed their attempt to proselytize; they were finally expelled by King Fâsiladas, 1632–65. With the reign of Fâsiladas, Ethiopia again became isolated and unknown to the outside world, and literature practically ceased to exist, with the exception of the usual royal chronicles.

The Mohammedan invasion and the coming of Christian leaders from Europe gave rise to a number of controversial works. Chief among these are *The Confession of Faith of Claudius*, apparently composed by the king himself; the *Refuge of the Soul*, a work of theology; and two theological translations from Arabic, the *Exposition of the Godhead* and *Faith of the Fathers*. Somewhat later came two excellent pieces of controversial literature, both perhaps by a convert from Mohammedanism, 'Enbâqom: the *Superiority of the Christian Faith*, and the *Gate of Faith*. But a still greater work was the translation from Greek, by Salik, of the important book *Maṣḥafa Ḥawi*, which is none other than the famous religious encyclopaedia of Nicon. Though a translation, it has some of the finest passages in Ethiopic, in a style lively and picturesque and in a language dignified and eloquent. Still another controversial work was the *Talmid*, a discussion of certain heresies.

The same invasions gave rise to a revival of chronicles, the main ones being an *Abridged Chronicle* and certain longer *Chronicles* for the reigns of the more important kings since the time of Yekuno Amlâk. Perhaps the most interesting, from an historical point of view, was the Chronicle of *John of Nikiou*, made from Arabic, which recounts the conquest of Egypt by the Mohammedan Arabs. Another important Chronicle was one by Baḥrey, in which is found a description of the Gallas, an original book, which contains the most concise and impressive writing in the Ethiopic language. Most of these chronicles were original and contemporaneous.

Baḥrey in his *History of the Gallas* says:

> The wise make many enquiries saying, "How did the Gallas conquer us, when we are many in number and have many weapons of war?" Some have said, "The Lord hath permitted this because of our sins." Others there are who have said, "It is because of the division of our people into ten classes, nine of which do not go to war, and are not ashamed of their cow-

ardice; and only the tenth fight, as well as they can."

Ethiopic literature reached its high-water mark in a work of philosophy, *Enquiry*, by Zar'a Yâ'qob, a 17th c. skeptic and free-thinker. It not only contains a real contribution to the history of human thought, but is expressed in the best Ethiopic ever written. Its originality in thought and clearness of style are refreshing:

> "Our wants are not satisfied in this world; rather those that have not, seek; and those that have, want to add to what they have; so that even if a man acquired all that is in the world, he would yet not have enough, but would want more. This disposition of human nature teaches us that we are not created for this world alone."

A pupil of Zar'a Yâ'qob also wrote a work called *Enquiry*, more ethical than that of his master, illustrated by stories excellently told, but inferior in both thought and style. There is another work that may be classed as philosophical, the *Book of the Wise Philosophers*, but in reality it is merely a collection of wise sayings from various sources, among them the famous and ubiquitous Aḥiqar. However, the style is simple, vivid, and direct:

> "My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog's tail gets him bread, but his jaw brings him stones."
>
> "My son, if a house could be built by words without deeds, an ass would build two houses in one day."

The only real book of law in Ethiopic is the well-known *Fetha Nagast* (*Laws of the Kings*), which is a translation of a 13th c. Arabic work. One part of the book is ecclesiastical, but the larger part is secular. It still serves as the ecclesiastical and civil code of Ethiopia.

Moral theology is represented by a 17th c. work from the Arabic, *Spiritual Medicine*, which contains prescriptions for special sins, instructions, and directions for the clergy. Another interesting translation from the Arabic is a work of fiction, entitled the *Romance of Alexander*.

During this period of Mohammedan and Galla wars, many saints were canonized. Among the most important biographies of such was the *Life of King Lâlibalâ* (or Gabra Masqal), which contains a description of the famous ten rock churches of Lâlibalâ, as well as some important religious discourses. The style of many parts of this work, in simplicity, directness, and vividness, is the finest that Ethiopia has produced.

There are some works of a medical, astrological, and lexicographical nature that are interesting, but possess no literary qualities. But the diplomatic correspondence of some of the kings with the Portuguese and Spanish courts is notable for the simple dignity and easy flow of the language.

Decadence.

With the exception of state chronicles and some signs of revival during the last quarter of a century, Ethiopic literature has been at its lowest ebb—almost dead—since the end of the 17th c. The chronicles for a time were written in a mixture of Ethiopic and Amharic, but by the 14th c. Amharic had supplanted the earlier tongue. Poems in honor of certain kings were written in Amharic, and during the period of the Moslem and Galla wars an attempt was made to write polemics in Amharic. However, among all this material in Amharic, nothing worthy of the name of literature was produced. During the 19th c. under the influence of Catholic and Protestant missions, a few popular romances were written. They are entirely with-

out imagination, being mostly adaptations of such stories as *King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*; *The Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt*; the ancient *Story of Baralâm and Yewâsef*. The biography of King Theodore II, 1855–68, in Amharic, by a priest called Zenab, has literary merit; and the following vivid passage in the official *Chronicle* formed a part of the Empress Zauditu's inaugural address:

> "May God pitch his tent among you! You have chosen me, and I pray you have chosen wisely. Your faith is my faith, your sorrow my sorrow. All the love which I bore to Menelik your Emperor I now give freely to you. Henceforth it is you who are my glory, for when I bade farewell to Menelik, did I not lose all that was splendid in this world?"

Previous to the Italian invasion, the official organ, a weekly newspaper in Amharic, *Light and Peace* (1924–) with the leading article sometimes written by the Emperor (*Negus Nagast*) himself, has from time to time published bits of fine prose, and some secular poems, which give promise of a rebirth of the literary gift, even if expressed in the less flexible Amharic rather than the more harmonious Ethiopic. Finally, while it is true that Ethiopia has not so far produced one really great man of letters, it is also true that in her literature of all periods there are fine examples of the writer's art—with, very often, the name of the writer all unknown.

In a country where, until quite recently, there were no printing presses, where writers were few and writing material scarce and expensive, folklore, proverbs, riddles, songs, and stories in oral form have always been numerous. An anonymous catalogue of folklore, written some fifty years ago, lists sayings about the weather, plants, fruits, insects, birds, birthmarks, the human body, diseases, dreams, games, death, etc. Some of these sayings, both secular and religious, are evidently very ancient.

The popularity in Ethiopia today of proverbs, riddles, and songs would indicate their existence at all stages of her history, though no collections have been made. The following rhymed riddle is well known in Ethiopia:

> What rises and sets
> And never forgets?
> (The Sun).

Proverbs, so far as they are known to modern students of Ethiopic, are mostly borrowed. Such, e.g., are "Kill one fly and a dozen will come to mourn it," a saying which, though practically universal, is particularly applicable to conditions in Ethiopia. The following is, no doubt, of Arabic origin: "Three things make a home intolerable: a leaky roof, a nagging wife, and bugs." Songs, especially religious ones, are very common; and fortune-telling and necromancy have developed a host of stereotyped phrases.

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ETRUSCAN

ETRUSCAN civilization is best known to us in its religious and artistic aspects. One of its greatest single achievements, however, is the adoption and adaptation of Greek alphabetic writing. The effects of this, through the Roman script, have lasted to our day.

Except for the Greeks and the Romans, the Etruscans have left more written material than any of their contemporaries in ancient Europe. Much of it is still in existence, thanks to the purpose for which it was recorded on durable stuff: tombstones; legal matter inscribed on stone; dedications on such objects as drinking cups, statuettes, or strigils; legends to explain the scenes on the famous wall paintings found in the subterranean tomb structures of Southern Etruria. The most precious monument we possess is a long text written on a piece of linen which a strange accident has preserved, as the wrapping of an Egyptian mummy. In time, the Etruscan texts range from the first half of the first millennium to the beginning of our era. Their distribution reflects the history of Etruscan power from the earliest period following its establishment in Italy to the time when the nobility of the little Tuscan towns at last abandoned the language of their ancestors for the then universal Latin, even on the graves for their dead.

The Etruscans also had a literature in the more common sense of the word, which was known and esteemed by Roman writers, and from their accounts we gather that it was no less functional than the direct evidence just discussed. This body of writings dealt with the art of telling the mood of the gods as manifested in strange occurrences in nature. It was known under the name of Etruscan lore or *Etrusca disciplina.* Its representatives were the *haruspices,* men whose specialty was the study of the shape assumed by the entrails of the sacrificial animal. They were always Etruscans, and never quite lost their un-Roman, foreign character, although their services were sought by Rome on critical occasions. These *Etruscan Books,* moreover, contained at least two other kinds of writings: those on lightnings and the art of their interpretation, and the so-called ritual books, which had to do with theological matters concerning both the state and the daily life of the individual. It is certain that the writings were in no sense the work of one person, but represented an agglomeration of various sacerdotal practices over centuries. *Tages,* whose name is in the tradition associated with part of the material, is an entirely mythical person; the same is true of the "nymph" *Begoe,* who passed for the authoress of the parts having to do with lightnings. The *Books* are sometimes referred to as poems, which is not surprising in view of their ritual contents. One quotation seems to suggest that the original was composed in epic hexameters.

It is not unnatural that more evidence should be available for the men who mark the end of this tradition. When the Etruscan language became extinct, the need for translations of the sacred books arose if the Roman people wished further to avail themselves of their religious power. This service was of course performed by men of Etruscan birth. We know two of these by their names: *Aulus Caecina,* who seems to have expounded the *disciplina* as a whole and who was extensively quoted by more famous Latin authors, and one *Tarquitius.* All information on these matters, beyond cliché and hearsay, appears to go back to the work of these two men, or at least of some of their fellow-translators of the same, Ciceronian, period.

In a few instances, the inscriptions confirm what we know about the contents of the *Books*. The most notable is an inscribed bronze liver found at Piacenza on the upper Po River, which must have served as a sacrificial object to the *haruspices*. It seems likely that closer interpretation will bring to light other such connections and thereby help to clear up the linguistic difficulties, which still preclude our real understanding of the longer inscriptions.

See Latin.

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FIJI—*See* Polynesian.

FINLAND

FINLAND has a population of 4,000,000; 90% of these are native speakers of Finnish; 10%, of Swedish. The speakers of Swedish live principally on the narrow coastal strip both east and west of Helsinki and north and south of Vasa on the gulf of Bothnia. Due to historical conditions, however, Swedish as a vehicle of culture has played and still plays an important role in Finnish life.

Thus Finland has a bilingual literature. Its historical development has been analogous to that of language and literature in Ireland and in medieval England, where the language of a minority gained such prestige that it for a long time overshadowed the language of the majority as a carrier of cultural life.

Having been for 600 years an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden, Finland developed its institutions and cultural patterns along the same lines as Sweden. The language of administration and of schools naturally became Swedish. It remained so, mainly from inertia, long after 1809, when Finland was annexed by Russia. Not until 1883 was Finnish recognized as an official language alongside Swedish. Until the mid 19th c. there were no secondary schools where instruction was given in Finnish, the first such school being founded in Jyvaskylä in 1859.

Literature in the conventional sense does not have much importance in Finland until the beginning of the 19th c. However, the development of folklore is an interesting contribution of the Middle Ages.

Folklore, 1200–1500: In Finnish folklore to date, as many as 50,000 poems, comprising epics, lyrics, and magic incantations, have been collected. The total number of fairy tales thus far recorded is about 30,000; over a million proverbs, and about 40,000 riddles. Almost all of them have been published by the Finnish Literature Society. An important pioneering task was performed by Elias Lönnrot, publishing the first important collection of epic poetry, *Kalevala*, in 1835, and the first collection of lyric poetry, *Kanteletar*, in 1840 (both discussed later).

Since the poetry of these unknown authors was recorded as late as the 19th c., it underwent countless changes in the course of its centuries as an oral tradition; it acquired many accretions along the years. Compara-

tive studies in folklore have established with fair certainty that most of the poems originated in western Finland during the Middle Ages, then drifted gradually to the north east, to be recorded from the lips of common people who still knew how to sing the old runes.

Most Finnish scholars consider it fairly certain that the epics included in Lönnrot's *Kalevala* refer to actual historical events at the time when Finland became incorporated into the Swedish kingdom. In the oral tradition, however, the original historical core became confused with much mythical and legendary material from other sources. For the development of Finnish literature of the 19th c., the popular poetry of the Middle Ages has been of very great importance, since it provided a romantic basis for inspiration, poetic enthusiasm, and lively imagery used by the common folk.

Most of the Swedish folklore in Finland is lyrical in its essence. It contains fewer epic elements than its Finnish counterpart. Many songs dealing with the life of seamen give admirable pictures of sea life, with a deep feeling of reality.

Literature in Finnish, 1500–1809. The position of Finland as a part of the kingdom of Sweden was unfavorable to the development of Finnish literature. Government officials, and the educated classes in general, became Swedish in outlook. Finnish remained the language of the masses.

Finnish literature from the Reformation period (1500–1600) consists almost entirely of translations of religious writings. As the founder of Finnish literature in a broader sense, the name of Bishop Michael Agricola must be mentioned. He prepared a number of elementary books for religious instruction in Finnish and translated the *New Testament* (1548) and about a quarter of the books of the *Old Testament.* He had been a student at Wittenberg, where he was influenced by his teachers Luther and Melanchthon. Agricola's Finnish version of the *New Testament* remained unaltered in use among the Finnish parishes for over 300 years.

Bishop Eric Sorolainen (d. 1625) published a large volume of sermons. Under his leadership, work was resumed to complete the translation of the *Old Testament* which Agricola had begun. It appeared in 1642. This biblical translation is the best Finnish prose of the time of the Reformation. Its diction is vigorous and solemn; it served as a model for future writers in Finnish.

For use in church services, a collection of Finnish hymns was published in 1583; an enlarged edition, containing 242 hymns, was published in 1610 by Hemminki, Vicar of Masku.

During the 17th and 18th c. the scope of Finnish literature became somewhat wider. Side by side with purely religious works which consisted to a large extent of translations, more and more publications appeared with secular content. Nevertheless, the growth of Finnish literature was very slow, hardly sufficient to keep pace with the most elementary cultural needs of the people. From this period we have translations of laws and statutes, grammatical and lexicographical treatises, and an occasional practical manual for a trade or profession.

The most notable literary product of this period is the *Messias, or A Joyful Song of Jesus* (1690) by Mathias Salamnius. In this poem, the birth, life, and death of Christ are depicted on the basis of the stories of the gospels, in simple and clear language. The style is concise and lively. The verse form shows an advance from the crude popular poetry.

Literature in Swedish, 1500–1809: The 16th and 17th c. literature that appeared in Swedish is not any richer than that in Finnish. It was weak, imitative poetry. Sigfrid Aroni Forsius (d. 1624) devoted the greater

part of his life to astrological studies and the compilation of almanacs, but also found time to compose simple and fervent hymns.

The early 18th c. brought forth two writers of note, Jacob Frese and Gustav Filip Creutz. Both of these men show the same fervent and tender feeling, with a shade of sadness, as characterizes the nameless authors of the folklore of Finland. Their verse is melodious, and they are considered the chief masters of verse of their day in the entire Swedish literature, not merely that of Finland. Frese (d. in Stockholm, 1729) wrote poems idealizing rural life, a large number of hymns, and a long poem about the life of Christ. The most notable work of Creutz (1731–85), *Alis and Camilla,* a pastoral poem written in Alexandrines, was universally acclaimed as the best thus far produced in Swedish literature. A large number of short lyrics also flowed from his pen. It is characteristic of the times that both of these poets moved to Sweden, where they accomplished the most important part of their creative work.

Not till the late 18th c. did an independent cultural life make its appearance in Finland, with Turku University as its center. The ideas of the German and English early Romantic school were predominant in Turku; whereas, in Stockholm, the French school was in vogue. Herder provided the theoretical foundation for the new tendency; English literature provided the new models.

The leading man of this new school was Professor H. G. Porthan (1759–1804). He wrote several works concerning Finland's past and is generally considered the first historian in Finland. He was also the first to write a book on Finnish geography. He did a good deal of research in Finnish linguistics and folklore. Porthan gathered around himself a large circle of disciples who continued the work he had started. The most prominent of his students were Jacob Tengström and Frans Mikael Franzén. Both of them lived part of their life in Sweden, where they gained adherents to Porthan's ideas.

Tengstrom was an historian and aesthetician. He opposed the Greek and Roman classics as models, urging instead Hebrew, English, Scotch, and Old Scandinavian folklore.

This school with romantic tendencies had a double significance. On the one hand, its prepared the way for an important cultural movement both in Finland and in Sweden, the 19th c. Romanticism. On the other hand, it established a foundation for a national Finnish culture and Finnish national feeling, helping sustain the Finnish nation after the annexation of Finland by Russia in 1809.

Perhaps, the most important poet of this period was Frans Mikael Franzén (b. 1772, in Oulu). He was professor of ethics and librarian at the University of Turku. He traveled extensively in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, and England. Franzén's early poems, such as *The Human Face* and *The Old Soldier,* were well received because of their simplicity and natural expression of emotion. As years went on, Franzén wrote a number of songs dealing with childhood experiences, home life, and a general joy in living. For a more ambitious poem, *Song of Creutz,* Franzén was recognized by the Swedish Academy. His love for the native soil found expression in *A Hymn to the Soil* and *The Cultivation of Finland's Land.* He has also written a poem in Finnish, *Long live the King.* Having become a member of the Swedish Academy, Franzén moved to Sweden when, after the war against Russia, Finland had to sever ties with Sweden. He died in Sweden in 1847.

After 1809, in Swedish: The enforced separation from Sweden in 1809, when Finland became part of the Russian Empire, had at first a paralyzing effect on cultural and political life in Finland. Many of the leading citizens emigrated to Sweden. Those that re-

mained in Finland were depressed by the general feeling of uncertainty and apathy.

During the first decades of the 19th c. the Romantic movement had made its influence felt also in Finland. Against the frigid rationalism of the classical school it preached the sovereignty of feeling. The French school had confined itself to a limited choice of subjects, in a carefully regulated form. The Romantic school overthrew the old rules and sought a means of expression in harmony with the new ideas.

The new movement came from Germany to Sweden; thence to Finland The new ideas of the West were recast in conformity with the traditions from the time of Porthan. This movement in Finland had a definite national trend. From a purely literary point of view, the first years of the Turku romantic school were not very important. Most of the poetry of the time was merely imitative. But the young men associated with the movement took up the collection of Finnish folklore and began to study the language of the Finnish majority with an earnest interest. A serious attempt was made to awaken the slumbering Finnish national consciousness.

The leading spirit and spokesman for this national spirit was A. I. Arwidsson (1791–1858), who in his prose writings outlined the urgently needed reforms.

When Arwidsson started his campaign, in the early 1820's, a reactionary trend had set in under the Russian rule. Nevertheless, young Arwidsson violently criticized the inactivity and conservatism of the leading men of the older generation. Soon he aroused the displeasure of those in power and was forced to flee to Sweden.

During the following decades, the center of cultural life shifted from Turku to Helsinki, together with the University, which was transferred to Helsinki in 1828. A literary society, founded in Helsinki in 1830, called the Saturday Society, played an important part in Finland's cultural life. The membership of the society comprised practically all the youthful intelligence of the country; they all wrote in Swedish.

The leading man in this society was at first J. J. Nervander (1805–48). His practical contribution to progress lay within the field of natural sciences, but he was also a poet. His most important cycle of poems, the *Book of Jephthah,* expresses strikingly the romantic ideals of the day in a language reminiscent of the cadences of the *Old Testament.*

Another member of the Saturday Society, Fredrik Cygnaeus (1807–1881), was also a typical romanticist. His prose writings are characteristically romantic, with sudden unexpected changes and long digressions. Cygnaeus contributed greatly to the cultural life of Finland, primarily as a critic of literature and an enthusiastic friend of the theatre.

The outstanding poet in the circle of the Saturday Society was Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–77). He gave richest expression to the idealism that inspired the society. To his ardent patriotism Runeberg united a moderation and objectivity uncommon among his contemporary romanticists.

Runeberg gave an admirable description of the Finnish peasant. Franzén before him had given hasty glimpses of the patient tiller of the frostbound soil. Runeberg wrote a realistic peasant novel, with clear well-formed characters, in his narrative in hexameters, *Elkhunters.* In two of his later books *Hannah,* and *Christmas Evening,* he portrays the life of the middle class and of the Finnish aristocracy.

The Elkhunters is a national epic, both in theme and in spirit, but it has been called a poem about the people, not for the people. *The Tales of Ensign Stål,* which is considered Runeberg's most important work, consists of poems depicting the Finnish people fighting in defense of their country in the war of 1808–1809 against Russia. They strike a truly popu-

lar note. The *Tales* sing of the deeds of the entire nation, high and low, as one people. These poems have very greatly influenced the development of national sentiment in Finland.

Runeberg is a typical representative of the realistic tendencies that in the fourth decade of the 19th c. made their appearance in the literature of different countries. He describes his surroundings with a sense of reality in a simple, positive manner. His spirit radiates wholesome content and the exuberant joy in life of a robust nature, to which romantic languishing is a total stranger. Runeberg became a realist not so much on account of literary influences as because of his own strong and wholesome nature.

However, during a later period of his life a wave of romanticism engulfed Runeberg, due to the influence of Almquist in Sweden and to the songs of Ossian, and probably because of a tragic love affair. This romantic feeling, in a new form, finds expression in *Nadeschda* and *King Fjalar,* poems in which the verse sounds more beautiful than ever before in a Swedish poem. Yet Runeberg still appears as a realist, uniting a sense of the real with Christian ideals, and with a Grecian worship of beauty.

A typical romanticist of this period was Lars Jakob Stenbäck (1811–70), the greatest lyric poet among Runeberg's contemporaries. In his youthful works one finds an almost ecstatic adoration of poetry and beauty. Later in life he was drawn into the gloomy pietistic movement, which was a very narrow-minded religious revivalism and which caused him to renounce entirely his earlier quest of non-Christian beauty—which became to him an illusion obscuring man's view of the transcendental. Stenback gave up poetry completely and devoted his life as a pastor to the cure of human souls. He wrote a farewell poem to his Muse in a mood of very intense religious fervor.

In a beautiful poem, *The Letters of the Old Gardener,* Runeberg condemned this joyless religion of the Pietists. At the same time, he presented his own optimistic and harmonious views of life. In it poetry and reality are reflections of the absolute beauty and truth.

Romantic tendencies continued to live in the Swedish literature of Finland even after the mid 19th c. This later romanticism is, however, very much diluted. It is less metaphysical and philosophical than the older type. It lays greater weight on spontaneous feeling. The tone is lighter and more idyllic. The ideals of the later romantic writers are the same as in the Runebergian era. Fatherland and patriotism are important concepts. The choice of themes is narrow.

Zachris Topelius (1818–98) unites the characteristic traits of the era. He is by far the most important writer of his day in Finland. He began his work as a lyric poet. His strength lay in the melodious tone of his verse. In fine cadences he sings praise to the Finnish inland in his *Kantele Runes.* In the *Sylvia Songs,* he depicts the Finland of the lake shores and the clear blue skies, where the leaves of the birch tree spread their fragrance in the spring.

Later Topelius wrote some historical novels, influenced by Scott and Bulwer-Lytton. This form of literature found its ideals in the national romanticism. The deeds of the nation are considerably idealized. Two of these novels, *The Duchess of Finland* and especially the *Tales of the Army Surgeon,* are quite notable. The latter is a romantic historical tale, describing the changing fortunes of Finland during three centuries. In it we find superb imagination and fine description of historical background. The characters, from different periods of history and different classes of society, are well delineated. An undertone of strong patriotism runs through the work, with admiration for the common people of Finland, that had shown great

courage and strength in their times of trial.

Besides lyrics and historical novels, Topelius wrote charming stories for children, and effective historical dramas. He has had a great influence on other Swedish-language writers in Finland. One of his disciples is Josef Julius Wecksell (1838–1907), a highly gifted poet, who only too early became incurably ill and spent the rest of his life in mental darkness. He had not had enough time to create a style of his own. Nevertheless, he gave a singular glow and intensity to his dramas. Wecksell's drama *Daniel Hjort* is well constructed and highly dramatic; it can still hold audiences. The theme is taken from Finnish history. It is written in the late romantic style, with all the customary vivid effects and pathos. Written when the poet was twenty-three years old, this play was his swan-song.

The influence of the romantic movement lasted for a very long time in Finland. The tradition and ideals of the past were broken by Karl A. Tavaststjerna (1860–98). His first volume (*New Verses*, 1883) was epoch-making; it created a new modern style with a fresh form and new content. Some of the poems borrowed their tender fervor and sweet melody from the lyric poets of the earlier age, but in others the new note was heard. Tavaststjerna abandoned in them the description of the mournfully idyllic inland landscape of Finland, turning to the islands near the sea coast, where stormy winds play among the pine trees and salt spray dashes against the rocks and sand. Tavaststjerna's new aims were plainly evident in his *Childhood Friend*. In it he realistically depicted his own contemporaries, without any beautifying devices. The influence of French realism at last had reached Finland. Tavaststjerna began, a little later, to discuss social problems. Ibsen's and Strindberg's influence is discernible in the way he discusses the emancipation of women in his play *Business* and his novel *Woman's Rule*. In his novel *Hard Times* he describes the Finnish peasant; not as Runeberg and Topelius had done, no longer as the patient and humble tiller of the soil, with a heart at peace with the world and the strength of a giant in his arms. His peasant has no doubt his own greatness and heroism, but he is also wild and fantastic with primitive instincts that cause many deeds of cruelty.

Tavaststjerna had a strong subjective inclination; later, he broke away from the sober forms of realism and wrote some fine subjective lyric poems.

There is a certain pessimism traceable in Tavaststjerna's work, which may be ascribed to personal experiences, but may have more general cause. During the earlier generation of writers, all the educated classes in Finland were Swedish in speech. The Swedish poets were the mouthpieces of the whole of the people. But now, Finnish literature and art had arisen to speak to the newly developed Finnish-speaking educated class that came from Finnish language secondary schools, which had been opened all over the country beginning with the foundation of the high school at Jyväskyla in 1859. Writing about Swedish masters and Finnish peasants, Tavaststjerna felt that he was only a half-Finnish patriot. Times had changed. It was no longer possible for a national poet (as in Runeberg's day) to write in a minority language. Thus Tavaststjerna felt himself lonely and unsettled, like a *Patriot without a Fatherland*, as one of his books is called.

A similar unsettled feeling is found among the other realistic writers who wrote in Swedish, as Jac. Ahrenberg (1847–1915), whose novels picture the people of eastern Finland; and Gustaf von Numers (1848–1916). Von Numers was a gifted playwright, who solved the problem of the "countryless patriot" by beginning to write in Finnish for the Finnish majority.

Two writers of minor importance, Jonathan Reuter and Karl Emil Wichmann, show traces

of a beginning Swedish national feeling for the Swedish part of Finland. The Swedish-writing poet is no longer the poet of the nation as a whole. He should therefore turn to those that understand his message, to the fragment of the Swedish people settled on the long and stormy coastline of Finland. Let him describe the life of this people and the landscape and the social surroundings amidst which this people lives. In this way the younger generation of the Swedish writers in Finland have solved their problem.

Towards the close of the 19th c, gray and sober realism gradually died away; a new beauty glowed in the songs of the young poets. Imagination and feeling roused again. Chief among the writers of the young generation was Mikael Lybeck (d. 1925), who began his career as an author with some naturalistic novels, then created profound symbolistic works. In these, he gave expression to the mysticism of his age. A master of the psychological novel was Runar Schildt (d. 1925). Two notable satirists are Richard Malmberg and Thure Jansson. Arvid Mörne and Ernst Knape are prominent lyric poets. They developed to a high degree the descriptive tale of the life of the Swedish-speaking peasants and fishermen along the coast or on the near-by islands. Especially Mörne's writings have been important, for he has become a leader of the Swedish-speaking element in Finland. Among the lyric poets Bertel Gripenberg (b. 1878) is outstanding. He has a talent for form. In his flexible and suggestive verse he has created fresh visions of beauty. A poet who lovingly describes the wide Swedish coastal plains and the sea is Jacob Tegengren (b. 1875). Hjalmar Procope (b. 1868) is a prolific poet, dealing mainly with intellectual problems. Among the very recent writers who represent a new blossoming of Swedish literature in Finland is Sally Salminen, who in her novels portrays life on the Aland Islands with notable skill. Two of her novels, *Katrina* and *Mariana,* have been translated into many foreign languages.

After 1809, in Finnish: During the Russian rule (1809–1917), cultural conditions long remained unfavorable for the development of Finnish literature. Swedish continued to be the official language of the administration of the country. Finnish was the language of the broad masses only. Consequently its cultivation was neglected. Yet before 1850 signs of awakening were apparent. The romantic movement aroused interest in the conditions of the common people. Together with the romantic and the scientific interest in Finnish, certain practical aims were also envisaged by the intellectual leaders. They sought to raise Finnish to the status of a national language, alongside Swedish, and to establish schools where instruction would be given in Finnish.

One of the most influential workers for the cause of the Finnish language and Finnish culture was Elias Lönnrot (1802–84). Besides being the chief collector of Finnish folklore, he is credited with the development of a new literary Finnish diction based, in its formal and structural aspects, on western dialects, while its vocabulary is in the main a happy combination of the two dialectal sources, western and eastern.

As a collector of Finnish folklore, Lönnrot has a permanent place. By fusing the different popular variants of the same theme, he compiled the *Kalevala* (1835; enlarged edition, 1849). It deals with the relations between two peoples: Kaleva and Pohjola, both in war and in peace. With the main theme there is interwoven much fabular, magical, legendary, and lyrical matter. The *Kalevala* is not a heroic epic in the same sense as the songs of Homer or such poems as the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Niebelungenlied;* it presents a more primitive civilization. The weapons used in its narrative are the magic powers of song and words, rather than sword and spear. The characters are in close contact with nature

and its magic and spiritual forces. Side by side with childish fancies, the *Kalevala* contains sketches of natural scenery and of human life, and some historical events. It offers a swiftly flashing succession of events and color effects and musical groupings of words. It is perhaps in this elusive flicker of word pictures that the charm of the *Kalevala* lies. The *Kalevala* (*Abode of Kaleva*) has had a great influence on later Finnish literature as well as on Finnish music and pictorial art.

Lönnrot also edited other products of Finnish folklore, lyrical songs, historical descriptions, ballads, and legends, in the *Kanteletar* (*The Harpist;* 1840). On the basis of various variants, Lönnrot improved the popular poems and increased their poetic effect. These lyrical songs mirror the joys and sorrows of the people, the hopes and disappointments of the popular mind, with directness and simplicity. Nature appears, personified; she rejoices and mourns with the singer.

Lönnrot published a collection of popular proverbs (1841), a collection of riddles (1844) and (1880) a collection of popular Magic Incantations.

These products of the popular mind gave a vigorous stimulus to Finnish literature. The naive beauty of the folk poems, and their fresh, natural language, served as a powerful inspiration to young writers, and moulded the current Finnish idiom.

For the purpose of advancing the cause of Finnish language and literature, the Finnish Literature Society was formed in 1831. It undertook to develop the collection of Finnish folklore. Likewise the Society began to publish textbooks, dictionaries, and translations of important books.

Greater political liberty, with the beginning of the 1860's, encouraged progress in cultural life. Finnish schools were founded; plans were made to secure official recognition for the Finnish language; and a number of newspapers for the Finnish masses appeared.

. . Alexis Kivi (1834–72) was the first genuine poetic talent in modern Finnish. His horizon had been broadened by a study of the masterpieces of world literature, of Shakespeare and Cervantes, Dante, Molière, Holberg. Kivi has written poems throbbing with deep and spontaneous feeling, and plays of a powerful romantic inspiration. His *Lea* (1869), based on a Biblical theme, rings with deep emotion. Its first presentation marks the birth of the Finnish National Theatre, in May 1869.

Kivi has also portrayed the rawest reality and brought to full view the life of the Finnish masses. His comedy *The Shoemakers* (1864), one-act play *The Betrothal* (1866), and long novel *The Seven Brothers* (1870) are original, realistic descriptions of the life of the Finnish people. In *The Shoemakers,* Kivi has given a vigorous picture of the men and women of the peasant class that in bygone days populated the wilds of Finland. In *The Seven Brothers* Kivi leads the brothers into a forest where they find escape from civilization. They remain there for nine years until, having had enough of the freedom and happiness they had dreamed of finding there, they are willing to become members of a civilized community again. Into this narrative the author has woven romantic legends. He presents masterfully the vastness of the forests, teeming with game, as a background for his characters. Kivi was also a fine spontaneous humorist, though beneath his humor is a typical Finnish melancholy.

The most notable lyric poet of Kivi's time was A. Oksanen (1826–89) who in *Sparks* strove for a greater precision in various verse forms from foreign literatures. Kaarlo Kramsu interpreted, in a somewhat gloomy mood, incidents of Finnish history. Juhana Henrikki Erkko in his simple poems often pictured idyllic happiness; he attempted, in his didactic verse, to arouse a spirit of solidarity in his people and to keep alive a belief in a better future. Arvi Jännes wrote poems full of

patriotic enthusiasm or describing a simple home life. Paavo Cajander, who made masterful translations of Shakespeare's dramas into Finnish, also wrote original poems, dealing mostly with patriotism and idyllic life in the countryside.

Increasingly after the mid 19th c. Finnish literature grew in volume and in scope, together with the general improvement of the conditions of the Finnish-speaking masses. The speakers of Finnish came into closer contact with the cultural trends of the outside world. Their writers more and more turned from the discussion of local concerns to the analysis of more universal human problems. New literary techniques and tendencies found their way into the Finnish-language literature. In the 1880's naturalism came into vogue. In the northern countries naturalism tended to present social problems, especially the struggles between different social classes, the rights of women in modern society, the rights of working men and women. The Finnish writers were influenced by Scandinavian literature, especially of Norway: Ibsen, Bjornson, Lie, Kielland, Garborg. Others took models directly from France, where, for example, Juhani Aho and Kasimir Leino studied.

The new school made both writers and Finnish readers aware that artistic creation depends above all on direct and thorough observation. Although, later on, free imagination and personal feeling came again to the fore, they did not bring about a return to romanticism. Recent literature in Finland lays stress on observation, retains a keen sense of reality, and emphasizes psychological factors. It may be termed a synthesis of naturalism and romanticism.

The pioneer of the modern trend in Finnish literature was a woman writer, Minna Canth (1844–97). In her early works she followed the traditional ways, romanticizing country life. Then, in her drama *The Wife of a Workingman* (1885) she exposes the misery caused by the traditional and conventional laws restricting women. She discusses social ills in novels also, *Poor People* and *A Hidden Rock* (1886–7). In her novels she acquired artistic expression more rapidly than in her dramas, which, however, she continued with *Children of Misfortune* (1888). In this she again champions the rights of the propertyless workers against their selfish, wealthy employers. Ibsen's influence is noticeable in her play *Sylvi* (1893), a variation, original in its technique, of *A Doll's House*. Minna Canth's last important play was *Anna Liisa* (1895).

Although Minna Canth was not an originator, she fulfilled an important function in Finnish letters as a mediator, bringing an important new spirit into Finnish literature.

Juhani Aho (1861–1921) realized in his work all that was worth while in the new trend of art. In *The Railway* he revealed, beneath ordinary everyday realities, beautiful poetic values. Aho's second novel, *A Clergyman's Daughter* (1885), is a description of the inner life of a girl forced to marry a man she did not love. In a way, she represents all the sufferings of womankind. In this novel Aho appears as a pure artist without any trace of propaganda; he simply describes human fate as he sees it. In a sequel, *A Clergyman's Wife* (1893), the daughter is presented as the wife of a young pastor. This novel represents Aho at the height of his art. It captures the finest shades of feeling, the shy quickening of the soul of the young wife, the grayness of her loveless marriage. Equally finished is the description of the surroundings, and in particular the beauty of the summer scenery of central Finland with its abundant lakes and forests.

Besides novels, Aho has published a large number of short stories, which he calls *Chips*. In them he has given fullest expression to his inmost self. For his reflective, lyrical nature, they were the most fitting mode of expression. He developed in them his own excellent

style. These short stories also reflect the joys and sorrows of the Finnish people, and the hidden enchantment of the Finnish landscape. Aho's Finnish prose style has served as a model for other Finnish writers.

The influence of Leo Tolstoy is particularly noticeable in the work of Arvid Järnefelt (1861–1932). He became a farmer and a writer, expounding the views of life that had affected him so deeply. Järnefelt's first literary work was his novel *The Fatherland* (1893). It has as background the period when the Finnish movement was coming down from romantic dreams to everyday reality, when practical progress was being made by the Finnish-speaking masses. In *The Fatherland,* Jarnefelt does not force his new way of life on the reader; the only clear indication of Tolstoy's doctrine is the self-sacrificing resignation that is the very core of the Finnish novel.

In his next work, *My Conversion* (1894), Järnefelt confesses his faith unreservedly. He preached his new gospel in short story, novel, and drama. In two of his best short stories, *Human Fate* (1885) and *The Sea of Life* (1904), the author more objectively presents the phenomena of life. His last novel, *Greta and her God* (1925), is likewise improved by the temperateness of the presentation.

To the educated Finnish youth of the 1890's, Kasimir Leino (1866–1919) was a poetic herald of the new liberal ideas. Scientifically trained in aesthetics and well acquainted with the theories then in vogue, he held for a long time the post of literary critic on the principal paper of the "young Finnish" group. As a poet he was not very productive, publishing only three collections of lyrics and a drama (1890–1901). Yet their quality is high, as is their rouse of truth and freedom. Through his works, Leino contributed greatly to the development of Finnish diction and verse form.

The number of writers using Finnish continued to grow. Johannes Linnankoski (1869–1913) created a stir with his first published work, *The Eternal Struggle* (1903), a treatment of the story of Cain and Abel. It is marked by ideal grandeur of vision, and fine Finnish diction. He achieved still greater success with his next novel, *The Song of the Blood-Red Flower* (1905), which has a Don Juan theme, conveyed with enchantingly poetic prose, and many beautiful details. Linnankoski's highest artistic achievement, however, is embodied in his two realistic stories describing life in the Finnish countryside: *The Struggle for Heikkilä Farm* and *The Fugitives.* In these, the characters are simple Finnish country folk, whose sufferings and struggles are portrayed as part of the general human tragedy. Linnankoski also wrote dramas; but these are structurally weak, and impaired by excessive rhetoric.

Eino Leino (1878–1926), brother of Kasimir, was a prolific poet, with gifts of the highest order. For thirty years, from his first poems, *Songs of March* (1896), he produced works surpassing all previous Finnish poets. Most notable are his *Helga Hymns,* which spring directly from a source close to the folklore of Finland, and his narrative poems *From the Waves of Time,* which deal with problems of the Finnish people. Like his brother, Eino was also a literary critic. Like the *Finlandia* of the composer Jean Sibelius, the poetry of Eino Leino expresses the sufferings, yearnings, and dreams of the Finnish people in the years when Russian oppression was at its worst.

In Eino Leino's personal poetry there is a strong faith in life and a deep and powerful imagination that springs from a wide personal experience. He has shown how melodious Finnish verse can be, in the hands of one that commands the art, as well as the simplicity and subtlety of the language that the singers of the Finnish folklore used. In addition to his creative work, Leino translated

Dante's *Divine Comedy,* Runeberg's epic poems, a large part of Schiller, Goethe, and Racine. As an artist of form, Eino Leino represents the best ever achieved in Finnish literature.

The poems of Otto Manninen (b. 1872) are precise in form and concentrated in thought and feeling. Many of them are symbolical. Manninen has also done important work as a translator.

V. A. Koskenniemi (b. 1885) is a typical poet of reflection. His poems are maturely considered and carefully polished. His diction is usually spare and unadorned. While his poetry interprets directly observed human feelings, it maintains a certain impersonality, even a coldness. It touches us, however, since it brings before us the great problems of life and of human fate.

There are a number of women in modern Finnish literature who have done considerable work. Maila Talvio (b. 1871) continued the work begun by Minna Canth. Her novels, stories, and dramas are infused with a strong zeal for moral and social reform. In her later works, her interest is concentrated not so much on sociological themes as on psychological problems. In all of them, she has an easy, flowing style.

One of the foremost writers of modern Finland is the playwright Maria Jotuni (1880–1943), wife of V. Tarkiainen, professor of Finnish literature at Helsinki University. Her style is very concise; her dramas are well constructed and effective. They portray realistically the life of common country folk, whose actions often spring from primitive instincts. She has also written several successful light comedies.

Another notable woman writer is Aino Kallas (b. 1878) who has done most of her work in the novel and the short story. Her themes are drawn mainly from social conditions in Estonia, where she has lived for many years.

Lauri Haarla (1890–1944) wrote a large number of dramas, mainly historical, influenced by German expressionistic writers. His plays are well constructed, with a clear, definite plan, and well drawn characters. Contemporary social and moral problems form the background of his dramatic art. His best play, *Juudas* (1927), deals with an episode in Finnish history during the reign of Gustaf III, at the end of the 18th c. Also outstanding is his play *The Sin* (1923). In his recent work he has abandoned the expressionistic technique and its following his natural inclination toward sober realism.

Frans Fmil Sillanpaa (b. 1888) is the most outstanding Finnish novelist of our day. All his themes are taken from the surroundings of his native home in a farming district in western Finland. All the social classes, children, even domestic animals of the rustic environment of his early years, find vivid description in his novels. Very seldom has Sillanpaä attempted to describe life among city people, or the life of cultured individuals. His first novel, the love story *Life and the Sun* (1916), is typical of his work. His calm, reflective manner owes something to Juhani Aho and Arvid Jarnefelt. In putting together his impressions, he is guided by a clarity of thought, perhaps the result of his early scientific training.

His next novel, *Meek Heritage* (1919), deals with the causes of the Finnish civil war. The leading character is a poor peasant, Juha Toivola, caught in the whirlwind of the revolution of 1918, the forces and victims of which are vividly and sympathetically described.

Sillanpää's next novel, *The Maid Silja* (1931), is a story of the daughter of a substantial but inadequate Finnish farmer. After her father's death, Silja hires out as a maid on various farms. Her love affairs are innocent and romantic in a world which is gross and realistic. Sillanpää's strength lies in the

delineation of this fragile young woman and in the fine lyric pictures of the landscape through which the maid Silja moves and acts. Similar moods pervade his *The Way of a Man* (1932).

Sillanpää has written numerous short stories, mainly of moral and psychological development, and the power of instinct and primal urges. Most of his characters are simple people; their lives reflect Sillanpää's own philosophy of life, which is monism tempered by modern science: an individual human being is not free; he is a part of a larger whole. Sillanpaa was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, in 1939.

The most recent years, including the disasters of World War II, have not destroyed the literary powers of Finland. There were, at the end of the War, 80 publishing houses in the land (and over 3,000 public libraries); in 1945, 10,000,000 books were sold, which is five books for every person over 15.

In Swedish: Arvid Mörne has continued his work, publishing collections of poems in 1937, 1941, and 1944, and a volume of short stories in 1945. Jarl Hemmer (d. 1943) has written fine lyrics; Elmer Diktonius, a gifted and original, independent thinker, has in lyric verse touched problems of the day, Emil Zilliacus in his poetry achieves a high degree of finished form, in *Wanderings* (1937) and *Silvery Autumn* (1943).

In Finnish: There has been greater productivity, especially in lyric poetry and in prose fiction. Sillanpää is still outstanding; his latest novel, *The beauty and misery of human life* (1945) shows him at his best. Among those continuing to produce good work have been three women: in lyric poetry, Aino Kallas, with *The Swan of Death* (1942) and *The Moonbeam* (1943); in fiction, Maria Jotuni, who also wrote a tragedy dealing with Finnish nobility of the 15th c., *Klaus, the master of Louhikko* (1941); and Maila Talvio, with historical novels of early Helsinki, and *A Daughter of the Baltic Sea* (1940). The dramatist Lauri Haarla before his death also turned to the writing of historical novels, of Finnish life in the Middle Ages: *The Young Chieftain* (1935); *The Story of the Kurki Family* (1940). Perhaps the most active of the older generation has been V. A. Koskenniemi, with new volumes of lyrics in 1936, 1937, and 1940; as well as critical essays, as *Goethe* (1944).

Among the most recent writers in Finnish, Hella Vuolijoki has written some successful dramas. Lauri Viljanen has produced lyrics (1945) masterly in form; excellent lyrics have also been written by Katri Vala (1901–44) and Saima Harmaja (1913–37); perhaps best of all in this field has been Uuno Kailas (1901–33). Best in the field of fiction, perhaps, are Unto Seppänen, with the romantic novel *Sun and Storm* (1939; also in English); and the prolific Mika Valtari, with the notable historical novel *Sinuhe, the Egyptian* (1945). Many others follow their paths.

While Swedish writing in Finland will doubtless persist, literature in Finnish is taking an increasingly significant part in the national life of this hardy people.

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JOHN B. OLLI.

FOX—*See* North American Native.

FRANCO-PROVENÇAL—*See* Provençal.

FRENCH

AFTER English, the European literature that may claim the longest history of uninterrupted excellence is the French. From the earliest Middle Ages, when most European nations were still immersed in the anonymous latinity of ecclesiastical dispute; through nine centuries, when those nations passed through moments of glory followed by years of obscurity, against a background of social change and political revolution, French literature has continued to produce an unending series of masterpieces. What is more, during all these years the works of French authors have been so fresh in their content and technique as continually to set the pace for sweeping European movements.

This greatness must be attributed to the peculiar character of the French people and of its writers. As a people, the French have always demanded essentially one thing of literary work, that it be beautiful. They have not been satisfied with the "new," the "interesting," the "significant." If they could not also say of a work, "Que c'est beau!" they would have none of it. In a transitory way, writings might enjoy a certain popularity without possessing this ingredient; but in the long run they were discarded. This beauty itself was of an essentially constant character; it consisted of taking those perdurable human passions that are the same in all times and of casting them in a form whose unity, whose order, whose nicety of phrase were uniquely appropriate to the depiction of those passions. The form itself might be fluid; prosody, style, convention might change from century to century and from "ism" to "ism"; but the insistence upon beauty was unwavering. As an individual, the French writer has always sought his own private way of discovering the form and creating the beauty upon which his readers insist. During a given epoch, many writers might adopt a similar solution, thus found a school; but (save for the period of the tyranny of the "rules") the tenets of the school would scarcely be formulated, the moulds of its conventions would hardly be solidified, before new conflicting and contrasting ideas would emerge.

These factors are probably present in all great literatures. But they seem to be more striking and in more vivid juxtaposition in French literature. The feeling of the nation for beauty appears more tangible and more real, the desire of the individual for individuality and experimentation more acute and more passionate.

The Middle Ages.

Vernacular French literature of the Middle Ages is many literatures. It is the literature of Normandy and of Brittany, of Picardy and Champagne, of Anjou and Burgundy and Paris; it is, for several centuries, the literature of England. For during the centuries (from

the 11th to the 15th) while the French nation was slowly growing by the agglomeration of a multitude of independent kingdoms, many languages of many territories served as the medium for literary expression. But two elements provided a unifying thread: the fact that all the dialects were sufficiently close to each other (and to the Francian which finally became French) to be considered one basic language, and the fact that the literary forms exploited by writers in all these dialects were essentially the same. The popularity of these works in their own day is manifest from the hundreds of manuscripts in which they have been preserved; they still retain an intrinsic charm.

Just as Greek literature began with a narrative masterpiece, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as Italian literature with the *Divine Comedy*, Spanish with the *Cid*, and English with *Beowulf*, so the *Song of Roland* stands as the first great monument in the French literary tradition. It initiated a long sequence of epic poems on the national heroes and the great battles of the early Middle Ages, started a narrative fashion to which the development and flourishing of the romance soon contributed. This double narrative strain remained the predominant form throughout the Middle Ages; the lyric and the drama never achieved more than a secondary position. The anonymous *Song of Roland* (written at the end of the 11th c.) relates, in assonanced decasyllables grouped in *laisses* or stanzas, the story of Roland's stand and death at Roncevaux in the Pyrenees, of Ganelon's treachery, of Charlemagne's judgment and revenge. The telling of these warlike episodes is infused with the ardor of the Christian crusading against the Moor, of the Frenchman longing for sweet France, of the righteous man doing battle against evil. The main personages are depicted boldly and with a sense of grandiose detail. Such Vergilian devices as the recurring refrain ("High are the mountains and the valleys murky") and the characteristic epithet lend a haunting dignity to the verse. The unification of the entire structure manifests high artistry. Alongside the *Roland*, the other epic poems—there was a welter of them, dealing with Charlemagne, William of Orange, Girard de Roussillon, many others—must take, in spite of their considerable individual merits, a place of lesser importance. As a genre, the epic flourished in France until about the middle of the 13th c.; later epics, although numerous, are progressively poorer.

Long before the decline of the epic, from somewhere out of Brittany or out of Britain and Wales, from the chronicles or from the tales of itinerant storytellers (the sources are mysterious), came a collection of plots and themes that soon replaced in popular favor the deeds of warrior heroes. These were the people and the adventures comprising the "matter of Britain"—the legend of King Arthur and the knights and ladies of the Table Round. The heroes were still warriors, but they fought now less for God and country than for the favor of their fair ladies. Whatever the sources, it was in France, around the middle of the 12th c., that these stories first made their appearance as part of the literary heritage of Western Europe. Marie de France exploited them in the simple rhymed tales called the *Lays*—short stories telling in terse and poignant language of the gallantry of knights and the faithfulness of ladies. They reached full development in the works of Chrétien de Troyes,* *Erec and Enid; Yvain; Lancelot; Perceval.* Chrétien was a master spinner of yarns, and he wove into his narrative poems the characters and the ideals that have made courtly love symbolical, for many, of the nobler aspects of the medieval spirit. He knew how to hit off a character in a few lines, how to tell a humorous episode, how to relate numerous adventures and incidents to a central theme, how to reveal a person's character and thoughts in his sim-

plest actions. He employed, throughout, the same verse form, rhyming octosyllabic couplets, but with a great virtuosity and a wide variety of prosodic effects. In the same tradition were the various versions of the famed Tristan legend, and many works by many authors built around the same personages and the same doctrine of chivalry.

The period that saw the prosperity of the "matter of Britain" saw also the advent of the "matter of Rome." These myths came from the south—from Greece, from Byzantium—and found expression in a number of long poems of genuine merit, the *Romance of Alexander,* the *Romance of Troy, Enéas,* Chrétien's own *Çligès,* the *Romance of Thebes.* In general, the latter half of the 12th c. and the first years of the 13th were distinguished by an abundance of verse narratives, on many themes and by many writers (most of them anonymous), but having in common an elegance of tone, an aptness of phrase, and a real vivacity of plot that make them still highly entertaining. Nor did this vogue wane when the transition was made from verse to prose narrative. Shortly after 1200 most of the Arthurian tales were rewritten in "prosifications," and such new masterpieces as the *High Book of the Grail* (*Perlesvaus*) were created. In many cases, as in the *Perlesvaus,* the stories gained in vigor and in rapidity in their new form, which was really the precursor of the novel; but, inevitably, a decadence set in, and in succeeding centuries many turgid and wandering prose romances were produced.

Besides these great traditions of narrative material, a number of isolated works enjoyed contemporary and lasting esteem. Perhaps the most appealing was the "chantefable" of *Aucassin and Nicolette;* a brief story, mostly in prose but with verse interludes, relating the simple love and the complicated adventures of its hero and heroine; pausing at times to give a glimpse of the hard life which the French peasant lived; joining, in this way, an Oriental disregard for probability in plot to coldly realistic details. The intercalated songs are delightful. A similar contrast between the amorous and the matter-of-fact characterizes the two parts of the *Romance of the Rose;* the first, by Guillaume de Lorris (ca. 1230), is full of the naïve idealism pervading the treatment of love by the poets; the second, by Jean de Meun (ca. 1275), disparages love, enthrones reason, breaks out in diatribe against contemporary abuses—scorns, even, the Church. Together they form a brilliant allegory in which a graceful dream of the Middle Ages escaping from itself is tempered by the hard-headed recognition of all the injustices of the period. The poem had a tremendous European influence. Another allegory, the *Romance of Renard* (*Reynard the Fox;* after 1200) reveals even more acrid satire against medieval institutions. In it various beasts, cunning and quick, stupid and lumbering, engage in parody of human actions. What they do and say is a commentary—sometimes sly, sometimes obvious—on the foibles of their contemporaries. In it these beasts display the kind of humor—irreverent and monk-baiting, outspoken and ironical about matters of sex, having tongue in cheek and a glint in the eye—that has come to be known as "Gallic wit" and that is a perennial element in French literature. The contemporary *fabliaux,* short stories in verse, present real people in realistic actions, but the same satirical vein and the same kind of wit are present.

In the lyric poetry of the Middle Ages one may discern the same evolution from the courtly to the bourgeois already detected in its narrative production. Poets of the early years practiced the charming song forms of the northern tradition—some of them are still sung in France—or the complicated tours de force of the southern troubadours, in which an alembicated love was expressed with all

possible prosodic dexterity. Their successors, in the 14th and 15th c., continued with very little innovation, although some of them (Guillaume de Machaut, Eustache Deschamps, Christine de Pisan, Charles d'Orléans especially) wrote very pretty lyrics indeed. But the greatest poet of the age, François Villon,* stemmed from the other—the earthy and the individualistic—family of writers. As well as any of his contemporaries he handled the intricacies of the ballade and the rondeau; but into these forms he poured, not what anybody else could have provided but what he alone could tell, the little miseries and the great bitterness of his own life. In his *Testaments* he fixed vividly the figures of his brawling companions, of the old prostitute lamenting her lost beauty, of his mother offering prayer to the Virgin, of the scoundrels of Paris—exposed and unexposed—of his mistress Margot, of his own tattered self participating in a host of adventures. The poetic and prosodic means employed are complicated; but the total effect is one of simplicity and forthrightness.

The worldly and the other-worldly stood in like juxtaposition in the medieval drama. On the one hand was the sacred theatre, springing from the liturgical ceremony, and probably having its first performances within the walls of the church itself. From the altar it moved to the square before the church; from a simple dialogue it developed into the tremendous machines of the 15th c., with settings that represented at once a whole village, plus Heaven and Hell. The sacred drama was of two types: First, the mystery plays, centering about Biblical episodes, and reaching their culmination in the spectacular *Mystère de la Passion* of Arnoul Gréban (ca. 1452). Second, the miracle plays, built about the lives of the saints, and represented by such excellent works as Jean Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* and Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile* (13th c.). On the other hand was the profane drama, sometimes indulging in serious ethical admonishment (the morality plays), but usually content with comedy, and with comedy that offered a satirical commentary on men's characters and frank laughter at their lives. This type remained simple and, for the most part, brief throughout. It found its best examples in the rustic *Robin and Marion* and the bourgeois *Jeu de la Feuillée* (ca. 1260) of Adam de la Halle, in Gringoire's *Jeu du prince des sots* (1512), and in the famous farce of *Master Pathelin* (ca. 1464). Master Pathelin is a scoundrel; but so are all his associates in this comedy. All incarnate the native shrewdness of the "little man" everywhere in the world; but their wit and their words and the situations in which they move are prophetic of the best in French comedy in years to come.

The Renaissance.

It is only in histories of literature that one may pause, then start afresh under a new and resounding title like "The Renaissance." In actuality, literary creation continues in an uninterrupted course, the bad mingling with the good, the old-fashioned coexisting with the new-fangled. But in Western Europe, about the middle of the 15th c.—earlier in some countries, later in others—there came into all the arts a breath of new spirit so vigorous that all men, contemporaries as well as their descendants, realized that a rebirth had occurred. The feeling of a sharp separation from the past is inescapable. This new spirit partook of many forms: freedom from the trammels of a circumscribed Christian outlook; liberation from the bonds of a decadent scholasticism; a sense of the dignity of man and of the goodness of his life on earth; a craving to beautify that life in every way possible—in one's manners and clothes, in the furniture of one's house and the plate on one's table, in the pictures on the wall, the statues in the garden, in the books one read. It was a spirit brought about only in part by

reaction to the restraints of the past. In greater part, it was induced by the discovery and the imitation of the ancient world, of the Greek and Roman concepts of life and their formula for incarnating life in art. The discovery was earlier made in Italy, and it came to France across the Alps.

One contrast between the literature of the Middle Ages and that of the Renaissance lies in their relationship to literary theory. There were indeed in the former period works called "poetic arts"; but they dealt only with the relatively unimportant questions of diction and prosody. During the Renaissance, poetic compositions were written in conformity with a program calling for given themes, given treatments, given rules and conventions. The program came from the pronouncements of the ancients on literary theory, as interpreted, combined, transformed, and deformed by Italian critics. The moderns, it was understood, were to achieve greatness by following the precepts and copying the works of their forebears, Greek and Roman. They were to break with the recent "Gothic" past to revive a more distant "antique" past. Such was the doctrine that moulded and guided literary thinking in all Europe for the next three centuries.

In France, lyric poetry, which was to become the dominant genre of the 16th c., was channeled into new ways by just such a statement of literary program. The traditional forms had become stultified; in many cases they were no more than exhibitions of rhyming virtuosity, with no individuality of subject matter or artistry of structure. One poet —because he was a poet and not a poetaster— stood apart: Clément Marot. His *Epistles* (written after 1525) are brilliant examples of light verse. Their subject is almost invariably the poet's misfortunes—Marot penniless asking for money, Marot in jail asking for freedom, Marot in exile asking for pardon; but the wit is so keen, the narrative technique so sprightly, the description so amusing, that misfortune leads to laughter on the part of the reader, as it did with the poet himself. The current poetic style was attacked in 1549, when Joachim du Bellay* published his *Defence and Illustration of the French Language,* and French lyric poetry was off on a new and illustrious career. The work was the manifesto of a group of young poets, the Pléiade (significantly Greek in name), whose ardent ambition was to surpass Pindar, Horace, and their glorious compatriots. They went bravely to work, studied and thought, read and reread and imitated their models, and wrote some excellent poems.

Of the celebrated company, Du Bellay himself was one of the two most capable poets; Pierre de Ronsard* was the other. Du Bellay was by nature a lyricist; he needed no scaffold of theory to hoist him to the poetic heights. His principal collections were *Olive* (1549), *The Regrets, The Antiquities of Rome,* and the *Rustic Games* (all in 1558); his favorite forms were the sonnet and the ode. In the sonnet he adopted the metrical pattern and the Platonizing content of Petrarch; for the ode, Horace supplied the main model. The theory of the *Defence* was put into practice, and by one so sensitive to the subtleties of lyric poetry that the "imitations" became in themselves highly original compositions and served as models for many of his contemporaries. Ronsard, too, was an expert sonneteer; but he was much more. He set out to write masterpieces in all the verse genres of the ancients and the Italians, and in thirty-five years of poetic production he wrote extensively in all. In some, notably the epic, he failed. But in most he achieved his goal, rendering his language and his land illustrious through his works. He was extremely versatile, knowing how to strike the right tone in the ode, or the satire, or the sonnet, or the simple song. Many of his lyrics rank among the best in the language.

But French verse of the Renaissance was not concentrated in two men alone. It was shared by the other members of the Pléiade, some of whom were very good poets. It flourished in other centers outside of Paris, notably in Lyons, where it was brilliantly represented by Maurice Scève and Louise Labé, both Petrarchists in their Platonic tendencies and in their use of the sonnet form. It persisted, with modifications, through the century—in the Protestant epics of Du Bartas and D'Aubigné (the latter's *Tragiques* offers many grandiose and stirring passages), in the writings of Malherbe* who, towards the turn of the century, pointed the way for the more severe and less lyrical productions of the coming generations. Malherbe's most famous works are the *Commentaire sur Desportes* and the *Consolation de Monsieur du Périer;* in the one he outlined his program for the reform of language and prosody, in the other he applied it with notable felicity. His practice established, once and for all, the twelve-syllable Alexandrine as the standard line of French verse.

The extent to which "philosophers" belong to the "literature" of a people is always a moot question. If one thinks of literature in the narrower sense of "poetic" composition—of works of imitation having as their subject the actions of men and as their end the production of beautiful objects of contemplation—then philosophy, history, criticism, scientific writing must needs be excluded. But the practice of modern historians has been to include such writings. The criteria for selection have often been indefinite; however, in general those works that display in addition to high intellectual achievement a mastery of language and style have been admitted into the category of literature. Thus it is that Rabelais, Calvin, and Montaigne in the 16th c., Descartes and Pascal in the 17th, a whole galaxy of "philosophes" in the 18th, Renan in the 19th, and Bergson in the 20th have taken their places among the literary great.

For the inclusion of Rabelais* there need be no excuse; he is one of the literary great of all times and all peoples. Moreover in form, at least, his *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–1564) is a novel, a kind of sprawling and rambling romance in which the hero, Pantagruel, and the anti-hero, Panurge, are caught in the most variegated adventures—much in the medieval fashion. Each of these adventures has a point, however; is a prelude to a disquisition; illustrates a thought. The so-called novel becomes a repository for all the ideas, all the ideals, all the convention and all the revolt of the age; for all the tremendous hilarity, the mordant wit, the healthiness and the great good sense of the author. The style is a highly imaginative combining of almost innumerable different words and phrases and constructions. For a statement of the Renaissance ideal of the good life there is perhaps no better—and surely no more delightful—source.

Of the *Essays* of Michel de Montaigne,* written in the last third of the century, the author himself is the principal topic. For in these intimate, discursive, verbose essays, what is most clearly revealed is his inquisitive and hesitant character. This is not through excess of egotism, but rather through the assumption that what is true of Michel de Montaigne will be pretty generally true of all men. He studies himself for evidence on the working of the human spirit, just as he studies his contemporaries in France and abroad and the writings of his predecessors. Many topics come up for discussion, and for each Montaigne finds as many answers as there were philosophers. As an honest man, he can discover no reason for preferring one to another. This withholding of decision—this skepticism—is symptomatic of an age in which the old solutions, those of the Church, of the scholastics, of Aristotle, have been cast aside, and in

which the new solutions are still in the making.

From the general denial of the past undertaken by the 16th c., traditional Catholicism was not to be exempted. The Reformation and the rise of Protestantism supply one of the new solutions. In France the great Protestant theorist of the age was Calvin who, in many respects a Renaissance humanist, belongs to literary history through the excellence of his style in the *Institution of the Christian Religion* (French version, 1541). The work affords a notable contrast, in its concision and economy of phrase, to the ebullience of Rabelais and the dispersion of Montaigne.

Even in the less distinguished writings and the less successful genres of the century, one finds a peculiarly Renaissance flavor. Everywhere there is experimentation. In place of the medieval theatre must come a modern one—which in reality would be an ancient one. Everybody tried it; everybody failed. Tragedies and comedies with Greek and Latin names abounded. But they succeeded in imitating only the outward forms of their models, without ever apprehending the secret of their inner mechanism. Tragedy was high-flown and tearful, but static and undramatic. Comedy lacked those witnesses of real life that alone give it vitality. Fiction, which had so brilliantly flourished in the Middle Ages, was likewise without noteworthy exponents. There were no great ancient storytellers in prose, hence the genre did not exist for the Renaissance. But there was one Italian work that might set the style, the *Decameron*, and it is upon this work that the one notable French collection of tales, Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron* (posthumously, 1558), is based. Marguerite was able to seize some of the sprightliness of Boccaccio's narrative technique, some of the licence of his outlook, some of the clarity of his style; she was not able to weld these into the masterful compositions that distinguish Boccaccio's stories. Meanwhile, French prose as a literary medium was making steady progress. Rabelais enriched it, Calvin brought it order and restraint. Amyot made it more supple and sonorous. This was a century of translation, since the ancients to be imitated must first be made accessible, and in this century of translations it was Amyot's rendering of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* that was the recognized masterpiece. Incidentally, his work more than any other provided the French with that conception of the antique upon which so much of their living and thinking was founded during these years. The same conception was to be fruitful, in the next century, of the greatest efflorescence of great works in the history of French literature.

The Seventeenth Century.

Artistically, the 17th c. in France was a continuation and a culmination of the 16th. The ideal dreamt by the men of the Pléiade had been fulfilled only in part. For although they had written very beautiful lyrics and had produced notable works in prose, they had done little more than make a beginning in the dramatic and narrative genres. And whereas they had imitated both the substance and the outword form of classical and Italian writers, they still fell far short of achieving that antique beauty which they had set as their goal. To the 17th c. fell the responsibility of finishing the task.

It was a tremendous task. The language, first, must be purified, clarified, made the fit medium for greater works; the directions of Rabelais, Calvin, and Amyot must be pursued. Then the forms to be cultivated must be chosen, and those chosen must be developed. The errors or insufficiencies of the past must be corrected if France was to take a place in the realm of letters comparable to its position in European politics. To the achievement of these goals two factors contributed—besides, of course, the genius of the men born to the task. First was the founding, in 1634,

of the French Academy. With this event the "program" of the Renaissance became official and national; the poetic theories were elevated into dogmas, the linguistic tendencies were crystallized, and forty of France's best wits were assembled to sit in solemn judgment on literary cases. Secondly, the unification of all French life under Louis XIV, *le Roi Soleil*, the "Sun King," brought to all the arts some of the magnificence and the stately decorum with which that regal monarch surrounded himself. Crudeness gave way to polish, uncertainty to decision, and into literary works as into painting and sculpture came some of the spirit of Versailles.

Perhaps nowhere is that road to perfection so distinct as in the case of the drama. The new century was to be an age of spectacle, the court an itinerant company of players, the king the hero. For such an age the dull drama of the Renaissance was more than insufficient; it was pedantic and remote, or it was common and undignified. The first man to elevate the drama was Pierre Corneille.* After several fairly amusing comedies, Corneille startled and won Paris with his "tragi-comedy" of the *Cid* (1636). His reputation grew with many plays—especially *Horace* and *Cinna* (1640) and *Polyeucte* (1642)—over a period of many years. For his tragedies satisfied the craving of his contemporaries for heroes on the stage whose high-flown virtue would be a reflection of their own aspirations in life. They wanted to be single-minded in duty, unshakable in courage, faithful in love, and Corneille made his heroes and his heroines in this image. They wanted bold, clear, ringing statements of the passions, and Corneille poured such speeches from the lips of his people. They wanted clean-cut, regularized, simple drama, and Corneille was the first in France to write such plays. He was a prophet in his own time and has continued to be so in his own country. Yet he stands only half-way on that road to perfection. His tragedies, like those of the Renaissance, are fairly static. His heroes are all of a piece; this one, an incarnation of the sense of duty; that one, religious faith personified. No other traits or passions mar this single-mindedness; his are essentially very simple people. They lack that richness of soul which leads, in the drama, to subtlety and complexity of plot, to finesse and variety of thought and diction. His plots are arbitrary, the passions restricted, the diction repetitive. The plays appealed to an audience itself young and untutored in matters of taste, grateful for the progress made and for the real merits of the work.

At the end of the road stands Jean Racine.* There are, among the small number of Racine's tragedies, several to which the epithet "perfect" seems appropriate. From *Andromaque* in 1667 to *Phèdre* in 1677 Racine produced seven great plays; these were followed a decade later by two biblical dramas, *Esther* and *Athalie*. In outward appearance—in the verse form, the mechanics of acts and scenes, the observance of the pseudo-Aristotelian unities of time, place, and action—these plays are much like Corneille's, continuing the same tradition. But within, all is different. The fact that Racine turned for inspiration to the subtler Greeks rather than to the more obvious Romans may in part explain the difference. In part, the more refined taste, the more mature literary mind of his contemporaries may be responsible. But in greatest part his own sensitivity and his poetic genius must be credited with a conception and an execution of the dramatic form uniquely his own. Racine starts with an idea of a plot so simple in its unity and so clear in its movement that it may be summarized in a single narrative sentence: "Phèdre, guilty of an incestuous passion, makes successive attempts to hide her guilt; but these attempts serve only to reveal her guilt and to make it unbearable, so that in the end she dies." But in the working out of this

plot a multiplicity of episodes, each intimately dependent upon the preceding (unlike Corneille in that respect), makes for a complex and crowded psychological action. Thus Phèdre is in love; but she is intrinsically honest and honorable, she has a strong sense of duty to her husband, she is horrified at her own guilt, she is distraught with suffering, she is jealous—innumerable subtle feelings work subtly in her soul. So it is with all the other characters of the play. And to their passions the appropriate thoughts and the appropriate words are fitted in so striking a fashion that the feeling of perfection emanates spontaneously from the work.

The Parisian stage in the 1660's and 70's presented exciting fare to first-nighters of all tastes. For while the tragedies of Racine were bringing tears to those of serious bent, those that loved to laugh were given riotous laughter by the comedies of Molière.* Molière began writing in the mid-50's; but his great masterpieces—*Tartuffe, Don Juan, Le Misanthrope, Les Femmes savantes*—were almost exactly contemporaneous with those of Racine. In Molière's case, however, there was no notable playwright midway along the road. The whole evolution of French comedy, from the silly farce to the highest comedy of manners and of character, took place within his own works. He excelled in all, and in his best plays all are commingled. He seeks and finds comedy in its perennial source, the foibles and idiosyncrasies of common men. In each case ridicule and laughter rise from the unfortunate situation of a hero or heroine who, because of some egregious weakness of character, richly deserves that misfortune. Sometimes the weakness is a vice, with serious social consequences. The peculiarly Molièresque touch is found in the extreme exaggeration of one "bad" trait of personality while all other traits remain "normal" and "good"; in the invention of simple episodes illustrative of character; and in the discovery of little words or phrases that portray and betray the whole man. The speeches, in verse or in prose, are admirable: never has wit been more deft, more concise, more telling. Occasionally the plot will falter, and a god will have to descend from his machine to disentangle it. The audience does not mind. For the unity achieved through character is so sound, the humor resident in episode and in idea and in speech so delightful, that Molière makes bid to be the greatest comic of modern times.

Some of the most beautiful and most stately verse in the French language is found in the tragedies of Racine, some of the most fluid and most conversational in the comedies of Molière. To another exact contemporary, Jean de La Fontaine,* fell the distinction of writing some of the most varied and most charming. La Fontaine's elected form was the fable, and the twelve books of fables that he published between 1668 and 1694 are perhaps unsurpassed in any language. He is a dramatist in miniature. Each of the animal apologues is complete in every respect—indications on setting, description of characters, dialogue, rapid action. Protagonist and antagonist meet, clash, win or lose; the curtain falls; the moral is drawn. Yet all takes place within ten lines, twenty lines, at most a hundred. The *Fables* of La Fontaine are virtuoso pieces of grace and delicacy and wit.

These three men were friends. They had a mutual friend, a rallying point, a press-agent, and a mentor in the person of Nicolas Boileau.* Boileau excelled in satire and in didactic verse, displaying in the one a sharp epigrammatic thrust and a pitiless wit; in the other, a clarity of phrase and a fine simplification of ideas. It is perhaps a tribute to his ideas and his judgment that the men with whom he was associated progressed to such artistic heights. What is more, these ideas were to guide and direct authors until the time of the Revolution. Boileau's *Art poétique* (1674) is the 17th c. epitome of those con-

cepts of the poetic art that had been reborn with the Renaissance, that were confirmed with the founding of the Academy, and that attained full maturity in the terse Alexandrines of Boileau. If through the 18th c. the emphasis in matters literary was on universal human nature as the model, on strict rules of art for the expression, on the infallibility of taste where judgment was involved, it was because Boileau willed it so. If, on the other hand, Boileau so dictated, it was because those notions were the stuff of 17th c. literary philosophy, of which Boileau was the very organ.

While these men and their lesser associates were forging great works in verse, a culmination was being reached in the several prose forms. In the drama, indeed, Molière's achievement in the prose comedies was high, judged by either comparative or absolute standards. The novel, practically absent during the Renaissance, suddenly burst out in the huge, sprawling compositions of d'Urfé and the Scudérys early in the century. These were its apprentice years, when novels were too long because it was not yet known how to make them short; when the basis of structure was largely episodic; when, nevertheless, definite progress was made in the handling of character and situation and in the turning of the French sentence. Very soon a formula was discovered in the *Princesse de Clèves* (1678), long attributed to Mme de Lafayette, that brought to the novel the same kind of reduction to its artistic quintessence as Racine had achieved in the drama. To the same courtly audience—this stellar generation wrote largely for the entourage of Louis XIV—were addressed the great sermons of the century, those of Bossuet. Bossuet made religion fashionable; at any rate, the magnificently rolling periods of his orations, the pathetic passages, the dramatic developments, attracted to the Church many that otherwise would have been absent, and art triumphed where faith might have lost. The same qualities distinguished the prose of his expository writings, differentiating it from that of another able expositor, La Bruyère.* In his *Caractères* (1688), La Bruyère presents a number of thumb-nail sketches of his contemporaries in which brevity, directness, and remarkable clarity are the characteristic features. He emphasizes, as all did, the universal quality of his subjects, their reflection of the eternal character of mankind. Another master of brevity was La Rochefoucauld,* who reduced his cynicism, his sophisticated disillusionment with the world, to concise epigrammatic form. His *Maximes* (1664–65) are excellent examples of the clarity and irony of which 17th c. French prose was capable. A much more personal outlook is expressed in the many volumes of letters which Mme de Sévigné* wrote to her daughter and to her friends, letters in which a naturally flowing prose fits itself to every mood, to every emotion trivial or profound, to gossip as well as philosophy—letters that became, incidentally, a great literary work. To Saint-Simon,* finally, belongs the honor of having written the most famous memoirs in a country distinguished for its achievement in that genre. As the contemporary, the spectator, and in many cases the participant in the events of Louis XIV's last years and of the Regency, Saint-Simon was in a position to reveal the inner life of that exciting period; he did so with a richness of language, of sarcasm, and of descriptive detail that make his *Memoirs* an entrancing document on the old régime.

Perhaps the most important prose productions of the 17th c. were the treatises of its two most distinguished philosophers, Descartes* and Pascal. The two men stand at opposite poles in philosophic thought, with respect both to methods and to conclusions. Descartes's *Discourse on Method* (1637) is an attempt to supply an intellectual method capable of bringing some certainty into the chaos that, upon careful examination, the author finds in all realms of human knowl-

edge. In the method evolved, Descartes begins with ideas that he recognizes as "evidently true," those imprinted by God upon the nascent soul of man. From these innate ideas he will derive only the most strictly deduced conclusions; all thought processes will be carefully checked and examined. The resulting kind of reasoning he sees as being very close to that found in mathematics. The *Discourse* then applies the method to processes of scientific research. The text had a tremendous influence all over Europe for many years. In the 18th c. both empirical scientists and the philosophers that devoted themselves to the attack upon the existing order were avowed Cartesians, and its supremacy in intellectual matters was only in part affected by the spread of the Baconian method.

Mathematician extraordinary and apostate scientist, Blaise Pascal* was himself for a time a brilliant Cartesian. In his mathematical treatises and his experiments in physics he applied the teachings of his illustrious predecessor. In the *Lettres provinciales,* he put the same method to the service of religion. The style of these letters—rapid, versatile, witty—places them among the outstanding masterpieces of the period. Later in life, after a religious crisis, Pascal brought to religious thinking a new vision of man and of God, a mystic apprehension of their relationship in which faith rather than the intellect furnished the persuasive arguments. The verbal witness of this theology is found in the *Pensées,* fragmentary thoughts which, had their author lived, would one day have been solidified into an apology of the Christian religion. The apology, as it may be reconstructed from the *Pensées* and other documents, was based not upon the reason, upon logic, upon what Pascal himself called the "esprit de géométrie," but instead on an intuition, on an ineradicable feeling, on the "esprit de finesse." Unfortunately, the fragments, not published in complete and systematic form until the 19th c., remain outside the current of French philosophy. But they epitomize, for all time, the clarity and the brevity and the incisiveness of expression which the Frenchman of the 17th c. set as one of his principal literary goals.

The Eighteenth Century.

An era of equally feverish activity followed upon the 17th c., but along essentially different lines. The standard literary forms remained much the same; experiment and change were incidental to the continuance of a tradition. The great revolution, here, was not to come until the 19th c.; meanwhile, the 18th became the Age of Reason. The method furnished by Descartes was applied by bold thinkers to all the subjects that had previously been regarded as sacrosanct: the Church, the existence of God, the form of the state, economic structure, ethics, as well as the natural and physical sciences. Under this cold light of reason, many were found to have a startlingly different character from that originally supposed. It was the discovery, the dissemination, and the application of these ideas that led, in large part, to the revolutionary events of 1789.

This change of vista—from the stately but circumscribed royalism of Versailles to the vast panorama of modern democracy—was not wholly indigenous in source. Some of the turmoil came from within. But much of the inspiration came from across the Channel (at a time, incidentally, when England was following the lead of France in matters purely literary). The scientific method of Bacon and Newton, the epistemology of Locke, the religious notions of the deists, the parliamentary form of the English government itself, profoundly influenced French thought in all fields. Most of what was new in the belles-lettres was also of English origin. To these imported ideas were added the contribution of readers, travelers, thinkers who saw as in a revelation that in other times and other

places all had not proceeded as in the current *modus vivendi* in France—that many things had been better, many brighter, and that a change here and there might be advantageous. That change, full grown, was the French Revolution.

Whereas Descartes and Pascal had employed philosophy in the defense of religion (following, in that, their predecessors for generations back), the 18th c. on the whole used the weapons of reason for the destruction of religion. The first major assault was made by Pierre Bayle in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697). It was a monumental work, treating a multitude of subjects. Beneath the subterfuge, the stratagem, the veil that the 18th c. would have to use constantly to circumvent the censors, Bayle cast doubt upon the authenticity of the Bible, the teachings of the Church Fathers, and the fundamental tenets of Christianity. His general stand was taken on the basis of exegesis, historical analysis, and logical examination; the conclusion reached was that reason was incompatible with faith and that rational men could not believe in the dogmas of established religion. Method and conclusion became a commonplace. On the whole the philosophers of the century, with few exceptions, were not atheists. They believed in the existence of an impersonal God who had created the universe and set the laws of nature in motion, and then had withdrawn from contact with his creatures—a fatalistic, mechanistic, almost positivist approach. They did not believe in the private creed of any recognized church and they attacked furiously the prevailing Roman Catholicism. They claimed to see in the Church an element of conservatism that would, through its teachings, render impossible the change they so much desired in all forms of French life. To attack religion was to drive the entering wedge into the status quo. Perhaps the most representative works of this attitude are the innumerable pamphlets, prose and verse, of Voltaire.* The ideas are not Voltaire's; they belong to all the advanced thinkers of his time. But what are uniquely his are the crushing satire, the indefatigable wit, the style, the mass and diversity and persistence of the attack.

Take away from men the hope of reward or the fear of punishment in the afterworld, deprive them of an ethics that says "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not," and the whole question of human conduct is opened afresh. It must be answered squarely. The *philosophes,* having discarded Christian morality, found a substitute for it in the "natural law" —the thesis that men are naturally good, that their instincts will lead them to acceptable conduct if unspoiled by a perverted civilization, and that the criterion of acceptable conduct is the common weal. It is this ethics that Voltaire incorporated into his *Poem on the Natural Law* and other writings. Related to it is the primitivism of Rousseau* in the *Discourses* (1750, 1755) and *Emile* (1762), and the concept of social ethics that Diderot espoused.

The conduct of the individual becomes, in this view, a function of the whole organization of society; in its concern with the latter problem, the 18th c. revived the science of politics. Many writers, inspired to reflection by the example of the English constitution, by their travels abroad, by their reading of ancient treatises, reopened all the questions relative to government—the origins of society, the rights of the rulers and the ruled, the nature of laws, the relationship of church and state. Of their works two great documents are most important, Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* (1748) and Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762). Montesquieu* emphasizes the differences of government resulting from race, climate, and topography. He uncovers the different principles that guide the operation of republican, monarchical, and despotic forms. He studies the different spirits that animate

the laws produced under one form or another. His emphasis is on these differences, and on the relativism that obtains in all matters of social organization. For Rousseau, the basic principle in all society is the "social contract," the freely joined covenant among the constituent members. Society exists for the benefit of the individual; yet the individual must give up certain of his rights in order that the general good may be served. It is such ideas as these that first found practical application in the American Constitution and that, a decade later, supplied the ideology for the French Revolution.

While these conclusions with respect to the actions of man and the interactions of men were gaining currency, considerable work was being done on that other half of nature, the domain of the physical and the biological sciences. For it was a century of vigorous scientific activity: experiments in university and private laboratories; exploration and collection of specimens; lectures and discussions. From the literary point of view there were again several productions of merit. The most pretentious was the great *Encyclopedia* (1751–71). This was a vast collaborative enterprise, headed by Diderot and Jean Le Rond Dalembert (1717–83), and enlisting contributions from the most distinguished minds of the age. Its bias was not solely scientific; all the forward-looking notions of the time were incorporated. But it stressed theoretical and practical science, the extensive discoveries of the period in "physics" and their application to man's needs. The descriptive and taxonomic aspects of scientific investigation were predominant in Buffon's *Natural History* (1749–88), an ambitious treatise equally remarkable for the author's comprehensive view of the animal kingdom and for the noble style in which he clothed his materials. Many of his visions of the epochs of the earth, many of his explorations in sciences related to zoology, have served as the threshold to modern thinking on these subjects. The most original philosopher of science during these years, however, was Denis Diderot.* In such works as the *Thoughts on the Interpretation of Nature* (1754) and *Dalembert's Dream* (1769), Diderot anticipates the theory of evolution in its essential features. He sees all nature as in a constant state of flux, all forms of life as changing in response to their environment and their needs. He begins to have that picture of the physical universe which will be the common vista of Western mankind a hundred and fifty years later.

Among the numerous *philosophes* – the men that transformed their knowledge of past and present into a hope for a better future and an unshakable determination that that future should be as they wished it–four at least were striking literary personalities. None more so than Voltaire.* Just as his life spanned the century, so his works reflected every one of its preoccupations. To the sum of human ideas he made no original increment; but his role as propagandist was immeasurable. In thousands of letters, hundreds of pamphlets, scores of stories and poems and dialogues, he waged an indefatigable war for tolerance, for humanitarian principles, and for enlightenment. His weapons were wit, a brilliant style that was always clear and incisive, and an uncanny ability to dramatize ideas. The battles that he fought have now been largely won; but the works in which he fought them remain perpetually fresh and amusing. Rousseau stands in striking contrast: serious, sentimental, humorless. He was frequently inconsequent, sometimes muddled. But he was a great champion of individualism, and he was gifted with a talent for rhythmic, musical prose admirably suited to the expression of his innermost thoughts. That talent is perhaps best manifested in the *Confessions* (1781–88) and the *Reveries of a Solitary Stroller*. Montesquieu displays equally a capacity for witty urbanity (as in the *Persian Letters*,

1721) and for serious philosophical discussion. Perhaps his best claim to literary distinction is in the former vein, where he appears as a good storyteller and a deft writer of simple prose. The most curious and probably the most original of these geniuses was Diderot, as many-faceted in his writing as in his thought. His compositions possess a verve, a rapid and elliptical quality, that makes them highly individual in tone and in effect.

These writers frequently employed standard literary forms for their propagandist aims —Voltaire the short story, Rousseau the novel, Diderot the drama. Meanwhile the standard forms were not without other noteworthy exponents. The novel became increasingly popular as the century went on, and it came to center more and more about ordinary people. Lesage's* *Gil Blas* (1715–35), Marivaux's* *Marianne* (1731–41) and *Paysan parvenu* (1735–36), represent the tendency. They are picaresque in tone and structure, reflecting the Spanish influence; but the insight they give into life and manners is typically French. Lesage is more apt to emphasize social customs and to satirize them, Marivaux more prone to dwell upon psychological subtleties and the depiction of the passions. The most famous novel of all, the Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731), followed the latter trend, but with a concision and a chasteness of outline seldom achieved. The story of a faithful man and a faithless woman is simply told, with each of the episodes achieving a dramatic quality. In the drama, the chief writer of tragedies was Voltaire. He added to the formula borrowed from Corneille and Racine certain new departures; but essentially his was a conventional drama. Although they were warmly applauded by his contemporaries, very few of his plays have appealed to later audiences. The best plays of the century were comedies, ranging from the brilliant characterization of Lesage's *Turcaret* (1709), through the charmingly polite depictions of Marivaux, to the vigorous and bold constructions of Beaumarchais.* Marivaux, especially in *The Game of Love and Chance* (1730), excels at the portrayal of those first steps of sympathy through which friendship becomes love—a portrayal that has given its name, *marivaudage,* to the subtly playful language in which it was couched. *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro* of Beaumarchais (1775 and 1784), both happily set to music, are rich and scintillating comedies whose personages, situations, and witty lines have long been familiar. Diderot made a dual contribution to the theatre of the period: his theories of the drama, contained in the *Entretiens* and in the *Paradoxe sur le comédien* and advocating an evolution from the stilted stagecraft of classical tragedy towards something more nearly representing real life; and his own plays, tearful and dull productions that belied his excellent theories.

Lyric poetry achieved no great heights in this rational and mundane century; it was not until the last years, in the poems of the revolutionary André Chénier, that one could discover a foretaste of the intensity of passion that was to mark the verses of the next generation. That passion, in Chénier, is still restrained, still encased in pure and dignified verses which are the very essence of the dying classical past.

The Nineteenth Century.

From the vantage point of the present, French literature appears to fall into three major periods: the medieval period, when the spirit of the Crusades and the spirit of chivalry inform the works of the poets; the Renaissance period, when the spirit of classical antiquity and the spirit of rationalism are the motivating factors; and the modern period, dominated by the spirit of individualism. The literature of the Middle Ages, extending from the 11th through the 15th c., is distinguished by the simple faith, the sexless gallantry, and the contrasting bourgeois mockery

that recurrently appeared. The Renaissance comprises not only the century that commonly bears that name but also the 17th and 18th. For in them the things earlier begun come to full fruition; if the lyric reached its zenith in the 16th c., the drama must wait until the 17th and rationalistic philosophy until the 18th for their best expressions. During the whole period there is a tendency to generalize and universalize, to omit what is private and personal, to stress as did the Greeks and Romans man's common humanity with man. Form, convention, and subject matter are under the spell of antique beauty. The modern period unfolds with the 19th c., extends into the present, and looks beyond. It is curious about what distinguishes one nation from another, one time from another, one man from all his fellows. It emphasizes increasingly the personal, the idiosyncratic, the unique. White-robed antiquity finds no place within its vision; the gaudy color of the violent present alone is of concern. Literary form bursts the trammels of the past and a riot of experiment produces countless new solutions.

Like the Renaissance, the modern period was a European phenomenon, dawning upon all countries at approximately the same time. In all, there had been vague forewarnings during the preceding century—Young in England, Rousseau in France, Goethe in Germany. Now, coincident with political and industrial revolution, with the shaping of a new world, came the blossoming of a new literature. Classical inspiration was disdained. France looked instead to England, to Germany, to Italy and Spain, for materials and methods. Or, significantly, she looked to herself, to her own people, her own mores, the settings of her own cities and fields. The Romantic and Realistic movements thus began almost simultaneously: those writers that gazed far afield for extraordinary subjects and who consecrated themselves to the glorification of exalted passion called themselves Romanticists; those that peered at their immediate surroundings for ordinary subjects and that consecrated themselves to the observation of commonplace feeling called themselves Realists. Both tendencies continued through the century.

Two of those that forged the transition between the old past and the new present were Mme de Stael and Chateaubriand. Germaine Necker de Stael* emphasized in her critical works, *On Germany* and *On* Literature, the relativity obtaining in matters literary, relativity to climate and to mores, to religion and to race. Her novels, *Delphine* and *Corinne,* displayed a new feminism, certain departures in fictional technique, and high artistic qualities. It was perhaps she, more than any other writer, that revealed to France the unknown and strange beauties of gloomy Germany and sunny Italy. Exoticism, but of the North American and Near Eastern varieties, was also part of the literary baggage of René de Chateaubriand.* Living later than Mme de Staël, he was able to see the full development of Romanticism, to whose first years he brought such works as *Atala, René,* and *The Genius of Christianity.* In these works we find a richness of imagination and style, a profundity of emotion, a sense of the historical and especially of the medieval, that woke many an echo in works of the succeeding generation.

In France, the first sign of the modern age was the rebirth of lyric poetry. The kinds of passion and the kind of spirit that go into the making of the lyric had for some time been brewing within the predecessors of the new movement: Rousseau and Chateaubriand knew them. Now they crystallized, found verse forms to suit them, took on the color and the cast of the individual that possessed them. From ca. 1820 to 1850, France experienced a harvest of excellent lyrics such as she had known only twice before in her history, in the days of Ronsard and Du Bellay and in

the days of the troubadours. These lyrics are more personal than those of the troubadours, perhaps more independent of outside sources than those of the Pléiade. At mid-century a more savage, impersonal note entered, but production continued unabated. Still another trend predominated in the last quarter of the century, but throughout there was excellent lyric poetry, and no generation was without its laureate.

Lamartine, Musset, Vigny, Hugo: these are the names that symbolize the first flight of poets that, ca. 1820, brought the revelation of intimate lyricism to their contemporaries. The very titles of Lamartine's* volumes—*Poetic Meditations, Poetic and Religious Harmonies*—describe their content. Their subject is frequently love (a sorrowful and disappointed love), their manner the "liquid lines mellifluously low" of which Byron spoke disdainfully. Lamartine made few of the innovations in prosodic form that were the boast of some of his contemporaries. What is new in his work is the subject matter, the very personal feelings towards nature and love and religion, and certain aspects of the treatment —the choice of images and descriptive detail, the occasional looseness of construction—which stand in marked contrast to the hard, concise verses of the preceding age. Alfred de Musset* was more of an experimenter, hence more varied and versatile in his production. In the early *Tales of Spain and Italy* the tone is ironic and humorous; the narrative moves swiftly against an exotic Mediterranean background. But it is in the famous *Nights*, written after Musset's unhappy affair with George Sand, that he attained his most characteristic expression. These are impassioned poems, rich in figure and phrase, highly lyrical and melodious in composition. In comparison, the poems of Alfred de Vigny* seem haughty and impersonal. For Vigny, little concerned with love, is much concerned with ideas; his poems are largely narrative episodes illustrative of an idea—the isolation of great genius in *Moses*, the magnificence of stoicism in *The Death of the Wolf*, the fickleness of woman in *The Wrath of Samson*. Each of these ideas is personified in vigorous symbol. The words and the prosody are wholly fitting to the dignity of the subjects, and there arises from his poems an impression of stateliness, of philosophical calm, an abiding sense of almost Biblical grandeur.

Victor Hugo* surpasses these men in versatility, in abundance, in richness, and in general stature. He lived longer, he wrote more. For over sixty years he devoted himself to literary production, and the largest and best part of that production is lyric poetry. From the first volume of *Odes and Poems* in 1822 to the last volume of *The Legend of the Centuries* in 1883 he published verse on all subjects, in all manners and tones—tender paternal love, scathing satire, epic visions, colorful narratives. He was at home in all, but most at home in those subjects where striking images could be called upon to emphasize dramatic conceptions. Hugo was at once the great experimentalist and the great prosodist of the group; he was largely responsible for the remaking of the traditional Alexandrine. The harmonic structure of some of his works is remarkable. These talents seem to have found their best combination in works in the epic vein; the resounding pieces in *The Legend of the Centuries* are his most magnificent creations.

The second generation of 19th c. poets is a generation rather in style and tendency than in date. Its major works begin to appear about the middle of the century, when the first group was still writing, but some of them bear much later dates. They are works marked by greater care and polish in technique, greater sobriety and restraint in the exhibition of personal feeling, and a broader scope of subjects. Poets belonging to this group were called Parnassians, after a volume of verse

published in 1866, *Le Parnasse contemporain*. Somewhat earlier, in 1852, had appeared another volume which exhibited many of the same tendencies, the *Emaux et Camées* of Théophile Gautier.* Gautier's earlier poems had been in the wildest Romantic manner; but in this collection he showed achievement of a different kind—carefully worked verses reminiscent of the jeweler's art, an attention to the pictorial not unlike the painter's, a suppression of self and of emotion that made of art an impersonal product existing for art's sake alone. It was to a similar set of ideals that the Parnassians devoted their pursuit of the perfect in poetry. None of their verses, perhaps, were more polished than the exquisite sonnets in the *Trophies* (1893) of José-Maria de Heredia (1842–1905). Unlike most fine sonnets, these do not dwell upon love, but take instead for their discourse great moments in human history; distill the quintessence of these moments into the briefest space; refine the distillation through every means of rhythm and harmony and metaphor. In the same way Leconte de Lisle's poems (*Poèmes antiques*, 1852; *Poèmes barbares*, 1862; *Poèmes tragiques*, 1884) are historical in inspiration. Ranging over wide intervals of time and space, they reduce philosophies and customs and religions to a kind of antique purity of form. The most arresting poet of the group—many, now, rank him above all poets in his century—was Charles Baudelaire.* There is a strange perversity in the poetry of Baudelaire, a penchant for the grotesque and the hideous and the shocking. There is an impression of horror and distaste. But these strange subjects are made into beautiful poems through the virtuosity of the poet, who knows always how to select the telling detail and the dramatic rhythm. So simple a sonnet as *Recueillement*, for example, comes to be a symbol of the desire for death and liberation from sorrow; the sad imagery takes on a deep philosophical meaning. So with many of his poems. *The Flowers of Evil* (1857) has had, for young poets since, a great fascination.

The same search for the symbolical, the same desire to pass from the frank and the tangible to the unsaid and the mysterious, characterizes the works of the last group of 19th c. poets. Just as Monet blanketed his cathedrals in a mist of irreality, as Debussy hid his melodies within a web of delicate harmony, so the poets of this late group bury their meaning in a tissue of images and symbols. Thus they are called the Symbolists. Obscurity becomes an accepted means, almost an end. All this is another step in the century's effort towards greater and greater individualization; feelings, ideas, moods become so private that the ordinary means of expression would falsify them, and recourse must be had to those subtler means which reveal the very content of the subconscious. Yet the most individual symbol is declared to represent universal impulsions. The credo of the Symbolists is caught in Mallarmé's desire to make every term "a plastic image, the expression of a thought, the stir of a feeling, and the symbol of a philosophy." Three poets represent the group: Verlaine, Mallarmé, and Rimbaud. In Verlaine* the thought (when there is any thought) is simplicity itself. But the means are already those of his successors: sensuous suggestion, vague metaphors, the gradual assimilation of poetry to pure music. At their best, Verlaine's poems are like charming songs. Mallarmé* makes the bold plunge into the world of the obscure. Nothing is said, everything is adumbrated. The problem of reading him is a problem of discovering meanings. But when they are ferreted out they are found to be fully developed, expressed in the right words and the most apt symbols, set to the best accompaniment of rhythm and tone. The famous *Afternoon of a Faun* (1876) is just such an example of perfect translation into symbol and sound. What is at first merely apprehended by the sensi-

tivity is then fully comprehended by the intellect, and the two witnesses complement each other wholly. Arthur Rimbaud* used a similar formula, but his solutions were in every respect more extreme. His obscurity was deeper, his cultivation of the abstruse more fanatic. It is for his sudden successes in imagery, for the instantaneous revelations of his barest thought, that young poets of the 20th c. have admired, even idolized him. They might also have imitated the sure sense of structure and the instinct for appropriate development that are the principal virtues of such a poem as *Le Bateau ivre,* (*Drunken Boat*).

In this modern age, the readers of lyric verse are relatively few, and they become fewer still as that verse moves towards more and more recondite forms. The great popular form is the novel. During the 19th c. novels began to appear serially in newspapers and magazines; thousands of copies were sold in railway stations; editions were pirated in Belgium and Holland. All of the fashions and tendencies of the period are reflected in its novels, which are in many instances the most representative expressions of those tendencies. Once again, the experimentation took place through the early years of the century; but ca. 1830 finished works in all modes were given to the public. In 1831, Victor Hugo* published his *Notre-Dame de Paris,* a book into which he poured all the exoticism, all the colorful detail, all the vivid contrast of which he was so fond in his verse. His other novels—*Toilers of the Sea* (1866), *Les Misérables* (1862), *'Ninety-Three* (1874)—follow a similar pattern: a vast and striking conception realized in a loose and arbitrary plot, with boldly drawn characters of no great subtlety, but with the magic of phrase and the richness of decoration that characterize all the works of the poet. During the same years Prosper Mérimée* cultivated two other types of prose fiction symptomatic of trends during the period, the historical novel (e.g. his *Chronique du règne de Charles IX,* 1829) and the short story or *nouvelle* (*Colomba* and *Carmen*). In both he showed some very special qualities: a sense of economy in marked contrast to the extravagance of Hugo, and a choice of picturesque detail not unlike that of the contemporary Realists. Another aspect of Romanticism in the novel, the free flow of exalted passion, was exhibited in the many and varied works of George Sand. In all of these writers there appear certain of the elements—interest in contemporary events and local color, concern with social problems, attention to exact detail—that remain typical of the genre in its main movement through the century.

For essentially the novel was a novel of contemporary life. In this form above all others, those that would look closely at their own times and contemporaries found the ideal artistic medium: a medium that admitted profusion of exact detail, abundant psychological analysis, depiction of the little ways and the little acts that make up life. Among the first to exploit the form in this manner was Henri Beyle, known to posterity as Stendhal.* His two famous novels, *Le Rouge et le Noir* (*The Red and the Black;* 1830) and *The Charterhouse of Parma* (1839) differ from each other in setting and manner, the first being more matter-of-fact in its characters and adventures, the second leaning towards greater picturesqueness and more violent passions. But in both the peculiar qualities of the author are dominant: the relentless search for the "true little fact," the painstaking delving into psychological motivation, the chastity of diction that gives the phrase a telling directness and the style an appearance of stylelessness. His heroes and heroines are distinct and sure creations, who move through the actions of his novels with an unwavering firmness.

At about the same time, but backed by a verve and vigor and copiousness that produced

a hundred novels in a score of years, appeared the first mature works of Honoré de Balzac.* From 1829 to 1850 *La Comédie humaine* occupied the life of its author and the excited attention of the public. It was a bold and original conception: a series of novels that would show all phases and milieux of French society; all professions and types; all the provinces as well as Paris; through which would move, from story to story as men in real life do from episode to episode, a host of familiar persons; the threads and adventures of which would be woven into so rich and complex a fabric that the final product would be as variegated and wonderful as life itself. Even so prodigious a creator as Balzac could not finish so gigantic a project. It remains incomplete. It is frequently imperfect. The style is often incorrect, or confused, or marred by inappropriate excrescences. At times there is disproportion; descriptions are too long, actions are too abrupt. But these detract only slightly from the total worth. Such novels as *Old Goriot* (1834), *Eugénie Grandet* (1833), *The Quest for the Absolute* (1834)—many others—are masterpieces. They display a striking sense of the drama to be found in the commonplace. Their plots unfold inevitably and excitingly, their characters are real and vivid, their descriptions convincing. From them springs that sense of life which their author had always in view, the achievement of which is a great artistic triumph.

What, in Balzac, is rough-hewn and impetuous becomes polished and studied in the writings of Flaubert.* Where the *Human Comedy* ended in 1850 *Madame Bovary* took up in 1857, and the tradition of the novel of contemporary life carried on. Flaubert wrote a number of novels and stories. Some of them, such as *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (1849) and *Salammbô* (1862), went far afield for their inspiration. Others, *Sentimental Education* (1869) and *A Simple Heart* (1877) as well as *Madame Bovary,* remained at home. The latter inspiration was apparently the more fruitful, for Flaubert's best work is in this manner. *Madame Bovary* is one of the most nearly perfect novels in any language. It is a simple story of how an ordinary woman passes from illusion through disillusionment to suicide. Its people are everyday people—an incompetent country doctor, his wife, a clerk, a pharmacist. Its episodes are commonplace—a wedding, an adulterous flirtation, a botched operation. Yet these humdrum elements are combined into a novel of great excitement and distinction. Flaubert knew the secrets of proportion and subordination, of movement and variety. The clear-cut plot dominates; the characterizations serve its ends, the descriptions are uniquely appropriate to it, the style is an echo of the sense. In all of his works, whatever their tone, Flaubert's style is masterful for its constant revelation of the right word, for its rhythm and harmony, for its crystalline clarity.

Two of Flaubert's friends and younger contemporaries, Alphonse Daudet and Guy de Maupassant, took him as their master. Both are today renowned mostly for their achievement in the field of the short story. Daudet* is at his best when he works in the southern French background and with the picturesque people of Provence. The short tales in *Letters from my Mill* (1869) have a grace, a sentimental charm, and a subtle irony that set them quite apart. And the broad laughter that accompanies the arch-braggart, Tartarin of Tarascon, through a whole series of novels springs from the same qualities, touched with a really delightful talent for exaggeration. Daudet's novels of serious contemporary observation, the best known of which is *Sapho* (1884), are on the whole less successful. Guy de Maupassant* wrote so many excellent short stories that one is apt to forget that he also wrote some fine novels. Such a work as *Fort comme la mort* (1889) displays a real firmness of plot and characterization and a

sure handling of situation. But the short stories showed like virtues reduced to their quintessence; hence they are more striking. No word is wasted, no obscurity of plot or description permitted. Especially, the diction is polished and refined until further improvement seems impossible; it parallels the care and subtlety of Flaubert, though without his color and imagination.

The last of the important novelists of the century, Emile Zola,* is marked by the zeal with which he applied himself to the minute depiction of contemporary life, and the discovery of a device for the welding of many novels into a single whole. He differed from his master, Balzac, in the choice of more sordid subject matter and more trivial detail, and in the use of a scientific principle, the persistence of inherited traits in a family, as the unifying device. These same traits, a scientific bias and a more extreme revelation of the unpleasant aspects of life, characterized the Naturalistic school, which grew up about Zola. In Zola's Rougon-Macquart series his aims are sociological and scientific rather than literary; the result is a pseudo-scientific and pseudo-sociological document rather than a genuine literary monument. His unifying principle is a hypothesis rather than a plot. In the individual novel, likewise, the plot is apt to be obscured by the milieu or the type selected for observation; the book becomes less a "story" than a "study," the people in it are not so much "characters" as "cases." To be sure, the work becomes animated as a result of the dramatic accumulation of detail and especially as a result of the vigorous prose. But except for the best novels—*Germinal* (1885), *The Débâcle* (1892)—its interest is primarily documentary.

These genres, the lyric poem and the novel, dominated the literary scene during the past century. The drama, although it precipitated much activity and excited much interest, failed to produce comparable works. While there were many good plays, there probably were no great ones. In the halcyon days of high passion and colorful adventure—the days of 1830—the drama of Dumas *père* and of Hugo was stirring and violent. Fatal heroes and willowy heroines moved in exotic settings, gay costumes were made to clothe tragic dénouements. Of these plays, Hugo's *Hernani* (1830) was probably the most famous and the most typical. Its first performance precipitated bitter strife in the world of the theatre. For, in keeping with the theories set down in his own preface to *Cromwell* (1827), Hugo had proceeded to discard the pseudo-Aristotelean unities of time and of place, he had taken daring liberties with the traditional Alexandrine, and he had introduced melodramatic actions onto the stage. From that time on, excitement rarely subsided in the 19th c. theatre. Throughout there was a background of unoriginal if "well-made" plays, from Scribe to Sardou; but against this background there were always interesting experiments. In the days of close contemporary observation—the generation of 1860—Augier and Dumas *fils* treated social problems and local types with techniques quite similar to those of Balzac in the novel. In the days, around 1890, when Zola was setting the style of brutal revelation of society's workings, the same style was exploited on the stage by such writers as Brieux and Becque. The drama of the last two groups was notable both for the success it achieved with the public of the time and for the many steps forward that it made in dramatic technique and the art of the theatre, steps that have been closely followed in the stagecraft of our own day.

That abundance which characterized literary work in the main genres welled into many other forms of writing. In the 19th c. literature became a profession with many practitioners and an innumerable clientèle. Literary criticism flourished in the press and

in volumes of essays—never so brilliantly, however, as in the work of Sainte-Beuve,* who created the fashion of the critico-biographical study, and achieved a high degree of excellence in it. Literary history grew to an art at the hands of men like Brunetière and Faguet. Philosophy progressed, entered the realm of literature in the polished writing of Comte and the poetic writing of Renan. History was dignified by the achievements of Taine* and Michelet. The notion that anything that is worth writng at all is worth writing well—a typically French idea—came to the fore, and has persisted.

The Twentieth Century

Our century has perhaps prided itself on nothing so much, in the arts, as its "modernity," on the boast that what it has produced is entirely new and entirely different. Yet what is new in contemporary French literature is closely allied to what was new fifty or a hundred years ago but is now tradition; springs from the humus of that tradition. What is new, significantly, continues in the directions that had lent newness to the works of 1820 and 1850—the focusing of attention upon the individual's individuality, the concern with contemporaneity, the search for techniques better adapted than the known ones to the revelation of unknown worlds. The experimentalists are few in number as compared with the traditionalists; but their work looms large and important because of its very difference. Whether it is that difference which, to the confused eye of the present, gives the appearance of greatness, or whether by coincidence the innovators are actually the giants in the earth, the foremost names in the history of 20th c. French literature are the names of the discoverers.

The century—so far, at least—belongs to the novel. Its coveted prizes have gone to the novel, its most bruited names have been those of novelists, its new departures have been in the field of narrative technique. Most of the novels have followed 19th c. patterns adapted to present tastes. So, for example, the works of Anatole France,* straddling the two centuries and belonging to both. Some of them (like *Thaïs,* 1890) have historical or legendary subjects, others (like *L'Orme du Mail,* 1897) exploit the current scene. In all of them France shows a mastery of wit, of a kind of sentimental reminiscence, of a whimsical irony and a pellucid style. It would be difficult to say which of his manners was the most successful. the charming memories of his childhood, related with such simple elegance (*Le Livre de mon ami,* 1885, and *Le Petit Pierre,* 1918); or the sculpturesque tales and legends of antiquity, told with such chiseled economy (*Thaïs*); or the biting and irreverent allegories (*Penguin Island,* 1908); or the telling revelations of contemporary life (*Histoire contemporaine,* 1897–1901). His works are a mosaic of whims and styles, each of them entertaining and delightful.

The tendency towards introspection that distinguishes the third, "modern" period in French literature reaches a kind of a culmination in Marcel Proust's* *A la recherche du temps perdu,* (*Remembrance of Things Past*; 1913–1927). Neither novel nor autobiography nor social study but a combination of all three, Proust's work has a unique form and content. It describes the society of his time, it gives a record of his own life, it tells stories of others' adventures; but all these it does through the medium of a rich reminiscence on the part of the narrator. The work, at first reading, seems like a random and disordered collection of memories; but further study discloses a sure and delicate artistic structure that keeps the colossal whole together. The multitudinous events recounted all coexist, all are superimposed in the author's mind, becoming simultaneous through the wizardry of the memory. This penetration of the past that makes it a part of the present is enhanced by the accumulation of an almost incredible amount of

detail. But this detail, unlike Balzac's, is not introduced for its pictorial value; instead, every jot of it has some emotional, often newly found, meaning. Proust developed a style and a syntax of his own, to provide him with an instrument proper to the subtle searching of the soul in which he was engaged. Many passages are of surpassing beauty.

André Gide's* best known book, *The Counterfeiters* (1926), raises an aesthetic question already relevant to Proust's work and to other products of the century: whether or not sexual irregularity is a proper subject for poetic composition. It is not a moral question, but one as to whether phenomena such as homosexuality are sufficiently within the realm of common human experience to permit of that rapport between the work and the universal audience upon which all artistic appreciation depends. But there the resemblance to Proust ends. Gide's method depends as much upon action and dialogue as Proust's upon description and analysis. His clear and distinct delineation of character is exclusively "direct": the person's actions, words, letters are presented as so many documents on his personality. Subtlety of depiction is achieved through the number of such actions, words, letters accumulated in a given case. In the same way, the plot of the novel is built—slowly, methodically, thoroughly—through the combination of such characters and the resultant episodes. The whole comes to be a semi-dramatic narrative of much vigor and clarity. Gide's manner is different in various works, from the unrestrained lyricism of *Les Nourritures terrestres* (1897) to the satirical levity of *Les Caves du Vatican* (1914). All are pervaded by a kind of common philosophy that is the expression of the man: the right of the individual to free action, whatever might be the social or religious or moral forces tending to restrict it; whatever, even, might be the logical or prudential considerations militating against it. This philosophy weaves its way through a long list of works: novels, political and literary essays, autobiographies, short stories. Common to them all, once more, is a style of extreme beauty, having a rhythm and a harmony as unobtrusive as they are elegant.

Among the special contributions of the 20th c. to fictional technique is the *roman-fleuve,* or cycle-novel. The ancestor of the genre was Romain Rolland's *Jean Christophe* (1904–12), using the stormy life of a German musician as a thread upon which to hang a great social panorama and much social criticism. Proust's work is another notable example. Georges Duhamel* wrote two such series, organizing the first about the life and aspirations of the "hero," Salavin, and the second, *The Pasquier Chronicles,* about the lives and tribulations of a whole family. Salavin's story is of a mediocre man, beset by the world's difficulties, striving to rise above his mediocrity, succeeding finally in doing so in a supreme gesture of self-sacrifice. Laurent Pasquier is the central figure in the chronicle of his family, the basic theme of which is the growth of the personages through work and study and experience but also through disappointment and bitter sorrow. Everywhere in his writing Duhamel is distinguished for the delicate apprehension of the little moods, emotions, events, minor crises that make up human existence. The most tenuous smells and colors come to life in his works as readily as do nascent feelings and evanescent thoughts. Out of these little things he builds the imposing structures that, it is gradually perceived, unify his cyclical novels.

After much experimentation in other forms, Jules Romains* also turned to the *roman-fleuve* in his *Men of Good Will.* This is the final expression of his theory of unanimism, which holds that groups of people, or collectivities, have souls that are born, grow, and die just as do those of individual men. Romains' cycle attempts to depict a whole so-

ciety; in so doing, it presents much that is unimportant, trivial, dull, alongside of some genuinely dramatic volumes.

To Roger Martin du Gard's cycle, *The Thibaults,* went the Nobel prize of 1937; once again, this is a family novel which, while it presents no innovations of method, gives a vividly fascinating narrative.

Twentieth century writers of verse, in a frenzy of experimentation, and witless of the aesthetic limitations of their means, have embraced all the new "isms" from symbolism through surrealism. The school of da-da, influencing the young writers after World War I, preached complete negation, even of sense. This became a reasoned platform in surrealism, which, holding that reason is a disguise over the true sense, sought to discard it in favor of the mechanical, the accidental: the complete caprice, and even the paranoiac state—leaving the "unconscious" free to speak with the inner voice of the artist. The works of most adherents of these schools have tended to be demonstrations of theories rather than true poetic creations; unfortunately, the theories have for the most part been untenable. As a result the poems, although they may be "new" or "curious" or "interesting" or even "significant," have failed to produce that aesthetic satisfaction which, for the sensitive reader, is the hallmark of good poetry. Doubtless, much has been added to the technique of the lyric; but how much has been added to its art remains a question. There have been some exceptions; the most important of them, Paul Valéry.* Philosophical notions constitute the major themes of his work. His technique is traditional: he sets up, at the beginning of his poem, those conflicting elements out of which the later development will spring; proceeds to develop them in the middle of the work; brings them to a resolution at the end. These things he does with great economy of expression, in a diction of exemplary clarity, and with a fine richness of imagery. If he is sometimes obscure, it is because the idea for which his symbol stands is not immediately discernible. But such poems as *La Jeune Parque* (1917) and *Le Cimetière marin* (1920), once fathomed, provide an abundant artistic satisfaction to the reader who is willing to match, in part at least, the patience and the penetration and the thoughtfulness of the author.

In the realm of the drama, much the same generalizations apply. Every phase of the theatre has been subjected to study, revision, innovation; acting, costuming, scenes, lights, incidental music have made, under this barrage of attention, notable progress—to such a degree that the stagecraft of today is no longer comparable to the stuffy procedures of the preceding century. For these triumphs a group of producers—Gaston Baty, Georges Dullin, Jacques Copeau, Jean Cocteau—has been largely responsible. Nor were the playwrights themselves bound by tradition. Various new techniques were applied to the drama: Jules Romains' unanimism, the Freudianism of Sarment and Lenormand, cinematographic methods, inverse psychological analysis, scientific themes. But if the question be asked, "How much of this new drama is also great drama?" there is a briefer story. Perhaps the most abundant achievement has been in the light comedy of contemporary manners and feathery persiflage, represented by such writers as Paul Géraldy, Flers and Caillevet, and Marcel Pagnol. In the serious drama, as in the cases of Henri Bernstein and François de Curel, the plays most vital on the stage are those whose authors have continued, rather than flaunted, the tradition of their 19th c. predecessors. Special cases of interesting developments in the drama abound: the dream-like fantasies of Maeterlinck, the melodramatic sentimentalism and the tricky versifying of Rostand, the exalted miracle plays of Claudel. All of these have added color and variety to the contemporary drama.

To nourish the modern spirit in literature with the new ideas and the new inspirations upon which it must feed, many theorists and philosophers have contributed to the current of thought on literary matters. The century has abounded in "poetic arts," in critical prefaces, in literary history and criticism. Upon these documents, necessarily, all the primary interests of the century have impinged: the scientific concern with relativity, psychoanalysis, physical and chemical theory; the preponderant role of the machine and of "Americanism," including the cinema; the modernist movement in the other arts; socialist and especially communist political thinking; the World War, with its disruptive impact upon ethics and religion, and the counter-surge of religious revival, as in the mystical poetry of Paul Claudel, the scholastic prose of Jacques Maritain. Several of these trends—or reactions against them—combine in a unique synthesis in the philosophy of Henri Bergson.* In essence, Bergson's thesis is that too much emphais has been placed, in thought and in action, upon the information and the motivation supplied by the intellect; a more adequate basis, for both the discovery of truth and the determination of a line of conduct, is to be found in intuition. The theory, with all its ramifications, is expounded in a group of volumes, the most readable of which is probably his *Creative Evolution* (1907). Bergson's rhetoric is brilliant, and the dry stuff of philosophical discourse attains, under his pen, the suspense and the fascination of a novel. His work has given much impetus to literary activity, has contributed notably to the youthful fervor that has informed much of the writing of our century.

There have been interruptions. Wars, revolutions, the despot's whim or the caprice of circumstance, have at times impeded the course of literature. But the interims have always been short-lived, temporary. From them, always, has emerged the old vigorous tradition, to follow its former directions or to take up some unexpected bearing. For the French genius is extremely resilient. It adapts itself to the most diverse conditions, produces the most divergent works. Out of new materials and expanded visions it makes fresh and original masterpieces. Yet these are always French, for their clarity of style, for their distinctness of form, for their special wit. Thus French literature is at once intimately related to the whole of the European tradition and still quite apart from it. French authors have taken much, in successive centuries, from Italy, from Spain, from England, from the United States; whatever they have taken has suffered a sea-change at their hands, has emerged French. To the same countries and to the rest of the Western world they have more than repaid their debt, in the coin of new ideas, new forms, new materials, new techniques. Their impress has been sure, their influence great though imponderable. Immeasurable, too—and herein lies the crux of literary achievement—is the pleasure that, for over nine centuries, innumerable lovers of good books have derived from the works of the French masters.

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BERNARD WEINBERG.

French Folklore

FRENCH fields and woods used to be inhabited by countless fairies, witches, magicians, werewolves, giants, monsters, and enchanted beasts, not to mention ghosts, goblins, and will-o'-the-wisps. In Brittany peasants spoke fearfully of the Ankou, or the Spirit of Death, whose function was to warn people of the approach of death, to transport the dead, or even at times to bring death. In many provinces, it was commonly believed that persons who had committed sacrilegious acts or neglected the sacraments for many years were condemned for all eternity to nightly flights through the air in pursuit of a prey which they could never capture.

It is natural that a country as rich as France in folk customs and traditions should have possessed until a few generations ago a great wealth of tales and songs. Like all other folk literatures, the oral literature of France was particularly rich in tales of magic. The great majority of these belonged to the common stock of Western European folklore, as can be readily seen from the following list of tale types which recur in French collections: *The Dragon Slayer; The Ogre's Heart in the Egg; Bluebeard; The Magic Flight; The Youth Who Wanted To Learn What Fear Is; The Children and the Ogre; The Boy Who Steals the Giant's Treasure; The Man in Search of his Lost Wife; The Search for the Lost Husband; Sleeping Beauty; Cinderella; The Boat Which Travels on Land and Water; The Princess on the Glass Mountain; The Sons In Search of a Wonderful Remedy For Their Father; The Magic Ring Recovered by Grateful Animals; The Table, the Ass, and the Stick; The Blind Boy Who Overhears the Secrets of the Animals and Recovers his Sight; Strong John and the Stupid Ogre; The Lazy Boy Who Wishes the Princess Pregnant; The Maiden Without Hands, Snow White; Demi-Coq; The Singing Bones.*

Religious tales describing miracles performed by God or the saints, and reflecting the paramount influence of Catholicism upon the folk culture of France, were also great favorites, particularly in Brittany. Christ, traveling on earth, usually with one or more of his apostles, rewards the person who has given them hospitality, granting him three wishes, of which he often makes a foolish or unwise use. . . . A hermit entertains doubts as to divine justice, whereupon God condemns him to wander as a beggar until flowers bloom on a dry branch. . . . A boy, at his birth, is promised to the devil, and later must travel to hell to fulfill the contract. Before the lad leaves on his trip a priest gives him a stole which has been blessed. When he reaches hell, he succeeds in throwing it around the neck of the devil, who is helpless against the miraculous virtue of the stole and promises to renounce his claim if the boy will remove the stole and set him free.

These tales, reflecting an unquestioning faith in the supernatural, should not make one forget, however, that the spirit of irreverence which pervades much of the literary production of France is also very marked in its folklore. French *conteurs* possessed a large stock of anecdotes in which members of the clergy, especially monks, are depicted as grasping, gluttonous, dissolute, and generally unworthy of their calling. Countless proverbs and popular sayings representing them in that light have come down to us. The old superstition that meeting a priest is a bad omen, against which one should protect himself by at once touching an iron object, is still widespread among the simple folk.

In addition to tales of magic and religious tales, the repertory of every *conteur* included romantic tales. A king will not allow his

daughter to marry any suitor unless he can force her to say, "That's a lie!" After many others have failed, a youth comes along, and tells the princess such an incredible story that she cannot refrain from accusing him of lying. . . . A man wagers that his wife will be faithful to him during his absence, but from tokens which a neighbor obtains from her by treachery he is led to believe upon his return that she has been untrue to him. He leaves her, and sets out traveling. Years later he meets her disguised as a man. After proving her innocence, she throws off her disguise, and they are reconciled. . . . A prodigal son achieves success through his cleverness and marries a princess. He then returns home wearing beggar's clothes and is ill-treated by his brothers until his wife arrives and reveals his identity.

Most of the tales of magic and the romantic tales once popular in France were taken over in the 17th and 18th c. to Eastern Canada, the Mississippi Valley, and the French West Indies, where many have survived to this day among the French-speaking population of those regions. A relatively small number of religious stories seem to have migrated to the New World.

Folk songs, for countless generations an integral part of French folk culture, are now almost entirely forgotten even in rural communities. France had, until the latter part of the 19th c., an abundant repertory of *complaintes,* love songs, satiric songs, and dance songs. The *complaintes,* narrative pieces dealing with tragic events of a secular or religious character, were among the earliest French folk music. A number of these songs were sung to the music of well-known liturgical hymns, such as *Vexilla Regis; Pange Lingua; O Filii.* The most popular as well as the most characteristic French *complaintes* were *Germine; Isabeau s'y promène* (*Isabeau is a-strolling,* a variant of *The Diver and the Gold Ring*); *Quand Jean Renaud revint de guerre* (*When Jean Renaud came back from the war*); *Trois jours j'ai fait la morte pour mon honneur garder* (*For three days I pretended to be dead in order to save my honor*); *Jésus-Christ et les deux Hôtesses; Notre Seigneur s'habille en pauvre* (*Our Lord is clad as a pauper*); *La Passion de Jésus-Christ; La Légende de Saint Nicolas.* French love songs treat the conventional subjects everywhere associated with such compositions, but often in a freer and more direct fashion than in English-speaking countries. The pastourelle is one of the oldest forms which this genre adopted. *N'y a rien de si charmant que la bergère aux champs* (*There is nothing so delightful as the shepherdess in the fields*) and *Là-haut sur ces montagnes j' entends soupirer* (*Yonder on the mountains I hear my love sighing*) were among the most popular French pastourelles. Satiric and narrative songs were once very numerous, and constituted perhaps the most spontaneous and most typical manifestation of the French national spirit. They very often reflected that special form of wit called *l'esprit gaulois.* The misunderstandings and the petty annoyances of married life and the gallant adventures of soldiers were ever-recurring themes in these songs. Husbands usually played the same ridiculous role in them as in the medieval fabliaux, of which these were, so to speak, a shorter and more refined form. The *chansons de maumariées,* or songs about women who failed to find in marriage the happiness they anticipated, included some of the first specimens of French lyric poetry.

Thousands of French folk songs were taken over to Canada and the Mississippi Valley during the 17th and 18th c. In the New World they escaped the influence of modern musical fashions which were so powerful in France, and thereby preserved according to critics, a greater purity of melodic style than in the country where they were first sung. A thorough understanding of the essential char-

acteristics of European French folk music in its heyday cannot be achieved without a careful study of French Canadian folk songs.

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FRISIAN

FRISIAN, which of all continental Germanic tongues is most like English, is generally divided into three language fields—North, East, and West Frisian. Since East Frisian (East Friesland, Germany) has virtually disappeared both as a literary and spoken language, and since North Frisian (Schleswig and the North Frisian Islands) has until now a comparatively small literary production, the term *Frisian literature* commonly designates what has been written in West Frisian, the language of the province of Friesland in the Netherlands.

As among other Germanic peoples, literature among the Frisians began with the songs of bards celebrating the great deeds of kings and heroes. Of those ancient alliterative epics, doubtless very similar to the old Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic poems, unfortunately none is extant. But that they existed in Frisian, at about the time of the 8th c., we know from several sources. Tantalizing remnants of Old Frisian saga-material have been preserved for us in such Anglo-Saxon poems as *Widsith, Beowulf,* and *The Fight at Finnsburg.*

Because feudalism found no fertile soil among the "free Frisians" and there was no rise of what may properly be called "cities," that type of medieval literature which is associated with chivalry, the court, and the merchant class, never flourished in Friesland. What did flourish in the medieval period, however, was Frisian law, and that in a form justly described as "more original and distinctive than that of any other West Germanic people." In Frisian law one hears the echoes of the lost epics. For these laws not only employ such literary devices as alliteration and parallelism, but often they are also genuinely poetic in thought and feeling. No doubt some of these laws, handed down from father to son, were meant to be declaimed, for which their poetic language and rhythm rendered them very suitable. The earliest documents of Frisian law date from the 11th c. Some of them, as the West Frisian *Skeltana Riucht (Law of the Magistrates),* were regional codes; others, like the 17 *Kesta (Statutes),* the 24 *Landriuchta (Articles of Common Law),* and the 7 *Urkera (General Statutes),* had a scope of jurisdiction that covered all Frisian territory, from the Zuider Zee to the Weser River. Old Frisian literature also has several rhymed chronicles, such as the *Book of Rudolf,* the *Privilege of Charlemagne, Gesta Fresonum,* and *Thet Freske Riim (Frisian Rhymed Chronicle).*

When about the year 1500 Friesland came under foreign control, Frisian lost its position as a language of law. With the loss of free-

dom there came a period of national passivity, and Frisian literature sank to a rather low level. At least, what has come down to us from the 16th c. is anything but remarkable. It consists of such things as a rhymed prophecy by a certain Tsjessens, some didactic verses of Reyner Bogerman (ca. 1475–1555), and a collection of proverbs, 1614, by Jurjen fan Burmania. There was a faint sign of new life in the work of Johan fan Hichtum (ca. 1560–1628), who in 1609 brought out his humorous wedding dialogue *Woutir and Tialle,* a genre that had just made its appearance in Germanic literature. This author seems also to have written the dialogue *Ansck and Houck,* 1639, a work that probably suggested the famous *Frisian Tjerne,* 1640, of Gysbert Japiks. Another author of this period was Jan Jans Starter (1594–1626), an Englishman who spent some years in Friesland. His *Frisian Paradise,* 1621, written largely in the Dutch language, contains a number of Frisian poems; these and his dialogue *Amusing Farce* take on significance only because of the general literary poverty of the period.

In the darkness of this literary night there suddenly rose the radiant star of Gysbert Japiks* (1603–66). His *Frisian Poetry,* 1668, which shows the influence of the Renaissance, gives him by common consent a place with the greatest Frisian poets. The book is divided into three parts: love poetry; dialogues; and poetical versions of the *Psalms.* Japiks' love verse is written with charm and naturalness; it is gay, easy, and musical. In his dialogues, vibrant with a dramatic element, one meets masterpieces of character portrayal. During his later life, when he wrote his *Psalms,* Japiks lost some of his earlier spontaneity and naturalness. Yet the *Psalms* testify to a genuine religious emotion, and in many of them the old poetic note is clear and strong.

The 18th c., in which the radiance of Reformation and Renaissance began to fade, marked a period of considerable decline. It introduced the name of Jan Althuysen (1715–63), who, together with his father Simen, in 1755 brought out his *Frisian Poetry.* The occasional poems, composing the first part of the book, are on the whole dull and boring; the *Psalms,* which make up the second part, are mere versifications, devoid of all great inspiration. Dirk Lenige (1722–98), much of whose work is still in manuscript form, like the Althuysens, showed himself to be an imitator of Gysbert Japiks. Besides much conventional pastoral poetry, he produced, however, some work of genuine inspiration and poetic insight.

During the 18th c., too, there appeared the first specimens of the folk drama, which became highly popular through the next century. There is, e.g., *Waatze Gribbert's Wedding,* 1701, a crude peasant comedy of Westphalian origin, of which the author is unknown. More meritorious is the work of Feike Hiddes van der Ploeg (1736–90), who wrote *The Farm, or Farm Life; The Thankful Farmer's Son; The Newly-Weds;* and *Maicke Jackeles' Journey.* These comedies, some of which are influenced by the sentimentalism of the German romantic school, are on the whole good representations of Frisian folk life, replete with racy peasant humor. Eelke Meinderts (1732–1810) in his *The Life of Aagtjen Ysbrants, or The Frisian Farmer's Wife,* 1779, produced a clever piece of narrative in dialogue form. Though weak in construction, its description of Frisian peasant life is masterly; its dialogue is fresh and sparkling.

A summons to new national and literary life came in the latter part of the 18th c. in the person of Everwinus Wassenbergh (1742–1826), professor at the University of Frjentsjer (Franeker). He made a study of Gysbert Japiks and gave lectures on this 17th c. master to his students. In 1802 and 1806 there appeared his two volumes of *Philological Contributions to the Frisian Tongue,* which as

pioneer work in the field of Frisian philology deserve attention and respect. Through his work developed what is usually known as the Wassenbergh school; Hoeufft, Epkema, and ten Broecke-Hoekstra began their study of Old Frisian; Epkema published a new (third) edition of Gysbert Japiks with a valuable glossary; Visser turned to Frisian history, and Behrns and Telting to modern philology.

Under the influence of this school was also Joast Hiddes Halbertsma* (1789–1869), philologist and writer, who by his *Tribute to Gysbert Japiks,* 2 *vols.,* 1824–27, and *Literary Gleanings,* 1840, did much to establish the fame of Japiks. With his brothers Eeltsje (1797–1858), a gifted poet, and Tsjalling (1792–1852) he published many works in both poetry and prose. The most popular of these was *The Scrapbasket of Gabe the Tailor,* 1822, an amusing and delightful "frame story" in the romantic tradition. The *Scrapbasket* and many other prose and poetic works of the brothers Halbertsma were published in 1871, as *Rhymes and Tales.* The volume became tremendously popular, a distinction which in many ways it deserved.

Less known, yet worthy of mention, is Rinse Posthumus (1790–1859). His volume of religious and secular verse called *A Bit of Frisian Verse,* 1824, shows the influence of Gysbert Japiks, whose greatness, however, Posthumus in no way approximates. The poetry in his *Frisian Variety-Basket,* 1836, is generally uninspired and baldly didactic. He was a great admirer of Shakespeare, of whom he translated *The Merchant of Venice, Julius Caesar, As You Like It,* and parts of *Hamlet* and *Henry VIII.* Though these translations are somewhat clumsy and suffer too greatly from a loss of original beauty, they deserve mention as devoted pioneer work in the field.

A romantic poet of more than usual merit was Jan Knjillis Piter Salverda (1783–1836), influenced, as so many others, by Gysbert Japiks. In his collection of verse *Hours of Twilight Leisure,* 1834, there is frequent effective and passionate poetic utterance. It is evident, however, that Salverda strives too consciously not only after the ornate and unusual, but also after that which is beyond his ability. Yet in much of his work, especially in his *Psalms,* there is a deep and touching note, and a genuine poetic quality. To the less important poets of this period belongs Rein Baukes Windsma (1801–62), author of *A Frisian Flower-Basket,* 1829; *A Frisian Garland,* 1833; and *Leaves From My Notebook,* 1847. He has a better understanding of his limitations than Salverda, and in his own simple and natural way at times accomplishes something of enduring merit. J. G. van Blom (1796–1871) in his *Flower-Basket, Presented to His Countrymen,* 1869, offers verse of no great excellence, though occasionally a very charming folk song.

The literary production of Tiede Roelofs Dykstra (1820–62), which is small, can receive only passing mention. That of his lifelong friend Harmen Sytstra* (1817–62), with whom in 1844 he organized the Society for Frisian Language and Literature, deserves consideration. For many years Sytstra was editor of the literary periodical *Iduna,* in which most of his writings, still uncollected, may be found. It is the work of an heroic and patriotic soul with a devoted reverence for Friesland's epic past, and it represents the romanticism of this period at its best. Sytstra's first collection of miscellaneous material, *Ten Thousand from the Lottery,* 1841, though reminiscent of the Halbertsmas' *Scrapbasket,* contains much that is original and worthwhile. His *Marriage of the Inkeeper's Daughter,* 1842, a comedy in Alexandrines, is very readable. A volume of his poetry, edited by his son O. H. Sytstra, appeared in 1894 under the title *Selected Poems of H. S. Sytstra.* This contains verse of epic and manly quality, not without a social note, and occasionally with a satirical and didactic touch.

Gerben Colmjon (1828–84), whose work is scattered in many periodicals, wrote simple and unaffected verse, impressive because of its sincerity, though a bit monotonous. He translated from Shakespeare, Heine, Lessing, and Jean Paul, and also produced some well-written stories of an historical nature. Until 1884 he edited the *Frisian Dictionary,* for which J. H. Halbertsma had laid the groundwork in his *Lexicon Frisicum.* In his *Short Frisian Grammar for the Present Day,* 1863, he constructed the basis for modern Frisian orthography. Hjerre Gerrits van der Veen (1816–87) wrote songs, stories, occasional poems, and folklore. He is often called the master of the Frisian epigram. One of the first to work on a modern translation of the *Bible* was Gerben Postma (1847–1925). With P. de Clercq he translated the Gospels and many *Psalms.* Among the poetry and prose of his *From My Notebook,* 1888, and *Violets,* 1891, one finds work of unequal quality; the best of it shows that the author has richness and power of expression as well as individuality of style. The collection *Olive and Oak Leaves* contains some rich and sonorous poetry, born of genuine inspiration.

Romanticism was followed, in the second half of the 19th c., by the period commonly known as that of the *folksskriuwers* or "popular writers." Living in a rationalistic age and writing for a people whose language at the time was untaught in the schools, these authors showed little taste for individualistic art, but strove above all to reach the people and to produce something readable, understandable, and educational. The foremost figure in this school was Waling Dykstra* (1821–1914). He was a prolific writer, who, besides prose and verse, produced many plays. His writings are generally in a humorous and didactic vein, and many of them attack the foibles and vices of the people. Such collections as *Doaitse with the Nordic Harp,* 1848, and *The Rustic Minstrel,* 1867, offer creditable folk poetry. Some of his longer stories such as *The Silver Rattle,* 1856, and *The Frisian Tyl Eulenspiegel,* 1860, deserve their popularity, being written with keen observation, in lively style, and in purest Frisian. Dykstra made a rich collection of Frisian folklore in a book in the Dutch language, 1895, and also did excellent work as editor of the *Frisian Dictionary,* 1885–1911. From 1897 to 1914 he was editor of the weekly *Sljucht en Rjucht* (*Plain and Straight*), which he founded.

A somewhat more profound and talented figure in the school was Tsjibbe Gearts van der Meulen (1824–1906). He often accomplishes something enduring in his poetry of love and friendship, in his elegies and idylls. In his engaging prose he is a good representative of 19th c. humor. Most of his writings appear in the volume *Old and New,* published after his death. Van der Meulen also produced several comedies, of which *Murk of Ipekolsgea,* 1884, and *The Trip to the Quack Doctors,* 1898, have proved most popular. Auke Boonemmer (1823–94) is the author of some entertaining stories, in which he exhibits a masterly use of the vernacular. His works, among which are *The Evening Prattlers,* 1855, and *The Town On the Railroad,* 1876, are characterized by vivacious dialogue and touching humor. The prose sketches of Sake Knjillis Feitsma (1850–1918), called *From the Mire of Society,* 1893–1906, are written in excellent Frisian. They reflect both the influence of naturalism and that of the author's own tragic existence. Some of the best fairy tales in Frisian are found in his volume *Once Upon a Time,* 1893, and in the *Grand-Uncle's Tales,* not yet assembled. C. Wielsma (1845–1922) deserves mention as a writer of charming children's verse and excellent epigrams. Among the *folksskriuwers* who struck a social note are Oebele Stellingwerf, Jentsje Sytema, and J. S. van der Steegh. To the writers of his-

torical narratives belong Douwe Hansma, Japik Asman, and P. Bleeksma. There were two figures in this period that stood somewhat apart from the popular writers, whom they transcended. They were Wynsen Faber (1830–1918), epigrammist and writer of rhythmic, musical verse; and L. C. Murray Bakker (1822–1911), who enriched Frisian literature with some sprightly and graceful poetry, and translated the first part of Goethe's *Faust.*

There was a revival of romanticism after the period of the popular writers. The greatest figure in this revival was Piter Jelles Troelstra* (1860–1930), who gained international recognition in the Socialist Movement. As founder and editor of *For House and Home* he introduced a fresh note in Frisian periodical literature. His volume *Harvest,* 1909, containing verse of great sincerity, originality, and lyric beauty, belongs to the Frisian classics. One of the best contributors to *For House and Home* was Sikke Sibes Koldyk (1861–1927), who collected his verse in an excellent little volume called *For the Frisian Heart,* 1893. Others whose poetic work deserves mention are Jan Ritskes Kloosterman, Lútzen Wagenaar, and T. E. Halbertsma.

Folk drama as produced by Waling Dykstra, Tsjibbe Gearts van der Meulen, Tsjeard Velstra, and D. H. Zylstra was gradually supplanted, after the turn of the century, by the superior work of three new playwrights. Yme Schuitmaker (b. 1877), author of such productions as *Snow Drop; On Angry Waves; Free; Illusion,* presents social problems with feeling and power, though his plays suffer somewhat from weak characterization and overaction. I. Kaastra-Bakker (1866–1923) also deals with social problems sympathetically and seriously, though with evident propagandistic purpose. The greatest talent was revealed by R. W. Canne (1870–1931), who portrays men's inner struggles and reaches a greater psychological depth than Schuitmaker. His *Once Upon a Time,* 1916, is dramatic art of the best kind. Among his other plays are *The Struggle of Life; In Billowy Depths; Of Troubled Life; The Ninth Commandment.*

The 20th c. brought new names and new voices to Frisian literature. The new spirit was perhaps not yet so evident in the work of O. H. Sytstra (b. 1858), author of *A Frisian Miscellany,* 1902, and *A Bit of Everything,* 1906. But it appeared more clearly in the simple and pensive verse of J. B. Schepers' *New Frisian Poems,* 1907, in which there was a strong original and individualistic note. Jan Jelles Hof (b. 1872), most of whose work is written under the name Jan fan 'e Gaestmar, produced his *Spring of Melody* in 1906. As a whole, the work in this volume is rhetorical and uninspired, though occasionally there is evidence of a genuine poetic spark. The prose of his *Omstikken en Sydstikken (Selections, Large and Small),* 1907, on the other hand, is rich and vigorous, and indictates a fine command of Frisian idiom. Hof's most valuable contribution is *Forty Years of Language Struggle,* 1940–42, a four-volume work of autobiographical nature, which at the same time presents an excellent picture of the Frisian Movement from 1900 to 1940.

An outstanding figure in fiction at the beginning of the century was Simke Kloosterman* (1876–1938). Her short stories, somewhat in the romantic tradition, are collected in the volumes *Ruth,* 1910, and *Ut de Gielgoerde (From My Treasure House),* 1936, and testify to great talent in characterization and nature description. Her first novel, *The Hoaras of Hastings,* appeared in 1921 and belongs to the best in Frisian literature. In 1927 came her long historical novel *Jubilee Year,* which lacks the naturalness and power of *The Hoaras,* but again brings out her strength in delineation and lyric description. Besides a shorter work of historical fiction en-

titled *Hengist and Horsa,* 1933, she has written some excellent fairy tales, collected in the volume *Twilight Tales,* 1928. Her lyric poetry is found in *The Wild Bird,* 1932. Outstanding in the field of fiction is also Reinder Brolsma* (b. 1882), a writer of rather large output. Among his best novels are *The High Homestead,* 1926, *The Old Lands,* 1938, and *Land and People,* 1940. Though Brolsma's fiction lacks psychological depth and dramatic suspense, it is excellent in humorous characterization, dialogue, and descriptive detail. Throughout his works there runs a somewhat philosophical and peculiarly Frisian type of humor. Meritorious, though not distinguished, is also the prose fiction of B. R. S. Pollema (b. 1883), who in his *Joy and Sorrow,* 1935, strikes a somewhat realistic note.

A first-rate poet at the beginning of the century is Obbe Postma (b. 1868). Though his verse is often technically weak, it has undisputed charm and power. Postma was the first to use free verse in Frisian, and to use it well. His poetry is collected in the volumes *Frisian Land and Frisian Life,* 1918, *The Bright Earth,* 1929, and *Days,* 1937. In 1933 he brought out a volume of poems translated from the German poet Rilke.

When in 1908 the Christian Society for Frisian Language and Literature was organized, there came to the fore several writers of a positive Christian conviction. A. M. Wybenga (b. 1881) gave Friesland the first modern church *Psalter* in 1923, and he collected some of his better, though sentimental, lyrics in *The Pathway of Life,* 1936. Particularly prominent in the circles of the Christian society was Dr. G. A. Wumkes* (b. 1869), the first to reintroduce Frisian preaching in the modern era. Friesland owes to him the first complete translation of the *Bible,* 1943, and also several standard works on the history of Frisian culture, such as *Toilers in the Frisian Field,* 1926, and *Pathways of Friesland,* 3 vols., 1932–42. His *Days and Years* is a notable autobiography.

In 1915 there arose the Young Frisian Movement, a national awakening that brought with it a literary renaissance. Its leader, the young and daring nationalist Douwe Kalma* (b. 1896), was at the same time a poet of exceptional talent and a literary critic of genuine importance. Though he wrote appreciatively of some of the newer authors, such as Brolsma and Kloosterman, he denounced (in a way reminiscent of the Dutch *Tachtigers*) the mediocrity and provincialism of the *folksskriuwers.* Since the Young Frisian Movement, Frisian literature has not only been more productive, but also more aesthetic and universal in its expression. It may be said that since 1915 Friesland has begun to have an independent voice in world culture.

The literary output of Douwe Kalma is both varied and voluminous. His verse has been collected in the volumes *Daybreak,* 1927, and *Songs,* 1936. It is written with great technical skill and beauty of form, but the content is often unsubstantial and vague. Kalma has written a good deal of dramatic work in verse. Among his best plays are *Northern Lights,* 1920, and *King Aldgillis,* 1920. The latter, an historical dràma of epic grandeur, has already become a classic. His *Gysbert Japiks,* 1938; is a distinguished study of this 17th c. master, written in a brilliant style. The *History of Friesland,* 1935, first modern history of Friesland in the Frisian language, has great virtues, both stylistically and historically. Kalma has a natural turn for translation. Many of his translations of Shelley, Shakespeare, and Molière are masterpieces.

An early member of the Young Frisian group was E. B. Folkertsma* (b. 1893), who has developed into Friesland's most distinguished essayist. His prose, partly collected in *Church and Steeple,* 1934, is leisurely and at times discursive, but has genuine formal and

spiritual majesty. A very promising writer of fiction of this school was Marten Baersma (1890–1918), whose work is assembled in *The Bright Horizon,* 1925. Several good poets had their start in the Young Frisian circle, such as Rinke Tolman, P. van der Burg, and R. P. Sybesma, writer of some exquisite sonnets. Their work is well represented in the Young Frisian anthology *The New Morn,* 1922. The most read, and in some ways the best, is Fedde Schurer* (b. 1898), who, though he accepted many of the aesthetic standards of the Young Frisians, never developed their extreme individualism. Much of the poetry in his volumes: *Verse,* 1925, *On Wings of Song,* 1930, *With Every Wind,* 1936, and *Voices From Two Shores,* 1940, can truthfully be counted with Friesland's lasting national art.

The task of selecting from among the many writers of the new generation is a bit hazardous. One who seems assured of a permanent place in Frisian literature is Nyckle J. Haisma, whose novels *The Path Across the Homestead,* 1937, and *The Path Back Home,* 1940, are written in a brisk and attractive style, and show fine psychological insight and dramatic power. His career was cut short by the Japanese, in the East Indies, in 1943. Ulbe van Houten, who among other things has written the deservedly popular novel *The Sin of Haitse Holwerda,* 1938, writes in a much more leisurely style, and excels in characterization and subtle humor. Among the most promising of the younger poets are D. A. Tamminga, J. H. Brouwer, J. H. de Jong, and J. Piebenga. The last deserves mention also as the author of *Short History of Frisian Literature,* 1939, the first systematic and complete work in the field.

East and North Frisian. East Frisian literature is practically limited to old law codes (13th and 14th c.), of which it has a considerable and valuable body. Toward the end of the medieval period, the language of East Friesland began to be supplanted by *Plattdeutsch* or Low German, and what is now often called East Frisian is actually a Low German dialect. East Frisian has survived only in a few towns of Saterland in Oldenburg. Modern East Frisian literature may therefore be called non-existent. All we have is a marriage-song composed in 1632 by Imel Agema; a small anthology, *Memoriale Linguae Frisicae,* collected by Johann Cadovius-Müller (1650–1725); and a few, more recent, poems in the speech of Saterland.

Comparatively speaking, the body of North Frisian literature is considerably larger, and not without growth and promise. This branch of Frisian literature, however, would flourish considerably better if the diversity of dialects in a small area did not stand in the way of a standardized written language, and if the local patriotism were more in the Frisian than in the German direction. The oldest specimens of North Frisian date back to 1600. The literature produced since then can be divided into two groups, according to dialects—that of the islands (Sylt, Fohr, Amrum, Helgoland), and of the mainland (northwest corner of Schleswig).

Among the authors on the island of Sylt are Jap P. Hansen (1767–1855), the first important North Frisian poet, whose delightful comedy *Di Gidtshals (The Miser),* 1809, deserves special attention; and his son Christian P. Hansen (1803–79), who distinguished himself as a collector of North Frisian saga material and also produced some meritorious verse. Others are Erich Johannsen (1862–1938), lyric poet and author of several good comedies, though as playwright not the equal of J. P. Hansen; Nann and Jens Mungard, and Hermann Schmidt, who have attracted attention largely as writers of poetry. Among the men of letters on the islands of Föhr and Amrum is Lorenz Conrad Peters, author of the lively play *Ohmi Petji ütj Amerika (Uncle Peter from America),* 1923, and editor of

the *Ferreng-ömreng Lesbuck* (*Föhr-Amrum Reader*), 1925. The literature of Helgoland is well represented in the anthology *Van Boppen en Bedeelen* (*From Highland and Lowland*), 1937, edited by Friedrich Panse and the Helgoländer Heimgruppe.

On the mainland of North Friesland there have come to the fore Moritz Momme Nissen (1822–1902), with a valuable collection of poetry and prose in *Di Freske Sjemstin* (*The Frisian Mirror*), 1868; Katherine Ingwersen, writer of some good poetry and Christmas plays; and Albrecht Johannsen, whose pleasing collection of verse *Üt min Schatull* (*From My Treasure Chest*), 1928, has become well known. Notable is also the nationalist Marten Lorenzen, writer of short stories and poems, and translator of the *Gospel According to John*.

C. Borchling, *Poesie und Humor im friesischen Recht* (Aurich), 1908; C. Borchling and R. Muuss, *Die Friesen* (Breslau), 1931; Sydney Fairbanks, *The Old West Frisian Skeltana Riucht* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1939; F. Buitenrust Hettema, *Bloemlezing uit oud-, middel- en nieuwfriesche Geschriften* (Leiden), 1887; W. T. Hewett, *The Frisian Language and Literature* (Ithaca), 1879, D. Kalma, *Gysbert Japiks, in stúdzje yn dichterskip* (Dokkum), 1938; *De Fryske Skriftekennisse* (3 vol., Dokkum), 1928–39; L. C. Peters (ed.), *Nordfriesland* (Husum), 1929; J. Piebenga, *Koarte Skiednis fen de Fryske Skriftekennisse* (Dokkum), 1939; Theodor Siebs, "Geschichte der friesischen Litteratur" in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, vol. III (Strassburg), 1909; G. A. Wumkes, *Bodders yn de Fryske Striid* (Boalsert), 1926; *Paden fen Fryslân* (3 vol., Boalsert), 1932–42.

BERNARD J. FRIDSMA.

GABOON—*See* African.

GAGU—*See* African.

GAELIC—*See* Breton; Cornish; Irish; Welsh.

GALICIAN

VULGAR LATIN, brought to the Iberian Peninsula by Roman soldiers and colonists, was assimilated under various influences and transformed into several Hispanic tongues. One of these, that which is spoken in the northwestern corner of the peninsula, is known as Galician. In its formative period Galician was confined to the region north of the Miño River, but as the Christian reconquest of Moslem territory progressed toward the South, the language spread in that direction. Then, because of the political secession of the County of Portucale and its ultimate development into an independent nation, this language eventually developed into two linguistic varieties, known today as Galician and Portuguese. Nevertheless, the two languages, with slight differences, remained a single unit, known as Galician-Portuguese, until well into the 14th c. At that time Portugal began to affirm itself as a world power, while Galicia had become a province engulfed by the Kingdom of León and politically incorporated into the Castilian hegemony. Consequently the Portuguese language, once its cultural independence was asserted, followed a progressive literary evolution commensurate with its rise as a nation, while Galician almost disappeared as a literary language and had to wait for its revival until the Romantic movement.

Galician-Portuguese, until the Renaissance, was the literary language of lyric poetry, not

only in western Iberia but also in the portions of the peninsula that spoke Castilian. Galicia exercised a cultural hegemony from the late 11th to the 13th c., when it bade fair to assume a dominant role among the Iberian kingdoms. The leadership assumed by Castile prevented the fulfillment of these portents. At the beginning of the 9th c. the language had already been formed; by the 12th c. it had become highly flexible, more capable than its sister languages of literary expression.

The Galician-Portuguese temperament is predominantly lyrical, and it manifests itself principally in this vein in medieval literature. It draws its strength from two currents, one popular and folkloric, the other aristocratic. The former stems from songs, dances, whose ultimate source is traced to Celtic or pre-Roman times, while the latter flowed from Provence with the troubadours and pilgrims that came to Galicia to visit the famous religious shrine of Santiago de Compostela, with Rome and Jerusalem one of the three holy cities of the Occident and a great cultural center in the Middle Ages. The marriage of Princesses Urraca of Galicia and Teresa of Portucale, (1089) with two Burgundian knights accentuated this Provençal influence. From this time there appears a great poetic current to which aristocrats (trobadores), commoners (segréis), and minstrels (jográis) —Galicians, Portuguese, Castilian—all contributed. The poetry of this movement remained unknown until the end of the 19th c. when scholars exhumed from dusty archives the codices in which the material was contained. The *Cancioneiro (Song Book) da Vaticana* (ms. 13th or 14th c.; pub. 1875), *Cancioneiro de Colocci-Brancutti* (ms. 15th c.; pub. 1880) and the *Cancioneiro de Ajuda* (ms. 13th or 14th c.; pub. 1904) revealed a treasure-house of fascinating poems "to which other literatures offer no parallel" (Bell) and corroborated the assertion of the Marquis of Santillana (1398–1458), who had written that up to his time it had been the habit of poets in all parts of Spain to compose in Galician.

Along with the influence of Provençal poetry manifested in the *cantigas de amor* (love-songs), we find in these collections the autochthonous personality of the *cantigas de amigo* (songs of the love-lorn girl) and of *maldizer* (satire), the *bailadas* (dance-songs), *barcarolas* (boat-songs) and *marinhas* (sea-songs). In the 13th c. King Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84), founder of Castilian prose, wrote his *Songs to the Virgin* (pub. 1889) in Galician. The influence of this poetry seems to have been felt even in the Arabic verse of southern Spain. The oldest extant poem, written by Pai Soares de Taveirós, dates from 1189. The lives of most of these poets are obscure; some are known merely by name, but others were renowned men in medieval church or court life. This poetic movement, which "lovers of poetry can as ill afford to ignore as the poems of Chaucer" (Bell), retained its vitality until the beginning of the Renaissance. In the *Cancionero de Baena* (1445) we still find an echo of the poets that used Galician as a means of lyrical expression, and its last traces are found in the *Cancioneiro Geral (General)* or *de Resende* (1516). With the ascendancy of Castile, Galicia lost its political entity and with this, its cultural expression. From the mid 13th through the 14th c. prose works of a predominantly historical nature and translations of medieval European romantic cycles were written. Of these *Crónica Troyana* (ms. 14th c.; pub. 1900) is the oldest extant work of Galician literary prose. From the 15th c. the language went into almost total eclipse as a literary medium; by the end of the 16th it was used only in legal documents. From then on, with the exception of an occasional writer such as Friar Martin Sarmiento (1695–1771), who wrote poems in the local vernacular, literature in Galicia adopted the language of Castile—until the Napoleonic invasion (1808)

reawakened a regional self-consciousness. Then a cultural revival similar to that which, under the influence of Romanticism, occurred later in the century with other dormant literatures such as Provençal, Catalan, and Irish, began to take shape. Accompanying this revival, we find, in a political movement directed toward a reaffirmation of dormant regional characteristics, the harbinger of the modern Galician nationalist movement. In 1861 were instituted the first *Xogos Froraes* (poetry competitions), in which numerous poets whose work is collected in the *Album de la Caridad* (*Charity,* 1862) participated. The publication at this time of many grammars and dictionaries gave impetus to the reconstruction of the literary language, and served particularly to unify spelling and standardize grammatical usage. Concurrently appeared many works of an historical, dramatic, folkloric, ethnological, and philological character, as well as many periodicals, some bilingual, some written completely in Galician. Societies were organized to foster the growth of Galician culture.

All this activity was permeated with a more and more consciously expressed desire for political autonomy. During this period there developed the generation of writers known as the *precursores* (forerunners). As in the past, these writers were predominantly lyrical. The most important figure of the time is Rosalia de Castro (1837–85), considered one of the most outstanding poets of the Iberian peninsula. Her *Cantares Galegos* (1873) in their musical verse and metrical innovations revealed a clearly defined, though quite unconscious, link with the medieval poetical tradition; the intensely subjective *Follas Novas* (*Green Leaves,* 1880) affirmed her poetic stature. Along with her at the head of the new poetry stands Eduardo Pondal (1835–1917) who in *Queixumes dos Pinos* (*Murmurs of the Pine-trees,* 1886) sings of the Celtic past with an Ossianic feeling both epic and melancholy. By their side is Manuel Curros Enriquez (1851–1908), a younger poet, whose verses are exalted by an intense patriotic and revolutionary feeling coupled with strong liberal sentiments, expressed in a rich and flexible form. *Aires da miña terra* (*Winds of my Native Land,* 1880) has been hailed as his outstanding work. Close to the joys and sufferings of peasant life was the blind poet and prose-writer Valentin Lamas Carvajal (1854–1906), whose most characteristic work is *Espiñas, follas e frores* (*Thorns, Leaves, and Flowers,* 1871).

From this generation of precursors developed a multitude of writers to strengthen the impulse of Galician literature. In 1906 the Galician Academy was founded; it has proved to be an important pillar in the reconstruction of national culture. From the close of the 19th c. to World War I, Galician letters offer a wealth of poetry, prose, and drama. Especially outstanding are the works of two poets: António Noriega Varela, who sings mystically of the highlands, and the brilliant Ramón Cabanillas, who finds his inspiration in the haunting rhythms of the sea and in the sufferings of his fatherland.

During the pre-war period Galician drama made long strides in disengaging itself from folkloric ruralism, to concern itself with historical and social themes. From an occasional short story of peasant life, fictional prose produced many full-fledged novels of universal import. Manuel Lugris Freire, novelist and dramatist, is mainly responsible for the development of the Galician theatre. Contemporary with him is the poet and prose writer Aurelio Ribalta, who in his *Libro de Konsagración* sponsored a bizarre phonetic orthography.

After World War I Galician nationalistic expression continued to accelerate. Alfonso R. Castelao, a cartoonist and illustrator of great talent, and the spiritual leader of the cause of home-rule, produced several outstanding novels. Xosé Lesta Meis is another outstand-

ing novelist. In the legion of young poets who then made their appearance, Luis Amado Carballo, before his untimely death, produced intimately subjective poetry, in daring rhythms. Others, such as Manuel António, poet of the seas, Denys Fernandes, Augusto M. Casas, Evaristo Correa Calderón, Alvaro de las Casas, and Fermín Bouza Brey, after passing through futurism and all the other post-war "isms," sought the formula of Galician poetry in a blending of extreme formal modernity and the medieval tradition of the *Cancioneiros*. Euxenio Montes opened the way for the modern aesthetical essay. The drama shows the influence of modern European schools, as in the work of Rafael Dieste. Scholarship took long strides with the foundation—supported by Galician immigrants in Latin American countries—of the Seminar of Galician Studies in Santiago de Compostela. Ramón Otero Pedrayo reconstructed the participation of Galicia in the Spanish civil strifes of the 19th c. and also wrote on Galician geography. In recent times the contribution to letters from immigrants to Spanish America has grown notably. The delicate poet Eduardo Blanco Amor is perhaps foremost among the transatlantic writers.

In 1936, with the long nurtured desires for autonomous government about to be fulfilled, bright vistas in Galician literature seemed imminent; but unfortunately the Civil War and its aftermath of oppressive centralism and bloody repression of Galician cultural life caused a dramatic, though probably temporary, cessation of this brilliant development.

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ERNESTO G. DA CAL.

GASCON—*See* Provençal.

GÊ—*See* South American Indian.

GE 'EZ—*See* Ethiopic.

GEORGIAN

THE ancient kingdom of Georgia or Gruzia or Karthli included far more territory than the modern Georgian Soviet Republic. Throughout its early history, it was in constant conflict with Armenia and was always menaced by Iran in its various transformations. After a period of brilliancy in the 12th c. it was subjected to the attacks of the Mongols, but was able to preserve its Christian character. In self-defense, during the 16th c. it gravitated into the orbit of the Tsar of Russia, but it retained its nominal independence until the early part of the 19th c., when the last king bequeathed his land to Russia. Then followed a period of Russification, interrupted by the short lived recovery of independence

at the end of the first World War; but when foreign support and assistance were withdrawn, the Soviets were able to occupy the country and bring it into the orb of the Soviet Union.

The Georgian alphabet was based on that of Pahlavi and was developed in the 3d c. B.C. There was a flourishing literature at this time, now entirely lost, although there may be certain materials preserved in the old chronicles. Later, with the introduction of Christianity by St. Nino of Cappadocia during the reign of King Mirian in 425, the alphabet was again revised and took its present form. At this period the Church was under the Patriarch of Antioch; Syrian influence was very strong. The *Bible* was apparently translated; the *New Testament* and parts of the *Old* have been preserved. There were also lives of the saints as that of St. Evstafy of Mtsket from the 6th c.; in the 8th c. the *Treasury* of St. Cyril was translated.

As Byzantine influence grew stronger, after the 8th c., Georgian literature broadened and expanded, but the center of the writing tended toward Pontic Iberia and to the Georgian monasteries outside the country, as the one in Jerusalem. There developed a school of hymn writers, as Ioan Zosima (d. 978) and Ioan Minchkhi, some of whose works were included in the large collection of Mikhail Modrikili from the end of the 10th c.

The new group of theological writers were largely trained on Mount Athos. The first of these was Euthymnios of Athos (Ekhvthime Mthatsmindeli), the son of a distinguished noble. He retired as Hegumen of Iviron in 1012, dying in Georgia in 1025. He made another translation of the *Gospels* and translated or rather adapted some 36 works of the Church Fathers as St. John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzen, Maximos the Confessor. His work was carried on by George of Athos, born in 1009, Hegumen of Iviron until 1046, when he too returned home but later started again for Athos and died at Athens. Like his predecessor, he worked on a translation of the *Gospels* and translated, more literally, writings of St. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodore the Studit and others. Ephraim Mtsire, the Minor, 1027–1100, introduced scholia into Georgian works; he also wrote a memoir on St. Symeon the Logothete and on the reasons for the conversion of Iberia to Christianity. His pupil Arsenios of Iqaltho (Iqualthoeli; 11th–12th c.) also translated the chronicle of Georgios Monachos and the *Grand Nomocanon*. Ioan Petritzi, who had been educated at Constantinople under Michail Psellos and died in 1125, wrote hymns and translated many of the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers. The same period also saw translations of some of the outstanding works of Arab and Persian learning.

This flowering of theological literature coincided with the restoration of national independence under David the Restorer (1089–1125). Until this time there was almost no secular literature and nothing that can be regarded as lyric in character. Yet we hear of hymns of penitence written by David. Secular literature developed rapidly, especially during the reigns of George III and the great queen Tamara or Thamer (1174–1212). Her secretary, Chakrukha or Chakhrouadze, wrote a panegyric of her. Ioan Shevteli prepared a series of odes on King David the Restorer and wrote an epic poem, the *Wisdom of Balavari*, which was based on the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, which had appeared in Georgian from Persian sources by the 10th c. Moise Khoneli in his poem *Ameran Daredjaniani*, outlined the story of a Prometheus-like hero; for the legend had taken its rise in the Caucasus. Sargis Thruogveli, in his *Visramiani*, told the tale of the fatal love of Vis and Ram, like that of the Celtic Tristan and Isolde.

The great and most popular work of the

period was written by Shota Rusthaveli (1172–1216), the treasurer of Tamara. This was the epic *Tariel and the Tiger Skin* (*Vepkhis –T'qaosani*). It shows a distinct influence of Neo-platonism in its austere serenity, but despite definite influences from both east and west, there is a native element that has enabled the work to maintain its popularity until the present time.

The Mongol invasions put an end to this period of history; during the 13th and 14th c. Mongol and Persian influences predominated in the literature, as in the work of Russudanianu. Then, too, appeared versions of the Persian epics of Gushtasp, and translations of Firdusi and other writers.

In the meanwhile historical writing had prospered, as the old chronicles gradually turned into history. Prince Djonancan-Djonanchiani compiled a history of the country to 718; other writers continued this work. In the 14th c. there is the extensive *Dzeglo Eristhava,* or acts of the various provinces. For a time, this too died.

There was a measure of revival, beginning in the 16th c. when Vakhtung VI wrote the history of the country to 1469; his son Vakhoushti revised and continued this work. Archili III, who died in Moscow in 1712, presented the history in verse. Besides this, there began a western influence exerted by Roman Catholic missionaries and after the reforms of Peter the Great, the new western facet of Russian literature could not fail to have an effect, although there were periods when the lyrics of Thorunanivili and Sayat-Nova revived the Persian manner. Most of this literature has a didactic tinge. There are a number of verse histories as in the work of Davith Goranianishvili, in some 8,000 verses, and the account of the battle of Aspindzi by Bessarion Gabashvili (1749–90).

In the beginning of the 19th c. Georgia formally passed under the control of Russia; this put an end to the old literature, for from this time the country was responsive to all the waves of influence that spread over its larger neighbor. Alexander Chavchavadze (1786–1846) wrote Anacreontic poetry. The Romantic movement was represented by Nicholas Barathashvili (1815–44), who reflected in his works the influence of Byron and Lermontov, and by Gregory Orbeliani (1800–43), who described the beauty of the Caucasus. George Eristhavi (1811–64) translated the dramas of Racine, Schiller, Pushkin, and Mickiewicz. Vakhtang Orbeliani (1812–90) published a series of odes, *Imedi* (*Hope*).

It was not long before the realism of the 40's and later decades appeared in Georgian. Daniel Djonkadze (1830–60) in his novel *Sorami s-Tsikhi* (*The Citadel of Sourami*) wrote the first peasant novel. Princess Nino Orbeliani and Princess Barbara Djordjadze worked toward naturalism in their writings. Ilya Chavchavadze (1837–1907) described the life of the lower classes in passionate appeals against serfdom. Lavrenty Ardazniani (1818–70) introduced the bourgeois novel, with his picture of a miser-usurer; and in quick succession writers as N. Lomaoreni, Catherine Gabashvilu, J. Ninoshvili, and others described the life of the various sections of the country.

The Narodnik movement was introduced into Georgia by Rafael Eristhavi (1824–1901). In 1881 the Young Georgia movement was established and a newer radical literature began to develop, with the work of George Tsereteli (1842–1900). To this period belongs the autobiography of Alexander Kasbeg (1848–93). Marxism appeared in the 90's with the writings of E. Ninoshvili (1861–94); still later, symbolism was introduced by I. Evdoshvili (1873–1915).

As a result of the liberation of the country there was a renewed burst of literature, but with the return of the country to the Soviet Union the literature began to follow the same policies as that of the Union. There was a

special group of communist writers in the period from 1921 to 1924, but it was not especially effective. Since that period it has improved, and now represents all the phases and aspects found in Soviet literature throughout the U.S.S.R.

J. Karst, *Littérature georgienne Chrétienne*, 1934.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

GERMAN

GERMAN literature is the expression of the German-speaking peoples of Central Europe. Historians have generally divided this literature into three periods. The earliest, comparable to the Anglo-Saxon period of English literature, reaches its efflorescence in the days of Charlemagne, about 800 A.D. The second, or middle period, attains to maturity during the reign of the Hohenstaufen emperors, about 1200. The third, or modern period, rises to supreme achievements in the age of Goethe, about 1800.

The earliest, or Old High German period, is of little significance to non-German readers. The best surviving product, the heroic ballad *Das Hildebrandslied* (*The Lay of Hildebrand*) is but a brief fragment and cannot compare in importance with the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*. It depicts in alliterative verses the mortal combat between father and son, a combat reminiscent of the Persian legend of Rustam and Sohrab. The extant fragment does not go beyond the beginning of the actual fighting with spear and sword, but all evidence points to the victory of the father whose sense of honor compels him to become the slayer of his own child.

Heroic ballads by wandering minstrels kept alive the memory of notable historic events and cast a legendary halo about military and political heroes of the early middle ages. The migrations of the various Germanic tribes from country to country, the sudden rise and collapse of powerful states, the victories and defeats of kings and chieftains must have resounded in stirring stanzas from the lips of talented bards. Few of these heroic lays were recorded and still fewer managed to survive. Among the favorite themes were the exploits of three famed rulers: Dietrich von Bern—Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths; Etzel (Attila), King of the Huns; and Gunther, King of the Burgundians. In the course of centuries the individual ballads about these heroes gradually coalesced until verse epics of tremendous scope were formed.

The best-known of these popular epics and perhaps the most influential work of the entire Middle High German Period was *Das Nibelungenlied* (*The Song of the Nibelungs*), composed at the beginning of the 13th c. by a South German or Austrian minstrel on the basis of material stemming from various sources. The scene of the epic action is the court of King Gunther and that of King Etzel. Hagen and Siegfried are the main antagonists of the earlier cantos, and Hagen and Kriemhild those of the later cantos. Hagen, vassal of King Gunther, personifies the Teutonic ideal of loyalty. He follows his lord even against his own better judgment and even unto death. Siegfried, who wins the hand of Kriemhild by helping her brother Gunther overcome the resistance of the heroine Brunnhilde, unwittingly betrays to his wife the secret of his aid. When the two women afterwards engage in a dispute as to the relative merits of their renowned hus-

bands, Brunnhilde is taunted with the truth, hitherto unknown to her, that she has really been overpowered by Siegfried. She flares up in indignation. Siegfried's death alone can cleanse her of shame and disgrace. While others hesitate and half-heartedly agree to Brunnhilde's demand, the loyal Hagen undertakes the unpleasant duty of upholding the honor of the queen against the mighty Siegfried, and while on a hunt stabs him. From this moment on, Hagen has to reckon with the vengeance of Kriemhild. This lovable maiden and happy wife develops under the blows of misfortune into a cruel demoniacal woman whose sole thought by day and night is revenge on the murderers of her husband. To accomplish this end, she even agrees to accept the proffered hand of King Etzel. As queen of the Huns, she is in a position to accomplish her dire intent. She invites her Burgundian kinsmen to her court. Hagen warns the trusting Gunther that acceptance of the invitation means inevitable doom. But when Gunther insists on going, Hagen regards it as disloyal to stay behind. Never for an instant doubting that at the conclusion of the festive journey death awaits him, his lords, and all their men, he yet remains a loyal vassal throughout the terrible ordeals that follow. Finally, when he perishes as the last of the Burgundian warriors, he still triumphs in his dying hour over the fierce Kriemhild.

Court Epics. The vigorous popular epics, based on ancient tribal traditions and stressing vengeance or blood-feuds, were replaced in court circles during the closing 12th c. by more exotic epics, written by knightly singers or learned clerics under the influence of the French trouvères. These poetic romances idealized the institution of chivalry; they appealed primarily to a sophisticated, aristocratic audience. Three epic poets, prominent during the illustrious reigns of the Hohenstaufen emperors, are still remembered because of their treatment of themes that attained universal currency: Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Gottfried von Strassburg.

Hartmann von Aue composed Arthurian romances of great merit, but his contemporary fame rests on his authorship of *Der arme Heinrich,* which has been translated into English under the varying titles *Poor Henry, Henry the Unfortunate, Henry the Leper.* This gripping tale of a leprous knight who was miraculously cured of his dread disease by the sacrificial love of a pure maiden was the source for Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's romance *The Golden Legend* and for Gerhart Hauptmann's poetic drama *Der arme Heinrich.*

Wolfram von Eschenbach wrote *Parzival,* probably the most profound poetic masterpiece of medieval Germany. Parzival is the pure soul, untainted by worldly wisdom and ignorant of guile. He struggles through many adventures, makes repeated blunders, but finally attains to clarity, happiness, and inner peace. As the discoverer of the Holy Grail, he is the ideal of knighthood.

Gottfried von Strassburg was best known for his *Tristan und Isolde,* an epic of the hero and the heroine who drink of love's magic draught and must thereafter sacrifice life and honor to their irresistible, all-consuming passion for each other. Both *Parzival* and *Tristan und Isolde* supplied Richard Wagner, the dramatist-composer of the mid 19th c., with excellent subjects for musical dramas.

Minnesänger. The system of courtly love, to which knights and ladies of romance were required to submit, originated in Provence. There it had been developed to a high state of complexity and artificiality by the troubadours, and from there it spread throughout central Europe. The German lyricists who sang of courtly love were called *Minnesänger.* Their outstanding representative was Walther von der Vogelweide.*

This exquisite singer learned his art at the Viennese court from Reinmar von Hagenau, then known as the leader of the nightingales. Walther did not, however, remain attached to one locality for any length of time. As a wandering minstrel of noble birth, he was a follower of various lords and emperors. These included Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia and Emperor Frederick II of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Legend tells that Walther participated in a singing match at the Wartburg, a castle of the Thuringian ruler, and he is known to have received a fief from the gifted Hohenstaufen monarch, whose cause he upheld against the Papacy, with fervent ardor. Walther's Minnesongs are more graceful and less artificial than those of his contemporaries. Although he too follows in the main the lyric traditions of the troubadours, he yet imparts to their stock situations such sparkling freshness and such tender humor that after the lapse of seven centuries his love lyrics may still be read with pleasure. He not only sings of his adoration for the lady of the manor, a woman of a class socially superior to his own whom he could never hope to win, but he also voices his affection for the simple maiden and her unspoiled charms. He thus brings the court lyric to perfection and at the same time paves the way for the later Minnesingers, such as Neidhart von Reuental and Tannhäuser, who strike more realistic strains and who do not disdain to include even peasant girls among the subjects of their amorous songs.

In later centuries many interesting legends were told about the medieval court poets. The most fascinating legend was that of Tannhäuser and his sojourn at the court of Venus, the goddess of love, whom he had worshiped unceasingly while on earth. A folk ballad of the 15th c. narrated that, after a year's participation in the revels of Venus, Tannhäuser was overcome by poignant remorse. In his anxiety to save his soul from perdition, he broke away from the Venusberg, the mountain abode of the goddess, and betook himself to Rome in order to obtain absolution for his sins. The Pope, however, offered but little spiritual comfort to the penitent knight. The Pope had a white staff, made of a withered branch. Pointing to it, he said: "When this staff bears leaves, your sins will be forgiven." Despairing of pardon, Tannhäuser retraced his steps until he again reached the mountain of Venus. The goddess welcomed him heartily. On the third day of the knight's departure from Rome, the staff of the Pope began to sprout. God had performed a miracle. Messengers were immediately sent out to look for Tannhäuser and to report that God had bestowed mercy upon him. But their comforting words came too late.

Richard Wagner, in his opera *Tannhäuser,* changes the conclusion. The comforting words are not too late and the minstrel dies blissfully. Heinrich Heine, in his poetic rendering, supplies other variations of the story. William Morris, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and John Davidson introduce this theme into English literature and find in it a suitable vehicle for the expression of their own attitudes toward love and faith.

Folk Songs. The 15th c., which gave us the popular ballad of Tannhäuser, also enriched German literature with hundreds of valuable folk songs, some of which are still sung today. The themes of these songs were taken from the common joys and sorrows of mankind: love and death, wine and work, faith and faithlessness, the animation of spring and the dreariness of winter, the delight in adventuring and the pain of parting. Though using simple rhythms, impure rhymes, and unpolished language, these songs yet managed to attain an intimacy of feeling and a universality of appeal. There is a song of two royal children in love who, like Hero and Leander of Greek lore, were separated from each other by a deep water until the youth risked and

suffered death swimming toward his beloved. There is another song of the lover who arises from his cold grave at night in order to fetch his beloved. This grim theme inspired the poet Gottfried August Bürger to write his finest ballad, *Lenore* (1774), a ballad known to English readers in the versions of Walter Scott and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. There are songs of vagabonds and songs of various callings. The authors are never mentioned by name but are sometimes characterized by such generalities as a fisherman, a mountaineer, a merry student.

Meistersinger. In addition to the many beautiful folk songs in simple measures, the 15th and 16th c. saw the rise and efflorescence of elaborate poems in complicated and ornate measures, the artificial products of so-called *Meistersinger.* With the increasing wealth and influence of cities and towns in these centuries, an effort was made by artisans and tradesmen to preserve and to imitate the noble traditions of the court singers of an older day. In Nürnberg, Mainz, and Strassburg, special schools were established to teach composition of melodies and of poetic texts. A candidate began as an apprentice. If he displayed sufficient skill in the correct juggling of rhymes and meters, he became a journeyman; and if he succeeded in originating a new melody and a new stanzaic form, he was accepted as a master-singer. The guild of *Meistersinger* flourished especially at Nürnberg. Its leading figure was the shoemaker and poet Hans Sachs* (1494–1576), whom Richard Wagner idealized in the musical drama *Die Meistersinger.*

Sachs wrote more than 4,000 master-songs, and was extremely proud of this prolific achievement. These songs are, however, rarely read today. He also unfolded an extensive dramatic activity, but only a few of his farces and Shrovetide plays still delight contemporary audiences. These Shrovetide plays, or ***Fastnachtspiele,*** were short plays in verse, built about some humorous incident, and designed to amuse crowds during carnival days.

Hans Sachs lived in the generation of Martin Luther and was among the first poets to join the cause of this religious reformer, whom he addressed in a poem as "the nightingale of Wittenberg." Luther's supreme importance for German literature is due to his masterly translation of the *Bible.* This translation helped enormously to standardize the German language. It was read by old and young, men and women, rich and poor. It furnished the imagery and even the exact phraseology for writers during many succeeding generations.

The religious Reformation, effected by Luther and his age, spelled the breakdown of Medievalism in Germany, and laid the roots for modern ways of thinking and feeling. The social and political upheavals, which followed in the wake of Luther's teachings, determined to a large extent the course of German literature throughout the following two centuries.

Humanists. The Renaissance and the Reformation are the two outstanding spiritual forces of the 16th c. in Germany. The revival of antique learning and the struggle against the dominance of the Catholic Church found an immediate repercussion in literature. An attempt has been made to depict the Renaissance and the Reformation as two opposing forces, because the former advocated the liberation of the individual from the bonds of authority and hence opened the way for worldliness, free thinking, and joyous living, while the latter still subjected the individual to the chains of authority, merely substituting the authority of the *Bible* for that of the Pope, and consequently still emphasized other-worldliness, simple living, and social service. Nevertheless, the religious struggles waged by Luther may more properly be regarded as a continuation of the struggle undertaken by the German Humanists under the leadership

of Johannes Reuchlin, Desiderius Erasmus, and Ulrich von Hutten against the follies of scholasticism and obscurantism. It is true that Luther himself was not filled with that frenzy of enthusiasm for classical antiquity so characteristic of his contemporaries. On the other hand, he did not at any time oppose the efforts of the Humanists. He even recommended the study and presentation of Roman comedies, although his own personal interest was primarily in religion. Unfortunately for German literature, however, the many wars that followed in the wake of his teachings nipped in the bud a revival of arts and letters, such as Italy, France, England, Spain, and Holland experienced in the 16th and 17th c., and for which the German Humanists had adequately paved the way.

The German Humanists wrote and lectured in Latin. With a few notable exceptions, such as Ulrich von Hutten and Thomas Murner, they held their mother tongue in disrepute. At the universities, founded or reorganized by them as centers of the new learning, they specialized in the interpretation and imitation of Classical texts. Even if a work of general interest were written in the vernacular, it could attain wide currency only through the medium of a Latin translation. Thus, Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (*Ship of Fools*), written in 1494, attained a European vogue—perhaps the first German work to do so—when made available to learned readers in a Latin version of 1497. This lengthy didactic poem dealt with a large assortment of fools who were voyaging together to the land of folly. Each of them, as he passed in review, revealed his own special variety of foolishness or villainy. This poetic satire was imitated by Erasmus, Thomas Murner, and other Humanists, and repeatedly translated into French and English.

The preoccupation with Classical learning throughout the 16th c. led on the one hand to an efflorescence of neo-Latin poetry, prose, and drama, and on the other hand to a further decline in the quality of the literature written in German. The mother tongue was scorned alike by scholars, aristocrats, and commoners. Even those that knew no other language attempted to improve upon their native speech by the addition of as many foreign words and idioms as possible. At the opening of the 17th c., contempt for German was so well-nigh universal among Germans of the upper classes that when the Silesian poet and scholar, Martin Opitz, in 1617 sought to address them with a plea for their mother tongue, he had to write this plea in Latin. Its title was *Aristarchus sive de contemptu Linguae Teutonicae.* Seven years later, on the appearance of his own German poems, Opitz published his *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (*Book of German Poesy*), the most influential critical work of the century. Though the ideas expressed therein were not original, being largely culled from the Italian Humanist Julius Caesar Scaliger and from the French poet Pierre Ronsard, nevertheless the book was justly famous because of its insistence on the dignity of literary creation in the German vernacular and because of its emphasis on the necessity of purifying the native language from the unending flood of foreign idioms. This purification was also the cherished ideal of various societies of aristocrats and various lodges of academicians that sprang up in the generation of Opitz. Unfortunately, however, all intellectual efforts on a large scale were frustrated by the ever-recurring religious struggles, which reached their climax in the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), a catastrophe that almost annihilated German civilization. The abject state to which literature fell as a result of the terrible ravages becomes apparent from the fact that the entire 17th c. produced but a single masterpiece: Grimmelshausen's war-novel, *Simplicissimus.*

Grimmelshausen experienced the quickly changing tides of fortune that overwhelmed

many Germans during the turbulent decades of warfare. While still a boy of thirteen or fourteen, he was carried off by Hessian marauders. Making his way as a soldier of fortune, he obtained first-hand knowledge of pillaged hamlets, ruined villages, and the frailties of human beings. When peace was proclaimed, he retired to a small town in the Black Forest and devoted his leisure hours to writing stories in which he made use of his wealth of memories. In *Simplicissimus* (1668), he incorporated many of his own experiences. This novel stands under the influence of the picaresque romances, which had been recently introduced from Spain and which dealt with the exploits of cunning rogues and thievish adventurers. Grimmelshausen chose a pure-hearted vagabond as his hero, and accompanied him through riotous and villainous years to a peaceful old age in harmony with nature. In depicting the various stages of his character's development from purity to sin and from sin to purification, the author unrolls a panorama of contemporary society that is appalling. The atmosphere of the Thirty Years' War with all its gripping horrors, its moral devastation, and its savage disregard of human life, is conveyed more accurately and more vividly by this fictitious narrative than by historical records. In the end the hero is stranded on a primitive island, and there, far from the corrupting influence of European society, he carries on a simple, happy existence, as if in Paradise.

Escape from baneful civilization with its artificial class distinctions and its constant strife to a blissful island in some remote sea where one could live naturally and peacefully—this theme first touched upon by Grimmelshausen was echoed by German novelists half a century later in stories that followed the model of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Utopian tales and *Robinsonaden* had such great vogue because they offered German readers an escape, if only in imagination, from the degradations of petty absolutism. As a result of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), Germany was subdivided into hundreds of independent principalities ruled over by kings, electors, dukes, counts, barons, knights, bishops, abbots, and patricians. The Holy Roman Empire still exercised nominal sovereignty, but was woefully lacking in actual physical power. Meanwhile, across the Rhine a strong united France basked in the dazzling splendor of Louis XIV and his court. Inevitably, French manners, dress, and literature became the model for Germans, and the court of Versailles the model for all the petty courts of central Europe. The polite foreign language was preferred to native speech. Even the most powerful of German rulers, Frederick the Great of Prussia, spoke and wrote in French. Leipzig, the most important center of German letters in the early 18th c., was proud of its reputation as a miniature Paris.

Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–66), who was for decades dictator of literary taste in Leipzig, recommended the imitation of French writers. He felt that his own country had as yet no comedy that could compare with Molière and no tragedy that could equal the masterpieces of Corneille and Racine. He believed that the rules of French Classicism, as formulated by Boileau, should be followed by Germans if they wished to produce poetic and dramatic works as fine as those of their neighbors.

With German literature at a low ebb, Gottsched undoubtedly performed a genuine service when he insisted upon adherence to strict rules of composition and when he undertook a reform of the theatre. At a time when improvised plays, modeled after the Italian commedia dell' arte, furnished the most popular type of theatrical entertainment, Gottsched rightly demanded that dramatists supply actors not with mere scenarios but with carefully worded texts. He was also justified in emphasizing that a clear distinc-

tion must be made between comedy and tragedy, and that the clown or *Hanswurst* must be banished from the serious stage. Nor was his beneficial activity limited solely to the theatre. By inveighing against bombast and hollow rhetoric in his guide to prospective writers, by applying the spirit of rationalism to the art of poetry, by espousing the philosophy of Leibnitz and Christian Wolff, he exercised a greater influence than any German since Opitz upon the literary taste of his countrymen.

Gottsched's critical doctrines at first helped to raise the level of German literary production but soon they were felt to be mechanical fetters that weighed down and paralyzed the wings of genius. Before the mid 18th c. the revolt against Gottsched was in full swing. Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock* (1724–1803), the German Milton, paid little heed to Gottsched's rules of poetics when he wrote his inspired religious epic *Messias* (*Messiah*), an epic of man's redemption, often compared to the English epics *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained,* and when he gave expression to his overflowing emotions and unbridled imagination in magnificent odes that intoxicated the German youth of his day and that are still read with reverence in our generation. But it was Lessing that most effectively challenged Gottsched's influence.

In brilliant satirical essays, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing* attacked the French dominance of the German theatre and called attention to Shakespeare and the Greeks as superior models for native dramatists. In his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (*Hamburg Dramaturgy*), from 1767 to 1769, and somewhat earlier, in his *Laokoon* of 1766, he laid the critical foundation for Germany's most brilliant literary period, that of Goethe and Schiller. He himself wrote the first German domestic tragedy, *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), based upon a similar English work by George Lillo which had appeared in 1729 under the title *The London Merchant.* Lessing also wrote the most important 18th c. German comedy, *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767), the stirring social tragedy, *Emilia Galotti* (1772), and the first modern philosophic drama, *Nathan der Weise* (*Nathan the Wise,* 1779).

The theme of Lessing's philosophic drama is religious tolerance and universal brotherhood. This theme is best illustrated by the parable of the three rings. Nathan, the wise Jew, narrates this parable to Saladin, the Mohammedan sultan, when the latter at the climax of the play insists upon an answer to the embarrassing question as to which is the true religion.

Once upon a time, says Nathan, there lived a man who possessed a ring of priceless value. This ring had the magic power of making the wearer beloved by God and man, provided that one believed in its properties. Its owner, when on the point of death, bequeathed it to his favorite son, who thereby became head of the family. The ring continued to be handed down from generation to generation by each owner to his best beloved son, until it reached a father who had three sons, of all of whom he was equally fond and to all of whom he promised the magic ring. On feeling his days numbered and not wanting to disappoint any of his children, he had an artist make two additional rings so similar to the original that nobody could distinguish between them. He thereupon called each son separately, bestowed upon each his parental blessing, and gave each a ring. After the father's death, the sons fell to quarreling. Each insisted that he was the sole owner of the true ring and therefore entitled to head the family. The issue was finally brought before court. The wise judge refused to pass judgment but did offer pertinent advice. Let each brother live as though he possessed the true ring. Let him live so as to be best loved by God and man, and after a million years a greater judge could then decide the question of ownership.

The religions are not unlike the rings. Let each person live in accordance with the principles of his faith and he will be leading a moral life.

Lessing's doctrine of religious tolerance ranks among the noblest expressions of the spirit of Enlightenment, that spirit which completely transformed European society and destroyed the last vestiges of Medievalism. Enlightenment was the cultural expression of the rising middle class. It demanded the application of logic to all phases of human experience. Its critical attitude paved the way for modern science. It proclaimed the sanctity of the individual life. It abolished inhuman torture and made free men of serfs. It prepared the soil for the industrial revolution and for the modern democratic state.

Sturm und Drang. The overemphasis on reason, which accounted for the achievements of the Age of Enlightenment, was at the same time the source of its chief weakness. The tyranny of reason inevitably resulted in a violent reaction in behalf of the emotional, imaginative, and volitional elements of the human personality. Irrationalism ran riot. The literary expression of the irrationalist revolt in the 1770's and 1780's was called *Sturm und Drang* (*Storm and Stress*). Johann Gottfried Herder* was its main inspirer. Young Goethe and young Schiller were its best exponents.

If rationalism saw this world as a fixed mechanism, functioning according to logical laws, Herder saw it as an unstable organic whole that was constantly evolving, growing, and decaying. Even as the solid earth beneath our feet was being changed bit by bit, so too all that proceeded on earth was undergoing continual transformation—from climate and atmospheric conditions to languages, customs, and religions. Herder's original ideas have borne manifold fruits. He might be called the Rousseau of Germany, the forerunner of Darwin, the father of the evolutionary concept of history, the anticipator of Romanticism. He directed attention to the genuine beauty of folk songs of all nations. He stimulated the study of languages. He translated and interpreted foreign literatures. Nor should one underrate his importance as the teacher of Goethe, Germany's supreme literary personality.

In 1770 Johann Wolfgang Goethe,* who had been born at Frankfurt am Main in 1749, left for Strassburg in order to continue the study of law which he had begun at the University of Leipzig four years earlier and which had been interrupted by a severe illness and a slow convalescence. At this capital of Alsace, which then belonged to France but which was nevertheless a center of German literary activity, he had the good fortune of meeting Herder, who, although only five years older, had already acquired a notable reputation. From Herder, Goethe learned the new watchwords of Storm and Stress: back to nature; originality at all costs; genius brooks no restraint; the creative personality is a law unto itself. Under Herder's tutelage, Goethe gave free vent to his lyric gift. Sloughing all the artificial restraints and affectations that had characterized his youthful verse at Leipzig, and listening solely to the voice of his heart, he wrote on the one hand poetic gems in the manner of the folk songs, such as *Heidenröslein* (*The Heathrose,* 1771), a song that has been on the lips of Germans ever since, and on the other hand rebellious outbursts, such as the poetic monologue, *Prometheus* (1774). Young Goethe identified himself with Prometheus, depicting this titan as a creative genius who recognized no power above himself save that of nature's immutable laws to which even the gods must submit. From Herder, Goethe also acquired admiration for Shakespeare, Homer, Ossian. Shakespeare's influence is most apparent in Goethe's first successful dramatic venture, the enthusiastically acclaimed *Götz von Berlichingen*

(1773), while the influence of Homer and Ossian is discernible in his novel of the following year, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*).

In this novel Goethe gave perfect expression to the soul of a hypersensitive individual who was unable to adjust himself to his realistic environment. Werther is a talented young man whose sensitiveness borders on the abnormal. He cannot see the world as it is. He views it either as a vale of horror or as a grove of Paradise, according to his momentary emotional condition. He hates the practical path. No occupation can long satisfy him. He wants freedom, intoxication. His moods vary with the seasons. In spring he dissolves in tears of joy. Homer's melodious verses soothe him. He associates with simple people and plays with children. At a ball he meets Lotte; the floodgates of emotion are let loose. Though this simple maiden is already engaged, nevertheless he is not conscious of her betrothed. He spends every day with her, his ideal and saint. When he meets her Albert, however, he is awakened from his illusions. Even though Albert is not jealous, Werther's mood becomes ever more morose from day to day, until finally he tears himself away and flees. For a time he tries to follow a profession, but a slight inconvenience makes him flare up. He thinks his professional honor ruined and his social position disgraced. He cannot resist the urge to return to Lotte, who alone can heal his wounded heart. Albert and Lotte have meanwhile married. Albert is a practical, calm, busy husband. Though Lotte does not find in him that harmony of souls which she finds in Werther, she nevertheless remains a faithful wife. Werther becomes ever gloomier. Autumn yields to winter. No longer is cheer-bringing Homer his companion, but rather morbid Ossian. Gradually the thought takes hold of him that death alone can solve the insoluble situation. In a moment of strong emotional stress, he shoots himself.

Goethe's novel, based largely upon an unhappy love experience of his own, burst upon the literary arena like a bombshell. At a time when enthusiasm was taboo and when restraint and decorum were regarded as supreme virtues, Werther opened his bleeding heart and invited readers to add their tears to his. Innumerable translations, imitations, and sequels immediately appeared. Wertherism became a watchword of the Storm and Stress generation. Goethe himself, however, did not remain long addicted to this mood. The year after the publication of *Werther* witnessed Goethe's transition from the violent radicalism and the sentimentalism of his youth to the classical clarity of his mature years.

In 1775 Goethe left for Weimar as the guest of the young ruler, Duke Karl August, and for more than half a century he participated in the political, literary, and cultural activities of this small Thuringian principality. He was statesman, executive, scientist. A vacation in Italy from 1786 to 1788 brought him into contact with the art of antiquity and impressed upon him the classical ideals of noble simplicity and quiet dignity. These ideals had been proclaimed by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the historian of art, as early as 1764. According to him, the ancient Greeks had aimed at the harmonious development of body and soul, and in their art they had to a large extent attained this aim. The best that we moderns could do would be to emulate the Greeks in life and in art. Not defiance and rebellion, not power and originality, not laughter and weeping, but rather clarity and serenity, self-restraint and decorum, harmony and simple humanity, should be the goal of our aspirations.

Goethe's stay in Italy and his intimate preoccupation with the art and thought of the Ancients bore rich literary fruit. In 1787 he completed his poetic dramas *Iphigenie in Tauris* and *Egmont*, and a year later resumed work on *Torquato Tasso*. Two years after

returning from Italy to Weimar, he published *Faust,* a dramatic fragment on which he had been at work since his youth and which in his new frame of mind he no longer desired to complete.

The historical Faust was a charlatan and alchemist of the early 16th c. Contemporaries spoke of him as a juggler who boasted of his pact with the devil. When he met a violent end after a dissolute life, the report spread that he had been strangled by his diabolical partner. In the course of decades Faust became the center of many legends dealing with supernatural powers presumably bestowed upon him by the devil. These legends, popularized by a chapbook of 1587, became known to the English dramatist Christopher Marlowe, whose powerful tragedy, *Doctor Faustus,* was completed in 1589. This tragedy, brought to Germany by wandering English actors and constantly readapted by various theatrical managers, maintained its vogue for centuries, especially when presented in the form of a puppet-play. The generation of Storm and Stress saw in Faust a symbol of its own dissatisfaction with knowable reality and of its own impetuous striving for the infinite. Young Goethe, the foremost representative of this generation, envisaged Faust as a titanic personality filled with an insatiable thirst for knowledge and experience. He therefore at first depicted this character as a turbulent Prometheus who defied, erred, sinned, and suffered, but who withal was not beyond salvation. The maturer Goethe, no longer sympathizing with grandiloquent gestures of defiance and revolt, abandoned work on *Faust* after publishing in 1790 merely the fragmentary scenes that had already been completed. During the decade of his friendship with Schiller, however, he was frequently stimulated by his younger contemporary to continue with his masterpiece. When he resumed writing in 1797, his concept of his hero's character had undergone considerable modification in accordance with his own altered attitude toward life. The emphasis shifted from a sceptical Faust who despaired of all knowledge and therefore hurled himself into sin and guilt to a trusting Faust who renounced personal happiness and found supreme contentment in humble work to help his fellow men. The aging Goethe felt an individual's holiest duty to be service, active participation in affairs, eternal striving to improve conditions. Faust experienced his most blissful moment when he divined that he had created something enduring, a fruitful soil for a free people. Then only did he exclaim to the moment: "Tarry, you are so beautiful!"

The Germans call themselves the people of *Faust,* thereby stressing the importance they attach to this philosophic drama, as the expression of their character and ideals.

If *Faust* is Goethe's outstanding contribution to drama, *Wilhelm Meister* is his most ambitious effort in fiction. The theme of this long novel, whose first part appeared in 1797 and second part in 1829, is the development of a sensitive aesthete into a practical, active personality.

The half century preceding Goethe's death in 1832 is often referred to as the Age of Goethe, because of his dominant position in German letters. But Goethe is also a world figure whose influence extended to many lands and generations and who fittingly holds his place alongside of Dante and Shakespeare in the pantheon of poetry.

Weimar, the city of Goethe's prolonged residence, was known as the German Athens, because its ruler Karl August succeeded in making it a center of art and culture. The Duke's tutor was Christoph Martin Wieland,* the author of the educational novel *Agathon* (1767) and of the romantic poem *Oberon* (1780). Wieland and Goethe were joined at Weimar by Herder in 1776 and by Schiller in 1788.

Goethe was already at the height of his fame when Friedrich Schiller,* who was born in 1759, wrote his first drama *Die Räuber* (*The Robbers,* 1780). Goethe had already passed through his Storm and Stress period when Schiller appeared on the horizon as the newest advocate of this literary tendency. No wonder therefore that the calm Olympian sage looked askance at the radical outbursts of the talented youth.

Die Räuber betrays the influence of Rousseau in its condemnation of the so-called blessings of culture and in its idealization of a simple natural existence. Karl Moor, the hero of the drama, throws down the gauntlet to the corrupt society of his day and flees to the Bohemian Forests. At the head of a band of robbers and outlaws, this German Robin Hood roves about as the terror of tyrants and the foe of the fat clergy, until there dawns upon him the godlessness of his efforts to repay wrong with wrong and to avenge blood with blood. Then he determines to expiate his error by sacrificing himself.

Schiller's first drama was followed in 1783 by *Fiesco,* a tragedy which again deals with the struggle against oppression. His third drama, *Kabale und Liebe* (*Love and Intrigue,* 1784), is another clarion call for freedom of the individual; it once more voices eloquent opposition to social and political restraints. This bourgeois tragedy, which follows the traditions established in the 18th c. by Lillo in England, Diderot in France, and Lessing in Germany, far surpasses all of its predecessors and even maintains its popularity on the contemporary stage. Two worlds are shown in crass contrast: the nobility with its hollow splendor, and the bourgeoisie with its rugged virtues. The President, who came to power through crime and who maintains himself by lies and intrigues, is the representative of the ruling class, while the musician Miller, whose speech lacks polish but whose honesty never falters, is the representative of the ruled subjects. The children of these diametrically opposed characters try to bridge the gulf separating the two classes. They dream of a love that can overcome all distinctions of social rank. But the artificial barriers erected by custom and convention are not so easily stormed by impetuous youth. The love of the young people cannot flourish in the poisonous atmosphere of absolutism, where human feelings are trodden under foot and the sons of the soil are sold as mercenaries to foreign powers. Their love can triumph only in death, and so the lovers, whom court intrigues kept apart, are united at the brink of the grave.

Don Karlos, published in 1787, represents Schiller's transition from Storm and Stress to classical maturity. It is a confession of faith in the power of nobility of soul. Philip II of Spain and his son Don Karlos personify the conflict of two ages: the dominant age of political despotism and religious intolerance as opposed to the dawning age of political liberalism and religious freedom. Marquis Posa, a friend of Don Karlos, is the central hero in the final version of the drama. As the spokesman for the struggling burghers of Flanders, he becomes in the age of the Spanish Armada the apostle of humanity. Magnanimously sacrificing himself for the friend of his youth, he has become for German readers the epitome and the symbol of perfect friendship.

Two years before the storming of the Bastille, Schiller's dramatic masterpiece gave supreme artistic formulation to the principle to be proclaimed by the French Revolution that the just state must be established on the basis of human dignity and not of human servility, with liberty, fraternity, and equality as its strongest pillars. The drama is a hymn of universal human happiness in more beautiful centuries to come. It may be compared with the author's *An die Freude* (*Hymn to Joy,* 1785), which Beethoven chose as the

text for the finale of the magnificent *Ninth Symphony.*

In 1788 Schiller was appointed professor of history at the University of Jena, a town belonging to the Duchy of Weimar. Goethe, who might have been expected to befriend his younger contemporary, still kept strictly aloof. The serene classicist was out of sympathy with this newest representative of the Storm and Stress movement, which he himself had once headed but had since discarded. The radical of Frankfurt, who was now an aristocratic statesman, avoided all save official contacts with the author of *Die Räuber.* In Schiller he saw his own past rearisen with all its impetuousness and sentimentalism, a past with which he no longer wished to be associated. In the young dramatist, who was hailed by the French Revolulution as its forerunner and ally, he saw a symbol of those destructive forces that were wrecking the divinely ordained monarchical order which he, the friend and minister of the Duke of Weimar, felt called upon to defend. Not until 1794 did the two men of genius, who for years had lived in closest proximity, become intimately acquainted with each other. By that time Schiller too had sloughed off the turbulence of youth and had attained inner harmony. Both poets recognized the dissimilarity of their approach toward life's problems, but they also recognized that because of their different viewpoints they could be of tremendous inspiration to each other. The decade of their friendship from 1794 until Schiller's death in 1805 was undoubtedly the richest decade in German literature. For Goethe it signified the completion of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship,* 1796), and the resumption of work on *Faust.* For Schiller it meant the revival of his latent dramatic genius. *Wallenstein,* a trilogy dealing with the tragic general of the Thirty Years' War, appeared in 1799. It was followed in 1800 by *Maria Stuart*—a drama of the famous Scottish queen who was executed in the reign of Elizabeth; in 1801 by *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (*The Maid of Orleans*)—a drama depicting Joan of Arc as an idealistic prophetess; in 1803 by *Die Braut von Messina* (*The Bride of Messina*), which introduced choral songs in the manner of the Greeks; and in 1804 by *Wilhelm Tell*—a drama of the liberation of Switzerland from Austrian oppression.

Goethe and Schiller, at the height of their creative activity, succeeded in welding into an harmonious whole the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the irrationalism of Storm and Stress. This harmony was, however, beyond the reach of their contemporaries and successors. The 19th c. continued to be filled with the clash and the interaction of the two opposing tendencies. Romanticism, the literary expression of the first generation of the century, spelled the triumphant resurgence of anti-intellectualism, while Realism, the literary expression of the following generation, was again dominated by the rationalistic approach to experience.

Romanticism. Romanticism emphasized the emotional, imaginative, and volitional aspects of the human personality at the expense of the logical faculties. It stressed religion, mysticism, intoxication. It longed for the unattainable, for the world beyond the stars. It revelled in fantastic dreams of a Utopia somewhere in the past or in the remote future. It worshiped beauty and adored art. It discovered the charm of medieval towns and helped to preserve some of them from planless modernization. It revived forgotten lore and restored faith in the supernatural. It preferred the unexpected, the whimsical, the ironic, the bizarre.

Based upon the philosophic doctrines of Johann Gottlieb Fichte* and F. W. J. Schelling and upon the critical doctrines of August Wilhelm Schlegel and Friedrich

Schlegel, the Romantic Movement attracted to its standard the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher and the poets Wilhelm Wackenroder,* Ludwig Tieck, and Novalis. These writers were known as the Early Romanticists and might be compared to the English group about Wordsworth and Coleridge.

The Early Romanticists had been preceded by two strange transitional figures: Jean Paul Friedrich Richter* and Friedrich Holderlin. The former wrote under the pen name of Jean Paul, which was meant to be reminiscent of Jean Jacques Rousseau, his adored French model. Sentimentalism, formlessness, irony, and whimsical humor characterized his sketches and novels, the best of which were *Hesperus* (1794) and *Titan* (1800). These qualities allied him with the Romanticists, while his interest in the humble souls of unimpressive men and women gained him the admiration of the early Realists. Friedrich Hölderlin,* who was born in 1770, struggled with poverty, loneliness, and despair, until his mind gave way in 1802; and for more than forty years he lived on as a harmless lunatic, unknown to the world and even forgotten by himself. Before his tragic collapse, however, he had completed odes that surpassed those of Klopstock, the master of this lyric form; he had composed philosophic hymns of a quality comparable to those of Schiller; he had attempted lyrics in free verse of a sweeping grandeur that recalled Goethe at his best; he had given intensest expression in his novel *Hyperion* (1797–9) and in his drama *Empedocles* (1799) to the longing of the German soul for Hellas, the ideal land that never actually existed but that was called into being by the over-enthusiastic lovers of antiquity during the 18th c.

In 1798 the brothers August Wilhelm Schlegel* and Friedrich Schlegel* founded the *Athenäum* as the organ of the Romanticists, and in the columns of this literary periodical they formulated the critical credo of the new movement. August Wilhelm Schlegel is today remembered, however, primarily because of his superb translation of Shakespeare. This translation, in which he was ably assisted by Ludwig Tieck, Dorothea Tieck, and Graf von Baudissin, converted the English bard into a German classic. Friedrich Schlegel's stimulating ideas were recorded largely in aphorisms, paradoxes, and fragmentary flashes. *Lucinde* (1799), his most ambitious effort at prose fiction, is but a collection of scintillating comments on love, art, and wise passiveness, wholly devoid of unity and often lacking coherence. It created an unusual sensation upon its appearance because of its cynical frankness and its praise of insolence, free love, and idleness.

Novalis was the pseudonymn of Friedrich von Hardenberg,* a nobleman who has been accepted as the purest representative of German Romanticism. Born in 1772, he barely attained the age of twenty-nine. The central experience in his short life was his love for a girl of thirteen, who represented in his eyes the ideal of womanhood. Under the influence of profound sorrow at her early loss, he wrote his *Hymnen an die Nacht* (*Hymns to Night*), majestic prose-poems in praise of darkness and death. Echoes of these hymns reverberate in the tragic lines of Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*. Seeking solace in God, Novalis composed religious songs full of delicate charm, sensuous mysticism, and inner devotion, songs that have deeply influenced the German religious lyric of the last century. His unfinished novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1799–1800), designed to be the Romantic antithesis of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, was a glorification of Romantic poetry. Its hero was a legendary Minnesinger who set out in search of the Blue Flower, the mystic symbol of the Romantic ideal.

Ludwig Tieck* was the most productive of the Early Romanticists, excelling in lyrics, novels, dramas, translations, and adaptations

of earlier literature and of foreign masterpieces. His best-known short story, *Der blonde Eckbert* (1797), conjured up a twilight world, half real and half fantastic, an atmosphere of gloom and awe, of mystery and magic, a landscape of sylvan solitude and strange sounds, and a group of characters that walk, with eyes agape, on the border of wonderland and dream. His comedy *Der gestiefelte Kater* (*Puss-in-Boots,* 1797) was a superb example of Romantic irony. By this term was meant the constant parodying of oneself. At the very moment when a poet caused a fascinating world to arise before us and characters to take on the semblance of life, he destroyed this same world by ridicule and dissolved these characters into nothingness, proving thereby that the poet from his superior vantage point remains ever aware that all we do or pretend to do is but a play of shadows and a dream within a dream.

Younger Romanticists. Romantic irony and Romantic whimsicality found an extreme adherent in Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann,* musician, operatic composer, artist, and above all story-teller of note, whose tales have often been compared to those of Edgar Allan Poe. A reading of his novel *Die Elixiere des Teufels* (*The Devil's Elixirs,* 1815–16), with its accumulation of shades, doubles, and other ghastly figures, is like wading through an unduly prolonged nightmare. Less horrible but equally grotesque are the incidents of *Der goldne Topf* (*The Golden Pot,* 1813). In this tale, which Carlyle introduced to English readers, we find ourselves at one moment in a definite square of Dresden among people of flesh and blood and at the next moment in the indefinite realm of salamanders and whispering serpents.

Romantic poets emulated Hoffmann in peopling the elements with creatures strange and wild. Elves floated through the air, and nymphs filled brooks and rivers. Weird dwarfs made their home within the bowels of the earth and salamanders inhabited the realm of fire. There was Undine, a soulless sprite that personified the fascination of the watery deep, whom Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué introduced in 1811 in a charming tale that Hoffmann and later Lortzing made the basis for operas. There was furthermore the Lorelei, a beautiful siren who sat on a rock jutting out into the Rhine and lured men to their destruction. Klemens Brentano* first sang of her in a dramatic ballad. Josef von Eichendorff* transferred her bewitching influence to the forest. Heinrich Heine immortalized her in a lyric that for more than a century has been on the lips of millions. Fairyland, teeming with enchantresses and monstrosities, best came to life, however, in the stories gathered by the brothers Jakob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm that appeared from 1812 on under the title *Kinder-und Hausmarchen* (*Household Tales*), volumes that have since become the children's bible.

Folk tales and folk songs offered a rich opportunity to study the customs, ideals, fears, and superstitions of former generations. The Younger Romanticists Achim von Arnim and Klemens Brentano gave Germany its best collection of folk songs *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (*The Boy's Magic Horn,* 1806–08). These poets and others of their generation looked with dreamy eyes upon the past and sang of hoary ruins, deserted manors, crumbling castles through which once stalked gay knights and noble damsels. Foremost among the lyricists were Josef von Eichendorff, the interpreter of the German forest, brook, and village, and Ludwig Uhland,* the leader of the sentimental Suabian singers and the master of the historical ballad.

Romantic idealization of the German past stimulated nationalistic feeling. The songs of the patriot-poets Ernst Moritz Arndt and Theodor Körner lent courage to warriors in the struggles against Napoleon. When the power of the French conqueror was broken

at the battles of Leipzig in 1813 and of Waterloo in 1814, Romantic lovers of medievalism were, on the whole, not dissatisfied with the reactionary tendencies that set in. Although their dream of a united empire that would embrace all German-speaking peoples was frustrated by dynastic rivalries, they saw their basic principles for the pacification of Europe adopted by the Holy Alliance, which undertook to maintain the Continent safe for Christianity and absolutism. The post-Romantic generation, however, was bitterly opposed to this regime, whose guiding spirit was the Austrian chancellor Prince Metternich. At first this opposition took the form of *Weltschmerz,* a mood of disappointment and mental depression. This mood was best mirrored in the lyrics of Graf von Platen, Nikolaus Lenau, and Adalbert von Chamisso,* noblemen that, like their English contemporaries Byron and Shelley, refused to cast in their lot with the dominant aristocratic regime. But before long, bourgeois radicals took up the struggle and made literature the vehicle for the propagation of their ideas on politics and society.

Young Germany was the name applied to the group of writers who under the stimulus of the French Revolution of July 1830 sought to transform Central Europe into a democracy. The writers thus designated were not aware of their common objective until a decree of the German Federal Diet on December 10, 1835, banned all their past, present, and future works. As justification for this sweeping excommunication, the decree asserted that these writers were attacking the Christian religion in a most insolent manner, were defaming the existing social order, and were destroying all discipline and morality. The police authorities were asked to prevent the publication and circulation of all writings by Heinrich Heine, Carl Gutzkow, Heinrich Laube, Ludolf Wienbarg, and Theodor Mundt. Actually these writers were advocating a united Germany, democratic forms of government, religious tolerance that would embrace even the irreligious, social equality without any distinctions due to birth, emancipation of woman from all traditional disabilities, and rehabilitation of the flesh. Since a strict censorship supervised all expressions of opinion on controversial subjects, the Young Germans sought to evade suppression by incorporating their views in apparently harmless literary forms, such as fiction, drama, lyric, travel sketch, book review, theatre criticism. Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Heine first perfected this technique. Börne's *Briefe aus Paris* (*Letters from Paris*), written from 1830 to 1832, were literary bullets fired across the German border, witty darts designed to open the eyes of readers to the glaring injustices in their midst. Karl Gutzkow,* the storm-center of the movement throughout the 1830's, is today best remembered as the author of *Uriel Acosta* (1847), a drama often compared with Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* because of its advocacy of freedom of thought, religious tolerance, and the rights of the individual.

Heinrich Heine* (1797–1856) began with the writing of love lyrics full of sweet sentimentalism, *Weltschmerz,* and Romantic irony, but soon developed into a bold pioneer of modernism. His *Buch der Lieder* (*Book of Songs,* 1827) treats of the pains and follies of youthful passion; it has inspired more musical renderings than any other lyrical collection in the world's literature. Heine constantly reads his own moods into nature. When he loves, lilies, violets, lotus-flowers, nightingales, gazelles, sun, moon, and stars are also overcome by this feeling. When, on the other hand, he is betrayed by his sweetheart, all nature experiences the tragic change. Day is turned to night, the sun is blotted out, the stars fail to shine, gladness gives way to tears and goblins take the place of nymphs.

Heine called himself the last of the Romanticists. He was, however, also a pioneer

of Realism and the first German poet to grapple with the new landscape of factories, with the new menace of the slums, with the intenser antagonism between rich and poor. A trip to England in 1827 brought him into contact with the vanguard of the new industrial order and confirmed him in his conviction that social conflicts of unprecedented dimensions were soon to break upon Europe. In his *Englische Fragmente* (*English Fragments,* 1828), he contrasted the drabness of proletarian existence in London with the splendor of the opulent classes. He felt that a poet could never feel at home in such a metropolis, in which all-embracing seriousness, terrible sameness, machine-like activity oppressed the imagination and killed the emotions.

After the French Revolution of 1830 Heine left for Paris. There he associated for a time with the followers of Saint-Simon and helped to transplant across the Rhine the social and political doctrines of this French philosopher. The poet foresaw a democracy not of frugal citizens but of human gods who would enjoy nectar and ambrosia, purple robes and costly perfumes, lust, splendor, music, comedy, the dance of laughing nymphs. In *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (*Germany. A Winter's Tale,* 1844), he wrote a song of the kingdom of heaven on earth, a song to replace the old lullaby of renunciation chanted by priests and parasites. In this kingdom of the future, everybody would have not only bread and cake but also roses and myrtles, beauty and unrestrained freedom.

Heine's early optimism turned to bitter cynicism after the failure of the Revolution of 1848. He foretold the outbreak of world wars and social revolutions, German efforts at Continental domination and Communistic upheavals in country after country. Because of his sardonic criticism of venerated institutions, he was a center of controversy for many decades. He himself, however, wished to be remembered above all as the bard of democracy, as a warrior in the struggle for the liberation of mankind.

Political Poets. The poets of Heine's generation were prized not for the beauty of their imagery or the depth of their emotion but for their specific political, social, or moral thesis. In the 1840's it was the political message more than any other feature embodied in a poem that won for a writer popular approval or condemnation. Political poems were broadcast by the thousands in pamphlet form, or even in single sheets, and devoured by eager readers. The literary idols on the eve of the Revolution of 1848 included Georg Herwegh, Ferdinand Freiligrath—the earliest German translator of Walt Whitman—and Hoffmann von Fallersleben, the author of *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,* a seditious song in its day but Germany's national hymn a generation later.

The spiritual unrest and the political agitation of the post-Napoleonic era was also mirrored in the dramas of Grabbe and Büchner. Christian Dietrich Grabbe* unrolled in his tragedy *Napoleon* (1831) a panorama of the hundred days beginning with the Corsican's return from Elba and ending with his defeat at Waterloo. He showed the rabble of Paris in action, the growing fury of a rioting mob, its impatient lust for blood, its blind zeal for destruction, its fickleness, and its extreme sensitiveness to suggestion. He recognized the historical importance of the unkempt *sansculottes,* the offspring of the gutter that might for a time be forced back into its dank home by a Bourbon king or by a Napoleon, but that promised to break forth again and again.

Georg Büchner* dramatized an earlier episode of the first French Revolution in his only completed tragedy *Dantons Tod* (*The Death of Danton,* 1835). He too showed the masses of Paris, blinded by prejudice, seething with excitement, thirsting for violence, shouting

themselves hoarse with acclamation of a leader, and unthinkingly destroying this very leader soon thereafter in a sudden change of mood. But while Grabbe, the nihilistic critic, had little sympathy for the mortal creatures whose antics he depicted with sardonic glee, Büchner avoided ridiculing his humble, nameless individuals, in spite of their uncouthness and contradictions. His savage beings may murder and wreak havoc, but it is merely because they are hungry. Empty stomachs may momentarily accept blood as a substitute for bread, yet it is really bread they crave.

Our century saw in Buchner a forerunner of Expressionism and in Grabbe a premature Strindberg, but their own century remained largely unaffected by their experiments in style and by their innovations in subject-matter. The dramatic tradition of Weimar was too strongly entrenched. The first formidable opponent of this classical tradition arose in Heinrich von Kleist,* whose ambition it was to tear the garland from the brow of Goethe. This ambition, frankly expressed by the young dramatist while working on his tragedy *Robert Guiscard,* was unrealized; in a moment of dejection, the tragedy was consigned to the flames. Only the opening scenes have been preserved. They show Kleist wrestling to unite the Greek and the Shakespearean types of drama in a newer, higher entity that was to mark the supreme level of dramatic achievement. Because his ambitious plan failed, Kleist despaired. Only after a severe illness was he restored to creative activity. Kleist's characters share his uncompromising spirit, his unflagging persistence in the pursuit of an end, his refusal to recognize natural limitations. Best known among his plays are *Penthesilea* (1808), whose heroine, the queen of the Amazons, exceeds normal bounds in her domineering impulse, *Kathchen von Heilbronn* (1810), whose heroine is just as extreme in her rôle of absolute submissiveness, and *Der Prinz von Homburg* (*The Prince of Homburg,* 1810), which carries to the utmost limits the Prussian principle of duty and absolute obedience to the state. The Prince of Homburg, who helps the Elector of Brandenburg to win a memorable victory over the Swedes by charging at the head of his cavalry against the enemy during the decisive moment of the battle, finds himself to his amazement condemned to death by a court martial because his impulsive charge was contrary to the orders of his superiors. At first the young prince quails at the sight of his open grave and begs for life. But when told that the death-sentence would be annulled, if he regarded it as unjust, he finds the necessary courage to face death stoically, realizing that the welfare and indeed the very existence of the state depended upon the unquestioning obedience of every one of its members, no matter how high or how humble their station. Having learned this lesson and having bowed to discipline, he is then ripe for pardon and a life of service.

Kleist is the dramatic genius of Prussia. His antipode is Franz Grillparzer,* Austria's outstanding man-of-letters. If Kleist is active, dynamic, sizzling with intensity, Grillparzer is passive, yielding, full of sweet melancholy. If Kleist defies, Grillparzer renounces. If Kleist exults and despairs, Grillparzer smiles, now pleasantly and now sadly, but always wearily. If Kleist is the exponent of a young and vigorous people, Grillparzer is the representative of an aging empire. In spite of many unromantic traits, Kleist is often associated in the minds of scholars and critics with the Romantic tradition. Grillparzer too was long regarded as a Romanticist, primarily because the play which established his reputation, *Die Ahnfrau* (*The Ancestress,* 1817), seemed to follow in the footsteps of the Romantic Fate-Tragedy. His second play *Sappho* (1818) was, however, classical in subject-matter and form. This was followed by the trilogy *Das goldene Vlies* (*The Golden*

Fleece), begun a few months later and centering about the classical heroine Medea. Grillparzer also chose a Greek subject, the story of Hero and Leander, for his play *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* (*The Waves of the Sea and of Love*, 1831). The Austrian dramatist delved into the past of his own people and of its royal house in the tragedy *Konig Ottokars Gluck und Ende* (*The Rise and Fall of King Ottokar*, 1825), dramatizing the victory of Rudolf of Habsburg over his chief rival, the king of Bohemia. In his only comedy *Weh dem, der lugt* (*Woe unto the Liar*, 1838), Grillparzer foreshadowed modern realism and questioned the possibility of absolute standards. Analyzing the proposition that one should always tell the truth, he has the hero, a kitchen boy, speak the truth so openly and so brazenly that it cannot possibly be believed. Greater deception is thus practiced than if outright lying had been attempted. The relativity of all standards of truth and the inadequacy of all preconceived formulae before the complexities of life are vividly portrayed.

In this questioning of accepted ethical values and social ideals, Grillparzer's plays preceded those of Friedrich Hebbel,* the dramatist who saw in these values and ideals merely transitory expressions of the historical process. Hebbel maintained in his dramatic theory that in a constantly changing world, human beings become tragic not because they are wicked but merely because they are out of touch with their age, often enough because they are too good or too beautiful. All deviation from the norm is fraught with danger. Even as the last representatives of a dying order, who seek to arrest the onward march of progress, are crushed under the heels of a vigorous dominant regime, so too the first representatives of any rising order, though they be impelled by purest idealism, generally fall as victims of their innovations. The path of history is strewn with the corpses of martyrs, splendid individuals whose suffering can in no sense be attributed to any moral guilt or to any fault of character. In one of Hebbel's best plays, *Gyges und sein Ring* (*Gyges and his Ring*, 1854), a king of Lydia undertakes to bring Hellenic clarity to his backward, superstitious people and must forfeit his life because as an innovator he has dared to disturb the sleep of the world. Before he meets his end, the insight dawns upon him that the world needs its sleep, that it grows strong and vigorous while it seems to be motionless, and that one should never disturb its sleep unless one is prepared to pay the penalty. In an earlier play, *Maria Magdalena* (1844), Hebbel presents the conflict of generations as it rages in many a conventional home, and strongly doubts that the accepted moral code suffices to solve the complicated social problems of the new day. A young girl is driven to ruin and death by the exacting demands of the family that is steeped in middle-class traditions. At the end, the father stands over her corpse and acknowledges that with his older concepts of honor he can no longer understand the younger generation. In *Herodes und Mariamne* (*Herod*, 1848), Hebbel portrays the tragedy of a Hebraic queen who insists that the dignity of her personality be respected, and who is misunderstood and actually killed because the despotic age and the man-made world she lives in see nothing in woman but the doll, slave, and chattel of the man. By espousing the cause of feminism and opening the attack upon the double standard of morality, Hebbel in this play foreshadows the dramatic problems that occupied the attention of Ibsen, Hauptmann, and the playwrights at the close of the century.

The trend of German drama from Kleist to Hauptmann is directed toward a greater realism both in subject matter and in style. The outstanding protest against this realistic trend is voiced by Richard Wagner, who saw in drama primarily a means of ennobling life.

of imbuing it with religious content as in the days of the Greeks. He therefore attempted a synthesis of language, music, and the scenic arts. After his youthful operas, such as *Rienzi* (1840), which followed the musical tradition of Meyerbeer, and *Der fliegende Holländer* (*The Flying Dutchman,* 1841), for which the original inspiration came from a reading of Heine, Wagner chose most of his subjects from glorious episodes of the German past and thus stirred his countrymen to patriotic fervor. His romantic opera *Tannhäuser* (1845) dealt not only with this Minnesinger's adventure at the court of Venus but also with the legendary contest of poets at the Wartburg, and brought on the stage the illustrious figures of Walther von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia. *Lohengrin* (1847) dramatized a legend of Brabant and thus again cast a romantic halo about the German Middle Ages. *Tristan und Isolde,* completed in 1859, was based upon Gottfried von Strassburg's epic of the early 13th c. *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (*The Mastersingers of Nuremberg,* 1862) centered about Hans Sachs and the artisan-poets of the sixteenth century. *Parsifal,* written in 1877, was modeled upon Wolfram von Eschenbach's epic of the knight of the Holy Grail. *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (*The Ring of the Nibelung*), a tetralogy of musical dramas upon which Wagner worked from 1853 to 1876 (*Rheingold; Walküre; Siegfried;* and *Götterdämmerung, Twilight of the Gods*), immortalized the legends of the Northern gods and heroes, of Siegfried, Gunther, and Hagen.

Wagner believed that the theatre could be an important factor in the rejuvenation of society. A study of Schopenhauer's philosophy convinced him that salvation from the pain of existence might best be attained by flight to the domain of pure art. Borne on wings of poesy, carried along on waves of melody, a person could completely forget himself and his unfulfilled desires, he could for a time live in the all. In Bayreuth, Wagner sought to establish the cradle for the new artistic cult, a citadel for his music, a miniature Weimar to which thousands of his admirers could make their pilgrimages year after year. In his apotheosis of art, Wagner continued the tradition of Novalis and Schlegel. He was the chief exponent of Romanticism during the mid-century decades. But not even his powerful personality and his sublime art could arrest the trend toward greater realism.

Realistic Novel. This trend is no less marked in fiction than in drama. The novels of Karl Immermann and Gustav Freytag,* the village tales of Jeremias Gotthelf and Berthold Auerbach, the sketches of Adalbert Stifter,* and the prose epics of Friedrich Spielhagen, Otto Ludwig, and Wilhelm Raabe,* show an increasing interest in contemporary social and economic problems and a more accurate insight into the soul of the common man. The most gifted of the mid-century novelists is the Swiss writer Gottfried Keller.* His best collection of short narratives is entitled *Die Leute von Seldwyla* (*The People of Seldwyla,* 1856). A brief introduction informs us that Seldwyla stands for any small town in Switzerland. Its physical appearance has hardly changed in centuries. Its people have, however, become politically minded. Whenever a depression comes to town, they clamor for a new deal and a revision of the constitution. They always prefer to side with the opposition. If a radical regime happens to be in power, they join the conservative pastor in his pious efforts; but if a conservative regime is at the helm, they adhere to the radical schoolmaster and smash the pastor's windows. In this town there are all sorts of cranks, whose aberrations give rise to much laughter and tears.

Keller's narratives are products of the bourgeois attitude toward life. The materi-

alistic philosophy of Ludwig Feuerbach, with its rejection of otherworldliness and its insistence upon a greater measure of earthly joy, came to Keller as an inspiring revelation early in his career and left its impress upon his works, especially upon his educational novel, *Der grüne Heinrich* (*Green Henry*, 1879). This story of a painter's struggles in pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp art was largely autobiographic. The well ordered routine and the homely virtues of the middle class appealed to Keller more than ineffective straining for some romantic ideal, and man's immediate relation to contemporary society interested him far more than man's ultimate relation to the cosmos. The maladjustments of individuals to the rules of good conduct laid down by a majority of their fellows formed an inexhaustible theme for his good-natured satire. Common sense was the yardstick he applied in judging human beings, but his kind humor and his sympathetic heart prevented too harsh a condemnation of their failings. Keller's humor is shed even over the saints and martyrs of his *Sieben Legenden* (*Seven Legends*, 1872), so that these cold models of the distant past glow with life and thrill to life's charming lures. This all-pervading humor of the Swiss novelist is, however, bathed in melancholy. It springs from his fundamental conviction that in the end all is vanity of vanities for us creatures of a day, and that therefore we might as well be pleasant and wreathe our lips in smiles rather than in frowns.

Among the realistic novelists, Theodor Fontane occupies a unique position. In him Berlin and Mark Brandenburg find their ablest literary interpreter. After having won an early reputation as a composer of ballads in the manner of Bishop Percy and Sir Walter Scott, he late in life set out to record in fiction his observations of the middle and upper strata of Prussian society, with which he had been associated for half a century. Fontane does not determine the fate of his characters nor does he invent stirring actions for them, but, after having created his characters and placed them in a well-defined trying situation, he lets them work out their own fate and lets the meager action follow inevitably from their social outlook and individual temperaments. His dialogue avoids loud words and overaccentuated outbursts. The mellowness of age, the tolerance of a kind soul, the irony of a gentle sceptic peer through his narratives, most of which deal with problems of married people, especially with the problem of the married woman who errs and who must always pay too dearly for her error. Society would, in his opinion, be much healthier and human beings much happier if less attention were paid to the matter of guilt and atonement in family relations.

The Pure Lyric. While German fiction concentrated ever more on the realistic depiction and appraisal of the new world gradually coming into being, the world of business and industry, of mass movements and class conflicts, German poetry reverted to outworn themes and somnolent forms. The hurricane that had swept through the German lyric on the eve of the Revolution of 1848 and that for a time brought dreamers and singers to the forefront of public life, seemed to have spent itself with the failure of this revolution and to have given way to a drowsy calm. In this calm, voices were heard preaching retreat from the sordidness of reality and the madness of smoky cities. The Munich School of lyricists was not interested in widening the boundaries of poetry but strained, rather, toward perfection of form. Like the Parnassians in France, it believed in the emancipation of art from the fetters of commonplace existence, in art for art's sake. Emanuel Geibel, the leader of the Munich School, assailed all poetry that was composed for a definite purpose and that aimed at a definite political or social objective. Greek

art of the Periclean age represented to him the highest aesthetic ideal. Geibel's views dominated the poetic circle which King Maximilian II assembled in the Bavarian capital. To this circle belonged Paul Heyse,* a master of style in narrative, lyric, and drama. Of his prose tales, *L'Arrabiata* (1853) is best known. His short lyrics approach the simple charm and pure inwardness of Eduard Mörike* and Theodor Storm, poets who sing of the quiet joys and sorrows of life without the need of an aesthetic theory to justify or explain their composition.

The verse of Mörike mirrors the mood of the Suabian landscape with its dreamy brooks and sunny hills, its swallows and violets, its whispering twilights and sweet dawns. The verse of Storm, on the other hand, depicts the more rugged landscape of Schleswig, the misty coast of the North Sea, the gray loneliness of the melancholy heath.

Unlike Storm and Mörike, upon whom nature bestowed the divine gift of song, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer,* the greatest of Swiss lyricists, had to wrestle with every image and every expression until he found its impeccable form. His poems are, therefore, mosaics, well-planned and perfectly executed compositions. Never is there an excessive word, and even the single sound, vowel or consonant, is often subjected to severe discipline before it is allowed to leave the hand of its creator. For many of his poems, Meyer sought his inspiration in the past, primarily in the Renaissance, whose culture the Swiss scholar Jakob Burckhardt unlocked for him and his generation. The rough boulders of history, turned over to him by the chroniclers of facts, are chiseled by his artistic hand into beautiful ballads and well-balanced prose narratives.

Realist Poetry. Meyer's flight to the past may be partly attributed to the extreme loneliness that gripped the pure poet in the later decades of the 19th c., when the new industrial civilization brought a demand for greater literary realism, a demand more easily satisfied by the dramatist and novelist than by the singer of songs, the painter of word-images, the lyric interpreter of moods. Detlev von Liliencron and Richard Dehmel* were perhaps the only poets of more than average ability whose lyre was attuned to the new realistic tones.

Liliencron, a nobleman of Holstein and an officer of many military campaigns, may be looked upon as the poet laureate of the reigns of Wilhelm I and Wilhelm II. His vigorous verses not only mirrored Prussia's glorious victories of 1866 and 1870 but they also reproduced the crash of railroad locomotives and hailed the newly invented automobile. A foe of Romantic sentimentality and of pessimistic moaning, he allied himself to the Naturalistic youth without at the same time joining in its crusading efforts and propagandistic proclamations.

Dehmel was Liliencron's literary heir. He championed revolt against sex taboos and in his poetic cycle *Zwei Menschen* (*Two Lives,* 1903), he advocated a reconstruction of the family. In his social poems, the most famous of which is *Der Arbeitsmann* (*The Workingman*), he revealed an understanding of the proletarian soul, so that the socialists of Germany laid claim to him as their favorite bard.

Naturalism. Neither Liliencron nor Dehmel but rather Arno Holz may be regarded as the father of German Naturalism, the literary movement that sought to limit art merely to the reproduction of nature. Art, according to Holz's definition, has the striving to be nature once more. It succeeds in this striving in so far as its technical means permit. Holz sought in one poem to recreate the minute raindrop and its fall from leaf to leaf under the influence of gravity. He attempted in the sketches of *Papa Hamlet* (1889) and in the depressing drama *Die Familie Selicke* (1890) to fix with a maximum of accuracy not merely words and ideas but also actual sounds over-

heard in the Berlin slums and specific gestures and facial expressions of proletarian characters. He won over, as the earliest convert to his theories, Johannes Schlaf and as his most talented follower, Gerhart Hauptmann.*

Hauptmann's greatness lies in the intensity of his pity for the suffering human creature. In his best naturalistic tragedy *Die Weber* (*The Weavers,* 1892), he immortalized the struggle of the Silesian weavers. His own grandfather had toiled and starved at the loom for many a year. Young Gerhart often heard from the lips of his own father the story of the memorable days in June 1844 when the meek workers were emboldened by despair to rise in rebellion. About him he still saw bent and emaciated figures that bore witness to years of overwork and undernourishment. He was therefore well equipped to dramatize the one heroic moment in the dreary life of the stoic and stolid plebeians, who themselves were incapable of expressing the agony of a century's martyrdom. Five scenes from the life of the Silesian loom workers of the year 1844 were selected to form the five acts of the tragedy. These acts are but loosely connected as far as place, characters, and action are concerned. Yet all are united by a common note of distress, through all peers the face of the hungry weaver. In apparent contradiction to traditional dramatic theory, no single hero dominates. The tragedy of an entire class is laid bare; our sympathy is enlisted not for an unusual individual but for a mass of ordinary human beings who suffer from social injustice and who are impelled to sin and violence against their better nature.

Hauptmann often projects good characters in his dramas into difficult situations which they are helpless to disentangle and then shows these unfortunate victims squirming within the meshes of fate. Such a character is Johannes Vockerat in *Einsame Menschen* (*Lonely Lives,* 1891). Placed between a wife who loves him and a girl who understands him, he cannot choose one or the other or both without causing much undeserved suffering. Similarly, Heinrich in *Die versunkene Glocke* (*The Sunken Bell,* 1896) is caught in the grip of conflicting duties, the duty he owes to himself and the duties he owes to others, and can find no way out save by draining the hemlock. In *Fuhrmann Henschel* (*Drayman Henschel,* 1898), a kind and honest individual is goaded to despair and suicide by his own superstitious mind and by the callousness of his fellow beings. Hauptmann even sheds the warmth of his sympathy upon thieves in his best comedy, *Der Biberpelz* (*The Beaver Coat,* 1893). The heroine, a shrewd washerwoman, who has grown old in crime and deception, is preferred to the stupid officials and the pompous defenders of the law, whom she is ever able to outwit.

The vogue of Hauptmann during the triumph of Naturalism was paralleled by that of Hermann Sudermann. This East Prussian writer won early success with his novel *Frau Sorge* (*Dame Care,* 1887) and his play *Die Ehre* (*Honor,* 1889); but it was with his dramatic masterpiece, *Heimat* (*Magda,* 1893), that he impressed his generation as the continuator of Ibsen. Magda, the German successor of Ibsen's Nora, maintained her hold upon the stages of Europe and America for decades. Her fulminations against the elders with their cowardly respect for public opinion, her rhetorical demands for truth, freedom, and the joy of life, her loud assertion of woman's right to follow the dictates of the heart, electrified theatrical audiences that failed to respond to more subtle expressions of these sentiments.

Austrian Aesthetes. While Naturalism dominated the literary life of Berlin, a reaction against this movement set in, centering about a group of Viennese writers. This group, which dominated Austrian letters dur-

ing the quarter of a century preceding the First World War, included Hermann Bahr, Arthur Schnitzler,* Hugo von Hofmannsthal,* and Richard Beer-Hofmann. Its influence extended to Felix Salten, Stefan Zweig, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Jakob Wassermann.

Schnitzler sang the swan song of old Vienna. He caught in his gentle hand the last golden glow of its setting glory and converted it into art. The sense of impending doom hovered about his favorite characters. This knowledge of their inevitable end lent a peculiar intensity to their every thought and activity. Never did they forge plans that required years to mature. They rather preferred to sip eagerly of every moment and of such sensations as were within easy grasp. They were aesthetic epicures. Schnitzler's first playlets centered about Anatol, a young philanderer, a sentimental dilettante who possessed the magic gift of genuinely and repeatedly falling in love for the first time. If upbraided for not engaging in a more useful occupation than that of the pursuit of beautiful women, Anatol would reply that he could not picture a more useful occupation than that of increasing the measure of joy in this earthly vale of tears. Seen through the eyes of Anatol, woman was merely a source of adventure and pleasure, a lovely toy to be entertained with kisses, caresses, and honeyed words. In *Märchen* (*Fairy Tale,* 1891), *Liebelei* (*Light o' Love,* 1894), and later plays, Schnitzler presented the game of love as it was viewed by woman. Then it assumed a more serious aspect. What might be merely a gay flirtation for the man was shown to be laden with deepest tragedy for the girl. The problems and ills of married people occupied Schnitzler's attention in his maturer plays, such as *Paracelsus* (1897), *Der einsame Weg* (*The Lonely Way,* 1903), *Zwischenspiel* (*Intermezzo,* 1904), and *Das weite Land* (*The Vast Domain,* 1908). Setting out in quest of new morals, Schnitzler ended with a realization of the inadequacy of all moral systems, old and new. The soul was a vast panorama that could never be wholly charted. The complexity of existence formed the ultimate explanation for the paradoxical behavior of Schnitzler's characters, most of whom live in an atmosphere of kindness, tolerance, and sophistication.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal,* the second great figure among the Viennese aesthetes, was perhaps the purest Impressionist in German letters. His lyrics, short tales, and playlets aimed to evoke moods, to communicate impressions, to create atmospheric values. Born in 1874, he reached the height of his fame before he passed the second decade of his life. At eighteen he wrote *Der Tod des Tizian* (*The Death of Titian*) and at nineteen *Der Tor und der Tod* (*Death and the Fool*). In these lyrical scenes, Hofmannsthal sang of the sweet intoxication of death and decline, the glamorous fascination of the moment, and the transitoriness of all striving and achievement. He was sad, pale, tender, over-sensitive to beauty, overburdened with historical and literary reminiscences, incapable of naive, natural reactions to experience. Many of Hofmannsthal's dramatic attempts served as texts for the operas of Richard Strauss. The most popular of these were *Rosenkavalier* (1911), *Elektra* (1903), and *Egyptian Helen* (1928).

Among Austrian poets, Rainer Maria Rilke* most resembles Hofmannsthal. In both there is the same lack of vitality, the same mild atmosphere of noble decadence, the same timid longings and subtle forebodings. Both see themselves as tired late-comers dragging along an unbearable burden of racial memories and half-extinct traditions. Both glide across the present, never really set foot in it. Both possess the ability to transpose and reshape whatever they see or hear into a higher form of reality. Both are singers of silence, solitude, and death.

Rilke, a native of Prague, never took firm root in this or any other city. He was an unstable wanderer, a perpetual stranger, without a family, without a fixed aim, without a definite calling, unless one regards as a calling the worship of words, ideas, impressions. He best revealed himself in his main narrative, *Malte Laurids Brigge* (1910). He spent his last years before his death in 1926 as a recluse in Switzerland, worshiping God not in a monastery but in the temple of art. His lyrics were hymns to a pantheistic divinity to whom he clung amidst all ills. His *Sonette an Orpheus* (*Sonnets to Orpheus,* 1923) and his *Duineser Elegien* (*Duinese Elegies,* 1923) contained the profoundest expression of his mystic moods.

Among the Austrian aesthetes, Richard Beer-Hofmann alone shares Rilke's deep religiosity. He too is ever aware of God's presence and sees all things irradiated by a secret sense, bound together by a single common thought. The unity of all life is the theme of his finest poem, the philosophic *Schlaflied für Miriam* (*Lullaby for Miriam,* 1897). Beer-Hofmann's fame as dramatist rests upon his tragedy *Der Graf von Charolais* (1904) and upon his biblical plays *Jaakobs Traum* (*Jacob's Dream,* 1918) and *Der junge David* (*Young David,* 1933).

Stefan Zweig, the youngest of the Austrian Impressionists, is a fine narrator of short stories that touch on abnormal psychic states, a sensitive critic, with keen essays on literary masters, a biographer who restores to life semi-legendary figures, an enthusiastic humanitarian of unflagging faith, a citizen of the world, a liberal of international repute.

The feeling of impending doom, which permeated Austrian literature before the collapse of this Danubian realm, also hovers over the characters of Thomas Mann,* the ablest interpreter and the last protagonist of the German bourgeoisie. Appearing on the scene when this class had already passed the zenith of its power and influence and when it was engaged in a losing struggle against aggregations of fabulous wealth on the one hand, and a politically conscious proletariat on the other, Mann is filled with nostalgia for its solid virtues and unhurried ways, its good-natured philosophy and rugged moral standards. A native of Lübeck, the Hanseatic city that once had been mistress of the Baltic and that still retained a last glimmer of olden grandeur, he began his literary career with several short tales and with a genealogical novel for which his townsmen and his ancestors furnished the chief models. This early novel, *Buddenbrooks* (1901), may be compared to Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga.* It depicts the decline of a Lübeck family of merchant-patricians from the height of prosperity in the post-Napoleonic era to the final débâcle in the decade after the Franco-Prussian War and the founding of the German Empire.

Mann speaks of himself as the chronicler of decadence, a lover of the pathological and of death, an aesthete with a tendency toward the abyss. In *Der Zauberberg* (*The Magic Mountain,* 1924), he draws a sardonic picture of the European society that was heading toward war and destruction. The scene is laid in a sanatorium for consumptives. To this Alpine asylum come the sick from all parts of Europe, bringing with them not only their physical ailments but also their spiritual diseases. The experiences of an ordinary human being, Hans Castrop, during seven years' sojourn among these doomed patients, enable Thomas Mann to pass in review the various forces that were driving the bourgeois world into that universal cataclysm of death, the First World War.

Mann was profoundly influenced by Schopenhauer, Nietzsche,* and Wagner, three prophets of a new apocalypse. To Schopenhauer he owes his sympathy with death. In Nietzsche he sees the incomparably greatest and most experienced psychologist of

decadence, while he remains largely immune to Nietzsche's yea-saying to life. From Wagner he learns the use of the *Leitmotiv* as a literary device, also, the importance of music as an escape from the pain of reality.

Mann's most cheerful work of fiction is a group of novels centering about *Joseph and his Brethren,* which appeared from 1933 to 1944. *Old Testament* myths of Jacob, his wives, his twelve sons, and his daughter are reinterpreted for modern readers with the aid of minute psychological motivation and a superabundance of irony.

Expressionism. During the decade after the outbreak of the First World War, the literary movement that attracted most attention was Expressionism, this broke violently with the pre-War ideology and technique, as exemplified by Naturalism and Neoromanticism and by such writers as Hauptmann, Schnitzler, and Thomas Mann. The advocates of Expressionism insisted that a poet was not true to his high calling as the priest and leader of mankind, if he contented himself with merely recording the impressions made upon his soul by his environment and by the phenomena of the outer world. This function might properly be left exclusively to the scientist or to the psychologist who operated with semi-scientific tools. The poet should rather begin with an inner vision of reality, a vision that was his through intuition. He should strive to give effective expression to this inner vision. He should aim to transform his environment so that it correspond more closely with this mystical insight. He need not exert himself unduly in order to attain perfection of form, since absolute simplicity and even formlessness might be better suited to jagged modern nerves. By abandoning calm observation and minute description of apparent facts, he might perhaps be approximating more closely the fundamental truths that were often obscured by too many facts. This dangerous doctrine, espoused during a decade of bloodshed and chaos, opened the door wide both for prophets with keen insight and for charlatans. Fantastic Utopias and grotesque apocalypses flourished. Dreams of an impending Communistic commonwealth of nations and of a pacifistic paradise of peoples alternated with gloomy forewarnings of the decline of the West. Poetry became largely propaganda. The fine dissection of complex characters in fiction and drama gave way to generalizations centering about a few standard types, purposely bereft of individual traits. Though Expressionism was ushered in by a flood of bombastic manifestos and revolutionary proclamations, very little of permanent value has survived. That little includes the lyrics of Franz Werfel, the plays of Frank Wedekind, Georg Kaiser, and Ernst Toller, and the novels of Heinrich Mann, Jakob Wassermann, and Alfred Doblin.

Gifted with extraordinary talent as a storyteller, Wassermann was tempted to assume the rôle of a German Dostoevsky. He sought to be both the prophet of a world collapse and the herald of the reawakened human soul, cleansed by pain and conscious of a new dignity. He projected in his long prose epics, the best of which was *Christian Wahnschaffe (The World's Illusion,* 1919), characters of all social strata who had somehow lost their anchor in life; creatures set adrift on uncharted psychic streams and whirling past abysmal horrors; men, women, and children, tortured by gruesome experiences, seeking God throughout their infernal distress, and finding Him only after extreme exhaustion at the end of their perilous adventures.

Wedekind* has been abused by some as a pornographic clown and satanic sensualist and hailed by others as the literary creator of a freer world wherein beauty is not marred by taboos and the creative impulses of body and soul are not stifled by social and moral conventions. He transfigured into dynamic language life's tempestuous rapacious instincts.

His beings are smouldering volcanoes that erupt with elemental power under the impact of some inner urge. In his most famous heroine, Lulu, the central character of *Erdgeist* (*Earth Spirit,* 1895) and of *Die Büchse der Pandora* (*Pandora's Box,* 1901), he depicts not a particular girl but womanhood per se, sex desire that demands satiety, instinct that craves for expression. As early as 1891, he foreshadowed the problems and the technique of Expressionism in *Fruhlings Erwachen* (*The Awakening of Spring*), a drama that deals with the joys and sorrows of adolescence, especially with the devastating effect that the imposition of artificial adult restraints has upon maturing boys and girls in whom the cry for life cannot be wholly stifled and in whom it therefore has to find morbid, miserable outlets.

Expressionistic longing for a rejuvenation of Europe through the power of love, sacrifice, and universal brotherhood found its most lasting artistic embodiment in Franz Werfel.* His early pre-1914 lyrics already championed the revolt of the soul against the rule of the intellect and substituted religious intoxication for the scepticism and sophistry to which his Austrian contemporaries were largely addicted. In his lyrics after 1914 he sings ecstatically of death and rebirth, doom and salvation, and urges man to enter into a new comradeship with all creation, animate and inanimate, for all are afire with the breath of divinity. Werfel's repeated calls for a return to God and for a renascence of religious enthusiasm reach a climax in his novel *The Song of Bernadette* (1943). In his maturer works, Werfel abandoned Expressionistic style and thereby gained in clarity and realism. He turned to history for his most fruitful themes. His preference is never for the lords and victors but rather for the lowly and the defeated. In his biographical novel *Verdi* (1924), his sympathy is with the gentle Italian composer rather than with Wagner, the musical giant of the north. In the prose epic *Die vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh* (*The Forty Days of Musa Dagh,* 1933), his heart bleeds for the Armenians in their hopeless struggle against the Turkish hordes.

Neo-realism. Werfel's transition from ecstatic Expressionism to a new form of realism is typical of the change that came over his generation. The leaders tired of chaos and hysteria. During the late 1920's the concrete was again preferred to the abstract, the definite to the indefinite, the attainable to the cosmic, keen observation to grandiose fantasies, discipline to caprice, humility in the presence of phenomena to over-exploitation of the ego, form to formlessness. Neo-realism, *Neue Sachlichkeit,* was the name given to this literary tendency dominant in Germany on the eve of the Nazi cultural dictatorship. These writers abjure loud phrases. They do not believe in panaceas. They make no pretense of healing magically the wounds left by War, Revolution, and inflation. They advocate calm productivity, humble work bit by bit, quiet shouldering of responsibilities. They prune their high hopes, devote their attention to the little things, relive the problems of the little man. Hans Fallada in *Kleiner Mann, was nun?* (*Little Man, What Now?,* 1932) paints the tribulations of the white-collar class that deems itself superior to the factory hands and that probably knows deeper misery. Hans Carossa, a physician, furnishes in his novels lucid, intimate glimpses of the people, the animals, the things, and the situations with which his calling brings him into daily contact. Arnold Zweig, in his tensely dramatic novel *Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa* (*The Case of Sergeant Grischa,* 1928), concentrates interest on a single Russian soldier, whose unimportant life and mistaken end challenge the entire Prussian system of administering justice. Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* (*All Quiet on the Western Front,*

1929) portrays the horrors of the First World War so realistically that the novel served as a textbook of pacifism.

Nazi-romanticism. With the victory of National-Socialism in 1933, Neo-realism gave way to propaganda literature. The most enthusiastic defenders of Hitler's Germany were recruited not from the Expressionists or the Neo-realists but from the disciples of Friedrich Nietzsche and Stefan George.

Nazi Germany saw in Nietzsche* the representative of Germanism and of the Nordic *Weltanschauung* (world view), the foe of Christianity and of the decadent Romanic culture. He was hailed as a modern Siegfried who set out to battle Western rationalism, collectivism, feminism, scientific materialism, and other 19th c. dragons. As the advocate of aristocratic individualism, Nietzsche was looked upon as the prophet of the Third Reich, as a preacher of danger and war, of a new political and social structure in which bankers, brokers, and businessmen will not determine public policies, as a philosopher who wants the state to be an heroic institution, an arena for superior, strong-willed personalities.

Nietzsche is fundamentally an optimist, an unwavering believer in the continual growth and improvement of the human species. He strongly advocates yea-saying to life, despite its tragic essence, yea-saying, however, not to the drab despicable existence of the mediocre, but to the elemental urge within us, the dynamic impulses that goad us to action. This yea-saying causes him to oppose Christianity, for, in his opinion, the Christian religion destroys joy by labeling as sinful the unfettered expression of natural instincts, it preaches love and renunciation, it is more interested in the weak and the helpless than in the strong and the conquering, it starves the body and directs the soul's aspirations toward a mythical extra-mundane existence. Nietzsche holds that the concepts of sin, conscience, humility belong to a decadent morality of slaves and underdogs. His ideal is the superman, who stands beyond good and evil and whose acts are determined not by any moral law but by the will to power. This ideal is expressed in his powerful essays and fragments, which appeared under the titles *Jenseits von Gut und Böse (Beyond Good and Evil,* 1885), *Der Wille zur Macht (The Will to Power,* 1886), and *Also Sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spake Zarathustra,* 1883–1891).

Stefan George* and his circle transplant Nietzsche's philosophic ideals from the realm of partisan propaganda to the realm of pure poetry, lyric drama, and creative scholarship. This group forms an aesthetic and religious cult. It believes that the divine is best manifested in heroic beings made in the image of God. Such beings are worthy of adoration, for they give to the rest of mankind its supreme values. They are not plagued by scruples, doubts, guilt, or remorse, and are in no need of salvation. On the contrary, they are filled with a severe sense of dignity, with a stern consciousness of the necessity of all their acts and tribulations, with a passionate urge for reshaping the universe in their likeness. They are creators in word and deed. They include Dante and Shakespeare, Goethe and Hölderlin, Caesar and Napoleon.

The cult of George sees in its master the contemporary embodiment of such an ideal personality and in Nietzsche a prophet who proclaimed the coming of the new redeemer. This cult regards poetry as the highest kind of spiritual activity, since the pure poet gives visible form to intangible phenomena of the soul, he imprisons within magical words and clear images the essence of reality, he converts to a beautiful unity the chaotic multiplicity of the cosmos, he transmutes accidental momentary events into symbols of the eternal and the universal.

George's finely chiseled lyrics appeared since 1890 in slender volumes, abounding in

intentional obscurities, verbal idiosyncrasies, and peculiar punctuation. Nietzschean ideas infiltrate the volumes from *Der siebente Ring* (*The Seventh Ring,* 1907) until *Das neue Reich* (*The New Empire,* 1928). George sings of a dawning empire, where the word of the Führer will be absolute law for his disciples, who must obey unquestioningly. This new empire will not be a republic of free spirits, a democracy offering equality to millions, a paradise for intellectuals and graybeards poisoned by reason and enlightenment. It will rather be the creation of a small community of select beings, a community of enthusiastic youths under the inspired leadership of a single individual chosen by fate. When this Führer commands, all submit and joy in submission, for they love this masterful personality and therefore gladly bear his yoke. This Führer is, however, no blatant politician but a divinely gifted poet. George himself lays claim to the purple robe of the anointed one, and in the tributes of his followers he is hailed as the ruler, the master, the prophet, the prince of men. To these followers belong among others his biographer Friedrich Wolters, the lyricist Karl Wolfskehl, the literary historian Ernst Bertram, and, most influential of all, Friedrich Gundolf, who was the teacher of Josef Goebbels, Germany's Minister of Propaganda under Hitler.

Goebbels was probably the leading spirit in the cultural dictatorship established by National Socialism from 1933 to 1944. This dictatorship demanded that in the totalitarian state literature must become the organ of the national will as personified in its Führer. In a series of sensational auto-da-fés, the books of all those writers that had expressed disagreement with the Nazi regime were publicly burned in the squares of the German metropolises. A new pantheon of literary idols was enthroned. The most important writers acceptable to the Nazis include Paul Ernst, Hans Grimm, Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer, Hermann Stehr,* Will Vesper, Hans Friedrich Blunck, Josef Ponten, and Hans Johst.

German literature between 1933 and 1945 was largely propaganda. The subtle strains of the pure poet were muffled by the marching rhythm of martial feet. From beyond the German border, exiled writers concentrated their literary efforts on a struggle against Nazi ideology. Paris, Amsterdam, Stockholm, and Prague became important centers of anti-Nazi German literature during the years immediately preceding the Second World War. With the outbreak of this global struggle, London and New York became the principal havens for German literature in exile. Meanwhile in Germany itself momentous forces were in motion forging a tragic destiny for a much harassed people. Germany, long torn between Potsdam and Weimar, headed with whirlwind rapidity to catastrophe after catastrophe, physical and spiritual, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, disciple of Wagner and misinterpreter of Nietzsche.

The collapse of Germany in 1945 climaxed three decades of ferment and restlessness that began with the outbreak of the First World War. The year 1945, that broke the military might of Germany and its political hegemony on the European Continent, ushered in a period of spiritual brooding and a questioning of long accepted national attitudes. Out of this brooding and questioning, a new intellectual approach and new moral values are arising and new literary movements are being born. Germany of the mid 20th c. is broken in body but sounder in spirit and ready to resume constructive contributions to the common stream of Occidental culture.

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SOL LIPTZIN.

German Folklore

IN SURVEYING the field of German folklore, we are faced with an anomalous situation. It is a vast field, highly productive; much of what grows on it has its deepest roots in ancient classical and Biblical lore, a great deal of it is endowed with uncommon beauty—but yet a genuine appreciation of its high value dates back to a period no more than six generations ago, and the interest of the educated and lettered classes was turned to it, indirectly, through police encroachments of the absolutist states into popular customs and usages, such as church wakes, Maypole dances, St. John's bonfires, in the first half of the 18th c. For these regulations induced the common folk to cultivate those features of their traditions that could not well be prohibited by the organs of the State, and the result was a vigorous efflorescence of song and story, which in turn kindled the interest of the higher classes of society in what had so far been treated with supercilious disdain. Naturally the movement required a special stimulus to make what had been deemed coarse and vulgar fare palatable to the educated circles. This was furnished by the powerful eloquence of Johann Gottfried Herder's essays on original poetry, and the strong following that his novel doctrines quickly gathered about him. In place of varied and specific terms for the songs current among the lower classes, he coined the felicitous word *Volkslied*, which was later adopted in English as *folksong*—the Germans returned the compliment some three generations later by taking over bodily for the whole field the new English word *folklore* invented in 1847 by William John Thoms (Ambrose Merton), which more recently has been gradually replaced by the more comprehensive term *Volkskunde* embracing both folklore and folkways.

In simplest definition, a folk song is a song that actually lives among the folk—one that strikes a responsive chord in their hearts, its theme being anything that concerns their lives; it is transmitted orally (even though individual singers may write down the texts in notebooks of their own); it is sung or hummed on every conceivable occasion, or rendered by several persons, without the aid of a conductor, the name of the author is either unknown or absolutely irrelevant—erudite scholars have unearthed the authorship of countless folk songs, and of a number of those composed since the classical period we know very well that Goethe, Uhland, Hauff, Heine, Eichendorff are the authors, but the singers do not care, and no one, if he set down the text of such a song, would think of jotting down the poet's name. Text and tune are inseparable; the singers could not possibly recite the words as such without the music; but they will usually without faltering sing a folk song from beginning to end. Naturally, oral tradition tends to disintegrate the texts; at times some lines or an entire stanza from a song will creep into another of similar theme sung to the same tune; or an original of ten or twenty stanzas may be reduced to a couple of stanzas that will retain but a fragment of the author's words or become completely unintelligible and be preserved solely for the beauty of its melody. Thus the ballad of the tragic *Hero and Leander* theme appears in a late version in two stanzas describing the longing of the swain for the maiden separated from him by "two deep waters" and the girl's answer holding out the prospect of a happy end.

The number of German folk songs is count-

less; the majority of them are grave and serious, the ballads nearly always sad and melancholy. All German groups are not equally given to singing—of Frisia in the northwest it was said in the Middle Ages *Frisia non cantat* —and every region has its particular repertory.

The narratives may be roughly divided into folk tales and legends or sagas. The folk tale embraces *Märchen* (fairy tales), which are the oldest type of escapist literature, never without the happy ending; and amusing stories in which the belief in fairy-tale elements is as a rule used to make fun of naive and stupid people. The classical collection of folk tales, under the title of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen,* was made from oral renderings, especially among peasants, by the Grimm Brothers, who, contrary to opinions frequently encountered on this side of the Atlantic, did not themselves invent a single one of these stories. Legends and sagas are of a widely different character. They profess to tell actual happenings, they might be termed examples of embryo historiography. They are far more numerous than the Marchen; there is no strange sight or event that sooner or later does not give rise to them.

Proverbs, recording the wisdom of the ages, are to the man of the street what literature is to the educated—a source from which he may quote when occasion requires. They are an international treasure trove; many stem from classical antiquity, at least in content, though their phrasing may take local coloring. Riddles and conundrums are more likely to be native, for their solution requires familiarity with a particular language.

EDWIN ROEDDER.

GHEG—*See* Albanian.

GILBERT ISLANDS—*See* Polynesian.

GOZO—*See* Maltese.

GOND—*See* Indian.

GRABAR—*See* Armenian.

GREAT BASIN INDIAN—*See* North American Native.

GREEK

THE HISTORY of ancient Greek literature may be divided into three main periods, which roughly coincide with the political fortunes of the Greek people. During the most original period, the Classical, extending from about 900 B.C. to 323 B.C., the Greeks developed their typical form of political organization, the city-state, and strove to maintain its independence. Throughout this period the main literary genres were developed to express the needs and ideals of the communities in which the individual writers played a full part as citizens. This era came to an end with the establishment of the Hellenistic monarchies in the lands of the Near and Middle East. In the ensuing Hellenistic period, the community of interest between the individual and his state was weakened, since the Greek population was spread thinly over the newly conquered territories. Thus, a more cosmopolitan literature was developed, written for the entertainment or scientific instruction of a relatively small, educated group and lacking the freshness which the works of the Classical period had possessed. During the 2d and 1st centuries B.C. the lands of the monarchies

were conquered and made provinces of the Roman Empire. In the following Greco-Roman period, Greek literature turned to its classical past to create a stylistic renaissance of letters by which the classical tradition was maintained. Gradually, however, the more vital Christian literature gained ground and, although written in Greek, exercised a destructive influence on paganism. A formal end of the pagan literature was made in 529 A.D. by Justinian's edict closing the Schools of philosophy, although its direct influence was still potent at least to the end of his reign.

A systematic history of Greek literature was never produced in antiquity, although the foundations were laid in the Hellenistic and Roman periods by treatises on style, biographies, and commentaries. Since a very large part of the literature and the scholarly studies on it have perished, many problems, particularly of the origin and influence of various literary genres, remain obscure and conjectural. For example, we have only fragments of the lyric poetry, 43 of the hundreds of plays written in Athens in the 5th c. B.C. and, for long periods, only the wreckage of a historical tradition. This is partly the result of wanton destruction, as by Crusaders and Turks in Constantinople, but largely of neglect in later antiquity and during the Byzantine period. Those works of literature that have survived have done so largely by their intrinsic merit or, in some cases, by chance or through use as school texts.

Greek literature was an almost wholly native and original creation of the Greek people. The Greeks were not indigenous to the Aegean area, but were the descendants of successive migrants of Indo-European stock, who entered Greece from the north at various times between 2000–1000 B.C., and of the settled peoples whom the immigrants found in possession of the land. Only the last of these waves of migration, the Dorian invasion, left any deep impression on tradition. The invaders used the Hellenic language, enriched by a number of non-Greek words from the language of the peoples already settled in the region. The political and military vigor of the invading peoples and the cultural achievements of the Minoans on Crete produced, about 1400 B.C., the Mycenean civilization. No literary remains have as yet been discovered, except for some still untranslated inscriptions in the Minoan script. The period was, however, important for the formation of cycles of saga and myth that survived the break-up of Mycenean civilization to be revivified in the epic poetry with which Greek literature began. In the several centuries of local isolation that followed on the destruction of Mycenean culture, the Hellenic language developed four main dialects: Aeolic, Ionic, Doric, and Attic, which eventually became standardized as literary forms and were regarded as the proper medium for the particu lar literary genres originated by their users. Writing, however, does not seem to have come into general use until the 8th c. B.C., when the language was expressed in the letter forms of a Semitic alphabet called by the Greeks, Phoenician. Thus, the earliest literature was composed for singing or recitation and, even until the end of the 5th c. B.C., "publication" was primarily by recitation rather than by the circulation of written copies.

Epic Poetry. The earliest works of literature that the Greeks knew were the epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer*, whose composition had already passed into the realm of legend by the time speculations about them were recorded. The *Iliad* tells of an episode in the long siege of Troy by Greek forces under Agamemnon. Achilles, the greatest of the Greek heroes, was insulted by Agamemnon and, in resentment, refused to participate in the fighting, thus imperilling his comrades, until his own friend, Patroclus, was killed. Achilles then entered the battle to

obtain revenge on Hector who had done the killing. It is a poem of warfare, waged by individual heroes whose exploits were their glory and who were likely to meet death at any moment. Although the period covered is only a few days in the history of the war, pictures of the heroes on each side, their exploits, the temper of the armies, the gods that fight for or against them, are all woven into a complex story that presents the life and the ethos of an Heroic Age. In such an age the gods, despite their interference in affairs, had little claim to be taken seriously, for they did not know death. Thus, the serious world of the poet was that of human beings, as it remained, almost without exception, throughout Greek literature. The theme of the *Odyssey* is also superficially simple, but elaborated and diversified with many episodes skilfully interwoven. Odysseus, craftiest of the Greek heroes in the Trojan War, returned to his home after ten years of wandering to find his wife, Penelope, on the point of marriage to one of the suitors that had been harassing her in his absence. The tone of the poem is not so high as that of the *Iliad*, but it illustrates another side of the life of the period—wanderings by sea and land, and the internal strife of a feudal society. Its material was drawn from folk tales and invested with the fascination of the miraculous and strange.

While the poems may be regarded as primitive epics from the nature of their subject matter, they were not experiments in the epic form, but rather the high point of a long tradition. The language is a medley of the Aeolic and Ionic dialects, retaining archaisms and forms of different periods, while the dactylic hexameters in which the poems were written are not stiff, but relieved by considerable variety. In the poems the cultures of two different epochs, the Bronze and the Iron Age, are reflected, which may be taken to represent respectively the formative period of the saga and folk tales that made up their subject matter, and the period of their composition. It is also clear, from reference in the poems themselves to the recitation of similar narratives, that a considerable period of poetic development must have preceded them. Later Greek tradition ascribed various names to this pre-Homeric period, Orpheus and Musaeus for example, but that was probably only an attempt of the religious sect of the Orphics to invest their founder with the veneration that the name of Homer had obtained.

The characters of the poems and the feudal type of social organization described apparently belonged to the Mycenean age of about 1200 B.C., which was a period of restlessness and many raids by sea and land in the eastern Mediterranean. The expedition to Troy was but one of these ventures. The deeds of the nobles and kings that led the raids were recited by the bards of their courts so that gradually a number of such lays came into being to serve as the stock in trade of the bards. As such, these would be passed from generation to generation, modified in recitation and acquiring some luster by contrast with the reciter's own period, for very soon after the legendary date (ca. 1184 B.C.) of the siege of Troy, the Mycenean civilization began to break up under its own internal dissensions and the invasion of the Dorians. The main cities of the Myceneans, like those of the Hellenic peoples of the poems, were on the Greek mainland, and there is, significantly, little mention of the Dorians. Thus, the material of the sagas had hardened before the latter came. The peoples that fled before the Dorians took refuge along the west coast of Asia Minor in the districts later known as Aeolis and Ionia. They cherished and embellished the stories of their past and continued to recite them in their new homes. In the 9th c. B.C., some poet of genius, "Homer," worked the material into a unified epic poem, no doubt selecting and cutting the available material to his needs, and making full use of

the discoveries of his predecessors and of the composite dialect traditionally used for the lays. Since exact historicity is not a characteristic of early literature, some social practices of his own period appeared in the poems, but, in the main, they represent Mycenean Greece and, in spirit, an idealized Heroic Age.

While the tone of the poems is dignified and expansive, the action moves swiftly and steadily from scene to scene with carefully varied repetition of the motives, designed to impress the movement of the whole theme clearly on the poet's listening audience. It is an enlarged ballad technique, which makes use of stock epithets, as "the much-enduring Odysseus" and "rosy-fingered Dawn." To throw some detail in relief by a sudden change of scene, similes are introduced. The comparison is directly made, but often it is the starting point for a vignette, elaborated for its own sake, which gives a glimpse of the background of nature against which the gods and heroes move.

The success of the poems was overwhelming, for a guild of reciters, the *Homeridae,* made it their business to recite them to a simple accompaniment and thus make them known over the islands of the Aegean and the Greek mainland. They were spread, apparently through recitation only, until the 6th c. B.C., when there is some evidence that the first written texts were made. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* also became the core of a cycle of epics, written in imitation, which dealt with the preliminaries and the sequel of the Trojan War and the returns of other heroes. In addition, other cycles of Mycenean legend, such as that concerning Oedipus of Thebes, were worked up into epics, although none of these survive. They, however, with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* formed a store on which the artists and writers of later periods drew for material.

The creative period of Greek epic covered roughly the 9th and 8th c. B.C., but the epic diction and meter were pressed into use during and after that time to serve other literary needs. It was a natural form to use for the proemia of the recitations, a number of which have survived under the name of Homeric Hymns. They are invocations to various deities, as Demeter, Apollo, and Pan, which recount some myth connected with the deity. But epic verse was also used for work of a very different type, which reflected a more questioning attitude in Greek thought—the didactic poems of Hesiod and his imitators, and the first attempts of philosophic and scientific speculation.

The epic poems had been thoroughly aristocratic in spirit, reflecting in a spontaneous and straightforward manner the delight of their audience in the excellence of men in battle and council. Questioning of the religion and conduct of such a society arose in the 8th c. and was expressed in the poetry of Hesiod,* who spoke as one of the peasant class. His *Works and Days,* the first didactic poem in Greek literature, showed in realistic detail the hard life of the Boeotian peasantry, and the *Theogony* is the earliest systematic treatment we possess of Greek mythology. Both themes were popular and, like Homer's works, the poems of Hesiod formed a model for various imitations in the same genre. They were, however, still very much in the epic manner despite their different tone; not until the 6th c. did the epic hexameters become associated with matter alien to their original use. At that time the Ionian philosophers, beginning to seek a rational explanation of their world in terms of natural phenomena, utilized the meter and diction of epic as the most convenient medium, since prose writing had not yet been developed. In addition, the Orphic sect, which arose in the 6th c., with views on the transmigration of souls and a doctrine related to that of original sin, both foreign to the Olympian religion of the epics, made its literary essays

in epic verse. Thus, by the end of the 6th c. the verse and language of the Homeric epic was being used by a variety of writers in different parts of the Greek world to express several different types of literature, which were later to find a more proper medium in prose.

Lyric Poetry. By the 7th c. B.C. the feudal society, with which the growth of epic poetry had been associated, had almost vanished from Greece. There followed a period of rapid and disturbing change, in which former traditions were transmuted to accord with the ideals of a society growing into the form of the city-state. One phenomenon of this revolution was the appearance of a middle class that had its wealth based partly on land, but increasingly on trade. Politically, the period was marked by the establishment of oligarchies, individual rulers—the "tyrants," and ultimately by democracies. Thus, the individual began to assume a greater importance; his feelings demanded a more personal expression. This impulse was first felt in the Aeolic and Ionian cities of the Greek east, in which the individual *per se* tended to have more importance. In the Dorian cities of the mainland and the west he was rather a unit of the state and associated with its common undertakings.

The spirit of this epoch was characteristically expressed in lyric poetry. Our own use of "lyric" is broader than that of the Greeks, who applied it only to poetry sung to the accompaniment of the lyre. This was of two types, "monodic" for solo singing and "choral," but the urge to personal expression also found outlet in two other types of verse, elegiac and iambic, which were composed for recitation rather than singing. The importance of music to lyric poetry is obvious, and its origin as a literary form seems to have coincided with the introduction into Greece from Asia Minor of musical scales, which were combined with the material of native folk songs by the first writers of literary lyric.

Elegiac poetry, written in couplets formed by an alternate dactylic hexameter and pentameter, was apparently a development of the epic hexameter. Elegy also owed much of its diction to the Homeric poems, for it arose in their own environment, the Ionian cities. Early Ionian elegiacs, however, have almost all been lost, and the most important poetry that survives was written by citizens of the Greek mainland—Tyrtaeus of Sparta, Solon of Athens, and Theognis of Megara. Their poetry is political and moralizing in tone, reflecting the disturbed political conditions and ethical questioning in their states. Tyrtaeus wrote war songs to urge on the Spartans in the conquest of Messenia and praised the "new order" instituted by Lycurgus. Solon tried to popularize his own changes in the government and economy of Athens, while Theognis complained of the excesses of the democracy in Megara. The elegy, however, was not limited to such content, but was also used for laments, love songs, and funerary epigrams. None of these uses was fully developed until the Alexandrian period; the best early elegiacs, while personal in feeling, remained political in content.

Iambic poetry seems to have been of a more spontaneous origin than elegiac, for the iambic rhythm is a natural cadence of Greek speech, and its pre-literary use for invective in rustic festivals was carried over into the first iambics written as literature. Archilochus of Thasos in the late 7th c. was the first writer to turn out iambics in literary form; his bitter abuse of the woman that jilted him and of her father, which is said to have driven them to suicide, remained a stock reference in literary tradition. Archilochus also experimented with other types of subject matter and other meters based on the iambus and trochee, but his poetry always remained intensely personal in tone, whether the matter happened to be politics, love, or a fable. Iambic continued to be used for simple narrative poems, beast

fables, and the like, which were not far from the popular speech in style, and, as such, it was a natural meter for the tragedians to adopt at a later date for the dialogue parts of tragedy.

The most characteristic poetry of the period, however, was lyric verse proper. Solo lyric designed to be sung by one person—the poet was both author and musical composer—arose from simple folk songs of love and pleasure, and, throughout its development, it retained the influences of its origin: simplicity of structure and meter, and a vocabulary close to the spoken language. The lyrics were informal in tone, written to express the poet's feelings about his friends, loves, politics, and whims. Archilochus had anticipated its content by his iambic verse, but the origin of solo lyric was connected particularly with the island of Lesbos. Lesbos was close to the coast of Asia Minor, whence came to Greece in the late 7th c. a new scale of music adapted to the lyre. The first important writers were Alcaeus and Sappho,* both of aristocratic families on the island, in which circles there had apparently been a refinement of speech and a sensitivity of feeling that flowered in their poetry. This intimate type of poetry was peculiarly appropriate to the individualistic and sensuous life of the Ionian cities; it was carried on by Ionian writers such as Anacreon in the late 6th c., who wrote brilliantly but superficially of his loves and drinking parties. In Athens, to which he moved, the more severe temper of the early democracy proved unsympathetic, and solo lyric died out in the early 5th c. as a serious literary form.

Choral lyric, while perhaps owing its origin to Ionian writers, was developed in the Dorian cities of Greece so that it became the principal contribution of the Dorian dialect to Greek literature. It was expressive, not so much of the personal feelings of the writer, although they had a place, as of some religious activity of the whole community. Thus, choral lyrics took many different forms: services to a god, laments, wedding songs, mimetic dances of various types, but all originally concerned to voice a religious feeling. In Greek religious thought, that meant the narration of a legend and moral instruction. The composition of the choral lyrics was peculiarly complex, for their performance involved singing the words, playing the musical accompaniment, and performing a dance. Thus, meter and structure had to be varied to fit the several types of music and dances traditionally connected with different ceremonies. The earliest choral lyric that has come down to us is a fragmentary maiden-song written by Alcman for a chorus of girls in Sparta. In it the chorus narrated a legend and indulged in raillery toward its own members. The parts apparently consisted of short solos intermingled with choral singing. In the 6th c., the structure of the choral lyrics became more complicated, and their subject matter was extended from purely religious material to include songs in honor of victors at the national games (*epinikia*), and encomia of individuals. They still retained, however, the essential traits of their religious origin—a legend and a serious didactic purpose set out in maxims. As their popularity increased, the elaborate triadic structure used in Pindar's surviving poems was introduced, possibly by Ibycus. In his work and that of his successors appeared the gorgeous language that Pindar* wrought into its most complex form. The place that choral lyric held in the life of the cities may be gauged by the fact that Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, three of its latest writers, made their living by composing choral odes to order. Its place was taken, in the 5th c., by tragedy, which had incorporated certain parts of the choral ceremonies as an essential part of its structure.

Drama. The development of epic and lyric poetry had been the work of Aeolic, Ionian, and Doric elements of the Greek people, and

citizens of many different city states had taken part in it. In the 5th and 4th c., however, Greek literature was fostered chiefly in Athens. Athens, by its central position in the Greek mainland, was in a position to profit from both the neighboring Ionian and Doric states, and, towards the end of the 6th c., its intellectual life was quickening, at first under the tyranny of the Peisistratids, later in the democracy instituted by Cleisthenes. A leavening influence was provided by Ionian artists and writers, who came there when the Persians conquered the coastal cities of Asia Minor. Finally, this nascent literature was carried forward on the crest of achievement that began with the victories over the Persians at Marathon and Salamis.

The most important literary development of the 5th c. was the drama. As in the case of the other literary genres that were based on folk materials or practice, the origin of Greek tragedy is obscure. A plausible theory is that its prototype was a rustic, choral performance celebrated in the worship of Dionysus, which involved a contest in which the god was killed and lamented. Such a performance would need a chorus to sing in praise of the god, and mimetic representation. In addition, it would have an essentially serious and religious tone, since the interest of a rural community was necessarily in the processes of growth and decay. All these elements—the chorus, an essential seriousness, and death—were characteristic parts of developed tragedy.

The performances seem to have had a semiliterary form by the last half of the 6th c., when Thespis, by introducing an actor, is said to have "invented" tragedy. The presence of an actor permitted dialogue between actor and chorus and the creation of dramatic situations by the tension between the two. About 535 B.C., Peisistratus instituted dramatic contests for tragedy in the state festival of Dionysus. Thus, the dramatic festival became an essential part of the public religion in Athens and the performances were financed and organized by the state. Such a competition implied the presence of a number of competitors, and, as the result of experiment and innovation, the drama had reached its characteristic form early in the 5th c. when Aeschylus began to write.

The 7 surviving plays of Aeschylus,* produced in the first half of the 5th c., reveal the essential character of Greek tragedy, although it had not then attained its fine balance. The themes were drawn not merely from Dionysiac legend, but from the whole range of epic poetry and mythology. Rarely, as in the *Persians,* which dealt with the defeat of Xerxes, a contemporary subject of great importance might be used. The choral origin of tragedy is apparent in the great amount of space given to the choral lyrics and their integration into the theme and development of the action. The choral element is so prominent that the dramatic parts do not have their proper treatment, and much of the action is told by narration and description. Aeschylus, however, in his later plays, pointed the way along which the drama was to develop, by increasing the dramatic sections. The plays were presented in organic groups of three (the triology), to which was appended a burlesque satyr play by way of comic relief. The trilogy developed a single theme through its course, thus giving scope for treatment on an almost epic scale. Aeschylus, as well as being epic in his method of presentation, gave his characters an epic simplicity, for their actions are motivated by a powerful will or a single passion rather than by complex human motives.

The highest stage of tragedy is illustrated in the plays (7 survive) of Sophocles,* by the fine balance between choral and dramatic parts. The chorus, while remaining a character appropriate to the theme and sharing in the action, is used in the role of an intelligent

spectator, who estimates the significance of the progress of the action, thus weaving action and emotional development together. The plays were also made complete units in themselves, not parts of a trilogy. The personages are more varied and subtle than those of Aeschylus, for Sophocles' interest lay in the action of human nature and human concepts of conduct in a given situation, rather than in a grand conception of some universal principle working itself out on mankind.

The plays of both Aeschylus and Sophocles were written in accordance with the Greek view of tragedy as a religious ceremony shared by the community, which should present some serious moral instruction. Thus, under their influence, its forms had hardened into a conventional mold. When Euripides* (17 tragedies and 1 satyr play survive), the third of the great dramatists of the 5th c., began to write he had to conform to a model that was evidently irksome, for, while his desire to experiment did not go far enough to create a new type of play, it yet destroyed the balance of the old. The choral songs became increasingly irrelevant to the action and little more than musical interludes—lovely as they are. Euripides, too, had little interest in using the drama as a vehicle for religious instruction, except perhaps to show the inadequacy of conventional religion in the situations of the mythical themes which he had to use as subject matter. Instead, he was interested in the psychological reactions of his characters and, to express them, new elements—witty dialogue, pathos, realism—were emphasized to such a degree that they sometimes slowed the action. Euripides was trying to write plays based on his own observation and criticism of contemporary life, for which the traditional form of tragedy was unsuited. This tendency was noted and criticized by contemporaries such as Aristophanes, but it indicated the future development of the drama as a living art, for in the 4th c., while conventional tragedies were written, they lacked vitality and ultimately became cabinet dramas, vehicles for rhetoric and philosophic ideas.

The Old Comedy of the 5th and early 4th c. was as distinctive a literary type in its own fashion as was Greek tragedy, but its growth is even more obscure, for only 11 plays by one author, Aristophanes, survive. Like tragedy, comedy seems to have sprung from a rural festival in honor of Dionysus, but one which celebrated the wine god as a bringer of fertility. The festivals were performed by a band of joyous revellers (the *komos*) whose performance was a mixture of song, mimetics, buffoonery, and coarse wit of a very rustic character. Such elements of comedy were present in festivals in many parts of Greece, and in Sicily they developed into the mime, which represented a short scene of contemporary life. It was in Athens, however, that the Old Comedy took its distinctive form. There, it was made a part of the state festival of Dionysus in 488–87 B.C. Experiments and imitation of the existing form of tragedy might well have produced a rapid growth, but of such matters we know little.

Unlike tragedy, comedy never achieved a close-knit, dramatic force in which scene developed from scene with adequate motivation; it kept an air of happy improvisation, and a very loose unity. Thus, in the plays of Aristophanes* a grotesque situation was presented in the first part of the play, followed by a complete digression (the *parabasis*) in which the chorus addressed the audience directly and sang a serious ode to some deity. The latter part of the play was a series of loosely attached farcical scenes which showed the results of the situation established in the first part of the play, and often culminated in a banquet or celebration. There was apparently no limitation, save the poet's inventiveness, as to the type of situation or the matter used for farcical treatment. Burlesques, parodies of the gods, and stories from mythol-

ogy were part of the usual fare. They are marked by a complete disrespect for religion, although not necessarily a lack of belief. Public characters, institutions, state policy itself even in the midst of a war, served as a butt for coarse and libelous attacks. Occasionally some offense was publicly taken, but there was no real curb set until the different taste of another generation brought inevitable change. The presentation of the plays called forth as much imagination as their subject matter, and the grotesquerie of the whole was heightened by the fantastic characters and the costumes of chorus and actors.

Yet the vitality of the Old Comedy was comparatively short lived. It had been originally a rural art, and the increasing sophistication of Athenian society in the 4th c. forced a modification of tone. The task of political satire was taken over by the demagogues of the assembly, which left to comedy only the duller forms of burlesque and parody. The use of the chorus diminished, and buffoonery was supplanted by a criticism of the manners of a whole class of society through stock characters. There survive only fragments and the names of authors and plays from this middle period of comedy, as it is called, but it is apparent that it was being transformed into a comedy of manners.

This was achieved by combining with it the new elements from Euripidean tragedy—realism, pathos, sentimentality—to form the New Comedy, which was developed by Menander* and his fellows about the end of the 4th c. The New Comedy had the essential characteristics of our modern drama. The scenes were laid in existing cities of the Greek world; the characters were imaginary persons drawn from contemporary life. The situations in which they are placed are the crises important to ordinary people: their fortunes and misfortunes of love, loss of social position, and the like; and the characters react to them as ordinary humans would. The plays were vivid and interesting enough to be extremely popular with Hellenistic and later audiences, but were far from the heights of the drama of the 5th c.

Prose Writing. Prose began to take literary form at a considerably later date than poetry. Its great age was the 4th c. B.C., by which time the poetic genres of epic, lyric, and drama had been exhausted. The first essays were made in Ionia in the 6th c. B.C., when such essentially prosaic matter as early philosophical speculation and legendary history were still written in epic hexameter verse. Apparently the realization dawned that this medium was unsatisfactory for the presentation of reasoned argument, particularly when its conclusions were breaking with the accepted traditions of the past. Thus, experiments were made in the artless speech of the period, which, it may be assumed, had already been used for popular stories and bare official records. The course of Ionian prose was interrupted, however, by the break-up of Ionian culture after the Persian occupation of the Ionian cities. Accordingly, the foundations of the great prose of Plato, Isocrates, and Demosthenes were laid in Athens by the sophists and rhetoricians in the latter part of the 5th c. Thus, although the beginnings of historiography and philosophical prose-writing antedate the work of rhetoricians and orators, the latter had considerably more effect on literary development.

Oratory and Rhetoric. Oratory had always been held in considerable repute by the Greeks from the time of Homer, but it was not studied as a rhetorical and literary art until the 5th c. The first rhetoricians whose names, although not their works, have survived, were Corax and Teisias of Sicily. The necessity of persuasive speech arose there in the years following the deposing of the tyrants in 465 B.C., when it became necessary to reclaim confiscated property in the law courts, and to conduct a direct democratic govern-

ment. Their work had apparently little effect on the speakers of the Periclean Age in Athens, for Pericles' own oratory seems to have been characterized by a vehement poetic and metaphorical tone rather than a calculated method of presentation. The generation of the Peloponnesian War, however, was strongly affected by the methodic study of speech that was made by the sophists, who built on the foundations laid by the early Sicilian rhetoricians.

The sophists as a group molded the style of Attic prose in its formative period by their concern with the proper use of words and the effects that their careful arrangement might produce. One of the most influential of them was Gorgias of Leontini, who is credited with the invention, or at least the popularization, of the so-called Gorgian figures, an antithetical arrangement of phrases and thought. Greek expression was naturally antithetical, but Gorgias emphasized this by an exact balance of clauses, each with the same rhythm and concluding with rhyming syllables. His vocabulary sought after similarly exaggerated effects, being a composite of poetical expressions and unusual coinages. To another sophist of slightly later date, Thrasymachus, is attributed the introduction of the periodic sentence, which allowed of greater nicety of expression and a subtler balance than the obvious and tiresome Gorgian scheme. Other sophists made studies of grammar and words, thus forming a basis for the vocabulary and modes of expression that prose might properly use. Their work was frankly utilitarian, designed for the purpose of enabling their students to make their way to public notice by brilliant pleading in the law courts or assembly, but it was a necessary preliminary to the developed prose of the 4th c., and played a great part in molding the public taste for artful oratory.

Athenian oratory was classified into the three branches of forensic, political, and epideictic. There are comparatively few remains of the latter type, which was used for declamations at the great national festivals and for public funeral orations. It was characterized by a lofty tone and the repetition of stock themes, and hardened early into a formal mold, since it did not have to adapt itself to specific circumstances to such an extent as speeches in the law courts and assembly. Every Athenian citizen was theoretically supposed to present his own case in the courts, and was free to debate in the assembly and council. Actually, the development of oratory as an art requiring a high degree of training made it necessary for most of them to have recourse to professional speech writers, and limited the debates in the assembly to a few able speakers. There was, despite these limitations in practice, a vast mass of Athenian oratory which was winnowed out by the Alexandrian scholars who established a canon of orators whose works have come down to us more or less complete. One of the earliest of the forensic writers, whose works are also among the earliest pieces of Attic prose, was Antiphon. His style is austere, marked by the use of the Gorgian figures and a type of argument from probability, which seems to have been originated by the early Sicilian rhetoricians. Antiphon's most famous speech, delivered in his own defense when on trial for treason in 411 B.C., has not survived. A considerable advance in prose writing was made by the speech writer Lysias, who worked about the end of the 5th c. His prose is straightforward and simple, lacking the more obvious rhetorical devices, but distinguished by its "ethos"—the adaptation of a tone suited to the character of the client and the case for which Lysias wrote the speech. As the development of a more complex style allowed greater ingeniousness of expression and argument, the skill of speech writers increased and a certain amount of specialization set in. For example, Isaeus, Demosthenes' teacher,

specialized in inheritance cases only. Political oratory, always a very potent force, was of necessity rather more extempore in its nature, and its form might show considerable variation. It reached its greatest peak in the speeches of Demosthenes,* who found a national cause in rousing opposition to the aggression of Philip of Macedon. His speeches were the result of careful writing and study, and were established as models of oratorical prose.

The most influential literary figure of the 4th c. was, however, Isocrates,* who, after an unsuccessful start as a professional speech writer for the courts, became an educator and pamphleteer. His writings, so potent was the influence of oratorical form, were presented mainly as speeches, but their careful finish and complicated style indicate that they were designed to be read. Although Isocrates' vocabulary, like that of the orators, was the everyday Athenian speech, his sentences are complex periods, very artfully arranged in a smooth, easily running course. He avoided verbal roughness and the abrupt jar of constructions that Demosthenes' work sometimes shows, and sought a dignified mellow tone which, through his pupils, became established as a norm and was adopted by Cicero.

The great age of Athenian oratory came to an end with the city's loss of political power, but its rhetorical discoveries were classified and embodied in Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* which, as the basis for subsequent handbooks, exercised a great influence on the more artificial rhetoric of later antiquity.

History. The preservation of a Greek historical tradition in the archaic period had been partly through the local traditions of cities and great families passed from one generation to another, and partly through the dry official records that might be kept by cities or temples. The first were concerned with glorifying the deeds of a few men or linking the foundations of cities and families to figures of mythology; the second, with preserving only a skeleton of names and events. The impulse to systematize and reconcile these often conflicting traditions, or merely to record them, was first felt in the Ionian cities in the latter part of the 6th c. This work is known only through a few original fragments, and the incorporation of its material into later accounts. It was uniformly expressed in a plain and artless style in the Ionic dialect. The sentences were short and simple, enlivened only by borrowings from poetic vocabulary and a natural Greek aptitude for pithy clarity which expressed itself in antithesis. Related to this quasi-historical writing were the first attempts at geographical research. Some of its data were reasonably precise, based on the knowledge that Greek colonists and merchants had obtained of the shorelines of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Persian Empire, but some, which recounted the legends of the colonies and barbarian hinterlands, had only a core of truth. This type of writing proved popular throughout the 5th c. so that its tradition was maintained by a series of writers known collectively as the *logographi.* It lost popularity when a more rhetorical style in historiography was developed in the 4th c., but the Alexandrians utilized these works as a source for recondite information on local history and mythology.

A great advance toward a more philosophical and scientific method of writing history was made by Herodotus* in the 3d quarter of the 5th c. His debt to the materials, if not to the method, of his Ionic predecessors was apparently rather greater than he cared to confess, but his work dealt specifically with the all-important fact of Greek history in the archaic period—the emergence of the Greeks as a distinctive cultural entity in the Mediterranean world and their clash with the chief barbarian power, Persia. Herodotus gave his theme a conventional moral basis, the corrup-

tion of great power by *hybris* (insolence) and its collapse through *ate* (infatuation) and exemplified it in the person of King Xerxes, but the incidents of history were thus linked by cause and effect. Picturesque incident and anecdote, however, formed a very large part of his work, and its method was reminiscent of that of epic poetry. The language, too, was a literary composite of various Ionian dialects, with its diction often imitative of Homer, while the unity of the whole was obtained through discursive variety on its central theme. Herodotus had no imitators in style or method, for, in the 5th c., Greek prose literature became centered in Athens and the pattern of thought that Herodotus had represented was outgrown.

By the last quarter of the 5th c. scientific rationalism and a habit of analysis had won a following among the more advanced thinkers of Athens. It found expression in historiography in the work of Thucydides,* which gave an account of the Peloponnesian War. His method and conception of history were radically different from those both of the *logographi* and of Herodotus. The subject matter was carefully collected, and presented in a concentrated and organized form, while the significance of the various crises and factors that marked the course of the war was fully analyzed by the device of inserting speeches delivered by important characters. The speeches were given an air of verisimilitude, but are actually close analyses of the forces that Thucydides saw at work. Such speeches became a standard practice of historical writing, but in the hands of Thucydides' successors tended to degenerate into rhetorical exercises. The style of Thucydides' work reflected the influence of the rhetorical developments of the period—a fondness for balanced antithesis and the Gorgian figures—but his personal habit of compressing his thought into forceful phrases often resulted in obscurity. Thus, his style proved distasteful after the smooth prose of the 4th c. had been developed; it found little imitation. It is rather in his clear conception of psychological and of political causation, and his analysis based on these, that his great reputation as a historian rested.

Thucydides' talents found no adequate successor in the 4th c., although Xenophon, and Ephorus and Theopompus, the two latter pupils of Isocrates, carried on the historical tradition. Xenophon, although able to write clearly and simply, had no particular ability for analysis and synthesis, while the pupils of Isocrates had been trained to produce pleasantly reading and morally edifying work, which did not arrive at any great understanding of the matter with which it dealt. Ephorus, however, attempted a complete history of Greece—a type of work that became popular in Hellenistic and Roman times.

Philosophical Writing. As in the case of historiography, philosophical prose writing first appeared in Ionia in the late 6th and early 5th c. To judge from its fragments, the style was similarly artless, but from the nature of its subject matter had a rather more austere and gnomic tone. Side by side with this purely philosophic writing, a plain and technical prose was used by the medical writers of the school of Hippocrates, the first writers with a valid scientific method, some of whose surviving works are to be placed in the 3d quarter of the 5th c. The characteristic dialogue style of Greek philosophy, however, exemplified in the work of Plato,* owed its form in part to Socrates, who himself made a point of not setting down his views in writing. The Socratic method of elucidating knowledge by question and answer made such a strong impression on his followers that the dialogue was adopted as the natural form for philosophical enquiry. Plato also was able to draw upon the advances made by rhetoric —a nice use of words, the working out of the periodic sentence, and the innovation of the

orator Lysias in giving his speeches an air of natural sincerity by using language typical of his clients. Thus, the Platonic dialogues, or at least the earlier and less technical ones, have dramatic vivacity and convincing characterization. Plato, however, added to the dialogue by incorporating a narrative myth, in which his ideas were transferred by revelation and for which the style was raised to an almost poetical tone. In his latest works, like the *Laws,* and in some of the more technical dialogues, he used an almost purely expository and technical method of presentation. Aristotle's* surviving works are mainly expository, and because of their abbreviated and frequently technical style they are scarcely to be classed as works of literature. Aristotle's method and plainness of style, carried on by his successors, led to the use of a flat, colorless, but accurate type of writing in the scientific works of the Hellenistic period.

Hellenistic Literature. The important genres of Greek literature during the classical period had almost all been developed in a natural fashion from primitive models in response to the changing needs of the city-state. After the establishment of the Hellenistic monarchies, the individual city-states became only units of the monarchies or enjoyed a largely nominal independence. Thus, in the Hellenistic period, literature no longer held such an important part in the life of the community; it became a more cosmopolitan art. Patronage was the gift of the monarchs and great court officials, so that the new capitals, Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, and Pergamum in Asia Minor, became intellectual and artistic centers. Alexandria was the most important, since the Ptolemies established the Library and Museum there and subsidized scholars and writers. Of the old city-states, Athens retained its prestige, partly by tradition, partly because the schools of Aristotle and Plato were sufficiently well established to make it the center of philosophical teaching and writing. In the new capitals and monarchies the Greeks formed a small and culturally exclusive ruling class which was interested in preserving its Hellenic tradition. Thus, much of the literature was a deliberate adaptation and imitation of the classical forms; there was little recognition of the new barbarian world that had been opened up, except in the descriptive studies of science. The latter, which had been given its methods by Aristotle, became the major achievement of the Hellenistic period, while the literature had an academic tone.

The predominant place of Athens in the literary production of the 5th and 4th c. had resulted in the establishment of the Attic dialect as the standard literary language. As such, it became the basis of Hellenistic Greek, the *koine,* which was used as the common language of the Greek-speaking world. Since the *koine* was simpler in form than Attic, it lacked the accuracy and subtlety of phrase that had marked the work of the classical authors. The various dialects that had been identified with the different types of Greek poetry were artificially maintained by writers in those genres, but they gradually died out as living speech. Despite its volume, much of Hellenistic literature has perished: what was new and worth preservation in the poetry found imitation in the Roman writers of the late Republic and early Empire; the prose tended to be neglected in later periods because of its style, which was distasteful to the neo-classicists of the Roman period.

Poetry. Greek poetry had been in a state of decline during the 4th c., as it had lost touch with the feelings and passions of life. Epic was cultivated as a literary exercise by some writers, but lyric poetry survived only in the form of light personal pieces and elaborate choral compositions in which the words were subordinated to the music and chosen for their sound rather than their sense. Drama, as an expression of popular religious feeling,

had been destroyed by the loss of sincere religious belief and the growth of philosophy. The Hellenistic poets introduced new forms and new elements into the traditional genres, but they were highly artificial in character, being the result of deliberate selection by scholarly writers.

Most of the Hellenistic poets were intimately associated with Alexandria, either holding posts in the library there, which necessitated work on its manuscripts, or enjoying the patronage of the Ptolemies. Hence the application of the name, Alexandrian, to their type of poetry as a whole. They lived in a bookish, academic world that had little concern, beyond disparagement, with the active political and military life of the period, and of necessity turned to the past for its models, though developing, by way of compensation, a somewhat artificial interest in nature and romance. Their writing was erudite and carefully finished, with close attention to details of style and language. The ordinary Greeks of the period had no interest in this archaistic literature, and the wealthier barbarians little interest in Greek culture for its own sake, so that the poet's audience consisted of his own circle and his patrons. In the mid 3d c. this hot-house atmosphere bred a literary dispute of considerable acrimony, which had an important effect on the development of Alexandrian poetry. One literary group, whose head was Callimachus,* a scholar working in the library, advocated the use of short modes of expression: the elegy dealing with romantic themes of Greek mythology, the epyllion or short epic which treated some single episode of legend fully, the epigram which could express its writer's view pithily and neatly on a variety of simple feelings. The other group championed the longer forms of antiquity, above all the epic, and has left as its chief monument the *Argonautica* of Apollonius* of Rhodes. The victory lay with the Callimachean school, so that the best and most influential types of Alexandrian poetry are those expressed in the short forms. The treatment was new and, above all, introduced a romantic interest in love themes, which was imitated by such Latin writers as Catullus, Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius. Thus, it exercised considerable influence on western European literature, although the Greek models have mostly perished. The most original work of this type was that of Theocritus,* who both revived the mime as a literary genre and established the pastoral idyll as a form, popular thereafter in many ages.

The essentially scientific interest of the period found poetic expression in a new type of didactic poetry. Hesiod's poems had been designed for moral and religious instruction, but the Alexandrians merely versified scientific matter. For example, Aratus' *Phaenomena,* which had great popularity in literary circles, put into verse a prose work on astronomy by Eudoxus of Rhodes, and Nikander's poem on snake bites and their antidotes was concerned primarily to present factual information.

All this poetry was far from popular taste and the spoken language, and none of the writers of ability tried to convert such popular forms as existed into literary genres. A popular taste existed for trifles of moralizing, satire, indecency, and mimes. The nature of the latter may be seen in the literary mimes of Herodas, which give short dramatic sketches of contemporary life in vigorous language, but which are written in the archaic dialect and meter used by the Ionian poet Hipponax of the 6th c. B.C. Herodas apparently regarded his work as imitative rather than as an experiment that might have instilled new life into the drama. The best of the Hellenistic poetry was written in the 3d c. B.C. and, toward the close of the period, as the kingdoms collapsed, inspiration seems to have run dry except for trifles and the beginning of anthologies, which were later formed into the collection known

as the *Greek Anthology*. This preserves short pieces and epigrams from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine period, many of which are excellent in their form, but it was a form popular as relaxation for a cultivated and literary audience.

Prose Writing. Prose writing rather than poetry was characteristic of the Hellenistic period, but much of it was of an expository, scientific nature that had little literary interest. Philosophic activity was great, for the new schools of Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Cynicism were founded. The philosophies were concerned with practical ethics rather than metaphysics; they kept for the most part to the methods of Plato and Aristotle or, as in the case of Epicurus, disclaimed any attempts at literary style. Most interesting from the literary standpoint were the "Characters" of Theophrastus—short sketches of typical figures in whom one ludicrous failing was exaggerated. The Cynics developed the diatribe as a means of satire, and a considerable amount of biographical writing was done by the Peripatetics, which seems either to have presented "typical lives" or to have shown a great interest in scandal and gossip.

Since the characteristic political form of the period was an absolute monarchy exercising its power through an elaborate bureaucracy, there was little scope for political eloquence except of a declamatory nature, which could not concern itself with real issues. Thus, the single development in oratory was a greater concern with the theatrics of presentation. As it flourished in the cities of Asia Minor, the style is known as Asianism. It was in some measure a return to the principles of Gorgias. The rhythm was stressed, and clarity and sense sacrificed to the turning of an elaborate phrase or the use of a strained vocabulary. The aim was to give a sensuous pleasure through sound, rather than to have any rational persuasive effect. Most of this oratory has perished with other Hellenistic prose, through the change in taste for a severer Atticism in the Roman period.

The most voluminous writing of the period was, however, in history and science. The practice of maintaining a continuous historical tradition in narrative was followed, but the scope of historical writing was widened considerably. The general literary interest in remote antiquity found expression in many local histories, and there was renewed interest in the work of the Ionian *logographi* of the 5th c. In an age of vigorous and powerful personalities, who had led the Greeks to India and maintained rule over native populations with a handful of soldiers, biographies and memoirs were a popular form of writing. They too, like the biographies of the Peripatetic school, had a large admixture of gossip. As well as the Greek countries, the newly opened lands of the East came in for a certain amount of attention, and natives of those countries wrote the history of their own lands in Greek, following Greek models—Manetho for Egypt and Berosus for Babylonia. In addition, the Jewish colony in Alexandria produced the *Septuagint* in Greek, and a hybrid Greek-Hebrew thought came into existence which was developed in the work of the philosopher Philo. The Greeks themselves showed little interest in attempting to write serious histories or studies of the native peoples, although the periods of Greek occupation in those lands received attention. The chief impression made on literature was by strange customs and practices. Thus the literary accounts of India, which became current, were mixed with fable, although trade connections were active and a Greek monarchy controlled the northern part of India for a sufficient length of time to allow of the gathering of accurate information. Generally speaking, however, the historical writing of the period remained centered on Greek subjects until the power of Rome made itself felt in the eastern Mediterranean in the 2d c. B.C. Then

Polybius,* the ablest historian of the period, seized upon the theme of Roman expansion to produce an able and interesting work which has in part survived. Most of the historical work has perished, but, generally speaking, its style seems to have carried on the rhetorical tradition of historiography established by the pupils of Isocrates.

The scientific work may be omitted in a sketch of literary activity, as none of it seems to have been distinguished for its literary qualities. Its scope, however, extended to philology. The work of the Hellenistic scholars on texts and on the classification of writers and genres, and the writing of commentaries, formed the basis of literary scholarship in the ancient world. The scholars were responsible for the definition of the writers between Homer and Aristotle as classical, and did much to establish orthodox texts of the earlier writers from the collation of various manuscripts collected in the libraries. Their commentaries furnished the material for the similar work of the Roman period and for the scholia and marginalia of medieval scholarship, although each stage represented a further dilution of the firsthand knowledge that the Alexandrians had in their manuscripts. Not only the matter and texts of the classical writers were their concern, but also grammar and chronology, of which similarly basic studies were made.

Greek Literature in the Roman Empire. During the 2d and 1st c. B.C. the Hellenistic kingdoms of the Near East had fallen under Roman control and, finally, in 27 B.C., they were reorganized by Augustus as provinces of the Empire. The Greek lands thus lost their political independence save for some indulgence allowed them in local affairs. In this same period Roman literature began to produce its most important works. Despite this, the culture of the eastern Mediterranean remained predominantly Hellenic. Its literature continued to be written in Greek; it was very voluminous, but there was a loss of freshness and vitality, for it was living on a scholastic tradition of the past. Yet, after the East had regained prosperity in the course of the 1st c. A.D., there was a Hellenic revival, which produced two of the most popular Greek writers, Plutarch and Lucian. This renaissance was short-lived, for in the 3d c. the material prosperity of the Empire was destroyed by continuous civil war and, when some measure of security was restored by the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, the latter had established Christianity as the official religion. Paganism, which rested in large part on Hellenic tradition, held a secondary and constantly shrinking position, although the Greek language and much of its intellectual apparatus of method was utilized by the Christian writers.

In the early Empire, prose writing continued to be of much greater importance than poetry. The poetical work was trifling and thoroughly in the Alexandrian academic tradition: didactic poems, such as those on fishing and hunting by the Oppians in the 2d c. A.D., and epigrams, well written, but of slight subject matter, such as form part of the collection in the *Greek Anthology*.

The prose of the Hellenistic period had suffered from two main evils, either dullness of style or an excess of ornament and rhythm. In the latter part of the 1st c. B.C. a reaction set in, which was voiced in the works of literary criticism best known through the writings of Dionysius* of Halicarnassus and in the work of the so-called Longinus, *On the Sublime*. Much of the criticism was concerned with purely stylistic matters and advocated a return to the classical Attic models, but "Longinus" produced the best piece of psychological criticism in Greek literature. The reaction was purely artificial, for the Attic dialect was no longer a living speech; yet it had a salutary effect, particularly on the writers of history, although the rhetoricians could not

entirely avoid the temptation of too pleasing sound effects.

The professional practitioners of rhetoric were held in great esteem, both by themselves and by the public, for they enjoyed the patronage of cities, governors, and sometimes of the emperor himself. This rhetorical movement, known as the "New Sophistic," reached its full development in the 2d c. A.D., when it was particularly suited to the ostentatious and elaborate urban life of that period. It practiced an artificial type of oratory, which was used in the schools, for official and unofficial declamations, and in the law courts. The study involved in its training and teaching had a sensible basis, as it was concerned with the study of thought and expression, but no real issues were at stake and the oratory rapidly became monotonous in both content and style, handling its stock themes by rote. Much of it was ephemeral, but some has survived in the works of Aelius Aristides and Maximus of Tyre, while Flavius,* one of the Philostrati, wrote a series of studies, *The Lives of the Sophists,* from which some idea of its nature may be obtained. Despite the unimportance as literature of the New Sophistic, it served to provide for the continuance of the classical tradition, and from it stemmed the pagan Schools of the 4th and 5th c., which were almost the last expression of pagan civilization.

Standing somewhat apart from the New Sophistic movement, and rejecting its artificiality of treatment, were the two most important writers of the period, Plutarch* and Lucian.* The scope of each is very wide so that in themselves they are a sort of popular compendium of classicism. In that may be seen the symptoms of its decay, but Plutarch, through his personality, and Lucian, through his intelligence, produced what were the best examples of genres hitherto not fully developed, the personal essay ranging over a wide variety of topics, and the satire in dialogue and narrative form. The *Lives* of Plutarch, arranged in parallel sets of famous Greek and famous Roman, also presented selective history of Greece and Rome, for by Plutarch's time the two traditions were merging. As history the *Lives* are often inaccurate and too highly colored, but their anecdotes and moral teachings became a part of the popular heritage of classicism.

Akin in some ways to the use of narrative by Lucian, but with a very different object, were the prose romances that were established as a literary type in the 1st c. A.D. and continued to be written until the 5th. They apparently stemmed from the love poetry, anecdotes of marvellous happenings, and the rhetorical exercises of the Hellenistic period, for elements of all these are found in them. The themes were romantic: lovers are separated and after much distress in strange lands are reunited. The character study is superficial; the hero and heroine are insipid types; but they contain picaresque and romantic elements that had considerable effect on European fiction. In particular, the pastoral romance of Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe,* which has as a setting the rustic island of Lesbos, and the picaresque tale of Heliodorus,* the *Aethiopica* or, as it is also called from its main characters, *Theagenes and Chariclea,* were widely read and imitated until the last century.

There was much writing done in the fields of history and philosophy in the first three centuries A.D., but none of it is of any great literary merit. The history of Diodorus and the geographical work of Strabo in the late 1st c. B.C. were encyclopedic, rather than works of original thought. Their best successors, Arrian and Appian, of the 2d c. A.D., are sound and reasonably sensible writers, but with no great penetration or critical ability. They wrote in a fairly successful and quite readable Attic style. The subject matter of the histories was either an ambitious treat-

ment of universal or Roman history, or studies on some important and picturesque subject, like Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander.*

The prevailing philosophical belief of the early Empire was Stoicism, which, although possessing a completely worked-out metaphysic, laid its stress on practical matters of life and rules of conduct. Two of its prominent followers produced works that were more important for their writer's personal qualities than for their literary merit—the handbook of Epictetus as written by Arrian, and the *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.* In the 3d c. the last important synthesis of Greek thought was developed—the Neoplatonist school, which was eclectic and tended to become more and more involved in a complicated mysticism. The system was set out in a voluminous literature, and was the last defender of classical thought against the triumphant Christianity of the 4th c.

The establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire placed pagan thought in a defensive position and made any adherence to its traditions of doubtful morality and, at times, of some immediate danger of persecution. Yet the classical rhetorical methods of teaching, which stemmed from the New Sophistic, were carried on in the Schools, such as that of Libanius,* and attracted a considerable number of Christian students and even teachers, for the Christians found it necessary to learn the standard methods of argument and oratory. There was a brief reaction in favor of pagan thought in the reign of the Emperor Julian, who himself wrote philosophical studies in defense of his beliefs and revealed a talent for satire of his opponents. The sponsorship of Julian, however, was the last official recognition that paganism received, so that, after that time, little was produced except in the odd byways of literature. One of these byproducts was a revival of epic in the late 5th c. A.D. by Nonnus* and Quintus Smyrnaeus, who wrote in the traditional epic style and diction and used mythological subject matter. Others were the poems and songs of some of the Byzantine poets, such as Paul* the Silentiary or master of ceremonies at the court of the Empress Theodora, which are wholly pagan in tone and written in the old technique. The last important work, however, that reveals a considerable debt to classical models was the historical writing of Procopius* in the reign of Justinian, which harked back to Thucydides in method. Its language is a medley of Byzantine and classical forms taken from the classical Attic authors.

The history of Greek literature in the Empire reveals its highly artificial nature. It used a language either obsolete, or too far removed in style from the popular speech to draw any fresh strength. The literature was maintained so long as the traditions of society as a whole remained Hellenic. When they became Christian, the foundations were removed from under the edifice and it collapsed. Parts were built into the Christian and Byzantine writing, and sporadic revivals of literary genres were made by individual writers, but when Justinian closed the pagan schools of philosophy in 529 A.D., he was merely expressing by formal act a fact that had long been true.

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Early Christian.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY was not interested in producing literature. The oldest Christian writings arose from the practical needs of the apostolic preachers, whose purpose was to edify their communities and gain new adherents to their faith. For this reason the language of these oldest documents is the language of the common people and not that of contemporary literature. The more, however, Christianity penetrated the Hellenistic world, the more the negative attitude towards learning, literature, and culture was exchanged for a more positive evaluation. This development led to the gradual adoption of the stylistic forms of Hellenistic literature.

The earliest writings of the *New Testament* are the Letters of St. Paul. They are not literary epistles but real letters addressed to individuals or communities and dispatched by messengers. They presuppose a special historical situation and a special purpose. Since the apostle endeavors to admonish and edify his addressees, it is only natural that there are passages in these letters which reach beyond the personal sphere of a letter and are reminiscent of the apostolic preaching, of dialectic argumentation and liturgical hymns. Although Greek is the native tongue and the *Septuagint* the *Bible* of the apostle, he gives no indication of having studied Hellenistic rhetoric. He received a Jewish-rabbinical education. The Hellenistic concepts that he has were acquired in his contacts with pagans and Hellenistic Jews. His language is the *koine* (vernacular), which he uses as an effective medium for the expression of his innermost feelings and the finest sentiments of his apostolic soul. The Christian communities, recognizing the importance of these letters, which extended far beyond their original purpose, exchanged copies of them. Thus the collection of the *Letters of St. Paul* originated, to which soon the letters of other apostolic authorities, like St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, and St. John, were added.

Following the example of St. Paul, Bishop Ignatius of Antioch about the year 110 on his way to Rome and to Martyrdom wrote seven letters to different Christian communities which were also preserved in a corpus. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, sent copies of these along with a letter of his own to the community of Smyrna. A real letter, also, is the *Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians*, composed ca. 95, although to a large extent it embodies liturgical prayers and rhetorical passages. The so-called *Second Epistle of Clement* is nothing else than a sermon written in Rome in the mid 2d c. The *Letter of Barnabas*, however, is a literary epistle, the purpose of which is by allegorical interpretation to do away with the obligations of the Mosaic Law.

There is one form of literature that primitive Christianity adopted from Judaism, the apocalypse, which preaches a better future in the form of visions. The history of this literary form goes as far back as Daniel. The first Christian example of this type of literature is the *Apocalypse of St. John*, which was written at the time of Domitian but contains older Jewish material. *The Shepherd of Hermas*, composed in Rome ca. 150 A.D., is a collection of apocalyptic visions which show the influence of the prophetic literature of the pagans.

Whereas the *Letters of St. Paul* are of a personal nature, the four *Gospels* have an impersonal character because they aim to announce the glad tidings of Jesus Christ to the whole world. The authors of these *Gospels* are bearers of a tradition, to which

personal opinions and purposes are subordinated. There was a long development of an oral tradition in the community of Jerusalem before the evangelists wrote down the words and miracles of Jesus. This oral process had shaped the whole material of parables and speeches into certain groups and sections for use in the preaching of the first Christian missionaries. Thus the arrangement of the *Gospels* is not biographical or systematic but practical. The *Gospel of St. Mark* represents the earliest attempt to reduce to writing the oral tradition. The Aramaic original is clearly discernible. The *Gospels* of *Matthew* and *Luke* use *Mark* as their basis. Of the three, Luke shows more individuality and erudition than Mark and Matthew, as is evident from his endeavor to replace common or popular expressions by Atticistic turns. Tradition also designates Luke as the author of the *Acts of the Apostles,* which records the history of the Christian communities after the Ascension and forms a continuation of the Gospels. The fourth *Gospel,* the *Gospel of St. John,* shows an entirely different arrangement from the three others. By adding to the material from tradition and introducing concepts prevalent in Hellenistic mysticism (*logos*), the author created something new.

There is nothing that more actively stimulated the development of the earliest Christian literature than Gnosticism. This movement, which sprang up about the end of the 2d c., was an attempt to combine Christian ideas with the philosophies of the oriental and Hellenistic world. It produced a tremendous amount of literature for propaganda purposes. Almost all the non-canonical *Gospels, Apocalypses, Acts* and *Epistles* of the Apostles, originated in Gnostic circles. In order to counteract the effects of these Gnostic writings, Irenaeus of Lyons (*Against Heresies*), Hippolytus of Rome (*Refutation of all Heresies*), Epiphanius of Salamis (*Heresies*) and other ecclesiastical writers wrote extensive treatises which are today in many instances the only source of information for the earlier Gnostics, Basilides, Valentine, etc. Of the later Gnosis we have some original works preserved, e.g., *Pistis Sophia* and the *Books of Jeû.*

The attack that the Roman State and pagan philosophers like Celsus launched against the new religion forced the Christians to defend themselves against public accusations of atheism, immorality, and hatred of the human race. Thus originated the *Apologies* that Aristides (ca. 140), Justin (ca. 140), Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch composed. They were written for educated people among the pagans and in literary style. In order to make the Christian doctrine attractive for these circles, the Greek apologists represent Christianity as the true philosophy because it teaches monotheism, freedom of conscience, human dignity, and immortality. Side by side with these *Apologies* there appeared writings defending Christianity against the Jews, like the *Dialogue with Trypho* of Justin Martyr.

It is not surprising that Alexandria in Egypt, the ancient centre of learning where Greek philosophy, Hellenistic Judaism, and Christian Gnosticism met, became the predominant home of ecclesiastical theology. The Catechetical School which developed in this city in the 2nd c. acquired a world reputation. Its founder was Pantaenus, its reorganizer Clement of Alexandria, its greatest teacher and theologian, Origen. The influence of Clement and Origen was felt far beyond Alexandria. The writings of these Christian thinkers laid the foundation of a Christian theology. Clement (d. before 215) composed a work in three parts, written to introduce the reader gradually to the Christian doctrine. The first part, *Exhortation,* proves the errors of pagan religion and civilization and endeavors to gain adherents to the new faith after the model of the *Ex-*

hortations of pagan philosophers. The second part, *The Tutor,* pictures a life according to Christian ethics. A third part, *The Teacher,* was projected to present the Christian doctrine systematically, but never written. His eight books of *Stromateis* (*Carpets*) are no more than prolegomena to this part. They intend to prove the right to existence of Christian philosophy. Far more important is Clement's pupil Origen, the greatest scholar that the Greek Church produced. The great number of his writings in the field of biblical and exegetical studies, and his first attempt to compose a *summa* of Christian doctrine in his *Bases,* are without parallel in Christian antiquity. The city of Alexandria continued to be the center of theology. Pupils and friends of Origen, like Dionysius of Alexandria, and others among his successors in the School which he made famous, like Theognostus and Peter of Alexandria, carried on the tradition. Athanasius (d. 373), the defender of the faith against Arianism, and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) are the last representatives of this great theological center.

After the mid 4th c. a new center of Christian learning developed in Cappadocia. Basil the Great (d. 379), Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390), and Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395) are the authors of a great number of theological works in which the influence of Platonism becomes here and there visible. This tendency to permeate the Christian doctrine with the philosophy of Plato is even more evident in the writings of Synesius of Cyrene (370–413) and especially in the works handed down under the name of Dionysius Areopagita (ca. 500).

The 4th c. saw two other important ecclesiastical authors, Eusebius of Caesarea and St. John Chrysostom. Eusebius (d. 339) is the founder of ecclesiastical history. With John Chrysostom (344–407), Christian rhetoric reaches its climax. He is the greatest representative of the School of Antioch, the traditional rival of Alexandria, which produced men like Diodorus of Tarsus (d. 378) and Theodor of Mopsuestia (d. 428). The number of his literary works which are preserved is greater than those of any other ecclesiastical writer of the East. In his language the Christian spirit is wedded to Greek harmony and beauty.

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J. QUASTEN.

(For MEDIEVAL GREEK, *see* Byzantine.)

Modern Greek.

Throughout its entire history, Modern Greek literature has been heavily burdened by its great past. This is due to the fact that the Greek language has changed only relatively slightly through the centuries. The decay of the Roman Empire and the barbarian invasions allowed the Romance languages to develop on the basis of the past but with an individual form. The continuing power of Constantinople into the dawn of the modern period kept alive the old Greek and Byzantine traditions, and the popular forms of speech never secured the free opportunity for development that was accorded them in Western Europe.

The epic of *Digenis Akritas* is usually considered the beginning of Modern Greek literature. The poem deals with the career of a hero who is the grandson of a Byzantine general of Syria. His mother has been seized by an Emir who later became Christian. The boy performs all the usual exploits of a hero, showing almost supernatural prowess as a child, later killing a dragon, and finally dying a peaceful death. The original form is not

preserved and is ascribed by scholars to a period between the 8th and 12th c. It survives in partial versions of the 12th to 14th c., and various episodes have been preserved in the "demotic" or folk poems of a later date. There are several other writings of this period, likewise preserved in various forms; their detailed history is obscure.

It must be remembered also that after the establishment of the Latin Empire in Constantinople and its overthrow in 1261, various Frankish principalities continued to exist in parts of the Greek world. Thus we have the *Chronicle of the Morea,* which apparently arose some time after 1300, as well as a considerable number of love songs that betray Western influence. Most of these too were written in the folk language or what passed for it. Likewise after the fall of the capital city to the Turks in 1453, there remained small independent kingdoms and islands that successfully resisted. It was over a century before all the Greek lands were absorbed by the Turks. Many of these, as Cyprus, were constantly entangled with Western, especially Italian, states and there arose a mixture of Western influences, of folk speech, and of the traditional Byzantine styles, as political fortunes changed the cultural possibilities of the day. As a result of this, side by side with the attempt to develop the new there remained living traditions of the old style. Thus modern Greek literature for centuries was torn between the efforts to preserve the old language and to accept the current speech of the people as the normal standard.

Of these intermediate steps, the literature developed on the island of Crete is perhaps the most interesting. The island had come under the steadily increasing control of Venice; it did not pass into Turkish hands till 1669. In the meantime there had developed a special literature in the local dialect which reflected the Venetian and Italian influence. It would be too long to list the writings and the authors of this period, as the *Lament over Constantinople* and the works of such poets as Stefanos Sachlikes, the satirical *Apokopos* of Bergades (or Bergaes), the pastoral *He Bospopoula he omorfe,* the beautiful shepherdess (cowherd), modeled on the eclogues of Guarini. There is also the long epic poem of the *Erotokritos,* the love of Aretousa, the daughter of King Herakles of Athens, for Erotokritos, the son of one of the king's counselors, a long romantic and adventure tale, with a happy ending. It shows marked traces of the influence of Ariosto and of other Italian Renaissance poems, but it is filled with Greek color; the man was able to master his sources. The author is often assumed to be Vitzentsos Kornaros, who died in 1677.

There are also preserved various Cretan dramas of this period, which can be brought into relation with both Byzantine and Italian work. Such is the *Sacrifice of Abraham* of the 15th c. with its realistic treatment of the patriarch; the *Erophile,* the work of Georgios Chortazes of the 17th c. and the lurid tragedy *Zenonas* of the same period.

At the same time the intellectual life of Crete extended into other fields; two of the celebrated patriarchs of Constantinople, Meletios Pegas and Kyrillos Loukaris (1572–1638) were both Cretans.

With the capture of Crete and the extension of Turkish control over all the Greek lands, there came a marked decline in literature. There were some rather monotonous poets, as Kaisarios Dapontes (1714–89), but the chief interest of the writers was in the discussion of the language question. As early as the 16th c. Nikolaos Sophianos, one of the Cretan writers, had seriously suggested the reconstitution of the language to bring it in line with the vernacular. A century later the argument flared more vigorously. Some of the scholars of the day argued for a return to Attic Greek; still others sought to make the

language of the church the norm. The vast majority of the people spoke the vulgar or demotic dialect, while the educated class, especially the educated laymen, used a mixture of the various forms without any definite grammatical framework. This linguistic chaos was fatal to literary work; hence various scholars as Frankiskos Skouphos of the 17th c. and Vikentios Damodos (d. 1752) argued for its ending; but the foremost apologists for the ordinary speech were Velaras (1771–1823) and Athanasios Psalidas (1760–1833). At the same time, Lampros Photiades defended the old tradition and Ioannes Kodrikas the ecclesiastical.

The whole matter was put on a new plane by Adamantios Koraes (1748–1833), the first important figure of the modern period. A native of Smyrna and for many years a resident of Paris, he was typical of the late 18th c., bringing to the Greeks the intellectual background of the French Revolution. But he strongly emphasized the national continuity of his people; in order to realize this, he produced a compromise form of language, the *kathereuousa,* which was the dominant style during much of the 19th c. In addition, he wrote pamphlets and poems as the *Asma polemisterion* (*The Song of War;* 1800) to stir up Greek revolutionary feeling, and he reprinted many of these during the Revolution of 1821. Beside him was the poet and translator, Rigas Velestinlis (1757–98), who was turned over by the Austrians to the Turks for execution, for conspiracy to rouse the Greeks.

After the Revolution, the leading writers for a while came from the Ionian Islands, the Heptanesos. Among these Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857) was the greatest. Born of a wealthy family on the island of Zakynthos and educated in Italy, he had first commenced to write in Italian but on his return home, he chose the Greek vernacular and speedily achieved fame with his *Hymn to Freedom* (1823). He followed this with an *Ode in memory of Lord Byron,* and large fragments of an epic poem, *Eleutheroi Poliorkemenoi* (*The Besieged Freemen*) on the siege of Missolonghi. Yet this, like most of his longer works, was never finished, and in many cases the fragments published did not satisfy his admirers. Though philosophical by nature and reared in the old education, he introduced into Modern Greek the Romanticism of Schiller and the first traces of the philosophy of Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling. He stands out as the first of the modern poets.

Andreas Kalvos (1792–1867), also of Zakynthos, became famous for his collection of poems, the *Lyre* (1824) and the *Nees Odes* (*New Odes;* 1826). These have a lyrical value, but their metrical and stylistic innovations were not successful; the poet found few followers. Others of this group of Ionian poets are Georgios Tertsetes (1800–74), Ioulios Tupaldos (1814–83), Antonios Manousos (1828–1903) and Iakobos Polylas (1826–96).

Aristoteles Valariotes (1824–79) of Leukada continued the tradition of the popular language and also introduced into Greek the Romanticism of Victor Hugo, with his heroic epic, *Kyra-Phrosune,* the story of the martyrdom of eighteen Greek women by the tyrant of Ianina. His lyrics do not achieve the quality of his epic work.

Meanwhile most authors had turned aside from the use of the vernacular and had definitely followed Koraes in his use of the *kathereuousa,* or still endeavored to use the old archaic or ecclesiastical language. They dominated poetry for the first fifty years after the Revolution. Among them we can mention Alexandros Soutsos (1803–67), a bitter satirist and critic of the government, his brother Panagiotes Soutsos (1806–68), Alexandros Rangaves (1809–92) and his son Kimon (1842–1917), and Achilles Paraschos (1838–95). These men worked in this language and wrote in all forms of verse, but

their artificial style obscured their real merits; and, as the vernacular again came into poetic favor, they steadily lost popularity.

The prose writers of the period followed the same tradition, but they easily surpassed the poets, for the novel was more responsive to the limitations of the *kathereuousa* than was poetry. The authors tended to imitate the French novelists, as Chateaubriand and St. Pierre. Among the effective works were the *Authentes tou Moreas* (*The Lord of the Morea*) of Alexandros Rangaves, taken from the medieval *Chronicle of the Morea; Thanos Vlekas* of Paulos Kalligas (1814–96), a tale of the period of King Otto, and the *Female Pope Joanna* of Emmanuel Roides (1835–1904), a novel that purports to be a tale of the 9th c. but is impregnate with the bitterness that marks many of his works.

Georgios Vizuenos (1849–96) was the first psychological novelist; but in all of his works, as *The Sin of my Mother,* and *Who was the Murderer of my Brother?,* he introduces a dramatic element. M. Metsakes (1868–1910) imitated the work of Zola, introducing naturalism into Modern Greek. Alexandros Papadiamantes (1851–1911) was the devoted worshiper of his birthplace, the island of Skythos. The island is the source and substance of all his work, from tales to descriptions of his home, to pictures of moods and changing impressions. Yet while Papadiamantes was influenced, by the appearance of the *Nana* of Zola in a Greek translation, to make more use of popular words, he remained throughout a devotee of the Byzantine language of the church. Ioannes Kondylakes (1861–1920) with his psychological and often amusing stories, such as *Patouchos* and *When I was a Teacher,* was also prominent.

In the latter part of the century the language problem flared up again. Konstantinos Kontos in 1882 published his *Glossikai Parateresis* (*Linguistic Dissertations*) and pointed out the un-Attic character of many of the forms of the *kathereuousa;* he was immediately answered by Demetrios Vernadakes with his *Pseudattikismou Elenchi* (*The Examination of Pseudo-atticism*). The conflict became more bitter with Yiannis Psycharis (John Psychari; 1854–1929), professor of Modern Greek in the *Ecole des langages orientales* in Paris. Psycharis introduced his own notions as to the significance of the demotic language. His views were not entirely accepted, yet the vernacular form began to reappear in literature; it continued to grow in popularity until at present it has almost entirely driven out of belles-lettres the compromise form that had been developed by Koraes.

It was at this period that Kostes Palamas (1859–1942), the greatest of the modern poets, began his work. At first he employed the pure form of the language; but, early convinced of the superiority of the vernacular, he changed his style of writing. Deeply philosophical and lyrical, a student of the French Parnassians, Palamas endeavored throughout his long and active life to express the reality of Greek thought throughout the ages. Whether writing the *Hymn to Athena* (1889) or *He Asaleute Zoe* (*Life Unshaken;* 1904), *Heroic Persons* (1911) or the *Dekatetrasticha* (*Fourteen Poems;* 1918), he remains true to his conceptions and to his art.

Among his contemporaries and followers can be mentioned Georgios Drosines (b. 1859). In his *Eidyllia* (*Idyls*) he imitated the various types of ancient poetry. Lorentzo Mavilis (1860–1912) wrote sonnets on Italian models. Yiannis Grupares (b. 1872) was a follower of Heredia. Konstantinos Kavathes (1863–1933) under the influence of André Gide and the *Nouvelle revue française* became the first *poète urbain* (city poet) in Greek literature. A native of Alexandria, he developed a style that may well be called

Alexandrian in the traditional sense of the word. Angelos Sikelianos, also a student of the Parnassians, used his great abilities to describe in definite images the beauties of Greece and her past, especially of Delphi. Kostas Ouranes and a still younger generation followed the French *intimistes,* while Kostas Varnales (b. 1886) devotes his poetry to the Communist ideology. In general Greek poetry has been responsive to all of the currents that have swept over European literature, especially French, and we can find representatives of all the various schools that have appeared during the last half century.

The prose writers likewise followed the French tradition, passing from realism to naturalism. Later in the 1880's there began to appear translations from the Russian novelists; their influence is reflected in the writings of such men as Andreas Karkavitsas (1855–1922), who uses their technique to present gloomy pictures of life in Thessaly and on the sea, and reaches his height in the collection *Logia tes Plores* (*Stories of the Prow;* 1899, 1902). Konstantinos Theotokes (1872–1923) gives pictures of life on his native island of Korfu and in his stories, as the *Katadikos* (*The Prisoner*) and *The Life and Death of Karavelas,* uses the naturalistic technique. Gregorios Xenopoulos (b. 1862) is the outstanding prose author of this period with his novels, *Anthropos tou Kosmou* (*Man of the World;* 1886), the first Greek social novel, based on Athenian life during the first half of the 1880's; *Margarita Stepha* (1893) and *The Rich and the Poor.* He expresses markedly socialistic feelings. Pavlos Nirvanas (Petros Apostolides; 1866–1940) introduced the influence of Ibsen into Greece; he drew widely upon European authors, French, German, English. He originated the *Chronographema* (*Chronicle*) which appeared daily in the journal *Eleutheron Vema* (*Free Rostrum*).

In recent years the modern Greek prose writers have multiplied considerably; they are working in all current modes and schools. We can mention only Kosmas Polites, A. Terzakes, Kostas Bastias, all of whom were in their prime at the outbreak of World War II. Yet with all their divergencies of spirit, they have maintained a distinct national sentiment. The sea plays a basic role in their works. Still combining foreign influences and methods with their native traditions and background, they are producing an abundance of good work.

Several women novelists have already won distinction: Eirene Athenaia, Lilika Nakou, Stephania Daphne, Galateia Kazantzaki.

In the field of literary criticism, Kostes Palamas, Xenopoulos, and Petros Chares have done good work, supplementing their original works with keen criticism of their contemporaries. There is still too much energy being expended upon questions of language; but the dialect of Athens is being accepted slowly but surely as the basis for the literary language. The orthography is still unsettled and scholars and writers are still not agreed as to how much of the archaic system is to be preserved.

The modern Greek drama took its rise in the period of independence. The earliest master was Demetrios Vernardakes (1834–1907), but as he was one of the advocates of the pure language, there have been difficulties in the presentation of his otherwise successful plays, which were considerably influenced by the works of Shakespeare. Of the later authors, Xenopoulos, Yiannes Kampanes (1872–1902), and Spyros Melas, have been perhaps the most prominent.

At the outbreak of World War II, modern Greek literature was in a flourishing condition. It was to a very large extent winning its independence from the overpowering tradition of the past. The authors can hardly

help comparing themselves and being compared to their great ancestors in the ancient world; this fact has seriously hampered them in their development of new styles and new modes of thought. Yet despite it all, in the past half century the modern literature has adapted itself to modern conditions and can now claim a creditable place in the literature of modern Europe.

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CLARENCE A. MANNING.

GREENLAND–*See* North American Native.

GRUZIAN–*See* Georgian.

GUATEMALAN – *See* Mexican; Spanish American.

GUIANA–*See* South American Indian.

GUJARATHI–*See* Indian.

GURO–*See* African.

HABASH–*See* Ethiopic.

HAIKAN–*See* Armenian.

HAITI–*See* African; South American Indian.

HAUSA–*See* African.

HAVASUPAI–*See* North American Native.

HAWAIIAN–*See* Polynesian.

HAYQAN–*See* Armenian.

HEBREW

FROM THE many tablets of the 10th and 9th C. B.C. that have been discovered from time to time, we conclude that the language used by Hebrews in antiquity was spoken by many Semitic tribes in the near East. It was later associated with the Jews only. In this language was created the only literature of the Western World that can claim an uninterrupted history of growth and development from the second millenium B.C. to our own day.

As with all primitive people, the creations of the ancient Hebrews were oral. They were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation and were not recorded till a later period. Also as with all ancient peoples, the early literature of the Hebrews was in poetical form, literary prose developing at a later date.

Many collections of these songs were originated in the second millenium B.C., in the most ancient days. Several of these, as the *Book of Wars of the Lord;* the *Book of Jasher; Lamentations;* also historical books, the *Book of the Kings of Judah;* the *Book of the Kings of Israel,* are mentioned in the *Bible.* Unfortunately only a few fragments of them survive, as quoted in the *Bible.* Thus the song of the well from the *Book of the Wars of the Lord* is quoted in *Numbers* XXI-17-18:

> "Spring up, O well: sing ye unto it:
> The princes digged the well,
> The nobles of the people digged it,
> By the direction of the lawgiver,
> With their staves."

The dew of the dawn of history still clings to the words of a youthful and unsophisticated people as they express their joy in finding water. Freshness and simplicity also char-

acterize the quotation from the *Book of Jasher*, in *Joshua* X, 12-13:

"Sun, stand still upon Gideon
And thou Moon in the valley of Ajalon.
And the sun stood still,
And the moon stayed
Until the people had avenged themselves
upon their enemies."

The poetry of the ancient Hebrews is religious, historical, and secular. Some of the creations of the youthful fancy of the people have found their way into the *Bible*. The beautiful fantasy of the creation, the story of the serpent and the apple, Cain and Abel, the ark of Noah, the tower of Babel, the sacrifice of Isaac, the crossing of the Red Sea, are examples of the early folklore current among the Hebrews and other Semitic tribes. Many similar tales, as well as songs commemorating the deeds of heroes, or bemoaning their failure, are to be found in the Scriptures. The song of Deborah, evidently originating from the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, is considered one of the oldest literary compositions that has reached us. The beauty of its simple style, the majesty of its expressions, and its deep emotional fulness, place it among the finest specimens of world literature.

The *Pentateuch* is commonly regarded as the earliest Hebrew book. Tradition ascribes to Moses the authorship of all of the *Pentateuch*, with the exception of the last eight lines of *Deuteronomy*, which tell of his death; these are credited to Joshua, as well as the book that bears his name. According to tradition, Samuel wrote the books of *Samuel*, *Judges*, and *Ruth*. The last chapter of *Samuel II* is accredited to the prophets Nathan and Gad. Jeremiah is supposed to have written the books bearing his name, and *Kings I* and *II*. To Ezra, Nehemiah, and the scribes, is assigned the rest of the *Bible*.

As early as the 11th c. the Hebrew poet and philosopher Abraham Ibn Ezra in his commentary on the Bible intimated that some of the portions of the *Pentateuch* are of an earlier date, while others belong to a much later period. This formed the basis for the biblical studies of Spinoza in his *Tractatus Theologo-Politicus* published anonymously in 1670. Spinoza may be properly regarded as the father of modern scientific biblical research and criticism.

We know that Ezra canonized the *Pentateuch* about 440 B.C. Most probably it was he, with Nehemiah and other scribes, that compiled it from older narratives and from the recorded words of the prophets. The prophets for many generations had been moulding the character of the Jewish people. They welded the loose tribes into a solid nation. Their fiery words and their teachings changed the worshippers of many gods into one people believing in one universal God. They first preached the freedom of men, advocated universal peace, promulgated the ideal of absolute and uncompromising justice. They inspired the Gospel that was handed down as the Law to the Hebrews and to the world, in the five books of Moses, the *Pentateuch*.

The prophets and their disciples, and their understudies, the scribes, are the authors of most of the portions of the *Bible*, or the assemblers and compilers of the many songs, proverbs, fables, riddles, and anecdotes that fill the pages of this great book. The earlier compositions are marked by a primitive form of speech, composed of short staccato phrases. As the times advanced, the style becomes mellower, a little more flowery and complicated. The poetry and the rhythmic prose of the *Bible* are marked by plain, simple speech. The prophet lays all his stress on ideas: deep thought rather than beauty of form of expression. The prophet never uses any abstract words. His metaphors take a physiological form: *charah Api* (my nose burned), for

anger; *orech apaim* (long breath), for patience; *kozer apaim* (short breath), for impatience. But they have a power that has not been surpassed, a directness that penetrates deep into the soul. The only approach to a decorative form is Parallelism: the phrase is divided into two strophes of three or four words each, the second strophe usually repeating the thought in a different way.

"Though your sins be as scarlet,
They shall be white as snow;
Though they be red as crimson,
They shall be as wool."

Isaiah I-18

"The heavens declare the glory of God:
And the firmament showeth his handiwork;
Day unto day uttereth speech,
And night unto night showeth knowledge."

Psalm XLX-1, 2

About 1100 B.C., in the time of Saul and Samuel, the Hebrews came into conflict with the Canaanite and Philistine cultures and religions. The prophet Elijah and his disciple Elisha denounced the people for forsaking the God of Israel, Jehova, and succumbing to the worship of idols. They fought for the retention of the ethical concepts inculcated by the great teachers of Israel. Close to this period (ca. 850 B.C.) were written the books of *Judges* and *Samuel I* and *II*, also many of the portions of the *Pentateuch*.

The *Psalms*, attributed to King David, are the work of many authors during a period of 900 years, many having been composed during the Babylonian captivity. Being the work of countless authors during so long a period, they differ in form and spirit, but as a whole they cannot be equalled in any literature for lyric beauty, tenderness, and lofty sentiment.

Another such work is the *Song of Songs*, a collection of wedding songs compiled during the Greek period (ca. 200 A.D.) and influenced by the erotic poems of the Greeks.

Amos prophesied at about 760 B.C.; ten years later appeared Hosea, who was followed by Isaiah to whom are ascribed chapters 1 to 40 of *Isaiah;* chapters 40 to 66 are accredited to an unknown prophet of a later period. Some scholars attribute chapters 55 to 66 to a third author. These prophets show a high development of literary writing. They employed all the devices of rhetoric, every variety of rhythm, and a wealth of imagery. The first part of *Isaiah* is marked by stern grandeur, steel-strong phrases, powerful hammer-like tones. The rest is richer in soft and fine tones; it has a more gracious charm, a more flowery and clear style. Of Hosea it is said that no prophet has written with greater pathos and with more exquisitely appropriate and delicate figures.

Then came a line of smaller men: Zephaniah, ca. 635 B.C.; Nahum, 625; and Habakkuk, 620.

Jeremiah was active between 628 and 585 B.C. He watched the decadence of a great people, and raised his voice against the leaders of the nation; for this he was persecuted all his life. Many of his years were spent in prison because of his denunciations of King Josiah and his advisers. To him fell the sad lot of seeing the destruction of Jerusalem, and the captivity of his people. He himself was forcibly borne to Egypt. *Lamentations,* attributed to Jeremiah because of its subject, is not a prophetic work, but a literary composition written by professional mourners partly during the Babylonian captivity (ca. 600 B.C.) and partly during the Persian (ca. 400 B.C.).

Ezekiel, the prophet, who flourished during the Babylonian captivity, is not so eloquent and powerful as his predecessors, but he abounds in imagery and description. His mystical story of the Lord sitting on his throne with the angels about him, almost caused his book to be excluded from the canon of the

Bible. But this very chapter of the throne, the angels, and the chariot with its symbolic implications, was the vehicle on which the Cabalists of a later age based their whole philosophy. The minor prophets who followed Ezekiel went along his path. *Ruth,* a beautiful idyl of pastoral life, was composed ca. 500 B.C. *Job,* a philosophical religious dramatic dialogue of great intensity, dates from ca. 400 B.C. *Esther,* a romantic tale of the love of a king for his queen and her loyalty to her persecuted people, was composed ca. 340 B.C. —though some say that it is the allegorical story of the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, which would put it ca. 165 B.C. All agree that *Daniel,* some chapters of which are in Aramaic, dates from ca. 165 B.C.

A great dispute as to the validity and the divine origin of the *Books of Esther, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs,* and *Ezekiel* made the canonization of the *Bible* a necessity. It was accomplished by the Rabbis late in the 1st c. A.D.

There were many other books, similar to those in the *Bible,* written during the same period. But because they were not included in the Canon, they were lost to us in the original Hebrew, with one exception, the *Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach.* Though many of these wise sayings are to be found in the Talmud, the greater part of this work in the original was discovered in Cairo by the American scholar Solomon Schechter in 1897. Most of these books, known to the Jews as "Hidden" or "Outside" books, came to us as the *Apocryphal* (hidden) and the *Pseudo-epigraphic* writings through the Septuagint translation into Greek. This translation was made ca. 200 B.C. for the Jews of Alexandria, when the works were still considered holy writings. Most of the Apocryphal books were written as additions to books of the *Bible,* as *Esdras I* and *II, Maccabees I, II,* and *III.* Though some of the *Apocryphal* and *Pseudo-epigraphic* books were written in Greek and Aramaic, most of them, composed between 300 B.C. and 120 A.D., were undoubtedly written in Hebrew. In style, spirit, and subject matter they are closely related to the books of the *Bible.* Of particular interest are some of the Apocalyptic writings. These books of revelation, composed probably at a much later date, are marked by their imaginative and descriptive powers. They tell many mystical stories of mythical worlds and mysteries revealed to writers by the Lord. The *Book of Enoch,* rediscovered in Ethiopia in the 17th c., gives a very vivid and colorful description of heaven and hell, of giants and midgets. Dante probably was influenced by it. The *Visions of Baruch* is rich in dreams of rivers and floods and the story of the Seven Heavens. The *Vision of Ezra,* the profoundest and most important of all the revelation books, is full of imagination and fantasy. Each vision is projected like a picture-dream which has its own interpretation.

Among the historical books written during this period, the *Chronicles* were included in the *Bible;* but there was also the *Seder Olam Rabah,* a history of the world from Creation to the 3d c.; the *Book of the Fasts;* and the *Book of the Jubilees* (discovered only in the 19th c.). To this period belong also the books of the *New Testament,* written in Aramaic or Hebrew; but these had virtually no influence on Hebrew letters.

The Talmudic Period. Ever since the days of Ezra and the scribes, the study of the Law was made the paramount concern of the Jews. Ezra inaugurated the custom of public reading from the *Pentateuch,* and commenting on the portions read, on market days and the Sabbath. This developed a school of preachers and teachers, who would elaborate and expound upon the chapters read. There also were the scribes, and the members of the Great Assembly, who were called upon to elaborate and define some of the laws found

in the *Pentateuch.* These teachers and scholars probed every word in the Scriptures. This method of analysis and exposition was called, from the Hebrew word *darash* (to search, to probe), *Midrash.*

There were two kinds of *Midrashim.* Those that were concerned with the strict interpretation of the law were called *Halachoth.* The others, of a homiletic style, concerned with expounding ethical precepts and endearing to the masses the study and knowledge of the Scriptures, are known as *Haggadoth.* These *Midrashim,* as well as the legal decisions of the Great Assembly and later of the Sanhedrin, were known as the Oral Law in contradistinction to the *Bible* which was known as the Written Law. Many of these *Midrashim* were later collected and written down.

The most important of the *Midrashim* are: (1) The *Mekilta,* a commentary on *Exodus* beginning with Chapter 12 and ending with the Sabbatical laws in Chapter 35. This *Mekilta* is attributed to Rabbi Ishmael, who lived during the 1st C. A.D. There is another *Mekilta* attributed to Rabbi Simon ben Yohai, 2d C. A.D. (2) *Sifra,* a midrashic interpretation of *Leviticus,* probably compiled in the school of Rabbi Akiba, the great sage who was born 50 A.D. and died a martyr in 136 during the rebellion of Bar Kochba. (3) *Sifreh,* two commentaries, one on *Numbers* and one on *Deuteronomy.* The commentary on *Numbers* consists almost exclusively of *Halachic Midrashim,* while that on *Deuteronomy* is full of *Haggadic Midrashim* and is probably the product of Rabbi Akiba and his school.

These commentaries multiplied. Many attempts were made to collect them and arrange them systematically. A pioneer in this work was Rabbi Akiba, who divided the *Halachoth* according to subject matter: civil laws, laws dealing with women, etc.

The great work of compiling and arranging the laws was accomplished by Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi, the Exilarch. Through his authority as the President of the Sanhedrin, he reduced them to writing, codified them, and made them valid as the *Mishna,* "the repetition of the laws." He gathered many of the collections and notes of the *Halachoth* and with the aid of a committee of his academy, established a definite text. They divided the *Mishna* into six orders: *Zerain,* dealing with agriculture; *Moed,* dealing with festivals; *Nashin,* pertaining to women; *Nezikin,* civil and criminal law; *Kodashim,* dealing with sacrifices, and *Toharoth,* dealing with cleanliness and purifications. The orders were divided into tractates, sixty-three in all.

Of great literary value is the tractate *Abboth* (*Fathers*), for some unknown reason placed at the end of *Nezikin.* It gives a chronological history of the heads of the *Sanhedrin,* and the sayings attributed to them. This resulted in a magnificent collection of beautiful sayings and proverbs, often referred to in literature as the Wisdom of the Sages. Many of the tractates are of historical value, as they contain descriptions of the temple, the order of worship, and the manner of celebrating the different holidays, as also the procedures of court and the method of meting out punishment.

The *Mishna* is marked by a great departure from the style of the *Bible.* It is written in a beautiful Hebrew, not as flowery and picturesque as that of the Bible, but rather terse, concise and clear, suited to the legal matters with which it mainly deals. The *Halachoth* compiled by other Rabbis, not included in the *Mishna,* are known as *Baraithoth* (*External*).

Many of the disciples of Rabbi Yehuda emulated him in compiling *Mishnas* of their own. One such compilation is the *Thosafta* (*Addenda*), an independent work arranged in six orders in the manner of the *Mishna,* but containing new and different material.

With the suppression of the Bar Kochba

rebellion in 135 A.D. many of the scholars from Palestine fled to Babylonia. The prosperity and liberty enjoyed by the Jews of Babylonia was conducive to intellectual growth. The academies established in Sura, by Abba Areka who studied with Yehuda Hanasi in Palestine; in Nehadrea; and in Pumpedita soon became renowned for their learning and were held in higher esteem than the academies in Palestine. These seats of learning in the course of years produced an enormous number of interpretations, elucidations, decisions. In the late 4th c. Rabbi Ashi, the head of the academy at Sura, proceeded to collect this accumulated literature and learning of the post-Mishnaic period. Seminaries called *Kalla* were held at the academy twice a year. A tractate was selected and announced in advance for each Kalla. When the scholars gathered at the academy, a passage from the *Mishna* was read and discussed. These discussions, recorded, constitute the *Gemara*. The *Mishna* and this *Gemara* printed together constitute the *Babylonian Talmud* (*study*). There is also a Palestinian, or, as it is often called, a Jerusalem *Talmud*, compiled about the same time. The *Palestinian Talmud* is smaller in scope; it exerted an insignificant influence in comparison with the *Babylonian*.

The *Gemara* is written in the main in the vernacular, a mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew, with a sprinkling of Greek, Roman, and Persian words. It is marked by a disregard of grammar, and is often awkward in its lack of style, retaining the flavor of vernacular speech. The discussions sometimes seem lengthy and pointless; occasionally they indulged in hair-splitting. They may jump from subject to subject. The records appear like informal discussions, interpolated with beautiful legends, anecdotes, parables, ethical maxims. These were often cited for the purpose of illustration, of bringing out a point, or of proving the antiquity and ancient tradition of the law discussed. Often as not, however, they had no relation to the subject under discussion, but were brought in for the sole purpose of breaking up the motonony of the lengthy discourse, and as it were to ease the tedious study of the dry subject by something sweet and palatable. Thus the *Talmud* served as a storehouse of folklore, history, ancient custom, and wisdom, which undoubtedly would otherwise have disappeared, and which, next to the *Bible* itself, has preserved and helped to shape the culture and spirit and life-ways of the Jew. The *Sefer Yezira*, the first philosophical treatise in Hebrew, was probably written during this period, it formed the basis of future cabalistic speculations, being then attributed to Father Abraham.

In the 5th c. the office of the exilarch in Palestine was abolished and the Sanhedrin was dissolved. Leadership and authority passed into the hands of the Babylonian sages. But soon, there too, the Jews were subjected to persecution and the communities in Sura, Nehadrea, and Pumpedita began to disintegrate and disperse toward the countries around the Mediterranean. Though the academies and their heads (*Gaonim*) remained in existence till the 10th c., the Gaonate and the student body were not always of the proper caliber; scholarship and literary production were of an inferior kind. During the following 300 years there was a great quantity of writing produced, but very little of original character or of lasting value.

This was rather the period of conservation and evaluation. It produced the Massoretic writers, who searched the manuscripts of the *Bible* to establish a correct and definitive text, and composed a large number of commentaries and exegeses. Hebrew was revived; the use of the vernacular, the Judeo-Aramaic, declined. The first grammarians and lexicographers appeared. It was the great age of the *Responsa* literature, and the countless polemics provoked by the two great religions that

sprouted from Judaism: Christianity and Islam, and the sect of the Karaits founded by Anan ben David in the 8th c. The Karaits, who did not subject themselves to the interpretation of the Talmudist but followed the *Bible* literally, produced a literature of their own and because of their devotion to the *Bible* and the Hebrew language, compelled their opponents to equal accomplishment.

Of great importance was the rise of the *paitanim* (the psalmodists, writers of liturgical verse), who paved the way for the great poets of later centuries. Liturgical songs and prayers were already known in the Talmudic period, usually with an alphabet-acrostic, and anonymous. But by the early 7th c. a number of liturgical poems are credited to Jose ben Jose. He was followed by Janai, born in Palestine ca. 640. Janai was the first Hebrew poet to use rhyme and the name-acrostic. A disciple of Janai, Eliezer Be-Rabbi Kalir, also a Palestinian, born ca. 680, wrote with great talent and ingenuity. His style was chiefly biblical, but he forged new forms and coined new words and expressions. Kalir had many disciples and served as a model for generations of *paitanim*.

The Arabic-Spanish Period was the most fruitful period of Jewish culture and literary activity after the closing of the *Talmud*. This Golden Age of Hebrew literature did not mature till the 11th c., but under the influence of Arabic scholarship and literature it began much earlier. Already in the *paitanim* we can see traces of Arabic forms of poetry; later, Arabic learning was to exert an even greater influence on Hebrew literature.

The man who ushered in this age was Saadia* ben Joseph, better known as Saadia Gaon (892–942). Only fragments of most of his writings are left, but it is hard to believe that in a span of only fifty years a man could accomplish and produce so much of such fine quality. Ibn Ezra said of him: "In whatever field he chose to take a part, he soon became the chief speaker." At the age of 21 he produced the first Hebrew dictionary, in two parts: one giving the words in alphabetical order; the other, according to word endings, a sort of rhyming dictionary. He wrote much on Hebrew grammar and lexicography. Of great importance is his *Siddur*, the order of prayers for the whole year. This *Siddur* has preserved for us many liturgical poems, several fine examples from the pen of Saadia. In his Arabic commentary on the *Sefer Yezira*, he rendered an invaluable service to future grammarians in his treatise on the Hebrew alphabet. As Gaon of Sura, he wrote innumerable responsa; in his polemic with the Karaits, he met them on their own ground, using their own rational method to refute their arguments. He translated the *Bible* into Arabic, and wrote a commentary. But his chief fame rests upon his philosophical work, *Emunoth ve-Deoth* (*Beliefs and Doctrines*), written originally in Arabic, but known to us in its Hebrew translation. Saadia is the first Jewish thinker to work out a system of philosophy based upon Jewish tradition and conceptions of God. Isaac Israeli and David ben Merwan preceded Saadia, but their philosophies were based purely on Plato and Aristotle, and have nothing to do with Judaism. Saadia gave the impetus to a long line of philosophers who followed in his footsteps, or worked out systems of their own.

Just as Latin was the language of scholars and philosophers of the Renaissance, no matter of what nationality they were, so in the middle ages all scientific books were written in Arabic, including those of the Hebrews. They would write their poetry and polemics in Hebrew, but their scientific works they composed in Arabic. Some of these were lost, or locked up in libraries as rarities; but the Hebrew translation of some of them, as the *Cusari* by Judah Halevi, the *Guide of the Perplexed* by Maimonides, passed through countless editions in every age up to our own

time. Most popular was the *Duties of the Heart,* by Bahya Ibn Pakudah, the Judge. We know very little of his life. He flourished in Spain in the 11th or 12th c. As a philosopher he was a Neo-Platonist, evidently influenced by Ibn Gabirol. His *Duties of the Heart* is chiefly "moral philosophy." Basing his arguments on three standards: Reason, Revelation, and Tradition, he evolved a very elaborate system of ethics. In its Hebrew translation, with commentaries, the work passed through hundreds of editions. It was translated into many languages, and published in condensed form, and it exercised a profound influence upon Jewish thought.

There were other centers of Jewish learning. The death of Hai Gaon, a poet of some merit, and the closing of the academy in Pumpedita, mark the end of the Babylonian Period. Some of the scholars of Sura, which had closed earlier, and of other centers of learning in Babylonia, migrated to Africa; most went to southern Europe and Germany, there establishing new schools. But scholars in these centers, which were in the midst of the dark ages, were subjected to the persecutions of the Crusaders, and confined themselves to the traditional study of the *Talmud* and the Scriptures. They produced a quantity of liturgical poetry, particularly *Kinoth* (lamentations) and *Selichoth* (penitential prayers) which found their way into the prayer books, and a mass of responsa, exegesis and commentary, but little of literary or scientific value. Rabenu Gershom, born in France in the 10th c., wrote liturgical poems, responsa, and exegesis, though his fame rests chiefly on his enactment of the ban on polygamy. Rabbi Shelomo Yizhaki, popularly known as Rashi, was born in Troye, France, in 1040. His great achievement is his commentary on the *Talmud,* which made it accessible to future students. His commentary on the *Bible,* with clear analytical explanations couched in a simple style, coupled with homiletical examples, endeared him to broad masses of Jewry. The *Bible* with Rashi's commentary became a household article; to this day, every student of the *Bible* considers it his duty to have at least some knowledge of Rashi. Even Christian scholars had recourse to Rashi when they translated the *Bible.*

The small community of Italy has kept up a continuous activity in Hebrew literature; from Shefathia bar Amitai in the 9th c. to this day, it has an uninterrupted history of scholars and poets.

It was in enlightened Moorish Spain, where the Jews lived in comparable freedom from persecution, in economic well-being, that Hebrew literature and science had full scope of activity, and flowered in great poetry. Dunash ben Labarat (920–970), a pupil of Saadia, and a grammarian, was the first one to introduce meter into his poetry. The first real poet of this period is Samuel Ibn Nagdilah, Hanagid (the exalted), born in Cordova (933–1055). Though he never rises to any lyrical height, he nevertheless shows a facility of writing, with charm and gusto. In his day he ranked very high. He used rhyme and meter and displayed a fluent, crisp Hebrew style. He wrote three works in imitation of the *Bible: Ben Thilim* (*Son of Psalms*), a book of prayers; *Ben Mishle* (*Son of Proverbs*); and *Ben Koheleth* (*Son of Ecclesiastes*), a philosophical reverie.

The profoundest and loftiest of the medieval poets is Solomon Ibn Gabirol,* born in Malaga in 1020, died in Valencia in 1052. His extreme poverty and hard lot and his philosophical mind led him toward pessimism even in his sacred poems, the greatest of which is his *Royal Crown,* incorporated in the Day of Atonement service. It is both a devotional and a philosophical poem, in which he extols the sublimity of God, and man's responsibility to his Maker. The first part is devoted to a description of God's attributes; the second to the wonders of the world

that He created; part three is devoted to the soul of man; part four speaks of man and his life, and his struggle on this earth; part five is a confession of sins; the epilogue is a prayer to the Lord. It is a sublime poetical work of exquisite beauty and profound thought. The following lines are from stanza three (trans. Israel Zangwill):

"Thou existest, but hearing of ear cannot reach Thee, or vision of eye.
Nor shall the How have sway over Thee, nor the Wherefore and Whence.

Thou existest, but for Thyself and for none other with Thee.
Thou existest, and before Time began Thou wast.
And without place Thou didst abide."

Another tender and lofty poem by Gabirol, used in the memorial services on the Day of Atonement, (trans. Emma Lazarus) begins:

"Forget thine anguish
Vexed heart, again.
Why shouldst thou languish
With earthly pain?
The husk shall slumber
Bedded in clay
Silent and sombre,
Oblivious day."

Gabirol also wrote many secular poems, some bemoaning his hard luck, others devoted to the memory of his friend and benefactor, Yekuthiel. They are full of pathos and anguish. On rare occasions he could be light and witty, as his wine song attests.

Gabirol was also renowned as a philosopher. He wrote three books in Arabic. His copious *Source of Life,* for many centuries considered the work of a Christian author (he was known as Avicebron), came to us through a Latin translation, the original Arabic having been lost. But an epitome of it in Hebrew, *M'kor Hayim,* was widely known, as was his *Mibbhar ha-Peninim* (*Choice of Pearls*), a collection of maxims and proverbs.

Moses ben Jacob Ibn Ezra,* born in Granada (1070–1150), was a master of the Hebrew language, a poet of great gifts, grace and charm and deep feeling. His early poems were in a light vein, on wine, joy, frivolity; but he fell in love with his niece, and his brother objected. Moses never married; all his long life he wandered from place to place, full of grief and sorrow. In many beautiful songs he poured out his soul. He also wrote many fine sacred songs and prayers.

Judah Halevi,* born in Toledo (1080–1140), is considered the greatest of all Hebrew poets. Not as profound as Ibn Gabirol, he is more perfect and harmonious. Imbued with a love for his people and a reverence for the Jewish religion, he devoted many of his poems to these topics. He had a longing for Zion, a hope for the reëstablishment of his people in the land of their ancestors. His songs of Zion are most passionate and most beautiful; renowned throughout Jewry, they gained him the sobriquet "Sweet singer of Zion." The following is from one of his best known, "Longing for Jerusalem" (trans. Emma Lazarus):

"Had I an eagle's wings, straight would I fly to thee,
Moisten thy holy dust with wet cheeks streaming free.
Oh, how I long for thee! albeit thy king has gone,
Albeit where balm once flowed, the serpent dwells alone.
Could I but kiss thy dust, so would I fain expire,
As sweet as honey then, my passion, my desire!"

His many devotional, sacred poems found

their way into the prayer books and hymnals. But Halevi was really a universal poet. His songs poured out of him; he sang on every occasion and on any topic; in commemoration of some celebration, a wedding, a birthday; a eulogy to a friend, or an elegy on the death of a great personality. He composed many wine songs, riddles, epigrams. Beautiful are his nature poems; those depicting the ocean, magnificent and stirring.

Whatever the theme, however insignificant the subject, whatever he wrote is touched by a moving grace: harmony of form, noble imagery, beauty of phrasing.

Halevi also wrote a philosophical work in Arabic, though still more poet than philosopher. In its Hebrew translation, *Ha-Cusari,* it was very popular, and is still read.

Abraham Ibn Ezra* (1092–1167), one of the greatest scholars of the Hebrew language, a man of great scientific knowledge, astronomer, philosopher, grammarian, traveler, was a poet of no mean attainments. His poverty and troubles were often the subjects of his poems; unlike Ibn Gabirol, he was never pessimistic, but often would poke fun at his own misfortune. His poems lack the depth of Ibn Gabirol, the fervor and earnestness of Halevi. Being a master of the Hebrew language, he could bend the form of his song to his will, and indulge in all sorts of patterns in his poems. One poem, *The Tree,* has the shape of a tree trunk with branches sprouting from it. Though most of his poems betray some artificiality, they are graceful and often possess a calm lyrical beauty. Ibn Ezra's great achievement is his commentary on the *Bible,* particularly the *Pentateuch.* Because of his great knowledge of Hebrew grammar and the science of language, he could dissect the Biblical forms—coming to some conclusions that he was afraid to state plainly, for fear of the charge of heresy. He can truthfully be considered the first scientific critic of the *Bible.* He was a prolific writer, author of many works on mathematics, grammar, philosophy. Because of his travels through Christian Europe where Arabic was not understood, he wrote even his scientific works in Hebrew, the first Jew of the Arabic-Spanish period to do so.

The spiritual leader of this whole period, the man who dominated it, and who moulded the thoughts of future generations, was Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides*; 1135–1204). He was an erudite scholar, a profound, original thinker, possessing a clear analytical mind, an untiring worker with a natural gift for logical orderliness. Early in his youth, his reputation as a scholar was widely established. Many sought his opinion and advice on learned matters. His many extant letters and responsa are a veritable encyclopedia of knowledge. His great scholarly work, *Mishne Tora* (*Repetition of the Law*) brought order out of chaos in the study and knowledge of the *Talmud.* He collected all the laws and decisions scattered throughout the *Gemara,* the *Midrashim,* and other theological works, and put them in systematic order. His Hebrew is clear, concise, simple. In his Arabic commentary on the *Mishna,* he brought order to that ancient work by placing the tractates and the orders in the sequence and arrangements in which they are now known to us.

His most famous and important work, however, is his philosophical treatise, *The Guide to the Perplexed,* written originally in Arabic, but during his lifetime thrice translated into Hebrew. That by the famous translator Samuel Ibn Tibbon was made under his own supervision. In the *Guide,* Maimonides established a synthesis between the Aristotelian philosophy and Judaism. In this he was preceded by the historian and philosopher Abraham Ibn David (1110–80), who in his *Emunah Ramah* (*Sublime Faith*) refuted the then prevalent Neo-Platonism with Aristotelian ideas. It was the genius of Maimonides that accomplished the ideal harmonization of

the Greek and Jewish philosophies. He did try to reconcile Judaism with the Greek philosophers; but by proving that Aristotelian philosophy was valid under Jewish Law and tradition, he became a favorite of both Jewish and Christian religious philosophers, and his influence on all religious writers was immense. Both his *Guide* and his *Code* precipitated a great controversy in Jewry, dividing it into two camps, which waged a polemic war for several generations, and created a tremendous literature. The *Guide* alone received no less than thirty commentaries.

Maimonides was followed by several other philosophers. Outstanding was Levi ben Gerson (Gersonides; 1288–1344. *Ben* is Hebrew for *son of,* which is the meaning of the Greek suffix *-ides.*) In his *Milhamoth Adonoi* (*Wars of the Lord*) he tried to solve problems in philosophy and theology which Maimonides had not treated fully.

Judah ben Salomon Al-Harizi* (1165–1225) was the last of the poetical giants of the Arabic-Spanish period. His fame lies on the poems scattered in his *Machberet Tahkimoni,* a satire into which are interwoven many charming and humorous poems. Harizi is mostly secular, light and graceful. He was an untiring traveler. He is probably the first author on record that made a living from writing. He received many commissions for translation. One of them was for the *Guide* by Maimonides; his version is clearer and simpler than Ibn Tibbon's, but not so accurate.

Minor poets of the time include Menahem ben Saruk, a contemporary of Labarat; Joseph Ibn Abitar (b. ca. 902), with sacred poems of great feeling; Isaac Ibn Giat (1030–89); Judah b. Isaac Sabathai (b. 1217).

There were some works in prose, usually rhymed prose, composed in this period. Benjamin of Tudela wrote *Massaoth Benjamin,* a book of travels (1160–73) and geography; and Joseph Ibn Zabara (b. ca. 1150), *Sefer Shaashuim* (*Book of Delight*), folklore and legendary stories.

In Italy, as stated earlier, Hebrew literary activity enjoyed a normal and consistent development and growth. Though the poets in Italy were influenced greatly by the Arabic Spanish giants, they never rose to their heights. They differed favorably in one respect: their language and style were simpler and more natural. The poetry of the Spanish-Arabic period was mainly ornamental and florid. Only the very great poets, like Gabirol and Halevi, and a few others mastered the complicated forms. The prose was also inferior to that of Italian and Provençal schools.

Prominent among the Italians are: Amithai the son of the aforementioned Sheftaiah, who wrote a number of poems in a light short meter, in pleasant Biblical Hebrew; Sabathai Donolo (913–982), author of many sacred poems; Meshulam b. Kalonymus (11th c.), and his son Kalonymus b. Meshulam, both prolific writers of religious poetry used widely in the ritual service; Ahimaz b. Paltiel (1017–60), who may also have been the author of the *Chronicles of Ahimaz,* important work on the history of the Jews in Italy; Benjamin delli Mansi (13th c.), a noted writer of hymns and prayers; Solomon del Rossi and his son Immanuel.

The most important poet in Italy was Immanuel ben Solomon ha-Romi (Emanuelo Romano*; 1265–1330). He is often linked with the Spanish giants and is considered the last great poet of the "Golden Age." In form, he follows his predecessors in Spain, but in spirit he is kindred to the Italians of the Renaissance, especially to Dante who was said to be his friend. One of his major works is in imitation of Dante's *Divine Comedy, Ha-thophet ve-ha-Eden* (*Hell and Paradise*). Immanuel's varied poetry, mostly secular, is marked by great wit, gaiety of spirit, occasional frivolity. His poems on wine and women are often in the manner of the day,

somewhat obscene. In his old age Immanuel collected all his poems, satires, and stories and published them as *Mahbaroth Immanuel* (*The Books of Immanuel*). He said of himself that, though he imitated Al-Harizi, he surpassed him; and this is true. He was a much more inspired poet, and just as skilful in bending the language to his need. In addition to his poetry, he wrote commentaries on the *Bible* and a Hebrew grammar.

The Cabala. In the early 14th c. there appeared in Spain a book by the title of *Zohar* (*Brilliance*), written in a peculiar Judeo-Aramaic, and attributed to Rabbi Simon bar Yohai of Talmudic days. It was undoubtedly written by Moses de Leon (1250–1305); based on the mysticism of the creation in *Sefer Yezira* and its mysteries of the Hebrew alphabet, and most probably culled from the book *Bahir* (also *Brilliance*), by the school of Isaac the Blind, a mystic philosopher of the 12th c., and from the Hebrew writing of the eccentric and picturesque poet, scholar, mystic, and false Messiah, Abraham Abulafia (12th c.). *Zohar* soon became the *Bible* of the Cabalist. The despondent condition of the Jews, in the wake of persecutions in the Christian countries, made them ripe for the romance of mysticism expounded in the *Zohar*. It caught like wildfire and spread all over the diaspora. It colored practically all of Jewish thinking and literature for many generations. It was developed into a great movement, with followers among non-Jews, and was forerunner of many other movements and sects. It created a voluminous literature of its own; but it sealed off the great period of progress in Hebrew literature during the Middle Ages.

Jewish scholars began to depart from Spain and with them went Jewish learning. In Provence there flourished a large school of learned men and writers, but they possessed little originality either in scholarship or in art, and their literary output is mediocre. Those in North Germany were of the same caliber. Yedaiah Bedersi (1280–1340), the son of Abraham, also a poet of some standing, was noted for his ornamental and beautiful expressions and was called Yedaiah Ha-Penini (Pearl-like). He is known better by his philosophical work *Behinath Olam*.

In Spain there were still a few verse polemics or preachments. Meshulam Da Piera, and especially his son Solomon (1340–1417), wrote some very agreeable wine songs and epigrams; Reuben Bonfed (1380–1450) was a versatile poet.

But it was still in Spain, where since the death of Maimonides, Jewish culture had begun to decline, that the most original Jewish philosopher saw the light of day. He was Hasdai ben Abraham Crescas, born in Barcelona (1340–1410). He started his great work *Or Adonai* (*Light of the Lord*) as a comprehensive study of the Jewish religion, laws, and ethics. He found inconsistencies in Maimonides and disagreed with Aristotle. He was thus the first philosopher to shake off the previously undisputed ideas of Aristotle. He refuted the Aristotelian idea of the eternity of matter, and advanced the theory of the infinity of God. His work, written in terse unrhetorical Hebrew, was translated into many languages and influenced future philosophers; Spinoza adopted his thoughts on free will.

Sefer Ikkarim (*Book of Roots*) by Joseph Albo (1380–1440) was second in popularity to the *Duties of the Heart* by Bahya. It was written mainly to strengthen the Jews in their belief in their religion, then being actively attacked by Christian missionaries. It reported the teachings of his predecessors, Maimonides, Gersonides, and Crescas, but it was written in the style of the homilist, in very simple Hebrew.

In 1492 the Jews were expelled from Spain. Among those who left the country were Don Isaac Abravanel and his son Judah. Isaac,

who is best known for his commentaries on the *Bible,* was a great scholar, and wrote a large number of philosophic books, but of no distinction. Judah Abravanel, whose fame rests on his philosophical book *Dialogues on Love,* in Italian, wrote some very fine poetry in Hebrew.

With them closed a most fertile chapter in Jewish literary activity, and began the darkest pages in Jewish history and culture. The persecution and expulsion of the Jews spread from one country to another. They fled to all corners of the world, taking with them their spiritual heritage, the sacred books. But in the ghettos that were built for them they retired within a spiritual world of their own creation. They consecrated themselves to devotional study of the *Talmud;* until far into the 18th c., when a slow awakening bestirred them. During these dark centuries a mass of "rabbinic literature" was produced, most of it legalistic hairsplitting of points in the *Talmud,* practically all devoid of good taste and sober thinking.

Only in sunny Italy, where persecution was less intense than in other lands, there still glowed a few isolated sparks of wider culture.

There flourished many a gifted poet: Benjamin b. Abraham Anavi (Di Mansi), a contemporary of Immanuel; Moses Rieti (1393–1460), author of a long philosophical historical poem *Mikdash Meat,* in skilful tercets; the two brothers Jacob and Immanuel Francis, both noted scholars, philosophers and linguists, who battled vigorously against the Cabalists, and issued a collection of polemical poems under the title *Zevi Mudah* (*Hunted Stag*), against Sabbatai Zevi, the false Messiah: Immanuel (1618–1703) was the more versatile of the two; he wrote many secular and sacred poems, eulogies, elegies, and love songs; Moses Zacuto (1625–1697), born in Amsterdam but living in Italy, an ardent Cabalist, of intense poetic power, who introduced the drama into Hebrew; the many-sided Leo Modena (early 17th c.). It was in Italy that the renaissance of Hebrew literature had its inception.

Modern Period. Moses Hayim Luzzato* (1707–47) freed Hebrew poetry from the artificiality and ornamentation of Arabic-Spanish poets. Early attracted by the romantic glow of the Cabala, he nevertheless received a good education. At 17 he wrote a book on rhetoric, advocating a clear natural style in prose, and poetry pleasing to both mind and ear. He maintained that poetry must contain both beauty and truth. He illustrated his arguments with beautiful examples from his own pen. In spite of his absorption in the mysteries of the Cabala and the many works that he composed on this subject, he found time to write over thirty books on logic, ethics, and rhetoric, all distinguished by a clear, smooth, pleasing style. But it was in poetry that his imagination and his ardent soul found full expression. He composed a book of psalms in imitation of the psalms in the *Bible,* in marked departure from the cumbersome and ornamental mosaics of his predecessors. Of his many poetical works, most prominent are his three dramas: *Maase Shimshon,* the story of Samson and Delilah; *Migdal Oz,* on a theme taken from *Pastor Fido,* by G. Battista Guarini; the allegorical play *La-Yesharim Thehillah* (*Praise to the Righteous*). These are all distinguished by a freshness of expression, deep feeling, ardent love, beautiful descriptions of nature, and new and pleasant rhythms. A disciple of Luzzato was David Franco Mendes, who wrote an allegorical drama *Gemul Athaliah.*

The Age of Reason, penetrating the Ghetto, bestirred the new generation. The *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) movement had its inception in Germany. It centered around the *Measfim* (*Collectors*), a magazine founded by a group of progressive young Jews. One of its founders was the renowned philosopher

Moses Mendelssohn* (1729–86). Though he himself wrote very little in Hebrew, because of his great reputation and his profound mind he dominated this group and the whole movement.

One of the major works of this group was the publication of the *Bible* with a translation into German by Moses Mendelssohn, but printed in Hebrew letters, with a *Biur* (explanation) in Hebrew. This work gave the Jewish masses the *Bible* devoid of the casuistry and didactic interpretations in vogue for many generations. The Biur sought to amplify this by explaining the difficult passages by rules of grammar and logic, and also to instill in the people the love of the prophets and the Hebrew language, instead of the involved dialectic and lack of style and taste of most of the Rabbinic writings of the past three centuries. Together known as the *Biur,* it roused a controversy that raged for over a century. For 27 years the *Measfim* served as a platform for the dissemination of culture, secular learning and the love of Hebrew among the Jews. Among the noted contributors to the *Measfim* were Franco Mendes; Isaac Satonov (1732–1804), a very prolific writer; J. L. Ben-Zeb (1764–1811), the author of a long popular Hebrew grammar; Joseph Ephrati (1770–1804), renowned for his drama *Melukat Saul;* Samuel Romanelli (1757–1814) of Italy, a traveler and poet; Ephraim Luzzatto (1729–92), a gifted secular poet; and the most influential of Mendelssohn's disciples, Naphtali Hartwig Wessely (1725–1805), whose pamphlet *Dibrei Shalom Ve-Emeth* (*Words of Peace and Truth,* 1782) urged the Jews to absorb culture and secular learning. Three years later, the *Measef* of which he was an editor was issued. Wessely's fame rests mainly on his *Shirei-Tifereth,* an epic poem in imitation of Klopstock's *Messiade.* Wessely was the forerunner of many poets who, though influenced by him, surpassed him.

From Germany the Haskalah penetrated into Austria and Galicia (Austrian Poland). In Galicia and in Russia, Jewry was then in the grip of a new movement, Hassidism. This sect, founded by the untutored Israel Baal Shem, ca. 1740, was essentially a rebellion of the masses against the dry formulas of the rabbinate and the literal enforcement of the law. The Hassidim advocated the joy of worship, ecstatic devotion to the Lord; they frowned upon the Rabbis and their erudite learning. This movement, which quickly caught the fancy of a large stratum of Jewry, imbued it with poetry, vision, and hope. It created a large folklore of songs, parables, stories, music. But it rapidly degenerated into a hereditary hierarchy, and absorbed all the worst features of the Cabala, its superstitions, its miracles, its amulets. Against such ideas and practices, the writers had to strive.

Isaac Perl (1773–1839), in *Megaleh Tmirin* (*Divulger of Secrets*), satirized the *Hassidim,* their grotesque manners and speech. In another book, he praised farming and agricultural labor. A satirist that with biting epigram and humor waged war on ignorance, superstition, and the Hassidic rabbis, was Isaac Erter (1791–1851). In Galicia was also laid the foundation for research in Jewish history and literature. Salomon Judah Rappaport (1790–1867) may be called the father of Jewish scholarship. In the fields of Hebrew philology, Jewish history, and the *Talmud,* he paved the way for future scholars such as Graetz and Zunz. Nahman Krochmal (1785–1840) in his *More Nebuke ha-Zeman* (*Guide to the Perplexed of our Time*), a philosophy of Jewish history, advanced many original ideas later elaborated upon by many scholars. His son Abraham (1817–88) made valuable contributions in the same field. Zechariah Frankel (1801–75) and Abraham Geiger (1810–74) forged new pathways in Jewish learning, but they wrote most of their works in German. The most original of these schol-

ars and the most influential was the Italian Samuel David Luzzatto* (1800–65). He opposed Maimonides and Spinoza, advancing the idea that religion and science can not be reconciled, that religion is an ethical philosophy based upon belief and not on scientific proof. He was an untiring scholar, who loved the Jewish religion and people, their history and literature. There was not a field of cultural endeavor, history, philosophy, archaeology, philology, in which he did not make valuable contributions. He discovered and annotated many old manuscripts, notably poems of Judah Halevi. Luzzatto also wrote a volume of poems, but in this field he was surpassed by another member of his family, Rachel Morpurgo (1790–1871). Most of these writers were contributors to the *Bikurei ha-Ittim* (1821–32) and the *Kerem Hemed* (1833–65), which were a continuation of the *Measef*. Among them were also the prolific poet and writer Salomon Levisohn (1789–1821); and Meir Litteris (1800–71), who wrote and translated many ballads and epic poems, but is best remembered for his Zionistic song *Yonah Homiah* which was set to music and can still frequently be heard.

The *Haskalah* movement did not take root in Russia till the 19th c. There were some progressive writers earlier, as Menahem Lepin (1749–1826) who translated Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* and wrote popular science in a neo-Talmudic Hebrew; and Elijah, Gaon of Wilna (1720–97), the bitter opponent of the *Hassidim*, an orthodox and devout but enlightened Rabbi. Isaac Bear Levinsohn* (1788–1860), in many ponderous volumes, set out to prove to the devout Jews, from the sacred books and the lives of the sages of the past, that secular learning was not only permissible but essential to a religious Jew. Though he was far from a scholar, and verbose and pompous in style, his books were very popular and contributed immensely to the spread of *Haskalah*. Mordecai Aaron Ginzberg (1796–1847) spread the *Haskalah* by introducing popular books of geography and history, in light, engaging style. Abraham Dov Lebensohn* (1794–1878) was endowed with genuine poetic gifts. In his poems, mostly devoted to thoughtful reflection on the universe, he rarely concerned himself with problems of the day. He was overshadowed by his son Micah Joseph Lebensohn* (1828–52), a poet of sublime lyric powers. He translated Schiller, wrote six historical poems, and a volume of lyric songs. His love songs, full of love of life despite his sickness (he early contracted tuberculosis), are full of ardent passion. His three slender volumes are among the best poetical creations in Hebrew.

Judah Loeb Gordon* (1830–92) was the most influential poet of the period. Endowed with great imagination and linguistic skill, he quickly won the admiration of the younger generation. His early poems were epics on Biblical themes, but later his poems were devoted to the problems of the day. With biting satire, he began to combat the Rabbis, their strict adherence to the letter of the Law, their indifference to the plight of the people. These poems provoked the antagonism of the clerics, but Gordon continued to fight set orthodoxy with satire. His *Be-Mezuloth Yam* (*In the Depths of the Sea*), portraying the Jews expelled from Spain during the Inquisition, is a masterpiece of vigor and pathos. It is the story of a beautiful woman, who promises to surrender herself to the captain of a ship if he lands safely all his cargo of Jewish exiles. After the passengers are safely landed, the woman and her mother leap into the ocean and are drowned. Gordon's greatest poem is *Kozoh shel Yud* (*The Dot on a Yud*). In it he pictures the pathetic life of a Jewish woman who is married in childhood to an insignificant Talmudic student, and by a technicality (the dot on the "i") held to her wretched lot.

Abraham Mapu (1808–67) was the father of the Hebrew novel. In *Ahabath Zion* (*The Love of Zion*), a rather naive story of the life of shepherds in the days of the prophet Isaiah, he moves the reader into the times and spirit of the Bible. Of the same historical period is his novel *Ashmath Shomron* (*The Sin of Samaria*). Like Gordon and other writers of that day, Mapu abandoned the historical romance and turned to the realistic novel. In *Ayit Zabua* he wages war against the pseudo-pious, ridicules the Hassidic Rabbis, and portrays the drab life of a small Jewish city in Lithuania.

By the mid 19th c. the Hebrew world of letters was buzzing with activity. Many periodicals were established. In 1857, the Russian Eliezer Silberman established in Germany the weekly *Ha-Magid,* with contributors in many lands. In 1860, the historian S. J. Fin started the weekly *Ha-Carmel* in Wilna; the industrious Zederbaum started *Ha-Melitz* in Odessa, and (1862) the mathematician Hayim Z. Slonimski began *Ha-Zefirah.* The last two became dailies, the *Ha-Zefirah* under the able editorship of Nahum Sokoloff (1859–1936).

Kalman Shulman (1819–99) contributed to popular education with a history of the world (9 v.), world geography (10 v.), a history of Hebrew Literature in the Middle Ages, translation of the books of Josephus, and of Eugene Sue's *Mysteries of Paris.* All his books, written in an easy-flowing and engaging style, were devoured, mostly clandestinely, by the students of the Talmudic seminaries. Two esthetic literary critics, Abraham A. Kovner (1842–1909) and Jacob Paperna (1840–1919), stimulated public taste for good literature and sound writing.

Hebrew literature of the mid 19th c. sought mainly to spread secular knowledge, ridiculing the fanatics and their leaders. The humorist M. D. Brandstadter (1844–1928), in his short stories, pictured the comic side of the *Hassidim* in Galicia. Reuben Asher Brodes wrote a long novel *Ha-Dath Veha-Hayin* (*Religion and Life*). S. J. Abramowitz* (1836–1918) started as a critic, wrote a natural history, and in addition to his many works in Yiddish, became one of the finest stylists and storytellers of contemporary Hebrew Literature. In 1866 came his novel *Ha-Abboth ve ha Banim* (*Fathers and Sons*) dealing with the life and tribulations of the Jews in Wilna.

But soon a new trend appeared, in Perez Smolenskin* (1840–85). He too started as an antagonist to the religious fanatics, but later turned upon those that in their praise of secular knowledge condemned everything that was Jewish, the good and the bad alike.

In 1861, in Vienna, Smolenskin established the *Ha-Shahar,* a monthly that for twelve years was the organ of a new thought and attracted the finest talents. Smolenskin soon saw, what became evident to most in the 80's when the pogroms broke out in Russia, that the religious reforms and the thirst for education and worldliness brought very little good to the Jews, and that at the cost of their ideals and spiritual wholesomeness. In a series of essays in *Ha-Shahar,* he attacked the assimilationist movement in Germany, and the leader of the Enlightenment movement Moses Mendelssohn. He anticipated the Zionist movement by preaching that the Hebrews are a people and should guard and cultivate their spiritual heritage. In his six novels, one can easily discern the hurried pen of a busy writer; though they abound in beautiful descriptions and interesting characterizations and episodes, artistically they fall behind the stories of Brandstadter and Samueli. His best novel is *Keburat Hamor,* which deals with the struggle of the individual with his environment. *Ha-Toe be Darkei ha-Hayin* (*The Wanderer in the Paths of Life*) gives the adventures of an orphan who finally, escaping

the jailors of the Czar, finds rescue in London. Devoured by the young, it was burned by the orthodox.

Smolenskin encouraged many young writers. He helped Freiman-Lieberman (1845–80) to issue the first Socialist monthly *Ha-Emeth* (*The Truth;* 1878). In the *Ha-Shahar* appeared many fine poems of the Socialist J. L. Levin (1845–1925), and of Solomon Mandelkern (1855–1902); the articles of Eliezer Shulman (1837–1902), biographer of Heine and Berne; the essays of Mordecai ben Hiller ha-Kohen; the philosophical works of Dr. Solomon Rubin (1823–1910); the very important work of David Kahana (1838–1915) on the history of the Cabalists, the Sabbataists, and the Hassidim. In 1879 it published two articles advocating the colonization of Palestine, by Eliazar ben Yehuda (1857–1922), who later settled in Palestine and there revived Hebrew as a spoken language, and compiled the comprehensive Hebrew dictionary. This trend toward nationalism versus assimilation manifested itself also in the articles of David Gordon (1826–86) in the *Ha-Magid* and in the pamphlet of I. M. Pines (1843–1913) who advocated nationalism from the religious point of view.

In the beginning of the 80's there was no more need for advocating enlightenment. *Haskalah* was taken for granted; but the pogroms in Russia and the spread of anti-Semitism in Europe brought disillusionment to the writers who thought that the root of Jewish trouble was ignorance and conservatism, to men like the poet Gordon and M. L. Lillienblum (1843–1910) who had been the greatest antagonists of the rabbis. The Zionist idea as fostered then by the "Lovers of Zion," captured the hearts of the Jewish intelligentsia and fired them with new hope.

New poets appeared who sang of hope and a return to the ancient homeland. K. A. Shapiro (1841–1900), a sensitive poet, convert to the Russian Orthodox Church, rebelled against his own humiliating position and produced some powerful and vigorous lyrics. The sentimental M. Dolitzki of Russia (1856–1931) and N. H. Imber of Galicia (1856–1910), the author of *Hatikva,* the Jewish national anthem, produced many patriotic songs. Both these men lived and died in New York. M. Z. Maneh (1800–87), another Zionist poet, was more gifted. In 1896, Dr. J. L. Kantor established the first Hebrew daily, the *Ha-Yom.* His assistant was the cultured feuilletonist and critic, David Frishman* (1860–1922), steeped in European literature, and first to introduce the European spirit into Hebrew. Frishman wrote a few very artistic stories and a volume of poetry, and translated many foreign masterpieces. All his works are marked by good taste and a rich and fluent style. Frishman was the ardent anti-Zionist among the Hebrew writers; a universalist, he feared a nationalistic chauvinism.

Kindred in spirit to Frishman was the superb short-story writer and poet Isaac Loeb Perez* (1851–1915). In his slender volume of poems *Ha-Ugob,* Perez appears as the first individualist Hebrew poet that, in rich lyric vein, sings of his sorrows and joys and love. Educating the masses in Yiddish, and known as the Father of Yiddish novelists, he created some of the finest short stories in Hebrew. They are marked by a lyric symbolism and poetic wistfulness. He knew and understood the wide masses of Jewry, and with a master's brush painted pictures with lines of light and shadows, of the struggles that tormented the Jewish masses and the intelligentsia. He was one of the first to turn to the *Hassiddim* for material, and produced a volume of novelettes of delicate beauty and feeling for the poetry and sentiment inherent in Hassiddism. This wealth of beauty, devotion, ecstasy, and poetry underlying the philosophy of Hassiddism, which the protagonists of *Haskalah* entirely overlooked, was defended earlier by

the essayist Eliezer Zweifel (1815–88) and later by Zeitlin. The large field of folklore and Hassiddic types was later to serve as a fertile field for novelists such as Judah Steinberg, Berdichewski, Agnon.

This clash between the old and the new, the attachment to the Hebrew heritage and the desire to "keep up with the world," raged for a long time among Hebrew writers. Some, like M. L. Lillienblum, shifted from one extreme to the other. S. I. Hurwitz (1862–1922) questioned the whole value of Judaism, the desirability of the survival of the Jews and of Hebrew culture. Zeeb Yabez (1848–1924) elaborated the ideas of J. M. Pines and promulgated the return to religious Judaism with a nationalistic romanticism based on modern life. The search for Hebraic values and the cultural treasure of the past produced an enormous scholarly literature devoted to history, philosophy, religion: the monumental history of Talmudic law and tradition by Isaac Hirsh Weiss (1815–1905); the historical works of S. P. Rabinowitz (1845–1910), whose translation of Graetz's *History of the Jews* with annotations and amplifications has the value of a new work; the studies of medieval Hebrew poetry by Hayim Brody and Israel Davidsohn; the varied treatises and essays of Simeon Berenfeld (1860–1940).

Many were the attempts to devise a synthesis between the old and the new. Brodes' novel *Shtei ha-Kzovoth* (*The Two Extremes;* 1888) seeks this reconciliation, in notable contrast to his earlier novel *Ha-Dath ve ha-Hayim.* The bridging of the gap was accomplished by Ruben Brainin* (1862–1939), a brilliant story writer, publicist, and critic, and by A. Ben Avigdor. Brainin as editor and writer, and Ben Avigdor as novelist, but more as the publisher of *Thushiah,* encouraged and fostered the humanistic spirit. The works of their circle dealt not only with Jewish questions, but with problems of the world and the individual. Ben Avigdor published the short stories of N. Samueli, who pictured with sympathy the struggles and tragedies of the lowly; the first poems of Tchernihowski; the novels of Berdichewski, Bershadski, Goldin, A. Rabinowitz. By the late 19th c., the comprehensive Hebrew literature had a daily press, a variety of periodicals on modern European lines, and a galaxy of able and intelligent writers.

In 1897 Herzl called the first World Zionist Congress, and the Zionist political movement was launched. Soon, with few exceptions, the Hebrew writers rallied to this cause. But Herzl's great opponent was not Frishman nor Perez, who were anti-Zionist, but an ardent lover of Zion: Ahad Ha-Am* (Asher Ginsberg; 1856–1927). A profound thinker and great scholar, he advocated a cultural center in Palestine for Jewry, that he believed was destined to remain scattered over the globe. Around him gathered many stalwart writers, steeped in Jewish traditions and learning. The novelist S. J. Rabinowitz, who for seventeen years had written in Yiddish, now under the pseudonym of Mendeli Moher Sfarim recreated these novels in inimitable Hebrew, and produced some new novelettes. The greatest Hebrew poet since Halevi was Hayim Nahman Bialik* (1873–1934), who soared to lofty heights. Bialik was essentially a lyric national poet. "They say there is love in the world. What—what is love?" he asked in one of his poems. But few can equal his vigorous descriptions, the capture of atmosphere, as in his *Winter Poems.* The plight, the anguish, of his people, dominate his songs. In these he is as universal as the prophet and the psalmist of the Bible. One of his poems, *The Scroll of Fire,* might be inserted in the Bible and few would discover that it did not belong there. Woven out of legends about the destruction of the Temple, it is a veritable symphony of tones and overtones in which the whole of Jewish history is embraced in symbolic figures:

"From the depth of the desolate bring me a
song of destruction
Black as the veins of your heart."

It is gloomy, heart-rending: "And now, look! behold how the heavens mocked me, and with a barbaric lie they encompassed me. My youth —everything—they took from me, and they gave me naught in their stead . . . A great fire —a threefold blaze—burned within: the flame of God, the flame of Satan, and the one fire stronger than both: the flame of Love." It haunts one with its beauty, with the magnificence of its music. Many are his poems of nostalgia for the passing institutions of Israel. In his *Hamathmid (The Student of Talmud)* he pictures one of these "lost ships," a tender youth who spends all his days and nights over the pages of the *Talmud;* not even spring with its lovely breezes, nor yearning for his mother's love, can tear his mind from it. When, in 1903, a series of pogroms broke out in Russia, Bialik visited Kishinev and wrote his epic poem, *In the City of Slaughter.* With stark realism he describes all the wanton destruction perpetrated upon the Jews, but as in all the poems in the cycle *Songs of Ire,* of which this is one, he sheds no tear nor supplicates, but storms and rages, chides the Jews because they don't defend themselves:

"Why do they pray to Me?—Speak to them!
Let them storm!
Let them lift their fist against Me and demand retribution for the insult
Through all the generations
And let them shatter the heavens and My throne with their fist."

Bialik's work is rich in imagery, powerful in diction. He also wrote some unusual stories, but undoubtedly poetry was his medium. Together with his friend I. H. Ravinitzki, Bialik collected Jewish legends from the *Talmud* and *Midrashim.* The two also edited and annotated the poems of Gabirol and of Abraham Ibn Ezra.

In 1897 Ahad Ha-Am began to publish the *Ha-Shiloah,* a monthly devoted to ideas and literature. For many years it occupied a position similar to that of the *Ha-Shahar* of Smolenskin of the previous generation. It fostered a large group of writers: the sparkling E. L. Leviniski (1853–1909), who in his chatty and witty column made many a profound observation; the promising novelist M. Z. Feinberg (1874–99), who in a plaintive lyric style described the same characters of the Old World of which Bialik sang. The most ardent disciple of Ahad Ha-Am was Dr. Joseph Klausner* (b. 1874; now professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem), who later succeeded him as editor of *Ha-Shiloah.* Klausner, who is best known for his *History of Modern Hebrew Literature; The Life of Jesus; From Jesus to Paul,* and the *History of Israel,* is a prolific writer, scholar, critic, philosopher. The *Ha-Shiloah* opened its pages also to the opponents of Ahad Ha-Am; among these, the publicist, Joshua Thon; the sensitive and esthetic Mordecai Ehrenpreis; the ardent M. J. Berdichewski (1865–1921), who rebelled against the spiritual and ethical heritage that Ahad Ha-Am glorified, and wished to see a generation of Jews healthy in mind and body, rather than a spiritual people. Besides his articles and short stories, Berdichewski wrote two novels.

As Bialik is a disciple of Ahad Ha-Am, so Saul Tchernihowski* (1873–1944) is a follower of Berdichewski. Reared in a modern atmosphere and receiving his education, not in a Yeshiva as Bialik did but in a secular school, Tchernihowski shows no nostalgia for old Jewish ways of life. His early poems are mostly dedicated to love. Tender and deep of feeling, he sings of his beloved, of spring and flowers, of his dreams and hopes. When he writes on Jewish subjects, he does so without any strain of suffering. Objectively, he ap-

preciates the beauty of the Sabbath and its ceremonial. Yet when injustice is done to the Jews, he rages and clamors for revenge. He kneels before the bust of Apollo because he is sick of the age-long death agony of his people. He wants a new, a rejuvenated God, a Jewry unrestrained as the Hebrews of the days of the prophets. Tchernihowski is a universal poet, a poet of the forest and the mountains, the wide spaces of the earth. Because of his Olympian grandeur and his themes, which were foreign to most readers of Hebrew, Tchernihowski, though much admired, was never as popular as Bialik.

A pagan spirit of vigorous, unbridled nature is Zalman Shneor* (b. 1887), individualist and rebel, who wishes to destroy all established gods and to free himself and all humanity from bondages of tradition and superstition. He also wrote vigorous novels in both Yiddish and Hebrew.

Under the influence of Tchernihowski and Bialik, a host of able poets arose: Jacob Cohen (b. 1881), a universal poet of rare lyric beauty and lofty sentiment; David Shimonowitz; Jacob Fichman; Jacob Steinberg; Isaac Katzenelenson; all now active in Palestine.

David Neumark (1866–1924) made original contributions to Jewish thought; of his projected ten volume *History of Philosophy in Israel,* only two appeared. Jacob Klatzkin is a profound and original philosopher. Among the novelists are the subjective psychologists G. Shofman, and I. D. Berkowitz who portrays the drab life of Jews in Lithuania, and of the New York East Side. In Palestine died the very talented psychologist and painter of the decaying ghetto, J. H. Brenner (1881–1921); S. Ben-Zion (1870–1930) who in multicolored hues painted the life, the customs, the struggles of Jewish life in the ghetto—particularly touching and delicate are his portraits of children and their sad life in the Heder (school); I. Bershadski (1870–1908), who wrote two long novels dealing with the life of the small bourgeoisie and the would-be Jewish Intelligentsia; A. A. Kabak (1883–1945), a prolific writer of dramas, and novels with a gallery of well drawn characters in a complex plot; A. N. Gnessin (1880–1913), who with delicate brush and haunting mystic style pictured the lonely souls that shadow-like slide through the by-ways of life, searching for its never grasped meaning.

The Palestine Scene. For over half a century, Hebrew has been the spoken language of the Jews in Palestine. This necessitated a large expansion in the vocabulary of the language, and the creation of words for everyday usage. As a result, many philological studies were produced, by Ben Yehuda, Yellin, Grazowski, Torczyner. The Jews, being a People of the Book, went in earnest into production of books. Even during the War, Palestine produced more than two new books a day. It supported eight dailies and half a hundred magazines of all sorts, many of them to meet new conditions of life. Hebrew, being a literary language, lacked technical works. Books on medicine, hygiene, engineering, education, agriculture, began to appear. But the writers that settled in Palestine and acclimated themselves there, and those of the generations born there, produced a literature that differed from that in the diaspora not only in idiom but also in spirit. It attracted oriental Jews, who till now had taken no part in Hebrew letters. Yehuda Burlo pictured with great skill the life of the Yemenite Jews in Palestine. Isaac Shami, in his short stories of oriental Jews, introduced new themes and problems. Delicately etched is his *Ha Akara,* the story of the childless wife who has to play hostess at the wedding of her husband to his second wife (polygamy is allowed oriental Jews, though seldom practiced). M. Smilianski (Hawaja Musah) has enriched Hebrew literature with stories of the Arab world. Jacob Fichman, a poet of merit and a critic of

acumen, has produced most of his work on Palestinian soil.

Abigdor Ha-Meiri, poet and novelist, is concerned with the pathetic souls of those torn away from the life of the traditional ghetto, and lost in the stream of new life. In a series of stories he pictured the horror and bestiality of World War I. Judah Carni, a poet of power and feeling, raged at life in the diaspora, but found hope in the land of his ancestors. Other poets of merits are Abraham Shlomsky; U. Z. Greenberg, who like the prophets admonishes his people; Isaac Lamdan; Rachel (1890–1931); the Russian Christian Elisheba, who was attracted by the ideals of Judaism and settled in Palestine; the optimistic and happy Anda Pinkerfeld. Hazaz wrote novels of the Russian Revolution. E. Steinman is a Freudian psychologist. Among the younger writers are Dov Kimhi; Eber Hadani; Judah Yaari. Fishel Lachower, author of a two-volume *History of Modern Hebrew Literature,* is a scholarly critic and essayist. Palestine produced an unusual thinker and philosopher in A. D. Gordon (1856–1922) who advocated manual labor, and made toil the religion of the young pioneers. M. H. Emishi, in *Thought and Truth* (1940), made an original contribution to philosophy. The thirst for reading brought an avalanche of translations from many foreign languages and many revised and annotated editions of old classics.

The American Scene. Publication of Hebrew books in America was begun at an early date, usually by writers of the Old World transplanted to this shore. As early as 1871 Z. H. Bernstein began to issue a weekly *Ha-Zofeh be-Erez ha-Hadashah* (*The Observer in the New Land*). There were many other magazines started, and even a daily; but for the most part they were short lived. Some worthy contributions to Hebrew literature were made. A. H. Rosenberg (1838–1923) published *Ozar ha Shemoth,* an encyclopedic dictionary of the *Bible;* J. D. Eisenstein (b. 1854) compiled dictionaries and anthologies. Gershon Rosenzweig (1861–1914) published a large collection of original proverbs and epigrams.

As the influx of Jewish immigration increased with persecution in Russia in the 80's, so did activity in Hebrew letters. By 1910, several societies had been formed to promote the spread of the Hebrew language and literature. The future poet, scholar, and philosopher Israel Efros was active in one, and the future scholar and philosopher Meyer Waxman was at the head of another. A sustained development of Hebrew literary activity began in 1920 when Menahem Ribalow,* brilliant journalist, forceful critic, indefatigable worker, came to America. Two years later he established the still thriving weekly *Ha-Doar* in New York. Around this organ he gathered most of the Hebrew writers already active here, and many that arrived later or developed on this continent. He and the ardent Hebraist, grammarian, and witty columnist Daniel Persky, who for about ten years edited the *Ha-Doar la-Noar,* the junior *Ha-Doar,* are responsible for a great stimulus to Hebrew letters in America. Many of the contributors to the *Ha-Doar* had established their reputation in Europe; but some, as Persky, though born abroad, matured and produced their works in this country: the poets B. N. Silkiner (1888–1934), Ephraim Lisitzki; the scholar, philosopher, and poet Israel Efros; the lofty poet Hillel Babli; the tender poet M. Feinstein; S. Halkin and A. Regelson, both novelist and poet; the novelists S. L. Blank; Y. Twersky; the novelist and playwright H. Sackler. Among the philosophers and essayists are Meyer Waxman; M. Kadushin; S. Maximon (1882–1933); A. L. Malachi. The generation of promising young writers includes the gifted young poet Gabriel Preil.

The destruction of the Jewish centers in

Europe brought here such renowned writers as the Talmudic scholar Chaim Tchernowitz, who for the last eight years has edited the literary monthly *Bitzaron (Stronghold)*; another Talmudist, S. K. Mirsky, who established the quarterly *Talpuoth (Seats of Learning)*; the poet Shneor; the philosopher Klialzkin; the economist Simeon Federbush; the orientalist A. S. Yehuda; the psychologist N. Turov; essayists and publicists, S. Z. Zetzer; S. Hillels. It is safe to predict that America is destined to be the center of Hebrew literary activity outside of Palestine.

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LEO AUERBACH.

HELIGOLAND—*See* Norwegian.

HELLENIC—*See* Greek.

HINDI—*See* Indian.

HITTITE

WITHIN the last fifty years, the Hittites have emerged from comparative obscurity to take their place among the great nations of the Ancient Near East. Although they are referred to 61 times in the *Old Testament*, Biblical scholars, up to the last quarter of the past century, were inclined to attribute little historical value to these references. Today, however, the Hittite empire is considered the third greatest empire of the ancient world, ranking next in importance to those of the Egyptians and Assyro-Babylonians.

This amazing advance in our knowledge of Hittite culture and history has been due to the discovery of numerous inscriptions and tablets throughout Asia Minor and Syria. The inscriptions, cut into the face of rocky cliffs or masonry walls, have been found mainly in the region extending from the Halys River in Anatolia to Hamath in Syria. They are written in a hieroglyphic script, and tell of the exploits of the Hittite rulers who held sway over the numerous small kingdoms and principalities in this region after the fall of the Second Hittite Empire (ca. 1200 B.C.). It has only been within the last fifteen years that scholars, notably P. Meriggi, E. O. Forrer, I. J. Gelb, and B. Hrozný, have successfully deciphered the hieroglyphs and definitely linked the language with the better known cuneiform Hittite.

Our knowledge of cuneiform Hittite has been almost entirely derived from the clay tablets discovered by Hugo Winckler, the Berlin Assyriologist, at Boghazköy, the site of the ancient Hittite capital, ninety miles east of Ankara. While digging there in 1906–07 and 1911–12, he found a large part of the royal archives, including nearly 20,000 cuneiform tablets and fragments. Further excavations there in 1931 and 1932 by Kurt Bittel show that many more documents are still to

be found. The great majority of these texts are written in Hittite, although examples of seven other languages have been discovered among them. All of the texts discovered so far were written during the two centuries of the Second Hittite Empire (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.), but some are copies of earlier tablets and texts which were composed during the First Hittite Empire (ca. 17th–15th C. B.C., according to the latest chronology). The Hittite scribes used the Assyro-Babylonian script, with certain modifications. Thus each Hittite text might be considered a sort of palimpsest in which the Sumerian ideogram or Accadian word was to be rendered by its Hittite equivalent, except in the case of words directly borrowed from the Accadian. It was B. Hrozný, the Czech scholar, who in 1915 successfully deciphered cuneiform Hittite and established its connection with the Indo-European language family.

The indigenous people of eastern Asia Minor were known as Khatti, from which the name Hittite is derived. They did not speak an Indo-European language, nor were they racially connected with the Hittites, who entered Asia Minor some time during the 3d millennium B.C. and absorbed many elements of the indigenous culture. The language of the native stock, which has been found in some of the Boghazköy texts, is called "Proto-Hittite" or "Khattic" by scholars, to differentiate it from Indo-European Hittite. Through the efforts of scholars like E. O. Forrer, J. Friedrich, A. Goetze, and E. H. Sturtevant, great strides have been made in Hittite studies in the past quarter of a century.

It is because of the fortunate discovery, then, of the royal archives at Boghazköy that the literary remains of the Hittites have come to light. Of special interest and value to the philologist are a number of lexical tablets and bilingual texts. The Hittite scribes found it necessary to compose glossaries of rare or difficult words in the various languages with which they were acquainted. These contain Sumerian, Accadian and Hittite words in parallel columns. From these texts our knowledge of the Hittite vocabulary has been appreciably increased.

The historical records of the Hittites are rich and varied. They deal mainly with the events of the Second Hittite Empire. The annals of the kings take up a large part of the historical texts. The scribes wrote them in a literary prose style, and, unlike the scribes of other civilizations, signed their own names to their works, as e.g. Tatiggannaš, or Pikku. In contrast with the haughty tone of Assyrian or Egyptian records, the Hittite kings did not boast of useless cruelties in their chronicles, nor did they attribute their successes exclusively to their own prowess or sagacity. Other historical material found at Boghazköy includes State treaties, the diplomatic correspondence of the Hittite kings with the kings of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt, royal proclamations and deeds of royal gifts, arbitrations between rival cities, and lists of charges against rebellious vassals. A remarkable cuneiform letter has come to light which was written to Shuppiluliumash, king of the Hittites from ca. 1385 to 1350 B.C., by a queen of Egypt. In this letter, which reveals the power of the great Hittite ruler, she begs him to send one of his sons to become her husband and rule over Egypt. After some delay, one of his sons was sent to Egypt, but upon his arrival he was seized and slain.

Another important find at Boghazköy was the Hittite copy of the first great international treaty between the Hittites and Egypt. After the forces of Ramesses (Rameses) II had been routed by the armies of Muttalish, the Hittite king, at the battle of Kadesh in 1288 B.C., Ramesses and Khattushilish III, who succeeded Muttalish, agreed that there should be peace between Egypt and the Hittite empire forever. Thus in 1272 B.C. the treaty was drawn up in 18 paragraphs and

presented to Ramesses, engraved on a silver tablet. The main stipulations were as follows: the renunciation by both rulers of all aggression against each other, the reaffirmation of former treaties existing between the two countries, a defensive alliance involving the aid of each against the other's foe, co-operation in dealing with delinquent subjects, and the extradition of political fugitives. Even the Egyptian and Hittite queens exchanged letters of congratulations on the new peace pact, and later on the daughter of the Hittite emperor was sent to Egypt to become the wife of Ramesses II.

A political organization as complex as the Second Hittite Empire had to have its own code of laws. Nearly 200 paragraphs of the Hittite code have survived on the clay tablets of Boghazköy. Generally it is more humane than the laws of Babylonia, Assyria, or even Israel. Capital punishment and mutilations by cutting off the ears or the nose of the culprit are rarely imposed. In fact, certain sexual crimes are dealt with quite leniently, which throws a rather bad light on the morality of the Hittites. A large section of the code has to do with the economic life of the nation. Prices are regulated, weights and measures are adjusted, and problems arising from an agricultural and cattle-raising civilization are dealt with in a just and surprisingly humane way. The respect for law and justice that is reflected in this code is indeed remarkable.

Besides the historical texts there are treatises on special subjects, such as an essay on horse-breeding, which the Hittites borrowed from Mitanni and passed on to other civilizations. Other compositions deal with the use of precious metals, the care and destination of war prisoners, and medical subjects.

By far the largest part of Hittite literature deals with religious matters. Not many of the religious texts have been translated, however, since the more easily understood historical texts were studied first. The Hittite pantheon consists of an amazing collection of deities, from more than six different ethnic sources. In State treaties, for instance, where all the gods possible are called upon as witnesses in support of the treaty, there are found Sumero-Babylonian, Hurrian (Biblical Horite), Luvian, Khattic, Indo-European Hittite, and Indian deities, besides others less well known or not yet certainly identified. They may be divided into two great groups, the sky gods and the earth gods. Besides these deities, the Hittites also worshipped the Heavens, the Earth, mountains, rivers, wells, winds, and clouds.

Among the mythological texts, which are for the most part badly preserved, there are numerous indigenous adaptations of well known Sumero-Babylonian myths. Many of these stories came to the Hittites through Hurrian versions, while others were directly borrowed from the Babylonians and Assyrians. The disappearance of the vegetation god, Telepinush, and his reappearance in the spring with new life, is obviously connected with the widely spread Tammuz myth. The Gilgamesh epic was very popular among the Hittites. Fragments of this story have been found at Boghazköy written in Accadian, Hittite, and Hurrian. More than 15 tablets of the *Songs of Gilgamesh* have been uncovered there, written in Hurrian. From the Hittites the Greeks of Asia Minor received this myth and used certain elements of it in their own epic literature. Many other less important and less well known myths have been found, whose literary antecedents are not clear.

Rituals and liturgies for various temple feasts and other occasions form the great majority of the Hittite religious texts. The priests and priestesses that participated in these rites are almost always mentioned by name. Prayers, sacrifices, purifications, hymns, and oaths are the chief elements of Hittite religion. Some prayers have been found in the Boghazköy texts, as well as a few hymns and

lists of oaths. Catastrophic events, such as famines, illnesses, domestic quarrels, were warded off by means of exorcists, while the course of future events and the will of the gods were ascertained by divination. In these incantations and divinatory texts the influence of Babylonian models is very clear. The manuals of the priests, used for interpreting omens, are also mostly of Babylonian origin. A representative prayer, for fertility, beseeches the Sun-god:

"Sun-god, my lord, as this cow is fertile,
and she is in a fertile pen, and
she is filling the pen with bulls and cows,
just so let this sacrificer be fertile;
let her just so fill her house with sons and daughters,
grandchildren and great grandchildren, descendants (?)
in successive generations (??)!"
(IV, 8–13) [1]

From this survey of religious texts, it is quite evident that the Hittite religion was mainly borrowed. This may also be said of Hittite culture in general. Because of its unique position between the great civilizations of the Near East and of southeastern Europe, it absorbed many influences and passed them on to others. But the Hittites must be considered not only as carriers of one civilization to another. They also made their own contributions to the cultural history of the Near East, not only in the field of literature, but in other realms as well.

[1] A. Goetze, "The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi," *American Oriental Series*, v. 14, New Haven, 1938.

J. H. Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians* (N. Y.), Scribner, 1908; *Ancient Times* (Boston), Ginn, 2d ed., 1935; J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London), Constable, 1929; I. J. Gelb, "Hittite Hieroglyphs," *Oriental Institute Communications* Nos. 2 (1931) 6 (1935), and 8 (1942), Chicago U. Oriental Institute; A. Goetze, "The Present State of Anatolian and Hittite Studies," in *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, ed. Elihu Grant (New Haven), 1938; D. G. Hogarth, "The Hittites of Asia Minor," Chap. XI in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, v. II (Cambridge), 1931; "The Hittites of Syria," and "Hittite Civilization," Chaps. VI & VII in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, v. III (Cambridge), 1929; E. H. Sturtevant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, U. of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), 1933. *See* Aramaic.

CHARLES T. FRITSCH.

HONDURAS–*See* Mexican; Spanish American.

HUAROCHIRI – *See* South American Indian.

HUICHOLE–*See* Mexican.

HUNGARIAN

From the Beginnings to 1526. About the year 900, the Hungarians after long wanderings settled down in former Dacia and Pannonia; a century later, they adopted Christianity, and thus joined Western European civilization. Under the Árpád dynasty, which lasted until 1301, the country was strong enough to survive the ravages of the Tartar invasion of 1241; under kings from various houses, Anjou, Hunyadi and Jagello, Hungary ranked among the leading political and military powers of Europe.

Even more than in Western Europe, in Hungary, literature was largely in the hands of the clergy, who produced in Latin, and later in Hungarian, writings of predominantly

ecclesiastical character, legends, and hymns; among the former, several dealt with Hungarian saints, Stephen, Emery, Ladislaus, Elizabeth and Margaret. The Latin works of a Hungarian Franciscan friar, Pelbart de Temesvár (1435?–1504), one of the most eloquent preachers of his times, were repeatedly reprinted abroad.

Secular literature was confined chiefly to chronicles: among them, an anonymous account of the Magyar conquest of Hungary (early 13th c.); that of Brother Mark relating Hungarian history till 1330; the *Gesta Hungarorum* by Simon Kézai; and the *Chronica Hungarorum, Budai Krónika* (1473), the first book printed in Hungary.

Poetry in the vernacular, unless religious, was not favored by the Church, which was intent upon suppressing all the relics of Hungarian paganism. Owing to additional hindrances, up to 1526, literary monuments in Hungarian are scant: a *Funeral Sermon and Oration, Halotti beszéd és könyörgés,* from the 13th c., various hymns and legends, among the latter the *Legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria* of over 4,000 lines; an elegy on the death of King Matthias (1490), and two narrative poems, *The Battle of Szabacs* (1476), and *Song of the Conquest of Pannonia* (1526).

Although some traces of the Renaissance appeared in Hungary as early as the 14th c. at the court of the Anjou Louis I, Humanism did not reach the country until after King Sigismund's election as Roman Emperor (1410). After his death (1437), John Vitéz, bishop of Nagyvárad, later archbishop of Esztergom and Royal Chancellor, became the generous patron of Hungarian humanism. He and his friends instilled the love of letters into young King Matthias (1458–1490) who became a true Renaissance prince. World-famous was his library ("Corvina"); he had at his court a large group of scholars and poets, theologians, historians, philosophers, astrologers, and physicians. Among his Italian humanists, best known were Marzio Galeotto (1427–97) *De Egregie, Sapienter et Iocose Dictis ad Factis Matthiae Regis* (1484–87); Antonio Bonfini (1434–1504), whose *Rerum Hungaricorum Decades* for centuries remained for foreigners the chief source of information on Hungarian history up to 1495; Antonio Brandolini (ca. 1440–97); and Taddeo Ugoletti, the Royal librarian. Marsilio Ficino and Angelo Poliziano corresponded with Matthias. The Hungarian Janus Pannonius (1434–72) won wide recognition as one of the finest Latin poets of the Renaissance. Although Humanism in Hungary, too, cultivated Latin, it gradually penetrated beyond the limited circle of the royal court into the lower strata, spread literacy, aroused interest in the vernacular, and, finally, sowed the seeds of the Reformation.

The Period of the Reformation, 1526 to 1606. After the catastrophe of Mohács (1526) in which the military might of Hungary was annihilated by the Turks, about one third of the country fell under Turkish domination; in the remaining part, two rival kings, a Hapsburg and a native king, ruled simultaneously. The Hapsburgs did not fulfill the expectations of their partisans; they were more concerned with reducing Hungary to the low political status of their dominions than with driving out the invaders. The indifference of the Hapsburgs accounts in part for the considerable success of the Reformation in Hungary.

As in Germany, here too, Protestantism concentrated on the conversion of the masses, using literature as a vehicle for its ideas. Ministers of the New Faith wrote many polemic works, school-plays and other dramas in which they blamed the Catholics for the sad fate of the Fatherland; they translated and composed many hymns and, following Luther's example, translated the whole *Bible* into Hungarian (1590).

The paramount interest in religious matters did not silence folk poetry. The "flower-songs," *virágénekek,* so called because the lover compared his beloved with some flower, lived on, even though the clergy of every faith looked askance upon these "immoral" songs; folk books also made their appearance with stories about Solomon and Markalf, Poncianus, Prince Argirus and others, tales borrowed from the *Gesta Romanorum,* the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, and other medieval sources.

Secular poets of significance appeared also: Peter Selymes de Ilosva and Sebastian Tinódi, both epic poets, and the first lyric poet of Hungarian literature, Valentine Balassa (1551–94). The life of this aristocrat was stormy; he fell in love, but his beloved married another man. He married a cousin, was accused of incest, divorced his wife, left the country, returned, died in battle. A disciple of Petrarch and of various neo-Latin poets, he was no mere translator; his religious poetry reveals genuine emotion; his songs of soldier-life and particularly his love songs strike a sincere note. He remained popular until the 19th c. and found many imitators.

The Period of Counter-Reformation, 1606 to 1772. During the 17th c. the Hapsburgs, striving to extend their rule over all Hungary, waged successful wars against the Turks, with whom dissatisfied patriots, regarding the Hapsburgs as the enemies of the religious and political freedom of Hungary, often made common cause. The struggles of the Hungarian rebels attracted attention all over Europe, and the efforts of Emery Thököly were followed with great interest in England.

In their ambition to Catholicize Hungary, the Hapsburgs found a collaborator in Cardinal Peter Pázmány (1570–1637). As leader of the Hungarian Counter-Reformation, he attacked the Protestants in many controversial writings, blaming them, in vigorous style, for the plight of the country. He also had George Káldi translate the *Bible* for Catholics (1626).

The troubled times produced several autobiographies and historical works; this century also saw the appearance of the first Hungarian philosopher, John Csere de Apácza (1626–60), a disciple of Descartes. In his opinion, the fate of nations is not necessarily decided on battlefields, good schools and teachers are needed if a nation seeks to survive.

Concern over the future of Hungary inspired Count Nicholas Zrinyi (1620–64) to express in several pamphlets his political views, according to which a crusade against the Turks was of utmost necessity. Even his long unappreciated epic poem, *The Siege of Sziget* (1651), strongly influenced by Tasso, was written to unite the apathetic Hungarians to free the country from Turkish rule.

Stephen Gyöngyösi (1624–1704), a much more typical product of the Baroque period than Zrinyi, met with more popular response. In his narrative poems, as *Venus of Murány conversing with Mars* (1664), *Epithalamium for Emery Thököly and Helene Zrinyi* (1683), he treated contemporary events and personalities. The happenings which he related are interesting; his style is smooth, his language flexible, his plots not overly complicated. Gyöngyösi remained the most widely read Hungarian author until the 19th c.

In the meantime, the struggle begun by Thököly was continued by his stepson, Francis Rákóczi II. Both ended in failure; yet, the Peace of Szatmar in 1711 guaranteed the national constitution and freedom of religion. Grateful for the conciliatory attitude of the Hapsburgs, the Hungarian nobility rendered substantial aid in their war against Prussia.

The rebels, called *Kuruc,* lamented in many songs the plight of their country, complained of their sufferings in exile, bewailed the untimely death of their leaders, and despaired over defeats. Unfortunately, this folk poetry was not known to the educated classes; more-

over, as was proved by Professor Riedl, many of the poems considered gems of *Kuruc* poetry are not authentic but the fabrications, however masterful, of Coloman Thaly (1839–1901), an enthusiastic student of the period. The literature cultivated by the higher social classes fell into a state of complete decadence. The lyricists, Ladislas Amadé (1703–64) and Francis Faludi (1704–79) lacked originality; literature in prose consisted mostly of translations and adaptations. The two most renowned prose works of this time are not original: Faludi's *Winternights* (1787) is an adaptation; and a considerable part of Mikes' *Letters from Turkey* (1794), a compilation from several foreign works. Clement Mikes (1690–1761) accompanied his master Francis Rákóczi II to France, Poland, and Turkey, and pleasantly told in his *Letters* of the everyday occurrences in the lives of the Hungarian refugees, interweaving his charming narrative with facts of Turkish history, customs and geography.

Preparation and Pre-Romanticism, 1772–1825. The "enlightened despotism" of Joseph II (1780–90) aroused widespread discontent among the Hungarian nobility. A reconciliation took place under Leopold II, but the truce between the dynasty and its Hungarian subjects was of short duration, as the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence, and of the French Revolution, began to stir the minds in Hungary. Although the majority of the nobles held firmly to their feudal privileges, young intellectuals raised their voices to demand social and political reforms, and to organize revolutionary movements which the imperial authorities quickly and ruthlessly suppressed. This influx of new ideas coincided with conscious efforts to revive Hungarian literature. George Bessenyei (1747–1811), a young nobleman of the Hungarian Guards in the Imperial Palace in Vienna, became the leader of the poets that found their inspiration and their models in French literature. The ideals of this group, the imitation and adaptation of French Classicism, never materialized. Bessenyei's own works in the drama and other forms, and those of his friends Alexander Báróczi (1735–1809) and Abraham Barcsai (1742–1806), met with little success. Bessenyei retired disappointed to his native town, where he wrote inconsequential treatises.

Another group of writers, David Szabo de Barót (1739–1819), Joseph Rajnis (1741–1812), and Benedikt Virág (1754–1830), found their models in Latin and Greek poetry. Primarily scholars, their original works are inferior to their translations. The only true poet of this school was Daniel Berzsenyi (1771–1836), whose poems written in classic meters are permeated with a deep but pessimistic patriotism.

The so-called Hungarian School comprises Andrew Dugonics (1740–1818), Joseph Gvadányi (1725–1801), and Michael Fazekas (1766–1828). They also followed foreign models, but laid the scenes of their borrowed plots in Hungary, delineating Hungarian types. Dugonics achieved great success with his novel *Etelka* (1788); Gvadányi with his humorous narrative poem *The Travels of a Village Notary to Buda* (1790), in which he condemned his countrymen for aping foreign manners and customs, instead of cultivating their national heritage. Fazekas' humorous poem *Matthias Ludas* (1815) tells about a Hungarian peasant who takes revenge on his lord; the democratic tendency of the poem accounts for the popularity it enjoyed.

The German School, under the leadership of Francis Kazinczy (1759–1831), aimed at creating a modern literary language, establishing a literary center, and moulding Hungarian literature after German models. Kazinczy translated Shakespeare, Molière, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, wrote one novel and many poems; he corresponded with and encouraged practically every contemporary

Hungarian writer, and, after long and heated debates, established a new literary language. His followers, Francis Kolcsey (1790–1838), author of the Hungarian national anthem, Ladislaus Szabó de Szentjób (1767–95), and John Bacsányi (1763–1845), translator of Ossian, were preeminently lyric poets of culture and taste rather than creative geniuses. Bacsányi raised his voice in behalf of the oppressed serfs. Francis Verseghy (1757–1822), translator of the *Marseillaise*, participated in the conspiracy led by Martinovits, and served a long prison sentence. His poetry shows the influences of Horace and Anacreon and of German poets.

The works of Kazinczy and his School, despite their subservience to principles of imitation, had far-reaching effects upon the development of Hungarian letters. Joseph Kármán (1769–95), in *The Bequest of Fanny* (1795), related the story of a young girl who, unhappy in an uncongenial environment, longs for a sympathetic soul-mate. She falls in love with a young man from whom she is separated by her father. From then on, she withers away. In vain does the father at last bring her lover back; she dies in his arms. Kármán borrowed from Goethe not only the motivation of the action and the epistolary form, but many passages as well.

Paul Ányos (1756–84) and Gabriel Dayka (1769–96) were the poets of Werther's *Weltschmerz* in lyrical form; Ányos joined a religious order too young; regret, disillusion, and despair brought him to an early grave. Dayka, too, prepared for the priesthood, but turned away before being ordained. He found no happiness in marriage and gave poetic expression to the melancholia deeply rooted in his short and tragic life.

With Kármán, Ányos, and Dayka, pre-Romanticism found its way into Hungary. In Michael Vitéz de Csokona (1793–1805), the spirit of the Rococo appeared. In his often erotic but sentimental love songs he sways from pessimism to exuberance, from exaltation to apathy. His naivete, his impressionism, and his style, consciously imitating the tone of folk poetry, made him a forerunner of Petöfi.

Alexander Kisfaludy (1772–1844), a precursor of Romanticism, wrote many love songs, which in musical beauty surpassed any by earlier Hungarian poets. For a while he owed his popularity to his *Legends from the Past of Hungary* (1807), set in the environs of Lake Balaton; the characters are mostly the poet's ancestors portrayed in a Romantic vein; they are abstractions of either good or evil.

Joseph Katona (1791–1830) wrote several insignificant dramas and one masterpiece *Bánk bán* (1820), an historical tragedy. This is the national drama of Hungarian literature; it presents the tragic conflict of Bánk who, guardian of the law during the absence of the King, kills the queen whom he holds responsible for the ruin of his domestic happiness. Hardly any play in world-literature is permeated with as much dramatic tension. Its language, often crude but always forceful, is passionate, its characters do not talk but erupt. Without exception they are drawn from life and are moved to action by their passion. Shakespeare's influence reveals itself not so much in single details as in the whole conception of the play.

A score of authors wrote under the impetus given by the study of Shakespeare's dramas; the greatest Hungarian poets, Vörösmarty, Petöfi, and Arany, translated several of his plays; after 1878, when the first complete translation of Shakespeare was finished, a Shakespeare cult grew in Hungary; his plays have been on the repertoire of all leading stages ever since, and numerous scholars have devoted significant studies to his influence on Hungarian literature.

The Period of Romanticism, 1825–67. A complete change in the hitherto haughty attitude of the Hungarian aristocracy toward Hungarian literature appears by 1825. Count

Stephen Széchenyi (1791–1860) offered a substantial sum toward the establishment of a Hungarian Academy of Letters. Influenced by his sojourn in England, whose democratic institutions he admired, Széchenyi in many publications severely criticized the Hungarian nobility for clinging to their feudal privileges; moreover, he advocated the necessity of liberating Hungary from the economic domination of Austria. Louis Kossuth (1802–94), one of the greatest orators of all times, propagated the same principles, however, he differed from Széchenyi both in temperament and in the measures by which he hoped to achieve his goal.

In March 1848, the short-sighted policy of the Hapsburgs drove Hungary into a revolution. Unable to break the stubborn resistance of the Hungarians, Francis Joseph accepted the help offered by Czar Nicholas I, whose generals in August 1849 defeated the Hungarian armies. The constitution was suspended and the country was ruled in despotism till 1867.

In these stormy times, Hungarian literature took an unprecedented upswing. Dissatisfied with the cold, rigid Classicism of Kazinczy and his school, the young generation found inspiration in French and German Romanticism. The Hungarian poets of 1825–48 were profoundly liberal; they believed firmly in the right of the individual to free himself of political and intellectual fetters. They saw in the Middle Ages a period of Romantic beauty, and in folk poetry the roots of all poetry. They loved great passion and at the same time, with romantic inconsistency, idyllic tranquility. Romanticism, germs of which had been present in the works of Kármán, Kisfaludy and Katona, became the predominant trend for a long time, not even superseded by the surge of Realism in the 60's.

The Romantics gathered around Charles Kisfaludi (1788–1830). During a stormy life full of vicissitudes, studies, travels, soldiering and amorous adventures, he wrote tragedies, comedies, short stories, poems, and founded a literary almanac *Aurora,* which became the mouthpiece of the young generation. In his many dramas, he applied all the paraphernalia of the Romanticists, revenge, suicide, insanity, flaming passion.

Michael Vorosmarty (1800–55), the greatest Hungarian Romantic, achieved fame with his epic poem *The Flight of Zalán* (1825), dealing with the conquest of Hungary. A versatile talent, he inspired generations with his epics, ballads and dramas. As a lyric poet, he is one of Hungary's greatest. His themes ranged from tender love and impassioned patriotism to prophetic visions and lofty idealism, distinguished by a diction of enchanting beauty. With the exception of Joseph Bajza, the minor lyrists of the period, Gregory Czuczor, Frederic Kerényi, Alexander Vachott, Julius Sárossy, Coloman Tóth, and Coloman Lisznyai, as well as the epic poets, were strongly influenced by folk poetry. Michael Tompa (1817–68) excelled in lyric poetry. Owing to a childhood of privation, of mental and emotional crises, he grew into a pessimist, who gave the most stirring expression to the sentiments of his time following the collapse of the War of Independence of 1848–49.

The novel and the short story show a rapid transition from Romanticism to Realism. Andrew Fáy (1786–1864) wrote the first Hungarian social novel, *The Novel of the House Belteky* (1832), a complicated tale of two families, with lengthy dissertations on political, social, and literary problems. Baron Nicholas Jósika (1794–1865) became the founder of the historical novel in Hungary. He placed too much emphasis on the description of externals, castles, cities, knights, serfs, nobles, clergy, bourgeois and soldiers with their picturesque costumes. The composition of his novels is loose; the episodes take too much space, whereas the main plot is usually too

thin; his art of characterization is weak. But despite his shortcomings, he found enthusiastic readers.

Baron Joseph Eötvös (1813–71), the foremost liberal of his time, achieved fame with *The Carthusian* (1842), a novel inspired by Saint-Beuve's *Volupté*. The hero, disappointed by the world of reality and by ill fortune in love, becomes a monk, and dies in the conviction that only the selfish find no consolation on earth. His *The Village Notary* (1845; trans. N.Y. 1850), a typical tendency novel, called attention to the abuses of the county system in Hungary; in *Hungary in 1514* (1847), he pointed out the dangers of the nobility's abusing its position; in his view, the coming revolution could be averted if society helped the oppressed. In his many poems, he dealt with philosophical problems; in his political writings, he also discussed the necessity of the emancipation of the Jews.

Baron Sigismund Kemény (1814–75) was undoubtedly the foremost historical novelist of Hungary. A pessimistic realist, he penetrated into the spirit of the past, portraying characters that were flesh-and-blood human beings, struggling in vain against Fate. A superb psychologist, he learned much from Balzac, but his outlook was too pessimistic for the masses. His novels are thought-compelling but most of them are formless and his style is involved.

Peter Vajda (1808–46) in his novels defended the oppressed, and assailed those that abuse their power. Louis Kuthy (1813–64) transferred the horrors of Sue's *Mystery of Paris* to Hungary; Gereben Vas (1823–68) specialized in novels describing the society of the Reform Period of 1825–48.

The drama of the period is represented by a host of writers in whose social and historical plays the Romantic element abounds; revenge, suicide, insanity, duels, murders. Edmond Szigligeti (1814–78) was the most prolific; he wrote over 100 plays: social dramas under the influence of Augier and Sardou and many good comedies and plays with rural types and characters. The four greatest writers of the period are: Petöfi, lyricist; Arany, epic poet; Jókai, novelist; and Madách, dramatist.

Alexander Petöfi* (1823–49) was not only the greatest lyric poet of Hungarian literature, but also the most typical representative of his times. After ceaseless wanderings as a student, soldier, actor, editor, he married and settled down. He became a leading figure in the Revolution of 1848, wrote one of the most stirring revolutionary poems, *National Song, Nemzeti dal,* enlisted in the War of Independence, and fell in battle. His narrative poems are of unequal value; several of them, like *Salgó,* show all the exaggerations of the Romantics; *Knight John* (1846) was written under the influence of the Hungarian fairy tale; *Stephen the Fierce* reveals his democratic tendencies and his hatred of the privileged classes; *Istok the Fool* (1847) is largely autobiographical and expresses Petöfi's serene philosophy of life; *The Apostle* relates the martyrdom of an idealist working for the liberation of the masses. Petöfi was supreme as a lyricist. With the boldness of youth, he stood for the right of the individual to life, free from restraint and from political and economic bonds. He not only responded to every stimulus, but felt irresistibly compelled to give vent to his emotions. In over 700 poems, he expressed sentiments common to all: love for woman, the fatherland, nature, liberty.

John Arany* (1817–82) found his vocation after many unsuccessful trials, as student, painter, actor, teacher. His first work, *Toldi* (1847), won him the friendship of Petöfi. With this poem he elevated folk poetry to a higher sphere, in a superb blend of national and artistic elements. *Toldi* is a national epic, the first part of a trilogy, based on legends of a Herculean youth, whose story was trans-

mitted by Peter Selymes de Ilosva, a poet of the 16th c. The concept of the poem is naive, its characters, its tone, its form typically Hungarian; its language is the most plastic and poetic in Hungarian literature. *The Romance of Toldi* (1879) was written after the concluding part of the trilogy had been finished. This second part of the Romantic epic poem deals with the man Toldi and his tragic love amid tumultuous events of the 14th c. The poem, owing to Arany's outstanding analytical abilities, is equal to the best psychological novels in Hungarian literature. *The End of Toldi* (1854), a humorous epic poem, presents a moving portrait of old Toldi in conflict with the modern world.

Among his other epic poems *The Loss of the Constitution* (1845) is a counterpart of Eotvös' *The Village Notary,* a bitter satire on feudal Hungary and its outmoded county system. He also wrote a poetic autobiography, the fragment *Istok the Fool* (1850, 56, 64), influenced by Byron. Only one part of the trilogy planned on Hun and Hungarian history, *The Death of King Buda* (1864; trans. Watson Kirkconnell, Cleveland, 1936), was ever finished. Instead of fulfilling his mission to punish the evil world, Attila kills his brother, Buda. In retribution he, and his nation, perish from this world.

In a depressed mood caused by the unhappy outcome of the War of Independence, which for Arany meant economic ruin, loss of his friend Petöfi and a collapse of his country, Arany wrote many ballads. Through an intense study of the Scotch and Transylvanian folk ballads and of Shakespeare, he became, in the words of a Hungarian critic, "the Shakespeare of the ballad."

Maurus Jókai* (1825–1904) is still the most widely read author in Hungary. He was influenced at first by Jósika, the founder of the historical novel in Hungary, then by Dumas *père,* particularly in technique. Among his numerous novels, *Timar's Two Worlds,* dealing with the double life of a man who is partly criminal, is considered not only Jókai's masterpiece, but a masterpiece of European literature. There are incidents in it, that for marvel and excitement vie with Jules Verne; much is worthy of Hawthorne; many passages full of pathetic beauty remind one of Dickens.

He achieved his greatest success with his historical novels, in which he revived the glorious past of Hungary and Transylvania. Jókai had Victor Hugo's capacity for dealing with a large subject, his Olympian view of humanity as a whole, his comprehensiveness, his boldness, and not a little of the moral fervor that underlies the swaggering ethics of Hugo. Several of his critics scored him severely for "traveling too far in the region of fancy." Jókai himself repelled this charge by maintaining that judgment and memory, as well as fancy, had been his watchwords; still, he declared, often when his imagination seems to soar highest, there may be most reality.

Emery Madách* (1823–64) was the only poet of the period not affected by the then popular folk poetry. His models were *Faust* and *Manfred.* Adam, the hero of *The Tragedy of Man* (1859), sees in a dream the history of mankind. Awakened from his frightful dream, he wishes to die. However, learning that Eve is with child, he abandons his plan to commit suicide, since now that the perpetuation of mankind is assured, his death would be futile. Broken in body and mind, he is pardoned by God who does not enlighten him with regard to the future, but explains that the goal of man's life is to strive and to hope.

The Period of Realism. 1867–1900. In 1867, Emperor Francis Joseph I made peace with Hungary, which thus became a co-equal partner of Austria. Although dissatisfaction with the "Compromise," *Ausgleich,* grew in the following decades, the country at large was content with the new state of affairs, and con-

centrated on developing its economic resources. As a consequence of large-scale industrialization, new cities sprang up, old ones expanded, and a migration of the rural population to the cities began. A large part of the new city-dwellers could never rid themselves of a nostalgia for the country which, viewed from the distance, assumed an idyllic aspect. Non-Magyars, Germans and Jews, flocked to the cities, and a new class, the industrial proletariat, came into existence. Many newspapers were founded, which provided the hustling and bustling masses of the cities not only with news but also with fiction.

The problems brought about by the political, social and economic changes were widely discussed by everybody; life lost its hitherto stable character. The gentry was slowly losing its prominent position; a new, largely non-Magyar bourgeoisie was in the making; racial, national, and religious problems arose. Realism found its way into Hungary in the 50's through translations of Dickens and Thackeray; in the 60's, of Gogol and Turgenev; and from the 70's on, of all the important representatives of French Realism. Their influence led the authors of this period, particularly the novelists, to treat contemporary affairs. The vogue of the historical novel continued; however, most of the historical novelists had started on their literary careers before the dawn of this era.

The lyric poetry of the 70's and 80's bore no signs of the change that had taken place since 1867. Heine was the master of many lyricists, although they had gone to school to Petöfi and Arany. Alexander Endrödi (1850–1920) followed the style of folk poetry; Julius Vargha (1853–1929) preached reverence for the way of life of the preceding generation; Emil Ábrányi (1850–1920) wrote many patriotic poems; Andrew Kozma (1861–1933) satirized contemporary events; Nicholas Bárd (b. 1857) exalted the ancestral traditions; Michael Szabolcska (1862–1930) spoke about his love for the Hungarian countryside; Joseph Lévai (1825–1918) meditated on the simple happenings of his own life; Charles Szász (1829–1905) excelled more as a translator than as an original poet; Louis Palágyi (1863–1933) wavered between heterogeneous philosophies, between patriotism and cosmopolitanism, between faith and pessimism; Louis Pósa (1850–1914), better known as a writer of juvenile stories and poems, imitated the simplicity of Petöfi.

Jókai remained the most popular novelist; under his influence a host of authors glorified the past of Hungary. Among them Charles Eötvös (1842–1916), a prominent lawyer, liberal member of Parliament, reveled in tales of the Hungary that was no more, with its picturesque countryside and its peculiar characters.

A more realistic picture of changing Hungary was offered by the regional novel, although most novelists recorded their observations uncritically. Alexander Baksay (1832–1915) narrated the tragedies of the Protestant villages of Hungary, and depicted the faults of the villagers without condemning them. Alexius Benedek (1852–1929) told sympathetic stories of Transylvania and its people, although he was well aware of their shortcomings. Stephen Tömörkény (1866–1917) placed the blame for the occasionally unattractive traits of the peasants upon the rigidity of the law.

It is interesting to note that whereas the novelists portrayed the peasant most realistically, the authors of the very popular folk plays kept on idealizing him until well into the 90's. The folk play was the counterpart of the then popular and equally unreal operetta.

A transition from the idealization of Hungarian life to a more realistic conception of Hungary and her specific problems is apparent in the 90's. Death cut short the plan of Sigismund Justh (1863–94) to write a

Comédie humaine of Hungary. In his few published novels, he attempted to analyze the individual problems of the representatives of all social classes, aristocracy, gentry, bourgeoisie, and peasantry. Louis Tolnai (1837–1902), the first naturalist in Hungarian literature, was fond of depicting unpleasant situations. Stephen Petelei (1852–1910) was the first to portray characters who, unable to find an outlet in the oppressive atmosphere of the small town, grow into neurotics and finally go to pieces in their uncongenial environment. Zoltán Ambrus (1861–1932) was made a pessimist by personal disappointment and innate sensitiveness. Although more interested in psychological than social problems, and a keen analyst of complex souls, he was at times a severe critic of contemporary society. Social criticism found its best expression in the works of Coloman Mikszáth* and Francis Herczeg.*

The former is a direct continuation of Jókai. Yet his portrayal of the Hungarian gentry is more realistic, although he feels sorry for the deterioration of this species. Herczeg delineates his characters without any sentimentality. To him they are interesting people whose unscrupulousness and many other vices, whose cynical attitude toward life, he deems worthy of examination.

A new type of man also appeared in lyric poetry. Instead of indulging in contemplation or escapism, these new poets saw life in the raw, and they delighted in an almost pathological exhibitionism. John Vajda (1827–97) remained a living anachronism all his life. Pessimist in an optimistic world, an incurable Romantic when Realism was in vogue, he was misunderstood and condemned by his public. His poetry is full of exaggerations, bitterness, hopelessness. He saw in the woman he loved a mysterious, antagonistic being about whom he had no illusions. He clung to her nevertheless, just as he clung to life itself, although convinced that it was not worth living. Julius Reviczky (1855–89) learned from Heine the technique of ending his poems with a point. Suffering from consumption, he realized that he was sentenced to death. Still, his poetry is melancholy rather than pessimistic. Eugene Komjáthy (1858–95) is the foremost philosopher-poet of Hungarian literature. From Schopenhauer's pessimism he gradually shifted toward Nietzsche, convinced that the world owed him recognition, since according to his pantheistic philosophy he was the representative of all mankind, encased in his soul.

The drama made no great progress in this period. Gregory Csiky (1842–91) pointed to social problems without offering any remedies. Árpád Berczik (1842–1919) wrote clever but merely entertaining plays. Eugene Rákosi (1842–1927) made a school with a neo-romantic comedy *Aesopus* (1864) and many other poetic or historical dramas. Louis Dóczy (1845-1919) achieved his greatest success with a romantic comedy *The Kiss* (1861).

The industrialization of Hungary attracted large numbers of Jews to the cities, where many of them made careers in the professions, in business and in literature. They struck a new note of sentimentality, sensitiveness and nervousness. Some of them, like Joseph Kiss (1843–1921) and Alexander Bródy, came from the country and were not altogether adapted to their new surroundings. In many of his ballads Kiss took the tragedies of Jewish life for his theme; from his lyrical poems rings the bitterness of an uprooted, lonely man. Lack of discipline prevented talented, robust Alexander Bródy (1863–1924) from writing a single great work. In his novels and plays, as *The Nurse* (1902), *The Teacher* (1908), he was too subjective; as a social critic he was perpetually carried away by his emotions. Nevertheless, his influence, among others on Ady, was considerable. Thomas Kóbor (b. 1867) was the foremost naturalistic novelist of the urban Jew. He often presented

the conflict between conservative parents and modern children, the passing of old traditions for which the new generations found no adequate substitute. The most typical and most pleasing product of the new city was Eugene Heltai (b. 1871). A Bohemian, he was never solemn, although he was often disturbed by the gravest problems of life, death, and love. Ultimately, he came to the conclusion that one must take life as it is.

The Revolt Against Tradition, 1900–1918. The generation reared after 1867 was, with a few notable exceptions, complacent with respect to literature and life. It regarded the classics of Hungarian literature as unsurpassable, the order of things as one that could not be improved. On the other hand, the young generation, while respecting whatever it deemed estimable in the Hungarian past, believed that there was room enough for progress which should and could be made if its elders abandoned their intellectual isolationism. Their first mouthpiece was the periodical *The Week* (*A Hét*), founded in 1890 by Joseph Kiss; in 1908 a new organ, *Occident* (*Nyugat*), came into existence under the leadership of Ernest Osváth, Max Fenyö, and Ignotus (Hugo Veigelsberg, b. 1869).

The courage of *Nyugat* in criticizing existing conditions awoke vigorous attacks by the foremost conservative critics of Hungary. The young writers were charged with lack of patriotism because they blamed the country for its intellectual and political stagnation, and with immorality because their main topic was life in the metropolis, which to the conservatives was the very incarnation of sin. Since radical political circles were sympathetic towards the new periodical, the controversy assumed a political character. But in spite of bitter attacks, disparagement, and derision, *Nyugat* won recognition for its aspirations and its collaborators. Ignotus, not very prolific as a poet, was the spiritual leader of the moderns. His lyrical output is highly intellectual, versatile, void of illusion. As a critic, he had culture and intuition, demonstrated by a masterful exposition of the program of his friends, which appeared in one of the early issues of *Nyugat*. Oscar Gellért (b. 1882), another lyricist, became disillusioned by the realities of life and found solace in his wife and children. Julius Juhász, 1863–1937) lived in a world of dreams. Unhappy over losing contact with nature, his utter passivity prevented him from adjusting himself to life and to people; he ultimately committed suicide. Árpád Tóth (b. 1886) was a soul-mate of Juhász; he finally resigned himself to his fate, to live apart from the indifferent masses and to find consolation in the adoration of beauty. Ernest Szép (b. 1884) was first to sing the loneliness of a young man in the big city. He fled from the ugliness of his environment into the idealized memories of his none too happy childhood. Desider Kosztolányi (1885–1936) was an accomplished virtuoso whose themes were less important than the perfection of his technique. He was one of the ablest translators of foreign poetry; his catholic taste enabled him to render Shakespeare, Calderon, German and French symbolists, even Chinese poets, in equally harmonious and beautiful verse. He also revived the memories of his childhood, but as he matured, he no longer retreated into the past. Instead, he looked into the future, which appeared somber. Death lurks everywhere, in the solitude of his study, in the gorgeous landscape, on the train, in the street. Béla Balázs (b. 1884) was the poet of the subconscious, primitive soul. Renée Erdös (b. 1879), who since has become a successful novelist, shocked many readers by the sincerity with which she expressed herself on the none too sublimated desires of a sensual woman; Jenny Várnai (b. 1880) gave expression to the sorrows of a proletarian woman.

The greatest of those that started from

Nyugat were Andrew Ady,* Michael Babits,* Frederick Karinthy,* and Sigismund Móricz.*

Ady recalls Petöfi. Fully aware of his tragedy, which was that he was a Hungarian imbued with the ideas and ideals of Western culture, he constantly revolted against the outmoded social and political structure of Hungary. Babits recalls Arany. Pre-eminently intellectual, shy, with strongly introvertive tendencies, he often escaped into an ivory tower. He was, nevertheless, longing for a full life to which he could never adapt himself. Karinthy, convinced of the futility of life, escaped into a world of fantasy. Móricz was the severest critic of the social evils in Hungary. His novels depict the peasant in his ghastliest hues; yet he puts the blame for the faults of the peasant on the criminal negligence of the feudal lords of the country.

The drama of the pre-war years was deeply concerned with the vital problems of society. Under the influence of Ibsen, of the naturalists and other schools, the art of the theatre developed to a very high degree in Budapest, and a number of dramatists gained world-wide reputation. Desider Szomory (b. 1873) wrote many historical dramas whose heroes are representatives of all mankind. An inexorable fate directs their lives; any attempt at revolt is futile. Melchior Lengyel (b. 1880) became internationally known for his exotic drama *Typhoon* (1909, trans. Chicago, 1913). His highly successful plays on social, moral, and psychological problems demonstrate full knowledge of stage technique and of the taste of the audience. The dramas of Louis Biró (b. 1880) are of unequal value, as he cares more for theatrical effects than for poetic values. Emery Földes (b. 1881) began his career with romantic, historical dramas, then turned to social plays; in some of them the dramatic suspense and intensity equal those of Henry Bernstein. The best known dramatist of the period is Ferenc Molnár,* whose plays are in the repertoire of stages from Budapest to Tokyo. An accomplished craftsman of the stage, Molnár always appeals to the public. His dialogue is witty, his ideas original, the plot always interesting.

The efflorescence of the drama presents a strange contrast to the novel of these years, which produced only second-rate works of ephemeral value, with the exception of Géza Gárdonyi, Victor Rákosi (1860–1923) and Cecile Tormay (b. 1876). Gárdonyi (1863–1923) had his outlook colored by an unhappy marriage ending in divorce. His first stories dealt with village people, whom he depicted with love and understanding. His attempt to revive the tradition of the folk play met with success in *Wine* (1901). Because of the inherent poetic values of his works, and his selective realism, Gárdonyi is still widely read in Hungary and outside. Tormay's novels, *e.g.* *The Old House* (trans. N.Y. 1922), *Emberek a Kövek közt* (N.Y. 1923), written with unusual skill and intuition, treat clashes between persons of various races, cultures, and temperaments.

The war of 1914–18 aroused no enthusiasm among the intellectuals of Hungary. Many writers advocated pacifism; others withdrew into an ivory tower. Ady saw in the war a conflagration in which his beloved Hungary as well as all mankind would perish; Babits regarded it as an end to Hungary's development.

Literature since 1918. The end of World War I was catastrophic for Hungary; the country was partitioned. A short-lived coalition of socialist and bourgeois elements formed in 1918 was followed by four months of Communist dictatorship. Since the establishment of the semi-fascist, dictatorial Horthy régime, the chief concern of Hungarian politics has been the revision of the Treaty of Trianon. This desire oriented foreign policy toward Italy and later Germany, and led ultimately to Hungary's open alliance with the Axis powers, whose anti-democratic attitude

met at once with the sympathy and support of those in power in Hungary. The suppression of all freedom of thought, and the systematic elimination of socialists, liberals, and Jews from political, intellectual, and economic life had begun in Hungary long before Hitler's ascent to power.

Immediately following the war, ultra-nationalists blamed the "foreigners" for the collapse of Hungary and the low economic status of the peasantry and the middle class. The changes brought about by the war were reflected in the regional and social novel and drama of this period. On the other hand, many authors sought to escape from present realities by writing historical dramas and novels. The experiences of those that were forced into exile or emigration created novel topics. Literature in Hungarian has been flourishing in the succession States, particularly in Transylvania, which gave several noteworthy authors to Hungarian literature. The general tendency toward escapism inflated the volume of literature, not always without prejudice to its quality.

First among those blaming the "foreigner" for the evils of the country was Desider Szabó (b. 1879) who, in his tendency novel, *The Destroyed Village* (1919), called attention to the misery of the peasant, ruthlessly exploited by the aristocracy and by the rich "foreigner." Regardless of the many shortcomings of this novel, Szabó was regarded by the young generation as the leader of the movement to free Hungary from "non-Magyar domination." Szabó himself, erratic, inconsistent, and quarrelsome, for a while disappeared from the political scene; still a host of writers continued to study the problems of the Hungarian village. This new branch of sociology, called "village research," produced significant books, among which *The Village People* (1937) by Julius Illyés, is the most stirring. Under the impetus given by this research, many regional novels were written. Joseph Darvas described, in *Black Bread* (1934), the unspeakable misery of the peasants; Paul Szabó dealt in *The Abyss* (1939) with the chasm separating the simple people of the village from the intelligentsia; Stephen Fekete portrayed in *Landless Peasants* (1940) a talented peasant boy unable to grow acclimated in the city; he returns to the village in order to apply the knowledge acquired in the city for the benefit of his people. John Kodolányi (b. 1899) presents in his novels a crude and disillusioned picture of post-war Hungary. The hero of *Prison* (1926) has the distinction of being the most repulsive character in all Hungarian literature. Irene Gulácsy (b. 1891) wrote *Cyclone* (1925), dealing with the bitter struggle for land between an aristocratic and a peasant family. Alexander Makkai presented in *The Dead Sea* (1937) not only the story of a Protestant minister but also the acute problems of the village. Piroska Szenes portrayed the complicated social structure of a Slovak village in a remarkable novel, *Star on her Forehead* (1931).

The historical novel is represented by Julius Krudy (1878–1935) whose characters, sentimental women, adventurers, city and village people of yesteryear, retire from the world and become eccentric. Nicholas Surányi (b. 1882) is best known in this country for his *Woman of Naples* (trans. N.Y. 1929), the story of Beatrice, wife of King Matthias. A fomenter of intrigue and discontent, she brings ruin upon herself and tragedy to the King, who might otherwise have been a powerful and wise ruler. Zsolt Harányi (b. 1887) wrote among others *Magyar Rapszodia* (trans. as *Immortal Franz,* N.Y. 1932 and as *Hungarian Melody,* London, 1936), and *Lover of Life* (the story of Rubens, N.Y. 1942). In the *Star-gazer* (N.Y. 1939) he gave a glowing, richly drawn picture of one of the world's most interesting periods, with the weak and strong, suffering and exalted hu-

manity of Galileo at its center. The most outstanding historical novel by George Szántó (b. 1893) is *Stradivarius* (1933). The first string of the violin is the story of the Stradivari family; the second, the romantic experiences of its various owners; the third, the life of its last owner; and the fourth, the life of the author himself. Irene Gulácsi wrote *Black Bridegrooms* (1926), with a fine intuition of the spirit of the past. Alexander Makkai (b. 1890) devoted a novel, *The Devil's Cart* (1927), to Anne Báthory, and succeeded in explaining the contradiction in this complex, pathological character. In *Táltoskirály* (1934) he dealt with the times of the Tartar Invasion of 1241, calling attention at the same time to the special problems of his native land. Cecile Tormay wrote a trilogy, *The Ancestral Envoy* (1932–34, 1937), on the adoption of Christianity by the Hungarians, a topic also successfully treated by Charles Kós in his *Builder of a Country* (1934).

In the late 1920's, the experiences of the World War were revived. The foremost humorist of Hungary, Francis Móra (1870–1936) dealt in the *Song of the Wheatfields* (trans. N.Y. 1930) with peasant life during and after the War; he gave a vivid picture of the Hungarian soil and its people, and of the changes in the *mores* of the village caused by the War. Rodion Markovits in *Siberian Garrison* (N.Y. 1932), a novel translated into nine languages, depicted his experiences in a prison camp in Siberia. Louis Zilahy (b. 1891) is vivid in *Two Prisoners* (trans. N.Y. 1931) and the *Deserter* (trans. N.Y. 1932). Aladár Kuncz, on his vacation in France in July 1914, was overtaken by the general mobilization. In *Black Monastery* (trans. London, 1934), he recorded his experiences in internment camps, the life of the prisoners, and their attempt to escape from reality.

Social novels are more popular than ever. In view of the enormous output, only the most distinguished can be mentioned. Freudian psychology has its devotees in Hungary too. Desider Kosztolányi (1885–1936) in *Sweet Anna* presents the story of a servant girl who kills her masters although she is well treated by them. *Bloody Poet* (trans. N.Y. 1927) is the story of Nero driven to madness and crime by the frustrated spark of his genius. Louis Hatvany (b. 1880) has written a study of a Hungarian Jewish family and its assimilation. Nicholas Surányi wrote *Deluge* (1926), in which a Russian grand-duke, foreseeing the revolution, buys an island where he settles down with many interesting characters who are, in the end, compelled to go back to civilization. Béla Zsolt (b. 1898) specialized in novels depicting the life of Jews in post-war Budapest, one of which, *It ends in Marriage* (trans. N.Y. 1926), has sensational, if at times crude, episodes. Sigismund Reményik's novel *Poet and Reality* (1936) was a satire on the "crimes of the capitalistic system." Louis Kassák (b. 1887), the leader of the Hungarian expressionists, in his realistic novels, e.g. *The Unemployed* (1933), gave a stirring portrayal of the life and morals of the city proletariat. Michael Földi (b. 1894) made his debut with novels strongly influenced by Dostoevsky. Lately his favorite problem has been the conflict between various philosophies of life. Jolan Foldes, with *The Street of the Fishing Cat* (trans. N.Y. 1937) won the All-Nations Prize competition. It is a good story, pleasantly told; but the milieu and the atmosphere of the novel are what obtained the prize, for neither characterization nor psychology dips much below the surface. Her other novels in English translation are good entertainment. Béla Pogány treated, in his successful book, *Beggars on the Banks of the Seine* (1932), the lives of Hungarian emigrees in Paris and their inability to adjust themselves. Joseph Reményi (b. 1892) of Cleveland dealt, in lyrical and lengthy novels, with the problems of the Hungarian immigrant to the United States.

Margaret Kaffka (1880–1918) portrayed masterfully women who are tormented by problems common to the weaker sex in all walks of life. John Komáromi (b. 1890) amalgamated in his works fantastic and realistic elements. A disciple of Móricz, his picture of the Hungarian peasant is far from favorable; yet indeed he often seems to admire some of the unpleasant features of the Hungarian peasant, e.g., his "showing off." A keen psychologist, Komáromi reveals the hidden nooks of the mind, and draws unusual characters. Francis Körmendi (b. 1900) attracted wide attention with his novel *Escape to Life* (*Budapesti kaland;* trans. N.Y. 1933 and in more than a dozen languages). It gives a vivid picture of post-war Budapest, whose characters are equally well portrayed in his other novels also available in English. His historical fantasy about Hitler and the destructive insanity of Hitlerism, *Adversary of Man* (London, 1941) has forceful passages, is ingenious and at times eloquent. His latest novel, *A Week-end in June* (1942) is a story of Budapest immediately before the outbreak of the present war, portraying assimilated, then bewildered and destroyed, Jews. Alexander Márai (b. 1900) wrote many novels whose uncanny characters express his philosophy of life and the feeling that his generation is doomed. Joseph Nyirö (b. 1899) wrote about people in his native Transylvania. His tragic works are symbolical; he sees no hope for his country or his people. Aaron Tamás (b. 1897) wrote several largely autobiographical novels. Loneliness characterizes his country; in his view, it is doomed because of its isolation from the rest of the world.

The lyricists of the post-war years are more original in their technique than in their themes. Aladár Komlós (b. 1892) has reacted upon the slightest, nay, most trivial stimulus. Attila József (1906–38) fulminated against the oppressors; Ladislaus Fenyö (b. 1902) expresses his personal conflicts; Anna Leszani (b. 1885) accepts life without any bitterness. Ladislaus Mécs (b. 1895) a priest, preaches pity and love. A virtuoso, he often becomes verbose. Julius Illyés (b. 1902) is a highly cultivated man; still he is rooted in the village, for the troubles, sufferings and humiliation of which he has the deepest sympathy. Lawrence Szabó (b. 1900) became known by his masterful translations, as of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam (1920), and Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1921). He rebelled against the hard routine and never-ending struggles of city life. His poetry expresses his despair over the inexorability of life.

The contemporary Hungarian stage is stagnant. Most dramas belong to the category of the "well-made play" and will not last. Lilly Hatvany, Ladislaus Fodor, Ernest Vajda, Alexander Hunyadi and Ladislaus Bus-Fekete have achieved success, abroad also, with their clever and witty plays. Coloman Csathó (b. 1881) wrote pleasantly optimistic comedies dealing mostly with the idealized gentry. Few dramatists devote their works to the presentation of new problems: Louis Bibó (b. 1891) wrote *Heritage* (1925), a grim folk play; Louis Zilahy (b. 1891) repeatedly dared to criticize events of the recent past of Hungary, voicing his opinions with courage and conviction. Several of his plays have been produced in the U. S., *e.g. The Firebird* (1936); his most important drama was *The Sun shines* (1924), in which he advocated intermarriage between the newly-rich peasants and the economically declining middle class. In his drama *The Virgin and the Kid* (1937), though without didacticism, he severely attacked the shallow bourgeois morals.

When attempting to evaluate Hungarian literature, one should not lose sight of the fact that Hungarian has never been spoken or understood by more than approximately 13 million persons, a large percentage of them until recently illiterate. On the other hand, the size of the country alone is no adequate

explanation for its failure to produce an Ibsen or a Strindberg, products of nations smaller still. Nevertheless, one is impressed by the presence of a comparatively large number of talented writers who, no doubt, would have achieved greater repute throughout the civilized world, had they written in French, German or English. On the whole, the rest of the world has remained indifferent to the Hungarian literary genius. Some of the greatest typically Hungarian authors, Petöfi, Arany, Jókai, Madách, and recently Ady, are known only to a handful of non-Hungarians. The aim of Hungarian writers has been to learn from the greatest authors of foreign countries. In this they have succeeded thoroughly: each and every important literary movement has found its way into Hungary, whose literature is not local but European.

Sir John Bowring, *Poetry of the Magyars* (London), 1830; E. D. Butler, *Hungarian Poems and Fables* (London), 1887; Wm. N. Loew, *Gems from Petöfi and other poets* (N. Y.), 1881; *Magyar Songs* (N. Y.), 1887; *Magyar Poetry* (N. Y.), 1908; N. Vály and D. M. Stuart, *Magyar Poems* (London), 1911; W. Kirconnell, *Magyar Muse, 1400–1932;* B. Balogh, *Modern Magyar Lyrics* (London), 1934; *Hungaria, Anthology of Short Stories* (London), 1936; J. Szinnyei, *Magyar irók élete és munkái,* 14 v., 1891–1914; M. Benedek, *A modern magyar irod. tort.,* 1924; F. Ványi (ed.), *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon,* 1926; M. Benedek (ed.), *Irodalmi Lexikon,* 1927; J. Pintér, *A magyar irod. tört.,* 7 v., 1930–34; A. Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet,* 2 v., 1934; A. Schöpflin, *A magyar irod. tört. a XX. században,* 1937; E. Reich, *Hungarian Literature* (London), 1898; Zs. Beöthy, *The development of the intellectual life of the Hungarians* (Bpest), 1904; F. Riedl, *A History of Hungarian Literature* (N. Y.), 1906; *Literatura* (Bpest), 1926–38, *Magyar Szemle* (Bpest), 1927–to date; *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* (Bpest), 1923–; *Nyugat* (Bpest), 1908 to date; *The Hungarian Quarterly* (London), 1936; *Revue des Etudes Hongroises et Finno-Ougriennes* (Paris), 1923; *Ungarische Jahrbücher* (Berlin), 1921–.

Francis Magyar and
Arpad Steiner.

HURRIAN—*See* Hittite.

IBERIAN—*See* Portuguese; Spanish.

ICELANDIC

The roots of Icelandic literature lie deep in the cultural soil of the ancient Scandinavian North. The liberty-loving Norwegians who principally colonized Iceland (874–930) brought with them not only rich and varied traditions, but love of poetry as well. In fact, not a few gifted poets were among these settlers. Moreover, in Iceland of old the poetic genius of the North soon found ample native material in addition to the great store from abroad, with the result that in this remote island of the North Atlantic the epic tradition of the Scandinavian countries, and of the Germanic race, was destined to blossom forth in full vigor and beauty.

Early Icelandic literature can be divided into three main branches: the Eddic poems, the skaldic or court poetry, and the sagas.

The Eddic poems, known collectively as the *Elder* or the *Poetic Edda,* are preserved in a priceless 13th c. manuscript collection (*Codex Regius*) now in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. This consists of a large number of poems dealing with Scandinavian mythology, ancient moral teachings and heroic legends; within these types the poems differ, however, in style and spirit; the meters are alliterative, simple but dignified, as befits the generally elevated themes. Neither the authors nor the compiler of these poems is

known to us. Their date of composition ranges from 800 to 1100, broadly speaking, although on this point scholars differ considerably. The poems were not, however, put into writing until after 1100, most of them probably between 1150 and 1250. Here is not the place to consider the much debated question of the home of the Eddic poems. One thing is certain, they have been preserved in Iceland and there only. Although traditional in nature, and although they have come down to us more or less mutilated, the best of them, at least, have clearly been fashioned and polished by a master hand.

The *Poetic Edda* opens dramatically and most appropriately with *Völuspá* (*The Sibyl's Vision*), a sonorous and a mighty poem, impressive in its grandeur and sweeping range, clearly the work of a poet endowed with rare mastery of form and unusual imaginative power.

Equally interesting and significant, not least from a cultural-historical point of view, is the group of poems entitled *Hávamál* (*The Sayings of the High One*), expressing more directly and more completely than any other literary source the old Scandinavian philosophy of life. The experience, through centuries, of the northern nations is here summed up concisely and graphically, making these poems a veritable gold mine of the distilled wisdom of the ages.

Especially noteworthy for its racy humor and narrative excellence is the *Thrymskvida* (*Lay of Thrym*), which tells of how Thor regains his stolen hammer. The characterization of Thor himself is particularly masterful. The *Poetic Edda* also contains a notable cycle of heroic poems preserving an older Northern version of the *Nibelungenlied*. These poems are rich in vivid descriptions and frequently also in penetrating psychological interpretation; in them the epic ideal of the race finds a vigorous, and at times a magnificent, expression.

From the 10th to the 13th c. there flourished in Iceland the skaldic or court poetry, referred to as such because it consists of poems written by poets attached to the court of some king or earl or the like. These poems differ fundamentally from the Eddic poems. The names, and in many cases the lives, of the skalds, or court poets, are known to us. The Eddic poems preserve mythology, ethical teachings, and heroic lore; the skaldic poetry almost exclusively sings the praises of kings and chieftains, extolling their exploits, heroism, and generosity. Finally, the metrical form of skaldic poetry is highly complicated. These Icelandic minstrels not only developed intricate, sonorous verse-forms; they added an even more characteristic feature: the use of a poetic diction all their own, abounding in metaphorical and descriptive expressions (*kennings*), often both ingenious and striking, but not infrequently far-fetched and fantastic.

As a result, much of the skaldic poetry suffers from recurrent phraseology and sameness of themes, and from lack of personal feeling. Generally speaking, therefore, these poems have much greater historical and cultural than literary value. Nor is that surprising in the light of their origin; they were frankly professional productions, often written purely for personal advantage, to gain the favor and esteem of some king or prince, or even in some cases to save the life of the poet himself when he had fallen into disfavor. And the Scandinavian chieftains of old, like their Germanic kinsmen elsewhere, most desirous of noble renown, cherished and honored the poet, who could, more surely than anyone else, guarantee lasting fame to the great deeds of his master.

The oldest existing skaldic poems are ascribed to the Norwegian, Bragi the Old, said to have lived during the earlier part of the 9th c. He was followed by a number of other Norwegian court poets, but beginning

with the mid 10th c. the Icelanders monopolized the art of skaldic poetry and brought it to its highest excellence.

The first of the Icelandic poets known to us by name, as well as the greatest of them all, was Egill Skallagrímsson* of the 10th c., remarkable alike for his forceful personality and his virile intellect and insight.

Kormákr Ögmundarson (ca. 935–ca. 970) is pre-eminently the love poet among the Icelandic skalds; his verses, alive with warm, sincere emotion, record his unhappy love for Steingerdr, his Laura; they reveal him as a poet of genuine lyric gifts. Unfortunately, many of his delicate songs have come down to us sadly mutilated.

Hallfredr Óttarsson,* of the late 10th c., was the first Icelandic court poet to deal with Christian themes; he eulogized his master, King Olaf Tryggvason, in a memorable, highly personal poem. Sighvatr Thórdarson,* of the early 11th c., was the gifted and highly esteemed court poet as well as the cherished friend of King Olaf Haraldsson (Saint Olaf), whom he mourned in a notable poem and in several exquisite shorter songs. Another 11th c. Icelandic skald was Arnórr Jarlaskáld, noted especially for his poem in honor of King Magnus the Good; eloquence and sonorousness are his principal qualities. After 1100 the skaldic poetry began to decline, although it continued to be written to the 14th c. and has left its mark on Icelandic poetry to the present day.

The art of the skaldic poetry is admirably interpreted in the *Prose* or *Younger Edda* by Snorri Sturluson,* the great Icelandic historian, of the 12th and 13th c. This significant *ars poetica* begins with an illuminating and vigorous exposition of Old Norse mythology, primarily based on the Eddic poems, knowledge of which is indeed necessary for a full understanding of the numerous skaldic allusions; it then discusses in detail the poetic diction together with the metrical principles of skaldic verse, with numerous examples from the works of earlier poets and from the author's own compositions.

The third great early contribution to world literature are the Icelandic sagas; these are a thoroughly Icelandic production, without a literary counterpart. Various factors contributed to their development: an uncommonly strong family feeling, pride in the achievements of one's own kin, which in turn bred deep and far-reaching interest in the past, a desire to preserve everything that might add lustre to the family name. These characteristics on the part of the Norwegian settlers of Iceland and the early Icelanders are readily understandable when it is borne in mind that many of them were of high birth or descent and that the family was an extremely important and close-knit social unit. In the opinion of the Icelanders of old, and the Norsemen generally, fame was the most lasting thing and therefore the most to be desired. Further, those early years in Iceland were very eventful ones, producing rich material for stories, which appealed to the heroic spirit and the historic interest of the people.

Sir William A. Craigie's definition of the saga-literature is both concise and accurate: "The general title of *Icelandic sagas* is used to denote a very extensive body of prose literature written in Iceland, and in the language of that country, at various dates between the middle of the 12th c. and the beginning of the 15th; the end of the period, however, is less clearly marked than the beginning. The common feature of the works classed under this name, which vary greatly in length, value, and interest, is that they have the outward form of historical and biographical narratives; but the matter is often purely fictitious, and in many cases fact and fiction are inseparably blended."

The written sagas were the outgrowth of a long oral tradition, clearly reflected in their structure and style. Storytelling was an un-

usually popular form of entertainment in ancient Iceland, and the storytellers, or "sagamen," acquired rare mastery of their art. We know the names of very few of the authors of the sagas.

Of the Icelandic sagas, the large group of *Islendingasögur* (*Sagas of Icelanders*), some thirty-five in number, has the widest appeal, and remains popular today. These stories generally are set in Iceland; while several of them are primarily concerned with the fate of the hero, many give an account of individual families, not infrequently for generations; hence they are often called "The Icelandic Family Sagas." They nearly always center around tragic issues and end on a tragic note, but the tragedy is relieved by touches of humor and romance.

The historicity of these sagas is a subject of debate, but they are a richly significant expression of the life and the culture of their age.

As works of literature, these sagas rank with the finest narratives anywhere. Their style is forceful and clear; there is strict economy of phrase, and the story is generally told in a simple and straightforward manner, free from comment on the writer's part. The sagas are therefore rich in eloquent silences, in omissions that leave much to the imagination of the reader. Further, they are as a rule characterized by great technical skill; there are quick turns of dialogue and often a brilliant evolution of plot. The strong undercurrent of fate, present in most of the sagas, adds greatly to the dramatic intensity of the story. The saga-writers also excel in character-portrayal, drawing life-like pictures not only of the important persons but of the minor characters as well. The men and women of the sagas are individualized to a remarkable degree, but at the same time true children of their age.

In *Njáls saga* (*The Story of Burnt Njal*), the most elaborate and the most famous of the group, the art of the sagas reaches its highest development. Penetrating character-delineation, narrative excellence, and tragic intensity go hand in hand. Of the other longer sagas the *Egils saga*, *Laxdaela saga*, and *Grettis saga* are especially worthy of attention. Among the shorter sagas *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoda*; *Gísla saga Súrssonar*; and *Gunnlaugs saga* are of particular interest.

During the 12th and 13th c., the great period of recording the varied and vast oral literature, a large number of more strictly historical sagas were written in Iceland. The pioneer writers in this field were Saemundur Sigfússon,* who wrote in Latin the first historical work on Iceland, now lost, and Ari Thorgilsson,* both of whom have been surnamed "The Learned." The latter has also been called "the father of Icelandic history," because of the fundamental importance and excellence of his *Islendingabók* (*Book of the Icelanders*), the first historical work written in Icelandic.

The *Landnámabók* (*Book of Settlement*), which describes the colonization of Iceland by districts, lists the names of the principal settlers, and traces their family history, is without parallel elsewhere, a classic illustration of the genealogical interest that has characterized the Icelanders to the present and is basic in the sagas and later Icelandic historical writing.

Iceland of the turbulent 13th c., with its fateful civil wars which ultimately led to the fall of the Icelandic republic of old, is graphically depicted in the *Sturlungasaga*, an extensive compilation written by various authors, but to a large extent the work of the historian Sturla Thórdarson (1214–84), a nephew of Snorri Sturluson. Sturla had himself participated in many of the significant events that he describes, and his writing is noted for its minute detail and unfailing impartiality.

The early history of the Icelandic church is the subject of a number of sagas, including one dealing with the introduction of Christianity (1000), another telling the story of

the first five bishops of the see of Skalholt, and several relating the lives of individual bishops. These works, which differ greatly in importance and literary interest, contain a vast amount of information not only pertaining to the church, but about the history of the country generally; for parts of the period, they are the main historical sources.

The Icelandic historians also wrote sagas about the Kings of Denmark, the Faroese Islands, the Orkney Earls, and the settlement of Greenland by the Icelanders; also the Icelandic discovery of America and the Vinland voyages. A large group of sagas relates the lives and achievements of the Kings of Norway. By far the most important and most famous of these is the *Heimskringla* by Snorri Sturluson, the greatest of Icelandic historians, whose rare scholarship is matched by his penetrating insight and literary artistry.

Besides these numerous historical works, there is a large body of mythical or romantic sagas, written in the late 13th and early 14th c., some of which have their foundation in historical traditions, while others are pure fiction, dealing with legendary heroes of prehistoric times, extremely fanciful and fantastic in theme, with the supernatural element constantly in evidence, but often artistically and effectively told. This is particularly true of the important *Völsunga saga,* which preserves an early version of the Nibelung legend, and of the *Fridthjófs saga,* an exquisite story of romantic love, on which the Swedish poet Tegner based his poem of the same name. These unhistorical sagas, interesting as many of them are, belong to the period of decline in Icelandic saga-writing, when originality was replaced by imitation and strict historical treatment of themes gave way to uncritical storytelling for entertainment purposes.

During this period, a number of stories, sacred and secular, were also translated into Icelandic from foreign sources.

The first recorded writings in Icelandic were the ancient laws of the country, during the winter of 1117–18. Of the several collections extant, the most significant is the *Grágás,* which contains the laws of the Icelandic republic (930–1264), notable for its vigorous and frequently beautiful language. Important likewise, from a historical and a cultural point of view, are the two law codes, *Járnsída,* and *Jónsbók,* introduced after Iceland came under the rule of the King of Norway, during the later 13th c.

From a linguistic point of view, special significance attaches to several grammatical treatises of the period, notably the oldest one, written by an ecclesiastic during the early 12th c., for the purpose of adapting the Latin alphabet to the Icelandic language, in which pioneer effort the author succeeded remarkably well.

This early literature has been a fountain of living water down the centuries; directly or indirectly it has inspired numerous literary masterpieces, of Ibsen and Bjornson, Norway's great masters in the realm of letters; of English writers, from Gray to Masefield. In Iceland itself, it has been a vital force in keeping alive a remarkable literary activity.

The period from 1300 to 1540 produced much prose, but little of literary significance. Older sagas were diligently copied and compiled; romances and other fictitious tales flourished; many annals were written.

The court poetry came to an end with the 13th c., not because the Icelanders had lost interest in writing such poems, but because the kings no longer understood or appreciated them. The poets devoted themselves to religious subjects, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and other saints, in the dignified Edda meters or more often in the sonorous skaldic verse-forms.

Geisli (The Sunbeam), the earliest preserved poem of that kind, was written by the priest Einarr Skúlason, the leading court poet of the 12th c.; it deals with the miracles

wrought by Saint Olaf; *Sólarljód* (*Sun Song*), by an unknown author ca. 1200, is most noteworthy among the early poems of this class. Didactic in spirit, it is primarily a vision poem, characterized by vigor, deep feeling, lively imagination, with passages of sheer beauty. The most remarkable literary production of the 14th c. is the sacred poem *Lilja* (*The Lily*), of a hundred stanzas. By the monk Eysteinn Ásgrímsson,* the leading poet of the day, it is an eloquent and masterfully constructed interpretation of medieval Christology. Poetry of this kind continued to flourish far into the 16th c., in new metrical forms that harmonized better with the religious themes than did the old skaldic meters.

Continued interest in the court poetry is strikingly revealed, together with a pronounced national spirit, in the poem *Háttalykill* (*Key to Meters*), written by Loptur Guttormsson (d. 1432) in honor of his lady-love; it has ninety stanzas in as many different meters. In this fashion the author carries on the tradition of Snorri Sturluson.

By far the most important of the next generation of poets, for sacred and secular poetry, was the great patriot Bishop Jón Arason (1484–1550). His religious poem *Ljómur*, of 38 stanzas, is written with genuine feeling and in a stately meter. His poems on contemporary subjects are also noteworthy. He brought to Iceland (ca. 1530) the first printing press.

During the 14th c. there arose in Iceland a new school of poetry, known as the *rímur*, which remained extremely popular for 500 years. These narrative poems, in reality a series of ballads, originated as dance-songs, but soon became too elaborate for that purpose, taking on in increasing degree the characteristic features of the court poetry, alliteration, internal rhyme, and not least the metaphorical and descriptive circumlocutions and synonyms, which often are carried to the extreme. The basic meter of the *rímur* is the four-line stanza; the rhyme-schemes, however, are so numerous that over 2000 varieties have been recorded. The themes are drawn largely from the mythical sagas and chivalric romances. Generally speaking, the *rímur*-poetry, of which there are hundreds of cycles, leaves much to be desired with respect to poetic beauty and literary excellence; its significance is primarily cultural and linguistic. Generation after generation, for five centuries, they were chanted during the evenings in Icelandic homes, of rich and poor alike. They not only furnished the people with much entertainment, but kept alive their historical and literary interest, their sense of poetic form, and their awareness of the great wealth of the Icelandic language.

Conventional ballads, originally from foreign sources, also circulated in large numbers in Iceland from 1400 to 1600. Particularly beautiful is *Tristrams kvaedi* (*The Tristram poem*), melodious, gripping in theme, with a haunting refrain.

The introduction of the Lutheran Reformation in the 16th c., imposed upon the Icelandic people by royal decree and military force, was not followed by a cultural and literary awakening. Nevertheless, it brought with it fundamental changes in the cultural life that soon expressed themselves in the literature of the period. Stories of the saints naturally disappeared, and the old religious poetry was replaced by Lutheran hymns. Edifying and explanatory works in prose, intended to spread and interpret the Lutheran teachings, appeared in large numbers. Most significant, not least linguistically, are Oddur Gottskálksson's translation into Icelandic of the *New Testament* (1540) and Bishop Gudbrandur Thorláksson's translation of the *Bible* (1584).

Bishop Thorlaksson, an untiring champion of Lutheranism, a man of great learning, initiative, and varied interests, also published a new hymnal (1589), in the noteworthy introduction to which he pleads for greater

poetic excellence in hymn-writing, indeed a much needed admonition in that day. To this end, he published *Vísnabók* (1612), a collection of older and contemporary poetry, mostly religious and edifying in character. The main contributor is the pastor Einar Sigurdsson (1539–1626), the leading poet of the Reformation period in Iceland, a master of form, deep feeling, and fluent language.

From then on until far into the 18th c., the only printing press in Iceland was under the direction of the Bishops of Hólar in the North, and its activity was almost entirely limited to the publication of religious works. Secular literature continued, nevertheless, to flourish, circulating freely in manuscript, especially the ever-popular *rímur*. A new type of ballad (*vikivakar*) appeared early in the 16th c., holding favor for 300 years; the refrains of these songs are often highly lyrical and genuinely beautiful.

The 16th and 17th c. were characterized by a renewed interest in historical and antiquarian studies. Many annals and biographies were written, more important, to be sure, as historical sources than as literary productions.

Among the annalists were Jón Egilsson (1548–1634) and Björn Jónsson (1574–1655). The former, a clergyman, wrote the annals of the bishops of Skálholt, a pioneer work of its kind; while the latter, a farmer, produced a model of annal-writing, marked by keen historical sense and effective narrative style. The work of these men was carried on by others during the 18th and 19th c., notably district judge Jón Espólín (1769–1836), an extremely productive writer, whose 12 v. *Annals of Iceland* surveys the history of Iceland from 1262 to 1832, revealing vast erudition, historical insight, and vigorous literary style.

The most noted historians and antiquarians were Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648), whose pioneer works on Icelandic history and culture, written in Latin, were widely read abroad and did much to spread correct information about Iceland; Thormódur Torfason, or "Torfaeus" (1636–1719), whose most famous work was his history of Norway (*Historia rerum Norvegicarum*); and Árni Magnússon (1663–1730), the founder of the famed "Arna-Magnaean" collection of Icelandic manuscripts in Copenhagen. With these historical and antiquarian investigations and writings was laid the foundation for the fruitful study of Old Icelandic antiquities and for an awakening of Northern literature.

Another prominent and productive Icelandic historian of the 18th c. was Bishop Finnur Jónsson (1704–89), whose 4 v. Latin history of the church of Iceland, (1772–78), is a source of first importance for the general history of Iceland.

Two poets of the 17th c., both belonging to the clergy, have a permanent place in Icelandic literature: the hymnologist Hallgrímur Pétursson,* who not only towers high above his contemporary Icelandic writers of sacred songs, but with his hymns on the Passion of Christ, *Passíusálmar*, takes his place among all the great Lutheran hymn-writers; and Stefán Ólafsson (1620–88), a very prolific and popular lyric poet, master of varied verse-forms, who wrote successfully both on religious and secular subjects, but was at his best in realistic descriptions of every-day life, satirical and humorous pieces.

Of the prose-writers two stand out; Jón Magnusson (1610–96), a clergyman, whose *Píslarsaga* (*Story of Torments*), a vivid account of his long warfare with alleged witchcraft, is a cultural-historical document of fundamental significance; and Bishop Jón Vídalín (1666–1720), justly renowned for his fiery and forceful eloquence, without a parallel in the history of the Icelandic church. His volume of sermons, *Húspostilla* (published 1718–20), equally remarkable for inspiration, oratory and profound observations on life, remained popular reading through the

19th c., and has deeply influenced Icelandic thought.

The years 1750 to 1835 were characterized by great contrasts: on the one hand, particularly toward the end, gloom and national calamities, including some of the worst in the long history of the nation; on the other hand, sunlight breaking through the dark clouds, the early dawn of a new day, the beginning of national awakening and progress. Industrial and trade reforms were initiated, which gradually lifted the people out of the depths of poverty and hopelessness, the result of centuries of oppression, famine, and adverse physical environment—reforms that brought in their train complete financial freedom and political independence.

In these and other attempted improvements is seen the practical interest of the Enlightenment movement, which had reached Iceland, and expressed itself vigorously in the literature of the day, side by side with a pronounced nationalism and interest in the past. Other forces contributed to a greater vitality and variety of the literary production. The church no longer monopolized the printing of books; a new printing press, devoted to publication of secular literature, was established in 1773. Of great importance was also the organization of various literary societies, which issued a number of useful publications and literary works. The Icelandic Literary Society (*Hid íslenzka Bókmenntafélag*), founded in 1816, is still active, having contributed greatly to the cultural life of the Icelandic people. The Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen was founded in 1825; with its eagerly read editions of Old Icelandic prose works, it further spread the interest in the saga-literature, and strengthened the national spirit.

Among the leading poets of the 18th c. were Governor Páll Vídalín (1667–1727), who wrote a number of pithy and fluent quatrains, and Gunnar Pálsson (1714–91), a clergyman, who wrote effectively in the spirit of the Eddic poems. The most important writer of the early period, however, was Eggert Ólafsson,* a gifted poet as well as a distinguished scientist, but more than anything else a great patriot, of lasting and far-reaching influence.

The leading poet of the later 18th c. was Jón Thorláksson (1744–1819) who spent most of his days in straitened circumstances as a rural clergyman in northern Iceland. He was a man of brilliant mind and a poet of great gifts, his extensive production ranging from bitter, sometimes malicious, satires to elevated hymns of deep religious feeling. Excellent as many of his original poems are, particularly in their rare mastery of form, they are overshadowed by his numerous verse translations, with which he remarkably enriched the literature of his country: Pope's *Essay on Man;* Milton's *Paradise Lost;* Klopstock's *Messias.* Fluently rendered into the elevated verse-form of the Eddic poems, these translations pointed the way for poets to come.

Sigurdur Pétursson (1759–1827) was the pioneer Icelandic dramatist, but his comedies are of small literary merit. Benedikt Gröndal (the elder, 1762–1825) was a highly regarded poet in his day and has to his credit a fluent and accurate translation into Icelandic of Pope's *Temple of Fame.* Magnús Stephensen (1762–1833) was a versatile and productive writer, but lacking in genuine poetical ability. An ardent advocate of the ideas of the Enlightenment, he was more cosmopolitan than national in his tastes and interests, but with his numerous publications, including the first popular news-magazine published in Icelandic, he left an indelible impression upon the history of the era.

Among the prose-writers of the day, the pastor Jón Steingrímsson (1728–91) is noted for his autobiography, charming in its simplicity and sincerity of style, and a vivid picture of the author and his age.

The 19th and 20th c. brought richer and more varied literature than Iceland had produced for centuries. With the political progress, climaxed by the proclamation of the Republic of Iceland on June 17, 1944, and its steady industrial advancement, has developed a growing national consciousness, an expanding literary and artistic activity. At first, when lyric poetry flourished, the stimulating influence of the Romantic movement and strengthened interest in the classical Icelandic literature and cultural traditions, were the main vitalizing currents.

The great philologist Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791–1852), compiler of the *Lexicon Poeticum* (1860), a monumental dictionary of the language of skaldic poetry, was the teacher of many of the Romantic poets of the period. His original poetry, though good, does not match his masterful translation of the Homeric poems, unsurpassed in beauty and purity of language.

Bjarni Thorarensen,* a virile and individualistic poet, one of Iceland's greatest, was the pioneer Romanticist. His younger contemporary and fellow-Romanticist, Jónas Hallgrímsson,* a natural scientist and an exquisite lyric poet, is still one of the favorites of his poetry-loving nation.

Sigurdur Breidfjörd (1798–1846), a cooper by trade, carried on with outstanding success the tradition of the *rímur* poetry and is also especially noted for his brilliant, excellently wrought epigrams. The native tradition is equally strong in the works of Hjálmar Jónsson (Bólu-Hjálmar, 1796–1875), an impoverished farmer, whose rugged and original poetic genius, sharpened by his humble and adverse circumstances, often found striking expression in scathing denunciations of society and his contemporaries.

During the later 19th c., a number of gifted poets carried on the traditions of Thorarensen and Hallgrímsson, their works revealing the influence of Romanticism together with strong national feeling. Grímur Thomsen (1820–96), for years in the Danish governmental and diplomatic service but during the latter part of his life a gentleman-farmer in Iceland, wrote powerful and vivid poems on historical subjects, succeeding admirably in recapturing the spirit of the past and in portraying men and women of heroic mold. His study of Lord Byron (*Om Lord Byron,* 1845), was a pioneer work of its kind in the Scandinavian countries; and he translated ancient Greek poetry masterfully into Icelandic. Björn Gunnlaugsson (1788–1876) is primarily known as a great mathematician and for having made the first good map of Iceland, but he has a place in the history of Icelandic letters because of his philosophical yet popular cycle of poems, *Njóla* (*Night*).

Benedikt Gröndal (the younger, 1826–1907) was surely the most thorough-going Romanticist among the Icelandic poets. An extremely versatile writer, he wrote poems revealing bold imagination and whimsicality. His most significant literary production, however, is his mock-romance *Heljarslódarorusta* (1861), a burlesque on the battle of Solferino, without a counterpart in Icelandic literature. Gísli Brynjólfsson (1827–88), an admirer and imitator of Byron and an ardent champion of freedom, wrote political poems, love songs, and occasional pieces, but few of them possess vitality or originality.

Steingrímur Thorsteinsson (1831–1913), an extremely productive poet, won lasting popularity with his graceful lyrics. His nature and love poems, and in particular his satires and masterful epigrams, constitute his best original productions. His numerous and excellent translations, including the *Arabian Nights,* Shakespeare's *King Lear,* and Andersen's *Fairy-Tales,* are an even more significant contribution to Icelandic literature.

Matthías Jochumsson,* a clergyman in various parts of Iceland, was both a versatile and a prolific writer, a lyric poet, a journalist,

a dramatist, a distinguished hymnodist, a master translator. He is generally looked upon as the greatest Icelandic poet of the late 19th c.

Kristján Jónsson (1842–69) wrote descriptive and lyric poems of high quality, but died before reaching maturity. Jón Ólafsson (1850–1916), a journalist and a political leader, wrote glowing patriotic poems and exhortations to his countrymen. His translations of Bjornstjerne Bjornsson's famed Norwegian peasant stories are admirably done. His brother Páll Ólafsson (1827–1905), a farmer in Eastern Iceland, who, as Craigie has well said, "represents in perfection the best qualities of the unschooled Icelandic poet," carried on the tradition of Sigurdur Breidfjörd and Bólu-Hjálmar. He was a master of the Icelandic quatrain; his humorous and satirical pieces, his love poems and convivial songs, all characterized by rare spontaneity, live on the lips of the Icelandic people.

The most productive, and next to Matthías Jochumsson the leading, hymnodist of the c. was Bishop Valdimar Briem (1848–1930). He has written many deeply felt and beautiful hymns, cherished by the Icelandic people, but his most notable work is his 2 v. *Biblíuljód* (*Bible Songs*, 1896–7), containing many poems of high literary merit.

Jón Árnason (1819–88) is best known for his extensive collection of Icelandic folk and fairy tales (1862–4), compiled or retold by him. In these tales one can, as it were, hear the very heart-beats of the common people; their joys and sorrows, their dreams and aspirations, their ideals and ethical views, find a vigorous expression in stories graceful in style and marked by rare life-likeness.

The realistic movement can be discerned in the early writings of Jón Ólafsson. Its pioneers in Icelandic were, however, Gestur Pálsson and Einar Hjörleifsson Kvaran, primarily significant as writers of short stories and novelists (*see below*); and the poet Hannes Hafstein. As students in Copenhagen they had come under the influence of Georg Brandes, and together with a fourth fellow-student from Iceland, Bertel Thorleifsson, had founded the periodical *Verdandi* in 1882 for the purpose of championing realism in Icelandic literature. Only one volume appeared, but the publication aroused Icelandic literary circles with its new and challenging ideas, although the deep-rooted native literary tradition continued to hold its own.

Hafstein (1861–1922), an influential political leader and the first Icelander to serve as Prime Minister for his native land, was a highly gifted lyric poet, of vigor, freshness, and youthful ardor. He wrote powerful and vivid descriptive poems, and spirited exhortations, patriotic poems, and love songs.

Thorsteinn Erlingsson (1858–1914) though not a member of the *Verdandi*-group, was a self-acknowledged follower of Brandes and his realism. He fiercely denounced religious bigotry and social injustice, in poems vibrant with deep human sympathy. He also wrote exquisite patriotic and nature poems; and his delicate lyric art, his master craftmanship in verse, no less than his social and political views, won for him a large following. Despite his adherence to realism, he had profound appreciation of the Icelandic literary tradition, and excelled in the use of the quatrain.

These are followed by other poets of note: Dr. Jón Thorkelsson ("Fornólfur," 1859–1924), a distinguished scholar and for years National Archivist of Iceland, author of vigorous and graphic historical and narrative poems; Sigurjón Fridjónsson (b. 1867), who has written delicate lyric poetry, often highly symbolic in theme; Thorsteinn Gislason (1867–1938), prominent as journalist, essayist, and highly successful translator, who excelled in occasional and descriptive poems; Gudmundur Fridjónsson (see below), productive short story writer and novelist, whose memorial poems are particularly effective; Gudmundur Gudmundsson (1874–1919), rare master of exquisite form and melodious

language, and Sigurdur Sigurdsson (frá Arnarholti, 1879–1938), whose best efforts possess unusual poetic beauty. Somewhat less significant are: Bjarni Jónsson (frá Vogi, 1863–1926), translator of Goethe's *Faust;* Gudmundur Björnsson (1864–1937), for many years Surgeon-General of Iceland, who experimented extensively with new verse-forms; Gudmundur Magnússon (see below), leading novelist and short story writer; and Dr. Sigfús Blöndal (b. 1874), librarian and noted lexicographer, with poems on historical themes.

Einar Benediktsson* and Stephan G. Stephansson,* of rare imaginative and intellectual quality, originality, and superb mastery of the Icelandic language, stand with the greatest poets the nation has produced. Stephansson is outstanding among the many Icelandic poets in Canada and the United States.

Present-day Icelandic poetry represents various tendencies, ranging from extreme realism, Socialism and Communism, to Neo-Romanticism, with the national note, nevertheless, much in evidence and a general adherence to the traditional Icelandic form of poetry. At the same time there has been a significant gain both in new themes and in greater variety of verse-forms. A large group of gifted poets has contributed to this rich and varied modern poetry of Iceland.

Jóhann Gunnar Sigurdsson (1882–1906) left a collection of poems of uncommon promise. Örn Arnarson (Magnús Stefánsson, 1884–1942), often strikingly original, not least in his satirical poems, admirably harmonizes thought and form. Jakob Thorarensen (b. 1886), an outstanding writer of short stories, with half a dozen books of poetry to his credit, excels in descriptive and narrative poems, marked by vigor and vividness. Stefán Sigurdsson (frá Hvitadal, 1887–1933) possessed a rich and pure lyric vein and introduced many exquisite and much imitated meters. Jakob Jóhannesson Smári (b. 1889), a prolific writer of essays and reviews, has written poems of fine lyric quality and deep spirituality, notably excellent sonnets.

Jón Magnússon (1896–1944), who was constantly gaining in stature until his untimely death, has left a number of excellently wrought descriptive and narrative poems, including the most important epic poem of the day, *Björn á Reydarfelli,* a lasting monument to the Icelandic national character. Jóhannes Jónsson (úr Kötlum, b. 1899), a novelist as well, has made an increasingly important place for himself with his numerous impressive patriotic and nature poems, and his challenging social satires. Prof. Jón Helgason (b. 1899), of the University of Copenhagen, a widely known scholar, has also published a significant collection of poems, revealing original thought and mastery of form.

Tómas Gudmundsson (b. 1901), a brilliant craftsman, wrote strikingly original and whimsical poems embodying the local characteristics of Reykjavík, the capital of Iceland, and likewise many delicately-wrought poems showing widening sympathies and increasing penetration. Magnús Ásgeirsson (b. 1901) is the master translator among Icelandic poets of today, faithful and fluent.

Gudmundur Bödvarsson, a farmer, stands in the forefront of the younger Icelandic poets, with his carefully wrought and strongly felt personal poems and nature descriptions. Another farmer, Gudmundur Ingi Kristjánsson (b. 1907), has written attractive and effective poems on rural life. Of much promise is Steinn Steinarr, who has already shown originality in both selection and treatment of his themes, with a genuine lyric touch.

Davíd Stefánsson,* an unusually productive writer, is in many respects the most significant as well as the most popular of the large group of present-day poets who carry on with distinction the best traditions of Icelandic poetry, and in addition a highly gifted novelist and dramatist.

Prominent among women poets are Ólöf

Sigurdardóttir (1857–1933), whose collected works have just been published; Theodóra Thoroddsen (b. 1863), and Gudfinna Jónsdóttir (frá Homrum), whose poems are characterized by high lyric quality in both thought and form. The leading woman poet of the day is Unnur Benediktsdóttir ("Hulda" *), whose many-sided work includes lyric poems of fine quality, a two-volume novel, and numerous short stories, sketches, and fairy tales.

Many of the lyric poets have also cultivated other literary forms, often with marked success. The narrative art is nearly as old a form of literary expression among the Icelanders as is the art of poetry, so that here again is a remarkable continuity in the Icelandic literary tradition. The sagas may be said to have anticipated the modern novel in several respects. It is, therefore, not surprising that storytelling in its modern prose form should increasingly become the popular and effective vehicle of expression for Icelandic writers.

The great lyric poet Jónas Hallgrímsson was likewise the first author to write modern Icelandic fiction, his most significant production in that field being his delightful little story on rural life in Iceland, *Grasaferdin (Gathering Icelandic Moss)*. Jón Thóroddsen,* a lyric poet of merit, was, however, the pioneer novelist of Iceland. His two novels, *Pittur og stúlka (Land and Lass;* 1850) and *Madur og kona (Man and Wife;* 1871), although romantic in spirit, present vivid and truthful pictures of contemporary rural life, and are notable for successful plot-construction, lifelike characterizations and robust style. The most significant of his followers was Torfhildur Thorsteinsdóttir Hólm (1845–1918); her book *Brynjólfur Sveinsson* (1882) was the first historical novel in Icelandic. This and her later novels on similar themes, as well as her short stories, were popular reading in their day.

The realistic writers of the next generation elevated both the short story and the novel to a new level of literary excellence and social significance. Gestur Pálsson (1852–91), whose poems, though effective, are inferior to his stories, was a full-blooded realist. A gifted journalist and essayist, he is especially remembered for his well-told and penetrating short stories on Icelandic rural and town life. Bitter in their social satire, they are at the same time characterized by deep sympathetic understanding of his fellow-man. Jón Stefánsson ("Thorgils Gjallandi," 1851–1915), a self-educated farmer in northeastern Iceland, is an interesting and significant figure in modern Icelandic literature. An out-and-out realist, widely read in the works of leading foreign authors of the time, he wrote both noteworthy short stories and a more important novel on Icelandic country life, deeply felt and vividly told, forceful in their social satire, but his literary excellence is seen to still better advantage in his masterful and sympathetic stories of animals. Einar Hjörleifsson Kvaran,* who belonged with Gestur Pálsson to the *Verdandi* group of realists, is unquestionably one of the most important and influential Icelandic writers of our time. He was an extremely productive and versatile writer, journalist, novelist, dramatist, lyric poet and essayist, whose works continue to enjoy great popularity. Among his novels *Ofurefli (The Unconquerable;* 1908); *Gull (Gold;* 1911), and *Sálin vaknar (The Soul Awakens;* 1916) are especially noteworthy.

Another important figure was Gudmundur Fridjónsson (1869–1944), like Jón Stefánsson largely a self-educated man and farmer in northeastern Iceland, who in spite of adverse circumstances won for himself a lasting place among the writers of the period. A highly gifted lyric poet, he wrote a vast number of essays and newspaper articles, several volumes of short stories, some of which rank with the very best in Icelandic, and a novel. His stories are rich in local color and full-length por-

traits of the Icelandic farmfolk, whom he knew from a life-long association with them, and his style, in prose and poetry alike, is vigorous and colorful.

Gudmundur Magnússon ("Jón Trausti" *) ranks with Kvaran as the leading novelist of the period. He was also an extremely productive essayist, lyric poet and dramatist, but attained greatest success as a short story writer, and with *Halla* (1906); *Borgir* (1909) and other novels. Jónas Jónasson (1856–1918), a clergyman and an eminent folklorist, wrote historical fiction, but was more successful in his realistic and satirical short stories of Icelandic peasant life.

Icelandic fiction, even more than the poetry of the last quarter century, is characterized by conflicting literary and social tendencies. There are romantic and realistic novelists, along with Socialistic and Communistic writers, especially in the younger groups. Thorsteinn Jónsson ("Thórir Bergsson," b. 1885), already established as a master of the short story, published in 1941 a novel on Icelandic rural life, *Vegir og vegleysur* (*Paths and Pathless Tracts*), showing by its penetration, faithfulness to fact and stylistic qualities that he also possesses more than ordinary ability in that field. Fridrik Ásmundsson Brekkan (b. 1888) has written short stories of high merit, well-told and appealing, but has achieved greater recognition with two full-length novels: the significant historical *Saga af Bródur Ylfing* (*Story of Brother Ylfing;* in Danish, 1924; in a revised Icelandic translation, 1929), wherein stirring events and impressive personalities, and the clash between Paganism and Christianity, are presented with deep understanding; and *Madur frá Brimarholmi* (*Man from Brimarholm;* 1943), an unusually sympathetic story, told in a quiet but convincing manner and marked by genuine human interest.

Gudmundur Gíslason Hagalín,* a varied and productive writer, has come to occupy an increasingly important place, with his excellent short stories and significant novels, including *Kristrún í Hamravík* (1933) and *Sturla í Vogum* (1938). Jóhannes Jónsson (úr Kötlum), prominent among present-day Icelandic poets, has also published two novels, the latter, *Verndarenglarnir* (*The Guardian Angels;* 1943), being the first novel dealing with Iceland during the presence of British and American military forces. Written in a vigorous and poetic language, it is not particularly successful from the point of view of structure and characterization, but reveals the author's earnestness and wide sympathies. Halldór Kiljan Laxness,* whose large and varied production consists of essays, short stories, and important novels, is an exceptionally gifted writer, who occupies a central position in present-day Icelandic literature and has had great influence on a number of his younger contemporaries. His best novels include *Thú vínvidur hreini* (*Thou, Pure Vine;* 1931) and *Fuglinn í fjörunni* (*Bird on the Beach;* 1932, trans. as *Salka Valka;* 1936). Gudmundur Daníelsson (b. 1910), a public school teacher by profession, has attained prominence with several novels on contemporary life in Iceland, notably his significant three volume series, which began with *Af jördu ertu kominn* (*Dust Thou Art;* 1941) and ended with *Landid handan landsins* (*The Land Beyond the Land;* 1944). Marked by vigorous style, vivid description, and some excellent characterization, this work shows that the author is steadily gaining in firm grasp of his subject-matter as well as in penetration. He has also written noteworthy short stories and lyric poetry. Ólafur Jóhann Sigurdsson (b. 1918) already has a score of books published, and further established his growing reputation as a novelist with *Fjallid og draumurinn* (*The Mountain and the Dream;* 1944), an ambitious work dealing with rural life, marked by lifelike characterization, particularly of the heroine, colorful

style and notable descriptive passages. His literary excellence is still greater in some of his short stories.

Sigurdur Helgason (b. 1905), another public school teacher, has written a number of short stories and several novels, his latest, *Hafid blåa* (*The Blue Ocean;* 1944), being a faithful and pleasant tale of the experiences of a young man who hires out as a fisherman. Thorsteinn Stefánsson (b. 1912) attracted attention with his novel *Dalurinn* (*The Valley*), which in 1942 won the H. C. Andersen literary prize in Danish; an Icelandic translation appeared in 1944. It is a story of Icelandic rural life, centered around a young man aspiring to become a great writer, told with considerable insight and imaginative quality. Óskar Adalsteinn Gudjónsson, in his third novel, *Húsid í hvamminum* (*The House in the Vale;* 1944), describing life in a seacoast village, reveals a firm grasp of subject-matter and style.

The women have not been behindhand. Theodóra Thóroddsen has, in addition to her lyric poetry, written short stories of merit. The same is true of Kristín Sigfúsdóttir (b. 1876), who has likewise written a successful play, *Tengdamamma* (*Mother-in-law;* 1923) and ably interpreted Icelandic rural life in her novels, especially in the first part of *Gömul saga* (*An Old Story;* 1927–28). Elinborg Lárusdóttir (b. 1891), whose first book, a collection of short stories (1935), won her deserved attention, has in recent years come to the forefront as a novelist, especially with her three-volume novel *Förumenn* (*Vagrants*), which is effective both as literature and as historical-social document. Her short novel, *Hvíta höllin* (*The White Palace;* 1944), dealing with life in a sanatorium, is told with deep feeling and in a simple but effective style. Thórunn Magnúsdóttir and Ragnheidur Jónsdóttir have made a name for themselves with their novels of contemporary life, while Svanhildur Thorsteinsdóttir (daughter of Thorsteinn Erlingsson, the gifted lyric poet) has written well-told short stories.

Other short story writers are Thorsteinn Erlingsson; Sigurjón Fridjónsson; Theódór Fridriksson (b. 1876), also a novelist; Sigurdur Nordal; Gudbrandur Jónsson (b. 1888), a productive essayist as well; Gunnar M. Magnús (b. 1898), an especially successful writer of juvenile stories; Davíd Thorvaldsson (1901–32), a writer of unusual promise; Axel Thorsteinsson (b. 1895), whose stories dealing with the first World War have a place of their own in modern Icelandic literature; Thóroddur Gudmundsson (son of Gudmundur Fridjónsson, the poet and short story writer), whose first collection of short stories (1943) promises well. Especially significant are Jakob Thorarensen, lyric poet and masterful writer of short stories, many of which are equally remarkable for their plot-construction, characterization, and virile style; and Halldór Stefánsson (b. 1892), whose short stories, many of them strikingly original in style, are characterized by genuine human sympathy and penetrating psychological insight.

Sigurdur Nordal,* an unusual combination of the brilliant scholar and the highly imaginative poet, has written masterly short stories and unique prose poems, and also occupies a central position as a cultural historian, literary critic and essayist. Vastly different is Thórbergur Thórdarson,* ultra-radical in both literary and social views, but an extremely productive and versatile writer and a master stylist, whose influence is clearly seen in the works of his younger contemporaries. Other especially gifted essayists are Gudmundur Finnbogason (1873–1944), productive author and translator, for years Chief Librarian of the National Library of Iceland and a distinguished public speaker; and Sigurdur Gudmundsson (b. 1878), literary historian and President of the College at Akureyri, especially noted for his lectures and articles on educational and cultural subjects, marked

by penetration and personal and vigorous style. In their wake come Jónas Jónsson (frá Hriflu, b. 1885); Sveinn Sigurdsson (b. 1890), editor of the important quarterly *Eimreidin;* Sigurdur Einarsson (b. 1898), also a lyric poet; Einar Ólafur Sveinsson (b. 1899), noted scholar, who recently succeeded Sigurdur Nordal as Professor of Icelandic literature at the University of Iceland.

Several present-day Icelandic authors have chosen to write in foreign languages, not out of any lack of national feeling, but primarily to reach a larger circle of readers than otherwise would have been the case. Jónas Gudlaugsson (1887–1916), after having published several collections of verse marked by great promise in his native Icelandic, wrote three volumes of excellent lyric poetry and an equal number of well-told and widely read stories in Danish. Gunnar Gunnarsson,* whose standing as a great literary artist is commensurate with his unusual productivity, ranks high among all novelists of our day, especially for the series *The Story of the Borg Family* (1912–14; abridged trans. as *Guest the One-Eyed*) and the autobiographical series *The Church on the Mountain* (1923–8; first 3 v. trans. *Ships in the Sky, The Night and the Dream*). His deep attachment to his native land is attested by the fact that recently he returned there to live. He is also a highly successful essayist and short story writer. Kristmann Gudmundsson,* another very productive and widely famed Icelandic novelist, resided in Norway 1924–38, then returned to Iceland. He has written a dozen novels as well as a large number of short stories in Norwegian, besides a collection of poems, numerous short stories and several novels in Icelandic, including *Gudinnen og Oksen* (*The Goddess and the Ox;* 1938; trans. as *Winged Citadel*). His books have been translated into many languages. With his charming juvenile stories, which have reached a tremendous circulation in numerous languages, Jón Svensson ("Nonni," 1857–1945) gained wide renown. He left Iceland at an early age, became a priest of the Jesuit Order, and resided during the later years in Holland, but he had traveled and lectured extensively, throughout Europe and in the United States, Canada, China, and Japan. His excellently told stories, based on his experiences as a youth in Iceland and elsewhere, are written in German.

Along with the novel, the short story and the essay, the drama has become increasingly prominent and significant in modern Icelandic literature. Matthías Jochumsson and Einar Hjörleifsson Kvaran, already mentioned, wrote plays which were successful on the stage and also possess considerable literary significance. Indridi Einarsson,* an economist by training, for years state auditor and later Chief of the Bureau of Statistics for Iceland, was the leading 19th c. Icelandic dramatist; present-day Icelandic dramatic art owes more to him than any other individual. He wrote a number of significant and successful stage plays and translated Shakespeare's historical dramas and comedies into Icelandic. Especially popular was his lyric, romantic play *Nýársnóttin* (*New Year's Eve;* 1872). The greatest Icelandic dramatist is Jóhann Sigurjónsson,* son of a farmer in northern Iceland, who made his home in Denmark. Writing in both Icelandic and Danish, he won international renown as a brilliant dramatist, especially with his impressive tragedy *Eyvind of the Hills.* He also wrote lyric poetry of a high order. Another internationally known Icelandic dramatist and novelist is Gudmundur Kamban,* whose works originally appeared both in Icelandic and in Danish. His best plays include *Hadda Padda* (1914); *Vi Mordere* (*We Murderers;* 1920); *Örkenens Stjerner* (*The Stars of the Desert;* 1925). Among his novels the historical ones are particularly significant, as *Skálholt* (1930–35; first 2 v. trans. as *The Virgin of Skalholt*). He is an able essayist and shortstory writer.

Many others have written for the stage. Of the older generation, Sigurdur Eggerz (1875–1945), a noted political leader, who possessed a deep lyric strain as seen in his poems, sketches and essays, wrote several dramas symbolic in theme, characterized by more than ordinary emotional and imaginative qualities, as *Líkkistusmidurinn (The Coffin Maker;* 1938); while in the younger group, Lárus Sigurbjörnsson (b. 1903), a dramatic critic and writer of short stories, has written some noteworthy one-act and longer plays. Much more important is the contribution to Icelandic drama made by Davíd Stefánsson with his plays *Gullna hlidid (The Golden Gate)* and *Vopn gudanna (Weapons of the Gods)*, which have been very successful on the stage, and both of which are in many respects highly significant literary productions, the first especially original and effectively constructed.

The foregoing survey of Icelandic literature shows that in spite of adverse circumstances, including centuries of foreign oppression under which the Icelandic nation has had to wage a battle for existence, literary production never ceased, in that land renowned for ancient sagas and poetry. The Old Icelandic literature was a constant source of literary inspiration and national strength. Never, since the rich and famed classical literature of old, has Icelandic literature flourished as during the past hundred years. The extensive and many-sided literary activity in present-day Iceland is particularly remarkable, far out of proportion to its population of little more than 125,000. Modern Icelandic literature is gradually becoming better known to readers of other lands, as an increasing number of the more important works of contemporary writers are translated into various languages.

In the field of Icelandic history and literary scholarship, much important work has been accomplished or is under way, including the first comprehensive history of Iceland. Increasing attention is also given to investigations in the various sciences. The University of Iceland (founded 1911) has been a stimulating influence in all these expanding scholarly and scientific activities. No less remarkable is the progress in recent years in the realms of sculpture, painting, and music. It is thus clear that the flourishing literature of present-day Iceland is but one manifestation, although a very fundamental one, of the rich and virile cultural life of the Icelandic nation.

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ILA—*See* African. ILLYRIAN—*See* Yugoslav. INCA—*See* South American Indian.

INDIAN

THE VEDA. The Veda is the fountain-head of Indian Literature and the most ancient monument of Indo-European literature. That the Veda should have dominated the social, religious and in general, the cultural life of the Indians for the last 3000 years or more is not to be wondered at, if we remember that orthodox tradition asserts that the mantras of the Veda are eternal in themselves and in their existence in Īśvara. If it is thus impossible to gain an insight into the spiritual life and thought of the Hindus, without a study of Vedic literature, it is also true that the doctrines of the two religious sects founded by Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra—the former of whom even today has a larger number of adherents than any other religion in the world—cannot be comprehended in their origin and evolution without such a study, because although both these sects revolted against the sanctity and ritual prescriptions of the Veda, both of them had to adopt in their ascetic practices and their mode of life not only the rules already fixed in the Veda but also the mythology of the Veda with suitable alterations and adaptations.

'Veda' literally means 'knowledge,' then 'the knowledge *par excellence*,' i.e. 'sacred knowledge.' From an orthodox point of view, Veda is *śruti* or 'divine revelation' and is defined loosely as the sum-total of mantras and Brāhmaṇas. This revealed scripture is not composed by any human authors but simply *seen* by the ṛṣis and as such is to be sharply distinguished from the literature called '*Smṛti*' (literally 'tradition' or 'memory') composed by human authors, which is authoratative only *in so far as they are supposed to be based on* something corresponding in the *Śruti*. The Vedāṅga or Sūtra literature which are not veda but exist for the sake of the veda and the rest of Sanskrit Literature therefore fall under Smṛti or profane literature as distinguished from the *Śruti* or sacred literature; although for the purposes of the literary historian, the Vedāṅga works are included in vedic literature. The Veda is not one single literary work but a vast literature, the production of which was spread over many centuries and which continued to be handed down, from generation to generation for many centuries, by oral transmission.

Tradition classifies the Veda or Śruti literature into two broad divisions: Mantra-works (or the Saṁhitās) and Brāhmaṇa-works. The Saṁhitās are collections or compilations of hymns, prayers, sacrificial formulas, litanies, incantations, and benedictions. There are four Saṁhitās, belonging to the four Vedas: the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaveda*; though many śākhās or slightly diverging recensions of one and the same Saṁhitā, handed down by word of mouth in different Vedic schools, must have been in existence. Of these four Saṁhitās the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* is the oldest and most important. This four-fold division of the Saṁhitās eminently suited the elaborate development of the sacrificial ritual, in which even the simplest sacrifice required the four principal priests. The hotṛ priest recites verses from the *Ṛgveda* to accompany the offering of oblations, the udgātṛ is to chant psalms at the sacrificial ritual from the *Sāmaveda*, the adhvaryu uses the *Yajurveda* which is made up of prose directions rubricated in the metrical portions, and the Brahman must be well-versed in all the four Vedas to be able to exercise general supervision and correct mistakes committed in the general routine or particular details of the sacrifice. The *Atharvaveda* was assigned to this Brahman (and

called *Brahmaveda*) when, after much controversy, that veda was recognized as equally sacred with the *'trayi'* or 'Vedic triad'.

The *Ṛgveda* is the foundation of the other Vedas. All but 75 stanzas of the *Sāmaveda* are taken from the *Ṛgveda*. The verses of the *Yajurveda* are for the most part derived from it, and many of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are drawn from the same source.

Only one of the different śākhās (recensions) of the *Ṛgveda*—the *Śākala Śākhā* followed by Śaunaka—has come down to us in manuscript form. The Saṁhitā of this Śākhā consists of ten books called maṇḍalas (cycles), of varying length. Each maṇḍala contains a number of anuvākas or chapters, each of which is further subdivided into a definite number of Sūktas or hymns. There are 1028 hymns in all, comprising 10,600 stanzas. This division into Maṇḍalas and Sūktas is a historical one, throwing light on the genesis of the collection.

The compilation seems to have been completed in stages. As a consequence, we find in it thoughts, beliefs, and practices that one would associate with primitive grades of society, side by side with advanced metaphysical speculation and an elaborate sacrificial technique. Many hymns of the *RV* arose independently of all sacrificial ritual (although they came to be liturgically employed later) and these breathe the spirit of genuine, primeval religious poetry.

The religion of the Ṛgvedic Aryans, like that of other ancient peoples of the Indo-European family, was a form of nature-worship in which the powers of the heavens, the firmament, and the earth were deified. Thus, for example, Indra with his bolt shatters the stronghold of the demon of drought and darkness and recovers the stolen cows which stand for the 'Waters' as well as the 'rays of the morning.' The hymns are religious lyrics addressed to these gods and are meant to accompany the oblation of Soma juice and the fire-sacrifice of melted butter. The gods are usually stated to be thirty-three in number, excluding hosts of lesser deities like the Maruts. They had a beginning. In appearance they are conceived as human; some of them, like Indra, appear equipped as warriors; others, like Agni, are described as priests. Although the idea that various deities are but manifestations of one single divinity occurs in some late passages, this monotheistic strain did not develope sufficiently to make any *one* god the exclusive single centre of sacrificial worship in any regular sacrifice. The principal celestial gods are Dyaus, Varuṇa, Mitra, Sūrya, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, the Aśvins; and the principal goddesses are Uṣas (Dawn) and Rātrī (Night). The chief atmospheric gods are Indra, Apām-napāt, Rudra, the Maruts Vāyu, Parjanya, and Āpas (the Waters). The terrestrial deities are Pṛthvī, Agni and Soma. Among subordinate celestial deities, the interesting ones are Trita (coming down from the Indo-Iranian period) and Mātariśvan who is described as having brought down the hidden fire from heaven to men on earth (like the Prometheus of Greek mythology). Rivers figure among the terrestrial deities. There are also abstract deities; the earlier and larger class originated from epithets applicable to older deities, as Tvaṣṭṛ, Prajāpati. A smaller class consists of personifications of abstract nouns like Manyu. A unique position is held by A-diti ('unbinding'), the mother of the small group of deities called Ādityas and connected with *light*.

Some of the hymns have narrative dialogue, basis of later drama. Thus a dialogue between Purūravas, a mortal lover, and Urvaśī, a celestial nymph, is the source of the story that, passing through many successive versions, was immortalised in Kālidāsa's drama *Vikramorvaśī*. Among the four didactic hymns, the most remarkable is *The Gambler's Lament*. There are two riddle-hymns, in which enigmas are couched in mystical and symbolic language.

Textual criticism of the *RV* is concerned with two periods—the first when it existed before the other vedas came into existence and the second in which grammatical editors reduced it to the phonetically modified form called the Saṁhitā text. The most ingenious devices were adopted to guard this Saṁhitā text from corruption, the earliest of which was the formation of the *padapāṭha* (or *pada*-text), the first four words of which may, for purposes of illustration, be referred to as *a, b, c, d.* The *Krama-pāṭha* repeated every word twice, connected both with the preceding and the following word, as *ab, bc, cd.* So the *Jatāpāṭha* (or *woven text*) would give us: *ab, ba, ab; bc, cb, bc.* The climax of complication is reached in the *Ghana-pāṭha* where we have *ab, ba, abc, cba, abc; bc, cb, bcd.* The language of the *RV* is in the earliest stage of that literary language of which the latest, classical Sanskrit, stage was fixed by the grammar of Pāṇini.

All the hymns are metrical. A hymn usually consists of stanzas in the same metre throughout, a typical deviation being that the concluding stanza is in a different metre. A stanza consists generally of four lines. The line or Pāda ('quarter') is the metrical unit, consisting of 8, 11, or 12 syllables. A stanza is, as a rule, made of lines of the same type. Out of the nearly 15 metres only seven are common, especially the *Triṣṭubh* (4x11 syllables), the Gāyatrī (3x8), and the Jagatī (4x12). Metres have a quantitative rhythm with alternate short and long syllables of a generally iambic type. The rhythm of the cadence (-last four or five syllables) only is fixed. Thus Vedic metres come midway between those of the Indo-Iranian period in which the number of syllables alone counts and those of classical Sanskrit in which the quantity of every syllable is fixed.

Metrical skill of a high order and command of language mark the diction of the hymns, which is on the whole, simple and natural. Genuine poetry of great beauty is found in the hymns to Uṣas, graphic power of description in the Indra-hymns, powerful imagery in the Marut-hymns, an exalted poetic strain in the Varuṇa-hymns, beauty of language in the mythological dialogues (X.10, 108), pathetic poetry in *The Gambler's Lament* (X.34), an impressive and solemn tone in one Funeral hymn (X.18) and a poetic presentation of philosophic speculation in X.129.

The later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The *SV* is the Veda of *Sāmans* (melodies) and is the text of the Udgātṛ and his assistants. All but 75 of its verses are borrowed from the *ṚV* (chiefly from its 8th and the 9th maṇḍalas), the *ṛc* (stanza) being the *yoni* out of which the melody comes forth and upon which it is sung. The *Pūrvārcika* [which, with the *Uttarārcika* (lit. 'earlier' and 'later' collections of *ṛcs* respectively) contains 1549 verses (exclusive of repetitions)] is thus a collection of 585 *ṛcs* (*yonis*) which are sung to about double the number of melodies or tunes; it is divided into six prapāṭhakas (lessons) subdivided into decades of stanzas. The first 12 decades are addressed to Agni, the next 36 to Indra and the last 11 to Soma Pavamāna. The *Uttarārcika* consists of 400 chants (mostly of three stanzas each, of which the first is given in the *Purvārcika.* Out of these, the stotras sung at the principal sacrifices are formed, a stotra consisting of several (usually three) stanzas, all sung to the same tune.

The oldest of the Sāmans (propitiatory songs) were probably popular melodies as they are credited with magic power. Out of the many probably early composed saṁhitās of the *SV,* only three have come down to us: that of the Rāṇāyanīyas, that of the Jaiminīyas, and the best-known of all, that of the Kauthumas. The last-named has been described above.

Out of the 101 schools of the Adhvaryu-veda mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* of

Patañjali, the Saṁhitās of only four of the Kṛṣṇa (Black, or Unarranged) and one of the Śúkla (White, or well-arranged) *Yajurveda* are known. The former are made up of sacrificial formulæ (*yajus*) and the verses or prayers (both designated as Mantras) mixed up with the Brāhmaṇa (or theological discussion) on the sacrificial rites described; in the latter, the Mantras are carefully separated from 'dogmatic explanations' or Brāhmaṇas, which are all relegated to a distinct Brāhmaṇa-work (the *Śatapatha*).

The magic poetry of the *AV* is as old as the sacrificial poetry of the *ṚV*. Like the *ṚV* compilation, the *AV-saṁhitā* has pieces separated from each other by centuries. The oldest name of the Veda was *Atharvāngirasaḥ* (concerned with the cult of fire). The compilation of hymns in the *AV* was inspired not by any liturgical purpose but by literary considerations. Out of the nine recensions supposed to have existed, only two—the *Paippalāda* (or Kashmirean), unaccented and inaccurate (only recently published) and the *Śaunakīya* have come down to us. The latter consists of 20 books containing in all 731 hymns of about 6000 lines. They are songs and spells to cure diseases, to exorcise demons, to bring harmony, banish strife, expiate sins. There are special charms for the needs of kings, in war, at coronation. Two songs are addressed to the battle drum. Among the hymns containing exorcism-formulae is a remarkable hymn to Varuṇa (IV, 16), the first half of which celebrates divine omniscience in language so impressively beautiful that there is nothing to compare with it in the whole range of Vedic literature. There is also a long hymn (XII.1.63) to Mother Earth which is recognised as one of the most beautiful productions of the religious poetry of Ancient India!

The *AV saṁhitā* represents a more modern and developed stage than the *ṚV*. Not only the language and metre but the geographical and cultural data show a later period. The Vedic Aryans have now advanced further to the southeast and are settled in the Ganges country. The tiger, a native of marshy Bengal and unknown in the *ṚV*, appears as the mightiest beast of prey. Similarly, caste-distinctions have now hardened in favour of the Brahmins and the natural basis of the gods, though they are the same as in the *ṚV*, is almost forgotten.

The Brāhmaṇas. The word Brāhmaṇa means 'the explanation of a learned priest upon a point of ritual.' As collections of such explanations, the Brāhmaṇa works constitute that part of the Veda or Śruti which contains speculations on the meaning of the mantras, precepts for their application, stories of their origin in connection with the sacrificial rites and explanations of the occult meaning of the latter. The Brāhmaṇas contain cosmogonic myths, legends and narratives that have reference to the sacrificial cult, because Sacrifice is always the central theme, the starting point of all dogmatical, exegetical, mystical, and philosophical discussions and digressions (i.e. *arthavāda* and *upaniṣad*), which occupy a much larger space than the ceremonial itself (the *vidhi*)! The beginnings of Brāhmaṇa literature may be seen in the Brāhmaṇa-like parts of the Saṁhitās of the Black *Yajurveda*. The Brāhmaṇas are prose-works (their syntax representing the oldest stage in the development of Sanskrit prose), interspersed with gāthās (metrical pieces) distinguished from the prose by certain peculiarities and a more archaic character. Each of the different Śākhās of the four Vedas was supposed to have its own Brāhmaṇa.

Linguistic and other internal evidence proves that the oldest group consists of the *Pañcaviṁśa*, the *Taittirīya*, the *Aitareya*, the *Jaiminīya* and the *Kauṣītaki*; then the *Śatapatha*; lastly, the *Gopatha* of the *AV* and the short Brāhmaṇas of the *SV*.

The *Brāhmaṇas* are essentially more or less uniform in their contents. The old gods of the

ṚV are still there, but they owe their power to the Sacrifice which is the all-absorbing theme of the *Brāhmaṇas,* being looked upon as the highest aim of existence, *no longer the means to an end but the end itself!* Prajāpati (the Lord of Creatures) is the paramount god, the father of gods and demons. Sacrifice is identical with Prajāpati. Therefore the Brahmins, the priests who know all about the Sacrifice, are declared to be gods.

Tradition informs us that the Brāhmaṇas contain generally three types of matter arranged in a definite order: (1) the Vidhi, i.e., rule or precept (2) the Arthavāda or explanation of the rule, whether exegetical, mythological or polemical (3) the Upaniṣad, i.e. theological or philosophical speculation on the nature of things as suggested by the matter in hand. To enliven the monotony of their contents, the Brāhmaṇas resort to different devices, such as: (1) metaphors, some of which are very beautiful and well-sustained (e.g. that of the human body and the heavenly lute); (2) identification of the most dissimilar things, and symbolization through them (e.g. the *Vedi* is symbolical of a woman); (3) etymologies; in attempting these, guesswork was permitted because 'the gods love that which is hidden.' (4) moral reflections: as when (we are told) the Asuras who first defeated the gods by falsehood were ultimately vanquished by the latter, who never forsook the truth. Such moralising is, however, very rare. (5) *Itihāsas, Ākhyānas* and *Purāṇas* (i.e. narratives, myths, and legends), which crop up like oases in the desert, in the course of the *Arthavādas;* e.g., the very ancient myth of Purūravas and Urvaśī, occurring in the form of a cryptic dialogue in the *ṚV,* is amplified in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* a story immortalized later by the dramatist Kālidāsa. In the same text is the legend of the Flood (Manu and the Fish), which tells us that Manu, the sole survivor of the Flood (thanks to the advice of a fish) propagated the human race through a woman, Idā, who arose out of the sacrifice he offered. Purāṇas present such topics as the origin of the four castes; and creation-legends, which generally begin with Parajāpati as the creator and occasionally with 'Water' or with 'Asat' as the starting-point, betraying that metaphysical streak which had a rich development in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads!

The Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. The *Āraṇyakas* (Forest-texts), the concluding portions of (or appendices to) the *Brāhmaṇas,* are probably thus named because their contents were of so secret and uncanny a nature that they spelt danger to the uninitiated and had, therefore, to be learnt in the forest and not in the village. They are concerned neither with the performance nor the explanation but with the mysticism and symbolism of the sacrifice. They form a transition to the *Upaniṣads,* the oldest of which are either included in or appended to the *Āraṇyakas,* the line of demarkation being not always easy to draw! *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads* alone (and not the system of philosophy based on them) were originally called *Vedānta* ('*The end of the Veda*'). The term *Upa-ni-ṣad,* meaning 'the sitting down (of the pupil) near (the teacher, for a confidential communication),' easily came to have the sense 'sacred session' and finally 'sacred doctrine.'

Nearly 200 Upaniṣads, separately or in collections attributed to some Vedic School, have come down to us. They are tracts of some religious sect, or philosophical works. Even the old texts contain much heterogeneous matter, e.g. metaphysical expositions, descriptions of sacrificial rites, love-charms, spells for the cure of diseases and destruction of foes (as in the *Kauṣītaki* and *Chandogya Upaniṣads*).

Long before the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* (nay, as early as the *ṚV*) the thought-ferment which culminated in the rich philosophical speculation of the *Upaniṣads* had come to the

surface in certain *ṚV* hymns (X.129, etc.) which express doubts concerning the efficacy of the priestly cult and the current belief in gods. The philosophical hymns of the *AV* and some portions of the *YV Saṁhitās* carry on (in symbolic form) the tradition of these sceptics and doubters. Not only in the *Upaniṣads* but also in the *Brāhmaṇas*, there is clear evidence that kings and warriors shared the intellectual and literary harvest of those days with the Brāhmins, who had to go to them for instruction! It was probably from these non-priestly circles opposed to the Brahmanic 'Way of works' (*Karma-mārga*) that the forest-hermits and wandering ascetics who kept aloof from the sacrificial ceremonial of the Brāhmins by renouncing the world and following the 'Way of knowledge' (*Jñāna-mārga*), were recruited. Buddhism very probably represents one fruit of such protestant activity!

If one single doctrine were to be selected from all the genuine *Upaniṣads*, as representing the quintessence of Upaniṣadic philosophy it would be: "The universe is Brahman, but the Brahmin is the Ātman" (world-soul). *Upaniṣads*, piling metaphor on metaphor, are unceasingly struggling to help in understanding of the true nature of the pantheistic self. Ajātaśatru explains to Gārgya Bālāki that the true Brahmin is to be sought only in the knowing and intelligent spirit (Puruṣa) in man, i.e. in the Ātman (the self), out of which emanate all worlds, all gods, all beings. The beautiful dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī expresses the doctrine that the Ātman is one with the Universe and that every thing exists only in so far as it is the cognitive self. No wonder that one of the later *Upaniṣads* (the *Śvetāśvatara* iv. 10) should contain the notion (which in later Vedānta became prominent) that the material world is a magical appearance (*māyā*) produced by Brahman as a conjuror.

An ethical idea underlies the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the Ātman, the conclusion of which must be that it is the universal soul which we love in each individual, that the recognition of this Ātman must lead to love for all creatures. But it is the doctrine of Karman that represents the preponderance of the moral element in the *Upaniṣads* as compared to the *Brāhmaṇas*. Nevertheless, moral precepts are rare, as e.g. in the famous *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* passage (I. 11) including truthfulness and duty, and in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* (V. 2) passages preaching self-restraint, generosity, and pity. The longing for true knowledge, leading to the disregard of all pleasures, find poetical expression in the legend of Naciketas, in one of the most remarkable and beautiful *Upaniṣads*, the *Kāṭhaka*, but in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Up.* (I. 2–4) one of the latest, it leads to utter contempt of the world and that pessimistic strain of thought which often recurs in the Buddhist as well as later Indian literature.

Thus we find in the *Upaniṣads* vigorous creative philosophical thought clothed in the language of poetry. They make a powerful appeal to both the heart and the head. All the philosophical systems and religions of India—heretical or orthodox—have sprung from the Upaniṣads. From them, one current of thought flows to the mystics of Persian Sufism, the mystic-theosophical logos-doctrine of the Neo-Platonics, and the Alexandrian Christians, and on to the teachings of the Christian mystics, Eckhart and Tauler, and to the philosophy of the great German mystic of the 19th c., Schopenhauer.

The Vedāṅgas, though included in Vedic literature do not (according to the orthodox view) form part of Revelation' (Śruti) but fall under Smṛti. Vedānga ('limb,' or auxiliary science of the Veda) originally meant a subject of instruction to be studied in a Vedic school to aid in the preservation of the Veda not merely in its inner substance but also in its external form, especially before it

was reduced to writing. The *Muṇḍaka Up.* (I. 45) gives us the oldest list of subjects: phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics, and astronomy. The occasional discussions of these topics in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas* represent the beginnings of the *Vedāṇgas.* Later, separate schools within the older Vedic schools came to be formed, which prepared special Sūtra texts or manuals, so excessively condensed as to lend themselves primarily for memorization and secondarily for understanding with the oral explanations given by a teacher. No other literature has anything like the *Sūtras* (Collections of *'leading threads'* or 'topics'), in concise expression.

The many Brāhmaṇa-like passages in the Sūtras raise the presumption that the Sūtra-style developed from the prose of the *Brāhmaṇas.* This presumption is supported by the fact that the latter consists almost exclusively of short sentences, has no indirect speech nor any relative or conditional clauses, uses participial constructions occasionally, and above all leaves unsaid all that is presupposed as explained in oral presentation and instruction. The *Sūtras* introduce one new factor only, the formation of long compound-words, which later became popular and which effected a tremendous saving of syllables.

From a historical point of view, the period of the *Vedāṅgas* overlapped that of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas.* Parts of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* are actually *Sūtras,* traditionally ascribed to Sūtra-authors (Āśvalāyana and Sáunaka). The Kalpa (ritual) was naturally the first to develop, as the need of short and compact manuals summarising the rules of sacrificial ritual must have been felt very early, for the bulky, prolix, and verbose *Brāhmaṇas* imposed too great a strain on the memory. *Kalpa Sūtra* is the whole body of *Sūtras* dealing with the religion of a particular vedic school; where such a collection is preserved, the first part, dealing with the grand Śrauta sacrifices, is called *Śrauta Sutra.* These *Śrauta Sūtras* deal with the establishment of the three sacred fires, the Agnihotra, the new- and full-moon sacrifices, the seasonal sacrifices, the animal sacrifices and the Soma sacrifice in all its divisions and attendant ceremonies, like the agnicayana (piling of the fire-altar), a ceremony lasting a year—in other words, with all the ritual topics that appear in the Brāhmaṇas. The second part of a *Kalpa Sūtra* is called *Gṛhya Sūtra.* The *Gṛhya Sūtras* as a type are later than the *Śrauta,* a knowledge of which they regularly presuppose. As the Domestic ritual is not treated of in the *Brāhmaṇas,* the *Gṛhya Sūtras,* giving us the rules for the numerous ceremonies and sacrifices that confer a higher 'sanctity' or Saṁskāra (reintegration) on the domestic life of a man and his family from birth to death, depended on popular tradition alone as authority and are a mine of information regarding genuinely popular customs and usages. They describe 40 consecrations or sacraments (Saṁskāras), of which the first 18 (from conception to marriage) are called bodily sacraments. The most important ceremony in boyhood is the Upanayana, or introduction of the pupil to his teacher.

The third branch of Kalpa is represented (at a later period) by the *Dharma Sūtras,* which probably originated in the Vedic schools as continuations of the *Gṛhya Sūtras. Dharma Sūtras* deal with secular as well as religious law, which in India are inseparable. The *Śulva Sūtras,* containing rules for the measurement and the building of the place of Sacrifice and the fire-altars, are found as supplements to the *Śrauta Sūtras* and are the oldest works on Indian mathematics, showing quite an advanced knowledge of geometry.

M. Winteritz, *Hist. of Indian Lit.* (Calcutta), 1927; Deussen (trans. A. S. Geden), *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* (Edinburgh), 1906; M. Bloomfield, Introd. to *The Vedic Concordance.*

V. M. Apte.

THE EPICS. If there is any single literary work of India's antiquity whose tradition continues to live in various aspects of Indian life, it is the *Mahābhārata,* the great national epic of India. The Vedic gods are now no longer worshipped; the Vedic ritual is now well-nigh extinct; indeed the entire Vedic way of life and thought has been transformed almost beyond recognition. But men and women in India, from one end of the country to the other, young and old, rich and poor, high and low, simple and sophisticated, still derive entertainment, inspiration, and guidance from the *Mahābhārata.* The first tales which an Indian grandmother tells, every evening, are taken from the *Mahābhārata.* The moral lessons which are taught to boys and girls in Indian schools are more often than not illustrated by stories from the great epic. The heroes of the *Mahābhārata* are still held by the youth of this country as their idols. In times of stress and trial the *Mahābhārata* has brought a message of hope as much to an illiterate villager as to an experienced statesman. Indian writers, ancient and modern, have found in the stories of the great epic excellent vehicles for the expression of their creative genius. The popular folk-songs, the ballads sung by itinerant bards, the well-known literary works in several Indian languages, even the talking pictures of the modern cinema, often draw their inspiration and material from the *Mahābhārata.* There is indeed no department of Indian life, private or public, which is not deeply influenced by the great epic.

This is due mainly to the encyclopaedic character of the great epic. It is said that, in the fields of *dharma* (religion and ethics), *artha* (material sciences), *kāma* (pleasures of life), and *mokṣa* (spiritual emancipation), whatever is taught in this epic may be found elsewhere, but whatever is not found in it will not be found anywhere else. *Vyāsocchiṣṭam jagat sarvam*—all that goes, in this world, by the name of knowledge, is taught by Vyāsa, the traditionally recognised author of the epic. It was on account of this unique feeling that the epic was raised, in course of time, to the status of the 'Fifth Veda,' thus bestowing upon it the sanctity and the authority of the four Vedas. Through a play on the words, *mahat* (great) *bhāravat* (for *bhārata,* weighty), it was even suggested that the epic actually outweighed the Vedas and other sacred writings. Apart from the richness and the variety of its contents, even from the point of view of mere extent, the *Mahābhārata* must be regarded as unique among the literatures of the world. It is by far the longest poem known to literary history, being about eight times as long as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* together. Indeed, it is longer than the united extent of all the epic poems in European languages.

Obviously, this enormous literary work cannot be the creation of one author, nor even of one generation. It represents a long tradition of literary activity. A critical study of the most ancient literature of India reveals in it two main traditions, that of the Vedic prayers and stories; and that of the *sūta,* the literary tradition of the bards.

The lays and legends relating to heroic deeds of the Bharatas, an early royal family of India, and of their scions, the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, as well as those of other tribal heroes and tribal gods, much of it adopted from the floating mass of the ancient *itihāsa-purāṇa* literature, grew into the *Jaya,* the first phase of the *Mahābhārata.* It crystallized while the last phase of the Vedas, the *sūtras,* and the early Buddhistic literature were being produced. The *Jaya* form of the epic is traditionally believed to have contained 8,800 stanzas in *śloka* metre.

In the course of the oral transmission, through centuries, of this vast epic material, the rhapsodists took a great deal of liberty with it. Scenes were lengthened, to invest

them with epic grandeur. Original sentiments were intensified, to make them more effective. The characters tended to become more and more conventional. Stock phrases came to be repeated over and over again, often in quite different contexts. More vital still were the inner modifications. Kṛṣṇa, originally the hero and the local god of some tribes in Central India, and later worshipped by some eminent Kṣatriya tribes, including the Pāṇḍavas, had come to be the one god. With this growing predominance of what was popularly known as the *Bhāgavata* religion, the original epic had to be remade. The Pāṇḍavas still retained their position as the conquerors, but the mainspring of all activity was now the supreme god Kṛṣṇa. In this second stage in its growth the epic was traditionally called the *Bhārata,* and is believed to have consisted of 24,000 stanzas. In addition to being a bardic record of historical events, the poem now represented also the Kṣatriya code of conduct as taught by the Bhāgavatas.

The final phase of the epic, between the 2d c. B.C. and the 2d c. A.D., was the result of the retouching and reediting of the *Bhārata* by Brahmanic redactors. An enormous mass of subsidiary legends came into the poem, wherever suitable contexts could be found for them. Most of these legends are not related to the central theme of the Bhārata war; they were narrated, in place and out of place, by ancient sages to the heroes of the epic. This final revision of the poem was also characterised by vigorous activity on the part of rhapsodists and copyists. Poetical embellishment and conventions, repetition and imitation, contributed not a little towards the growth of the poem. Thus came into being the *Mahābhārata,* the great national epic of India, consisting of one hundred thousand stanzas.

The *Rāmāyaṇa,* the second epic of ancient India, has for its starting point a slender historical episode consisting of a court-intrigue in the city-state of Ayodhyā in Kosala. King Daśaratha of Ayodhyā had three wives and four sons. Rāma, the son of his eldest queen Kausalyā, was, on account of his many virtues, a great favourite of the people. So in consultation with his ministers, Daśaratha decided to appoint him as his successor to the throne. While preparations were being made for the ceremony, Daśaratha's youngest and favourite queen, Kaikeyī, was prevailed upon by her wily maid, Mantharā, to push forward the claims of her son, Bharata. Kaikeyī took advantage of a boon which Daśaratha had formerly granted her and demanded of the reluctant old king that Bharata be proclaimed the heir to the throne of Ayodhyā and that Rāma be banished to the forest for a period of fourteen years. Daśaratha was true to his words and Rāma, accompanied by his charming wife, Sītā, and devoted brother, Lakṣmaṇa, went to the forest. Soon after this the old king died of grief. All this had happened during the absence of Bharata, who was away from Ayodhyā on a visit to his maternal uncle. He did not approve of the machinations of his mother. He therefore followed Rāma to the forest in order to persuade him to come back and become king of Ayodhyā. Rāma was a scrupulous devotee of truth. Under no circumstances would he break the word given by his father to Kaikeyī. Thereupon noble Bharata returned to Ayodhyā taking with him Rāma's sandals, put them on the throne, and undertook to administer the state on behalf of Rāma.

With the exile of Rāma an altogether different turn is given to the poem. The remaining part of it portrays, through a grand symbolism, one of the most important events in ancient Indian history, namely, the Aryan expansion to the South. Rāma, the prince of Ayodhyā, is now transformed into the valiant leader of that great movement. The Bhārata war had taken a heavy toll of the flower of the youth of the country and there had followed

a period of temporary decadence. But the Aryans were known for their genius for reconstruction. Mighty efforts were made to rebuild the entire national life of the country. Sage Agastya, for instance, led a party of forest-sages to the South of the Vindhya mountain. But missionary enterprise unaided by military power is always liable to fail. Rāma, the banished prince of Ayodhyā, symbolised that military power in the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. He heroically killed many a demon in the forest-tracts lying in the South, and thus gave protection to the sages, and enabled the steady expansion of the Aryan culture in the South of India. But, through guile, Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā in the farthest south, kidnapped the beautiful wife of Rāma. This started the great war of Laṅkā, which is described in the latter part of the epic, with great vigour and picturesqueness. After a long and arduous struggle, the war ended with the victory of Rāma over Rāvaṇa.

Ingeniously interwoven with these two strands of historical truth is an agricultural myth. A consideration of the names of the principal characters in the epic makes this clear. Rāma is regarded the epic counterpart of the Vedic god, Indra, and thus represents the sun-god and the rain-god. The name Sītā literally means ploughed land. The offspring of these two are called Lava (corn) and Kuśa (grass). Rāma is helped by Māruti, the son of wind, while one of the opponents of Rāma is named Indrajit (Indra's foe). Because of this, considerable material of didactic, religious and philosophical import was superimposed upon the original poem. Several ancient legends taken from the common epic cycle were also added, and the extent of the epic was considerably increased.

The *Mahābhārata* represents the building up of an empire out of smaller kingdoms, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* has for its background the disintegration of the imperial power into city-states. The greater epic portrays a full and vigorous national life, while the smaller deals primarily with the ideal of the more refined domestic virtues. In the matter of their growth also the two epics differ from each other. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is evidently a unified literary product, characterised by unity of plan and unity of execution, mostly the creation of one single poet, Vālmīki, who is traditionally regarded as the *ādikavi*, the premier poet, of India.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is comparatively free from extraneous material dealing with religion and mythology, philosophy and *dharmaśāstra*, history and ethnology. Even the historical and mythical elements in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are dominated by the sublime poetry of Vālmīki, which represents the earliest blossoming of the classical genius of India. The *itihāsa-purāṇa* literature of ancient India is traditionally divided into three categories: *itihāsa* (epic history); *kāvya* (epic poetry); and *purāṇa* (epic legends). The *Mahābhārata* provides the *itihāsa;* the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *kāvya;* the epic legends are the *Purāṇas*.

Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, pub. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona), 1925 onwards; E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India* (N. Y.), 1901; C. V. Vaidya, *The Mahābhārata: a Criticism* (Bombay), 1904; M. Winternitz, *A Hist. of Indian Lit.*, I (Calcutta), 1927; C. V. Vaidya, *The Riddle of the Rāmāyana* (Bombay), 1906.

R. N. DANDEKAR.

THE PURANAS. The Purāṇas are regarded as next in importance only to the Vedas. In fact, they are said to be the Veda of the laity. They are closely akin to the Epics and the Smṛtis both in form and substance.

The term Purāṇa, according to its etymology as given in the Vāyu Purāṇa, means 'that which lives from ancient times.' The characteristics of the Purāṇa are mentioned in the classical definition by Amarasiṁha (5th c. A.D.). It is pañcalakṣaṇa, i.e., five-sided; namely: *sarga* (creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution and recreation), *vaṁśa* (divine geneal-

ogies), *manvantara* (ages of Manus) and *vaṁśānucarita* (genealogies of kings). A variant reading has *bhūmyādeḥ saṁsthāna* (world geography) in place of *vaṁśānucarita*. Pañcalakṣaṇa, however, occupies but an insignificant part (about 1/40) of the extant Purāṇas. Thus it appears that religious instruction was not one of their primary aims. Later additions include *dāna* (gifts), *vratas* (religious observances), *tīrthas* (sacred places), *śrāddha* (rites in honor of the manes). Additional allowed topics are *vṛtti* (means of livelihood), *rakṣā* (incarnations of gods), *mukti* (final emancipation), *hetu* (*jīva*, live being) and *apāśraya* (Brahman). Still more embracing is the *Matsya*, which states that the Purāṇas may deal with the glorification of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Rudra, also with the dissolution and preservation of the world, with *dharma* (righteous conduct), *artha* (economics and polity), *kāma* (erotics) and *mokṣa*.

The *Purāṇas* are said to be 18 *Mahā* (major) and 18 *Upa* (minor). The list of the Mahā-Purāṇas is given in almost all Purāṇas, mostly in the same order: Brahma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Varāha, Liṅga, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa, and Brahmāṇḍa. There is no uniformity in the enumeration of the Upa-Purāṇas, which are more sectarian in character, comparatively late, and of composite nature, with little of historical value. From a collation of the lists at different places, the following appear to be the 18: Sanatkumāra, Narasiṁha, Nanda, Śivadharma, Durvāsas, Nāradīya, Kapila, Vāmana, Uśanas, Mānava, Varuṇa, Kālī, Maheśvara, Sāmba, Saura, Pārāśara, Mārīca and Bhārgava. Hazra has collected the names of about a hundred Upa-Purāṇas, of which scarce 15 have appeared in print.

The most satisfactory grouping of the Purāṇas has been made by Haraprasad Sastri, who divides them into 6 groups:

(1) Encyclopaedias of literature, comprising the *Garuḍa, Agni,* and *Nāraḍa*. These contain the abstracts of all the great works in Arts and Sciences in Sanskrit Literature. These deal, in addition to the usual Purāṇic material, with medicine, grammar, dramaturgy, music, astrology.

(2) The *Padma, Skanda,* and *Bhaviṣya,* discussing *tīrthas* and *vratas*. The original matter in these Purāṇas has been covered by drastic revisions.

(3) The *Brahma, Bhāgavata,* and *Brahmavaivarta*.

(4) Historical: the *Brahmāṇḍa,* and the lost *Vāyu*.

(5) Sectarian works, the *Liṅga, Vāmana* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*. The *Liṅga* deals with phallus worship, the *Vāmana* (according to Haraprasad Sastri), is a handbook of Śaiva sects; the *Mārkaṇḍeya* deals with Devī.

(6) The *Varāha, Kūrma,* and *Matsya*. These incarnations should have spoken these entire works; actually, Varāha speaks only about half of the *Varāha Purāṇa;* Matsya, only a third of the *Matsya,* and Kūrma, only an eighth of the *Kūrma*. They seem to be old works revised beyond recognition.

According to the classical definition, the Purāṇas as a whole deal with the evolution of the universe, recreation of the universe from the constituent elements, genealogies of gods and seers, groups of great ages included in an aeon (*kalpa*), and the history of royal families. The first three of these subjects may be said to contain early religion, mythology and philosophy as also cosmography and 'ages.' The last two topics deal with genealogies and supply us with traditional history.

Ten incarnations (daśāvatāra) of Viṣṇu appear in most of the Purāṇas, of whom five (Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Varasiṁha and Vāmana) are mythological, four (Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha) are historical, and one (Kalki) is still future. Three of these, Varāha, Narasiṁha, and Vāmana, of whom

germs are found in Vedic literature, are said to be *divya* (divine); the rest are *mānuṣa* (human).

Kirfel, *Das Purāna Pañcalakṣana;* A. D. Pusalkar, *Progress of Indic Studies,* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Inst. (Poona), 1942, Bibliotheca Indica.

A. D. PUSALKAR.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT. The Vedic bard gave the ardor of his hymns to gods like Agni and Indra, the Upanisadic seer gave the intuition of the one Universal Being, the realization of whose all-round presence united Man, Nature, and God into a oneness that was more than Mysticism; the sages of the Smṛtis organized an harmonious culture and those of the Sūtras and Śāstras developed the intricacies of Dharma, Artha, Kāma, and Mokṣa, of moral, mundane, aesthetic, and spiritual values. These furnished Samskṛta Kāvya with its material, method, and message. The Vedic hymns lauded divinities that came to the aid of men and donors who made gifts; out of the superhuman qualities of such divinity or royal patron was evolved the ideal of a noble personality, a Mahānubhāva or a Dhīrodātta, who was either an incarnation of divinity, Avatār or a high-souled king, Rājarṣi, and who became the fit subject of a Sanskrit poem and drama. The Rājarṣi and Brahmarṣi, his preceptor, formed a pair of Brahma-Kṣatra, of knowledge and heroism, one safeguarding the other and both together safeguarding humanity. Starting therefore with the metrical and figurative lines of the Vedic hymns, Sanskrit poetry developed through the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.* The *Rāmāyaṇa* indeed is the first poem, Ādikāvyá; in it can be seen all the main features of the classical specimens.

It is significant that almost the first glimpse the West had of Indian literature was a specimen of classic Sanskrit; and one that indigenous appreciation of ages in India had always held as the supreme creation of Sanskrit literature, a judgment that has only been endorsed by the reception it had in the West. When Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* in the English version of Sir William Jones was first read in the West in 1789 A.D., they found in it an example of the Sanskrit drama that was 'more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisite than either.' The perfection of Kālidāsa's dramas must have been preceded by a long history of development. Kālidāsa, the prince of Sanskrit poets, modestly ushered in his drama, the love story of *Mālavikā and Agnimitra,* following in the footsteps of three renowned predecessors, Bhāsa, Saumilla, and Kaviputra. Kālidāsa was a contemporary of the Śuṅga King Agnimitra; Patañjali (ca. 150 B.C.), the great grammarian, was a contemporary of Agnimitra's father, Puṣyamitra, for whom he conducted a sacrifice. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* knows poems, stories and plays; Patañjali quotes ślokas or verses in Anuṣṭubh metre of Jālūka and Tittiri, mentions a poem, (kāvya) of Vararuci, the *Ākhyānas* of Yavakrīta, Priyaṅgu, Yayāti, Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā, and Bhīmaratha; several tags of classical poetry are also cited by Patañjali. Of the Mauryan age that preceded, the pre-eminent poet was Subandhu, minister of Candragupta and Bindusāra (4th and 3d c. B.C.), who wrote a kind of dramatic composition called *Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā,* a series of drama within drama, on the stories of Udayana and Bindusāra, stray fragments of which are quoted by Vāmana in his work on poetics and by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata. Of the preceding Udayana epoch, the pre-eminent author was the dramatist Bhāsa, who wrote many plays, the best known of which is the *Svapnavāsavadatta,* the story of which Subandhu also dramatized, which old men around Ujjain were still narrating in Kālidāsa's days and with which Guṇāḍhya also began his huge story book, the *Bṛhatkathā.* There is evidence to show that, in the extant *Svapnavāsavadatta,*

we have a shorter recension of the genuine work of Bhāsa; but of the so-called Bhāsa plays published from Trivandrum, we cannot say as much. The *Svapnavāsavadatta* shows Bhāsa's dramatic skill in the creation of situations and portrayal of feelings; his composition is simple, the text not having become a true dramatic poem. The sense of sacrifice of the high souled Vāsavadattā, the delicate and emotionally tense situation of her being a close aid and witness to her own beloved husband's second marriage, the vague intimations that Vāsavadattā is alive in reality, the dream-meeting which is the title-scene of the play: all these worked out through gay sport, music, and stage-craft, and expressed in language simple and direct, make the *Svapnavāsavadatta* a drama of high merit.

Tradition speaks of the grammarians Pāṇini and Vararuci as poets. Patañjali mentions a Kāvya of Vararuci; Rājaśekhara mentions him as the author of a poem called *Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. Bheja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* quotes half a Vasantatilakā verse of a *Kātyāyana*. The anthologies know some verses of Pāṇini; Kṣmendra compliments Pāṇini for the excellence of his Upajāti metre; and Rājaśekhara actually mentions a *Jāmbavatījaya* (also *Pātālavijaya*) as a poem of Pāṇini. Of the Kaviputra referred to by Kālidāsa, we know nothing except that two Kaviputras, with a single verse ascribed to them, are cited in the anthology of Vallabhadeva. If the Saumilla mentioned by Kālidāsa is the same as the Somila praised by Rājaśekhara as the joint author with Rāmila of the *Śūdrakathā*, we have to suppose that the Śūdraka legend came next to the Udayana legends and found some poets and dramatists to immortalize them; we may also have to suppose then that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of king Śūdraka was earlier than the works of Kālidāsa.

Two frequent phenomena in the history of Sanskrit Literature, whatever the branch of learning, are: one, the appearance of a new and superior writer and the consequent fall into oblivion of all earlier literature of the class; and two, the appearance of a new and brilliant form of composition and the consequent tendency of vast numbers of later writers to imitate that type. Of such consequences was the appearance of Kālidāsa and his works. What existed before him was mostly swallowed up by him; what came after him was mostly after the model set by him. In the development of a love-drama, in the portrayal of the moods of love or in the plan of an epic poem, his creations moulded all subsequent productions.

It is said that the great Kālidāsa adorned the court of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era in 57 B.C. It is clear, from the internal evidence of Kālidāsa's works, that the poet was a contemporary of the Śuṅga king Agnimitra (ca. 100 B.C.).

Kālidāsa's works comprise two epic poems (*Mahākāvyas*), one the *Raghuvaṁśa*, on the dynasty of Raghu; the other, the *Kumārasaṁbhava*, on the marriage of Pārvatī and Śiva for the birth of the warrior god Kumāra; a lyric in two parts in verses called the *Meghadūta* (*Cloud Messenger*); and three dramas, the *Vikramorvaśīya*, on the love of the king Purūravas and the celestial nymph Ūrvaśī; the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, on the romance of king Agnimitra Śuṅga of Vidiśā and Mālavikā, a Vidarbha princess; and the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, on the story of king Duṣyanta and Śākuntalā. A description of the six seasons and the moods of love in those seasons, the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, is also ascribed to him, and though some doubt its authenticity, we may accept it as a genuine, though early, work, as it has many phrases and fancies, all Kālidāsa's own. The *Raghuvaṁśa* is in 19 cantos, in varying metres, dealing with the kings of the solar race in which Rāma was incarnated for destroying Rāvaṇa; the poem is woven round three main personalities, Raghu, Rāma and Agnivarṇa; the arch is raised with

Raghu who dominates the earlier part and by his greatness gave his descendants the name Rāghavas; the acme is reached in Rāma, the Avatār of Viṣṇu and the hero of the story immortalized in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa;* the glory comes to an end with Agnivarṇa, who by his licentious life obliterates the name of his race. Starting with Manu and ending with man, it shows the degradation of love with the ages.

There is a saying that there is no vagrant who has not studied the *Raghuvaṁśa;* though it is thus an invariable text for beginners, it has beauties that reveal themselves to mature minds; Kālidāsa's idea of life, no less than his poetic capacities, are clearly seen in this Mahākāvya. The *Kumārasambhava* is a shorter poem, in eight cantos, dealing with the endeavor of the gods to bring Śiva and Pārvatī together for begetting Kumāra, the heroic son to lead them against the hordes of demon Tāraka. The poem falls into two movements, Pārvatī's first futile attempt to win Śiva through her physical charms and the second successful attempt to win Him through penance. The audacious god of Passion, Kāma, is first burnt down by Śiva, but is accepted later as spiritual love sublimated through suffering. The poet is at his best in Canto III, where he describes the advent of Spring and the God of Love, which at once throws the entire austere penance grove of Śiva into a picture of color, melody and desire, birds and beasts, trees and creepers, and the semi-divine beings there, all falling under the spell. The *Meghadūta,* in two parts of about 120 lines in Mandākrāntā metre, is the outpouring of a love-lorn semi-divine being of the Yakṣa class, separated from his beloved. A curse separates the Yakṣa pair; the lover, in his longing, calls a cloud to bear a message of hope and reunion to his beloved at Alakā. The first part describes the route of the cloud and gives fine pictures of the scenes *en route;* the second describes the city of Alakā, his own residence, his beloved and her love-lorn state, and the message. The seeds of the poem are in Vālmīki's epic, where Hanumān goes as a messenger from Rāma to Sītā, but it was Kālidāsa's genius that created the form; the irresistible charm has inspired hosts of Indian writers in Sanskrit and in vernaculars to produce some hundred imitations of the *Cloud Messenger.* Its inspiration is not confined to ancient or indigenous poets alone, as Schiller's *Maria Stuart* shows. Of the three dramas of Kālidāsa, the *Vikramorvaśīya* is based on a recast of the Vedic story of King Purūravas and the heavenly nymph Ūrvaśī, the king rescuing the Apsaras from the demon, the two falling in love, Ūrvaśī's sojourn on earth, their happy years broken by the separation caused by her disappearance and their final union along with their son. The best part of the play is Act IV in which, with the rain clouds and the Candhamādana forest on the Himalayas as the background, Kālidāsa has pictured Purūravas in the frenzy of separation, addressing every imaginable thing he comes upon, bird, beast, and tree; no wonder von Humboldt exclaimed that this Act was "one of the most beautiful and poetical productions that have appeared in any time." His *Mālavikāgnimitra* is more perfect as a well-built story-play, with incidents, romances, dance, and stage-craft, all worked out to a climax of happy revelation and realization in the end. The drama brings out the poet's love and knowledge of the dance-art and his capacity to weave a story of all-round interest. Here, too, we find the best type of a witty, resourceful, and capable jester, Vidūṣaka, woven into the vital scheme of the story. The third drama of the poet is the world-famous *Abhijñāna Śākuntala;* the story is from the Mahābhārata, but as re-created by Kālidāsa, it attained a new form and meaning. There is a meeting in the opening act; love is then developed and marriage takes place; a curse intervenes and draws a curtain over the king's memory and

Śākuntala is consequently repudiated; suffering and repentance follow; in the last act, the final union of the two takes place on the Hemakūṭa hill, a "sublime and beautiful region," through their son Sarvadamana, a union which the sage Kāśyapa blesses.

The meaning and message of the Śākuntala has admirably been given to us by Goethe in his lines on the union of Earth and Heaven, and by Tagore in his masterly exposition of these lines. Indigenous criticism also emphasizes the idea of the physical love of the first contact undergoing purification in the fire of separation until sublimated into a soul-union. To this end, Kālidāsa always employs the child. In the midst of all his manifold endowments and endless association, Kālidāsa had perhaps an eternal yearning for a child, which seems to come out in his description of Dilīpa taking Raghu on his lap and closing his eyes at the ambrosial touch of the son (*Raghu.* III. 26) and of Duṣyanta gazing at Bharata's face, its budding teeth, spontaneous smile, and sweet blabber (*Śākuntala,* VII. 17). Kālidāsa's philosophy of life and love is one of rich, complete, and sublimated enjoyment. As a poet, age-long indigenous criticism and modern opinion alike consider him an unequaled master of the art of delineating Śṛṅgāra or Love. In expression, he is described as the foremost representative of the best style of Sanskrit composition, the Vaidarbhī style: graceful, simple, free from bombast, exaggeration or over-ornamentation, precise, suggestive not verbose. Poetic imagination is often and justifiably estimated by critics by the variety and striking beauty of a poet's similes; here too Kālidāsa excels. The poet's wide travel is clear in his description of Raghu's conquest (*Raghuvaṁśa,* IV) and his wise observations strewn all through his writing show his abounding knowledge.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*The Little Clay Cart*) of the Brahman King Śūdraka (the play of irony starts with the very name of the author!) is a drama in ten acts which would appeal to a modern mind more than even the *Śākuntala.* While the Śākuntala is the supreme embodiment of the ideals of the heroic type of Sanskrit drama called Nāṭaka, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is a magnificent realization of the ideas underlying the social type of Sanskrit drama called the Prakaraṇa. A man of charming personality, scholar, savant, man of the world and king, Śūdraka dramatized in this play the great love of the once opulent prince but now poor youth of Ujjain, Cārudatta, and the city's celebrated courtesan, Vasantasenā; but he also views the course of politics, the corruptness of justice, the nature of the wicked, and the workings of fate. Cārudatta himself; Vasantasenā, who, though born a courtesan, spurns riches and clings to Cārudatta for his character, generous heart and charm of personality; Śarvilaka, a Brāhmin who theoretically cultivated the art of thieving; the witty and loyal Vidūṣaka, friend of the hero; the royal kinsman Saṁsthānaka Śakāra, a strange bundle of vanity, villainy, and foolishness with a gift for malapropism; shampooer, gamblers, cart-drivers, monk, a quiet-city night overflowing with the melodious music of Rebhila, theft, attempt at murder, court of justice, imprisonment, escape, political revolution: such rich and varied material of life has gone into the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that one might say that no play holds up the mirror to life so widely as the *Mṛcchakaṭika.* Śūdraka's composition is full of action but at the same time rich in poetry: now romantic, in the love of the hero and the heroine; now hilarious, with the fun of gamblers, the wit of the Vidūṣaka and the solecisms of Śakāra; now charming, in its descriptions of rain and music; now thrilling, in the poetical developments; now reaching heights of moral dignity, in the characters not only of such important persons as the hero and heroine, but of such lowly persons as the cart-driver, Śakāra's Ceṭa; now touching, in the title incident of little

Rohasena and the clay cart, and the incident of the Brāhman hero bequeathing to his little son on the eve of his own execution the sacred thread, Yajñopavīta "the ornament of the Brāhmans, gem-less and goldless though it is." The drama is full of varied emotional appeal, and is undoubtedly the most stage-worthy of Sanskrit dramas; it has been performed in several languages, in English in London and New York.

Mūladeva preceded Śūdraka; he was a great Brāhman social hero around whom many legends arose, supplying theme to many poetic compositions, even as the legends of Śūdraka. He, together with his friends Śasa and others, specialized in the arts of the world and arts of pleasure. Mūladeva's lost work is praised by Daṇḍin in his *Avantisundarī*.

In the 1st c. A.D. there flourished Aśvaghoṣa, Brāhman scholar of the Sāketa, son of Suvarṇākṣī, who became a Buddhist and attained such celebrity among Buddhists both as a poet and a scholar that several works came to be fathered on him. Two of his genuine poems, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, used the Mahākāvya form to give an account of the life of the Buddha. Aśvaghoṣa was an admirer of both Vālmīki and Kālidāsa, whom he imitates, the latter, e.g., in describing the rush of city damsels to the windows of their apartments, to have a look at the prince. While Kālidāsa depicts in his poems the ideal man of Brahmanic thought, the philosophy of a life that strikes the balance between activity and quietude, Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti, and a love that is not death (Māra) but is rendered desirable (Kāma) as a result of sublimation and control by moral and spiritual values, Aśvaghoṣa presents in both his poems the Buddhistic ideal of running away from life and love. Aśvaghoṣa expressly says, at the end of his *Saundarananda*, his second poem on the life of Sundarī and Nanda, the Buddha's brother, that he used poetry to propagate the ideal of renunciation of mundane pleasures (Vyupaśānti). Simple but not lacking in poetic charm, his poems are overloaded with didactic discourses, and in this respect they find their parallel later in the many Mahākāvyas which Jaina poets wrote on the life of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras.

Aśvaghoṣa also harnessed Sanskrit drama for Buddhistic purposes; from Turfan were recovered three dramatic fragments, one of which deals with the life of Śāriputra or Śāradvatīputra, in nine acts; another has allegorical characters; the third deals with a courtesan, a jester, and a rogue. These establish the continuity of the social type of drama, Prakaraṇa.

To similar Buddhistic purpose, Mātṛceṭa employed the medium of Kāvya. With the legends of the Buddha and tales illustrative of the Karma theory as their theme, came the Buddhistic works *Sūtrālaṅkāra, Avadānaśataka,* the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Jātakamālā,* the last by Āryaśūra, probably of the 4th c. A.D. The art of Kāvya became so widespread that it was used not only for such religious legends but for royal inscriptions, such as the Girnar inscription (150 A.D.) of Rudradāman. Two examples of well-wrought inscriptional kāvya of the Gupta times are Hariṣeṇa's eulogy of Samudragupta, engraved on a pillar in Allahabad ca. 345 A.D.; and Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription in the Mandasor Sun-temple, ca. 473–4 A.D., which shows indebtedness to Kālidāsa. The inscription declares that Samudragupta was a poet, even as the coins reveal the king as a player on the lute, the vīṇā.

An eulogy of Rājaśekhara quoted in the anthology *Sūktimuktāvalī* makes *Sāhasāṅka* (evidently Chandragupta II Vikramāditya) the author of a poetic composition called *Gandhamādana;* this poem has not come down to us. The oblivion in which has fallen the *Mahākāvya Hayagrīvavadha* of Bhartṛmeṇṭha, highly praised by the Kashmir historian Kalhana, is relieved to a slight extent by some

extant quotations. According to some, Meṇṭha and his patron the Kashmir king Mātṛgupta, himself an author on drama and dance, are to be assigned to the 4th c. A.D. From a reference by Rājaśekhara in the prologue to his *Bālarāmāyaṇa,* we infer that Meṇṭha wrote another poem on the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, a poem on the history of Kashmir, opens our eyes to the contribution of Kashmir to classical Sanskrit literature. Long before Mātṛgupta and Meṇṭha, we are told by Kalhaṇa, lived the dramatist Candraka; patronized by king Tuñjīna I, he wrote a drama on the Mahābhārata story, earning the praise of being the incarnation of Vyāsa himself. If the Buddhaghoṣa author of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* published in Madras—a poem similar to the *Buddhacarita*—is identical with the famous Buddhaghoṣa, it is of the 5th c. A.D. In the 6th c., in Ceylon, King Kumāradasa wrote the *Jānakīharaṇa,* also following Kālidāsa. Other lost poems of this period, which Bhāmaha quotes in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* are Rāmaśarman's *Acyutottara,* which was full of verbal tricks and elaborate figures of sound; the work of Śākavardhana, the *Rājamitra,* the *Ratnāharaṇa* and the *Aśmakavaṁśa,* the last of which is a poem in the Vaidarbhī style. The *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin mentions three poems of a Nārāyaṇa, which are also lost.

Indian tradition has selected five of the long poems as pre-eminent in their class, and called them the *Pañca Mahākāvyas;* these are (besides the two poems of Kālidāsa) the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumārasambhava,* the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha and *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrī Harṣa. Bhāravi is mentioned with Kālidāsa in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, 634 A.D. The *Avantisundarī,* prose romance of Daṇḍin, throws some light on Bhāravi's life; great poet and Śaivite, Bhāravi is said to have been a close friend of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, founder of the Eastern Calukyan dynasty of Veṅgī (608 A.D.). The great-grandfather of Daṇḍin, Dāmodara, wrote many new forms of Prākṛt works, a work called *Gandhamādana* and a treatise on poetry. Bhāravi undoubtedly dominated this age; Durvinīta, the Gaṅga king, according to an inscription, commented upon Bhāravi's poem; and the penance of Arjuna beautifully sculptured by the Pallava kings at Māmallapuram was inspired by Bhāravi's poem. The *Kiratārjunīya* in 18 cantos tells of Arjuna's penance to obtain miraculous weapons from Śiva, to defeat the Kauravas. Endowed with keen poetic sensibilities, Bhāravi here gives a charming pen picture of seasons and scenes, and of the sport and incidents of love, disclosing his powers of observation and feeling. His description of the Himālayas—"From here as from the Upaniṣads, is born the knowledge that makes for one's salvation"—shows that he like Kālidāsa felt the sublimity of the Himālayas. His poetic style is not simple or mellifluous, but it is characterized by both vigor and charm.

Māgha (ca. 700 A.D.), whose *Śiśupālavadha,* again a story from the *Mahabharata,* is closely modeled after Bhāravi's poem, hit a mark a little below Bhāravi. Strains of increasing artificiality are to be seen in him; he sports rare grammatical forms and displays also some sound effects; but, as in Cantos VII and XI, in the description of the sylvan excursion and the dawn, he shows the same deftness in drawing fine miniatures of nature and love sometimes he can catch up in his lines a whole multi-sensuous picture. He made a least one great observation when he defines the beautiful as that which presents a newness every time one sees it (IV. 17). One traditional estimate, giving him both Kālidāsa's similes and Bhāravi's richness of idea, is exaggerated; another declares that 9 cantos of Māgha use up all Sanskrit words. After Māgha, the Mahākāvya form was elaborated more and more, as a means to display a poet's erudition and capacity not only for skilful

manipulation of ideas and words, but also for feats of composition.

In the 9th c. in Kashmir, king Avantivarman's court counted among its lights four poets, Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara; Muktākana's works are lost, save for stray verses in anthologies; Śivasvāmin and Ratnākara, both Śaivites, produced two poems of similar plan, the former's reminiscent of the latter. Śivasvāmin was an indefatigable writer, a verse about him tells us that he wrote Vākyas with Dvipadis, seven Mahākāvyas, eleven lakhs of hymns on Śiva (composed every day of his life), and many Nāṭakas, Nāṭikās and Prakaraṇas. His only extant poem is the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya,* on the story of King Kapphiṇa's renouncing life and becoming a Buddhist. Śivasvāmin was influenced by both Māgha and Ratnākara (known as Vāgīsvara), his own contemporary, who composed the *Haravijaya,* a Śaiva Mahākāvya in 50 cantos of facile and learned verse. Ānandavardhana, the eminent critic, was a poet in both Sanskrit and Prākṛt; his *Arjunacarita* Kāvya in Sanskrit, though often mentioned and quoted, is lost; in his stotra, *Devīśataka,* he shows his skill in executing the verbal feats of Citrakāvya.

From about this time, the Mahākāvya came to be used increasingly by Jain writers to recount the lives of their Tīrthaṅkaras; like the Brahminical Mahākāvyas, these were produced as storehouses of scholarship, though in poetic distinction, some at least are inferior only to the major Mahākāvyas noticed above. The *Harivaṁśa* and *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena and his pupil Guṇabhadra (9th c. A.D.) came foremost in this class. Jaṭāsimhanandi's *Varāṅgacarita;* the *Yaśodharacaritas* of Vādirāja and Māṇikyasūri; *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* of Haricandra; *Padmānandakāvya* of Amaracanda, are others of the numerous works of this class.

In the 9th c. A.D., Abhinanda, patronized by the Pāla king Hāvavarṣa, composed his long and not yet fully recovered *Rāmacarita,* in which he showed himself a distinctly greater poet than all others of the times. Abhinanda has forceful imagination and vivid descriptive power, but has the tendency to elaborate an idea like Bāṇa. In the same age also flourished Rājaśekhara, at the Kanauj Court; his *Haravilāsa* Mahākāvya is lost; its introductory portion contained valuable eulogies of earlier poets. The next noteworthy name is Śrī Harṣa, son of Hīra and Māmalladevī, who also flourished (11th–12th c.) at the Kanauj court and was a brilliant metaphysician and poet. He composed a number of poems which he mentions in his only extant poem (22 cantos) and major work, the *Naiṣadhīyacarita,* on the story of Nala and Damayantī. A master of the Śāstras, Śrī Harṣa presents ideas from them in his works; yet he commands a simple, straightforward, elegant style; assonances, especially in Upajāti verses, add to his readability; but generally he is weighed down by learning; he elaborates, e.g., the love-pangs of Damayantī for an entire canto. In IX. 8, he provides an effective definition of eloquence: "Brief but full of meaning," and says that "little meaning and much verbiage" are verily the two poisons of speech; but unfortunately what he recognized he did not practice. Still, tradition calls his poem "medicine of the scholars"; full of rare grammatical forms and allusions to ideas in all branches of knowledge, it well earns the label.

The story of the drama leaps from King Kaniṣka's time to that of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (early 7th c. A.D.). Harṣa's court was full of literary activity, and a cosmopolitan religious atmosphere prevailed. Harṣa himself was the distinguished head of a circle of poets, of whom Bāṇa was outstanding. Bāṇa is said to have been the son-in-law of poet Mayūra, the author of the hundred devotional verses on the Sun, *Sūryaśataka,* which was probably composed for Harṣavardhana's father Prabhākaravardhana, a devout Sun-worshipper

who stared at the sun and muttered the *Ādityahṛdaya*. According to Rājaśekhara, there was in the same court a Mātaṅgadivākara, as also a Droṇa, who is said to have composed a poem on the Mahābhārata story. A Bharŝcu is hailed by Bāṇa as a preceptor of the contemporary Maukharis, who were related to the kings of Kanauj, and stray verses of Bharŝcu preserved prove him a gifted writer. Bāṇa himself, besides his two prose works, *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*, wrote a devotional poem on *Mother*, the *Caṇḍīśataka*, and a drama based on the Mahābhārata, the *Mukuṭatādita*, which is quoted in works of rhetoric and dramaturgy. Of King Śrī Harṣa's three plays, the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī* are of the type called Nāṭikā; they are cast on the model of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. The *Ratnāvalī* developed a twofold importance. by its careful observance of the rules of dramaturgy, it came to be a model work used to illustrate principles in books on the subject; and secondly [as mentioned in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Damodaragupta, minister of King Jayāpīda of Kashmir (779–813)], with its fine verses and clear delineation of Śṛṅgāra Rasa, it came to be a favored play in the hands of theatre companies. The subtle moods and situations of Śṛṅgāra find in Harṣa a capable picture-maker. In *Nāgānanda*, Harṣa took a new theme, a Buddhist story of sacrifice. The passage from love to resignation is effected through an enjoyable comic interlude. From the record of the Chinese pilgrim Itsing, we learn that the king-author himself had it played with musical fittings in his own time; the *Nāgānanda* was a favorite of the Kerala theatre.

In the same Kānyakubja where Harṣavardhana ruled, King Yaśevarman in the early 8th c. wrote a beautiful play on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme, called the *Rāmābhyudaya;* only stray lines of it survive, in quotations. About this time there were a number of *Rāmāyaṇa* plays, like the *Kṛtyārāvaṇa*, which dealt in the sentiment of wonder; the *Chalitarāma;* and the *Udāttarāghava*. The last was the composition of Māyurāja or Mātrarāja (known as Anaṅgaharṣa), whom Rājaśekhara mentions as a Kalucuri king; fortunately his play on the Udayana-story, *Tāpasavatsarāja*, yet another work of Śṛṅgāra-delineation, is extant.

Just as the appearance of Kālidāsa threw his predecessors into oblivion, the emergence of Bhavabhūti was responsible for the loss of these *Rāmāyaṇa* plays. Bhavabhūti went to Kālidāsa for his ideas, but in expression he sought the elaboration characteristic of Bāṇa, many of whose expressions he echoes; like Bāṇa he had the gift of building long periods rich in sound effects, which can be enjoyed in all his three dramas, especially *Mālatīmādhava* (Act IX, showing the hero Mādhava in a state of love-madness). His *Mahāvīracarita* is an incomplete drama on the main story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, whereas his *Uttararāmacarita* is on the later story of the same epic, dealing with the banishment of Sītā. The drama has scenes of deep pathos, especially (Act VI) the meeting and recognition of Rāma and his two sons, couched in language at once dignified and touching, which make it one of the masterpieces of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

Inspired by Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*, Anūparāja Dhīranāga produced his *Kundamālā*, a simple and effective portrayal of the same poignant story of Sītā's banishment. The *Mālatīmādhava* is a Parkaraṇa like the *Mṛcchakaṭika;* its story is a novel of romance between a Brahman youth of learning and taste and a Brahman damsel of beauty and accomplishment, arranged and brought to a successful culmination after more than one serious impediment, by the interest and careful planning of a nun, a friend of the parents of the pair. In addition to charming verses, the play is remarkable for its fifth act set in a fiery crematorium: after a reverberating hymn to the fierce Goddess to whom the heroine is

to be offered, the disappointed yearning of the lovelorn Mādhava breaks upon the burning pyres, human flesh scorching, jackals yelling, goblins dancing, and an eerie stream gushing through piles of human skeletons cast into the waters; suddenly the voice of Mālatī, the heroine, is heard; Mādhava rushes and rescues her.

About this time was produced the play *Mudrārākṣasa,* of prince Viśākhadatta, remarkable as a political drama, lacking the elsewhere frequent sentiment of love, but using as a leading thread of the story-fabric the sentiment of friendship, not thus prominent in any other extant Sanskrit play. The plot, difficult to grasp on cursory perusal, is worked out in a masterly manner, incident hanging to incident like parts in a machine. The style is accordantly pointed, free from disproportionate elaboration, effective in portraying the fate-foiled moods of Rākṣasa, the perplexities of the easily duped Malayaketu, the quiet and resolute loyalty and friendship of Candanadāsa, and the brilliance and elation of the omniscient, and ever successful, Cāṇakya. Another drama on the same theme is *Pratijñācāṇakya.* The same fascination for a political theme made Viśakhadatta write his other notable drama, a Prakaraṇa in ten acts, the *Devīcandragupta,* on an else unknown chapter of the life of King Candragupta II Vikramāditya, the most famous of the Gupta monarchs. This play is known only through lengthy quotations in works on dramatic theory; it tells the unusual story of the daring young Candragupta putting on the guise of his brother's wife, stabbing the enemy chief who wanted her as the price of the peace, and subsequently putting an end to his own weak brother and taking both his kingdom and queen. From quotations in the same theoretical works, we find that Viśākhadatta did not feel himself unequal to composing a love drama; we know, from his description of autumn night at the festival of moonlight in the *Mudrārākṣasa,* his capacities in this direction; and in his *Abhisārikāvañcitaka,* again lost, he wrote a full love play, with a romance of Udayana as his theme.

The *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa threw into obscurity some praiseworthy *Mahābhārata* plays like the *Mukuṭatādita* of Bāna, the *Pārthavijaya,* and the *Pāṇḍavānanda.* From the *Pārthavijaya* of Trilocana, quotations in works of theory reveal an author who commands a direct, effective, and appealing style, well suited for drama. The *Veṇīsaṁhāra* has scenes full of action; its best part is Act III, in which Aśvatthāman and Karṇa fall out, and Aśvatthāman is torn between his oath and the urge of friendship.

A Kālañjara king named Bhīmaṭa wrote five nāṭakas; of these *Svapnadaśānana,* on a *Rāmāyaṇa* theme, obtained high recognition; another play of Bhīmaṭa, with an Udayana story as its theme, is *Manoramāvatsarāja,* quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa.* A host of similar plays, known in quotations, are lost; among them, *Puṣpadūṣitaka,* which dramatized the strange story of Samudratta and Mūladeva waging a battle of wits in a wager of love and seduction; *Kumudavatī Parkaraṇa; Anangasenā Harinandī* by Śuktivāsakumāra; *Citrotpalāvalambitaka* by Amātya Śaṅkuka; *Tarangadattā* and *Prayogābhyudaya.*

With Murāri and Rājaśekhara a new period of drama developed. The plays are no longer of dramatic value, but they abound in clever changes of the epic story, in neat presentations of love-scenes, in occasional memorable verses. The *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra, claimed as an early South Indian play, is of this type. Murāri wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa* play *Anargharāghava;* Rājaśekhara wrote the *Bālarāmayaṇa,* also the incomplete *Bālabhārta,* the *Viddhasālabhañjikā Nāṭikā* and (in *Prākṛt*) the *Karpūramañjarī,* belonging to a variety of drama called Saṭṭaka; the last two are on themes of love. Rājaśekhara dominated the literary life of the 9th and 10th c., and

was befriended by both the Kalacūris of Tripurī and the Pratīhāras of Kanauj.

Next in importance to the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa in the field of drama are the Prahasana and the Bhāṇa. The former is a comedy in one or two acts; the latter, an erotic monologue in one act. There is provision for the comic element in both the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, in the character of the Vidūṣaka (jester) who is a constant companion of the hero; but the Prahasana is intended for the exclusive presentation of the comic (Hāsya Rasa). The Bhāṇa presents the love adventures of a man about town, though it gives scope to the comic spirit.

The best early Prahasanas are the *Mattavilāsa* of King Mahendravikrama Pallava of Kanci (7th c. A.D.) and the *Bhagavadajjukīya*, which appears to be a work of the same royal author. In the former, heretics like Kāpālikas and Buddhists are ridiculed; in the latter, the comic effect rises from the clever use of the yogic feat of entering another's body (parakāya-praveśa) as a result of which a courtesan lectures like a recluse and a recluse coquettes like a courtesan. Of Bhāṇas, we have four old interesting specimens: Vararuci's *Ubhayābhisārikā;* Īśvaradatta's *Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda;* Śyāmilaka's *Pādatāḍitaka,* and Śūdraka's *Padmaprābhṛtaka.* Two of these are quoted in works of theory; witty, vivacious, and rich in their social flavour, they stand apart as excellent and early specimens of their class. From quotations in works of dramatic theory we also know that there were two old specimens of the minor dramatic variety called Vīthī: *Mādhavikā* and *Indulekhā.*

Some Sanskrit prose literature developed from the prose of the Vedic *Brahmanas.* The rise of Bāṇa obscured earlier prose Kāvyas, as Kālidāsa's did the poems and dramas. Bāṇa states in his *Kādambarī* that this work excels the two earlier Kathās or romances; in his *Harṣacarita* (the story of his royal patron, Harṣa), he mentions the prose composition, *Gadyabandha,* of Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra. Bāṇa is the foremost Gadya-kavi, prose-poet, of Sanskrit literature; he was the court poet of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (7th c. A.D.). The *Kādambarī* is an involved story of absorbing interest, of two pairs of lovers, their love running through more than one birth, emphasizing the Indian ideal of immortality and love fulfilling itself, even in a future birth. Bāṇa's rich endowments, wide travel, extensive experience, and knowledge of every aspect of nature and life are fully reflected in his works, and as in life, so in art, Bāṇa was exuberant, and sometimes forgetting himself, grew out of proportion, as e.g. in his description of the king's elephant Darpaśāta in the *Harṣacarita;* of Alaṅkāras in general and in particular of Śleṣa (double entendre), in the simple as well as the Sabhaṅga or metanalytic form, he is too fond—though these are no impediments to understanding, to one well equipped in Sanskrit. He is a master of sound effects, some of his descriptive periods being remarkable for their sheer music and power to echo the sense; as his description of the heavenly Ganges, or the autumnal season, or the evening time, in the first three chapters of the *Harṣacarita.* On matters of State or of domestic functions, on conditions in the palace or countryside, on details of flora and fauna or of the arts, his knowledge is inexhaustive; his vocabulary is immense. The traditional tag that the entire universe has come under his sweep is well-founded; in truth, Bāṇa himself asked "Of what use is poetry that does not have an universal sweep, like the *Mahābhārata?*" Bāṇa's son well puns on the word 'Kādambarī' and compares his father's poetry to rich wine. Bāṇa was also a master in pathos, and the intimate touches of poignant situations, as in his description of Mahāśveta and her narration of her story in the *Kādambarī,* and the death of the king, or the widowhood of Rājyaśrī, in the *Harṣacarita;* on such occasions his Śleṣa-packed style and sonorous

period give way to short, simple, touching sentences.

Bāṇa left both his works incomplete; the *Kādambarī*, however, was completed by his son Pulinda Bhūṣana Bhaṭṭa. Bāṇa set the standards of prose-poetry (Gadya Kāvya). One of the many imitations of Bāṇa's work is the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, paltry in story but packed, as the author boasts, with a Śleṣa or pun in every letter. Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī*, of the 10th c., is a better work of this class. The *Taraṅgavatī* of Pādalipta Sūri, the *Trailokyasundarī* of Rudra, the *Tribhuvanamāṇikyacarita*, the *Narmadāsundarī*, the *Vilāsavatī* are others, known from reference only. In the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* of Odayadeva Vādībhasiṁha, we have a Jain composition of this type.

Daṇḍin employed quite a different style of prose. In addition to his poems, the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Daṇḍi-divisandhāna*, he wrote a prose work, the *Daśakumāracarita* (story of the ten princes), extant without beginning or end, though both have been supplied by more than one later writer. Recently, the beginning of a prose work of Daṇḍin, the *Avantisundarī*, has been discovered; from this it is clear that the central portion of the current *Daśakumāracarita* forms part of that work. The *Avantisundarī*, like the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, contains a very informative biography of the author and his family. His style is different from the Bāṇa style, which is full of long compounds, descriptions and double entendre; Daṇḍin's is simple, forceful, suited to the moving action and teeming incidents of the story; with its rich and vivid variety of character and incident, his work would appeal more to modern taste than that of Bāṇa, it is unfortunate that neither such social material nor such a style of prose was pursued by later writers.

After the development of these types of dramatic, metrical, and prose composition, poetic originality sought fresh lines, both by taking new themes and by forging new forms. Thus came the rise of the allegorical play; among new forms, in the Campū the poets adopted an admixture of prose and verse, as old as the *Vedas*, Ākhyānas, and fables; new themes came in the historical Kāvya and in some reflective poems.

The classical Campū kāvya developed from the old style of mixing prose and verse found in the Vedas and in fable literature. The form was already well exploited in the drama, wherein effective picturization, emotional delineation, or some pointed thought was often presented in verse, the description, dialogue and discourse being prose. Trivikrama's *Nala Campū* or *Damayantīkathā* (ca. 915 A.D.) is like Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, in a style that gloried in metanalytic double entendre; he also wrote a lost *Madālasā Campū*. In the 10th c. the Jain logician and litterateur Somadeva wrote *Yaśastilakacampū* in the profuse manner, reveling in long disgressions, long descriptions, learned allusions; in its close, the book becomes religious and didactic. From the Jain field also comes the *Jīvandhara Campū* of Haricandra. The best known and most widely read of all the Campūs is the *Rāmāyaṇa Campū*, ascribed to King Bhoja of Dhār (11th c. A.D.) a work which has been made part of the syllabus of Sanskrit education. A little earlier Soḍḍhala of Koṅkan wrote the *Udayasundarīkathā*, again measuring success by the ability to imitate Bāṇa.

The historical Kāvya developed from the genealogies in the Purāṇas, and to some extent from inscriptional panegyric. The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa served as inspiration. In Prākṛt came the poem *Gaudavaho* of Vākpatirāja; Śaṅkuka the critic wrote the lost *Bhuvanābhyudaya*, on a historical battle of Kashmir in the mid 9th c. The Sanskrit Mahākāvya soon turned its full resources and scheme of treatment to the historical subject, producing the *Navasāhasāṅka Carita* of Padmagupta (Parimala Kālidāsa), on the life of Sindurāja Nava-

sāhasāṅka of Mālwa, ca. 1000 A.D. Śrī Harṣa, author of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita,* wrote three historical pieces, all lost, including a *Navasāhasāṅkacarita.* Bilhaṇa, the Kashmir poet, wrote the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* a poem on the life of the Cālukya Vikramāditya of Kalyān (11th–12th c.); in his play *Karṇasundarī* Bilhaṇa also used historical material. Of poets of this time, Bilhaṇa is one round whom romantic legends and traditions grew, and whose name came to be widely known for love poetry. To Kashmir belonged the prolific Kṣemendra (11th c.), who wrote more than 50 works, long poems, lesser poems, satires, didactic poems, plays, epitomes of epics and story books, and works of criticism. His *Rājāvalī* deals with Kashmir history; it is lost, but it was used by Kalhaṇa, the most famous among the authors of historical Kāvyas in Sanskrit. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a unique production, moderately applying the devices of the Kāvya medium to historical facts, with care to adopt scientific methods of historical investigation. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is rich in material pertaining to the history of kings, methods of government and administration, social conditions and the growth of art and letters.

Of lesser historical Kāvyas may be mentioned the *Pṛthvīrajāvijaya* (12th c.), and the continuation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* up to Mohammedan times by Jenarāja, Śrīvara Prājya and Śuka. From Tanjore Virūpākṣa produced his *Cola Campū,* on the Colas.

In Drama, Kṛṣnamiśra, attached to the Candella King Kīrtivarman of the 11th c., introduced the allegorical and metaphysical drama. The type did not originate with him; personification of abstract ideas is as old as the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas;* and Aśvaghoṣa had already introduced allegorical characters in his dramas, as seen in their fragments unearthed at Turfan. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the Kashmirian logician of the 10th c., wrote a philosophical play, *Ṣaṇmata Nāṭaka.* Kṛṣṇamiśra employed the scheme for the Advaita School; Soul, Knowledge, Discrimination, Spiritual lore, Devotion, Delusion, Pride, Faith, Heresy, Schools of Philosophy, and the like figure here as characters; while depicting the vices, the author produces some effective humour too. The work of Kṛṣṇamiśra caught the imagination of writers and allegorical dramas arose in subsequent centuries from every school of philosophy and religion. Authors also began the production of operatic compositions, short, and played with music, drama, and gesticulation (Abhinaya); a number of these, called *Uparūpaka,* are referred to in works of dramaturgy. The greatest example of this type is the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva of Kindubilva in Orissa, who flourished in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (1175–1200); it was so original, so beautiful, and so successful that it gave rise to numberless imitations. In 12 Cantos of songs of eight feet each (Aṣṭapadīs, they are called in South India), it sings of the love, separation, and reunion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; its rhymes, colour, rich music, exquisite and minute painting of scenes and moods, make it a rare creation.

Three forms of Sanskrit poetry have no parallel outside India. The poetic form lent itself to didactic and philosophic purposes; but it was early recognized as also a good medium for scholastic learning, such as grammar. One early example of a grammar-Kāvya is the *Rāvaṇavadha,* popularly known as *Bhaṭṭikāvya,* of Bhaṭṭi, written under Śrīdharasena of Valabhī, probably in the 7th c. A.D. It proved such a success that a class of compositions arose called Dvyāśraya, (embracing two purposes). Thus, not far removed in time from Bhaṭṭi, Bhaumaka wrote his grammatical Kāvya *Rāvaṇārjunīya,* using the fight between Rāvaṇa and Kārtavīryārjuna to illustrate the rules of grammar. On the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (ca. 950) Halāyudha wrote his eulogy *Kavirahasya,* also illustrating grammatical rules. Hemacandra (1088–1172) com-

posed his *Dvyāśrayakāvya* or *Kumārapālapratibodha,* which combines poetry and history with illustration of Sanskrit and Prākṛt grammar.

Another type of literature peculiar to Sanskrit is the poem that embodies in the same series of verses two streams of stories. For a long time Śleṣa (double entendre) was known as a figure of speech within a sentence; the facility for its employment in Sanskrit, the attraction it had, especially in its metanalytic form (in which a compound word is split differently to yield different meanings), the scope it afforded to a writer to exhibit his mastery of language and to the reader to exercise his skill and enjoy the resultant intellectual thrill: all these factors soon led to a a type of Kāvya called Anekasandhāna, which is a full length Śleṣa kāvya. Bhāravi and Māgha, in cantos set apart for such literary feats, wrote a verse having three meanings (Artha-traya-vāci). Dvisandhāna (two poems in one) was the first full representative of this type. The earliest and apparently the best Dvisandhāna is the one on the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* composed by Daṇḍin, known to us only in a quotation in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.* The verse quoted shows that Daṇḍin could make this kind of writing easily understood. Next in importance is the Dvisandhāna of Dhanañjaya, on the same two stories. Equally well known is Karvirāja's *Raghavapāṇḍavīya,* in the 12th c. Sandhyākaranandin wrote his *Rāmacarita* on Śrī Rāma and King Rāmapāla of Bengal, in the late 11th c. When writing two stories in one became common, writers took to still more difficult feats. Over 32 works combine more than two stories. The great Jain polymath Hemacandra is said to have written a seven-story poem, Saptasandhāna kāvya. Jain authors seem especially drawn to the device. Two Jain monks, Somaprabha and Samayasundara, each wrote a single verse and extracted from it as many as a hundred meanings! Some produced a type of Dvisandhāna poem (called Viloma, or Gatapratyāgata, Kāvya) in which one story comes through with reading the line in the normal order, and another with reading it in reverse order. A well known example of this is the *Rāmakṛṣṇa Viloma Kāvya* of the astronomical writer Sūryapaṇḍita of the 16th c. This kind of writing also appeared early, in a few lines in both Bhāravi and Māgha; there are some half dozen full poems of the sort. Allied to such writing are the figure-poems (Bandhas), whose letters are arranged in the form of a lotus, sword, drum, wheel, horse, and the like, with sometimes re-arrangements revealing the name of the author, work, or patron.

All such writing is called Citrakāvya: literary feat exciting our wonder, or writing involving pictorial design. It has developed intricate devices beyond any of western poetry. There is, e.g., the wavy design (Gomūtrikā) in which the alternate letters of two lines reform the same two lines. One type of line (Gūḍha Caturtha) has its fourth foot hidden in its first three. Bhāravi (Canto 15) and Māgha (Canto 19) use these and many more devices, exemplified also in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa.* Many poems are written omitting a certain letter; in his *Daśakumāracarita,* Daṇḍin has a lover whose beloved has bitten his lip tell his tale (Chap. 7) without using any labials. The critic Ānandavardhana considers such devices inappropriate in serious moments, but permissible in lighter passages or with subsidiary themes, as the hunt in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa.* A work wholly devoted to trickily versified literary riddles is the *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa (before the 11th c.).

Records of the experience and observation of poets in things of life and love are to be found in short collections, mostly in centuries of lines called Śatakas. Their personalities as they faced life and pondered over its issues are

reflected in Śatakas of love (Śṛṅgāra), dispassion (Vairāgya), sound principles of life and right volition (Nīti), and so on. The love lyrics are headed by a century of Śṛṅgāra by Bhartṛhari, who has also written centuries of Vairāgya and Nīti. If I-tsing is to be believed when he tells that Bhartṛhari walked between the palace and the forest more than once, we can well surmise the basis of these verses on love and renunciation. The hundred lines of Amaruka of Kashmir, however, are the best of this class. Each line of the *Amaruśataka* bears a finely drawn portrait of love, in keen perception and full knowledge of its subtleties and its moods. From the 7th c. verses of Amaru have not only been cited to illustrate a subtle phase of love, but also, even to this day, been used as best pieces for representation through gesticulation in performances of Bharata Nāṭya. Bilhaṇa's *Caura pañcāśikā* recapitulates, in 50 lines, 50 situations of charm and joy experienced by the poet. The *Āryāsaptaśatī* of Govardhana, contemporary of Jayadeva, contains 700 such snapshots. Verses of Nīti abound in the *Mahābhārata,* as well as in fable literature. The earliest collections of such verses by a single writer are the *Nītiśataka* of Bhartṛhari and *Nītidviṣaṣṭikā* of Sundarapāṇḍya. We have also the short *Nītisāra, Nītiratna,* and *Nītipradīpa,* ascribed respectively to Ghaṭakarpara, Vararuci, and Vetālabhaṭṭa. This gnomic literature is marked by a universal experience of life and its endless problems, verities, high lights, and pains, and by a characteristic pithiness of expression that drives the maxim home like a nail. Thus, in the category called Anyāpadeśa, the poet extols a merit or criticizes a defect in persons through praise or ridicule of an animal, a bird, or a tree. Ballaṭa, a Kashmir poet who suffered greatly in the reign of King Śaṅkaravarman (9th c.), and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of South India (17th c.) achieved distinction in this class. Besides the few extant Anyāpadeśa Śatakas surviving, extracts of many more, from various periods, are found in anthologies. Kṣemendra, the Kashmir polymath, produced a number of minor works with a didactic object, including *Darpadalaṇa* (against Pride), *Caturvargopadeśa* (on the four objects of life, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mekṣa), *Sevyasevakopadeśa* (on Master and Servant), *Cārucaryā* (on healthy habits). To Kṣemendra belongs also a distinguished place in the history of satirical literature. His *Kalāvilāsa* satirizes many parasites of society, like the Doctor, Musician, Courtesan; his *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* satirize similar pests, especially the Kāyasthas or accountants, revenue collectors, and scribes of the Government, his *Samayamāṭṛkā* is a brief work on the model of the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta the minister of the Kashmirian king Jayāpīda, both of which expose the bawd's profession. With the similar intention of turning young minds from the courtesans, Jalhaṇa effectively satirizes the courtesan in his *Mugdhopadeśa.* In this category, too, the South Indian Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita achieved marked success, with his *Kalividambana* and *Sabhārañjana,* the former especially satirizing pseudo-scholars, pseudo-teachers, medical and astrological hoaxes, religious humbugs, and the like. Kuṭṭi Kavi (Vāñcheśvara Yajvan) of Tanjore, of the same period, satirized the decaying Mahratta court at Tanjore in his century on the buffalo, the *Mahiṣaśataka.*

Cāṭus are verses uttered to compliment a beloved lady or patron of letters; this category, found even in the *Dhvanyāloka,* is rich in examples, both continuous and stray; many of these are noteworthy for their novelty of ideas, catchy expressions and flashes of wit.

The anthologies play an important part in extending our knowledge of Sanskrit literature. The Vedic *Saṁhitās,* the Tamil *Saṅgam* literature, the Prākṛt *Saptaśatī* of Hāla, are all anthologies. The anonymous *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* is the oldest anthology that has collected verses by subjects, naming the

authors; the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva of Kashmir was followed by the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa of Bengal (1205 A.D.). The *Sūktimuktāvalī*, long ascribed to Jalhaṇa, the elephant commander of the Yādava King Kṛṣṇa of Devagiri, but really compiled by Vaidya Bhānu Paṇḍita in 1257, is a very useful work of this class, containing otherwise unavailable information on poets and their works. Śārṅgadhara's *Paddhati* belongs to the 14th c., which also gave us, in South India, the *Sūktiratnahāra* of Kāliṅgarāya Sūrya. In Mohammedan times there were numerous anthologies, totaling not less than a hundred works. The best known of all the later compilations, the biggest and most frequently used, is the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*.

It is solely through the anthologies that we learn of some 40 women poets. Vijjikā, probably identical with Vijayāṅkā, the Karnātak queen (7th c. A.D.) of King Candrāditya, son of Pulakeśin II, is the greatest. The large number of her verses thus preserved exhibit her easy mastery of the felicities of expression, in the Vaidarbha style. Next in importance comes Vikaṭanitambā. Śīlā Bhaṭṭārikā, probably a lady of high status, is compared to Bāṇa in her power to match word and meaning. Mārulā, Mōrikā, Prabhu Devī of the Lāṭa country, Subhadrā, Jaghanacapalā, Indulekhā, Kuntīdovī, Nāgamā, Padmāvatī, Madālasā, Lakṣmī, are other older poetesses known from the anthologies. In Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara times, South India produced Gaṅgādevī, queen of Kamparāya (14th c.) who wrote on her husband's exploits in her *Madurāvijaya;* Tirumalāmbā, who wrote in a Campū of the marriage of her master King Acyutarāya (16th c.) with Varadambikā; Rāmabhadrāmbā, who wrote a Mahākāvya on the life of her lord King Raghunāṭha of Tanjore (17th c.) and Madhuravāṇī, a member of the same Tanjore Court, who produced a *Rāmāyaṇa* poem.

Along with lyrics on love, we may notice two other classes of composition, those giving expression to the poet's Vairāgya (detachment from worldly attractions), and Bhakti, those that give expression to devotion to a personal God. In the former class, we have Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyaśataka,* after which arose a number of compositions, either Vairāgya or Śānti, denouncing life and affirming the value of dispassion, quietude, and spiritual inwardness. These too, like the gnomic collections, are noted for their effective way of putting the idea.

Devotional lyrics form a more important and a more abundant class, springing from the hymns of the *Ṛgveda,* growing with the praises of deities in the two epics and *Purāṇas,* and blossoming fully with the rise of the Ācāryas and saints, who built up schools of religion and philosophy. They are addressed to Śiva, or Śakti, or Viṣṇu, in all their manifold forms. Early, in the Buddhistic field, is Mātṛceṭa's *Śatapañcāśatika.* Mayūra, of the court of Prabhākaravardhana of Thāneśvar, wrote the well known hymn to the Sun, *Sūryaśataka,* which inspired Bāṇa to write his praise of the great Mother, the *Caṇḍiśataka.* The oldest known hymn on Śiva is the *Śivamahimnastava* ascribed to Puṣpadanta; five well-known hymns on Śiva go by the collective name *Śivapañcaṣṭavī,* the authors being Daṇḍin, Halāyudha, Bilhaṇa, Malhaṇa, and Malayarāja. Strange as it may seem, even the absolutist school of Śaṅkara has given birth to numerous hymns, Śaṅkara himself being recognised as a great hymnist. To Kashmir Śaivism we owe a number of appealing Śaivite hymns, as the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa; the best of this school is Utpaladeva's (10th c.) *Śivastotrāvalī.* Among Vaiṣṇavas who sang celebrated hymns are Kulaśekhara (*Mukundamālā*), Yāmunācārya (*Stotraratna*), Vedānta Deśika (numerous hymns), and Śrīvatsāṅka (*Pañcastavī*). Of Devī hymns, the most renowned are the *Saundaryalaharī,* ascribed to Śaṅkara; the

Devī *Pañcastavī* (collection of five), ascribed by some to a Kālidāsa; the *Āryādvišatī* or *Lalitāstavaratna,* ascribed to the sage Durvāsas; the Mūka *Pañcašatī* (five centuries) on Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī; and the *Śyāmalādaṇḍaka,* ascribed again to a Kālidāsa. In the hymns of Durvāsas and Mūka especially, striking stylistic graces and novel turns of expression are employed profusely, in an enjoyable manner. The charm of Kṛṣṇa's personality gave birth to many hymns; outstanding is the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Līlāšuka Bilvamaṅgala, of the 10th or 11th c.; its verses on the charms of Kṛṣṇa as a Baby Divinity are unequalled as outpourings of a devotee's rapturous realization. This ecstasy of feeling and richness of expression was rarely later captured. The Jains also composed a large number of stotras. In this devotional lyricism, ecstasy, enraptured description of God's personality, submission to Him, prayer to Him for forbearance and grace, relationship with him in a variety of intimacies—every aspect of devotional experience finds adequate expression. The hymns form the nation's great solace, and even men and women not well versed in Sanskrit, as well as children, have many a hymn by heart.

The credit of having taught the world to spend its leisure hours intelligently belongs to India, the inventor of chess and the fable. From India, fable and tale walked abroad. The beast fables intended for the education of people in affairs of the world, and polity and statecraft in particular, forerunners of which are to be found in the *Mahābhārata,* are preserved in three collections known as *Pañcatantra, Tantrākhyāyikā,* and *Hitopadeša.* As stories, as means of instruction, and as documents of human character, they form a remarkable creation; also as examples of old Sanskrit prose, simple, effective, idiomatic, full of life and humour, unburdened by the heavy ornaments of the overwrought poetic prose of the poets. Of story books, the oldest and the biggest is the *Great Story Book,* the *Bṛhatkathā* of the poet Guṇāḍhya (2d c. A.D.). The original, in Paišācī dialect, is lost; but we have Sanskrit versions of various times, the earliest being the work of the Gāṅga King Durvinīta (7th c.). The best version is the *Kathāsaritsāgara* written (1063–81) by Somadeva for the diversion of Sūryamatī the queen of King Ananta of Kashmir. The *Bṛhatkathā* stands on a par with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as a storehouse of stories and as source for Sanskrit poets. The entire series of Udayana plays, the stories of Kādambarī, Malatīmādhava, Nāgānanda, and others, are ultimately derived from the *Bṛhatkathā.* The introductory portion deals with the author, his contemporary writers, his patrons, and the origin of the work; the next series of stories deals with Udayana and his romances; then comes the long series about Udayana's son Naravāhanadatta, his loves and marriages; to these are added an enormous number of tales, touching every department of life and every kind of fancy. This literature may be called the epic of merchant-life, of an age when sea-faring and adventure in foreign lands were part and parcel of Indian life. Among other story books must be mentioned the *Šukasaptatī,* 70 tales bearing on woman's chastity; *Simhāsanadvātrimšikā,* 32 stories told by as many statues about a throne; Šivadāsa's *Kathārṇava,* 35 stories of fools and knaves; quasi-historical accounts of authors and patrons compiled by Jain writers, as the *Prabandhakeša* of Rājaśekhara; the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga; and the *Puruṣaparīksa* (*Test of Man*) of Vidyāpati (14th c.), containing 44 stories. There are also many books of the Šūdraka-cycle of stories, like the *Šūdraka Kathā* of Rāmila and Somila, and the *Šūdrakakathā* of Pañcašikha, a cycle to which Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarī* is related.

Among the Mahākāvyas after the 12th c. are many historical kāvyas, useful in reconstructing the fortunes of the numerous empires that rose and fell in different parts of the

country: on the kings of Vijayanagar and Tanjore; the *Śivabhārata* on Śivāji, Keśava's *Rājārāmacarita* on Śivaji's son, and more. Message-poems, modeled on Kalidāsa's *Meghadūta,* were numerous; these are full of geographical details; some of them—the *Indudūta* and *Cetodūta* of the Jains; the *Hamsasandeśa,* the *Manodūta,* voice a spiritual and devotional theme. In drama, the philosophical play *Prabodhacandrodaya* was imitated in favor of several schools of philosophy and religion; Veṅkatanātha Vedānta Deśika (13th c. author of the Mahakavya *Yadavābhyudaya*) wrote his *Sankalpasūryodaya* for the Viśiṣṭādvaitins; Yaśaḥpāla (13th c.) gave the Jains the *Moharājaparājaya;* Vādicandra of the same community wrote the *Jñānasūryodaya Nāṭaka;* Advaita received more than one such play, the *Bhāvanā puruṣottama* of Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsadīkṣita, a prolific poet of the 16th c. *Jīvanmuktikalyāṇa* and *Cittavṛttikalyāna* of Nallādīkṣita (17th c.); Bhakti (devotion) claimed a group of similar plays, *Bhaktivaibhavanāṭaka* of Jīvadeva of Pūri, *Kṛṣnabhakticandrikā* of Anantadeva; Gekulanātha's *Amṛtodaya* (16th c.) served the Nyāya School; Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya* (16th c.), the Caitanya movement. More general in purpose were Suklabhūdeva's *Dharmavijaya,* Dharmadeva's *Dharmodaya Kāvya* and *Dharmodaya Nāṭaka* (17th c.) and Vaijanātha's *Satsaṅgavijaya.* The plan was also extended to purposes other than philosophical and religious; Ānandarāya of the Tanjore court (ca. 1700) sponsored not only the *Vidyāpariṇaya* for Advaita, but also the *Jīvānanda* as an Āyurvedic play; to illustrate syllogism and inference, Nṛsimhakavi of Tríplicane, Madras, wrote the drama *Anumitipariṇaya;* Ghanaśyāma of the Tanjore Court, who wrote the philosophical play *Pracaṇḍarāhūdaya,* wrote also a play on the nine planets, *Navagrahacarita.* There are no fewer than 40 such allegorical plays.

The striking careers of eminent persons in the field of literature and philosophy were also used for writing poems and dramas; of such works based on biography may be mentioned Harihara's *Bhartṛharinirvedanāṭaka* and its later volume, *Bhartṛharirājyatyāganāṭaka* by Kṛṣṇabaladeva; the several *Śaṅkaravijayas,* on the life of Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher; *Yatirajāvijaya,* by Varadācārya, on Rāmānujācārya the great Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher; the *Jagaducarita* of Śaravānanda (14th c.) on a Jain benefactor is prominent in a group about less known persons. *Nṛsiṁhasarvasva* and *Kavīndracandrodaya* are collections of addresses presented to two religious heroes, Nṛsiṁhāsramin of Akbar's time and Kavīndrācārya sarasvati of Shah Jahan's time, whose pleading with the Moghul rulers repealed the Jessia (slaughter of cows) and other anti-Hindu measures. Works like the *Śeṣavamśāvalī* dealt with the genealogies of families of Brahman scholars. Of geographical importance is the class of poetic compositions describing pilgrimages to holy shrines, as the *Yātrāprabandha* of Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita and the *Tīrthaprabandha* of Vādirāja. Among later prose works is the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta,* by Vidyācakravarttin of the court of the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra in Mysore; it deals with the 90 days' battle at Śrīraṅgam between Narasiṁha II of the Hoysala dynasty and the combined forces of the Pāṇḍyas and Kāḍavas, ca. 1230 A.D. In Campū literature, Veṅkaṭādhvarin of Araśānippālai near Kāñcī (18th c.) hit upon an original idea of presenting the good and the bad about everything in the world through two characters, an habitual fault finder and a pollyanna appreciator of everything, in his *Viśvaguṇādarśacampū;* a dialogue is devoted to the English of the East India Company. This plan, too, was imitated. In dramatic literature, the meagre classes of Bhāṇa and Prahasana were strengthened; the Tanjore region proved fertile for Bhāṇa, though from Mysore appeared the best of the later Bhāṇas,

the *Mukundānanda* of Kāśīpati. Prahasanas (farces) were not free from coarseness; Harigovinda and others produced a number at Bikaner.

Classic literature in South India was dominated by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, minister at the Madura Nayak Court in the 17th c., who wrote two Mahākāvyas and several minor poems; when Sanskrit poetry had passed into the hands of scholars who could produce only heavy, over-adorned verses, he appeared as the apostle of simple writing, natural charm, originality of conception and fancy, and genial wit; he transferred to writing the vigor of the spoken word; and above all, in description, hymn or satire, he had a wit unusual in Sanskrit literature.

To some extent the vernacular influenced writing in Sanskrit. In South India, many lives of Saints and glorifications of local shrines were written in Sanskrit on the basis of Tamil works. In Tamil there are elaborations of such details from Sanskrit poems (like the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa) as city damsels in different states of decoration rushing to see the hero passing along the street; the perfected Tamil form (the Ulā) might have been responsible for the *Bhikṣāṭana Kāvya* of Utprekṣāvallabha, who was a southern poet. In the field of Telugu literature, we have some Sanskrit translations of Telugu poems, a notable example being the *Vasucaritracampū* based on the Telugu work of Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa.

Classical Sanskrit did not stop under the Mohammedan or the British domination. Several Persian translations were produced of Hindu epics and scientific works; Sanskrit poets were patronized at the Imperial Courts; Persian-Sanskrit Dictionaries and Persian Readers in Sanskrit were compiled; a few works from the Persian were also translated into Sanskrit, as the *Kathā Kauthuka* of Śrīvara (15th c.), the story of Yusuf and Zuleikha; and the *Sarvadeśavṛttāntasangraha* or *Akavaranāma,* from the *Akbar Namah* on the great Moghul Emperor Akbar. A Muslim, Abdul Rahman, wrote an *Apabrahmsa Dūtakavya,* and the *Sandeśavāsaka.* A successor of the Saint Gesu Daraz at his Tomb at Gul barga, Akbar Shah, wrote a Telugu and Sanskrit treatise on love, *Śṛṅgāramañjarī,* in the time of Tani Shah of Golconda (late 17th c.). Lakṣmīpati wrote the life of "Abdulla the King maker, one of the Saiyad brothers who lived in the early part of the 18th c.," in his *Avadulla carita.* The similar impact of Christianity through the missionary settlements produced a few translations from the Bible: the *Sulaimaccarita,* the Old Testament story of Solomon and David, written by Kalyāṇamalla; the *Hitopadeśa Psalms.*

In modern times, the critical study of Sanskrit is encouraged by the British Government in the modern Universities; between the vernaculars and the English literature, the study of which latter has taken the place once occupied by Sanskrit, classic literature of India is having a precarious existence; official educationalists and vernacular enthusiasts alike call Sanskrit a dead language. But Sanskrit continues to live not only on the basis of vernacular creation, but also in the circles of the learned where it is adopted as the medium of lecture and debate; there are a few Sanskrit Journals and quite a number of original Sanskrit compositions, some bearing the influence of Western literature, have produced in modern times, some of the writers still able to capture the classic ring of past ages, though some of the works carry modern themes, such as the All India National Congress, Satyāgraha and Mahātmaji, thus bearing testimony to the hoary name of Sanskrit, Amarabhāratī, the deathless language.

A. B. Keith, *A Hist. of Sanskrit Lit.*

V. RAGHAVAN.

LITERARY AND DRAMATIC CRITICISM. By the time of Pāṇini (ca. 600 B.C.) the art of

actors had been codified by two writers, Śilālin and Kṛśāśva; in Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini's *Grammar* we have the expression "The actor who has Rasa," i.e. who enters the sentiment and presents it well; this pre-supposes the doctrine of sentiment (Rasa) in drama. Kālidāsa, in his *Vikramorvaśīya,* refers to Bharata and the eight Rasas mentioned by him in his work on dance and drama; and in Kālidāsa's other works, there are references to many other concepts of the *Nāṭya Śāstra.* The earliest treatise on Indian dramaturgy which we now have in full is that of Bharata, though his *Nāṭya Śāstra* quotes verses from previous writers on the subject. Thus he refers to Brahman and Sadāśiva, calling the latter the promulgator of Tāṇḍava dance. The *Nāṭya Śāstra,* in 36 chapters, is more complete than the work of Aristotle, and provides a full view of Sanskrit dramatic theory.

That the Sanskrit drama arose as part of the festival of Indra's Banner (represented by a huge bamboo pole) is stated in the opening chapter, the first dramatic representation is said to have been the victory of Devas over the Asuras. The art of drama was intended as both an entertainment and means of instruction to the masses, who had no access to the scriptures. Drama is described as mirroring the entire universe and its actions, giving scope to every art and branch of knowledge.

Chapter Two describes three kinds of theatre, the rectangular, the square, and the triangular, with their measurements. While on occasion dramas were enacted on very simple platforms, there were in ancient India very well-built playhouses, both in the midst of the cities, and in the palaces of kings. The theatre architecture described by Bharata comprehends the stage, the auditorium, the acting portion of the stage, side-spaces, place for orchestra, and greenroom; attention is paid to the seating as well as to the acoustics of the house. As his technique involved minute gesticulation, and as he did not seek spectacular effects, Bharata did not require large halls.

Chapters Three, Four and Five deal with Pūrvaraṅga (preliminary propitiation of deities), which included elaborate dance sequences accompanied by orchestral music. It is here that the hundred and eight poses of Tāṇḍava dance are described.

The Sixth and Seventh Chapters deal with the emotions which the drama is to portray. Chapter Six gives the eight leading sentiments or Rasas which a drama has to present, Śṛṅgāra (Love), Hāsya (Laughter), Vīra (Heroism), Karuṇa (Pathos), Raudra (Terror), Bhayānaka (Fear), Adbhuta (Wonder), and Bibhatsa (Loathsomeness). These eight Rasas are to be developed from their respective bases, the permanent moods, Sthāyi Bhāvas. The corresponding Rasas are aroused from their permanent moods by their interplay with them of the accessory moods which occur in them, and their ensuant emotional conditions. Chapter Seven describes the accessory moods, the Vyabhicāri or Sañcāri Bhāvas, which are enumerated as 33: Depression, Fatigue, Doubt, Envy, etc. The causes of Rasas are called Vibhāvas: Ālambana Vibhāva, the human element, the hero and the heroine; and the Uddipana Vibhāvas, the exciting conditions of Nature, such as the Spring season and the Full Moon. The effects of the conditions are called Anubhavas, and they are numerous and have to be known by observing the world. Eight physical manifestations, however, are separately mentioned as Sāttvika Bhāvas as being important from the point of view of acting: limbs becoming benumbed, perspiration, horripilation, change in voice, tremor, change of color, tears, stupor. Elaborate descriptions of how these are to be portrayed by the actor are given. Chapter Eight begins Bharata's description of Anubhāva, the ensuant actions manifest in the different parts of the body; here is Bharata's treatment of Abhinaya, or dramatic action and gesticula-

tion. Abhinaya is fourfold: Āṅgika, of the limbs of the body; Sāttvika, of the eight Sāttvikas just mentioned; Vācika, speech and song; and Āhāyra, dress. Chapter Eight deals with the actions of the head, brows, eyelids, cheeks, lips, chin, mouth, and neck, the eye being the soul of all expression. Chapter Nine is devoted to gesticulation by symbols of hands, single or united, Hastābhinaya, which as a highly developed symbol language forms the most noteworthy feature of Indian dance and dramatic representation. The next four chapters cover the rest of the body, and the gaits appropriate to different types.

Chapter Fourteen indicates different portions of the stage as representing different locations (mountains; gardens), and the Nāṭyadharmi (stage technique) produced by theatre limitations (riding a horse; fighting a battle).

Chapters Fifteen to Eighteen deal with Vācika Abhinaya. language, literary composition, metres, excellences and flaws of styles, figures of speech, and the like. Later poetics had origin here. The hero, all superior characters, speak Sanskrit; women and other lesser characters speak Prākṛt dialects; this provides an element of realism. Bharata observes that soft and simple words should be used. Chapter Nineteen deals with the voice.

In Chapter Twenty, Bharata describes the 11 varieties of dramatic performance known in his time, and one kind of dance, called Lāsya. The types of drama are Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Nāṭikā, Prahasana, Bhāṇa, Vīthī, Aṅka, Samavakāra, Vyāyoga, Dima, Īhāmṛga. Of these, the Prakaraṇa, Prahasana, Bhāṇa, and Vīthī may be linked, as social types; the rest are heroic types. The Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa are the fully developed forms; the Aṅka, Samavakāra, Vyāyoga, Dima and Īhāmṛga are characterized by fights and exploits of gods. The Vīthī is a social one-act play, usually with two characters, and marked by witty dialogue. The Samavakāra is a show in three acts; the stories of the three acts need not be parts of the same theme; they deal with the fights of Gods with demons. In the Īhāmṛga, the conflict among the divine characters is due to a celestial lady or a Brāhman getting angry, the lady being carried away and a fight ensuing. The Ḍima is a divine story in four acts, depicting six Rasas, excluding love and laughter and concentrating on heroism and terror, engendered by fights. Aṅka is a single act of pathos, showing the after-effect of fights, with women wailing, but with a happy ending. Vyāoga is a one-act play with heroic (not divine) characters from the epics, and a single action within a day's duration.

Of these lesser varieties, Aṅka, Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga and Dima, there are no early examples; Vatsarāja was a stray author who strove to illustrate them by his six compositions, the *Rūpaka-Ṣaṭka*: a minister of Paramardideva of Kālañjara (12th c.), he composed the *Kirātārjunīya Vyāyoga; Karpūracarita Bhāṇa, Hāsyaudāmaṇi Prahasana, Rukmiṇīharana Īhāmṛga, Tripuradāha Dima,* and *Samudramathana Samavakāra.*

The Twenty-first Chapter dwells on the construction of the plot. The action is developed in five stages, Beginning, Effort, Hope, Certainty, Success; or the Seed, the Continuity, Major Episode, Minor Episode, the Fruit. These are developed in great detail. There are not less than five acts in a Nāṭaka, not more than ten in Nāṭaka or Prakaraṇa. Each act presents a self-contained action within the duration of a day; the acts are not sub-divided into scenes, but may have preludes of different kinds.

In Chapter Twenty-two, Bharata speaks of the four Vṛttis (dramatic tempo or atmosphere): Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī refer to the graceful and forceful tempo respectively; Bhāratī and Sāttvatī refer to scenes dominated respectively by speech and action. The remaining chapters deal with make-up, stage

accessories, business; music; love and its portrayal; stock types; and the legend of how dance and drama descended from heaven. It must be noted that in ancient India, women acted women's parts and in many troupes made up exclusively of women, they acted the male roles also.

In subsequent times, the subject of Nāṭya Śāstra was enriched mainly on two subjects: Rasa, and the minor dramatic and dance varieties called Uparūpaka. Kohala presumably discussed these dances in a lost work called *Uttaratantra;* the work is mentioned, in the future tense, in the last chapters of Bharata's work. It is also mentioned in the *Abhinavabhāratī,* the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the *Nāṭya Śāstra,* and in the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa,* a work on poetics and dramaturgy by King Bhoja.

Bharata spoke of only eight Rasas; the appearance of the *Nāgānanda* of King Śrī Harṣa, in which the hero's sacrifice and renunciation form the final and dominant theme, seems to have initiated the sentiment of Śama (quietude) as a leading emotional motif in drama; the Śānta Rasa was thus ushered in. The sentiment of Preyas (non-sexual attachment, friendship) also came to be accepted as Rasa by writers like Rudraṭa who, as later King Bhoja, extended the name Rasa to the whole field of emotional interest. The best interpreter of the subject, Abhinavagupta, pointed out that Rasa exists only when experienced by the spectator or reader.

Nāṭya Śāstra had a renaissance in Kashmir from about the time of Mātrgupta, who wrote a lost *Nāṭya Śāstra* treatise. In the reign of King Jayāpīḍa (ca. 800 A.D.), Udbhaṭa inaugurated a series of commentaries on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata. He was followed by Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, and Abhinavagupta. Ānandavardhana (9th c.), the foremost of Sanskrit aestheticians, propounded in his classic *Dhvanyāleka* the principle of Dhvani (suggestion), according to which Rasa is suggested; Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (10th c.), author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa,* a very important though lost work on poetics, expounded the view that Rasa is not suggested but enjoyed. His important contribution is the principle of generalization or universality (Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa): emotions described or presented as referring to individuals rise to mean emotions in general, so that they find response in the heart of every spectator. Jagannātha Paṇḍita (17th c.) stated that Rasa is the very bliss which is the form of the Soul or Ātman; when the obscuration which surrounds it is removed, it manifests itself; art removes such obscuring impediment and lets the Rasa appear.

Before the concept of Rasa was propounded (8th–9th c.) as the secret of poetic appeal, considerations of formal beauty outweighed those of inner content. In his chapters on the text of the drama (Vācika–abhinaya), Bharata spoke of 36 special ideas (Lakṣaṇas) whose introduction beautified the text, 10 flaws of composition which must be avoided, 10 excellences which must be sought, and 4 figures (Alaṅkāras). These last are Upamā, Rūpaka and Dīpaka, three figures of sense, and Yamaka, an ornament of sound achieved by the repetition of sound-groups. The next work dealing with rhetoric, the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha (7th c. A.D.), characterized poetry by alaṅkāra, adorned or attractive form given to the sense and sound; such attractiveness being achieved by a striking turn of expression (Vakrokti). Daṇḍin, in his *Kāvyādarśa,* considered every element that went to beautify poetry as alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha had spoken only of three qualities (Guṇas) of expression, Clarity or Transparence (Prasāda), Power (Ojas) and Sweetness (Mādhurya); he rejected the concept of two styles: the better, of the South called after the Vidarbha country (Vaidarbhī), the less esteemed, that of the East called after the Gauḍa country (Gauḍī). Daṇḍin, a southerner, is the first author of poetics who gives a detailed treatment of the

theory of style (Mārga, or Rīti), listing 10 excellences. Vāmana (8th c.) continued this doctrine of Rītis in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra Sūtras* and *Vṛtti.* He, too, declares that Alaṅkara is definitely the poetic beauty. To Vāmana goes the credit of introducing two ideas: the concept of Saundarya (Beauty); and the concept of an Ātman (Soul) of poetry. The latter is, according to him, the style of the poet, Rīti. After Vāmana came Rudraṭa who in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* not only dealt elaborately with the Alaṅkāras and Rītis, but separated the Rasas and gave them special treatment.

Ānandavardhana inaugurated the school of neo-criticism, based on three cardinal principles: Rasa, Aucitya, and Dhvani (Sentiment, Appropriateness and Suggestion). By merely naming an emotion, it is not roused; but it is roused by presenting a concrete picture that suggests the emotion; this is T. S. Eliot's idea of the "the objective correlative." Similarly both figure and idea are more charming when they are not expressed, but are suggested. To Ānandavardhana belongs the credit of re-enthroning Rasa as the soul of poetry. He opens his work *Dhvanyāloka* with the statement that Dhvani (Suggestion) is the soul of poetry, but develops this as Rasadhvani (Suggestion of Rasa). Ānandavardhana in this light redefined the other concepts of poetics, Figure (Alaṅkāra), Style (Rīti or Vṛtti), and Excellence (Guṇas).

In his lost *Hṛdaya Darpaṇa,* Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka defined poetic utterance (Kāvya). In the *Vedas,* the very words themselves (Śabda) are important; in the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas* it is the meaning (Artha) that is important; when both Śabda and Artha are subordinated to Vyāpāra, the mode of expression, then we call it Kāvya.

About the time of Abhinavagupta, the poet and playwright Rājaśekhara produced a voluminous work of criticism called *Sāhitya Mīmāmsā;* only the opening section survives, but on a number of minor points, it gives us refreshing ideas and valuable explanations.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta wrote a work on poetics, *Kāvyakautuka,* on which Abhinavagupta commented. Tauta's definition of Pratibhā (Imagination) is well-known; he said that Imagination is the mind's capacity for new and newer conceptions; the Poet is one adept in descriptions brought to life through the infusion of this Imagination. In another equally well-known passage Tauta said that none who is not a Seer is a Poet; the Seer is one that has the vision of Truth; the Poet is one that can express this vision in beautiful language.

At about the same time as Abhinavagupta, Kashmir produced another distinguished critic in Kuntaka who, in his *Vakroktijivīta,* maintained that, while Rasa and Dhvani form important parts of the poetic art, what constitutes the life of that art is the comprehensive principle of the poet's peculiar and artistic method of presentation and expression (Vyāpāra). This poetic mode, taking his inspiration from Bhāmaha, he called Vakrokti. Kuntaka also made valuable contribution to the subject of Mārga or Rīti (style), for the first time relating style to the poet's personality, and classifying Sanskrit poets on the basis of his three styles, the Graceful, the Elevated, and the Mixed.

After Kuntaka appeared Mahima Bhaṭṭa, who proposed in his *Vyaktiviveka,* as against the theory of Suggestion, the theory of Inference, which no other critic has accepted; but he gives us excellent treatment of Doṣas (literary flaws), and keen observations on Svabhāvokti (the figure of Natural Description).

About this same time, Bhoja (11th c.), king of Dhārā in Mālwa, made some contribution to the subject. At the same capital, Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, patronized by the previous king Muñja, wrote a compendium on Drama, setting themselves against the Kashmir tendency in favor of suggestion and the Śānta Rasa. The latter wrote a work of poetics also,

the *Kāvyanivṇaya*. Bhoja, at the same place, produced two works, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, aiming at an eclectic system based on the old concept of Alaṅkāra.

Kṣemendra, the Kashmirian polymath and pupil of Abhinavagupta, had many new and refreshing ideas, in his lost *Kavikarṇikā*; his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, and his *Aucityavicāracarcā*. The second is a handbook for the aspirant to poetry; in the third, the author worked out in detail the ideas of Aucitya, which Abhinavagupta and Ānandavardhana had propounded in their works. The work is original in conception, examining actual passages from poems and plays. Rasa, Dhvani, and Aucitya form the three great contributions of Sanskrit poetics to world thought on literary criticism.

The period that followed was one of codification; Mammata's *Kāvyaprakāśa* (12th c.) is the foremost primer. It dealt with the entire field of poetics except the drama, and followed the school of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika is the best primer of dramaturgy; with Mammaṭa's, that of Allata is the best text on Poetics; the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* of Ruyyaka (12th c.) is the leading work on Rhetoric, dealing only with the figures (Alaṅkāras). Later works in the field copied these three, until the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* of Viśvanatha of Orissa (14th c.) combined them. A series of works rose on this comprehensive plan, usually taking for illustrations eulogies of a single king, the author's patron; the chief example of this class is the *Pratāparudrīyayaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānāth (14th c.). Yet another class of works deals only with the Rasas, Śṛṅgāra for the most part, following the example of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* of Rudra Bhaṭṭa; the *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta (15th c.) are best of this class. Jagannātha Paṇḍita of Shah Jehan's time (17th c.) is the most noteworthy of the later writers; in his *Rasagaṅgādhara*, he provides us with a comprehensive and adequate definition of poetry, as expression presenting an idea whose contemplation resulted in the realization of Beauty, and this Beauty was the realization of a non-worldly bliss.

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V. RAGHAVAN.

ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY. A survey of Indian philosophical literature may well begin with a brief statement of some of the distinctive features of that philosophy. Indian philosophy is not merely a system of thought, it is a system of life as a whole. This explains why, in the philosophical process, after deep study (*śravaṇa*), meditation (*manana*) and concentrated application of the mind (*nididhyāsa*) direct vision (*sākṣātkāra*) is considered the final stage. A system of philosophy is called in Sanskrit a *darśana*, that is to say, immediate perception of the ultimate truth, and a philosopher is called a *ṛṣi*, that is, a seer.

Indian philosophical systems fall into two categories: orthodox (*āstika*), those systems that accept the absolute authority of the Veda; and heterodox (*nāstika*), those that do not recognize that authority. In India, philosophy and social conditions have influenced each other with very positive results.

Indian philosophical literature begins with the Veda. The spirit of inquiry, the very basis of all philosophy, is conspicuous in the several questions posed by the Vedic poets in the riddle hymns, called the *brahmodayas*—questions ranging from simple ones like: How is it that a red cow gives white milk? to the more serious ones like: Who holds together this complicated structure of the universe? It was the vastness and the brilliance of nature that first of all struck the mind of the Vedic

poet. He symbolized it in the form of *dyauspitar* (Zeus-pater; Jupiter), the father sky. He imagined that there must be some power which binds together all the aspects of the universe and thus controls them. That binding power is *ṛta*—the cosmic law. And the God who supervises the functioning of that law is Varuṇa.

The *Ṛgveda* is the Veda of the "classes"; the *Atharvaveda* is the Veda of the "masses." The two together present a picture of the life and the culture of the Vedic Indians as a whole. The religion and philosophy of the *Atharvaveda* may be broadly summarized in one word—magic. Magic is indeed the earliest solution that humanity found for all problems which it had to tackle in the course of its eternal quest.

After the Vedic Aryans fought their way into the plains of India and vanquished the original inhabitants of the country, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of water, the regularity of the seasons and the refreshing tropical climate, encouraged them to abandon their nomadic habits. With this change in their way of life, the philosophical speculations and the religious practices of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* also assumed different forms. A people more or less free from struggle and therefore enjoying greater leisure, may tend to make elaborate what is originally simple. Fire-worship with its simple prayers was now transformed into an elaborate and complicated system of sacrifice. In course of time sacrifice became the very center of social activity, regarded as not merely a means to an end but an end in itself. This state is represented in the Vedic works called the *Brāhmaṇas*. The priests dominated society.

A revolt against this two-fold servitude—social and intellectual—soon followed in the form of the *Upaniṣads*. Religion and philosophy, claimed the Upaniṣadic thinkers, cannot and should not remain the monopoly of any one class. The *Upaniṣads* thus became the first text-books on Indian philosophy. They are flashes of awakening reflection rather than studied discourses on philosophical problems. Their attitude is mystical and poetical and their appeal intuitional. They must be regarded as the "songs before sunrise."

There is no unanimity as regards the number of *Upaniṣads*. One of the *Upaniṣads* gives a traditional list of 108 texts, though now over 200 claim the name. Many of these are obviously sectarian and modern. The more important range between the 10th and the 7th c. B.C., and are definitely pre-Buddhistic.

Countering the mystic and intuitive methods of the *Upaniṣads*, heretic schools developed independent systems of logic, which are the real beginning of Indian logic. Above all, both Jainism and Buddhism tried to reach the masses through their religious missions (*saṅghas*). This was their unique feature. For the first time in the history of India, we see men and women, organized in a religious discipline, dedicating their lives exclusively to the cause of religion.

Jainism represents a revival and reformation of an older system of life and thought. The Jainas assume a long line of venerable teachers, called the *Tīrthaṅkaras*, the last of whom, Mahāvīra, who lived in the 6th c. B.C., was responsible for its present form. The original Jaina canon is written in a Prakrit language, known as *Ārṣa* or *Ardhamāgadhī*, though, in later times, several Jaina works, original and exegetical, were written also in Sanskrit The religio-philosophical literature of the Jainas comprises mainly the 14 *pūrvas*, now lost, the 12 *aṅgas*, the 12 *upāṅgas*, the 6 *chedasūtras*, and the 4 *mūlasūtras*, besides some solitary texts.

Buddhism was an innovation in the sense that Gautama, the *Buddha* (Awakened), is regarded as its first teacher. Besides the Vedānta, as the Upaniṣadic philosophy is popularly termed, Buddhism is today the only philosophical and religious system in India,

that is widely known to the outside world. Becoming conscious, at a very early stage in his life, of the sorrows and miseries of this phenomenal world, represented by old age, disease and death, Siddhārtha, the heir to the kingdom of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu in North-Eastern India, renounced his princely life of vain pleasures, studied deeply and practiced severe penance, and, thus attaining enlightenment, as Gautama, the Buddha, dedicated his whole life to the emancipation of humanity. According to the Buddhist tradition, in 522 B.C., Gautama preached his first sermon to a group of five disciples in the deer-forest near Benares. Since then, through the agency of the religious order established by the Buddha, the teaching of the Buddha spread far and wide in India as well as in the neighboring countries beyond the mountains and across the seas. Years after Buddha, a special council of the elders collected the principal metaphysical, ethical, and other teachings of the Master in what are popularly known as the "Three Baskets" (*Tripiṭaka*). The Buddhists originally employed Pali for their religious writings, but it was soon found necessary also to employ Sanskrit. Many Buddhist works are preserved in the form of Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions and translations.

Also as a reaction against the Upaniṣadic teaching of renunciation and other-worldiness, there arose in India some forms of materialist and hedonist schools of thought. The teaching of Cārvāka is typical. For this, whatever promoted secular prosperity and happiness was right and moral; whatever prevented them was wrong and immoral. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, written in the 4th c. B.C., belongs to this way of thinking.

To counteract these schools, Vedic philosophy became critical, and also constructive. The attempt at a systematic presentation of Vedic philosophical thought was part of the great movement for an all-sided consolidation and re-orientation of Brahmanic life and culture. A unique feature of the philosophical systems is the peculiar literary form, called the *sūtra*, which they adopted as their original vehicle of thought. The *sūtras* are brief but unequivocal and comprehensive aphorisms, which emphasize only the essential points, avoiding all diffuseness. Every system of philosophy has its own body of *sūtras*, whose authorship is traditionally ascribed to an individual teacher. Jaimini is the author of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā Sūtras*, Bādarāyaṇa of the *Uttara-Mīmāṁsā Sūtras*, Kapila of the *Sāṅkhya Sūtras*, Patañjali of the *Yoga Sūtras*, Kaṇāda of the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* and Gautama of the *Nyāya Sūtras*. Only three of these systems, the *Uttara-Mīmāṁsā* (also called the Vedānta), the *Sāṅkha*, and the *Vaiśeṣika*, can properly be called systems of philosophy, for they alone seem to devote themselves primarily to the problem of the ultimate reality. The *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* is preeminently a science of interpretation. The *Nyāya* teaches a system of logic, and the *Yoga* concerns itself mainly with the Yogic practices for the sake of spiritual discipline.

The age of philosophical systems in India was undoubtedly an age of remarkable speculative originality and great creative activity. But they dealt with abstract metaphysical problems. They had nothing in them through which they could reach the common man. What was needed was a rational philosophical synthesis presented on the theistic background. A typical example of a great effort in this direction is represented by the *Bhagavadgītā*, which remains the most popular religious and philosophical treatise in India. In order that it should command unquestioned authority and wide currency, the *Bhagavadgītā* was presented in the form of a dialogue between Lord Kṛṣṇa Himself and His personal friend and devotee, Arjuna; and it was given the setting of an important episode in India's national epic, the *Mahābhārata*.

Through all these centuries no work has wielded greater influence on the Hindu mind than this. On the battle-field of Kurukṣetra the Pāṇḍava hero, Arjuna, saw arrayed against him an army led by his own preceptors, kinsmen, and friends. As one belonging to the warrior-caste it was clearly his duty (*svadharma*) to fight. On the other hand, by killing those men for whom he entertained respect and affection, for the sake of a selfish motive, namely, the regaining of the kingdom for the Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna feared that he would be committing a grave sin. When Arjuna dropped his bow in spiritual dejection caused by the ethical conflict, Lord Kṛṣṇa, who was acting as his charioteer, analyzed that conflict and impressed upon the mind of his friend and pupil that, between two duties, that one is superior which contributes to the preservation and efficient functioning of the social order. The dictates of social ethics must be given precedence over scruples of personal morality. This teaching is brought home to Arjuna through a magnificent series of arguments—metaphysical, ethical, eschatological.

In a period which was characterized by a criminal indifference to social obligations caused by a confusing and ill-digested philosophizing, no better lead could have been given to the Indian mind than that given by the *Gītā*. Philosophical synthesis with a theistic bias was a characteristic feature of the spiritual activity during the two centuries immediately before and after Christ. It was mainly represented by the epics and the Purāṇas.

Along another line, elucidation and criticism gave rise to many works, which follow a traditional pattern. The *sūtra* is discussed in a critical work, called *vārttika*, which in turn is commented upon in a *bhāṣya;* this commentary is further elucidated in a *ṭīkā* or summarized in an epitome. The *sūtras* were used by later commentators merely as pegs to hang their own philosophies upon. A typical example of this development is the *Vedānta Sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. This *sūtra* was interpreted by different commentators, from different points of view, as teaching different doctrines. Rāmānuja saw in that *sūtra* a sort of qualified monism, Nimbārka and Bhāskara, monism and dualism, and Madhva, definite dualism. But by far the most outstanding commentator of the *Vedānta Sūtras* is Śaṅkarācārya (8th c. A.D.). Śaṅkara emphasized absolute monism as the quintessence of the three pillars: the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, and the *Vedānta Sūtras*. He based his thought on the *kārikās* commentary of his older contemporary, Gauḍapāda.

Later treatises spent their energy mostly in monotonous hair-splitting and tiresome classification. Through such works Indian philosophical literature may have grown richer in volume, but it cannot be said to have gained either in spiritual vitality or philosophical depth. This period marks the end of ancient Indian philosophy and the beginning of the adaptation of that philosophy into modern Indian languages, in the form of translations, commentaries, epitomes, and independent treatises.

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I HINDU DHARMASASTRA. The conception of *dharma* is one of the most outstanding in Indian thought. The Sanskrit word, *dharma*, may be generally said to consist of the whole body of laws intended for the physical and spiritual sustenance and growth of the individual and the society. In its cosmic aspect it is called *ṛta*. In one period, like the Brahmanic period, the emphasis was on sacrifice; in another, like the period of the *Bhagavadgītā*, it was on *Cāturvarṇya* (caste-system) as the principal basis of social organization; while in a third, like that of the *Smṛtis*, it was mainly on

civil and criminal law. It is especially with reference to this last that the word *dharma-śāstra* is understood, in common parlance, to mean Hindu law as such.

As in the case of every other branch of Indian learning, the beginnings of *dharma-śāstra* are traced to the Veda, which, however, gives but incidental pictures of secular customs and law. Some Vedic texts, partcularly the *Brāhmaṇas,* do give detailed injunctions regarding sacrifice, which mainly represented the religious law of the times. But we have merely scattered indications of secular law, from the customs and practices described in the Veda.

The need for codifying secular law was first felt when, as the result of the rapid rise and growth of the non-Brahmanic religions, like Jainism and Buddhism, the Brahmanic way of life and thought had been relegated to the background. The study of the Veda was then systematized and vigorously promoted through the development of ancillary Vedic texts, called the *Vedāṅgas* (the limbs of the Veda), such as those dealing with grammar, etymology, astronomy, science of correct pronunciation and accentuation, and metre. So far as the practical life of the people was concerned, the *Vedaṅga* called the *Kalpasūtra* was of greatest significance. The *Kalpasūtra,* which comprises the three *sūtras—śrauta, gṛhya,* and *dharma*—made the first attempt to strictly regularize the three main aspects of the life of a follower of the Veda, as relating to the individual, society, and the state.

The Vedic ideal of individual life is called the *āśrama-dharma.* The Vedic ideal of social organization is the *varṇa-dharma.* Its principal goal was to promote and to stabilize an efficient social order. To achieve this end, the followers of the Veda developed the caste system. This system of castes or *varṇas* was, according to Hindu *dharma-śāstra,* essentially based on principles of social ethics. The Brāhmaṇa held himself responsible for the preservation and growth of spiritual knowledge and material sciences; the Kṣatriya for internal security in society and its defense against an external foe; the Vaiśya for trade and commerce, which would bring about economic welfare and prosperity; and the Śūdra for manual labor, without which no social activity would be possible. Each *varṇa* had thus its own special obligations towards society as a whole—its *Svadharma.*

Side by side with the voluminous *dharma-śāstra* literature, there were also produced works on *arthaśāstra,* which dealt primarily with polity and statecraft. The attitude of the *arthaśāstra* is indicated by the dictum, 'the end justifies the means.' The earliest known work of this type is the *arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (4th c. B.C.).

In course of time the *sūtras* became more or less incomprehensible, owing to their peculiarly vague and terse literary form. *Dharma-śāstra* works, which were mainly based on the *sūtras,* but incorporated changes and additions necessitated by the changing times, were prepared. These works are generally in verse and are called *smṛtis.* The oldest and the best known *smṛti* is the *Manusmṛti,* of the period 200 B.C.–200 A.D. The present *Manusmṛti* is a metrical abridgement, by the sage Bhṛgu, of a bigger and more exhaustive, lost treatise on *dharma-śāstra,* called the *Mānavadharma-śāstra,* which, in its turn, was based on the also lost *dharmasūtras* of the Vedic school of Manu. The *smṛtis* of Yājñavalkya and Parāśara (between 200 and 400 A.D.) are also regarded as authoritative in certain respects. Some portions of the *Mahābhārata* deal with several topics of *dharma-śāstra* and are therefore included among the *smṛtis.* It is worth noting that, in addition to the Veda and the *sūtras,* which were together called the *śṛtis,* and the *smṛtis,* custom (*sadācāra*) and enlightened individual and public conscience were regarded as significant sources of Hindu law.

The period of the *smṛtis* in the *dharma-śāstra* literature was followed by the period of scholasticism. Several exhaustive commentaries were written on the *smṛtis*. Medhātithi (9th c. A.D.) wrote a huge commentary on the *Manusmṛti*; and Vijñāneśvara (11th c.) wrote an important commentary, the *Mitākṣarā*, on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. Besides such exegetical works, independent treatises on the whole *dharma-śāstra* or on certain topics continued to be produced even up to recent times. Today, in India, particular works on Hindu law are regarded as authoritative in particular parts of the country; the *Mitākṣarā*, in Bombay, the *Smṛticandrikā* of *Devaṇṇa* (12th c.), in Madras; the *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana (11th c.), in Bengal.

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ANCIENT INDIAN GRAMMAR. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is the earliest extant work on Sanskrit grammar (ca. 600 B.C.). It is also the most influential work ever written on the grammar of a language. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a code of eight chapters, containing nearly 4,000 rules. Its text has come down to us almost intact.

When the language underwent changes after Pāṇini, there arose need for supplements and emendations to his work. Among these *Vārtikas*, that of Kātyāyana alone (ca. 400 B.C.) has come down to us. Patañjali (ca. 150 B.C.) is the greatest commentator on Pāṇini; his *Mahābhāṣya* is aptly called the "great commentary." Among the various works on Pāṇini, none excel Patañjali's effort in the sureness of the critical touch and in the unimpeachability of authority. Written in a language simple but vigorous, and consisting of dialogues that impart to it an absorbing interest, it has held high esteem through the ages.

In the 5th c. A.D. Candragomin, a Buddhist, wrote *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa*, mostly utilising the Pāṇinian material and method. He considered not only the changes that had come over the Brahmanical Sanskrit since the time of Patañjali, but also the Buddhist literature. Bhartṛhari (ca. 600) a great philosopher and grammarian, wrote *Vākyapadīya* in three books, on the philosophy of grammar. He also wrote a commentary on a portion of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Kāśikā, a joint work of Vāmana and Jayāditya of the 7th c., is the earliest extant commentary on the entire text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It takes note of a few changes that had occurred in the language after Patañjali by way of supplementary rules, and itself has two commentaries, *Nyāsa* by Jinendrabuddhi, (ca. 750) and *Padamañjari* by Haradatta (ca. 1100). The next work of importance in the Pāṇinian school is Kaiyaṭa's *Udyota* (ca. 1000) on the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Various recastings of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* sought to simplify it. The earliest and simplest extant recast is the *Rupamālā* of Vimalasaraswatī (ca. 1350 A.D.). This was followed by the *Prakriyā-Kaumadī* of Rāmacandra (14th c.) with commentaries by Viṭṭhala (*Prasāda*; ca. 1500 A.D.) and Śeṣa Kṛṣṇ (*Prakriyā-prakāśa*; ca. 1600 A.D.); the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (ca. 1600 A.D.); the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣit (ca. 1600 A.D.). The last is still the most popular among students of Sanskrit grammar. Besides this recast and a commentary of it called the *Praudhamanoramā*, Bhaṭṭoji wrote an elaborate commentary on Pāṇini, the *Śabda Kaustubha* (incomplete) and 74 verses on the philosophy of grammar, the last being explained by his nephew Kauṇḍa-bhaṭṭa in his *Bhuṣanasāra*. On the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, Nāgeśa (ca. 1700), disciple of Bhaṭṭoji's grandson Haridīkṣita, wrote a critical com-

mentary, the *Udyota,* on Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa,* and a voluminous work on the philosophy of grammar, the *Laghusiddhānta-manjūṣā.* He is the last great luminary of the Pāṇinian school.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.

PALI AND BUDDHISTIC

The Literature of the Buddhists is enshrined in two ancient languages of India, Pāli and Sanskrit. The literature in the former belongs, exclusively to the Hinayāna (lower path, orthodox) School of the Buddhists, while that in the latter generally belongs to the Mahāyāna (Great vehicle, Reformist, modern, or practical) School.

Buddhist Literature in Pāli. Pāli seems first to have meant a row, series (of syllables: a line); then it was applied to the holy word of the Buddha; then, to the sacred texts embodying the teaching of the Buddha; and thus it came to denote (ca. 6th c. A.D.) the language of these texts. Apparently this was not the dialect of Gautama's native province, but a composite of several Prākrit tongues, so that the message could be easily understood. Today, Pāli is "a distinct Indian vehicle of expression standardised in the Theravāda or orthodox recension of the Buddhist canon, its commentaries and other auxiliary works, current in Ceylon, Burma and Siam."

The literature embodying the canon of the Buddhists is collectively called *Tipiṭaka* (Sanskrit Tripiṭaka, three baskets) because it falls into three classes. Of all the versions of the Buddhistic canon, the Tripiṭaka in Pāli is available in its fullest form. Many of the other texts are preserved to us only through their Chinese or Tibetan Translations.

The three baskets are the Vinayapiṭaka (Discipline - Box); Suttapiṭaka (Discourse-Box); and Abhidhammapiṭaka (Psychology-Box). They are collections of speeches, sayings, songs, narratives, and rules of the Order, or philosophical or psychological analysis of a problem.

It is clear that such collections could have come into existence after a long period of literary activity; hence, their component parts must belong to different times. According to Buddhist tradition, there were three attempts to fix the texts of the canon. The first attempt was made a few weeks after the death of the Buddha. A council of Monks was held in Rājagaha (Rājgir near Patna) to fix the canon of the religion (Dhamma) and of the discipline of the order (Vinaya). One hundred years later a second assembly of Monks was held to reject ten heretic views, but also to revise the old canon. According to the chronicles of Ceylon, the canon was finally compiled at the third council, in the reign of King Aśoka. In addition to usual lists of works included in the Tipiṭaka, it is said that the President of the Council, Tissa Maggaliputta compiled *Kathāvathu,* a book refuting heretical doctrines of the times, and incorporated it with the canon.

Non-Canonical literature. Among the non-canonical works in Pāli, the *Nettippakaraṇa* and the *Peṭakopadeśa* are treatises on textual and exegetical methodology. By far the most important and most striking work of the post-canonical period of Pāli literature is the *Milinda Pañha,* which discusses a number of topics relating to Buddhistic philosophy. The discussion takes the form of conversations between King Milinda of the city of Sāgala and monk Nāgasena. Milinda raises the questions and puts the dilemmas; Nāgasena answers them and resolves them in detail. The didactic element naturally dominates the conversation, which however does not become tedious anywhere. Indeed there is hardly any other work in post-canonical Pāli literature that manifests such literary craftsmanship. Another work very widely known and studied by all students of Pāli literature is the *Jātaka* (*Jātaka-*

Aṭṭhakathā, or *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*) containing about 550 Jātakas or tales of former lives of Bodhisattva. This work is of inestimable value, not only as regards literature, but for the history of Indian civilisation, reflecting as it does Indian life from the 3rd C. B.C. to the 5th C. A.D.

There are three famous commentators in Pāli, Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dharmapāla. Buddhadatta wrote a few works as *Vinayavinicchaya,* to summarize the *Vinaya Piṭaka.* Buddhaghosa, in addition to his commentaries on several works of the *Tipiṭaka,* has produced a master-piece in his *Visuddhimagga* (*Path of Purity*), a commentary on a single stanza "*Sīle patiṭṭhāya.*" All his commentaries embody the older commentaries that were current in Ceylon, as also traditional interpretations accumulated among the monks during the preceding centuries. The commentaries of Dhammapāla on *Vimānavatthu* and *Thera-Therigāthā* are really collections of stories. The *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* are the two great chronicles of Ceylon, the historical value of which should not be under-rated. Both of these works contain many fables and myths, but they also throw a flood of light on the history of Buddhism. There are several other works belonging to this Vaṃsa literature: the *Cūlavaṃsa, Sāsanavaṃsa,* and the little poem called *Dāthāvaṃsa.* The literary form of poems (Mahākāvyas) does not seem to be very popular in Pāli, although we have some beautiful metrical compositions such as *Jinacarita, Telakaṭāhagāthā, Pajjamadhu,* and *Saddhammopāyana.* Works on technical sciences are scanty, and all of them on the models of similar works in Sanskrit. Thus grammar is presented by Kaccāyana, Moggallāna and in the *Saddanīti;* lexicography by the *Abhidhānappadipikā* of Mogallāna; prosody, by the *Vuttodaya* and *Chandoviciti,* rhetoric by the *Subodhālaṅkāra.* Save for the lively commentaries, this Pāli literature is but a poor imitation of the corresponding works in Sanskrit literature.

Buddhistic Literature in Sanskrit. We have seen that Literature of the Buddhists in the Pali language is vast and varied. The literature of the Buddhists in Sanskrit is equally vast and rich. Unfortunately, a very large portion of this literature is lost in its Sanskrit original, though often preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Sanskrit, as used by the Buddhists, has often a mixture of the Middle-Indo-Aryan dialects like Prākrit and Pāli, once called the gāthā dialect, now usually referred to as "mixed Sanskrit." It is fluid and flexible, a suitable vehicle for a popular religious literature.

The various schools of religious thought are well represented with works of the canon in this Sanskrit. Among them is the *Mahāvastu,* of the Vinayapiṭaka, which looks upon the *Buddha* as *lokottara* (super-human) and adorns his life with miracles. The *Lalitavistara* contains the biography of Buddha in almost extravagant terms, more or less in epic style. The work is in prose and verse, the latter very often repeating the contents of the preceding prose passages. Some of the songs are old ballads. It is difficult to say when this work was finally edited, but it seems to have been translated into Chinese in 308 A.D. and into Tibetan in the 9th C. The fashioners of the Graeco-Buddhist monuments of Northern India at times seem to have modeled their work on the text of the *Lalitavistara.* The *Vaipulyasūtras,* which are held sacred by a large number of Mahāyāna Schools, take the place of a canon. The nine Dhāraṇīs, which are at present held in great honour in Nepal, contain works like the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā, Laṅkāvatāra, Suvarṇaprabhāsa.* Of these sūtras, *Prajñāpāramitā* is noteworthy. Among the masters and poets of the Mahāyāna school, four names are prominent: Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Aśvaghoṣa, and Kumāralabdha

(Kumāralāta). The first two are the founders of the Mahāyāna doctrine of Śūnyatā (emptiness). Nāgārjuna is also author of the *Madhyamakaśāstra,* an exposition of the doctrine of Śūnyatā. He also wrote a commentary, *Akutobhayā,* on this work, available only in its Tibetan translation. Nāgārjuna wrote several other works, including *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* and *Śūnyatāsaptati.* His pupil Āryadeva (Deva) wrote *Catuḥśataka.* These works, together with Candrakīrti's commentaries on them, are the fundamental works of the Mādhyamika School. Vasubandhu Asaṅga is another eminent philosopher of the Mahāyāna. He wrote *Abhidharmakośa* and a brief commentary on it called *Bhāṣya.* Yaśomitra wrote a huge commentary called *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā;* the text together with the commentaries covers the fields of ontology, psychology, cosmology, ethics and the doctrine of salvation according to Buddhism. It in turn gave rise to an extensive commentary literature; and is widely used as a text in China and Japan.

Dignāga is the founder of Buddhist Logic. His *Nyāyapraveśa (Introduction to Logic)* is well-known, and along with his *Pramāṇasamuccaya,* constitutes the fundamental work of Buddhist Logic. *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti, and his *Pramāṇavārtika,* have also contributed to this field. Among later writers of the Mahāyāna school, are Śāntideva, author of *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and Śāntarakṣita (8th c.), author of *Tattvasaṃgraha.*

The Mahāyāna school of Buddhism not only produced master philosophers, but also master poets. Aśvaghoṣa, the author of *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarānanda* is one of the most prominent poets of Sanskrit literature, the most prominent predecessor of Kālidāsa. The *Buddhacarita,* according to Tibetan and Chinese sources, contained 28 cantos, taking the narrative to the Nirvāṇa of Buddha; but in its Sanskrit version, it contains only 17 cantos and the narrative ends with the conversion of the Buddha at Benares; of these 17 cantos, furthermore, only the first 13 appear to be genuine, the remaining four having been added by Amṛtānanda (early 19th c.). Although the poem is incomplete, it is full of poetic charms. Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit is chaste, though it does not always conform to the rules of Pāṇini. The *Saundarānanda* belongs to the class of ornate court poetry. The poem tells the story of love-lorn Nanda, half-brother of Buddha, who was ordained as a monk against his will by Buddha. Sundarī, the beautiful wife of Nanda, laments her lost husband; Nanda longs to be back with his beloved. *Śariputraprakaraṇa* of which only a few fragments remain, is a classical drama on the conversion of Śariputra, by Aśvaghoṣa.

Corresponding to the Jātaka literature in Pāli, there is a class of works in Sanskrit, styled *Avadāna* (noble deed). In Sanskrit there are several works dealing with the noble deeds of Buddha, as *Jātakamāla* of Āryaśūra and *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumaralāta. *Avadānaśataka* or the hundred avadanas, is the oldest work of this class, having been translated into Chinese in the early 3d c. A.D. Its stories recur in Pāli apadānas. The *Divyāvadāna* is a later collection of avadānas, but it contains many very old texts. Most of the legends are written in good, simple prose, but in some we find stanzas of ornate poetry in the genuine classical Kāvya style. The work must have been in existence in its present form about 400 A.D. Other works belonging to this class are *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā, Ratnāvadānamālā, Aśokāvadānamālā, Bhadrakalpāvadāna, Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna,* and the latest, *Avadānakalpalatā,* of the Kashmir poet Kṣemendra who completed his work in 1052 A.D. In this work Kṣemendra has recast the Avadānas in the style of ornate court poetry. The collection consists of 107 legends, to which Somendra, Kṣemendra's son, has added an Introduction and another avadāna, *Jīmūtavāhanāvadāna.*

A more popular form of Buddhist expository writing is the *Tantra* literature. The lands

where Tantrism was the most widespread, and where it perhaps originated, are Assam and Bengal. From the 8th c. onwards it spread to Tibet and China. Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra went to China about 720 A.D., and propagated the Tantras there. The Sanskrit in which these Tantras are written is as barbarous as their contents. They are nevertheless very important, owing to their popularity and influence upon the spiritual life of Asia.

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PRAKRIT

India presents a picturesque complex of linguistic evolution and interaction. The range of time and extent of region over which Indian civilization, with its distinctions of religion, caste, clan, and race, has spread make the problems of language-study all the more entangled.

The Indo-Āryan speech has flowed in two beds, Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta (spelt hereafter as Sanskrit and Prākrit), which have constantly influenced each other at different stages. The term *Prākṛta,* meaning 'natural,' 'common,' primarily indicates uncultivated popular dialects, existing side by side with *Saṁskṛta,* the 'accurately made,' 'polished,' 'refined' speech. The Prākrits are thus the dialects of the unlettered masses, used in their day-to-day life; while Sanskrit is the language of the intellectual aristocrat, the priest, pundit, or prince, who used it for religious and learned purposes. The language of everyday conversation of even these people must have been nearer the popular Prākrits than the literary Sanskrit. The former is a natural acquisition; the latter, the principal literary form of speech, requires training in grammatical and phonetic niceties.

Contemporary with the Vedic language, which is an artistic speech employed by the priest in his religious songs, there were popular dialects probably due to tribal groups and social strata. The Vedic literature gives some glimpses of popular tongues, but no literature in them has come down to us. In the 6th c. B.C., Mahāvīra and Buddha preached in the local Prākrits of Eastern India; and the great Emperor Asoka (3rd c. B.C.) and a century later King Khāravela addressed their subjects in Prākrit. Inscriptions are all in Prākrit up to about the 1st c. A.D. It is held by some scholars that the early secular literature was in Prākrit. In the drama, different characters speak different languages in the same play; and the earliest known plays, of Aśvaghoṣa (ca. 100 A.D.), bear evidence to the antiquity of this practice. The kings and heroes speak Sanskrit; the ladies, in general, Śaurasenī; the lower characters, Māgadhī.

The Prākrit grammarians give us a sketchy description of various Prākrit dialects: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, Apabhraṁśa. Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī are also Prākrits used in the Buddhist and Jain canons. The Inscriptional Prākrits, Pāli and Paiśācī, form an earlier group; Śaurasenī and Māgadhī come next, one central and the other an eastern dialect; Ardhamāgadhī is nearer Pāli with regard to its vocabulary, syntax and style, but phonologically later in age; Māhārāṣṭrī has proved an elastic medium for learned epics and lyrical poetry of popular subjects. These were gradually stereotyped, with scant deference to their local colour, by the grammarians. By that time the popular speeches had already advanced, and the gap between the literary Prākrits and the contemporary popular speech went on increasing. By about the 5th c. A.D., Sanskrit and Prākrit were equally stereotyped as literary forms of expression; and once more an effort was made to raise the then popular speech to a literary stage, represented by Apabhraṁśa.

The Prākrits and Apabhraṁśa represent the Middle Indo-Āryan stage. Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṁśa appear to have been first developed for their songs and couplets; it is through those channels that they were admitted into literature. Śūdraka admits Māhārāṣṭrī verses in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam;* Kālidāsa (c. 400 A.D.) employs Apabhraṁśa songs in his *Vikramorvaśīyam;* and Vidyāpati (c. 1400 A.D.) uses Maithilī verses in his Sanskrit-Prākrit dramas.

Some of the Prākrit inscriptions deserve to be classed as literature on account of their form and style, as well as their noble instructions of abiding value. The imperial Mauryan State was diplomatically, militarily, and culturally at least on a par with the contemporary Hellenic states. The Asokan inscriptions, more than 30 in number, are the earliest dated documents among Indian literary records. They are incised on rocks, boulders, pillars, and cave-walls; and their localities mark the boundaries, principalities and places of pilgrimage of the kingdom. The 14 rock edicts, in 7 recensions, are simple, concise and forceful; and the appeal, full of personal feeling, is as though the mighty monarch Asoka is himself earnestly speaking to his subjects. Not only do they give a fine picture of the state, but they also reveal the personality of the ruler in touching colours. The 13th rock-edict is a remarkable document. Asoka had won a decisive victory in the Kaliṅga war; but the miseries of the people brought such remorse that he expressed his anguish frankly and vividly.

The Hāthigumphā inscription (1st or 2nd c. B.C.) of the Cheti dynasty gives a record of the first 13 years of the reign of Khāravela. It is badly preserved; it shows greater fluency of expression than Asoka's records; and it gives us a good glimpse into the early life and training of Indian princes in the 2nd c. B.C. Among the manifold inscriptions of Western India, the Nasik cave inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi of the 2nd c. A.D. expresses the spirit of a royal panegyrist steeped in epico-Purāṇic mythology and religion, and anticipates the later embellished style, so common in Kāvyas and Campūs.

In the early Indian drama it is difficult to evaluate the Prākrit passages as a continuous stretch of literary composition. The playwrights have used Prākrits according to the conventions of dramatic theory; but the composition of most of them has very little popular life. The Prākrit passages in the drama have, on the whole, become a specimen of artificial and prosaic composition, mechanically converting into Prākrit a sentence first conceived in Sanskrit. The convention of their use had such a grip on the orthodox mind that it is only very lately that Prākrit lost its hold on the drama; and the author of *Hanumannāṭaka* (after 1200 A.D.) plainly says that it is not Prākrit, but Sanskrit alone that is worthy of an audience of the devotees of Viṣṇu. For lyrical song in the drama, however, Prākrit is quite popular with Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Viśākhadatta and others; and some of their gāthās are genuine pieces of poetry delineating softer sentiments. With Śūdraka and others, Prākrit has wonderfully served as the medium of homely conversation. Innocent intriguing, light jokes and toothless humour are seen in the Śaurasenī speeches of Vidūṣaka who figures in various dramas. Śūdraka's Śakāra is a unique character, quite unsurpassed. His songs and speeches in Māgadhī are well known for their puns and jokes. Rākṣasa and his wife in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* give us a description of the battle field in Māgadhī. But the stylistic basis of dramatic Prākrits is essentially Sanskritic; and the Deśī elements are not freely admitted.

One type of drama, the Saṭṭaka, is composed entirely in Prākrit; it resembles the

Sanskrit Nāṭikā. The *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara (ca. 900 A.D.) is a love intrigue, closing happily in the marriage of Caṇḍapāla and Karpūramañjarī who is brought to the palace miraculously by the magician, Bhairavānanda. Though accepted as one of the best comedies in Indian literature, it is more remarkable for its style and language than for its plot and characters, which are of the time-honoured mould. Rājaśekhara is a master of literary expression and metrical forms. His verses have a rhythmic ring and a liquid flow. His descriptions of nature are inlaid with vivid colour and grace. His proverbs, vernacularisms, allusions to customs etc., have a special interest. Rudradāsa, who was patronized by the Zamorin of Calicut (17th c.), wrote the *Candralekhā* Śaṭṭaka which celebrates the marriage of Mānaveda and Candralekhā. His style is forceful, but often with unwieldly compounds. Ghanaśyāma, a court poet of King Tulajājī of Tanjore (mid 18th c.), wrote the *Ānandasundarī* Saṭṭaka. In the *Rambhāmañjarī* of Nayacandra (ca. 15th c.), which deals with the story of King Jaitra Siṁha of Benares and Rambhā, the daughter of Madavavarman of Gujarāt, is also a Saṭṭaka which uses not only Prākrit but also Sanskrit. The *Karpūramañjarī* has been a source of inspiration and a model for all subsequent Saṭṭakas.

The Jain canonical works constitute an important section of Prākrit literature. Jainism admits, in this era, 24 Tīrthakaras, who are responsible for the promulgation of the religion or *dharma*. The 22nd was Neminātha, the cousin of Kṛṣṇa; the 23rd was Pārśvanātha whose historicity is accepted; the last was Mahāvīra (599–527 B.C.) whom Buddhist texts mention as Niganṭha Nātaputta. He was a senior contemporary of Buddha (563?–483 B.C.); he came from a ruling clan; and he was related to the royal families of Magadha. The preachings of Mahāvīra and his disciples have come down to us in the Jaina Āgama or the canon in Ardhamāgadhī. Exigencies of time, and especially a famine, required its first systematisation by the Pāṭaliputra Council, some time in the 4th c. B.C. The canon, as it is available today, was systematised, rearranged, redacted and committed to writing by the Valabhī Council under Devarddhi in the middle of the 5th c. A.D. Its contents are quite varied; the books cover almost every branch of human knowledge, as it was conceived of in those days. The texts, like *Ācārāṅga, Daśavaikālika,* give a detailed account of monachism as then practised in Eastern India; *Jivābhigama* and other works fully discuss the Jaina ideas about living beings; *Upāsakadaśāḥ, Praśnavyākaraṇāni,* set forth the ideals and regulations of a householder's life; *Jñātādharmakathāḥ, Vipākaśruta* and *Nirayāvaliyāo* give many holy legends, didactic in purpose; *Sūryaprajñapti* discusses Jaina cosmology; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Uttarādhyayana,* contain brilliant moral exhortations, philosophical discourses and amusing legends; and some of their sections are fine specimens of ancient Indian ascetic poetry; *Nandī* gives details of Jain epistemology; texts like the *Bhagavatī* are encyclopaedic.

The canon comprises works of different origin and age; naturally, it is difficult to estimate its literary character. The redaction has brought together distinctly disparate parts of works; some prose, some verse. The prose of the *Ācāṛāṅga* contains metrical pieces. The old prose works are diffuse in style with endless, mechanical repetitions; some works contain pithy remarks pregnant with meaning; the didactic sections present vigorous exposition in a fluent style; the standardized descriptions, obviously aiming at a literary effect, are heavy in construction, with irregular compound expressions; the rules of monastic life are full of details; and the dogmatic lessons show a good deal of systematic exposition. There are narratives containing parables and similes of symbolic significance; there are

exemplary stories of ascetic heroes; there are debates on dogmatic topics.

Mahāvīra is said to have preached in Ardhamāgadhī which, therefore, is the name of the canonical language. The older portions preserve archaic forms of language and style. These gradually disappear in later works; and there is seen the influence of linguistic tendencies well-known in Māhārāṣṭrī, which was evolving as a literary language in the early centuries of the Christian era. Such a modernization was inevitable in course of oral transmission, especially because the Śvetāmbara monks were already using the Prākrit not only as a language of religious scriptures but also as a vehicle of literary expression. In the verses common to both, the Digambara texts soften the intervocalic consonants, while those of the Śvetāmbaras lose them, leaving the vowel.

Prior to the Pāṭaliputra Council, at the time of Candragupta Maurya, a body of Jain monks, on the advent of a famine, migrated to the South under Bhadrabāhu. To satisfy the religious needs of the community, they began jotting down their memory notes, which have survived to us in the form of many Prākrit texts that deserve to be called the Pro-Canon of the Jainas. The earliest of these are the *Satkarma* and *Kaṣāya-prābhṛta,* which are the remnants of the *Dṛṣṭivāda.* The commentaries of Vīrasena-Jinasena (816 A.D.) incorporate earlier commentaries in Prākrit; and they indicate what an amount of traditional details was associated with the original sūtras. They deal with the highly technical and elaborate doctrine of Karman, which is a unique feature of Jainism. Among the works of the pro-canon, the *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera and the *Ārādhanā* of Śivāraya gave elaborate details about the monastic life, its rules and regulations. The Prākrit *Bhaktis* are a sort of devotional composition of daily recitation.

A large number of works is attributed to Kundakunda, but only a few of them have come down to us. His *Pañcāstikāya* and *Pravacanasāra* are systematic expositions of Jain ontology and epistemology; and his *Samayasāra* is full of spiritual fervour. Yativṛṣabha's *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* covers a wide range of topics. The compilation of all these works might be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

A good deal of Prākrit literature has grown round the canon itself by way of explanation, detailed exposition, illustration through tales and topical systematisation. On some canonical texts there are the *Niryuktis,* a sort of metrical commentaries which explain the topics by instituting various enquiries. They are attributed to Bhadrabāhu, and are undoubtedly prior to Devarddhi's council. Some of them in turn, on account of their systematic exposition, accuracy of details, and solidity of arguments, became the object of learned labours of great scholars. For instance, Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa (609 A.D.) wrote a highly elaborate Bhāṣya in Prākrit on the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti,* around which has grown a little world of literature. *Bhāṣya* and *Cūrṇi* commentaries are found on some works. *Bhāṣya* is an elaborate exposition, at times incorporating and supplementing the *Niryukti* verses, of the text in Prākrit; while *Cūrṇi* is a prose gloss written in a bewildering admixture of Prākrit and Sanskrit. Jinadāsa Mahattara wrote his *Nandī Cūrṇi* in 676 A.D.

The popular gāthā had already found its way not only into the Pāli canon but also into that unconventional drama, the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* of Śūdraka; and with its melodious ring and sentimental setting it is successfully handled by Kālidāsa, especially in the mouth of his heroines. A large body of popular lyric songs in Prākrit, especially in Māhārāṣṭrī, appears to have grown a couple of centuries or so earlier than Kālidāsa. A collection of some 700 gāthās, the *Sattasaī,* attributed to Hāla, has come down to us. He is in reality its editor, a literary artist of some eminence; he

has collected these verses, along with a few of his own composition, from a large mass of popular songs, and presented them in a literary style with special attention to the choice of setting, themes and sentiment. Hāla's collection is important not only for its artistic grace and poetic flourish but also as an evidence of the existence of a large mass of early secular Prākrit literature, in the formation of which women, too, took active part.

Its themes are primarily drawn from the rural life, but the presentation is rarely repugnant to the cultured taste. The seasonal settings, the countryside, the village folk, the flora and fauna—all these have remarkably contributed to the realistic sketches which these poets draw in one or two stanzas. The chief sentiment is erotic, at times openly put; and the turns of love, with their peculiar Indian ceremonies and conventions, are depicted in a vivid and touching manner. Passionate longings, pangs of separation, devotion of attachment, sly humour, cupid's mischiefs, and the like, are often described with a frankness rare in conventional poetry. Some of the scenes are full of pathos or flavour. A lovely maiden pours water for a thirsty traveler who lets it trickle through his fingers; in her turn she lessens the stream of water from the pitcher; thus both extend the period of feasting their eyes on the other. There is very little of religious setting, though Īśvara and Pārvatī, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, are casually mentioned. The name Hāla stands for Śātavāhana, one of the Āndhrabhṛtya kings whose partiality for Prākrits is well-known. In all probability, the compilation is of the 2nd or 3rd c. A.D. It has been imitated in Sanskrit and Hindī; but the original stands unrivalled.

Another Prākrit anthology, close in spirit to Hāla's work, but planned topically, is the *Vajjālaggain* of Jayavallabha, of uncertain date. There are different recensions; the number of gāthās wavers about 700. Perhaps the major portion is composed by Jayavallabha, who of course included verses from Hāla and others. The verses are grouped according to subjects, which embrace three human ends: righteousness (*dharma*); wealth (*artha*); and love (*kāma*), almost half of them being devoted to the last. The range of topics is quite wide: poetry, friendship, fate, poverty, service, hunter, elephant, swan, bee. The good man is likened to a mirror; and the wicked man, like soda, only adds a polish to his virtues. The author reproves the camel for yearning for the desert when it cannot be had. The erotic sentiment has often a touch of righteousness and heroism about it. The author is a Jaina, but there is nothing of sectarianism in his collection. His gāthās in Māhārāṣṭrī contain many Apabhraṁśa elements; and the spirit of some of the stanzas is similar to that in Hemacandra's quotations in his Prākrit grammar. The Sanskrit writers on poetics and rhetoric quote many Prākrit verses; of some, the sources are not traced; they presuppose a good many compositions or compilations like the above.

Allied to the anthologies in form, but having more religious leaning and bearing individual authorship, are some of the Jaina didactic poems in Prākrit. The *Niryuktis*, besides their explanatory and expository remarks, contain many didactic instructions and illustrations, as well as the gnomic poetry common in anthologies. Wealth and Love are mentioned with indifference, if not disparagement; and the religious tone rules supreme.

The *Uvaesamālā* is a didactic poem containing instructions on the duties of monks and laymen, in 540 stanzas; it is by Dharmadāsa who, according to tradition, was not only a contemporary of Mahāvīra but also, before his renunciation, a king; he addressed the work to his son, prince Raṇasiṁha. It was of considerable popularity, with commentaries as early as the 9th c. In addition to moral instructions, it contains Jain dogmatical details and references to illustrative stories of

great men of yore. Equally religious and didactic in outlook but more conventional in the treatment of topics, mnemonic and mechanical in presentation, unintelligible without an exhaustive commentary, full of significant details which can be grasped only by the well-read, is the *Upadeśapada,* in more than 1000 gāthās, of Haribhadra, an outstanding author of the 8th c. A.D. It is more a learned source-book than a literary composition. The *Upadeśamāla* of Hemacandra of the Maladhāri-gaccha contains more than 500 gāthās and gives instructions on some 20 religious topics, such as compassion to living beings. The author is not only a preacher but also a poet, commanding an ornate style with poetic embellishments. He was a contemporary of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja of Gujarāt (1094–1143), whom he persuaded to extend greater patronage to Jainism. The *Vivekamañjarī* (A.D. 1191) of Āsaḍa, in 140 stanzas, is a discourse on religious awakening. Its major portion is moulded in a mechanical manner, quoting the examples of holy persons. Many other authors have followed earlier models and produced religio-didactic works in Prākrit, from the 13th to the 17th c. More than their literary qualities, what strikes one is the earnestness with which they have reflected on their themes.

A number of hymns in Prākrit are addressed as prayers to the Divinity. Some of them are composed by eminent authors: Bhadrabāhu, Mānatuṅga, Dhanapāla (972 A.D.), Abhayadeva. The *Ṛṣimaṇḍala-stotra* is a chronicle of monks, and the *Dvādaśāṅga-pramāṇa* is a description of the Ardhamāgadhī canon. Somasundara (15th c.) wrote a few prayers almost as exercises in different Prākrit dialects.

Narrative literature in Prākrit, especially in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṁśa, is extensive and varied. It includes, besides the *Bṛhatkathā,* the lives of Śalākā-puruṣas, i.e., the celebrities of Jainism, of ascetic heroes and holy men of eminence; legendary tales of didactic motives, illustrative fables, semi-historical narrations, popular romances. The *Bṛhatkathā* was composed by Guṇāḍhya in Paiśācī. It is lost beyond recovery. We possess, however, three Sanskrit epitomes of it belonging to the middle ages. They indicate that the original work was of great dignity and magnitude, worthy of being ranked with *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa.* It has supplied themes and motifs to many authors; and it is respectfully referred to by Daṇḍin, Subandhu, Bāṇa, and others. Guṇāḍhya's personality is shrouded in myths. Perhaps he is earlier than Bhāsa, and may be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Vimala, he himself declares, composed his Purāṇic epic, the *Paümacariya,* in 4 A.D. It gives the Jain version of the Rāma legend. It is acquainted with Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa,* but contains special details that have nothing to do with the Jain outlook and consequently are of great value in studying the basic Rāma legend, which has been worked out by different authors in different ways. Rāvaṇa is not a monster, nor Māruti a monkey; but they are Vidyādharas, a class of semi-divine persons. Vimala's religious sermons have a lofty didactic tone; and he tells many an episode of romantic and legendary interest. His gāthās and elegant metres testify to his poetic ability; and his style is almost uniformly fluent and forceful. The dialect also is interesting because of the age of the work and the Apabhraṁśa traces seen in it.

Pādalipta, of the early centuries of the Christian era, wrote a now lost religious novel in Prākrit, *Taraṅgavaī.* It was a love-story concluded with a sermon. We possess a later epitome of it in Prākrit, the *Taraṅgalotā,* which testifies to its engrossing literary qualities. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṁghadāsa and Dharmadāsa (before 600 A.D.) is a voluminous prose tale, elaborately recording the wanderings of Vasudeva of the Harivaṁśa and in-

cluding a good deal of extraneous matter in the form of sub-stories, legends and fables.

Śīlācārya wrote his *Mahāpuruṣacarita,* dealing with the lives of Śalākāpuruṣas, in 868 A.D. Of about the 10th c., the *Kalakācāryakathānaka* narrates the story of how the saint Kālaka went to the Śaka Satrapas called Sāhis and with their help overthrew Gardabhilla, a king of Ujjaina, who had kidnapped his sister Sarasvatī. The author shows poetic skill and observation. Dhaneśvara's *Surasundarīcariya* (1038 A.D.) is a lengthy romance, in 16 cantos, which narrates the love story of a Vidyādhara chief who passes through hope and despair. The story within a story technique is handled successfully; the narration of events is quite smooth; the descriptions are worthy of a poet. The *Pañcamīkahā* of Maheśvarasūri (before the mid 11th c.) celebrates, through illustrative stories, the importance of the observance of Śruta-pañcamī. In simple and narrative style, the life of Vijayacandra Kevalin, in 1063 gāthās, was composed (1070 A.D.) to illustrate the merits resulting from eight-fold worship. Vardhamāna, pupil of Abhayadeva, wrote two works: the *Manoramācarita* (1083 A.D.), a romance of religious learning, and the *Ādināthacarita* (1103 A.D.), a Purāṇic epic dealing with the life of the first Tīrthakara. The *Supāsanāhacariya* (1143 A.D.) is a bulky work giving the life of the 7th Tīrthakara from his earlier births up to liberation. It is full of religious preachings, all of them conveyed with suitable stories of the type common in Jain works. The author has a remarkable command over the language. Just 11 years after the death of King Kumārapāla, Somaprabha wrote the *Kumarapāla-pratibodha* (1195), a lengthy tale of the conversion of the King to Jainism, with many stories to illustrate its principles. Some sections are written in Sanskrit. In addition to their literary interest, such narratives are rich in pictures of the life of their times.

With the narrative works in Apabhraṁśa, we feel we are entering a new world. The language shows remarkable traits; the metres are different; and the presentation has a melodious music about it. Apabhraṁśa forms were gradually admitted into Prākrit compositions from the early centuries of the Christian era; Kālidāsa introduced Apabhraṁśa songs in his *Vikramorvaśīyam.* Every language has its favourite metres: Sanskrit has the *śloka;* Prākrit has the *gāthā;* and Apabhraṁśa, the *dohā.* Many *dohās* are quoted by Hemacandra in his grammar. The Apabhraṁśa metres, with their rhymes and ghattā, have such a fascinating ring about them, that many authors used these metres in Prākrit and Sanskrit also.

Caturmukha is one of the early Apabhraṁśa poets, but none of his works has come down to us. He has been praised for his choice of words; and perhaps he was responsible for popularising the *paddhadiyā* metre. Of Svayambhū (8th c. A.D.) we know a good deal through his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū, who brought to completion his father's *Paümacariü* and *Harivaṁśapurāṇa,* huge epics covering the subject matter of the Rāma legend and the Bhārata episode. As a rule, Apabhraṁśa poets give us a good picture of themselves. Svayambhū tells us that he was very slender, and had scattered teeth. His son speaks about him thus: "The mad elephant of Apabhraṁśa wanders about at will only so long as the restraining hook of the grammar of Svayambhū does not fall. Victorious be the lion Svayambhū with his long tusks of good words, terrible to look at on account of his claws, his metres and figures of speech, and with ample mane, his grammar."

The most important Apabhraṁśa poet, whose three works—*Mahāpurāṇu, Jasaharacariü* and *Nāyakumāracariü*—have been well edited and about whom we know a great deal, is Puṣpadanta, of the mid 10th c. He wandered, forlorn, to Mānyakheṭa, where ruled

Kṛṣṇarāja III of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty; there, under the patronage of minister Bharata, his poetic genius fruitfully flowered. He wrote in Apabhraṁśa; his language is brisk and fluid; metres are varied; descriptions are elegant; the flow of sentiments is well regulated; and the poetic embellishments are profusely used.

Kanakāmara describes himself, but his place and date are still unsettled. His *Karakaṇḍacariü*, in 10 cantos, gives the life of Karakaṇḍa, one of the Pratyeka Buddhas, in a comparatively lucid style. His reference to Tera caves is of great interest. Dhanapāla of the Dhakkaḍa family (ca. 10th c.) wrote the *Bhavisattakahā*, wherein the hero is depicted as triumphing, despite great misfortune, through his outstanding virtues. The *Neminähacariu* (ca. 1159) of Haribhadra contains beautiful descriptions; it is composed in Raḍḍā metre. The *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati (14th c.) is a specimen of post-Apabhraṁśa language of eastern India; the subject matter is historical; it is in both prose and verse; and it is presented in conversation.

A large body of Apabhraṁśa literature is still lying in mss., and every year there are new finds. Dhavala's *Harivaṁśa* (ca. 9th c.), a lengthy text, gives considerable information about earlier authors. Hariṣeṇa's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (988 A.D.) is not only earlier than Amitagati's Sanskrit work but records also a still earlier work of Jayarāma in gāthās. The *Kathākośa* of Śrīcandra (late 11th c.) gives the stories referred to in the gāthās of the *Ārādhanā* of Śivāraya.

The ornate and stylistic kāvyas (poetic tales) and prose romances in Sanskrit have a corresponding range in Prākrit. The *Setubandha* or *Dahamuhavaha* of Pravarasena deals with the building of the *setu* or bridge across the ocean by monkeys, an incident from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The author is well equipped in metrics and poetics; his poem possesses all the traits of a Mahākāvya. Despite its pompous style, the work has poetic flavour flowing through fine expressions, charming imagery, attractive thoughts, melodious alliteration. It is but natural that Bāṇa and Daṇḍin refer with compliments to such an outstanding work.

The *Gaüḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja, a court poet of King Yaśovarman (ca. 733 A.D.) celebrates the slaying of the Gauḍa king. The story element in the poem, however, is scanty and its structure rather loose. The major portion of the work, as it stands today, is covered by highly ornate descriptions full of imagination and learned allusion; those of the countryside are remarkably realistic. Whatever topic he touches, Vākpati invests with fresh life and beauty.

Haribhadra is an eminent logician and a famous author of the 8th c. He calls himself Yakinī-mahattarā-sūnu. His *Samarāiccakahā* is a Prākrit Campū which delineates the inimical behaviour of two souls through nine births. He is a close student of human life and behaviour of men under varying conditions. He is a master of artistic style, especially in his descriptions of towns, lakes, jungles, and temples, interwoven with dogmatical teachings and didactic episodes of religious flavour. At times his style is simple and conversational. Another Prākrit work of his is the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, a unique satire in Indian literature. Here five rogues, four men and one woman, narrate their personal experiences. Their fantastic and absurd tales are confirmed by the others, with parallel legends from the epics and Purāṇas; thus the Purāṇic legends are satirised. As a literary product, the work is far ahead of its times.

The *Kuvalayamālā* (779 A.D.) of Uddyotana, a pupil of Haribhadra, though resembling the *Samarāiccakahā* in its aim, uses Paisācī and Apabhraṁśa for popular passages, besides the usual Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. The religio-didactic tone is apparent throughout the work; the background of Jain ideology is not con-

cealed; but on the whole it is a literary performance. The author's glowing references to earlier authors and works, and to the Yavana king Toramāna, supply much fresh material to the literary and political historian.

The *Līlāvatī* of Kutūhala, earlier than Bhoja, is a stylistic, romantic Kāvya, with considerable racy narration. It tells the love story of king Śātavāhana and Līlāvatī, a princess from Siṁhaladvīpa. The threads of the story are a bit complicated, but the scenes are attractively sketched, and the sentiments are served with freshness and flavour. In all probability Hemacandra knew this poem, and used it for his grammar.

In ornamental Jain Māhārāṣṭrī prose and verse (with a few passages in Apabhraṁśa), Guṇacandra composed his *Mahāvīracariya* (1082 A.D.) giving a traditional account of Mahāvīra's life, half of the work being devoted to his earlier births. The language shows remarkable regularity of grammar, and is quite chaste, almost like classical Sanskrit, by the models of which Guṇacandra's expressions and ideas are influenced. It is a studied performance, a scholar's achievement, full of long compounds and poetic devices. It is a charming Kāvya, a dish for the learned.

Hemacandra (1089–1172 A.D.) is a dominant literary figure of medieval India. Not only did he make Jainism great in Gujarāt by winning her kings into its fold, but he also opened almost a new era in literature through his manifold contributions to different branches of learning. Tradition says that he brought the goddess of learning from Kashmir to Gujarāt. He laid a sound foundation of Prākrit philology by his grammar and lexicon; his *Kumārapālacarita,* though it presents the life of Kumārapāla, is purely grammatical in purpose. As a concluding portion of his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya,* it illustrates, like the *Bhaṭṭikāvya,* the rules of his Prākrit grammar. The work reveals, nontheless, some poetic flashes and capable handling of language.

This stylistic Prākrit was cultivated in the extreme south, through the study of the grammar of Vararuci and other tongues, as late as the 18th c. Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka (ca. 13th c.) wrote the *Siriciṁdhakavvaṁ* in 12 cantos, dealing with the life of Kṛṣṇa, to illustrate the rules of Prākrit grammar, of Vararuci and Trivikrama. The *Soricaritta* of Śrīkaṇṭha (15th or 17th c.) is a Yamaka Kāvya, the eight *mātrās* in two metrical feet having identical sound but different sense. Before the mid 18th c. Rāma Pāṇivāda wrote two short poems, *Kaṁsavaho* and *Usāṇiruddhaṁ,* charming in conception and scholarly in execution; the first deals with the slaying of Kaṁsa by the boy Kṛṣṇa; the second is concerned with the story of the love and marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha.

Jainism possesses a highly elaborate and technical Karma doctrine, for the elucidation of which many works have been written in Prākrit. This subject-matter, it is said, was originally included in the lost Pūrvas, the remnants of which lie at the basis of the Sūtras of *Dhavalā, Jayadhavalā,* and *Mahādhavalā* commentaries. There are other works, more or less compiling the traditional matter, like the *Kammapayadi* of Śivaśarman, *Pañcasaingraha* of Candraṛṣi, *Gōmmaṭasāra* of Nemicandra. On these works huge and learned commentaries have been written in Sanskrit. The *Sāvayapaṇṇatti* of Umāsvāti, in some 400 gāthās, is a succinct compendium of the Jain code of morals, with its metaphysical background.

Many legends are current about Siddhasena Divākara (6th or 7th c. A.D.), in whom we have a first rate poet and outstanding logician. His hymns in Sanskrit testify to his poetic fire. His *Sanmatitarka* in Prākrit is a brilliant treatise, elucidating the Jain epistemology and the doctrines of Nayas and Anekāntavāda. The *Dharmasaṁgrahaṇi* of Haribhadra is an exhaustive treatise on different aspects of Jain dogmatics. The *Kattigeyāṇuppēkkhā* of

Kumāra mainly deals with twelve-fold reflection, but incidentally forms a good exposition of fundamental Jain dogmas. Devasena deals with different dogmatic topics of Jainism in his *Bhāvasaṁgraha, Ārādhanāsāra* and *Tattvasāra;* his Darśanasāra (933 A.D.), which records the traditional account of different Saṅghas, is of historical importance. There are certain Apabhraṁśa texts dealing with mysticism on a background of Jain and Buddhistic dogmatics: the *Paramappapayāsu* and *Yogasāra* of Joṁdu (ca. 6th c. A.D.); the *Dohākośas* of Kāṇha and Saraha.

Though certain quotations indicate the existence of Prākrit grammars written in Prākrit, all those that are available today are written in Sanskrit. In lexicography, Dhanapāla wrote his *Pāyalacchīnāmamālā* (972–973 A.D.) presenting a list of Prākrit synonyms for his younger sister, Sundarī. The *Deśīnāmamālā* of Hemacandra has the specialized aim of giving Deśī words, i.e., words that cannot be traced to Sanskrit, with quotations to illustrate their usage. He refers by name to more than a dozen of his predecessors in the field, but their works have not come down to us. A work on poetics attributed to Hari is lost; we have the *Alaṁkāradappaṇa* of an unknown author. Prākrit has its special metre in the gāthā, but most of the classical writers have used the longer syllabic metres current in Sanskrit. The Apabhraṁśa works, however, disclose altogether new paths in metrics. Nanditāḍhya fully discusses the varieties of gāthā in his *Gāthālakṣaṇa.* The *Svayaṁbhū-cchanda* of Svayaṁbhū not only discusses various metres but also gives many quotations mentioning the names of their authors. The *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* is also an exhaustive treatise. The *Kavidarpaṇa, Chandaḥkośa* of Ratnaśekhara, and the *Prākṛta Paiṅgala,* also give us abundant details about Prākrit metres. Sanskrit texts like the *Vṛttaratnākara* include Prākrit metres as well; but the *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra is of special value for Prākrit metres. Prof. Velankar has given us a systematic exposition of Apabhraṁśa metres.

Of cosmological and astronomical contents, we have the *Jambuddiva-paṇṇatti-saṁgaha* of Paumaṇandi. The *Joṇipāhuda* is a lost medico-tāntric text; its contents appear to have been included in the *Jagatsundarī-yogamālā,* with which are associated two authors, Hariṣeṇa and Yasaḥkīrti (ca. 12th c. A.D.). The *Haramekhaiā* (ca. 830 A.D.) of Māhuka is a medical treatise, covering a wide range of topics, a talisman for all living beings. The *Riṭṭhasamuccaya* of Durgadeva (11th c. A.D.) deals with omens and the like.

Prākrit literature has a many-sided achievement to its credit. It records the noble thoughts of one of the greatest kings of the world; and it embodies the ideology of a religion most realistic in philosophy, ascetic in morals, humanitarian in outlook. It presents a valuable, though complicated, picture of linguistic and metrical evolution in the last two thousand years; and the society depicted therein is more popular than aristocratic. Prākrit literature helps us to add important and significant details in the picture of Indian culture and civilization.

This being the first survey of Prākrit literature as a unit, its material is scattered in many works and tongues. Only a suggestion, of the most available works, can be given. R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (Strassburg), 1900; M. Winternitz, *A Hist. of Indian Lit.* (Calcutta), 1933; W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas* (Berlin und Leipzig), 1935; A. N. Upadhye, *Pravacanasāra,* Introduction (Bombay), 1935; A. M. Ghatage, *Narrative Literature in Jaina: Māhārāstrī,* in *Annals* of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute (Poona), 1935; *A Brief Sketch of Prākrit Studies,* in *Progress of Indic Studies* (Poona), 1942; Nitti-Dolci, *Les grammairiens Prākrits* (Paris), 1938; H. L. Jaina, *Apabhraṁśa Literature* in *Allahabad University Journal,* I; S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Arayan and Hindi* (Ahmedabad), 1942.

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ASSAMESE

Formative Period. Assam is the name given to the eastern-most province of India. The ancient name of the land was Prag-Jyotisha. By this name it is known in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and also in the earlier Puranas. The present name of Assam was connected with the Shan invaders who entered the eastern-most portion of the Brahmaputra valley in 1228 A.D.

The earliest specimen of the language, in the forms of place-names and personal names, may be traced in the copper-plate and other inscriptions of the Kamarupa kings of the earlier centuries. The language of the *Baudha Gan O Doha,* a work on the esoteric doctrines and Yogic practices of the Sahajiya school of the Buddhists (compiled 8th to 10th c. A.D.) also represents the earliest form of the Assamese language.

Towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, literature first came to be produced in Assamese. In the court of Durlabhanarayana who is said to have ruled at Kamatapur in the late 13th c. the first Assamese book, *Prahlad Charitra,* was composed by Hema Saraswati, in rhymed couplets. He seems to have been influenced by the more dignified language of the time, Sanskrit, and he copiously borrowed from its vocables.

At the time of Indranarayan, the son of Durlabhanarayana, the two poets Harihar Vipra and Kaviratna Saraswati composed a few verse narratives. Harihar's chief work was *Babruhahanar Yuddha,* an incident from the *Aswamedha Parva* of the *Mahabharata.* Kaviratna was the author of *Jayadratha Vadha Kavya.*

Under the patronage of the Kachari king Mahamanikya (ca. 14th c. A.D.) Madhava Kandali undertook the stupendous task of translating the whole of the *Ramayana* into Assamese verse; his repute is shown in his title, Kaviraj Kandali, the king of poets. His *Ramayana* is remarkable for its fidelity to the original and for the clearness and simplicity of the rendering. In his hands, Assamese poetry became less Sanskritic in vocables, more racy in style, more picturesque in language, richer in thought and sentiments.

Devajit is another poetic composition of Madhava Kandali, certainly by far the most important work of the period, both as a first fruit of creative effort in Assamese verse and as a foreshadowing of the neo-Vaisnavite cult that came into prominence in the next century. In *Devajit,* the poet exalted Krishna and other incarnations of Visnu over all other gods.

While this literature, semi-religious in tone, was developing under the fostering care of the courts, another class of pastoral compositions also came into being. The people of the province had their unwritten songs and ballads relating to their own deities of hills and forests. Purging them of the grossness of their primitive morals, the Aryan story-tellers linked them with the Puranic tales. Among the well-known song-writers are Durgabar, who is credited with the composition of the *GitiRamayana,* the *Ramayana* in songs; Pitambar and Mankar, whose names are associated with the cycles of love-songs *Usha Parinaya* (Marriage of Usha) and *Behula Lakhindar* respectively. The *Behula-Lakhindar* is connected with the story of Chand Sadagar, who refused to worship Manasa the snake goddess, and his son Lakhindar, who was bitten by a snake, and a daughter-in-law Behula, who brought back to life her husband Lakhindar by propitiating Siva.

The song-writers had shown unusual fondness for erotic treatment of their subjects. Their songs are full of amatory sentiments, enlivened with realistic touches. The style and imagery is always pastoral, not conventional.

A word also may be said about the vast mass of writings in early Assamese known as

Mantras. Though written in prose, their prose is hardly distinguishable from verse. The *Mantra Puthis* (Books on magical charms), composed in mystic words and syllables, contain magic formulas against snake-bite, demons, evil-doers and various spells for healing of diseases, and winning of desired objects. The importance of these writings is historical and philological rather than literary.

The Flowering (1450–1650). Assamese literature came into prominence with the rise of the neo-Vaisnavite movement in Northern India in the 14th c. Sankaradeva changed the faith of the province and turned the minds of the people from the priest-ridden ceremonies; he propounded through the people's language the cult of Bhakti, 'the worship of a personal deity, Visnu or Krishna, in a spirit of love and adoration.' The Vaisnavism he preached is known as *Ekasarana dharma,* the religion of supreme surrender to One, and that One is Visnu. The favorite incarnation in which Visnu is to be worshipped is that of Vasudeva Devakiputra.

The religious activities of Sankaradeva and his followers did not end in teaching, preaching, and winning converts. They made a sincere and systematic attempt to bring the unlettered people into contact with the Puranic learning. Sankaradeva himself composed a large number of books, consisting of translations, commentaries, and original works in exposition of his creed. He rendered into verse the last canto of the *Ramayana,* and certain cantos of the *Bhagavata Purana.* The translator everywhere makes an attempt to elaborate and simplify the difficult ideas and expressions of the texts into simple Assamese.

Sankaradeva's other important verse compositions are *Nibinava Siddha, Kirtan Ghosa, Bhakti Pradip* and *Rukmini Haran Kavya.* Among all his compositions *Kirtan Ghosa* is the most important; it has exercised a unique influence upon the mind and thought of the Assamese people. It is a collection of about thirty poems comprising about 2,398 verses in diverse metres. Each poem depicts an episode (*akhyana*) glorifying the deeds of Visnu or Krishna: *Sishulila* (early life of Krishna), *Ajamil Upakhyana* (episode about Ajamil), *Bali Chalan* (deception of Bali), *Kamsa Vadha* (killing of Kamsa). For its superb beauty of musical language, its entertaining and wonderful way of story-telling, its presentation of the didactive and worldly maxims through parables and akhyanas, *Kirtan Ghosa* has a unique importance in our literature.

Rukmini Haran is a charming kavya, modeled after Sanskrit epics. It is a love romance of Rukmini and Krishna. Sankaradeva made the theme admirably popular and transformed commonplace ideas into neat and witty maxims, which even today are quoted as proverbial expressions.

In two other branches of Assamese literature Sankaradeva was a pioneer: *Ankiya Nat* (one-act play); and *Bargit* (devotional song). No other vernacular literature of India of the period seems to possess such dramatic compositions. Of his many dramas, *Ramavijaya, Kaliyadamana, Parijataharana, Rukminiharana, Patniprasad* are the best known; they are performed even today in the village Namaghars. The *Ankiya Nats* are of the nature of the early church dramas, mysteries and miracles, of England. Their subject is short and simple and represents some episode from the life of Krishna or Rama. The lyrical element preponderates; and songs set to different tunes are interspersed; in fact, most of the incidents of the play, instead of being represented on the stage, are reported through songs. The dialogue is meagre, and the prose is rhythmic in structure. All these elements combine to invest an *Ankiya Nat* with a hymnic solemnity.

Bargits, great songs or 'noble numbers' as opposed to secular songs, are usually of four to sixteen lines bearing a refrain and a notation. The refrain is either an invocation or an

exhortation. Some of the *Bargits* are contemplative and reflective upon the nature of God, His relation with the world, His compassion, the innate sufferings of human existence, the path of liberation. Others are exhortatory, urging men 'to chant the name of Hari,' 'to think of Govinda,' 'to rest on the feet of Rama,' 'to leave the transitory pleasures of the world.' Each *Bargit* invariably concludes with a passionate prayer for refuge at the feet of Hari and deliverance from this world of illusion. Some of these spiritual songs are allegorical in import:

This world is a dense forest,
Full of the fetters of desire;
And myself, a weakling of a deer,
Wander here alone.
Time like a hunter
Charges me fast.
I am entrapped by the fetters of *Maya.*
O Hari, I have lost my heart,
And know not the way to liberation.
Even to think of my lot,
I burn within.
Avarice and illusion, the two tigers,
Are following me.
Save me, O Infinite Good One!

There is another class of popular allegorical songs known as *Deh Bicharar Git* (psychophysiological songs depicting the body as a microcosm). With homely images the *Deh Bicharar Git* describes the transitoriness and worthlessness of the human body. The songs are beautiful, but lack the tenderness of sentiment and loftiness of thought of the songs of the Vaisnavite poets. Their appeal lies mainly to the common people. Their origin may be ascribed to the latter-day Buddhistic literature of the Tantras.

The next outstanding figure in the Assamese Vaisnavite movement was Madhavadeva, the disciple of Sankaradeva. At the direction of his Guru, Madhavadeva rendered Vishnupuri's Sanskrit *Bhakti Ratnavali,* an anthology of nine-fold forms of *Bhakti,* into Assamese verse. But the poem by which Madhavadeva is best known, and which is the highest achievement of Assamese Vaisnavite hymnic composition, is the *Nama Ghosa,* also known as *Hazari Ghosa* (the book of a thousand stanzas). It contains a large number of hymns on repentance and entreaty, self-instruction, and self-reproach. In each of them the lyric cry is predominant and passionate. The last few sections of the book serve as a litany, consisting of an enumeration of names, praises, and laudatory epithets of Krishna. Profundity of thought, unity of outlook, and music of expression mark the *Nama Ghosa* as a foremost work of art.

But what made Madhavadeva a popular figure in the Vaisnavite movement were his *Bargits.* His devout nature found expression in the devotional songs, full of passionate emotions. In many of his *Bargits* there breathes a deep note of contrition and humility in the knowledge of its own sin, and a spirit of extreme self-surrender. Many of his *Bargits* contain idyllic descriptions of Brindaban with Child Krishna as the central figure. In these *Bargits* is found many a description of the childish pranks and wantonness of Krishna, his haste to put out the cattle to graze, his quarrels with the gopis (milk-maids), his stealing of curd and butter.

Madhavadeva also composed a few *Ankiya Nats: Chordhara; Pimpara Guchua; Kotora Khelowa; Bhusan Herowa; Bhumi Letowa;* all presenting incidents of Krishna's child life. Some of these are quite amusing:

Krishna entered the house of a gopi. While stealing butter from an earthen pot, he was caught red-handed. Krishna denied the charge. He immediately called his friends Sudan, Subal, and others, and reported that the gopis themselves had taken the butter, and now for fear of their hus-

bands were putting the blame on his poor shoulders. Krishna's ready wit shut the mouths of the gopis and they bent their heads in shame. To silence Krishna and his friends they offered more butter and curd.

In the meantime, the news that boy Krishna was detained and maltreated by the gopis, was brought to Mother Jasoda. She broke into tears and at once rushed to the scene. Jasoda chastized the gopis and took up her son with caressing hands.

The most versatile and copious writer of the movement was Rama Saraswati. King Naranarayan of Koch Bihar directed him to make a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*. The king himself supplied him with the original texts, which are reported to be more than one cart-load. Many of the contemporary saint-poets offered him services and the entire work was divided among several authors. Rama Saraswati completed the translations of the *Adi, Bana, Bhisma,* and *Birat Parvas*. Besides lengthy elaborations of the original episodes and descriptions, he freely added incidents and stories from the different Puranas.

The vernacular version of the great epic gave a tremendous impetus to the growth and popularity of Assamese literature. It opened wide the doors of the vast treasure house of tales, romances, and mythical stories. It became a perennial fountain on which many of the Vaisnavite poets were nourished during the succeeding centuries.

The outstanding contribution of Rama Saraswati was his Vadha Kayvas (heroic poems). He widened the scope of Vaisnavite literature by reproducing in beautiful verse a large number of heroic sagas from epics and *Puranas*. His *Khatasur Vadha, Kulachal Vadha, Baghasur Vadha, Aswakarna Vadha* are all romances of chivalry and heroic deeds. They are of stupendous length, and describe superhuman exploits and marvelous deeds of gods and mortals, often with bloody battle-scenes, interrupted by charming love episodes.

The story of *Aswakarna Vadha* compares very well with that of the lovely Una of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Writing as he did in a style of both lucidity and grace, Rama Saraswati exercised a widespread and fascinating influence. His poems even today enjoy immense popularity among the people.

To popularize the essentials of religious lore through songs and poetry, many Vaisnava saints re-fashioned the current folk literature to point a religious lesson. Thus Shridhar Kandali, a favorite disciple of Sankaradeva, turned a nursery tale *Kan Khowa (Ear Eater)* into a well-known religious poem of great beauty.

Next to the *Bhagavata,* the Purana that captured the imagination of the Vaisnavite saints was *Harivamsa*. Its popularity is proved by the existence of several versions, and numerous adaptations from it. Of the three sections of the *Harivamsa,* the *Visnuparvan* which gives the stories and legends of boy Krishna was in much demand. The authorship of the complete Assamese version is ascribed to Gopalchandra Dwija.

Bhattadeva translated the entire *Bhagavata Purana* and the *Gita* into Assamese prose. His style is conversational, but his diction is overloaded with Sanskritic words; his language is far less homely than that of the verse writers. The prose style that Bhattadeva introduced came to be looked upon as a kind of stately devotional dialect; even now, the religious heads of Satras (monasteries) employ this style in ceremonial and formal addresses to their disciples.

The Vaisnavite poets mostly wrote in rhymed couplets, known as the Pada metre. Each line of the couplet is closed, i.e., each line contains a complete thought, stated as precisely as possible. The movement of the Pada metre is continuous, like that of the

heroic couplet in English; it therefore serves best in narrative poetry. The other varieties of the Pada metre that were commonly used by the Vaisnavite poets are *Dulari, Chabi, Lechari* and *Jhuna* or *Ekavali. Dulari* (triplet) consists of three groups (6-6-8) with the first two rhyming bars. It is generally employed in describing picturesque scenes. *Chabi* (8-8-10) and *Lechari* (10-10-14) are different varieties of *Dulari;* both of them are used in depicting pathos and lamentation. *Jhuna* or *Ekavali* (6-5) is used to indicate scenes of haste and stir.

Prose under the Ahoms (1650–1834). Early in the 13th c. an offshoot of the Tai or the Shan pushed their way towards the eastern extremity of the Brahmaputra valley. These Shans were known in the new territory as Ahoms. The Ahoms gave up their speech and rude culture in favor of the Aryan civilization. Aryan influence made itself felt as early as 1397 with the accession of King Sudampha, who was brought up in his childhood by a Brahman. Soon after, the Ahoms adopted the language of the people and began to conduct their official business in Assamese.

The unique contribution of the Ahoms to the Assamese literature is the historical composition known as *Buranji* (chronicle), which is an Ahom word meaning 'a store that teaches the ignorant.' At first these *Buranjis* were compiled in the Ahom language and by Ahom priests known as Deodhais, literally the nurses of gods. Later they came to be written in Assamese by official scribes under the supervision of the Likhakar Barua (Superintendent of the Department of Writers). The *Buranjis* are not dry-as-dust records of events; they possess distinct literary graces, and pages of the *Buranjis* are often enlivened with realistic touches. Their prose style is homely, idiomatic, racy. A few *Buranjis* were written in verse, after the Vaisnavite poetry.

Rudra Singha (1696–1714) and his successors patronized the Sakta cult, and tried to build up a Sakta literature. The authorship of some Sakta hymns is ascribed to him.

Ananta Archarya, the court poet of Siva Singha (1714–44) translated *Ananta Lahari,* the famous hymn to the goddess Durga. Other well-known poets are Ruchinath Kandali, author of *Kalki Purana* and *Markaya Chandi;* Madhusudan Misra, author of *Chandi;* Ramachandra Barapatra Gohain, author of *Yogini Tantra.* The numerous hymns composed by the Sakta poets in imitation of the Vaisnava *Bargits* have not the same intensity of feeling and felicity of expression. The Sakta poets had no rich treasure-house of myths and legends; their literature became repetitive and monotonous. Even with royal patronage, their literature was overshadowed by the Vaisnavite writings.

The Vaisnavite monasteries were responsible for creating a voluminous mass of writings known as *Charit Puthis,* biographical narratives of the religious saints such as Sankaradeva, Madhavadeva and others. *Charit Puthis* were written both in prose and verse.

A non-sectarian literature of the entertaining type was also developed. Kaviraj Chakravarti, a court poet of Radra Singha, made an abridged translation of Jaydeva's *Gita Govinda* in the traditional pada metre. The manuscript was profusely illustrated under the orders of the king. His other Kavyas are *Samkhasur Yudha* and *Sakuntala Kavya.* Although the main story of the *Sakuntala Kavya* was taken from the *Mahabharata,* the poet skilfully interwove the erotic episode of Kamakala and Chandraketu taken from folklore.

In the sphere of technical literature, there was a rich crop. Works on astrology, medical and veterinary sciences, mathematics, dancing and music were produced in abundance. Under orders of King Siva Singha, *Hastividyarnava* (an ocean of elephant lore), a scientific and illustrated treatise on elephants (probably based on the Sanskrit work *Hastya Ayurveda*), was compiled in 1734 A.D. by

Sukumar Barkath. The book is in prose and deals with the different types of elephants, their characteristics, ailments, and treatment.

Through all these writings, Assamese prose slowly evolved as a medium of expression, simple, direct, colloquial, without rhetorical clap-trap. Assamese was adopted as a court language and used in all diplomatic correspondence; this too helped in the formation of a precise and clear prose style. Assamese also became a *lingua franca* among the neighboring hill peoples, who contributed a considerable number of vocables to the language.

Later times. For a decade before the British occupation in 1826, the Burmese had overrun Assam and inflicted untold miseries upon the people. When David Scott took charge of the country, he found a decimated and terror-stricken people, with the king and nobility in hiding. When normal life returned, the face of Assamese society was changed beyond recognition.

The establishment of British rule, while conferring peace and tranquility, brought about the decline and ultimate extinction of the old court and nobility, who were no longer available as patrons of letters. The administration, which in its lower rungs was mainly manned by Bengali clerks, took scant notice of the Assamese language and literature and introduced Bengali as the official language of the province. As late as 1873, Bengali continued to be taught in the schools of Assam to the total exclusion of Assamese. The literary life, in the early British rule, save for religious writings in the monasteries, was thus in a sad decline.

At this time (1836 A.D.), chance brought a few American Baptist missionaries (Rev. N. Brown, O. B. Cutter, and others) to Assam. They came here to find a way to China. But when their efforts to find a passage across the high mountain ranges that guard India in the east proved futile, they decided to stay on in Assam to preach the gospel among the hill-tribes. In collaboration with an Assamese pundit, Dr. Carey of the British mission had completed the *New Testament* in Assamese as early as 1819 A.D.; and the whole of the *Bible* was translated in 1833 A.D. But this was so full of Bengali and Sanskrit words that it was practically unintelligible to an unlettered Assamese. So in January 1838 Dr. Brown began to make a new translation.

Among the Assamese publications that Dr. Brown brought out about two years after his arrival at Sadiya are the *Catechism in Assamese* (16 pages), and *Worcester's Primer* (56 pages). W. Robinson published *A grammar of the Assamese Language* in 1839. Rev. Brown compiled his *Assamese-English Dictionary* in 1867. This is the first Assamese lexicon.

After many vicissitudes, the Mission, on May 24, 1841, made their headquarters at Sibsagar, near the old Ahom capital. Here they started a monthly magazine—*Orunadai Sambad Patra* (*Newspaper of the Dawn*, 1846). Soon a band of Assamese young men developed a taste for Western learning, which in its turn created in them a zeal for the improvement of the moribund native literature. The magazine in Assamese blossomed into a forum where the aspirations of the English-educated Assamese were encouraged to find expression.

The Mission furthered the cause of education through its schools, and diffused knowledge through writings in Assamese. It brought out school-books, grammar, and history for beginners; general scientific treatises; translations of well-known tales, in the language of the common man. Thus there grew up a homely and racy prose style. The writings of Anandaram Dhekial Phookan (1829–59) in the pages of *Orunodai* are a shining example of this new style. The early Baptist missionaries may be looked upon as founders of the modern Assamese literature, and the names of Nathan Brown and Miles Bronson are re-

vered by every lover of the Assamese language.

Hemachandra Barua (1835–96) is of this generation of Assamese men of letters. The scion of an orthodox Brahman family, he broke away from caste rules and taught himself English. He imbibed the liberal spirit of the west and developed a social consciousness. An industrious man, his single-mindedness enabled him, despite heavy duties as a government employee, to write plays, novelettes, text-books, dictionaries, and other literary pieces. In his satirical plays, his acid humor, which had little sympathy with the seamy side of life, was employed to expose the cant and hypocrisy of society. His characters represent types rather than individuals. *Kaniyar Kirtan* (*The song of the opium-eater*) is an indictment of the opium habit, which had been a national curse, eating into the vitals of Assamese life and bringing about the ruin of many happy and prosperous homes. In his *Bahire rong-song bhitare kowa-bhaturi* (*All that glitters is not gold*), Hemachandra holds up to ridicule the licentiousness of the religious preceptors, who under the cloak of saintliness cover up their carnal desire for the neighbor's wife. Although a playwright of considerable merit, he is best known for the first scientific dictionary of the Assamese language. In all his writing, Hemachandra was very particular in his choice of words. His style was usually severe and careful; it took on rich colors when his hatred of cant goaded him to lash the fools and knaves.

Goonabhiram Barua (1837–95), friend and contemporary of Hemachandra, was a man of altogther different temperament. He was a rationalist of deep conviction and rare courage, with a sympathetic view of human frailties. His humor never hurts, it rises from fellow-feeling. Goonabhiram wrote the first history and biography on western models. His life of Anandaram Dhekial Phookan is written in an intimate and refreshing style. Goonabhiram's monthly magazine, *Assam Bandhu* (1885), was open to all the younger writers.

A group of young men, mostly students in Calcutta colleges, brought out a monthly magazine, the *Jonaki* (*Firefly*) in 1889, which was destined to play a decisive role in the literary history of the province. Fired by an intense love of their literature, the combined efforts of this talented group succeeded in awakening a sense of pride among their countrymen in the achievements of their ancestors, as well as a faith in the future of the nation.

The short lyric, fed by fervent reading of the English Romantic poets, soon became the most popular vehicle of poetical expression, while a few found success in sonnet form. The effective handling of blank verse in Bengali poetry encouraged Bholanath Das (1858–1929) to write an epic in Assamese in that metre. But, though a writer of poetic sensibilities, his use of an affected and highly Sanskritized diction made his attempts very wooden. The Assamese romantic poets went to the people for fresh forms and motifs. A crop of modernized ballads and folk songs was the result.

Lakhminath Bezbarua (1868–1938), a fertile and versatile man of letters, is universally accepted as the greatest figure in modern Assamase literature. An excellent poet, a great dramatist, an erudite scholar, and a journalist of repute, his fame rests on his humorous skits and short stories. Lakhminath's humor reveals the national follies of his people. In imitation of Sir Roger de Coverley, Lakhminath created in his essays the character of Kripabar Barbarua, whose idiosyncrasies typify Assamese life and manners. Lakhminath's short stories, now included in *Surabhi* (1909), *Sadhukathar Kuki* (1910) and *Jonbiri* (1913) are woven around our village life and middle class society, embroidered here and there with pleasing humor and delicate pathos. In his poems he exhibits flashes of romantic magic. Among his historical dramas the *Belimar*

(*Sunset*), which has for its theme the Burmese invasion of Assam, not only clearly depicts the complicated chain of events but also exhales the very atmosphere of decadence of the Ahom court that led to the loss of Assamese independence. His farces are full of mocking and hilarious laughter.

Hemachandra Goswami's (1879–1928) literary contribution is mainly historical and editorial, though in his earlier years he composed smooth-flowing verses. His historical essays are embodied in the books that he edited, and in the occasional papers he contributed to Assamese periodicals. His outstanding works are the editing and compiling of the *Typical Selections from Assamese Literature* (in 3 v. of 7 parts) and the *Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts*, both published by the University of Calcutta.

Chandrakumar Agarwalla (b. 1867), a poet, has lived the retired life of a recluse. He founded the nationalist weekly paper *Asamiya*. His lyrical poems are delicate and charming, with a fugitive grace. Padmanath Gohain Barua has devoted his whole life to the development of Assamese literature. Immediately Bengali was withdrawn from the schools, Assamese textbooks were required. This want was largely filled by Padmanath who, in a series of moral lessons drawn from various sources, supplied them. A ceaseless writer, Padmanath goes on producing textbooks and dramas in rapid succession. His excellent reader, *Niti Sikkhya*, is a delight to school children, while his historical dramas kindled a burning patriotic fervor. He has composed a few farces of rollicking humor. He writes in a chaste style, beautiful in aptness of words and distinctive in diction. He has also written accomplished poetry. Benudhar Rajkhowa has written a few effective farces, of reformist zeal.

The novels of Rajanikanta Bardalai (1867–1939) are outstanding. His first romantic novel, *Miri-Jiyari* (1895), was followed by *Monomati*, *Rangili*, *Rahdai Ligiri* and many others. His stories are connected mainly with the past history of the country; the philosophy of the writer seems to tend toward either joyous abandon as in the social festivals, or world renunciation as in the Vaisnavite monastery.

Kamalakanta Bhattacharyya (b. 1853) was full of concentrated reformist zeal. Though born into a Brahman family, he joined the *Brahmo Samaj*, the progressive society of the time. He was a bold thinker and a vigorous exponent of advanced views. He denounced idolatry in Hindu religion, advocated widow re-marriage among Brahmans, fought with indignation against untouchability and the caste system. His revolutionary ideas are expressed in wrathful language. In the more vehement passages, his style rises to prophetic fervor. Kamalakanta showed no less power in verse compositions. His verses bring back racial consciousness, and a national pride in language and culture. His *Cintanala* (1890) is an outpouring of warm patriotic sentiments.

Satyanath Bora (1860–1925) was a well-known essayist. His close-knit and thoughtful compositions occupy a distinct place in Assamese literature. His style is direct, straightforward, aphoristic.

Hiteswar Barbarua (b. 1887) wrote in blank-verse three excellent kavyas, *Kamatapur Dhamsa* (*Fall of Kamatapur*); *Birahini Bilap*; *Judha Khetrat Ahom Ramani*, all full of heroic sentiments. Hiteswar re-interprets the happenings of Ahom history, and invests them with a permanent human interest. In his *Malach* and *Abhasa*, he has given us impeccable sonnets.

Nature appears with alluring charm to Raghunath Chowdhuri (b. 1879). He draws his inspiration from Nature, which he sees as an infinite repository of spiritual energy. His *Keteki* (*Indian Nightingale*) possesses the freshness and charm of an Assamese landscape, with its fragrant flowers and caroling

birds. His *Sadari* is a collection of short descriptive poems.

Ambikagiri Roychowdhuri, free lance politician and journalist, has written many stirring political songs. His permanent fame as a poet rests on his mystic poem *Tumi.*

As a religious mystic, in his *Jyan Malini* (1897) Mafizuddin Ahmed tries to rediscover the secrets of existence. The many voices of Nature, interpreted with a keen mystical intuition of inner meaning and message, are echoed in the poems of Nalinibala Devi. Like Tagore, but within limited fields, Nalinibala expresses the yearning of the Finite for the Infinite, of the self for the Great Beyond, of the aching heart for the supreme bliss.

Sarat Chandra Goswami (1886–1944) started his literary career as a short-story writer. His earlier stories, collected in *Galpanjali* (1901), are full of diffusive pathos verging at places on sentimentalism. Dandinath Kalita is noted for satirical verses. His poems, executed with a happy blending of humor and wit, are sketches of contemporary men and manners. Humorous inventions, sneering mockery, keen ridicule are present more or less in nearly every poem of his collections: *Ragar; Rahghara; Bahurupi.* Jatindranath Duara drew inspiration for his poems from the English Romantics. His writings are the record of his personal feelings, his contradictory moods, his fugitive love, his sentimental despair. In his poems one feels the agony of a sick man whose life is shattered by the force of mysterious fate. Jatindranath has also rendered the *Rubaiyat* of Omar into melodious Assamese. Ratnakanta Barkakati is preeminent as a lyricist. His poems are exquisite for their musical quality, sensuous imagination and varied rhythms. Love and beauty are his favorite themes. A host of other writers helped enrich the period.

During the last twenty years, a great intellectual change has come over Assamese literature. New forces and a new spirit are seen working in every field of letters. Most of the works of the younger poets—Sailadhar Rajkhowa; Dimbeswar Neog; Binandachandra Barua—are deeply imbued with love for their motherland. The Freedom Movement, the Indian National Congress, deeply stirred the minds of the people, roused them from their age-long slumber and set them thinking about the degraded lot of their country. A new sense of national pride has produced rousing "kettle-drum" poetry. There appears, however, a faint note of despair. English education and the gradual industrialization of the country have struck at the very root of society. After more than a century, people are disillusioned as to English education and culture. The native religion, tradition, culture, all that an ancient race can boast, are withering like autumn leaves. Poverty, sickness, and chaos have become the order of the day. The poets can not shut themselves up in an ivory tower dallying with dream-desire. And in their poetry they throw occasional flashlights on the gloomy outlook of our lives.

The Freedom Movement not only brought new thoughts and ideas, but also freed our poetry from traditional forms and conventions. Fresh metrical forms have been introduced and old forms modernized. New ideas associated with the lives of the common people are expressed in their plain and simple language, giving rise to a speech rhythm in poetry. Dramatic literature has not reached a high mark. The classical tradition and the influence of the Vaisnavite religion have in this field checked the introduction of new elements. The *Ankiya Nat,* the medieval dramatic composition, even today holds sway as popular entertainment in our villages.

The printing press, pamphlets, and journals such as *Banhi* and *Awahon,* have built up a popular prose literature. The short story is remarkable for its mushroom-like growth. It has been ably used as a weapon for social propaganda and reform; also to work off an occa-

sional mood, or portray the new urban life, from many a standpoint. Sex and social conflict are important problems discussed in the short story. Renderings of short stories from European literatures regularly appear in Assamese magazines. Russian and French writers are the favorites. In the novel, Assamese literature is still deficient. But the Assamese intelligentsia are carrying on a vigorous literary life, and increasingly contributing to Assamese life and culture.

Bani Kanti Kakati, *Assamese, its formation and development;* V. H. Sword, *Baptists in Assam;* Birinchi Kumar Barua, *Assamese Literature* (P. E. N.); Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Languages and the Linguistic Problem;* K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Literature and Authorship in Iidia.*

SHRI BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA.

BENGALI

The literary importance of Bengali is comparatively recent in the history of the language. Its eminence in the literary field developed mainly in the past hundred years, largely as a result of its contact and conflict with the spirit of England and Europe. There is a fairly extensive literature, of quite a high standard, in pre-English Bengal, i.e., before 1800 A.D. Many great poets created this earlier literature: Chaṇḍidāsa; Kṛittivāsa; Vipradāsa Piplāi; Mālādhara Vasu; Locana-dāsa; Jnānadāsa; Kavi-Kankaṇa; Mukunda-rāma; Krishnadāsa Kavirāja; Rūparāma Chakravarti; Kasiramadasa; Bhārata-chandra Rāya Guṇakara. Yet it is through the 19th and 20th c. writers —Bankin Chandra Chatterji; Maikel (Michel) Madhusudan Datta; Rabindranath Tagore; Sarat Chandra Chatterji, and their contemporaries and followers—that Bengali literature has come to its own.

Bengali, a language of the Indo-Aryan group, has been in existence as an independent language for about a thousand years. It has become a particularly felicitous speech for poetry and song. Educated Bengalis perforce use English as the language of higher education in the Universities; consequently Bengali has not developed a scientific and technical literature. Poetry and fiction, the drama and the essay are its major fields.

A full history of Bengali literature has not yet been written. We are still discovering old manuscripts, and revising old copyists' texts. The Bengali script (a variant of the national system of writing, of which the representative form is the Devanagari or Nagari script in which both Hindi and Sanskrit are written) was first put in print in 1778 for the Englishman Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, in his *Grammar of the Bengal Language.* Prior to 1800, literature of Bengal was entirely in mss., on paper or palm leaf. In the moist climate of Bengal, mss. do not have a long life. A popular work was frequently copied; mistakes were many; the language was modernized if the copyist found it archaic or not easy to follow; quite frequently, a copyist would add his own compositions as "embellishments."

Except in letters and documents, there is no prose. [This tradition has been carried down to our times—when we have works like *Homiopathi-Darpan (Mirror of Homoeopathy)* and *Moktar-Suhrid (The Lawyer's Friend)* in Bengali heroic verse.] The narrative poem, and the lyric, are the two mainstays of early Bengali literature. The narrative poems tell stories from the Sanskrit epics the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata,* and the Sanskrit *Puranas* or religious and semi-historical legendary lore. With the 16th c. there comes a biographical literature in verse, on the great Vaiṣṇava saint and reformer Chaitanya and his followers. Despite the monotonous recurrence of the same stories, there is frequent touch of sensibility, of vision and observation, ability to evoke the supersensual, human sympathy, sense of humor and power to spot the grotesque, command over language and genuine aesthetic sense.

The oldest remains of Bengali consist of a group of 47 songs composed by a class of

saints known as the *Siddhas* or *Siddhāchāryas*. These songs, known as *Charyā-padas*, exist only in Tibetan translation. They resemble the riddle or the allegory; the outward meaning is clear enough, but the inner meaning requires a commentary:

Taking what, and abandoning what, in what am I?
The surrounding huntsmen's halloo is heard on four sides.
The Stag is a foe to all—because of its own flesh.
Bhusuku, the Hunter, never abandons it for a moment.
The Stag does not touch grass—does not drink water.
The abode of the Stag (?) and the Doe is not known.
The Doe says—"O Stag, do thou hear!
Leave this forest and be a wanderer."
While going fast, the Stag's hoofs are not seen.
Bhusuku (the poet) says: the sense (of this poem) does not enter the mind (heart) of a fool.

Occasional couplets in these songs evoke pictures of life in Bengal of a thousand years ago, and some of them have quite a noteworthy lyric beauty.

The Turki conquest of Bengal was like a terrible storm; from 1200 until about 1400, Islam of the Turki conqueror sought to destroy the pre-Islamic culture of the land. The Turks and their descendants of mixed origin used Persian in the transactions of the court, and Arabic in their religious observances.

The names of a few poets are preserved: Mayūra-bhaṭṭa, said to have been the first to compose the story of the hero, Lāu Sen; Kāṇā Haridatta, who wrote the story of Bihulā and Lakhindar. The first great name in Bengali literature after the Turki conquest is that of the *Pada*-writer Chandīdāsa, who made widely popular lyrics of the loves of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. With the background of the pastoral life at Vṛindāvana by the Jumna river, these lyrics depict a number of idyllic incidents and scenes which are given a mystic religious significance, embodying the love of the human soul (Rādhā) for the Divine (Kṛishṇa). A rich and highly colored vein of spiritual experience in the symbol of sensuous and erotic figures and forms was opened up before the people of Bengal; and a distinctive Bengali literary form, though influenced by Persian Sūfī lyrics, came into being.

The name of 'Chaṇḍidāsa' presents one of the knottiest problems of early Bengali literature. Any Bengali who takes an interest in the literature of his mother-tongue, any villager who listens to the Vaishṇava devotional songs known as *Kirttanas*, will tell you that Chaṇḍidāsa was a great poet and devotee of early Bengal. There are over 1,200 songs, mostly on the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, that in the final couplet bear his name as author. It is now generally considered that the Chaṇḍidāsa poems represent the combined work of a number of poets. The oldest Chaṇḍidāsa (14th–15th c.), known by the qualifying appellation Baḍu, is the author of the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Kirttana;* another, known as Dīna Chaṇḍidāsa, wrote after 1600 A.D.; between them was a lesser, Dvija Chaṇḍidāsa.

Dīna Chaṇḍidāsa is a rather pedestrian though prolific writer. Baḍu Chaṇḍidāsa's *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Kirttana* is the first great work of early Middle Bengali. There is intense poignancy in Rādhā's yearning for *Krshna*, which gave a special tone to future depicitions of the sentiment. His language is generally well-formed, though in the history of the Bengali language analogous to that of Chaucer in English.

Kṛittivāsa Ojhā (b. ca. 1399) was the foremost poet who wrote on the theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Bengali. His version (ca. 1420) became very popular all over Bengal; its lan-

guage and its contents were altered by a series of unknown copyists, the last of them being Jayagopāl Tarkālānkā. In place of the human and the heroic in the original Sanskrit work, supernatural elements, and faith in a gentle and compassionate Rāma (a sort of reflex of Kṛishṇa) characterize the Bengali work.

The Kṛishṇa legend was versified (ca. 1473–80) by Mālādhar Basu with the sobriquet of Guṇarāja Khān. This work, based on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa,* became immensely popular. The legends of the Snake Goddess Manasā, particularly the beautiful story of Bihūlā and Lakhindar (Sanskrit Lakshmindhara), were also treated in great poems by two writers, Vijaya Gupta of Goilā-Phullaśrī in the Barisal district, and Vipradāsa Pipalai of Bāḍuḍiyā-Vaṭagrām near Calcutta (1492).

This 15th c. was a great age for Bengal. Renowned jurists like Smārta Raghunandana Bhaṭṭachārya, and logicians like Raghunatha Śiromaṇi, strengthened the traditions of Bengali scholarship in Sanskrit; a poet like Chaturbhuja Bhaṭṭāchārya composed a Sanskrit Kavya on the legend of Kṛishṇa (the *Haricharita*). And the great Chaitanya, who gave a new turn to the Vaisnava faith, was born in 1486. The Muslim religion was spreading mainly through the activities of the Sūfīs, but after the rise of Chaitanya Vaisnavism, this suffered a check. Bengali Muslim rulers were falling under the spell of Hindu lore. The independent Muslim Sultan of Bengal, Hosain Shāh (1493–1519), was an active patron of Bengali literature; and Parāgal Khān and Chhuṭī Khān, governors of Chittagong under Hosain Shāh and his son Sultān Nāsiruddīn Nasrat Shāh, had the *Mahābhārata* rendered into Bengali, first by a poet Kavīndra, whose very brief version of the *Mahābhārata* story was known as the *Paṇḍava-vijaya* or *Vijaya-Pāṇḍava-Kathā;* and secondly by Śrīkara Nandi. From the 15th c. this tradition of telling the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata,* the *Kṛishṇāyana* and other Puranic stories in Bengali continued into the 19th c.

Mithilā had somehow escaped the Turki cataclysm that overwhelmed South Bihar and Bengal in the 12th and 13th c., and its scholars maintained the old Hindu traditions of scholarship. Young Bengal students of Sanskrit went there to finish their education under renowned masters. The Maithilī speech is an immediate sister of Bengali, and Sanskrit scholars of Mithilā did not disdain their mother-tongue. A scholar like Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara wrote his *Varna-ratnākara* (a work of set descriptions of various objects and situations, to supply ready-made cliché passages to story-tellers and *Purāṇa* reciters) ca. 1325; and Vidyāpati composed his sweet lyrics on love (1350–1450). Vidyāpati was a great Sanskrit scholar and a polished poet of Maithilī; and his lyrics, mostly on the loves of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, exerted their fascination on the young Bengali scholars. The language of these songs changed in Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya mouths, as their poets began to emulate Vidyāpati and write lyrics in this modified Maithilī. This quickly established itself in Assam and Bengal as a second literary language, of artificial origin, but considered exceedingly mellifluous; it could preserve certain verse cadences no longer natural to Assamese and Bengali; and it came to be known as *Brajabuli,* the *speech* to present the love of Kṛishṇa that had its seat in the land of *Braja* (Vraja, Vrindavana). Its traditions have come down to our day, Rabindranath Tagore himself having composed a whole volume of exquisite lyrics in this poetic dialect (*Bhanu-simha Thakurer Padāvali*).

Vidyāpati's lyrics became so popular he was deemed a native poet. A Bengali poet of later times, Kaviranjana, alias Chhota Vidyāpati (the Lesser Vidyapati), became hopelessly entangled with the original Vidyāpati, his Brajabuli poems passing in Bengal as by Vidyāpati.

The personality of Chaitanya (1486–1534) is looked upon by many Bengalis as the greatest fact of Bengal's cultural and spiritual life in medieval times. Certainly, through his advent an unprecedented impetus came to Bengali's life and culture, to her intellect and spirit. Chaitanya himself has left only eight Sanskrit verses, and a Sanskrit hymn in honor of Jagannatha or Vishṇu but his influence was tremendous—his disciples and those who came in touch with him adoring this handsome scholar who had such a compelling greatness in him, and such an endless yearning for God.

A new genre became established in Bengali, that of the biography. Five biographies of Chaitanya, each with its individual character and merit, were written in the course of 16th c.: the *Kadacā* (*Notes*), by Govindadāsa Karmakāra, describing his travels in the South, regarded as spurious or late by some scholars; the *Chaitanya-bhāgavata* of Vṛindāvana-dāsa, c. 1573; the *Chaitanya-mangala* of Lochanadāsa (1523–1580); the *Chaitanya-mangala* of Jayānanda (c. 1550?); and the most important, *Chaitanya-charitāmrita* of Sri Krishnadasa Kaviraja, ca. 1581, unique in its accurate statement of facts and its exposition of Chaitanya's philosophy, and one of the greatest books written in Bengali. Biographies of other Vaiṣṇava saints and worthies enriched Bengali literature; among these are the *Advaitaprakāśa* by Isvara Nāgara (1564), the *Prema-vilāsa* by Nityānanda (1600), the *Karnānanda* by Yadunandara Dāsa (1607), the *Muralī-vilāsa* by Raja Vallabha Chaṭṭā (early 17th c.), the *Rasikamangala* by Gopijanavallabha Dāsa (d. ca. 1652), the *Anurāgāvallī* by Manohara-dāsa (1697), and the *Bhaktiratnākara* and the *Narottamavilāsa* of Narahari (Ghanaśyāma) Chakravarti (early 18th c.). These works are pietistic in tone, after the manner of hagiologies, and they freely bring in the supernatural. After this the writings of biographies waned; about a century ago, a Bengali Muslim writer in North Bengal wrote the *Kānta-nāmā*, a biography in the traditional manner, of a Bengali worthy, Kānta, Bābu, the Dewan of Warren Hastings.

Equally popular in the 16th and 17th c. were the *Padas* (lyrics) treating of the divine love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, or of Chaitanya's personality, with occasional prayers and litanies of great beauty and power. Songs of over 200 poets have been preserved; among them are: (1) Govinda dāsa Kavirāja (? 1536–1612), with some incomparably beautiful lyrics of flowery imagination and mellifluous diction; (2) Jñāna-dāsa (b. ca. 1530), a writer of pure Bengali; (3) Kavirañjana Vidyāpati, or *Chhoṭa* Vidyāpati; (4) Rāya Śekhara; (5) Balarāma Dāsa; (6) Narottama Dāsa, well-known for songs of praise and prayer unique in early Bengali for their sincerity and devotion.

Our earliest anthologies preserving these songs are of the mid 17th c.; chief among them are: (1) the *Śrī-Śrī-Rādhā-Krishna-rasa-kalpa-vallī* of Rāmagopāla Dāsa of Śrīkhaṇḍa; (2) the *Rasa-mañjarī* by Pītāmbara-dasa, son of Rāmagopāla—both of the late 17th c.; (3) *Kṣahṇadā-gīta-chintāmanī* by Visvanātha Chakravarti (early 18th c.); (4) the *Padāmritasindhu*, with a Sanskrit commentary, by Rādhā-mohan Ṭhākur (c. 1725); and (5) the *Pada-kalpa-taru* of Vaishnava-dāsa (ca. 1770). The *Pada-kalpa-taru* is the largest of all these anthologies; it has 3101 padas, arranged according to subject matter.

The 17th century witnessed the establishment of another literary theme in Bengal. By 1600 there were four centuries of Islamic influence and the culture of Persia and Arabia on the minds of Bengali Muslims, and—particularly in faraway Chittagong and in Arracan, among communities of Bengali Muslims settled among the alien Burmese-speaking Arracanese, removed from centres of Hindu culture—writers began to render into Bengali not only tales of Arab and Persian romance but

also hand-books on Islamic religion and practices. The earliest Muslim poet of the Chittagong-Arracan group was Daulat Kāzī, with a romance of *Lor-Chandra* or *Sati Maynā,* a popular Rajput romance from North India. He was followed by Koreshi (Qurayshī) Māgan Thākur (late 17th c.), whose huge romance of *Chandrāvatī* is also based on Hindi sources; Mohammad Khān (ca. 1646) whose *Maktul Hosain* dealing with the tragedy of Karbala, and his *Keyāmat-nāma* (*Account of the day of judgment*) are popular works; Abdul Nabī, whose great work was the *Amir Hamza* (1684), a heroic poem treating the wonderful deeds of Amīr Hamza, uncle of the prophet of Islam. Abdul Nabi had a beautiful style, but his language and development of the story do not differ from those of contemporary Hindu poets. Some of the tales from the *Arabian Nights* were also adapted by these Muslim poets of Chittagong and Arracan. In this way a new range of subjects was opened up for Bengali, entirely in the secular vein.

The greatest of these Chittagong and Arracan poets was Ālāol (Al-awwal; 1607–80), who was at first a protégé of the Māgan Thākur, just mentioned. His works comprise: *Padmāvatī* (1651), an adaptation of the Eastern Hindi romance (with a Sūfī allegorical import) of the same name by Malik Muhammad Jāyasī, written ca. 1540; *Saifu-l-Mulk Badiuz-zamān* (1659–1669), a love-romance on a theme from the *Arabian Nights*; *Haft Paykār* (1660) and *Sikandar-nāmā* (1673), adaptations of two of the famous romances of the Persian poet Nizāmī (ca. 1141–1203); and the *Tohfa* (the *Gift;* 1662), a translation of a well-known Persian treatise on the Musalman religion and its practices. The most popular of his works is the *Padmāvatī;* its elaborate Sanskrit vocabulary never made it lose its popularity with the Muslims of East Bengal and Chittagong, and in Chittagong a class of reciters made it their business to recite and explain the *Padmāvatī,* with its sūfī inner meaning, to Muslim gatherings.

Lāu-sen, a devotee of Dharma Ṭhākur or the God Dharma (who seems to be the Hindu form of a deity of creation, rice-culture and fecundity), was a popular hero of early Bengal. In a series of romantico-religious poems known as the *Dharma-maṅgala Kāvyas,* his adventures are described. Among the many that wrote of them was Mayūra Bhaṭṭa (fl. before 1200), whose poems are lost. The earliest extant *Dharma-maṅgala* poem dates from the mid 17th c.; it is by Rūparāma Chakravartī. He was followed by others, notably Māṇik Gāṅguli and Ghanarāma Chakravartī, both of the early 18th c.

Other romantico-religious stories, connected with the glorification of Chaṇḍī or Durgā, the spouse of Śiva, the great Mother Goddess, are also special to Bengal. In the 16th c. Madhavāchārya and Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukundarāma Chakravartī (ca. 1580) wrote *Chaṇḍi-kāvyas* on these themes. Mukundarāma's book is still very popular; it gives a vivid picture of life in 16th c. Bengal. Rich in humor, its characterization is truthful and convincing; the joys and sorrows of the people are pictured with keen insight.

Early in the 16th c. Raghunātha Bhāgavatāchārya wrote a new, vivid adaptation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* in his *Kṛishṇa-prema-taraṅgini.* A century later, Kāśirāma-dāsa of Siṅgī continued the tradition of rendering the *Mahābhārata* in Bengali verse; his version now was the widest currency in Bengal. His elder brother, Kṛishṇa-kiṅkara, wrote a poem on Kṛishṇa, the *Śrīkṛishṇa-vilāsa,* and a younger brother, Gadādhara, sang of the glories of Jagannātha in his *Jagannātha-maṅgala.*

The legend of Chand Sadāgar and the snake goddess, on which two great poems were written in the 15th c., was treated afresh in the 16th c. in two works, both known as *Padmā-purāṇa,* and in the 17th c. two West

Bengal poets, Ketakādāsa and Kshemānanda, composed on the same theme a joint work called *Manasār Bhāsān* (the *Floating of Manasā*) which is still immensely popular with the masses.

A popular theme, originally Buddhistic, on which 17th and 18th c. poets wrote was that of Rāja Gopīchandra, or Govind-a-chandra. When Gopī-chandra, son of king Māṇik-chandra, succeeded to the throne, his mother Queen Mayanāmatī found out by her Yogic powers that unless he gave up his kingdom and his wives and took to the mendicant's life, he would die an early death. Against his will he left his wives and realm, wandering until the danger was past. This story, spread all over India, seems to be of Bengali origin. On this theme we have Bhavānīdāsa's *Mayanāmativ-Gān* (? 17th c.) and Durlabha Mallik's *Govinda-chandra Gīta* (? 18th c.), besides some North Bengali folk-versions collected (1878) by Sir George A. Grierson and others.

The 16th and 17th c. also saw the growth of secular narrative poems or ballads. The finest of these come from East Bengal, particularly Maimansingh District; they have a historical basis, and are highly romantic and poetical. A fine war ballad is the *Chaudhurīr Laḍāi.*

The 18th was in many ways a century of decay. Although the synthesis of Muslim (i.e. Persian) and Hindu (i.e. native Indian) civilisations continued with greater vigour, the intellectual degeneracy of the ruling classes helped to bring about European domination and paved the way for the final English ascendancy. The centralized power of the Moguls passed away; the Marathas and the Sikhs had their rise, and Muslim provincial governors set up independent states. In Bengal, the virtually independent Nawābs took control, and as a result of their incapacity there was a period of internal tyranny and anarchy. The English East India Company and its underlings came in conflict with the Nawāb of Bengal Sirājuddaulah, and a series of events, creditable neither to the English nor to the Bengal traitors that aided them, led to the defeat of Sirājuddaulah at Plassey (1757) and the final establishment of the English rule in Bengal, in 1765. Immediately after their establishment in power, a terrible famine devastated Bengal.

All the great 18th c. poets came before the establishment of English rule. Three prominent writers represent 18th c. Bengal: Kavirañjana Rāmaprasāda Sena (d. 1775); Rāyagunakara Bhārata Chandra Rāya (? 1712–60), and Rājā Jayanārāyaṇa Ghoshāla of Bhū-Kailāsa near Calcutta (1752–1821). Rāmaprasāda is a mystic and a devotee of Kālī or Durgā, the Great Mother Goddess, and his still popular songs, in simple language, bear testimony to his deep and fervent devotion. Bhārata Chandra's great work is his *Annadā-maṅgala Kāvya,* also known as *Kālikā-maṅgala* (1752). This work, one of the most polished in Bengali, deservedly popular, is in three parts: (1) legends of Śiva and Pārvatī; (2) the love-story of Vidyā and Sundara (with the Sanskrit *Chaurapañchāśikā* of the Kashmir poet Bilhana as a background); and (3) a semi-historical story, of Rājā Mānsingh of Amber coming to Bengal as a general of Jahāngīr to quell the rebellion of the Bengal *Zamindār* or feudatory chief Pratāpāditya of Jessore. Bhārata Chandra is a finished master of language; of a frequently mocking spirit, he is clever at describing incidents and types, and clearly limns individual characters. More lines and couplets of his than of any other Bengali poet are current as proverbs. Rājā Jayanārāyaṇa Ghoshāla busied himself with social, religious, and educational matters, endowing a school that still bears his name. He translated the *Kāśi-Khaṇḍa* section of the Sanskrit *Padmā-purāṇa,* adding a vivid and unique picture of life in Benares.

During the second half of the century, the

leisure classes took dalliance with light songs and impromptu verses, verbal tricks rather than depth or sincerity of sentiment. Songs by improvisers in the light vein, and poetical contests (*Kavir-Ladāi*), where rival poets would seek in impromptu verse to pour ridicule upon each other, became very popular. Among the various *Kaviwālās* or improvising poets, the compositions of Dāśarathi Rāy (1804–1857) are quite remarkable in their command of language, in their spontaneity and freshness of ideas, and in their sense of humor combined with knowledge of human character.

The foundations of Bengali prose style were laid in the 18th c. Portuguese missionaries had translated Roman Catholic tracts into the language, and in 1599, Dominic de Sosa, from Goa, is said to have written the first Christian treatise (not extant) in Bengali. These and other religious documents, in Latin letters, were the only Bengali prose until the already mentioned *Grammar* of the Englishman N. B. Halhed (1778). A few prose stories were written before the 19th c. Then the British Protestant missionaries at Serampore near Calcutta started to print translations of the Christian *Scriptures* as well as some of the Bengali classics. At the College of Fort William in Calcutta, started by the East India Company to teach Indian languages to its British officials, Bengali teachers were commissioned to write suitable prose: thus, Rāmrām Basu, author of the *Pratāpāditya-charit* (1801; printed in Bengali type in London) and Mrityuñjaya Vidyālañkār, author of the *Purusha-parīkshā*. Bengali journalism began when William Carey started the *Samāchāra-Darpaṇa* in Serampore, in 1818; by 1825, a vigorous prose style was established in Bengali.

Among Muslim writers, poetry continued to flourish. Hayāt Mahmūd of Rangpur District wrote four poems: *Anbiā-Vāṇī* (*Message of the Prophets*); *Maharam-parva* or *Jaṅgnāma* (ca. 1723–24), an account of the tragedy of Karbala; *Chitta-utthān*, an adaptation of a Persian rendering of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśa* (ca. 1732–33); and *Hetu-jñana* (ca. 1753–54) on Muslim or Sūfī mysticism. Nasrullā Khān of Chittagong and Yākub Alī of Baśirhāt wrote two *Jañg-nāmās;* Daulat Wazīr Bahrām of Chittagong treated the Arab love-romance of Layla and Majnūn. There were other compositions, on the life of the prophet, on Islamic mysticism and its assimilation to Hindu mysticism, and on Perso-Arabic romance, by writers like Zainuddīn; Ali Raja (Wali Rāzā); Sherlār; Shaykh Sādī.

Through the 19th c., a veritable rebirth of the Bengali intellect took place, in which not only English literature took a leading part but also a new light was thrown on Sanskrit literature by the philological investigations of Europe. Rājā Rām Mohan Roy (?1774–1833), known as "Father of Modern India," brought home to the Indians the necessity of modernizing themselves, and at the same time rediscovered for Modern India the treasures of Indian thought through the Unitarian theosophy of the Upanishads and the Vedānta. He founded the *Brāhmo Samāj*, the first intellectual and cultural expression of a renascent India under impact of Europe. Rām Mohan Roy was a great innovator in Bengali literature also: he translated into Bengali some of the *Upanishads* from the Sanskrit, wrote a grammar of Bengali, the first work from a native Bengali on his mother-tongue, and published tracts and pamphlets on his religious and social views.

Different in aims and ideals from Rām Mohan Roy were a number of orthodox Hindu literary men, among whom are Rājā Rādhākānta Dev, compiler of the great Sanskrit lexicon the *Śabda-kalpadruma*, and the writer Bhavānī Charaṇ Vandyopādhyāya (Banerji; 1787–1848). The latter wrote some satirical sketches of society in Calcutta, edited a paper the *Samāchār-Chandrikā*, and trans-

lated a number of Hindu sacred works from the Sanskrit.

The style of these writers was rather stiff, and overloaded with learned Sanskrit words. But by 1850 a very flexible prose-style came into being, chiefly in the works of Iśwar Chandra Vidyāsāgara (1820–91); Pyārīchānd Mitra (1814–83); and Akshaya Kumār Datta (1820–86). Iśwār Chandra Vidyāsāgara is one of the greatest men of Bengal: as an educationist (as Principal of the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta he revolutionized the teaching of Sanskrit, helped to spread English education by founding a college now known after him, and was an ardent supporter of women's education); as a social reformer (he made widow remarriage among Hindus legal by getting a law adopted in 1854); and as a Bengali stylist (he translated and adapted Sanskrit and English works into Bengali, and inaugurated the writing of Bengali prose in such a fine and lucid manner as to earn the sobriquet of "the Father of Bengali Prose"). His simple and logical periods, with judicious use of Sanskrit words, made writing easier in Bengali; and several generations of Bengalis began their education with his texts. Pyārīchānd Mitra wrote a social novel, *Ālāler Gharer Dulāl* (the *Spoilt Child of a Rich House*; 1858), remarkable both for its subject and treatment and its language, being in the racy colloquial style of the spoken language of Calcutta. Akshaya Kūmar Datta's *Essays* on various subjects show a decided advance towards reasoned thinking and logical prose expression.

Iśwar Chandra Gupta (1811–59), poet and journalist (editing the *Samvād Prabhākar*), was the last of the old school. After him, two outstanding writers took the lead in Bengali literature: Māikel (Michael) Madhusūdan Datta (1823–73) and Baṅkim Chandra Chatterji (Chaṭṭopādhyaya; 1838–94). The late 19th c. in Bengali literature is often called "the Madhusūdan-Baṅkim Age." Madhusūdan Datta's was a restless spirit; he was a typical specimen of "Young Bengal," and at first wrote in English. Later he discovered his mother-tongue, and to qualify properly in it, he learnt a number of European languages to study their literatures first hand: Greek, Latin, French, Italian. He used native themes with international authority, as in the epic poem of *Megh-Nād-bādh Kāvya* (1861) on a theme from the *Rāmāyaṇa;* and in his beautiful lyrics on the Rādhā-Krishna legend (*Vrajāṅganā Kāvya*). He also wrote excellent sonnets, and effective plays in various moods, influenced by his European readings.

Baṅkim Chandra Chatterji, novelist and essayist, is generally looked upon as the greatest writer of Bengali before Rabindranath Tagore. He started with a novel in English (*Rajmohan's Wife,* 1864). His first novel in Bengali, the *Durgeśa-nandinī,* a romance of the stirring days of the Mogul conquest of Bengal from the Pathans, appeared in 1865. This was followed by a series of more than a dozen other novels, historical and social, which won him a permanent place in Bengali literature and in the rank of constructive thinkers and writers in Modern India. In 1872 he began the literary journal *Vaṅga-darśana,* which gave a new tone to Bengali literature. Among his historical novels, *Rāj-sinha* and *Sītārām* may be specially mentioned; and *Visha-vriksha* and *Krishṇakānter Vil* are the most successful of his social novels; while *Kapāla-Kuṇḍalā* (1866), the story of a young girl brought up by a Tantric Yogi far from the dwellings of men, who is happily married but drawn into tragedy, is one of the finest works of pure romance and imagination in any language. His *Ānanda-math* (*Abbey of Bliss*) contains the song *Vande-Mataram* (*I salute my mother*), partly in Sanskrit and partly in Bengali, the opening lines of which have become the National Anthem of India. A sense of romantic wonder not only in history but also in the life around is engendered

by his novels and stories. He fed both the intellect and the imagination of his people. He had a profound sympathy for the masses, and felt it his mission to rouse the patriotic consciousness of his people, as much as to hold great ideals of literature before them. In the subsequent development of Bengal's and India's national and political consciousness, Bañkim Chandra's writings exerted a tremendous influence.

Another great personality who took a leading part in Indian revival, through an aggressive Hinduism (based on the Vedānta and on the teachings of his Master the great saint Rāma-Kṛishṇa Paramahamsa) and through a spirit of service, was Swāmi Vivekānanda (1863–1902). He employed the term *Daridra-Nārāyan* (God in the Poor) to mean the dumb, suffering masses of India, whose betterment more than anything else was his aim in life. (In this he anticipated Mahātmā Gandhi's revival of the old term *Hari-jan* (God's People) to describe the depressed class.) He was a powerful writer of Bengali, in both verse and prose.

Rangalāl Vandyopādhyāya (Benerji; 1827–87) wrote some very fine romantic poems on themes of Rajput chivalry (*Padmini,* 1858; *Karmadevi,* 1862, and *Sūr-sundarī,* 1868), and a charming romance from Oriya history which he narrated beautifully (*Kanchi-Kaveri,* 1879). He translated Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava.* His powers of description were unprecedented in Bengali, as well as his feel for romance. (In 1829, the Englishman Colonel James Todd published in London his famous work on Rajput history and chivalry, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,* in which he displayed a burning and eloquent admiration of the great qualities of the Rajputs. This book, translated into Bengali, became a mine of romantic tales and adventures, and was almost exalted to a place beside the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata.* Much of the romantic literature of Modern Bengal is directly due to the influence of Colonel Todd's book.) Rangalal's poems of Rajput chivalry brought to the Bengali the message of love of one's people and its culture, of renunciation or self-sacrifice for a great ideal.

Dīnabandhu Mitra (1830–73) was one of the makers of the Bengali drama. He wrote some comedies which are still popular, and one drama of his, the *Nīl-Darpaṇ* (Dacca, 1860), helped remove the abuses of the system by which European indigo-planters tyrannized over the Bengali villagers. (An English missionary, the Rev. John Long, translated the book into English, to bring home its exposure; but he was fined for this—the fine was paid by Indians.)

Rājā Rājendralāl Mitra (1822–91) was an historian, the first Bengali antiquarian. He published a very useful paper of general interest and information, the *Vividhārtha-sāṃgraha,* with translations of great European works.

Bhūdeva Mukhopādhyāya (Mukerji; 1825–94) was a prose writer and journalist. He wanted to preserve the best elements of Hindu culture, while effecting a synthesis between the West and the East. His several volumes of essays on social and cultural conservation and reconstruction are of great value.

Kālīprasanna Sinha (1840–70) was another progressive spirit in the fold of orthodox Hindu society. He translated two Sanskrit dramas; and his *Hutom Penchār Nakshā* (the *Sketches of the Screech Owl;* 1863), a picture of Calcutta society in the racy style of the spoken dialect of Calcutta, is one of the classics of Bengali.

Vihārīlāl Chakravarti (1835–94) wrote poems in a new vein of imagination and new verse-cadences. Rabindranath Tagore acknowledged his indebtedness to Vihārīlāl.

Hem Chandra Vandyopādhyāya (Banerji; 1838–1903) translated *Romeo and Juliet.* His epic poem, the *Vritra-samhāra,* was inspired by Madhusūdan's *Meghanād-gadha Kāvya.*

He was a poet of fervent nationalism and profound imagination. He and Navīn Chandra Sen are looked upon as next in order to Michael Madhusūdan Datta in the hierarchy of Bengali poets.

Navīn Chandra Sen (1847–1909) wrote some long poems in which he gave a new interpretation of the teaching of Kṛishṇa (*Kurukshetra, Raivataka, Prabhāsa*), and in three long poems (*Amitābha; Khrishṭa; Amṛitābha*) he treated the lives of Buddha, Christ and Chaitanya. He also wrote a romance of chivalry (*Rangamālā*) and a historical poem of the establishment of the English in Bengal (*Palāshīr Yuddha*). He was a versatile writer, with a prose novel (*Bhānumatī*) to his credit. His very racy and personal autobiography (*Āmārajīvan*) published after his death, reveals him a little Byronic, yet quite lovable; and his knowledge of men and manners was very shrewd and very intimate.

Rājkṛishṇa Rāy (?1852–95) was a voluminous writer. He was editor of a magazine devoted to the study of poetry, and also director of a theatre. His dramas were quite popular; his poems, on a variety of topics, are quite noteworthy. He made complete verse translations of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Dwijendranāth Thakur (Tagore; 1840–1926), the eldest brother of Rabindranath, was one of the most remarkable personalities of his time. He was a poet, an artist, a musician and a philosopher; rich in both human sympathies and philosophical detachment. Among his works *Swapna-Prayāṇ* (1875) is an allegorical poem, original in plan and execution, charming in its style and occasional semi-serious mood.

Jyotirindranath Tagore (1848–1925), the fifth elder brother of Rabindranath, was another great literary figure. His four original dramas (*Puruvikrama,* about Alexander the Great and Pōros, 1874; *Sarojinī,* of the attack upon Chitor by Alāuddīn, 1875; *Aśrumatī,* of Akbar and Pratāpsinha of Mewar, 1879; and *Swapnamayī,* an episode of 18th c. Bengal, 1882) were quite popular. He translated most of the important Sanskrit dramas, and his translations from French and English, as well as from Marathi, extended the horizons of Bengali literature.

Romesh Chandra Dutt (Rameśa Chandra Datta; 1848–1909), as the historian of Hindu civilization, translator of the *Ṛigveda* and writer on Indian economics, and as a novelist of eminence, was one of the leaders of Bengali thought. His historical novels (*Rājput Jīvansandhyā; Maharaṣhtra Jīvan-prabhāt; Mādhavī-Kaṅkaṇ*) and his social novels (*Saṃsār* and *Samāj*) are well known.

Girish Chandra Ghosh (1844–1911) is regarded as the greatest dramatist of Bengal, with some 90 dramas, farces, and sketches, historical, social, and legendary. He was an actor-dramatist of great eminence. Among his works, *Bilwa-mangal; Prapulla; Janā; Pāṇḍavagaurava; Buddha-deva Charita; Chaitanya-līlā; Sirājaddaulā; Aśoka* are among the best and most popular dramas in Bengali. His translation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* is very successful. There is a deep vein of faith and piety in his works. In his social dramas he has shown the evils of society with rare power, enlivened by his great sense of humor; some of his historical plays are full of patriotic fervor.

Amṛitalāl Vasu (Bose or Basu; 1853–1929) was also an actor-dramatist. His comedies and farces, replete with humor, are immensely popular. A vein of idealism suffuses all his works, and he was a great champion of the good old ways of Bengali life.

Haraprasād Śāstri (1853–1932), Sanskrit scholar, historian, and antiquarian, was also a novelist and essayist of distinction. His novels relating to early history, and his papers on Indian literature and culture, as well as an imaginative prose-poem the *Valmikir Jaya,* are written in a beautiful, forceful Bengali.

At the beginning of the 20th c. a great political and cultural upheaval marked the history of Bengal. When in 1905 Lord Curzon, to break the solidarity of Bengali-speaking people, cut Bengal into two provinces, the entire Bengali people rose in protest. A tremendous wave of national devotion started. The winning of the Nobel Prize for literature by Rabindranath Tagore in 1913 helped to strengthen this patriotism, inaugurating an *Age of Rabindranath* in Bengali literature. Rabindranath Tagore (Ravindranatha Thakur; 1861–1941) was early recognized as a rising young writer. In poetry, the drama, the short story, the novel, the essay—in all the various types of literature he discovered new things and presented them to his enthusiastic countrymen. Supreme beauty manifests itself in his writings, in both form and content; he truly deserves to be call *Vākpati* (Lord of speech). He founded the school of Śāntiniketan and the University of Viśva-Bhāratī; in his endeavor to improve our villages and economic life, he founded the institution of Śāntiniketan. His contributions to Indian music, dramaturgy and dance are far from negligible. Among his main works are *Gitanjali* (1912), *Chitra* (1913), *Sādhanā* (1914), *Songs of Kabir* (1915), *Fruit Gathering* (1916), *The Fugitive* (1921), *Creative Unity* (1922), *Fireflies* (1928), *Religion of Man* (1930).

Among Tagore's contemporaries are: (1) Devendranath Sen, poet (1855–1920); (2) Akshay Kumar Baṛāl, poet (1865–1918); (3) Rajanī Kānta Sen, poet (1865–1910); (4) Mrs. Kāminī Ray, poet (1864–1933); (5) Mrs. Swarnakumārī Devī, novelist (1857–1932); (6) Rāmendra Sundar Trivedī, essayist, scientist, philosopher (1864–1919); (7) Satyendranāth Datta (Dutt; 1882–1922), a master in the use of language and metre and a poet of exceptional power; (8) Prabhāt Kumār Mukhopādhyāya (Mukerji; 1863–1913), novelist and short-story writer, marked by verisimilitude and sympathetic treatment of character; (9) Dvijendralāl Rāy, poet and dramatist (1863–1913), whose historical dramas have had a wide vogue, also a writer of satires and humorous poems, and of some popular national songs; (10) Kshirod Chandra Vidyāvinoda (1864–1927), also an outstanding dramatist, author of some 50 plays on themes from the Muslim world outside India, from Indian history, and from Hindu legend and mythology; (11) Atul Prasād Sen (1870–1934), writer of charming songs and lyrics; (12) Rakhāldās Vandyopādhyāya (Banerji; 1884–1930), historian and archaeologist, and author of vivid historical novels; (13) Hīrendranāth Datta (Dutt; 1868–1942), philosopher and essayist.

Outstanding in present-day Bengali and Indian literature is the novelist Śarat Chandra Chattopādhyāya (Chatterji; 1876–1938). He wrote a large number of social novels (e.g. *Śrī-Kāntā*), in a very simple and charming style. His sympathies for the under dog, and his plain speaking, endeared him to his readers. Śarat Chandra has laid open the sores, but he has no solution to offer for the betterment of the society he pictures with such fidelity. His novels, some of them dramatized and staged by the actor-dramatist Śiśir Kumar Bhāduṛ, are of dynamic power.

A standard literary Bengali is used for prose writing all over the province; but there are many works in the colloquial tongue of Calcutta. In 1863, the *Hutom Penchār Nakshā* of Kaliprasanna Simhr was written in Calcutta colloquial; Rabindranath took it up, and now both the styles are used indiscriminately in Bengali, with the Calcutta colloquial predominating on the stage, in the cinema, and on the radio.

For a brief time, there was a vogue of stark realism, emphasizing morbidities of sex. This has been followed by a stress on Socialism and Communism, sometimes sincere, but frequently of a fashionable type. A few strong novels have appeared; but most of the work

is ephemeral, leaning on Soviet Russia, without base in the national culture.

A further new movement is toward a Bengali Muslim culture. Bengali literature, in spite of Muslim writers ever since the 16th c., and the rich expression of the mystic *Mārifati* songs, has been mainly Hindu in its achievement. The Muslim intelligentsia is now active in many fields, e.g. with an excellent study of Goethe. The continuing fresh flow of Bengali literature depends on the rouse of the people from their present dire state (with famine and disease and general moral and economic dislocation as an immediate consequence of the war and of the political situation of India as a country run in the interests of Britain alone): then only can its literary eminence continue.

D. C. Sen, *Hist. Bengali Lang. and Lit.*, 1911.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

BHOJPURI

Bhojpuri is the Western-most speech of the Eastern Magadhan group of the Aryan Languages of India, used by over twenty millions. Bhojpuri is the living language of a splendid material race. Benares, the intellectual center of Hindu India and the seat of Sanskrit learning, is situated in the Bhojpuri area; this has been a formidable reason why the Bhojpuri 'pandits' concentrated rather on Sanskrit than on writing in their mother tongue.

Kabir, the great mystic poet (1399–1518), was not an educated man; his works—though much altered by copyists—are in Bhojpuri.

Dharmadas, who survived Kabir by 15 years, was another saint; he too wrote poems in Bhojpuri, as *Dharmadas ji ki Sabdavali*, which contains some beautiful Bhojpuri songs.

The tradition was continued by other saints; prominent among them are Shiva Narayan (ca. 1734) of the Ghazipur district, and Dharnidas, a contemporary of the Mogal King Aurangzeb. They wrote songs for the masses, known as *Nirguna*, which are still very popular among all classes of people in the Bhojpuri area.

At present Hindi overshadows Bhojpuri, as the language of education and public life; but there is a strong undercurrent of Bhojpuri folk-songs, ballads, and other poems, which are on the lips of all Bhojpuri people.

For the past 15 years, a special type of Bhojpuri drama, the *Bidesiyā*, presenting the suffering of the wife on account of separation from her husband who has gone to work far away from home—by Bhikāri Thākur of Chapra, has become very popular. Pirated editions of these "Bidesiyā Nāṭaka" have appeared; no other book except the *Ramayana* of Tulsidasa is so much read by the common people. Recently, too, eight short plays have been written by Rahula Sankrtyāyana in Bhojpuri. These dramas contain interesting dialogues and record the most current forms spoken in the Sāran district. Sri Sankrtyāyana has written on the *Linguistic Problem of India*, advocating the revival of Bhojpuri.

Udai Narain Tiwari, *The Bhojpuri Proverbs* in *Journal Hindustani Acad.*, Apr., July 1939; *Bhojpuri Idioms* in *J. H. Acad.*, July, Oct. 1940, Jan. 1941; *The Bhojpuri Riddles* in *J. H. Acad.*, Oct., Dec. 1942; George Grierson, many works, as *Folk-songs in modern Bhojpuri* in *JRAS*, 1884; 1886.

UDAI NARAIN TIWARI.

GUJARATI

Gujarat is situated in the Presidency (now called Province) of Bombay. From time immemorial its martime boundaries have brought it into contact with all parts of the world. The number of people speaking Gujarati is more than 10,000,000. Outside Gujarat it is spoken and used in many countries of Asia, and Africa.

Folklore or the indigenous literature of Gujarat, Kathiawad and Cutch, has played an important part in the life of the people. Folk

songs and tales passed from father to son, mother to daughter. These give us glimpses of the social life of the people, wild, romantic and chivalrous, especially of Kathiawad. They are still being collected, but they live, because they are recited even now, by shepherds and cowherds, when their flocks and herds are grazing. One of them recites a couplet, another answers with another couplet, of love, of nature, and of God. There are also folk dances, to the accompaniment of songs describing the loves of Radha and Krishna.

Court Bards from times immemorial have prepared, and still sing, impromptu verses in praise of their patrons. These are rarely, if ever, reduced to writing.

Outside of a few prose chronicles—mainly 14th c. Parsi works translated into Sanskrit, thence into Gujarati—the early works were poems by the Jain monks. Among these are Dhanpal, who lived near Mount Abu in the 10th c. They have written in every field, from grammar to religion; but of literary interest mainly legendary stories of the gods, and didactic tales, in verse. In our own times, Jain Sadhus are still pursuing the same literary subjects as of old.

Writing by non-Jains grew more prominent after the 15th c., but still on the same themes. Poetry and religion are inseparable. Even the few women poets who flourished during this period, as Mirabai, a Rajput Princess, have sung of their devotion to their Lord. Mirabai's lyrics, describing her devotion and "marriage" to Krishna, are still sung by women with zeal and relish over the whole of India.

The chief poets of the age are Narsimha Mehta, Vallabha Mewado, and Akho; all adhered to the main function of poetry, preaching of religion. Vallabha saw, within the mother Goddess, Nature; but viewed her not as "red in tooth and claw" but in her protective aspect. Akho, a goldsmith, sang of the chicanery and dishonesty in the material world, and warned people to avoid temptation and shun fraudulent and unholy Gurus (teachers). After these men, Premanand, a towering figure in the literature of Gujarat, wrote mythological Akhyanas (Tales), which have for generations given models and tone to the everyday life of an average Indian. His verses are marked by humor, and significant but expressive language. Premanand implemented his written work by public recitals to vast audiences of the people.

Samal, of the same period, specialized in story writing; as a public reciter of mythological stores he failed; and then resorted to versification of incidents of the homely, everyday life—succeeding so well that he was called the Prince of Story-tellers. His stories, of course, have a flavoring of ancient Sanskrit or religious lore. Narsimh Mehta had broken the caste barrier by going to the 'untouchables' and worshipping God in their company. He was ostracized from society, but continued to plead for social reform. Likewise Samal made the heroes and heroines of his stories rise above social restrictions. His heroines throw his heroes into the shade. They are daring, educated, refined, resourceful, and at the same time full of grace and beauty, and chaste.

A large group of minor poets succeeded Samal, some of whom entirely discarded the convention of writing on religious subjects only, by openly preaching against the saints and Gurus, and sarcastically exposing the hypocrisy of the ascetics. One of the last representatives of the old school was Dayaram, whose songs and lyrics are still sung by men and women with great fervor. Most of his voluminous work presents the tenets of a highly metaphysical creed called the Vallabha Sampradaya, whose object is to make the devotee so behave as ultimately to be one with the Lord. Love is the medium through which Dayaram seeks this end, and his erotic songs are full of lascivious imagery.

The modern period came into existence

about 1825, with the founding of schools by the representatives of the East India Company of London. Two pioneers of this new school, Dalpatram (1820–98) and Narmadashankar (1833–86), acted as beacon lights to the young writers. They made up their minds to introduce the grace and the charm, the music and the pathos to be found in the literatures of other countries and provinces. Translation from other languages, European and Indian, was freely adopted. The simple prose of the school reading series thus developed into one interspersed with a large number of Sanskrit words. Under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, himself a writer of no mean calibre in his mother tongue, the cry is "Back to the Vernacular." And it has become effective. Pedants' Gujarati is being replaced by peasants' Gujarati.

In leading the literature into new channels, Parsis, Muslims, Christians, all have helped. The Parsis (Zoroastrians) had continued their religious writings, gradually adopting Gujarat as their tongue. The Muslims—save for the poetic *Messenger* (ca. 1430) of Abdul Rehman, describing the port of Cambay, had written in Persian. Now both these groups, and the Christians, flowered in a great production, in periodicals and books, of all the forms of modern literature.

In common with the other living languages of India, Gujarati is fast advancing. Its literature is becoming rich and varied and it promises to become, at no distant date, one which outsiders will take delight in reading and studying. Its future is bright. It is not likely to cry halt on its forward march.

A chronological conspectus may make clearer the achievements of some of the major writers of Gujarati:

(1) Hemachandra (1089–1173). One of the greatest Jain scholars of all times. His *Grammar* (1112) was taken in procession on the back of an elephant in the Capital of Gujarat by its King, who sent copies of it to all Kings of India. Hemachandra has not left a single branch of literature untouched; whatever he touched, he adorned.

(2) Narsimh Mehta (1415–81). The greatest exponent of Bhakti Marga in Gujarat. His religious beliefs, expressed in verse, advocated breaking down all social barriers. He saw his Lord (God Krishna) face to face; and although he was a married man he led an ascetic life.

(3) Mirabai (1403–70). A poetess known all over India for her lyrics on Bhakti (devotion to God). A princess by birth and marriage, on account of her intense devotion to God she left her palatial home, became an ascetic. Her lyrics are recited all over Gujarat and North India with great gusto.

(4) Akho (1615–75) was a goldsmith by caste and profession. He left his business and turned to religion. There too he found hypocrisy and chicanery rampant. He exposed both in verses which sting like scorpions. He studied abstruse philosophy and wrote works on it.

(5) Premanand (1636–1734). "If any single individual has uplifted the language and literature of Gujarat from the mire of obscurity, . . . if by a vow solemnly made and religiously kept, any single poet has brought it in line with the much renowned and ultra-cultured literature of Sanskrit and Prakrit, it is Premanand." His technique of the akhyana (tale), with its framework of Puranic episodes or popular fiction, was made a medium for a realistic treatment of life.

(6) Dayaram (1767–1852) was the last of the old Gujarati school. His most lasting works are lyric songs (Garlis), full of pathos, emotion; the passionate yearning of the human heart towards its liberation.

(7) Dalpatram (1820–98) and (8) Narmadashankar (1833–86) wrote prose and poetry on Western lines. Narmadashankar was the first after Hemachandra to prepare a Gujarati Dictionary, single handed. At first a radical

regarding social customs, he exposed the vicious practices of the Vaishnava Maharajas (Religious Heads) as mercilessly as Akho. He was a poet who admired nature and natural scenes. Later in life his views became moderate. Dalpatram belonged to the Swaminarayan section of the Hindus, many of whose Sadhu members (monks) had written admirable poems on the tenets and beliefs of the sect.

(9) Tripathi, G. M. (1855–1907), a practicing lawyer, retired and devoted himself entirely to literature. His *Saraswati Chandra* is a novel in four parts; depicting the stirring of the new feelings in matters political and the state of intrigues in Native Indian States and their ultimate destiny. His works were a landmark in the growing literature of the new school.

(10) Malabari, Behramji M. (1863–1912), a Parsi writer of Gujarati and English. Though a non-Hindu, he has written admirable poems on the lines of Dalpat and Narmad.

(11) Mahatma K. M. Gandhi (b. 1869) has written many books in Gujarati and given it a sort of tonic by the simplicity of his style. He has tried his hand at journalism also. He is best known for his advocacy of "passive resistance," as leader of the movement for Indian independence.

(12) Khabardar, A. F. (b. 1881). A Parsi writer of poems and prose, who can rank with the best in the language. He began under the influence of Narmad. His prose is scholarly. He has acquired the art of sarcasm and travesty, though in graceful and popular style.

(13) Kavi Nanalal Dalpatram (b. 1877), the son of Dalpatram (No. 7 above). His literary activity, in both prose and verse, is immense, original, admirable, inimitable. He is so popular, because of his Garbis (lyric songs), odes, dramas, novels, essays, and public addresses, that he is called the poet Laureate of Gujarat.

(14) Dr. Dhruva, A. B. (1869–1941) was the Pro-vice-chancellor of the Benares University and a Sanskrit scholar. He has written numerous works on Hindu Religion and Philosophy.

(15) Diwan Bahadur Dhruva, K. H. (1859–1938) was a scholar of Sanskrit and a student of Philology. He has translated many Sanskrit dramas.

(16) Nilakanth, Sir R. M., Kt. (1868–1928) wrote works representing Western tendencies as opposed to those written by Dwivedi Manilal N. (1858–98). He was a keen and analytical critic and reviewer, and a born humorist.

(17) Thakore, B. K. (b. 1869), writer both of prose and poetry. As Professor of History he has written with great force and perspicuity. His prose style is clear and weighty; his poetry, though full of emotion, seems heavy.

(18) Munshi, K. M. (b. 1888) is a voluminous and versatile prose writer.

(19) Desai Ramanlal V. (b. 1892) is author of a few plays. He is popular for his numerous novels, into which he has introduced not only domestic and social subjects, but also nationalistic themes bearing on present-day polities.

(20) Meghana, J. K., is the great resuscitator of folklore in Gujarati.

(21) Divatia, N. B. (1859–1937), diverted the flow of Gujarati poetry into new channels. His analytical mind was effective in philological studies and in reviewing and criticizing the works of young authors.

(22) Kant is the *non de plume* of Manishankar Ratanji Bhatt (1867–1923), a poet of great merit, who by his prose writings popularized the creed of Swedenborg in Gujarat. He was a great friend of Kalapi.

(23) Kalapi (Peacock). The Thakor (Prince) of Lathi in Kathiawad, Sursimhaji Gohil (1874–1900), assumed this name as a writer. He has left an abiding name in Gujarati literature by poems full of pathos

and feeling, often reflecting incidents in his own life. He also wrote vivid prose.

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DEWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

HINDI

Hindi, as the real Hindustani, is the *lingua franca* (or rather the *lingua Indica*) of Hindustan. India is inhabited by about 400 millions of people, of whom some 170 millions speak some form of Hindi as their mother language.

Early Writings. The great Hindi work, the *Prithviraj Raso*, by Chand Bardai of the 12th c. A.D. is the first important landmark of Hindi literature. More than 36 prior poets have been unearthed. The oldest whose work is known is Sarahpa (743 A.D.), though an earlier Pushya or Pund is mentioned in *Shiva Singh Saroj*, the oldest extant history of Hindi. These were essentially Apabhransha Prakrit poets, but they wrote many of their verses in the spoken dialect of the day, which was clearly early Hindi. The scholar Him Chandra wrote a treatise on the Apabhransha Prakrit, in the 11th c., in which we come across a number of Hindi (doha) verses.

The Nath Sampradaya was in vogue at the time, and many of these 36 ancient Hindi poets were among its votaries. It constituted a low (sexual) variety of primitive religion, that came into vogue after the glory of the old vedic religions had decayed. Later, these forms of Hinduism were replaced by higher conceptions. Our greatest religious preachers, such as Shankaracharya Ramanuj and Ramanand, flourished during this period. The great University center of Nalanda produced the largest number of Hindi writers of those days.

From 1143 to 1387, Hindi produced 18 known writers. Their language is naturally crude. The best poets of the period were Narpati Nalh, Chand Bardai, his son Jallhan, and Jagnik. The language of this period acquired some freedom from the influence of the Apabhransha Prakrit and is intelligible to the ordinary reader of today.

Narpati Nalh wrote the *Bisaldeo Raso* (1155); it extends over 115 printed pages. His hero flourished before Prithviraj; his exploits are sung in admirable verse. Jagnik Bard wrote the *Alhakhand*, a martial and stirring poem still sung in villages of Central India and the United Provinces, especially during the rainy season; but it has been so modernized, on account of its immense popularity, that its present form contains no portion of Jagnik's original production.

Chand Bardai and his son (Jallhan or Jallha) wrote the well-known *Prithviraj Raso*, though parts of the present work date from the 16th c. Other writers, in the face of the Moslem conquest, built up a sturdy national and a deeply religious spirit.

From 1290 to 1387 we know over 21 poets; prose also showed some interesting developments. Mahatma Gorakhnath was a great religious teacher who incorporated the last remnants of the Buddhistic Vajrayam (Sahajia Panth) in the forceful prose of his Shivite sampradaya. His teachings present those of Shankaracharya in the form more acceptable to the populace. Jotrishwar Thakur (1300 A.D.) wrote a book in advanced prose in the Maithila dialect. Among the poets we find Ambadeva Jain, Jajjal (1300), Nalla Sinha (1301), Sharngadhar (1303) and Amir Khusro (1253–1325), who is also a Persian and is one of our best poets of all times. His father was a Turk, his mother, a Rawal Rajput lady. He says "the Arab language is good but on full reflection it will be found that Hindi

is not inferior to Persian while the languages of Rai and Rome are inferior to Hindi." His poems reveal good command over Hindi, forceful choice of words and well-put ideas. His language is sweet, expressive and natural, in remarkably smooth flowing verse.

Hindi poetry devoted some attention to Alauddin's battle against Ranthambhore (1304); and extolled the prowess of its ruler Hammir Deo in forceful and national songs. Chittore (conquered 1303) has always been the favorite of Hindi poets. Although religious poetry continued unabated, the habit of writing books in honor of rulers almost ceased. Religious writings greatly improved in vigor and ideas; the language became free from the Apabhransha influences and assumed greater grace and flow. Special importance was attached to the Vrajbhasha dialect, which even an Eastern writer like Gorakhnath used in his prose.

Early Medieval Hindi (1388–1573). Prose of this period is not of a high order. Among the poets of this period we find story writers, followers of Sufism, and other devotees and religious teachers, Maithils, Maharashtras, Jains. Vidyapati Thakur (1368–1475) was a Maithil poet of a high order, whose splendid writings have become almost parts of the life of our Maithil and Bengali society. He is the first great Hindi love poet. His writings deal with both Radha-Krishna and Shiva-Parbati, but his poems on Radha and Krishna abound in worldly sensuous pleasures. His high conceptions are very praiseworthy, his language is clear, forceful and well developed, and his songs are replete with beauty and grace. Maharana Kumbha Karna (1362–1412) of Chittore annotated Jai Dev's famous Sanskrit poem, the *Gita Govind.*

Among story writers we may specially name Damo and among devotees Namdeva. The language of the latter is a mixture of Khari Boli, Behari, Audhi and Vrajbhasha. He was among the earliest Hindi writers who essayed the difficult task of preaching Hindu Muslim unity. His language has quite a smooth flow. He taught one God, but tried to reduce the importance of incarnations and the caste system. The famous religious teacher Ramanand (1401) also flourished during this period. Among his great disciples is the greatest Hindi poet and preacher Kabirdas himself, besides Sadan, Sen Barbar, Bhawanand, Pipa, Angad, Dhanan and Raidas Chamar. These were all good poets and devotees, with writings rich in beauty and good style, and power of graceful expression. Ramanand himself wrote only a few works in Hindi. Kabirdas (1398–1518) was a Mohammedan Julaha (weaver) of Benares, but he was much more of a Hindu with only a touch of Islamic ideas in his teachings. There are even now one million followers, both Hindus and Muslims, of the Kabir Panth founded by him. He has left some 50 or 60 works, of which the *Bijak* and the *Bani* are the most important. His ideals are very high; his expressions, terse and full of meaning. He has also written verses (Ultawansis), quite unorthodox outwardly, but full of high inner meaning.

During this period there also flourished a Sufi poet, Qutuban Sheikh (1501), caught in the usual Sufi dilemma. The sympathetic presentation of Hindu stories and society, and selection of the Hindi language, made these productions unacceptable to Muslims; while their ultimate object of the spread of Islamic religion and culture made them disliked by Hindus. Thus good Sufi story books are now admired only by people fond of literature, but are otherwise neglected.

Baba Nanak (1469–1539) was the founder of Sikhism. All the ten Sikh Gurus used Hindi, and Sikhism may be said to be the greatest political contribution of Hindi to Indian history and society. He used mainly Panjabi in his great religious work, the *Grantha Sahib.*

Mahaprabhu Vallabhacharya (1478–1530)

was a Deccanese Brahmin of wide influence. He wrote four works in Sanskrit and one, *Banayatra,* in Hindi. Many Sampradayas (systems of religious thought) were established in India during the medieval period of Hindi, but only three could attain real popularity: those of Ramanand, Chaitanya, and Vallabh. The first medieval period witnessed great rise in the strength, grace and elegance of Hindi poetry along with forceful expression and general development on modern lines.

Surdas (1478–ca. 1585) is one of the greatest poets of Hindi. His very voluminous writings consist mostly of songs. He sings in beautiful lyrics; almost exclusively in praise of Lord Krishna. Many of his long descriptions are particularly charming (the childhood frolics of Lord Krishna, his personal charm, the Makhan theft, and a few others); they can stand comparison with the best descriptions in any literature of the world. His writings constitute the greatest beauty of the Vrajbhasha dialect; they are very popular among musicians as well. He was the leader of "Ashtachhap," a collective name given to eight great poets of the Vallabhiya sampradaya, besides himself: Krishnadas; Permanand Das; Nand Das; Chhita Swami; Govind Swami; Kumbhan Das; Chaturbhuj Das. They all sang praises of the Krishna cult founded by Vallabhacharya. The *Rasa Panchadhyayi* of Nand Das is particularly effective. The highest poetical productions in Hindi began in Vrajbhasha, through these great luminaries of that dialect.

Several more valid poets wrote during this brilliant epoch, though they never cared to be known as poets but wanted only to live saintly lives. Gaswami Hita Harivansha, Haridas, Mira Bai (of the Royal family of Mewar), Raskhani, Narottam Das, Nipat Niranjan, Dadu Dayal are among our great religious poets of this period. They were all eminent writers whose poems still adorn our literature. Narottam Das wrote a descriptive poetical booklet, the *Sudama Charittra,* which is almost unrivaled among such productions; Hita Harivansha's Hindi writings comprise only 84 songs, but they rival the best of Surdas'. Mira Bai's devoted life and brilliant religious songs have left a great impression on our society. Nipat Niranjan and Dadu Dayal were also great religious writers, but unconnected with Vaishnavism.

Of the Moghal Durbar, Akbar himself was a Hindi poet of no mean order; as were Raja Birbal, Todar-Mal, and Ganga. Jayasi wrote a Sufi story book, the *Padmawat,* the best of its class. Agra Das, Tansen, Sri Bhatta and Vitthal Nath Goswami are among the other great writers of this Augustan Age of Hindi literature. With the peaceful increase of the influence of Akbar's government, Persian words and ideas began to slip into Hindi literature. Khankhana Abdul Rahim, Akbar's commander in chief, is one of our best poets of Hindi. His *Dohas* and other verses are truly charming. Akbar, who encouraged the arts, gave the title of "King of Poets" to Raja Birbal, his favorite courtier, who is known in Hindi as the poet Brahma.

The period laid great stress on enhancing the beauties of literature. The devotional fervor of our Vaishnava writers blent with strong erotic sentiments, so that their religious message was often lost in descriptions of Kamuk (sexual) religion. There also flourished Sufi story tellers, prose writers, propounders of our complicated science of poetry, singers, saints who started separate panths (or sects) of their own (as Dadu Pantha), and other devotees. They enriched our literature with sweet expressions, lofty conceptions, fine flow of style, high ideals, and descriptions of superb imagery.

Swami Haridas extolled celibacy and idol worship, almost as a reaction against the iconoclastic tendencies of some Muslim Rulers. Jayasi, though one-eyed and ugly, was one of our great poets. He was a Sunni

Muslim. He described the conflict between the then Maharana of Mewar and Alauddin, in language terse, expressive, forceful, and easily understood. He has produced a fine mixture of history and imagination. Tukaram (d. 1649) also was a great Hindi poet of Maharashtra. His writings are simple and religious, but also relate to purely worldly experiences. Swami Eknath fully established the great Bhagwat system of Maharashtra religious thought. Raja Birbal excelled in fine similes, in his charming verses. He was also renowned for his jocular repartees. Prithviraj of Bikaner lived at Akbar's court, but has written fine nationalistic *Dohas* in praise of Maharana Pratap Singh, against Akbar himself. Ganga Bhatta of Eknaur was a really great poet of Akbar's court.

The Tulsi Period (1573 to 1623). Tulsidas was the greatest poet in Hindi. His *Rama Charit Manas,* of some 500 pages, is written in short verses, Chaupais and Dohas, but is rich in consummate poetical descriptions. His 12 other productions, in various metres, bear the authentic stamp of his unrivaled poetical powers. He was endowed with keen perception, a great sweep, power of sustained effort, strong common sense, insight into human nature, complete mastery over the language, forceful expression, admirable flow and grace, subtle wit and humor, deep religious fervor, in widest range of observation. His characters are alive. His similes, metaphors, Utprekshas, eulogies of Rama, descriptions of nature, are without parallel, especially in his *Ayodhya Kanda.* His works are easily understood, yet full of deep significance and beauty, piously religious in their import, yet touching every aspect of life's values. Hundreds of his Chaupais, and other verses are part and parcel of Hindu daily life. His *Ramayan* is as highly revered by them as the *Bible* by devout Christians and the *Quran* by Moslems. Tens of thousands of Hindus read the *Ramayan* daily, and constantly turn to his other works, as the *Vinaya Patrika,* the *Kavitawali,* the *Hanuman Bahuk.* Tulsidas is not only our greatest poet but also a great preacher; the modern conceptions of Hinduism are based almost wholly on his teachings.

The Tulsi period added only eight new poets to the Krishna cult. The high moral tone of the Rama cult came to supersede it. The first half of this period produced great poets like Agradas, Gadadhar, Bala Bhadra, Rahim and Raskhani.

Karnesh (1574) and Holarai (1583) were good poets, as was Agradas of the Rama cult, the preceptor of Nabhadas. Agradas wrote nine poetical works. Balbhadra Misra (1583) was the elder brother of the famous poet Keshavdas. The former's *Nakha Shikha* (a description of the personal charms of its heroine, from top to toe) is a work of a high order. Rasakhani (1588) was a devout Muslim Vaishnava and a poet of distinction, especially in portraying the sentiment of love. Keshavadas was, after Tulsidas, the greatest poet of this period. He wrote the *Rama Chandrika* and 3 other works of high quality. Baba Beni Madhavadas wrote a long *Tulsi Charittra* (account of Tulsidas), of doubtful accuracy. Nabhadas wrote the *Bhakatamal,* brief facts regarding some 200 devotees, thus preserving authentic accounts of many important writers of Hindi. Sunderdas Dadupanthi was an important poet, toward the end of this period. Kabir Mubarak and Usman were good Muslim poets of Hindi. Tahir of Agra wrote a *Kokasai,* and Ghasiram a fine production on Anyokti. Prose did not make much headway but Vallabhacharya's grandson Gokulnath wrote the accounts of 84 and 252 Vaishanavas in the spoken Vraj dialect, while Nabhadas also wrote some prose.

The 'Adorned' Period (1623–1832) is also called Kalakala (the period of art), also the Virgatha period, for many great heroes flourished at the time, and we find numerous Hindi poets producing vigorous and beautiful

nationalistic poems in their honor. No other period of our literature produced so many first class poets. Guru-Govind Singh combined devotion to God with warlike bravery and succeeded in rousing fervent nationalism and martial spirit among the Sikhs. Guru-Govind Singh, Nagari Das, Jaswant Singh, Chhatrasal, Akbar himself and a king of Bijapur all composed good Hindi verses; Jaswant Singh is among our greatest poets. This period brought a great adornment of heroic and erotic poetry. Story writing continued on a large scale, but not on a par with its other excellent productions. Our literature can boast of a highly developed science of poetry, in verse (under ten heads, called *Dashanga Kavita*). This was begun by Keshavdas during the Tulsi period, but received a great impetus during the 'adorned' period. Our poets who wrote books on this subject are called Acharyas (preceptors). Most of them, however, followed Sanskrit writers on the subject.

Senapati was a poet of a high order, as were Sunder Kavindracharya, Harinath Mahapata, Pohkar, Jayasi, Beni, Banwari, Tosha and Nilkantha. Taj was a Muslim lady and a great Hindu poet. This period saw the disappearance of Sufi productions and great reduction in the number of Vaishnava poets. Non-devotional writers began to write erotic poetry in the garb of devotees, by naming Krishna and Radha instead of ordinary lovers, but their writings often contained merely sensual ideas. Chintamani and Jaswant Singh were great Acharyas.

Behari wrote only Dohas (some 700) but these are colorful, original, adorned with beauties of language. Matiram was a similar poet of the period, a great master of sweet expressions. Other great poets of the Behari period (1649–63) were Bharami, Jairam, and Mani Mandan.

Bhushan named Shivaji as the hero of his vivid poems; but the Hindus were Bhushan's real heroes, not Shivaji nor any other individuals; he was the first nationalist poet of a high order in Hindi. Nensi Muta (1732) wrote a fine original history of Rajputana, which is a very useful book even now. Laldas and Ranchhor wrote historical works. Kulpati Misra, Sukhdeo Misra, Ramji, Kalidas, Ghanshyam and Newaj were all good poets during the Bhushan period (1663–93).

Deva Dutta was a poet second only to Tulsidas and perhaps Surdas. He has written on a large variety of subjects; his general knowledge, erudition and experience were vast. Lal wrote an account of Chhattrasal of Panna, an exciting martial poem. Surati-Misra was a great poet and annotator of this period (1693–1713).

Ghan Anand was a powerful poet who has written a large number of erotic verses of which many are very popular; his pictures of his great love for Sujan, a beautiful lady, are admired by many people. Mahant Sital Das, Rishinath, Maharaja Nagari Das, Krishna, Bhudhardas Jain, Ganjan, Mahbub, Pritam, Ali Muhibha Khan, Harikesha, Bakshi Hansaraj, Sripati Misra and Jai Krishna were other important poets of this time (1713–33). Khari Boli received great impetus in poetry from Sital's sonorous verses.

Poets of the next two decades include Das; Guru Dutta Singh of Amethi; Somnath; Rasalin; Chacha Vrindaban; Girdhar Kavirai; Nur Muhammad (Sufi poet), Thakur, Shiva; Dulah; Shambhunath Misra; Malla; Bhudhar; and Rasik Ali.

Sudan, Bairisal, Kishora, Bodha, and Pukhi were great poets of the years 1753 to 1773. Sudan in his biography of Sujan Singh of Bharatpur makes him live through his graphic descriptions. He has given the most vivid account available of this period, in vigorous poetry. The Hindi *Mahabharat* (of Gokul Nath, Gopinath and Mani Deo), and *Braj Bilas* by Vrajavasidas, are popular story works of this period. The former is a vast mine of

information on semi-historical and religious stories from ancient times.

From 1773 to 1798, our best poets, besides Ramchandra, were Chandan, Jan Gopal, Manchit, Dewaki Nandan, Maniyar Singh, Hathi, Thana, Thakur, Beni Bandijan, and Bhaun. Manchit and Madhu Sudan Das were good story writers, while Lal Jha of Mithila wrote some effective dramas. Prose had been making some headway; it received a great impetus during the Ramchandra Kal. The British power was virtually established in 1757, with the battle of Plassey, and educational institutions were founded in and around Calcutta, for which text books in Hindi prose were needed. Thus we had among prose writers Sadasukhlal, Insha Allah Khan, Lallu Ji Lal and Sadal Misra.

Christian missionaries soon (1798–1818) produced some good religious books in pure Hindi prose. Of many such writers, William Carey was the best. Among our good poets of the period were Beni Pravin, Gurdin, Karan, Ganesha, Bhanjan, Moon, Maharajas Man Singh of Ajodhya, and Jai Singh of Rewah. Lalandas was a good story writer.

Padmakar (fl. 1818–32) had a beautiful flow to his verses, and a lofty style. Effective contemporaries were Pratapsah; Mahraj; Ram Sahai Das; Gwal; Chandra Shekhar; Deen Dayak Giri; and Suraj Mal of Rajputana, whose historical accounts in *Vansha Bhaskar* are quite interesting.

The Transition Period extends from 1832 to 1868. Purely poetic excellence had shown great development during the two previous periods but sufficient attention had not been paid to useful subjects and prose; these now received a great impetus, with the firm establishment of the British Rule in India. Heroic productions almost ceased, and the preponderance of Vraj dialect in poetic productions began to recede.

The "Sah Ji" brothers, Lalit Kishori and Lalit Madhuri of Lucknow, revived old-fashioned Vaishnava writings of the Sur period, but found few followers. Dwij Deva, Ganesh Prasad, Pajnes, Sewak, and Lekhraj were good poets. Sardar was a poet and annotator; Gulab of Rajputana was quite a vigorous poet. The *Vishram Sagar* of Ram Sanehi Das is a popular religious poem. Giridhar Das (1843), father of Bhartendra, wrote many verse booklets, also a drama. Among prose writers of note were Rajas Sheo Prasad and Lakshman Singh. The former wrote Hindi with Urdu admixture, while the latter wrote in pure Hindi though using some Sanskrit words. Onkar Bhatta, Badri Lal Sharma, and Bans Gopal were other prose writers of note.

Shankar Dairyabadi, Pheran, Oudh, Lachhiram, Baldeo, Gangadhar-Vyas and Vraj continued the traditional verse. Dayanand Saraswati was a great religious reformer and a forceful prose writer; he is the only writer who produced permanent literature during this period. Dr. Rudolf Harnle was a keen critic. Phullavri Ji Shraddhanand; Navin Chand Roy; Vraj Chand Jain; Bal Krishna Bhatta; and Sarupa Chand Jain were among other vigorous prose writers. Swami Dayananda and his followers introduced the system of often vehement religious discussions which greatly improved our literature and also increased knowledge of the ancient religious books. He tried to remove all our unhealthy religious and social customs and usages.

The Bhartendu Kal (1869–88) brought modernity into our literature. Harish Chandra is considered one of the best poets of Hindi. His main productions are dramas, abounding in wit, humor and vigorous expression, presenting strong nationalist views. Other important writers of this period were Rampal Singh of Kalakankar, Sri Niwas Das, Govind Gilla Bheri, Lalit, Sahajram, Hanuman and Govind. Our prose literature made great strides during this period, and nationalism received a great impetus in our literature.

Novels began to be written; newspapers and magazines of excellence began to flourish, though some of them had been started in the transition period.

All this led to a great awakening among our Hindi writers, speakers and poets; and the two World Wars have effected almost a silent revolution in the social and political outlook of the people. Quite a number of important Hindi papers and magazines have appeared, but their concerns are less literary than political. The Radio has not yet assumed importance, possibly because it inclines towards Persianised Urdu, which is not understood nor liked by the vast majority of our people. The theatre in the beginning dealt mainly with Muslim culture, but the cinema is almost Hinduised in its outlook. A host of writers are at work, in every field.

Spurred by these, new writers came to the fore: Pratap Narain Misra, Ambika Dutta Vyas, Badri Narayan-Chaudhri. Sheo Nandan Sahai and Vraj Nandan Sahai wrote dramas and biographies of note. Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi made a serious effort to Sanskritise Hindi by insisting upon the rigidities of grammar, but other writers continued a more fluent prose. Gopalram of Gahwar wrote a number of novels concerning the secret police activities. Jwala Prasad Misra and many others wrote and spoke on Sanatan Dharma. Ram Ghulam Dwivedi and Bandan Pathak made serious researches regarding Tulsidas. The Hindu University was started, through the efforts of the venerable Hindu leader Madan Mohan Malaviya. Many forceful speakers arose and Hindi became quite modern in its outlook and methods. Sridhar Pathak, Nathuram Shankar were effective poets. Bhairava Prasad Bajpei Vishal was a good poet and humourist; his best productions were rather obscene, but in this vein he stands easily unrivalled in the whole field of Hindi.

Present Day Hindi is concerned mainly with nationalistic ideas. The Indian National Congress had its first sitting in 1885. The partition of Bengal gave a great impetus to nationalistic ideas.

The earliest Hindi had a strong admixture of the Apabhransha Prakrit, but the Vraj Bhasha form soon attained preponderance even before the time of Sur and the Ashtachhap poets of Vraj down to the 18th and even 19th centuries, the subsidiary forms being Maithili, Avadhi, Bundelkhandi, Rajputani and the Punjabi. The Khari Boli began seriously to assert itself in the 17th century and is now superseding the Vraj Bhasha and other dialects.

The total number of its known writers exceeds 5000. Hindi is a great, and a still growing, literature.

Hist. of Hindi Lit., by the authors of this survey.

SHYAM BEHAR MISRA and SUKHDEO BEHARI MISRA: "MISRA-BANDHU."

INDO-ANGLIAN

When English became the official language of India in 1835 Raja Rammohan Roy organized, along with Keshub Chunder Sen, the Brahma Samaj or 'reformed' Hinduism. It was his destiny to clear the ground of much rubbish and lay the foundations of 'New India'; his determined personality revealed itself in books like *Precepts of Jesus* and innumerable other prose tracts and pamphlets.

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809–31) was the first of the Indo-Anglian poets. His sonnets and lyrics are competent, being the result of feeling as well as craftsmanship. Derozio's most ambitious poem, *The Fakir of Jungheera*, tells movingly the tragic story of Nuleeni, a Brahman widow, who is rescued from the funeral pyre by a robber-chief only to be widowed a second time so that the finality of Death alone could end her 'life's fitful fever'!

Kashiprosad Ghose published in 1830 an immature book of English verse entitled, *The Shair and Other Poems;* but it is difficult to discover any intrinsic poetic quality in the book. On the other hand, Michael Madhusudhan Dutt (d. 1873) was truly a poet, though he did his best work in his mother tongue, Bengali, rather than in English. Michael's English metrical romance, *The Captive Ladie* (1849), tells the story of the famous Rajput hero, Prithvi Raj. Besides this poem, Michael also wrote *Visions of the Past* and edited an English newspaper in Madras. Another pioneering poet was Sasichunder Dutt—like Michael, a convert to Christianity—who published in 1848 a book of verse, *Miscellaneous Poems.* Various other members of the Rambagan Dutt family—the brothers Govindchunder, Harachunder and Girischunder and their nephew, Oomeshchunder—were also enterprising versifiers.

Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt: Aru Dutt (1854–74) and Toru Dutt (1856–77) were the talented daughters of Govindchunder, referred to above. Some of Aru's exquisite poetic translations appeared, along with many more of Toru's, in *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876), especially her beautiful rendering of Victor Hugo's *Morning Serenade.* Toru left behind her a novel in French, a novel in English entitled *Bianca or the Young Spanish Maiden,* many magazine articles and studies, and several scores of poems. Toru's posthumously published *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* is a maturer book and contains some poems that will live in the annals of English literature.

The Indo-Anglians whose work we have discussed so far all hailed from Bengal, the cradle of the Indian renaissance. But other centres of Indian culture were not wholly idle. Behramji Malabari in Bombay and Ramakrishna Pillai in Madras were also enthusiastic Indo-Anglians and they have to their credit books of prose as well as verse. Malabari's live sensibility overflowed into English and Gujarati verse; and his English prose style, simple and effective at once, helped him in his career as a publicist. Malabari's prose books include *Gujarat and the Gujaratis* (1882) and *The Indian Eye on English Life* (1893), and both these books can be read with pleasure even today. Ramakrishna Pillai, a Madras Hindu graduate, wrote (1895) a verse collection, *Tales of Ind,* in imitation of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King. Seeta and Rama* and *Chandra* are stories interestingly told. Pillai's *Life in an Indian Village* is written in good prose and his two novels, *Padmini* (1903) and *The Dive for Death* (1912), likewise illustrate his conscientious, if rather unimaginative, work.

Romesh Chunder Dutt was a brilliant scholar and tried administrator, and he wrote both in Bengali and English. His *Lays of Ancient India* (1894) contained some very good things; but his fame as an Indo-Anglian poet rests mainly on his classic rendering of *Mahabharata* (1898) and *Ramayana* (1900). These remain the best introductions that we have in English to the great Indian epics. (now in Everyman's Library). In portraiture or dialogue, in description or exhortation, Romesh Chunder is always convincing; alike in depicting the horrors of wars or in portraying the intimacies of home life.

Nabokissen Ghose' collected poems, published after his death in 1918, make a volume of over three hundred pages. His best work is in sustained pieces like *The Last Day, Shiva Ratri, Bhagabati Gita, Willow Drops, Daksha Yajna* and *The Swayambara of Lila.*

Manmohan Ghose had an impeccable ear for English sound values. He wrote while still in Oxford, a volume of poems entitled *Primavera. Love Songs and Elegies* (1898) and the posthumously issued *Songs of Love and Death* deepen his tone. His earlier lyrics are wistful, melancholy, sadly sweet, pellucid to a fault. In his later lyrics there is a profounder

note. *Immortal Eve* and *Orphic Mysteries* show that Manmohan is one of the major figures in Indo-Anglian literature.

The Bombay poet, Nagesh Wishwanath Pai, published a capital book of descriptive and humorous essays, *Stray Sketches in Chakmakpore from the Note-Book of an Idle Citizen* (1894), and a fine metrical romance in ten books, *The Angel of Misfortune* (1904). His prose is sensitive and lucid, and the portrayal of Indian life interesting and sympathetic. Priests, reciters, street-vendors, smart students and representatives of various trades and professions figure in the candid pages of Pai's book, life-like and convincing. Pai's metrical romance is one of the glories of Indo-Anglian literature. Story, characterization, description, sentiments, versification, cohere into a poetic whole and constitute a poetic achievement truly indigenous in setting, theme and tone.

Although Rabindranath Tagore is essentially a Bengali classic, his affiliations to Indo-Anglian literature are many and varied and he can therefore legitimately be included among the Indo-Anglians as well. Collections like *Gitanjali, The Gardener* and *The Crescent Moon* were Englished by Tagore himself; and in plays like the English version of *Chitra,* he altered the original in many places. Besides, prose works like *Sadhana, Nationalism, Personality, Creative Unity* and *The Religion of Man,* being meant for an international public, were originally written in English. Perhaps, the only poem that Tagore originally composed in English was *The Child,* which is an impressionistic description of the pilgrimage of men and women of all kinds to the hypothetical shrine of fulfilment. Poet, dramatist and novelist; actor, musician and painter; patriot, educationist and prophet —Tagore is the greatest phenomenon in the Indian literary renaissance. His genius has shot out in many directions, dazzling and giving light. Judged by any standards whatsoever, Tagore's achievements as a man of letters compel recognition; and he is not of India alone, but of the world.

A master of many languages and ranges of knowledge, Aurobindo Ghose is the most outstanding of the Indo-Anglians. The seven hundred pages of his *Collected Poems and Plays* (1942) embody a reality of poetic inspiration and achievement for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in Indo-Anglian poetry. There are translations and adaptations; there are narrative poems and poems of action like *Urvasie, Love and Death,* and *Baji Prabhou;* there is a blank verse play in five acts, *Perseus the Deliverer,* truly a *tour-de-force;* there are dramatic and philosophical poems, and poems trembling with a mystical ecstasy. In his most recent poems, Aurobindo has tried to achieve in English something equivalent to the *mantra.* The poet now becomes a seer and attempts to reveal to man "his eternal self and the godheads of its manifestation." Neither the unexpected turns in the rhythm, nor the terrific drive of verbal wizardry in a poem like *Thought the Paraclete* or *The Bird of Fire,* nor yet the the immense load of spiritual connotation certain words are made to carry, is a bar to our apprehending and admiring these poems as poetry true to its quintessential vocation.

Aurobindo is also an illuminating and prophetic critic of poetry. His essays on Kalidasa are interpretative criticism of a high order. In his innumerable 'Letters to his Disciples,' Aurobindo has scattered bits of luminous criticism of poets and poetry. His long sequence of articles on 'The Future Poetry' constitutes perhaps the most massive and the most inspiring body of literary criticism in Indo-Anglian literature. Aurobindo's prose works are mighty symphonies and thought-structures. *The Life Divine* is a philosophical treatise and a prose symphony; its sixteen hundred pages are a plea and a program to divinize man, to plan and establish here "a new

Heaven and a new Earth." *The Mother* is a prose lyric that wins the reader's affections. *Essays on the Gita* is thought-provoking in content and admirable in presentation and style.

Sarojini Naidu (b. 1889) and Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, sister and brother, poets both, are inevitably grouped together. Sarojini published her first book of poems, *The Golden Threshold* (1905); followed by two more volumes, *The Bird of Time* (1912) and *The Broken Wing* (1917). She is one of Mahatma Gandhi's closest associates; she is also the National President of the P.E.N. All-India Centre. Her best poems—*To a Buddha seated on a Lotus* and *The Flute-Player of Brindavan,* for instance—achieve the fusion of the real and the ideal. She can reduce immensities to figures such as "Life is a lovely stalactite of dreams." Harindranath's first book, *The Feast of Youth* (ca. 1921) was followed by many more, as the topical *Blood of Stones.* A most uneven poet, at his best Harindranath is the equal of his sister.

Govind Krishna Chettur published four or five slim volumes of poetry, distinguished by a careful craftsmanship and a vivid sensibility. His best work is contained in *The Triumph of Love, Gumataraya,* and *The Temple Tank* (all 1932). The twenty-three sonnets in the sequence, *The Triumph of Love,* reveal both depth of feeling and highly disciplined art. His collection of short stories, *The Ghost City,* and his book of reminiscences, *The Last Enchantment,* are written in clear and blameless prose.

Armando Menezes is a Professor of English. A Goan Catholic, many languages and cultures meet in him. His best work is contained in *Chords and Discords* (1939) and *Chaos and Dancing Star* (1940). The raw stuff of exultation or awe or effervescent regret is moulded in poems like *Ode to Beauty* or *Hampi* into things of beauty.

Shahid Suhrawardy is a cosmopolitan poet, a 'new' poet. His *Essays in Verse* (1937) contains forty poems in all. Among the 'new' poems in the collection is the sequence, *An Old Man's Songs,* distinctly Prufrockian in manner and even in rhythm. It is always profitable to exchange significant heart-beats with this sensitive poet of a decadent cosmopolitan culture.

Manjeri Isvaran and P. R. Kaikini began about a decade ago as idealists and traditionalists; now they are in the 'Forward Bloc.' Isvaran's *Catguts* (1940) and *Brief Orisons* (1941) are powerfully articulate and evoke with excruciating particularity the contours of our disintegrating civilization. Kaikini's most recent book, *Look on Undaunted,* is the work of a distressed and self-divided mind and its disturbed and hurried accents partake of the fever and fret of these war-mad days. Another modernist poet, Krishan Shungloo, has lately published a book of unusual promise, *the night is heavy* (1943), consisting of twenty-nine poems that fitfully attempt to tell the story of his "struggle with life and its ugly realities."

Women too are in the modernist current. Nilima Devi's *The Hidden Face* (1939) has been republished—with the new title, *When the Moon Died* (1944). Its nine poems gently assault us with their refreshing variations from English tradition in phrasing and rhythm. The poems are both manly in their strength and feminine in their subtle seductiveness. Bharati Sarabhai's poetic play, *The Well of the People* (1943), places her in the front rank of Indo-Anglian poetesses. A pageant rather than a play, it is an attempt to seize and portray the inmost core of the present 'condition' of India.

Indo-Anglian drama has been much less effective. There are the poetic plays of Tagore, Aurobindo, Harindranath, and Bharati—but they are not dramas, properly so called. Fyzee-Rahamin's *Daughter of Ind* (1940) has been successfully staged in India as well

as in England. *Dramatic Divertissements* is a collection of prose plays and playlets by V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar. Srinivasa Iyengar achieved success as a dramatist because he worked only within his own "small bit of ivory." He is content to move with delightful ease among the sophisticated ineffectuals and impossibles of a particular cross-section of Madras society, whose follies and foibles he lays bare.

Early Indo-Anglian novels include Cornelia Sorabji's *Love and Life behind the Purdah* (1901), S. K. Gosh's *1001 Nights* (1904), S. M. Mitra's *Hindupore: a Peep behind the Indian Unrest* (1909), Jogendra Singh's *Nur Jahan* (1909), S. B. Bannerjee's *Tales of Bengal* (1910) Mrs. Ghoshal's *An Unfinished Song* (1913), and A. Madhaviah's *Thillai Govindan, Kusika Stories, Clarinda* and *Stayānanda.*

Between the two World Wars came Venkataramani's *Paper Boats* and *On the Sand-dunes,* with observant humour and poetic prose; it was, however, in his novels and short stories—*Murugan the Tiller* (1927), *Kandan the Patriot* (1932) and *Jatadharan* (1937)—that Venkataramani rose to his full stature as a writer with a 'message.' The message is summed up in the words: Return to the village; be faithful to the land, and the land will be faithful to you!

Shanker Ram's constant theme in his novel, *The Love of Dust* (1938), and in his short stories—*The Children of Kaveri* (1927) and *Creatures All* (1931)—is the Indian peasant. Mulk Raj Anand is also engrossed in the peasant and the city labourer, and his series of remarkable novels—*The Coolie, The Untouchable, Two Leaves and a Bud, The Village*—gives him the status of a Laureate of the Downtrodden.

D. F. Karaka and R. K. Narayan are novelists of urban life. Karaka is a well-known journalist and columnist; but he has also published two full-length novels, *Just Flesh* and *There Lay the City,* which portray life in England and in war-time Bombay respectively. R. K. Narayan's novels and short stories—*Swami and Friends, Bachelor of Arts, The Dark Room, Malgudi Days*—are primarily the work of an aspiring artist, not of a propagandist with axes to grind. As a story-teller, Narayan is at his best when he attempts to delineate the curious lineaments of sophisticated Indian life. Kumara Guru's *Life's Shadows* also finds in the Western impact on Indian culture a fruitful field for his fictional studies.

Dhan Gopal Mukherji's *Kari the Elephant, My Brother's Face, Ghond the Hunter* and *The Chief of the Herd* have all enjoyed a considerable vogue; and we may mention also the following novels and collections of short stories: Ahamad Abbas's *Tomorrow is Ours;* Ahamed Ali's *Twilight in Delhi;* A.S.P. Ayyar's historical novels, *Baladitya* and *Three men of Destiny;* Santa Chatterjee's *The Eternal* and Sita Chatterjee's *The Cage of Gold;* S. K. Chettur's *Bombay Murder,* a detective novel; V. V. Chintamani's *Vedantam;* Muhammad Habib's *The Desecrated Bones* (short stories); Manjeri Isvaran's *Naked Shingles* (short stories); S. Nagarajan's *Athawar House;* Sir Firoz Khan Noon's *Scented Dust;* K. Raja Rao's *Kanthapura;* Adi K. Sett's *Chameleons;* R. Bangaruswami's *Balu the Boy Hero;* and Dewan Sharar's *Gong of Shiva.*

The light, humorous essay has not been much exploited by the Indo-Anglians. Recently, "S.V.V." has published a series of entertaining books, drenched in unmalicious humour, and revealing many of the more superficial aspects of Hindu life. *Soap Bubbles, More Soap Bubbles, The Holiday Trip* and *Chaff and Grain* are his best. Bangaruswami, again, has a wide range as a humorist, and he ever writes only to amuse, as in *Misleading Cases* and *Dummi's Fortnightly Diary.*

A concatenation of unfavourable circumstances compelled the educated Indian to

seek self-expression through a foreign medium like English; but enterprising Indians have made a virtue of this unpleasant necessity, and today Indo-Anglian literature is a rich reality. World War II has, if anything, only stimulated a further spurt of activity on the part of the Indo-Anglians. It is reasonable to conclude that even in the days when India, as a free country, takes her appropriate place in the comity of nations, English will continue to occupy, not indeed a dominant place, but at least an important place in the cultural life of the country.

Lotika Basu, *Indian Writers of English Verse* (Calcutta), 1932; E. E. Speight, *Indian Masters of English* (Calcutta), 1934; A. R. Chida, *An Anthology of Indo-Anglian Verse* (Hyderabad), 1930; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Indo-Anglian Literature* (Bombay) 1943; *Literature and Authorship in India* (London), 1943; *The Indian Contribution to English Literature* (Bombay), 1944.

K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar.

Kannada

Karnāṭaka, the province of the Kannaḍa people, is situated in the centre of the Deccan.

Kannaḍa literature begins with inscriptions which are tributes to heroes. These inscriptions are often archaic in style. The Halmiḍi inscription of 450 A.D. shows the already established influence of Sanskrit on Kannaḍa. Another inscription of about 500 A.D. consists of a metrical passage in Kannaḍa, one of the oldest literary passages of current Indian tongues.

Kavirājamārga (700 A.D.), written or approved by Nṛpatuṅga (808–880), the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, is the first extant work in Kannaḍa. It is a work on politics. It names earlier authors of prose and poetry in Kannaḍa. Durvinīta, the Gaṅga King, Vimalodaya and Nāgārjuna may have written books on Jain biography, legend, philosophy, and religion. A commentary on a Jain philosophical work, known as *Cūḍāmaṇi*, is mentioned. There seems to have been a Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Jains were the pioneers in the field.

The Age of the Epic (900 to 1200). Attempts had already been made to Sankritize Kannaḍa. This classical tradition flourished from the 9th to the 12th c. The characteristic product of the age was the epic in *Campu* style, i.e. a composition with an admixture of prose and verse. The themes were drawn either from the great Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, or from Jain biography and legend. It is possible that this form of epic was the gift of Kannaḍa poets to Sanskrit, for Campu writing begins in Sanskrit later than it did in Kannaḍa.

Pampa, (941 A.D.), the first great Kannaḍa poet, wrote a secular as well as a religious epic. His *Bhārata* or *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* is a narrative of the Bhārata legend, with Arjuna as the hero. But by means of veiled allegory, Pampa glorifies Arikesari, his own patron-king, in the person of Arjuna. He thus combined epic story and contemporary history. His *Ādipurāṇa*, the religious epic, deals with the life of the first *Tīrthaṅkara* or Jain saint and combines the technique of the classical *Campu* epic, with that of Jain *Purāṇa* or hagiography. Unlike the secular epic, it concentrates on *śānta rasa*, i.e., the predominant note is of the peace that passeth understanding.

Pampa is one of the great literary geniuses of Karnāṭaka. His was an all-sided and balanced personality. He represented the rare combination of Brahmanical and Jain culture and was both a poet and a hero on the battle-field.

A host of brilliant poets blazed this poetic path. Ponna (950 A.D.) wrote *Rāmakathā*, a secular epic based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* story; and *Śāntipurāṇa*. Ranna (993 A.D.) was the author of *Gadāyuddha*, an epic of the duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana of Bhārat fame; and *Ajitapurāṇa*. In 1100 A.D. Nāgacandra produced *Rāmacandracaritapurāṇa*, a Jain

version of the *Rāmāyaṇa;* and *Mallinātha Purāṇa,* a religious epic.

Cāvuṇḍarāja's (978 A.D.) *Cāvuṇḍarāja Purāṇa* is the first standard work in Kannaḍa prose. Nāgavarma I (990 A.D.) was the author of *Kādambari* and *Chandhombudhi.* In these works, he translated the great prose romance of Bāna from the Sanskrit and wrote a book on prosody. Nāgavarma II (1145) was the author of *Kāvyāvalokana* and *Vastukośa;* he supplied the necessary aids to literary composition, a lexicon, and discussions of grammar and poetics.

The Age of Revolt. The mid 12th c. witnessed the rise of a new literary movement. Jain authors like Nayasena had already revolted against the excesses of the grand style and started writing popular stories in simpler Kannaḍa. The revolt gathered momentum with the rise of the Vīraśaiva movement for social and religious reform. The mystics and reformers, led by Basaveśwara, the founder of the Vīraśaiva faith, sought a popular medium for the spread of the tenets of the new religion. Thus arose the vast literature in simple and forceful Kannaḍa prose, known as *Vacana* literature. It was produced by a very large number of *Vacanakāras,* most of whom belong to the same period. Of these, Basava, Allamaprabhu and a woman saint, Akkamahādevi, are easily the best. Basava speaks the language of a great Bhakta, Allamaprabhau of a perfect *Jñāni* (sage) and Akkamahādevi of a daring soul in search of God, her eternal lover. The *Vacana* may be described as a kind of mystical prose-lyric; it is a characteristic prose pattern in Kannaḍa literature.

About the close of this century, works in pure Kannaḍa metres like *Ragale* and *Ṣatpadi* came to be written for the first time, by Harihara and Rāghavāṅka. These are poets of a high order. They gave a new turn to Kannaḍa metre and style. Harihara is a powerful writer of poetic biographies of the devotees of Śiva, his biography of Basava being one of his best. Rāghavāṅka is a born narrator, with rare dramatic skill, his *Hariścandra Kāvya* being the most fascinating and artistic presentation of its theme in the whole field of Indian literature.

From the 12th to the 14th c., classical poetry of the *Campu* type was represented by eminent poets like Nemicandra (ca. 1170), Rudrabhaṭṭa (ca. 1180), Janna (1209) and Āṇḍayya (ca. 1235). Rudrabhaṭṭa was the first Brahmin poet with a devotional fervor, to treat a religious theme from the *Viṣnupurāṇa* in the high *Campu* style. Janna is a renowned poet of this age, for his poetic insight and power and for his novel treatment of love and lust as a tragic problem. Āṇḍayya wrote *Kabbigara* Kāva, a fantasy written in pure Kannaḍa, of Kāma (Cupid) who marches against God Śiva for having stolen the moon, and vanquishes him in battle, turning him into a hermaphrodite. Though inspired by fragments of mythology, this is an original theme in Indian literature. Keśirāja (ca. 1260) wrote a standard work on Kannaḍa grammar called *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa,* as well as several poetical works.

Basava is an outstanding personality of this age. If Pampa represents the classical tradition in Kannaḍa, Basava represents the popular literary tradition. His *Vacanas* are a transparent expression of his personality as a devotee and reformer. The sincerity and the ardor of his utterances, along with their simple grandeur and popular exposition have made them inperishable. In introspection as well as in exhortation, he was frank, fearless and effective.

The Age of Glory. The period from the 14th to the 16th c. is the golden age of the Vijayanagara Empire (1336–1556). Under the benign patronage of the rulers of this Empire of Karnāṭak, poets of all faiths enriched Kannaḍa literature. There was, in particular, a greater literary output on the part

of Brahmin poets, such as Kumāra Vyāsa (ca. 1430) and Kumāra Vālmīki (ca. 1500). Kumāra Vyāsa, who wrote the first ten parvans of the *Mahābhārata* in Kannaḍa (in a purely Kannada metre called Bhāmini Ṣatpadi), is one of the greatest of Kannaḍa poets, for his power of varied narration, live character study, and racy and resilient style. His *Bhārata* depicts, through the character and actions of Kṛṣna and of the Pāṇḍavas, the play of the Divine Power in human affairs and the Bhāgvata (devotional) response to the same. The *Bhārata* of Pampa, on the other hand, unfolds in a human way the spectacle of life as a conflict of warring emotions.

Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa, inspired by their teacher Vyāsarāja, composed devotional songs and founded the institution of *Dāsakūṭa*. They popularized the Bhakti (devotion) cult by employing spoken Kannaḍa as their literary medium. The songs of the Dāsakūṭa are on the lips of every lover of Kannaḍa and their message has reached even the most illiterate person in the province. Lakṣmīśa (ca. 1600) is the author of *Jaimini Bhārata* (in Ṣatpadi metre), one of the most popular narrative poems in Kannaḍa, noted for its great narrative art and charm of style.

The reorganization of Vīraśaiva literature went on apace. Biographies of Vīraśaiva saints and men of letters were written, of which *Prabhuliṅga līle* by Cāmarasa is pre-eminent. The outstanding Vīraśaiva writers of this age were Lakkaṇṇa Ḍaṇḍeśa (1470), Nijaguṇa Śivayogi (ca. 1500) and Vīrūpākṣa Paṇḍita (1584). Some of the Jain writers of the period were Maṅgarasa III; Sāḷva (ca. 1550); and Ratnākaravarṇi (1557), author of *Bharateśavaibhava* (in Sāngatya metre). This has been regarded as one of the greatest poems in Kannaḍa. Ratnākara is a poet with a distinct and synthetic vision of life and with a singular ease and power of writing. The Sāngatya metre, formerly but a folk tune, has been elevated by him as a rich vehicle of great poetry. The *Campu* style was definitely on the wane during this period, whereas indigenous metres like Ṣatpadi and Sāngatya were common and popular.

The Age of Revival. During the 17th c. efforts were made to revive the classical tradition by writing *Campus* and prose works in the old style. Poets—Tirumalārya and Cikupādhyāya—flourished under the patronage of the celebrated Mysore ruler, Cikadevarāja. These writers presented Śri-Vaiṣnava legend, biography, and doctrine in Kannaḍa. In addition, Tirumalārya introduced contemporary history and paid glowing tributes to his patron king. Sarvajña, author of many popular *tripadis* (three-lined stanzas), presents a storehouse of the wisdom and the wit of the Kannaḍa land. Ṣaḍakṣari is a Vīraśaiva poet with an extraordinary fancy, and a mastery over classical Kannaḍa.

The Yakṣagānas or folk plays came into prominence in the 18th c. But the literature of the next 150 years was not particularly brilliant. Towards the close of the 19th c., Muddaṇa wrote his famous prose work, *Rāmāśwamedha*. *Rāmāśwamedha* is, in essence, a novel picturing a love that is both human and divine, playful and profound. But in the heart of this novel is enshrined a prose-epic written on one of the chapters in the life of Rāma, in the traditional style. Muddaṇa is thus the last of the ancients and the first of the moderns.

Over 50 scientific works on medicine, mathematics, astrology, as well as numerous ethical and philosophical works of literary merit, have been written in Kannaḍa. The total number of authors is more than a thousand.

In Kannaḍa there is an abundant variety of folk songs and ballads. Particular mention may be made of the *Tripadis*, i.e. three-line verses, which center round domestic life, the joys and sorrows of Kannaḍa womanhood.

Many of these *Tripadis* are true lyrics in miniature. The folk song is generally born of the rhythmic activity of labor, as when women sing while grinding corn in the small hours of the morning. The sense of humor which some of the folk songs display is pleasantly surprising.

Modern Literature. The first quarter of the present century saw the rise of modern Kannaḍa in journalism, translations, and adaptations. This was followed by a surge of genuine creative self-expression. Almost all forms of literary expression of the modern world have been introduced in Kannaḍa. In the field of lyrical self-expression, poets such as D. V. Guṇḍappa, B. M. Śrikaṇṭhayya, Māsti (Śrinivās), Pañje, Bendre (Ambikātanayadatta), Sāli, Ānandakanda, V. Sītārāmayya and Madhuracenna, followed by a band of younger poets—K. V. Puṭṭappa, P. T. Narasimhācar, Rājaratna, Śankarabhaṭṭa, Vināyaka, Rasikaraṅga—have walked the new paths. *Ratnana Padagulu* (the songs of Ratna) by Rājaratna finely express the thoughts and emotions of a drunkard in rustic language which has, at the same time, larger significance and power. On the whole, the present age is the age of romantic poetry in Kannaḍa.

The short story came into its own with the writings of Kerūr, Pañje and Māsti. Māsti is regarded as the father of this form in modern Kannaḍa. A born story teller, he has published six collections, with great art and greater understanding of life. His long short story, *Subbaṇṇa,* is a rich character study. There are other excellent short story writers like Ānanda, Ānandakanda, Kṛṣna Kumāra and A. N. Kṛṣnarao. The short story is attempted successfully by Rājaratna in his book *Hanigalu.*

The novel began with translations. But writers of the early 1920's—Kerūr, Galaganāth—also attempted original work. B. Venkatachar adapted Bengāli novels of Bankim Candra; M. S. Puṭṭaṇṇa wrote original social novels. The social novel motif has become extremely popular, from such writers as Kārant, A. N. Kṛṣnarao, Ānandakanda, Puṭṭappa, Gokak.

The drama, which had been confined to professional companies, rose to eminence with amateurs gifted with a true sense of art. Original writing in the field of social drama began with Huilgol and Kerūr. T. P. Kailāsam of Mysore is a man of exceptional genius. He holds the mirror to modern social life, using colloquial Kannaḍa in his social drama. To R. V. Jāgirdār (Śriraṅga) drama is an instrument of social criticism and reform. Kārant, Kastūri, and Samsa are other playwrights. The one-act play flourishes with M. N. Kāmat, A. N. Kṛṣnarao, N. K. Kulkarṇi, D. R. Bendre, and Śriraṅga. A few, like Kārant, have experimented with opera and the shadow play. *Āśunāṭaka* (impromptu play production) has also been developed.

The essay in all its types, chiefly the personal essay, is flourishing in modern Kannaḍa, as in the work of A. N. Mūrtirao. Literary criticism, biography and scientific literature have been making good, though slow, progress. There is a crying need for popular books of knowledge, and the Mysore University is rendering yeoman-service by publishing a whole library of such books. Kannaḍa language and literature are bringing together people of all castes and creeds, and hold forth the promise of a cultural unity in spite of social and religious diversity.

R. Narasimhacharya, *Hist. of Kannada Lit.* (Mysore), 1940; *Hist. of Kannada Language* (Mysore), 1934; E. P. Rice, *A Hist. of Kanarese Lit.* (Calcutta), 1921; Masti Venkatesh Iyengar, *Popular Culture in Karnataka* (Bangalore), 1937; *Subhanna; Short Stories;* B. M. Shrinkathia, *Kannada Lit.,* All-India P.E.N. Centre, 1946; R. S. Mugali, *The Heritage of Karnataka* (Bangalore), 1945; S. R. Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* (Dharwar), 1940.

R. S. MUGALI.

Kashmiri

The most famous name of early and indeed of all Kashmiri literature is that of Lal Dĕd, Granny Lalla, as she has been affectionately called by the people of Kashmir. She lived in the 14th c., the time of the early Muslim rule in Kashmir, when classical Sanskrit tradition had begun to decay and Hindu society was distintegrating. When the old literary tradition had lost its hold on society and the new had not yet gained it, poetry found expression in the real language of the people. Yet Lal Dĕd did not make a complete break with the past: she wove new poetic patterns and imagery from the fabric of the people's own idiom, but continued the tradition of their indigenous philosophy (a system of Kashmiri monistic Śaivism). For Lal Dĕd is a mystic; the sincerity of her mystic experience and her intensity of conviction, energy of idiom and terse imagery, have given her the place of eminence she occupies in Kashmiri literature:

An idol is but stone, a temple is but stone,
Both indeed are one stuff:
What wouldst thou worship, O silly Pandit?
Concentrate thy mind on thy vital airs. . . .

With an untwisted thread I am towing a boat
on the ocean;
Would that my God heard my prayer and
brought me safe across!

Like water in pots of unbaked clay, I waste
away;
I have a longing keen: Would that I reached
my home!

A younger contemporary was Sheikh Nūr-ud-Din of Çrar Sharif, popularly known as Nuñd Rishi. It is probable, however, that much of the *Rishināma,* the collection of his verse, is of later authorship. Much of *Rishinamā* is didactic and, as poetry, inferior, yet it enriched the language with wise saws and pithy sayings that have become proverbial:

The fount was lost amidst rocks;
The saint was lost among thieves;
In the homes of the ignorant the wise Pandit
was lost;
And the swan was lost among crows.

The *Mahānay Prakāsh* of Śiti Kantha is probably of the 13th or 14th c. It has more linguistic and prosodic interest than literary, being perhaps the oldest available specimen of Kashmiri. It is mystical, like most literature of the time.

In the next few centuries, although mystical verse continues, a new kind of poem, of human love, developed. This is the *lole*-lyric, a song set to music, wherein the poets sings of his *lole* (love, longing, and tugging at the heart). The *lole*-lyric is an utterance of a single mood, rarely more than six or ten lines, including the refrain. The Kashmiri lyric is of a very melodious music, with its rhymes and ever-recurring refrains, alliterations and assonances, that come as the very stuff of the language, which has about as many vowels and semi-vowels as consonants and in which sonant aspirates, gutturals and harsh consonants are rare. Its base is not quantity, as in the Hindi *doha,* but stress. As with the songs in *braja* tradition, it is generally the woman who is the lover and utters her love. She sings of love in many moods: The spring is come, the flowers are in bloom, and the *Kukil* (Turtle-dove) and *Poshinool* (golden oriole) are here, my lovely one—but where are you?

Flowers have blossomed in all their hues,
Love where are you?
The rose has come, graceful and lovely,
The Sonaposh has shone forth from the
odorous night,
The larkspur and the hyacinth burst daintily
into bloom,
Love, where are you?

Anon.

Show thy delicate form, O Hyacinth, and go forth
With thy message of freedom for the Earth,
The Narcissus is holding her cup for thee.
Prakāsh Rām.

The distant meadows are in bloom,
Hast thou not heard my plaint?
Flowers bloom on mountain lakes,
Come, let us to the mountain meads;
The lilac blooms in distant woods,
Hast thou not heard my plaint?
Haba Khātoon.

Over high passes I carried him wine,
But he is roaming mid sylvan glades.
O why does he dwell in the distant glades?
O where is he drunk with my rivals' wine?
Haba Khātoon.

Most of these lyrics are of unknown authorship and have come down to us by word of mouth and oral tradition. Many, however, have been found recorded, interspersed among Persian songs and *gazals,* in the old mss. of *mausiqis* or books of music, with appropriate directions of *rāg* and *tāl* and *muqām.* Two famous writers of these lyrics are undoubtedly women: Haba Khātoon of the 16th c., famous in song and story for her romance, rising from a country girl to be the wife of the Muslim king Yusaf Shah; and Arnimāl (Garland of Yellow Rose), the disappointed spouse of Munshi Bhawani Das, the talented writer of Persian (ca. 1800). (Mrs.) Jum (Rashid) and Mirza Akmal-ud-Din also wrote several delightful songs.

Some of these songs sing not only of secular love but of their hunger for God.

I spread bird-lime, I wandered far,
I climbed rocky cliffs and mountains high,
And I did all that a man could do.
If God doth not grant, if fate doth not decree,
O fool, can the willow give thee a pear?
Anon.

Drink the wine ecstatic,
Rove in mid air like a wasp-bee in the sky,
And see, Śiva, like the sun, is everywhere.
Anon.

The Kashmiri religious lyrics, unlike the Hebrew psalms, breathe a spirit of charity for all. There is no vengeance against one's foe:

O Thou Hope of the hopeful,
From amidst darkness show me light . . .
Sow Thou the seed of friendship for me everywhere,
And slay not even my enemies.

Khwāja Habib Ullah Nawshahri (d. 1617) wrote popular religious poems like the one beginning 'Come, we will to the festival'; and Rupa Bhawāni (1624–ca. 1720) chanted her mystic exhortations in obscure Kashmiri.

With the coming of the Sikhs in 1819, law and order were established and comparative peace and security restored. The next 150 years form a prolific period. Epics like the *Ramāyana* of Prakāsh Rām were written; romances like *Shirin Khusro* by Mohmūd Gāmi, *Gulrez* by Makbūl Shāh; tragi-comic moralities like *Akanandun; Hīmāl ta Nägrāy* by WaliUllah; poetic renderings of Puranic and epic episodes, like *Siva Lagan* by Parmānaṅd and by Krishna Rāzdān; *Sudām Charitra* and *Rādhā Suyamvara* by Parmānaṅd, besides numerous songs, *gazals,* ballads, and some prose.

Persian had now become the literary language for the educated classes; the Kashmiri poets modeled their verse on Persian metres, losing the stress accent and some measure of flexibility.

Mahmūd Gāmi (d. 1855) was a prolific writer of metrical romances like *Yusuf and Zulaikha, Laila-wa-Majnūn, Shirin-o-Khusroo,* in which many songs are interspersed. His diction is largely Persianized,

and he uses Persian constructions. But he has a true poetic quality of passion, and his descriptions are rich and ornate, sometimes bordering on the gorgeous.

Makbūl Shāh wrote the metrical romance *Gulrez,* popular for its glowing descriptions of nature and passionate depiction of human love. He is also the author of *Gristnāma,* a frank satire on the wickedness of a Kashmiri farmer.

Rasūl Mīr surpasses even Mahmūd in many of his songs and *gazals.* He uses a purer diction and recovers much of the music native to the language. His appeal is more intimate. In purity of diction and intimacy of appeal, he can be compared with Prakāsh Rām, who lived much earlier and wrote the *Ramavtār-līlā.* Many songs in Rasul's epic—such as those expressing mother Kaushalya's grief over her son Rama's exile; and "Spring is come, sing, O *Bulbul*"—have become famous. Mother love has also made his version of *Akanandun* (*The Only Dear Son*) very popular, with its deep pathos and primitive devotional zeal. It is a Kashmiri version of the Abraham and Isaac story.

Aziz Ullah Haqqāni, among other poems, wrote *Ghazliyyāti-Haqqāni.* Wahāb Pare of Hājin majestically translated the Persian *Shāhnāma.* The dash and fury and clangour are brought into Kashmiri by Prakāsh Rām and Wahāb Pare. The latter wrote numerous songs, and the pretty poem on *Youth* which, "like the waters of a hill-stream, flows furious and fast, and soon leaves dry sands in an empty river bed." Other significant poets are Qalander Shāh; Abdul Ahad Nāzim; Mohy-id-Din Miskīn; Khawāja Akram; Rahmān Dār, who wrote the mystic *Mānch Tuller* (*Honey Bee*); and Maulvi Siddīq Ullāh, who translated the *Sikandarnāma* of the Persian Niẓami.

The lyrics of an earlier age had few allusions and fewer ornaments; they had directness, simplicity, and a tender poignancy of feeling. The songs and *gazals* of this period are more sophisticated, and references to lovers famous in Persian literature are more numerous. But the poet still draws on his own legend and love; he sings of Bombur and Lolare, Hīmāl and Nāgrāy; Myna; he speaks of golden oriole and turtle-dove; of narcissus, daffodil, and hyacinth. Song lost some of its melody, but gained in sensuousness and ornateness. Compare the earlier poet's—

Don't get angry, my Myna, dear,
It's love has smitten me . . .

with the songs of the poets of this period:

In the garden of love the wounds of my heart
are the flowers,
And my sighs are the cypress;
With tears of mine I shall fill love's garden
brooks . . .

Rasūl Mīr.

Thy tresses are a hyacinth,
Will not the bulbuls flock?

Anon.

The tradition of mystical verse continues, but here too there is a change in idiom and phrase; and, following the Persian tradition, the mystic poet advocates the cult of tavern and wine-cup. Azīz Darvesh and Wahāb Khār, and many unknown poets, wrote mystic verse of varying degrees of merit.

It is the fairies that sing at the fount,
Hear, O hear, that song is sweet . . .
Manacle thy (self and make of it a) bridge
(to span this ocean wide),
And moving far beyond, you will attain to
"Annihilation in the Divine,"
Where there is no Hindu nor Musalman.

Azīz Darvesh.

A new type of song, long orally popular, now grew into literary repute; Mahmūd Gāmi,

Makbul Shah, and more, developed it. It is *Rohv* lyric or dance-song. At the time of harvest or a local festival on an evening when the moon is high and "the heavens are bare," the country lasses and the middle aged dames will come out and join in a long chain, keeping time to the dance tune of Kashmiri *Rohv,* with two rows in alternate singing of the lines:

Come, O fairies, let us dance, let us dance,
Sheltered from light while the peaks are aglow
with rosy dawn, with rosy dawn.
I will make for my love a gold palanquin, a
gold palanquin,
With pearl fringes and ivory posts, and ivory
posts;
And when he arrives, I will come out to meet
him, I'll come out to meet him.
Accompanied by many friends and maids, my
many friends and maids.

Mahmūd Gāmi.

The socio-economic conditions of the time, accentuated by the apathy and inefficiency of corrupt bureaucracy, bore heavily upon the people, and stirred the pity and anger of the poet. This gave rise to comic-satiric ballads, expressing not only the discomfiture and pitiable plight of the people, but also the humor in their adjustments. The poet may celebrate the *Patwāri's* little tyrannies, the advent of snuff, Sir Walter Lawrence's Revenue Settlement, or the Vishav in flood. *Lalla Lakhman* is such a poem, full of fun bordering on the burlesque.

There is also a large body of songs comprising domestic folk poetry, marriage songs, funeral songs and *Lytierses* or harvest and cowboy songs.

Parmānaṅd and his school represent the *Līlā* group of poets, whose forte is a poetic composition singing hymns in praise of the *Līlā* (play) of a personal God, chiefly Krishna. In their poems there is greater abandon and joy than in any other Kashmiri poetry. They are primarily devotional poems, saturated with religious mysticism. All creation is an overflowing of God's joy, a *Līlā,* a Śiva's Dance.

Parmānaṅd (d. 1879) wrote three long narrative poems, *Śiva Lagan* (*The Marriage of Siva*), *Rādhāsuyamvara* (*The Choice of Radha's Spouse*), and *Sudāma-Charitra* (*The Story of Sudāma*). The narrative flows from episode to episode, with descriptive touches in a wealth of phrase and imagery. In the first of these the allegory obtrudes itself most on the reader's mind, the second is the most musical. As narrative poetry, however, *Sudāma Charitra* is unsurpassed in Kashmiri Literature for its noble opening, economy of language and the sublimity of its story, with a spiritual allegory which unobtrusively but nonetheless effectively lends it a cosmic significance.

Parmānaṅd's language is Sanskritized in *Śiva Lagan,* but in *Sudāma Charitra* his diction is remarkably pure. His descriptive poem, *Amaranātha Yātra,* the pilgrimage to the Shrine of Amaranātha in the mid-Himalayas in Kashmir (13,000 ft.) is remarkable for the accuracy of its descriptions. Quite a few of his *Līlā*-poems are difficult to interpret, being overweighed with mystical allusions, and replete with puns and rhyming jingles; but very many of them are remarkable for their melody, devotion and deep spiritual conviction:

"Thy love doth cast away all fear" . . .
"Manure thy field of action with the loam of
righteousness" . . .
"In the fulfilment of the contract
There can be neither more nor less." . . .

Parmānaṅd's friend and disciple, Lakhshman Ju of Nāgām, wrote several short poems, and *Nala-Damyanti.* The beautiful *"Mohini"* episode in Parmānaṅd's *Rādhāsuyamvara* is from his pen. Another famous poet of this

Līlā-group is Krishna Rāzdān of Wanpoh (d. 1925). He has a light-heartedness as well as a keen sense of enjoyment of the good things of the world. His *Līlā*-songs are free from obscure mystic allusions, and have simplicity and melody, though they lack the depth and intensity of Parmānanḍ.

Nandalala is come to dance,
Make a ring, make a ring.
The wild rose is aflame with love,
It has taken to the woods,
It has wandered by the brooks,
Make a ring, make a ring.
In the mansion of the body,
See, a dance is going on,
With all its nine windows open,
Make a ring, make a ring . . .

New themes, in our own time, have been introduced by Ghulam Ahmed Mahjūr, in such poems as *The Country Lass, My Youth, Arise O Gardener,* and *Our Country is a Garden;* and Abdul Ahad Azad of Rāṅgar has written some successful *gazals,* as well as patriotic poems (with a socialist bias). Dayā Rām Gaṅjoo is largely didactic in his verse.

The modern note is sounded by Zinda Kaul, in *Interrogation,* a poem that shows the possibilities of the Kashmiri lyric, in a diction not divorced from the present-day idiom, employing new rhyme-schemes and rhythm patterns and haunting refrains, an expressive medium, rich in its incantation and beautiful imagery, bodying forth the eternal *why* and the eternal *lole*-longing of the human soul.

Of current prose there is little. There are many anonymous folk-tales and fairy tales. Shangi Ganay of Shahabad is reputed to be the author of a love romance, *Laila,* and of *Rustum,* a version of Sohrab and Rustum. Fairy tales include *Wazirmāl* and *Lālmāl;* romantic tales, *Shāh Sayār,* and stories of clever thugs and highwaymen, like *Shashman Thug.* The *Bible* was translated by Rev. T. R. Wade. Maulvi Yihaya Saheb wrote *Tafseer-i-Koran* while Nūr-ud-Din Kāri wrote *Misal,* containing religious traditions. The collections of proverbs (made by Rev. Knowles) throw light on the customs and character of the people, their wit and worldly wisdom:

A dew-drop is flood to the ant.
A blind man's wife is in God's keeping.
The hen scratches the ground and the chickens learn.
What is common between knife and meat (the rulers and the ruled)?

The Riddles are also interesting:

An ass dancing within doors (a mill grinding corn).
The Pandit going upstairs in green attire and coming down in red (a red pepper).

Of drama there is even less than of prose. Som Pandit's *Zaina Charitra* and Yodh Bhat's *Zaina Vilās,* known only by name, were written in the reign of Zain-un-Abdin Badshah. Recently there have been some attempts, mostly translations, among which Nand Lal Kaul's *Satuch Kahwaṭh (The Touchstone of Truth), Rāmun Rāj (The Reign of Rama),* and *Prahalād Bhagat (The Devotee Prahlāda)* are marked by accurate rendering in popular Kashmiri of the Hindustani versions of those plays.

J. L. Kaul, Kashmiri Lyrics (Srinagar, Kashmir) 1946; G. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India.*

J. L. KAUL.

KHASI

The Khasis are about 200,000 hill people of Assam. They are of Mongolian origin, developing on the line of matriarchy. The Khasis speak the Monkhmer language which has survived as an island amid a sea of Tibeto-Burman speech. It has been given a

literature by the missionaries who work among its speakers; and this language which a century ago was rude, uncultured, and unwritten, is now one of the recognised Indian vernaculars.

The Khasi had no script of his own and no book till the 19th century. Legend says that he lost his book in crossing a stream. Between 1824 and 1833 the Serampore Christian Mission for the first time translated portions of the *Bible* into Khasi, printed in Bengali script. In 1842 two Khasi books were printed in Roman script: the *First Khasi Reader* and a translation of the *Mother's Gift,* by a member of the Welsh Mission.

From 1843 to 1889 works were limited to school primers and readers, and religious books. In this period there appeared the first Khasi periodical, *U Nongkit Khubor.*

After 1891 came efforts at literature, at first translations of the *Upanishads, Chanakya-Niti-Darpana* and *Ramayana;* and a number of periodicals and monthly newspapers. *Ki Dienjat jong ki Longshwa,* by J. Bacchiarello, and the volumes of *Ka Jingroi Ka Ri Khasi,* by T. Cajee, B.L., G. Costa, and H. Elias, are in modern style, giving a world of information about Khasi life and faith and progress. Mr. Sibcharan Roy has contributed Khasi literature, as did his father, the well-known Mr. Jeebon Roy. His book *Ka Niam Tiplei Tripbriew* is a thoughtful work. *Sawdong Ka Lyngwiar Dpei* and *Ki Khana Tang bad U Sier Lapalang* by Primrose Gatphoh, are serious attempts at Khasi prose, showing its potentialities. The author, whose advice has aided me, is the son of the most famous Khasi writer, Soso Tham.

Ka Kitab Jingphawar, by Rabon Sing, is a book of rhymes in couplets, which are characteristically sung on such occasions as victories, funerals, marriages and dances. The best book in Khasi prose is *Ka Kitab Niam Khein Ki Khasi* (1911) wherein the real beauty and music of the Khasi language is brought out. It is a book bearing on Divination and also giving valuable information about the rules of Khasi inheritance and of old Khasi administration among other customary rules. The translation of *Aesop's Fables* by Soso Tham is a model of beauty and expression. *Ka Jingsneng Tymmen,* by Radhon Sing, is a moral code of the Khasis written in verse. Dr. H. Lyngdoh, in fluent 20th century style has in his *Niam Khasi* given us a theory of the origin of the Khasis and a systematic account of the Khasi beliefs and religious rites and ceremonies with their incantations in mystic blank verse. His *Syiem Khasi bad Synfeng* gives an account of the mythological and traditional history of the Khasi and Jaintia chiefs. His *Ka Pomblang Nongkrem bad Ka Thang Syiem Sohra* is a valuable reservoir for research scholars as it relates to highly important customs of the Khasis in connection with the famous Nongkrem Dance and cremation of the Syiems of Cherra, and his *Khasi Hygiene* (*Ki Ain ka Jingkoit Jingkhiah*) shows how the Khasi language can be adapted to the treatment of a scientific subject. To him I am chiefly indebted for the chronological account of this note.

Soso Tham is known more for his poetical works (1936–37) than for his prose. His *Ka Duitara Ksiar* (*The Golden Harp,* 1937) is colorful; but his *Ki Sngi Barim U Hynniew Trep* is pre-eminently a Khasi Classic. It shows how the race began in its purity and how it has degenerated gradually; how again goodness will prevail in the end. The life blood of the Khasis can be traced in this poem—the spirit and style of the poem reflects Khasi industry, gaiety, thoughtfulness and above all freedom. Soso Tham captures the hopes and ideals of the Khasis today, and points the paths of growth for their literature and culture.

R. R. THOMAS.

Malayalam Literature

Malayalam is the language spoken in the Malabar country, (the southern portion of the west coast of India, lying between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats) by about twelve millions of people.

The earliest specimens of Malayalam are represented in certain copper-plate grants given by Malabar kings to the Jews and to the Christians. These are generally assigned to the 9th c. A Malabar king, Kulaśekhara, author of the Sanskrit dramas *Tapatī-Saṁvaraṇa* and *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya,* is supposed to have had in his court a Malayalam poet called Tōlan. Some stray verses attributed to this poet are still current in Malabar, and are freely used by Cākyars (Malabar actors) when they stage Sanskrit dramas. There are also many ancient songs used in religious ceremonies, in the worship of Kāli and other deities. But their date, too, cannot be accurately determined.

Fragments of certain poems, prior to the 14th c., show the influence of Sanskrit, in vocabulary and ideas. But the subject matter is purely local, and there is an intermixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam metres. Three such fragments have come to light, dealing with heroines, related to the kings of the country. In one of them, Indra, the Lord of the Heavens, hears a song about Uṇṇi Cirutēvi, a heroine of the earth, and he secures information about her through a messenger. The fragment ends with the description of her house, to which he goes. In another a Gandharva falls in love with a heroine named Uṇṇiyacci. Here also the fragment ends with the description of the house to which he goes. The third, with its heroine Uṇṇiyāti, follows the same pattern. The first fragment, perhaps the oldest of the three, is purely in Malayalam metres. In the other two, verses in Sanskrit metres are interspersed with verses in Malayalam metres. In the first of these latter two, we find some rhythmic prose also.

The literary language of that time is termed "Maṇi-Pravālam" (Pearl-Ruby). Just as in a string of these two gems, each join with the other to create an artistic beauty, similarly Sanskrit and Malayalam words go together to form a particular literary effect. There is a grammar of this literary form, called *Līlā-Tilakam* (probably early 15th c.), with a full account of the "Maṇipravālam" literature. It presupposes a long literary tradition; of its many illustrations, only one verse has been traced to an extant source.

A whole poem of the 15th c., in Sanskrit metres, is extant, the *Candrōtsava* (*Moon Festival*). It tells how the moon cursed the moonlight and how the latter was born on earth as a handsome lady, how she performed the moon-festival and how all the people came and how the moon himself came and blessed her. Another poem of the same period, the *Uṇṇunīlī Sandeśa,* is an imitation in Malayalam of the Sanskrit *Meghasandeśa* of Kālīdāsa.

Noteworthy in all these poems is the happy blending of a local theme with material collected from Sanskrit epics. The epic material formed an embellishment to the local theme. The writers of these two poems, themselves members of Malabar royal families, brought in words of the neighboring Tamil, then at the height of its power, for an appearance of elegance and majesty. The other three fragments show Malayalam in its purer stage.

About this time, the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (10th Book) found its way into Malayalam. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata* (in a far shorter form than the *Mahābhārata*) were also rendered into Malayalam. For a long time thereafter, the Saṇskrit epics provided the main material for Malayalam poetry.

There are two versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* by Kaṇṇaśśa Paṇikkar and Rāma Paṇikkar (ca. 14th c.). They are Tamil-Malayalam

compositions. The presence of the preponderant Tamil element is the result of conscious effort on the part of the poets, just as the presence of Sanskrit in *Campūs* is the result of the poets' effort to write Sanskritized Malayalam in Sanskrit metres. The Malayalam rendering of the tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was by a Malabar Brahmin poet whose house name is now accepted as Ceṛuśśeri (ca. 1400). The Malayalam rendering (not later than mid 16th c.) of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata* is by a poet known as Eẓhuttaśśan (father of letters, Teacher).

These three works stand out as the foremost in Malayalam literature. The latter two are in two purely Malayalam metres, alternating as chapters change. The language is very chaste; the rhythm and the beat are fascinating; the melody is enchanting; the style is majestic. The spirit of the original is fully brought out in the rendering, with no sense of labour. They are the greatest works in Malayalam.

The appeal made on the mind of the nation by these three works was so strong that they found frequent imitation. Yet they form a class by themselves. The *Bhāgavata* rendering is called the *Kṛṣṇa Gāthā;* the rendering of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata* is called Kilippāṭṭu (song of the parrot). There are other works in this style, as the *Ēkādaśi Māhātmyau,* the *Śiva Purāna,* the *Nalacarita,* the *Pañca Tantra* and the *Cāṇakya Kathā,* all later, but of unknown authorship.

Another important class of poems is the *Campū.* In Sanskrit, a *Campū* consists of metrical passages with rhythmic prose passages interspersed. More or less as a general principle, there is narration in the metrical passages and description in the rhythmic passages. In Malayalam *Campū,* there are passages in Sanskrit metres, corresponding to the metrical portion in Sanskrit, and passages in Malayalam metres corresponding to the prose portion in Sanskrit. The earliest specimen of this type is in the fragments of poems already discussed. But the majority of them belong to a later date. The *Rāmāyaṇa Campū* and the *Bhārata Campū* are the longest and the earliest. The first of these is assigned, doubtfully, to a well known poet, Punam, of whom no other work is extant. A reference to the Portuguese places it after the mid 15th c. The date of the second poem, and its author, cannot be fixed.

Mahiṣa Maṅgala is one of the greatest poets in this school. His *Naiṣadha Campū* is an excellent work, on a theme from the Sanskrit epics. His *Rājaratnāvalīya* deals with a king of Cochin. His *Koṭi Viraham* is a poem of original, secular theme, on the pangs of separation. Another poet in this field is Nīlakaṇṭha; his three works deal with the establishment of temples: *Cellūr Nāthodaya, Tenkailanāthodaya* and *Nārāyaṇīa,* with the temples of Perum-Cellūr, Trichur and Tripunithura respectively. Many other short poems belong to this type.

The Dravidian device (used regularly in Kannaḍa and Telugu) of alliteration in the second syllables of each couplet, first used in Malayalam in the poetry of Ceruśśeri (*Kṛṣṇa-Gāthā*) and Eẓhuttaśśan (*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata*), was long retained in Malayalam poetry. The passages in Malayalam metres that corresponded to the prose passages in Sanskrit *Campūs* were called prose (*Gadya*). Although they followed the rules of Malayalam metres, they did not have this alliteration on the second syllable. Thus they had rather the appearance of *Daṇḍakas,* rhythmic, semi-metrical, run-on passages. This type is one of the most popular and one of the richest in Malayalam literature.

In the 18th c. two new types of literature appeared in Malayalam. The *Tullal* (dancing) is a literary development of popular ballads used on festive occasions. Kuñcan Nambiyār lifted this form of ballad songs into a literary art. Of 75 such poems in his name,

many are later imitations. They are of about a thousand lines each, in Malayalam metres, frequently changed. This is a scheme of dance recital, with simple movement and gestures.

The subject matter is uniformly taken from the Sanskrit epics. But in this later type of literature, which is designed to have a popular appeal, the author is everywhere. The poems are full of local touches. The temple festivals, the customs and manners of his time, their prejudices and foibles, all these found a place in Kuñcan Nambiyār's poetry. He was a satirist of the first order, and he never missed an opportunity to satirise a contemporary community or personality during the narration of the epic story; but he could admirably harmonize his environment with the epic situations. He was, perhaps, a bit verbose. Epithets, and particles of no particular significance, are profusely used. But he knew how to adapt sound to situation. He knew how to make an appeal to the emotions. He is the most popular of the poets of Malabar.

The second new type, the *Kathakali,* is the Malabar dramatic literature. The professional actors, Cākyārs, had staged only the classical Sanskrit dramas, and only in temples. Only people of the higher classes of society could see them. The people had another set of rural dramas. The *Kathakali* of the 17th c. represents its rise to literature. The drama is meant for representation on the stage by action alone, the words being sung from behind by musicians. These mimed portions are strung together by intervening passages of a narrative nature, in Sanskrit metres, occasionally in a *Daṇḍaka.* There may not be more than one *Daṇḍaka* in a drama; it is used when the narration is long; otherwise, there is only a single verse to connect the passages of mimed dialogue. Most of the kathakaḷi, indeed, are in Sanskrit.

In the 19th c., the centre of literature shifted to Cochin, around Cranganore, a royal family there. Veṇmaṇi is the house name of a poet (early 19th c.) who with his son made an early rallying ground for the new writers. They were joined by another father and son, Naḍuvath. Other members of the Cranganore school are Kātolil Acyuta Menon, Kuṇṭūr Nārāyaṇa Menon, Oṭuvil Kunhi Kṛṣṇa Menon, Cambattil Cāttukuṭṭy Mannāḍiar, Toṭṭēkkāṭ Ikkāvu Amma (a poetess of great eminence).

Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampurān (1845–1917) of Travancore led the poets of the day; he wrote in both Sanskrit and Malayalam. His nephew, Prof. A. R. Raja Raja Varma, was also a great scholar and poet. These, with Kerala Varma, of the Panthalam Royal family in Travancore, K. C. Keśava Pillai of Trivandrum (a great scholar, poet and musician), Koṭṭāratil Śaṅkuṇṇi, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar formed the southern group of this school.

Sanskrit metres were now accepted as the norm, but the language was strictly Malayalam. Chaste diction; correctness of grammar; simple style; rhythmic flow; various embellishments of sound, as alliteration; free use of figures of speech: in all these there was strict adherence to the conventions of Sanskrit poets. Veṇmaṇi the younger was a poet of extraordinary gifts. He wrote poems on contemporary events and contemporary personalities. Brief poems flowed from him; but he completed no major work.

Kunhukuṭṭan Tampān, half-brother of Veṇmaṇi, was much more productive. While he appealed to the ordinary reader, his cousin Kocuṇṇi Tampān could be understood only by the educated few, attempting in Malayalam all the Sanskrit devices.

In the southern group, Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampuran imitated the difficult classics of Sanskrit; his Malayalam, as in his translation of Kalidassa's *Śākuntala,* is more difficult than Sanskrit. His nephew, Raja Raja Varma, wrote much simpler verse. Many Sanskrit

dramas were now translated into Malayalam, and original dramas were written, strictly following the Sanskrit dramas. Kunhukuṭṭan Tampān of Cranganore translated the *Mahābhārata* into Malayalam, adhering to the original metres. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was similarly translated by Vallathol.

When education on the English model was started, Malayalam became one of the subjects for study. Weekly, monthly and quarterly journals were started. Essays were written on literary, scientific, sociological, religious, and other subjects. Translation and imitation modernized Malayalam style.

The *Indulekhā* of O. Cantu Menon, and his uncompleted *Śāradā;* and the *Kundalatā* of T. M. Appu Neḍuṅgāḍi, a rich banker, were the pioneer works in Malayalam novels. Veinayil Kunhi Rāman Nāyanār; H. H. Appan Tampurān; V. K. Kunhan Menon (K.M.), Ambāḍi Nārāyaṇa Poduvāl, C. P. Acyuta Menon, helped set the norm of elegant prose style.

About 1925, Vallathol started writing poetry on the model of Tagore. The classical style became unpopular. Sanskrit metres were abandoned; old Malayalam metres were revived. The emphasis was shifted from workmanship to the content of the poetry, which often became a sermon of the reformer. Vallathol, despite his social content, retains the sense of the beauty of form which he learned in his early days.

Kumāran Āśān, who died young, devoted his poems wholly to social reform, especially to eradicating the evils of caste. Kuṭṭipuṛat Keśavan Nair continues the tradition of the old school. Ulloor Parameswara Aiyar, who was one of the most important figures in the old poetry, has turned to literary criticism and researches into early literature.

K. M. Panikkar is one of the best among the living poets and novelists of Malabar. He is careful in form and workmanship.

V. Unnikrishnan Nair has translated Tagore's poems into Malayalam, and written graceful original lyrics. The poems of G. Sankara Kurup are favourites among the youth. K. K. Raja is also a well known poet. Chenganpuzha Krishna Pillai is a militant social reformer who considers current problems the only subject fit for poetry. N. Balamani Amma, a young poetess of real talent, follows Vallathol.

Novels, short stories, social dramas, works on scientific, technical and other subjects, are flourishing. But the indifference to form and style is having its influence even on the prose of today. Knowledge of Sanskrit is passing away; yet its influence is too deep-rooted to die. It helped to develop Malayalam poetry as an art, as English has helped make the language a vehicle of thought.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.

MARATHI

Mahārāshtra, the region where Marāthi has been written and read for centuries, is contained roughly within a triangle, with its base on the west coast of India stretching from Daman in the North to Goa in the South, with the apex of the triangle in the East beyond Nāgpur in the Central Provinces. Its population is about 215 millions.

The language of this literature is an offshoot of the Indo-Āryan (Sanskrit), which through its important Prākrit form and the Apabhramsha, came to be the oldest form of Marāthi. It is usual to locate this change from the Apabhramsha to Marāthi somewhere about the 10th c. The earliest literary effort now known is from 1188 A.D.; but its highly advanced literary stage indicates some prior tradition.

A cursory glance at the old Marāthi literature brings two facts prominently to mind. One is the entirely religious and philosophical character of the whole literature, with the exception of the Powādā (ballad) and the

Lāvani (love-lyric). The other is the scarcity of prose writings. The old *Ovi* metre comes very near to prose and served the purpose of all philosophical disquisition or the narration of a story. The other old Marāthi metre, the *Abhanga,* in all its variations, was used for lyrical outpouring of the heart. In the 17th c. poets adopted the Sanskrit metres in a large measure. The poets of the 18th c. devised another vehicle of their own, a variation of the Mātrā metres.

The peculiarly religious character of old Marāthi literature explains the large contribution to it by several theological cults. One of them was the Mahānubhāva cult, a reformist body that later withdrew from the orthodox fold. The Vārkaris, devotees of the Vithobā of Pandharpur, were the most important. Next comes the Nāth Panth (cult) to which Dnāneshwar formally belonged. It laid stress on Yoga, physico-mental culture and was imported from the north. The Rāmadāsis are another Panth, founded by Rāmadās in the 17th c. The Ānanda and the Datta cults also made contribution.

Tradition makes Mukundarāj the first author in Marāthi. His two works, the *Vivekásindhu* (1188 A.D.) and the *Paramāmrita,* are both philosophical treatises. He was more of a philosopher than a poet; but the language of his work was modernized by many scribes. His work was followed by that of many members of the Mahānubhāva cult, whose official language was Marāthi, all over India. Chief among them are Bhāskarabhatta, author of *Shishupālavadha* and the *Uddhavagīta;* Narendra, author of *Rukminiswayamvara;* Damodarbhatta, author of *Vchchaharana;* and Mahindrabhatta, who wrote the memoirs of Chakradhara, the founder of the cult. All these writers had a scholarly bent of mind and were endowed with considerable poetic ability. Bhāskarabhatta stands high above the others both as a man of learning and as a poet. The cult, however, came into disrepute in the course of about a hundred years, and its followers adopted secret codes of script to avoid persecution. Their literature, therefore, remained unknown to the vast majority, till late in the 19th c. the scholar Rājwāde, brought it to light.

The great figure of Jñānadev, or Jñāneshwar (1271–96) stands as a poet-philosopher and leader of a religious movement. His best work is the *Jñāneshwari,* an exposition of the *Bhagawat-gitā,* in a brilliant style in which it is difficult to separate philosophy from poetry. In this work of over 9,000 *Ovis,* he brings in a wealth of similes, metaphors, and fancies clothed in language that is a model for sweetness combined with simplicity. The *Amritānubhava,* another work of his, independent in treatment, is more an evidence of his learning than of his poetic ability, and is less popular. The *Jñāneshwari* is held in highest reverence by the Vārkaris, who call it "The Mother." No other work in Marāthi has exercised such an influence on the mind of the people for so long a period.

Nāmadev, a little older than Jñānadev, was an illiterate devotee of Vithobā. His sincerity had no limits and his faith was very simple. Out of such a devotion arose hundreds of *Abhangas,* lyrical in form and subject-matter, surpassing in emotional intensity the *Abhangas* of the more intellectual Jñānadev. These two poets became the centre of the Vārkari movement, which still draws upon Namadev's *Abhangas* for purposes of Bhajan (prayer). He is said to have travelled in the north of India, the Punjāb, where the Sikhs have retained his memory by incorporating versions of his *Abhangas* in their sacred book.

The lyrical vein that pervades these Abhangas is found in other poets of the time. Janābai, Nāmadev's maid-servant, had a very fruitful strain of poetry. Various castes contributed to the flow. Gorā, the eldest, was a potter. Visobā, the spiritual Guru (teacher)

of Nāmadev, was a trader. Narhari was a goldsmith; Swatā, a gardener and Jogā, an oilman. Muktābai, the sister of Dnānadev, is known for her *Tātiche Abhanga.* But most of these were rather great saints than great poets.

There followed a period of comparative darkness, marked by social upheaval. Two centuries passed before Mahārāshtra adjusted itself to its political fate. By the mid 15th c. Bhānudāsa, the great-grandfather of Ekanāth, by whose name the next literary period is known, brought back the idols of Vithobā taken to Vijayanagar for purposes of safety. Janārdanaswāmi, the spiritual Guru of Ekanātha, initiated him in his own Datta cult. His two great works are the *Ekanāthi Bhāgawata* and the *Bhawārtha Rāmāyaṇa,* each extending over 20,000 *Ovis. Rukmini-swayamvara* is the best known of his minor works. Many of his *Bhārudas* are popular, being allegories with a metaphysical import. His study of *Dnāneshwari,* which he had edited and explained, gave him the mastery over simile and metaphor necessary to make philosophical teaching more poetic. He is, however, heavier in expression and exposition alike than Dnānadev.

To the Panchāyatana (Pentad) known by the name of Ekanātha, belonged another voluminous writer, Dāsopant. *Gitārnqva,* another lengthy commentary (over 100,000 *Ovis*) on the *Bhagawat-gitā,* is but one of his 50 works.

Mukteshwar, the grandson of Ekanāth, made the first great attempt to bring into Marāthi the great Sanskrit epic, the *Mahābhārata.* Following merely the outline of the original, he gives his own account of the story. The five parvas he completed are testimony to his poetic genius. Master of the language, his imagination has made his pictures of men and women more living than those of any other Marāthi writer of the older period. He belonged to no great cult, and seemed to write poetry for its own sake.

Closely following Mukteshwar came three great literary figures: Tukārām, Rāmdas, and Vāman Pandit. The last wrote *Yathārthadeepikā,* again a commentary on the *Bhagawatgitā.* It does not compare, in poetic quality, with that of Dnāneshwar, though occasionally truer to the original. Vāman's fame as a poet depends on his longer narrative pieces. Here he is less pedantic and more emotional, though he seeks variety by frequent borrowings from Sanskrit. Rāmdas was less learned. Much traveled, his knowledge of the life and conditions in the country was real and vast. His philosophy of life was practical and positive. He has incorporated his teaching in his *Dāsabodha* for the guidance of his followers, who were known as the Rāmadāsis. He was a prolific writer, having to say something on everything. Caring more for the matter than for the manner of it, he rode roughshod over the language of his expression, bending it to his own purpose. Tukārām was a quite different spirit. Author of more than 5,000 *Abhangas,* he belongs to the school of Nāmadev, who for the sake of life divine preferred to neglect the life human. Being a grocer by caste, he had no educational advantages useful for a literary career. He was more a saint than a poet, but the devotional outpourings of his heart, taking shape in a not very polished language, have all the essence of poetry. The direct and simple manner of his expression made him most popular among the great masses, and next to Dāneshwar he has gained recognition at the hands of the Vārkaris who still make the *Abhangas* of Tukārām the text of their Bhajans.

The tradition of Pandit (pundit: learned) poets which began with Vāmana was gaining ground. These poets desired to write in the Sanskrit style. The center of the Mārātha culture in the south, of which Tānjore was the capital, gave rise to poets like Ānandatanaya, and Raghunath-pandit, whose *Story of the Marriage of Damayanti* has no equal of

its kind. Niranjana Mādhava and Sāmaraj were two other poets of repute. The tradition of Mukteshwar was upheld by Shridhar, with versions of the *Mahābhārata* and the story of Krishna. Though not so great a poet as his model, he enjoyed greater popularity. Krishna Dayārnava, a contemporary, wrote on the 10th chapter of the *Bhāgawata* with ease and grace. He and Shridhar both wrote in the *Ovi* tradition.

Moropant dominates the poetry of the 18th c. He is the culmination of the Pandit tradition, and wrote also in Sanskrit. His Marāthi works include the *Mantra Bhāgawata,* the *Āryā-Bhārata,* and a collection of a hundred different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* He has many smaller narrative poems to his account. His fame as a poet depends mainly upon his skill in narration neatly executed according to rules mostly self-imposed. The only lyrical (but long) poem of his is the *Kekāvali.* Moropant is known as the Āryāpati, master of the Āryā metre, which he made very popular in Marathi. A host of imitators followed him.

Madhwa Munishwara, the author of hundreds of lyrical devotional songs, established a tradition. His pupil, Amritarāya, invented his own vehicle of expression, the *Katāv,* written in a running musical style, and full of alliteration. Mahipati, author of lives of saints and poets, was a simple, believing soul who incorporated whatever he saw or heard in his accounts. He wrote four such books, which form the greater part of biographical literature in old Marāthi.

The glorious days of Swarāj (freedom), the 17th and 18th c., saw the development of the Ballad. The subject matter (Powādā) is an heroic deed of a person of historical importance, often a contemporary of the poet, who was usually a man of the masses without academic equipment. The poem is a long narrative with sections (Chowks), composed in a new metre. The language is essentially that of the masses, free from the domination of Sanskrit. Many of the pieces are full of poetic fervor. The ballads sometimes present a doleful theme, like the battle of Panipat in which the Marāthās suffered their worst defeat.

Allied with the ballad is the Lāvani, or love poem. This differs from the love of Rādhā and Krishna, the divine lovers, in being purely secular and human. Here again the academic equipment was meager, and much depended on the innate sense of the poet. The Lāvani was a short lyric, in the Mātrā metre with often a sensual strain.

From 1800 to 1874, there were many translations, from Sanskrit and then from English. Prose came to the fore, especially the moral essay. Later came essays aiming at social reform, in the hands of Lokahitavādi. There was a great literary activity conducted under the auspices of the foreign government, including the compilation of dictionaries, preparation of suitable textbooks, editing of the Collection of the *Abhangas* of Tukārām, writing books on science. Most of the famous dramas in Sanskrit were brought into Marāthi by Pandits like Tātyā Godbole, Krishnashāstri Rājawāde, Pārakhi. One of them, Mahādevshāstri Kolhatkar, gave Marāthi garb to Shakespeare's *Othello.* The year 1843 saw the Puranic (mythological) drama for the first time on the stage of Mahārāshtra. A school of thinkers led by Lokahitavādi among the brahmins, and Fulay among the Marāthās, preached that much in the old culture was worthless and that a new outlook on life had to be cultivated. The *Shatapatre* of Lokavitavādi (a pen-name of Gopāl Hari Deshmukh) puts forth this point of view. The Christian missionary was a strong disturbing factor; Bābā Padmanji, a convert to Christianity, wrote in its support. Others, like Vishnubua Brahmachāri, in defending their own faith, attacked Christian religion. Altogether, the period, though fruitful, was troubled.

The establishment of a University in Bombay was another factor that gave an impetus to academic and literary activity. Rānade, the Prophet of Free India, Bhandārkar, the first great Oriental scholar, and M. M. Kunte whose attempt to bring the western epic into Marāthi remained the first and the last of its kind, were among the first products of this university.

The *Nibandhamālā* marks the beginning of a period in which men imbued with the Western spirit began to think independently. The author of this series (a monthly which ran for seven years) was Vishnushāstri Chiplunkar (1850–82), the father of modern Marāthi prose. Initiated into the art of writing by his father who was himself a writer of repute, Vishnushāstri drew inspiration from Addison and Macaulay. The essay in his hand became a powerful weapon. He endowed Marāthi prose with a new elegance and a power, wielding satire with rare skill and effect. He used his pen to create a sense of self-respect in the Marāthā people. The social and political essay had two further protagonists in Tilak and Āgarkar, collaborators of Chiplunkar in his educational and journalistic activities. They, however, ranged themselves in two opposite camps. Āgarkar spent his life fighting fearlessly for social reform, in a ponderous but emotionally saturated manner. Tilak, the Father of Indian Unrest, was his adversary in this field, but in literature he will be respected more for his epochmaking book, the *Gitā-rahasya,* giving a new interpretation of the age-old book, the *Bhagawat-gitā,* which had lent inspiration to many great Marāthi writers in the past.

The next generation (1890–1910) saw the rise of two eminent essayists, N. C. Kelkar and S. M. Parānjapye, both of them editors of popular Marāthi weeklies. The former, now in his seventies, and known as the Prince of Marāthi writers, is still busy writing in all different forms of literature, not excluding the personal essay, which has now supplanted the heavier type.

There were great changes in the period from 1874 to 1920. The drama, in particular, had a remarkable development. In the 1880's Kirloskar wrote the ever-popular *Saubhadra* and the Marāthi *Shākuntala;* and Deval rendered the Sanskrit *Mrichchakatika,* and the prose *Kādambari* of Bana, in a popular stage version. The next decade saw the adoption of the Shakespearean technique on the Marāthi stage, mainly through the activity of Khādilkar, author of several historical plays. He has also written mythological drama, using old legend for current political propaganda, as in the *Kichakavadha,* proscribed for many years. S. K. Kolhatkar also used the Shakespearean technique for plays of social reform. Gadkari (fl. ca. 1917) was the most popular playwright. Even the lives of saints, like Tukārām, were represented with great success. The drama was the most active and most popular of literary forms of the period.

From the old romantic type, the novel grew realistic in the dozen books of Hari Nārāyana Āpte. Social reform was also the motive for his writing. He exhibits a profound knowledge of human nature and of the social conditions of the middle class, and has depicted the aspirations of his society in a simple and realistic manner. *Rāgini,* a novel by V. M. Joshi, has many philosophical discussions woven into its story; it was received with great enthusiasm. The historical novel also was popular, though with many lesser artists than Āpte it degenerated into a hotchpotch of fact and fiction.

Poetry adopted the western style, became almost entirely lyrical and secular, completely threw off the yoke of religion, became truly subjective, and changed its metrical form from the Sanskrit Gaṇa metres to Marāthi Mātrā metres. Keshavasuta, especially, led in this change. Among the host of his followers are Govindāgraja (pen-name of Gadkari the

dramatist), Tilak, Vināyak, and Mādhavānuja.

S. K. Kolhatkar began an independent tradition of humor in Marāthi. He was ably supported by his disciple, Gadkari. Though it often tends toward satire, it has never lost its intellectual character. Notable among the humorists are Captain Limaye, P. K. Atre, and C. V. Joshi. Kolhatkar was also known as a critic of modern literature.

The poetry of the post-War period has been dominated by the activities of the Ravikirana Mandala. A variety of poetic forms has been developed. There is the dramatic lyric, whose best exponent is Tāmbe, of Gwalior. The parody, popular for a decade or more, has in P. K. Atre its first real artist. The *Sudhāraka* of Mādhava Julian, who was the brain of the Ravikirana Mandala, is the best illustration of verse satire. Pastoral poetry, written in the language of the village, has been developed as also the *Shishugitas* (child-poetry). The longer narrative poem has its best representative in Girisha, another member of the Ravi Mandala. The sonnet, first introduced by Keshavasuta, has become an established form. A strain of mystic poetry is to be noted in the poets from the Berars, in the eastern districts of Mahārāshtra. Free verse also has its supporters and is steadily gaining ground.

The drama has suffered a setback, with the advent of talking pictures and the dearth of great playwrights. Though the modern plays of P. K. Atre are helping to sustain the tradition of the drama, and the centenary of the Marāthi stage has just been celebrated, the main change is a shift from Shakespearean technique to that of Ibsen.

N. S. Phadake is the most successful novelist of this period. Though technically flawless, his novels picture only the upper stratum of society, and they lack idealism. This is basic in the novels of V. S. Khāndekar, though there is much in his novels which is technically defective. The political novel has been developed by G. T. Mādkholkar. The short story, however, is the form of the day. V. S. Khāndekar is pre-eminent, followed by Phadake and Y. G. Joshi. The essay has advanced, both personal and critical. Eastern and western theories are being carefully studied and sifted, and a fusion of the two is being sought.

R. D. Ranade, *Mysticism in Maharashtra* (Poone), 1933; C. A. Kincaid, *Tales of the Stains of Pandharpur;* Macnicol, *Psalms of the Marātha Saints.*

R. S. JOAG.

MIDDLE INDIA ORAL

Middle India may be taken to include the political divisions of the Central Provinces, Central India and the Chhattisgarh States, a great area whose mountains and forests are peopled by aboriginal populations and preliterate Hindu peasants. Strongest of the tribes are the three million Gonds, about half of whom still talk their original Dravidian language. Most of the other tribes and castes, of whom there is a bewildering variety, now speak dialects of Eastern Hindi—Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chhattisgarhi. In the east, Oriya, and in the west, Marathi influence the speech of the people: in Bastar State the different traditions combine to produce Halbi, a language rich in unwritten verse.

Little of the folk-literature of Middle India has been collected. In 1866 Sir R. Temple published the *Papers* of the missionary Hislop; these include the first recorded version of the great *Lingo* legend translated from the Gondi. But it is only since 1935 that attention has been paid to what must have been an exceptionally rich and interesting oral tradition.

It is not easy to allot this literature to individual peoples. It belongs rather to areas than to tribes and to certain stages of cultural development than to particular castes. Baiga and Gond, Pardhan and Panka, in any one area largely share each other's songs and tradi-

tions. There is little difference between the poetry of the Kamars, Bhunjias and Gonds who live together in the Bindra-Nawagarh hills. Gondi 'literature' remains, of course, the property of the Gonds and Pardhans, but once a tribe adopts some dialect of Hindi it shares its treasures with many others.

Of the various kinds of song and legend current in this area, the epics and ballads preserve the ancient traditions of the people and take the place of formal histories and Puranas. The modern Gonds, descendants of the former rulers of the country which is still often called the Gondwana, have a tribal subdivision of bards and genealogists, the Pardhans, who preserve the traditions of their past glory. These minstrels have two main epic cycles, the *Gondwani* and the *Pandawani*. The *Pandawani* consists of romantic stories, considerably altered in the telling, from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The *Gondwani* cycle is composed of splendid and exciting tales of the wars of the old Gond Rajas with one another or against the Moghul armies. It includes also many songs recounting the adventures of such mythical heroes as the great warrior Hirakhan Kshattri, the tempestuous lover Marakhan, the exquisite Kamal Hiro, the ludicrous Bodrahin. Yet another epic cycle centers round the figure of *Lingo*, the originator of the Gond race. These epics and ballads are of high quality and are delivered with great spirit and humor. The village watchman is a popular figure of fun, and the tricks which the Gonds play on the Moghul Emperors would be amusing in any setting. Described with the coarse and vigorous wit of the Pardhans, they are irresistible.

There are many other small groups of wandering minstrels—Ojha, Dewar, Bhima, Badi —who tour the countryside and enliven with their songs people who have few facilities for recreation. These singers tend to repeat ballads and epics known in other parts of India, though they usually give them a characteristic turn. The Dewars, for example, recite the beautiful ballad of Rasalu Kuar, though with many alterations from the North Indian versions recorded by Temple and Swynnerton. Very popular in Chhattisgarh is the song of Dhola, and another charming ballad, the story of Lorik and Chandaini, is told in Central India with many variations from the classic Gaya model.

The aboriginals of Middle India have an extensive mythology which covers every aspect of their life and in many cases still vitalizes their institutions. It is to some extent influenced by sub-Puranic and epic tradition, but sufficient is original to justify us in regarding it as an important branch of the oral literature of the area. It would in fact be possible to compile a new aboriginal Purana, which would include many new and fantastic names and places and reveal the basic beliefs of the people.

The folk tales of Middle India are mainly on the standard pattern, repeating motifs common throughout India and the world. Thus we have the usual jealous queens, flying horses, skin-disguises. We find the youngest brother persecuted by his elders, the tricks of clever rogues, the hero on pilgrimage, the Act of Truth, Magic Articles, the 'Impossibilities' theme and the customary Beast Fables. Most original are domestic tales, often obscene, which describe the complications of a polygamous home, the difficulties of the servingmarriage, the timidity of a newly-married bride. The *vagina dentata* stories illustrate the fact that similar psychological reactions are to be found among primitive people in India, North America, Europe, and the Pacific islands.

The shorter folk songs are often characterized by a higher degree of poetic inspiration. Chief among these are the Karma songs, which accompany the famous dance of the same name. In Bihar and Orissa this is associated with the Karma Festival for the worship of

the *adina cordifolia* tree, but in the Central Provinces it is simply a vigorous and beautiful dance which may be performed at any time, in the hills by both men and women, in the more sophisticated areas by men only. The songs are of great variety and may deal with any subject—love, sorrow, humor, satire and the affairs of every day. Most of the songs consist of three parts—the *Rag,* the *Tek,* and the *Ad.* The *Rag* is the introductory portion that lets the dancers know what tune or rhythm is to be used. It consists of a single phrase—*Aho hai, Aho ho hai* and the like—which is not repeated. The *Tek* is that part of the song which is sung while the people are actually dancing. It is constantly repeated, and may be regarded as a sort of chorus. The *Ad* is sung in the intervals between the actual dancing, when the women straighten themselves and stand still, swaying only slightly to and fro.

The songs are usually sung antiphonally. Occasionally they are in rhyme, but more frequently they gain their effect by constant repetition and by assonance. A line like—

Ori re ori koilāri jhori kai din le hobo rāni luka chori

is repeated in whole or in part over and over again. Consider also the effect of—

Hai hai lahari hai ga lahar lahar karai wa lahari hai re.

Onomatopoetic and echo-words, alliteration and 'internal rhyme' further aid the swing and vigor of the song.

The *Rina, Sua* and *Tapadi* are dances (with song accompaniment) for women. The *Rina* at least may once have been a ceremonial and patriotic performance before the Rani in the courts of the Gond Rajas. Today it is danced at Diwali; and the *Sua* and *Tapadi* (which is the Baiga version) during the cold weather from November to January. There are no very strict rules, however, and the *Rina* may also be danced at marriages. These dances are specially popular among married and old women, and members of the Hindu cultivating castes join freely with the aboriginals in performing them. The *Sua* songs are sometimes lengthy ballads, generally composed from the woman's point of view, describing a girl's sufferings in her husband's house. They have no special form except that usually every line ends with the word *Sua* (parrot).

The *Saila,* or *Danda Pata,* songs are sung when the men of a village perform the complicated and often very clever stick dances. Sometimes these are undertaken in competition with other villages. Sometimes they are performed at home. The songs are generally of a 'cumulative' and progressive character. Some describe the change of the seasons, and work from month to month right through the year. Some give an account of the whole progress of agricultural operations and the growth of grain. Others are riddle songs; these are usually sung when a dancing-party visits another village. The visitors pose their riddles and the hosts have to answer them in song and pantomime.

Perhaps the most popular of all the songs are the *Dadaria,* or *Salho* as they are called in Chhattisgarh. These are the true *banbhajan* or forest-songs. They are sung by the people at work in field or forest, by groups of girls on their way to a bazaar, by travellers resting by the fire at night. Young lovers sing them to each other, and many a proposal has been made and elopement arranged in verse. At weddings, the parties of bride and bridegroom sing them against one another competitively; while they are singing boys and girls throw rings to each other and exchange gifts of tobacco and betel. These are the most spontaneous and original of the songs. There is a great corpus or floating reserve of *Dadaria* verse, on which boys and girls draw according

to their knowledge and their fancy. But they also often improvise, a task facilitated by the rather easy rhymes that are in fashion.

The music is always fresh and thrilling, with a lilt, a joy, an excitement that never stales. The songs are sung very loudly, at a high pitch; they are the radio messages of the aboriginal. They are usually sung antiphonally; one verse of a *Dadaria* expects an answer.

Though the music is always lovely, the words of the *Dadaria* songs are often cheap and facile, a fault forced upon them by their rhymed couplet form and extempore improvised character. The singers are more interested in getting a rhyme at the end of the line than in what they say; hence, the second line of a *Dadaria* often has little connection with the first. On the other hand, in the best *Dadaria* the second line interprets and amplifies the first in a manner vaguely reminiscent of Hebrew poetry.

There is a great variety of marriage songs. The Muria of Bastar State sing for eight days in the village dormitory before a marriage, in order to prepare the bride and bridegroom for their future life. These songs are often beautiful and sometimes contain excellent advice. Every incident in the elaborate and complicated ritual of an aboriginal marriage is accompanied by songs. There are songs for grinding the turmeric, songs for building the marriage-booth, songs for bathing the bride and bridegroom and, above all, songs 'to make the bride weep,' which remind her of the joys of her childhood home and the difficulty and harshness of a husband's house. Of a special character are the marriage songs of the Kamar and Bhunjia in the Khariar and Bindra-Nawagarh Zamindaris, which have an elaborate verse technique and are sometimes beautiful and appropriate. Many of the Biraha, however, of the Gond and low-caste Hindu cultivators are exceptionally obscene.

Children's songs are common. Cradle-songs resemble those recorded elsewhere in India. The Murias have a very large variety of songs to accompany their mimetic games. The Murias, and others in the south of the area who go on ceremonial dancing expeditions several times a year, have special songs for these occasions, *Chherta, Pus Kolang, Diwali, Chait Dandar,* and others.

Mourning songs are generally composed for the occasion, although here as always there is a common reserve of phrases on which the singer can draw. The Murias have lengthy dirges, nearly always in Gondi, which they use during the actual funeral ceremonies.

Religious songs are rare, but there is singing at most festivals, though the 'hymns' are usually devoid of poetic merit.

The people associate songs with every aspect of their daily life. There are songs of grinding and husking grain, songs sung by women while weeding the fields, by men while threshing the crop. These homely and familiar verses include in their scope subjects of every day that would have baffled Wordsworth; they tell of pregnancy and its longings, menstruation, tattooing, the prices of things in a bazaar, the agony of famine, the different kinds of fish; they range through the whole Table of Affinity. The Agarias have songs about the forge and bellows. The Pankas sing about their looms, the Dhimars and Kewats about their fishing-nets. The Ahirs have songs to accompany the music of their flutes and a large repertory of two-lined *Doha* for their wild ecstatic dances.

Riddles and proverbs are another way in which the people express their natural tendency to that symbolization which is so important a feature of their songs. It has yet to be discovered, however, how far these are to be regarded as original in any particular culture.

The oral literature of Middle India, still largely unrecorded, is linked at every turn with village life. It is a living literature, continually recreated in the emotions and pas-

sions of the folk. Some of it is cheap and frivolous, much is conventional, but at its best it reaches the heights of true poetry and deserves permanent record and adequate translation.

S. Hislop, *Papers Relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces* (Nagpur), 1866; M. N. Venkataswami, *Folk-Tales of the Central Provinces* in *The Indian Antiquary*, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32; Shamras Hivale and Verrier Elwin, *Songs of the Forest* (London), 1936; Verrier Elwin, *Specimens of the Oral Lit. of Middle India*: Vol. I, *Folk-Tales of Mahakoshal;* Vol. II (with Shamras Hivale), *Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills;* Vol. III, *Folk-Songs of Chhattisgarh;* Vol. IV, *The Mythology of Middle India* (Bombay), 1944-45.

VERRIER ELWIN.

ORIYA

The Oriya language is one of the oldest vernaculars of India. Buddhistic works in Oriya are not wanting. The late Mahamohopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri of Bengal discovevered in Nepal some works (on palm leaves, written with iron stylo and stitched together) of the following Oriya poets and religious teachers who flourished between the 6th and 9th c. A.D.: Lui; Kalipada; Krushna Acharya (Kahnupada Acharya); Sarah; Dharmapada; Dhetan; Malipal; Savarpal; Tilipa; Indrahuti; Gambherabajra; Gnyana Bajra; Tathagata Rakhita; Depankar Srignan; Dharmasreemetra; Sthagan Gorakhnath; Matsyendranath.

Many of the poems of these poets are included in the *Bauddha Gana O Doha* published by the late Mahamohopadhyaya. These poems relate to Tantric rites which emanated from Buddhism.

For the specimens of the earliest extant Oriya prose we turn to the *Madala Panji,* the palm-leaf chronicles of the Jagannath Temple at Puri which have been maintained since the 11th c. and which record the history of Orissa from ancient times. There are two sets of this record, kept in the houses of two functionaries of the Puri temple. Prose writings of the 11th and 12th c. have been preserved and from the Bhubaneswar stone inscriptions of King Narasinha Deva of Orissa we get specimens of Oriya prose of the 13th c. There are also prose writings in the shape of the stories of the *Oshas* (women's festivals) and the histories of some of the Royal families of Orissa.

Of 13th c. Oriya poetry we have several specimens, that show a highly developed tongue. The 14th c. *Kalasha Chautisa* (a poem the lines of the 34 quatrains of which begin with the successive 34 consonants of the Oriya alphabet) of Bachha Das reads like the writing of a modern Oriya poet. The Oriya *Mahabharat* of the poet Sarala Das (14th c.) is a monumental work.

Between Sarala Das and Upendra Bhanja (greatest Oriya poet; 18th c.) at least 30 poets occupy an abiding place in Oriya literature. Jagannath Das (author of the Oriya *Bhagabata*) and Balarama Das (author of the Oriya *Ramayana*) are two towering figures whose influence has been lasting throughout Orissa.

Though much of its literature is still uncopied from palm-leaves—many thousands of inscriptions await transcribing—(which indeed are still used, especially for horoscopes) Oriya was early integrated. Unlike most Indian tongues, it has no dialects, but one form, spoken by 12 millions of people.

The composition of hundreds of metres (*Chhandas*) is a peculiarity of Oriya. These metres are sung to the respective tunes. The classical Oriya poets have employed many linguistic, metrical, and rhetorical devices of composition, alliteration, literary ornaments and figures of speech. There are lines each of which is capable of 3 to 10 meanings, by placing the letters in different groupings of words. A line alludes to the spring season; take a letter from the beginning of the line and it will apply to the summer season; take one from the end and it will denote the rainy season. By taking away one letter from each line, a song can be sung in a different tune.

Take away still another letter, and it will fit still another. There are lines that read the same from the beginning as from the end.

The Primal Period (1000–1500). To this period belong: (1) The *Bauddha Gana O Doha* (10th c.); (2) the *Madala Panji*—the Palmleaf chronicle maintained in the Jagannath Temple at Puri since the 11th c.; (3) Raja Balabhadra Bhanja's love story, of the same period; (4) Markanda Das, the author of *Kesaba Koili* (13th c.), a song of 34 couplets, beginning with the 34 consonants of the alphabet. This song is memorized by every Oriya student. It is addressed to the cuckoo bird by the mother of Srikrishna after he left for Mathura. (5) Sarala Das, the author of the Oriya *Mahabharata* (14th c.). Though he has followed the episodes of the original Sanskrit he has introduced into it many anecdotes and stories of his own. (6) Nilambar Das—the author of a metrical translation of the Sanskrit Jaimini *Mahabharata* and a Sanskrit mythology, *Padma Purana.* He also composed a poetical work on the building of the temple of Jagannatha at Puri (14th c.). (7) Mahadeba Das (14th c.), author of *Kartika Mahatmya,* a poem describing the rituals and observances during the month of Kartika.

The Jagannath Das Period (1500–1700). During this period, Chaitanya, religious reformer from Bengal, visited Orissa; his ancestors were Oriya Brahmins. (1) Jagannath Das (early 16th c.), author of the metrical Oriya translation of the *Bhagabata,* has expressed the abstruse philosophical and religious themes of the original in very clear, homely Oriya. This book is as popular in Orissa as the *Ramayana* in upper India. This book, in palm-leaf manuscripts, is worshipped in almost every Hindu village of Orissa and kept in a separate common room of the village, called the *Bhagabata Ghara.* Every evening the villagers gather in the common room and hear this *Bhagabat* recited by a Reader. Chaitanya gave Jagannath the title of *Atibardi* (very great), on account of his saintly character and devotion. (2) Achutananda Das (early 16th c.) is author of thousands of religious and spiritual poems, including prophecies. He and his successors have been the spiritual preceptors of the cowherd castes in Orissa. (3) Janardana Das (mid. 16th c.), popularly known as 'Danai Das,' author of a poetical work *Gopee Bhasha,* the laments of the cowherd women of Brundaban after Srikrishna left. He also wrote 34 couplets of Oriya proverbs. (4) Balarama Das, author of a metrical translation of the Sanskrit *Ramayana,* wrote some 20 books on religious and spiritual subjects, including breath exercises and Yoga. (5) Haladhara Das, metrical translator of the Sanskrit Adhyatma *Ramayana.* (6) Dinakrushna Das, author of *Rasakollola,* a poem dealing with the love of Radha and Krishna, every line of which begins with the letter *Ka.* He was also the author of a dozen religious books and a prose work. (7) Krushna Das, styling himself Deena (humble), author of a dozen religious books. (8) Biswanath Khuntia (late 17th c.), author of a very popular poem, *Bichitra Ramayana,* which is sung in village performances of the *Ramayana.* (9) Raja Dhananjoy Bhanj (late 17th c.), author of *Raghunath Bilasa* and many metrical love stories and songs, (10) Raja Jaya Singha of Dharakote, grandfather of Raja Krushna Singh, translator of one Parva of the *Mahabharata,* and of the *Bhagabad Gita.* (11) Raja Krushna Singha of Dharakota (end of 17th c.), celebrated translator of the *Mahabharata;* his version is known wherever Oriya is spoken.

The Upendra Bhanja Period (1700 to 1850). The leading poet of this period is Upendra Bhanja, prince of the classical Oriya poets (early 18th c.). He was the author of 40 books, of which 20 are still in mss. His *Baidehisa Bilasa* consists of numerous *Chhandas* or metres, which used to be recited with

artistic cadence. Every line of this epic begins with the letter *Ba*. Every line of his *Kalakautuka* has the letter *Ka* in the beginning, middle and end. His *Abanarasataranga* is a work in which no diphthongs or tripthongs have been used. He was also the author of a very artistic work, *Chitra Kabya Bandhodaya*, so composed that the letters can be set in artistic order in different parts of the bodies of various pictorial representations (a cart, a car, a fish, a wheel, lotus, coiled serpent, 16 petaled lotus, 64 petaled lotus). Some of his other celebrated works are *Kotibrahmanda Sundari, Labanyabati, Prema Sudhanidhi, Rasika Harabali, Rasapanchaka, Subhadra Parinya, Subarnarekha, Ramalilamruta, Chhandamanjari, Jamakaraja Chautisha, Chaupadi Bhusana, Bajara-boli, Chaupadi Chandra.*

His *Jamakaraja Chautisha* consists of 34 quadrets picturing the different Jamakas or alliterations. His *Gitabidhana* is a metrical rhyming dictionary. His songs called Chaupadis, sung to different tunes, consist of 4 stanzas each. *Baidehisa Bilasa* is the story of the Ramayana. Love, sometimes boldly described, is his frequent theme.

The employment of alliteration, figures of speech, and artistic composition necessarily makes his language Sanskritic, but in many of his books, the language is popular.

(2) Ghana Bhanja, the grandfather of Upendra Bhanja, composed 2 poems, simpler than those of his famous grandson. His works are full of songs of various metres. (3) Gopala Kabi (18th–19th c.) was a Telugu; he composed an Oriya Adhyatma *Ramayana* based on the original Sanskrit. (4) Sadananda Kabisurya (mid 18th c.) was author of 9 books, all dealing with the love of Sri Krishna, and with devotion. (5) Of the 6 books of Abhimanyu Samanta Singhara, *Bidagdha Chintamani*, dealing with the divine love of Krishna and Radha, is a masterpiece of literary composition, presenting the philosophy and spiritual interpretation of devotional love. Four of his books deal with as many pairs of married lovers. His books are full of figures of speech and rhetorical ornaments, which vie with those of Upendra Bhanja. (6) Bhaktacharan, the author of *Mathura Mangala*, a poem dealing with the doings of Srikrishna and the love of Krishna and Radha. (7) Pitambara Das (mid 18th c.) was author of a voluminous work *Vrusingha Purana*, in 7 books, a collection of many mythological traditions and loves, written in popular style. (8) Bhima Dhibara, a boatman by caste, retold two minor episodes of the *Mahabharata*. (9) Biswambhara Das, author of the Bichitra *Mahabharata*. (10) Baladeba Ratha Kabisurya (early 19th c.). His *Kishore Chandrananda Champu* consists of 34 songs (each song beginning with the successive consonant of the Oriya alphabet) with Sanskrit prose to connect the episodes of the songs. It deals with the meeting of Radha and Krishna. The songs have become so popular that any musician or dancer that cannot sing them is deemed uncultured. He composed hundreds of other songs; a romance, *Chanrakala*, and another *Champu* work, *Ratnakara Champu*. (11) Keshaba Pattanayak, author of *Nrutya Ramayana*, intended to be recited by dancing parties. (12) Dasarathi Das, author of *Braja Bihara*, a work describing the doings of Srikrishna in Brundaban. (13) Jadumani Mohapatra, a carpenter by caste, author of *Prabandha Purnachandra*, describing the marriage of Srikrishna with Rukmini. He also wrote *Rama Bilasa*, presenting episodes of the life of Rama Chandra. Hundreds of witty sayings and couplets are ascribed to his fertile brain. (14) Rama Das, author of *Dardhyata Bhakti*, in 50 chapters relating the stories of 50 devotees. He was also the author of *Rama Rasamruta*. His style is very simple. (15) Raja Pitambara Rajendra (end of 18th c.), author of *Rama Lila*, which is still acted on the stage

by village theatrical parties, (16) Kahnu Das, author of *Rama Rasamrutasindhu,* 108 chapters of 108 couplets each. (17) Ranee of Raja Nisanka Rai (end of 18th c.), authoress of a poetical romance, *Padmabati Abhilasha.* (18) Krushna Charan Patnayak of Dharakote (18th–19th c.), author of an Oriya *Ramayana* very popular in Ganjam. (19) Gopala Krushna Patnaik of Parlakhemidi (early 19th c.), author of hundreds of popular songs dealing with the love of Radha and Krishna. (20) Bhubaneswara Kabichandra of Ganjam (19th–20th c.), who composed *Sitesha Bilasa* and *Basudeba Bilasa* in imitation of the style of Upendra Bhanja. He also composed a number of figure-shaped poems, some astrological works, a book of proverbs and popular sayings, some songs and hymns. (21) Arakhita Das was a recluse; he composed a very popular song, *Sarirabheda,* dealing with yogic exercises. (22) Pindika Srichandan composed *Basanta Rasa,* which is sung during the *Rasa* dance in villages, describing the dance of Srikrishna with the cowherd women and Radha. (23) Brajanatha Bada Jena of Dhenkanal composed *Samara Taranga* in which he gives a vivid description of the fight between the Raja of Dhenkanal and the Marhattas when the latter invaded Orissa. He also composed *Ambika Bilasa,* a poem on Siba and Parbati.

A few prose writings, consisting of the histories of the various Raj families, are still preserved. There are also prose narrations of the different fasts and festivals (*Bratas* and *Oshas*) observed by the women of Orissa, as well as instructions in prose, by Balaram Das, for the regulation of breath exercises and breath control in the Yogic exercises.

The Radhanath Period (1850–1900) began with the British occupation of Orissa in 1803, but took palpable shape with the spread of western education in Orissa. The missionaries started a Baptist Mission Press at Cuttack and brought out pamphlets and translations of the *Old* and *New Testaments.* An Oriya weekly, the *Utkala Dipika,* was started, and modern Oriya was launched. In poetry, western rhyming devices were adopted. Scientific prose made great strides. Especially notable are the almanacs of Mahamohopadhyaya Chandra Sekhar Samanta (known as Pathani Samanta), prepared with rude instruments yet astronomically remarkably accurate.

(1) Rai Bahadur Gouri Sankar Rai, editor of the Oriya weekly, the *Utkala Dipika,* fought for Oriya literature and culture in the weekly, throughout a period of some 40 years. (2) Rai Bahadur Radhanath Rai (1849–1908) was author of many text books for primary and secondary schools. He has depicted the natural scenery of Orissa in charming language. Though Rai Bahadur Ramsankar Rai had introduced blank verse into Oriya literature, Radhanath composed the first book in blank verse, *Mahajatra.* He enriched Oriya literature with gems from Sanskrit, Bengalee, Hindi, and English literature. His genius surpasses that of all others in modern Oriya. (3) Peary Mohan Acharya wrote a *History of Orissa,* marked by research and historical study of public records, mss. and the *Madalapanji* (the historical records on palm-leaves in the Jagannath temple at Puri). (4) Fakir Mohan Senapati (d. 1919) was a voluminous writer of prose and poetry, author of some Oriya novels (*Chhamana Athaguntha*), and translator of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata.* Among the hundred other writers of the time, Gobinda Sur Deo is noted as a master singer and musician, composer of many sweet songs.

Writers of today are seeking a simpler style in prose and poetry. There has been a revival of works in the different branches of knowledge, as well as translations and original works in all the literary fields. In a spirit of critical examination, Oriya is now opening its

enthusiasm to the impulses of the western world, to combine their values with its own traditional patterns and growth.

P. M. Acharya, *Hist. of Orissa;* R. D. Banerje, *Hist. of Orissa,* 2 v.; B. C. Majumdar, *Selections from Oriya Lit.,* 3 v.

Rai Bahadur G. C. Praharaj.

Panjabi

Panjābī, the language of the Panjab, is spoken by over 15 million people and comprises several dialects. Three of these, the western, the northern and the central, developed literary form.

Panjabi literature, though neither very old nor very rich, yet elegant and charming, has not been studied critically. Till recently its study was looked down upon by its educated speakers and ignored by the government. In 1884–6, Sir Richard Temple published the *Legends of the Panjab* (3 v.). Bawa Budh Singh surveyed the important portion of Panjabi literature in his *Hans Chōg* (1913), *Koil Kū* (1916), *Bambīhā Bōl* (1925) and *Prēm Kahānī* (1932) all written in Panjabi. The first *History of Panjabi Literature* in English (Lahore, 1932) is by Dr. Mohan Singh.

Sikh Literature. Panjabi literature took its birth towards the close of the middle ages when there was a general deterioration of religion in the country. Nānak (1469–1538) appeared as a reformer in the Panjab and founded the Sikh religion. He couched his teachings in the language of the masses. The Sikhs regard Panjabi as their holy language. Their sacred scripture, the *Ādi Granth* (*First Book*) is supposed to be the earliest monument of Panjabi. Its Panjabi is so overloaded with Hindi that it looks like a variety of it.

The *Ādi Granth* holds the position of a living guru (teacher) in Sikhism. Hence the volume is shown great respect and is always mentioned with honorific titles as *Guru Granth Sāhib.* It is a huge collection of 3,384 hymns (15,575 stanzas) in obsolete metres. The main body of the hymns is arranged according to 31 *rāgs* or tunes to which they were intended to be sung. Their predominant theme is an unflinching devotion to God and faith in the holy teacher. Monotony has been avoided by the use of metaphors and similes, which make the hymns beautiful and elevating. The poetry of the *Ādi Granth* is very forceful. It is the outflow of a sincere and brave heart, always aiming at truth. Its every line reveals a firm belief in Righteousness. It throws considerable light on contemporary beliefs and practices.

Nānak's utterances, partly reduced to writing, had been preserved in scattered manuals. Fearing further loss, Arjun, the fifth guru (1563–1606) compiled the *Ādi Granth* in 1604 by collecting the poetry of his predecessors, and adding to it his own and that of several other saints.

The second scripture is the *Dasam Granth* (*Tenth Book*) containing the poetry of the tenth and last guru Gobind Singh (1666–1708) and the poets living under him. It was compiled in 1721–37 by Mani Singh. Gobind Singh was a great poet, well versed in Hindu lore. The language of the *Dasam Granth* is chaste Hindi and the metres, too, are typically Hindi. The *Chaṇḍī dī Vār,* a poem in praise of the War-goddess, however, is in Panjabi. The greater part of the contents of the *Dasam Granth* relate to the stories and legends culled from the Hindu Purāṇas and contemporary folklore. On account of the Hindu coloring of its form and matter the *Dasam Granth* is not held so sacred now by the orthodox Sikhs.

Prāṇ-Sangalī (*Chain of life*), ascribed to Nānak, is a dialogue describing in detail the manifold yoga current in its author's time. To Gobind Singh are attributed *Gobind Gītā,* a metrical translation of the *Bhagavadgītā;* and *Prēm Abōdh,* in which the doctrine of love is

elaborated in *Dōhās* with ample illustrative imagery and anecdotes. Some of the hymns in the *Ādi Granth* are by other saints, especially Jai Dev, Nām Dev, Rav Dās, Kabīr, and Farīd.

Next to the *Ādi Granth* come the writings of Gur Dās. His 40 *Vārs* or longer poems analyze the teachings of Sikhism, and convey moral lessons through stories and fables, with metaphors and similes drawn from nature.

The *Janam-Sākhīs* are Nānak's biographies providing earliest specimens of Panjabi prose. They supply a connected account of his life, wanderings and discussions. They are marked by didactic tone, simplicity of diction, and rhythmical swing. The earliest *Janam-Sākhī* is supposedly by Bālā, a life-companion of Nānak, in 1535, i.e., three years before the latter's death. Its text now available is of later date. A second *Janam-Sākhī* is by Sēwā Singh (1588) and a third by Mani Singh (d. 1737).

In recent years, various scholarly Sikh studies have been written in Panjabi, especially *parchis* (explanations) and ṭīkā (commentary). Among these are *Kalghī Dhar Hulās* (1916), in *bayt* metre, and *Gurmat Nirnai* (1936), both by Jodh Singh. The scholar Bhāi Kāhan Singh has written a study of the prosody of the *Granth, Guru Chand Ratnākar;* a study of its figures of speech, *Guru Shabdālankār;* and compiled *Guru Shabad Ratnākar Mahā Kosh,* a 4 volume encyclopedia of Sikh literature.

Muslim Literature. The Mohammadans were the first cultivators of literary Panjabi, in which they produced an extensive literature for the religious instruction of their brethren. Most of it, however, deals with purely sectarian matters and is composed in simple narrative verse without any attempt at literary refinement. Although it makes free use of Arabic and Persian words, its language is more natural than that of the Sikh scriptures.

The earliest treatise explaining religious beliefs and duties of a Musalman is the *Bārā Anvā',* a collection of 12 topics (composed 1616–66) by 'Abdullah, who lived a very simple life at Lahore and used 'Abd, 'Abdī or 'Āṣī as his pen-name. The work contains about 9,000 couplets. A more recent treatise is *Anvā' Bārakullah,* composed by Bārakullah of Jehlam district (1838–63). It contains 8,000 couplets. *Nūr-i-Hidāyat,* composed by Ghulām Husain in 1908, depicts the deplorable condition of the Muslims and recommends the teachings of Muhammad as a remedy.

Me'rāj means 'ascent' and refers to Muhammad's ascent to heaven and his coming into God's presence. The books entitled *Me'rājnāmas* describe how God felt a desire to see Muhammad, and sent a heavenly horse to bring him up. The oldest *Me'rājnāma* is by Qādir Yār, a court-poet of Ranjit Singh, composed in 1831 A.D.

Jangnāmas describe the holy battles, especially the one between the Imāms Hasan and Husain on the one side and Yazīd on the other. They are recited on the Muharram days celebrated yearly in memory of the battle. The earliest *Jangnāma* is Muqbil's (1696 or 1745). A more popular one is Hāmid's (1766–76) containing 5,620 lines. Some parts of it, particularly the bewailings of the ladies, are extremely touching.

A popular theme with the Muslim poets is the story of Yūsuf and Zulaikhā, found in the 12th Sūrah of the Qurān. Its oldest version is that of 'Abdul Hakīm of Bahāwalpur (1803) in imitation of the well-known Persian work of Jāmī; it contains 2,400 couplets in the Hazj metre (∪ – – –, ∪ – – –, ∪ – –). Later versions are by Ghulām Rasūl (1873) and Ḥabīb 'Alī (1907) and contain 6,666 and 18,000 couplets respectively.

The earliest speciment of Sūfī writing is the couplets of Farīd found in the *Ādi-Granth.* The most popular Sūfī poet is Bullhā (Bullhē Shāh; 1680–1758). His *Kāfīs,* more than a hundred, are short poems, each containing about half a dozen stanzas. Another Sūfī, 'Alī

Ḥaidar (1689–1776) wrote a set of *Sīharfīs*. Sūfī saints expressed their devotion to God in terms of worldly love, conceiving the soul as a bride separated from her husband (God) and ever burning to unite with him.

Hindu Literature, though mainly in Hindi, sometimes uses Panjabi. Thus *Lav Kush diā Pauṛiā,* describing the battle between Rāma's army and his own sons Lava and Kuśa. The poem, composed by Jasodā Nandan (ca. 1650) contains 88 stanzas; it is full of interest and has figures of speech based on the peasant life of the Panjab. Numerous Hindi versions of the *Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, Bhāgavatapurāṇa,* and *Bhagavadgītā,* transcribed into Gurmukhī characters, are popularly regarded as Panjabi.

Christian Literature sought to reach the people in their own tongue. A Panjabi translation of the *Bible* was published in 1810–15. Dr. Grahame Bailey's version of the *New Testament,* in northern Panjabi prose, is excellently done. Native Christians, also, have produced a good literature of songs and other books. The most remarkable in the metrical translation of the *Zubūr* (the *Psalms* of Solomon) by Imām-ud-Dīn Shahbāz.

Non-Sectarian Literature is the common property of the Panjab. It consists chiefly of ballads, stories, and legends, written in a narrative style with occasional poetic touches. The oldest legends are about Pūran and Rasālū, sons of King Sālbāhan (supposed to be Śālivāhana of Pratiṣṭhānapura) who after conquering the Panjab founded the city of Sialkot. Through his step-mother's intrigues Pūran's hands and feet were chopped off and he was thrown into a well but was rescued by Gorakh Nāth who healed his limbs. Thereupon Pūran became Gorakh's disciple. (Note the anachronism; Gorakh lived several centuries after Sālbāhan.) Rasālū ascended the throne of Sialkot and throughout his life encountered adventures in saving the weak from tyrants. The stories of the two brothers are current all over northern India. Versions by Qādir Yār and Kāli Dās are popular.

The favorite subject of all ballad poetry in the Panjab, in fact in northern India, is the tale of Hīr Rānjhā. Hīr was the daughter of a Syāl chief of Jhang, situated on the Chenāb. Dhīdo, known as Rānjhā after his clan's name, was the youngest son of another village-headman. Love developed between them. Rānjhā, beaten by Hīr's father, turned a faqīr, and Hīr was married to another man, but Rānjhā met Hīr again in her new home. Some versions tell that on account of her infidelity Hīr was murdered, hearing which Rānjhā, too, died of grief. According to other versions, Hīr eloped with Rānjhā and lived happily. Its wide popularity shows that the story is fairly old. Its earliest version is by Damodar of Jhang who lived in Akbar's time. His diction is simple but not lacking poetic beauty. It contains about 1,000 stanzas. Next is the version by Muqbil, a blind poet (ca. 1750). His language and style are simple but the use of proverbs and similes add to the impressiveness of his poem of 500 *bait* quatrains. But the most famous version is by Wāris Shāh, composed in 1766. Wāris Shāh is the greatest poet of Panjabi, and his *Hīr* the finest production. His skill has raised the love of a Jat couple to that of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. The poem contains about 5,000 *bait* couplets, many of them interpolations. Wāris Shāh's diction is very forceful. His excellence lies in minute details and long lists of things relating to village life, varieties of grass, cows, buffaloes. The lively and straightforward speeches of his persons are noteworthy. Wāris draws a full picture of the Panjabi life and shows a perfect command over the language, using harsh and even obscene diction where it belongs. Wāris ends the story tragically but adds an allegorical explanation of it.

The elopement of Sāhbā with Mirzā, with

its tragic end, forms a very pathetic theme. Pīlū's version (late 17th c.) is the earliest and contains about 70 verses. Hāfiz Barkhurdār, perhaps Pīlū's pupil, wrote another version. Another popular tragic love romance is the story of Sohnī, who nightly crossed the river to meet her lover, Mahīvāl, until both met a watery grave. Available versions of *Sohnī* are not very old. The best is the one by Fazal Shāh of Lahore, famous for use of alliteration and play on words.

Besides love romances, historical subjects also have been treated poetically. Nādir Shāh's invasion of India (1738–39) is an instance. It was described by Nijābat in a *Vār* or long poem (end 18th c.). The poem is full of heroic sentiment, the metre adding to the warlike effect. The opening verses are an interesting specimen of a domestic quarrel between husband and wife. *Vār Haqīqat Rāi* is an example of the kind of justice wrought upon the Hindus by their Muslim rulers. The tragic incident occurred in 1734; it was first versified by Agrā Sēṭhī in 1790 in 215 quatrains and sextains. Of recent versions, Kāli Dās's is the best. There are a dozen versions—that by Fazal Shah is the most popular—of the tragic love of Sassī and Punnu; and many other legends have been borrowed from Hindi, Persian, and Arabic. Lyrics, mostly didactic and composed in *baits* (quatrains) or *hāfis* with a Sūfi tinge, are considerable. Noteworthy authors are Arūṛ Rāi, Hidāyat-ullah, Īshar Dās, Kishan Singh 'Ārif', and Mohammad Būṭā.

Modern Literature. The cultivation of Modern Panjabi Literature began about 1900 but the real impetus came when Panjabi was made a subject of study in colleges about 1915. The result was a full-fledged modern literature inspired by English thought and models.

Vīr Singh is the pioneer of modern poetry. His writings are spiritual in effect. His *Rānā Sūrat Singh* (1905) is a narrative poem full of vivid descriptions of various moods and emotions and of the glories of nature. It is divided into 35 cantos containing 13,000 lines in blank verse of 20 moras each with a caesura after 11. A good deal of its vocabulary and imagery is drawn from the *Ādi Granth.* Its heroine, Rānī Rāj, stands for the soul, torn from her husband, Rānā Sūrat Singh, representing the ideal.

The poetry of Pūran Singh (1882–1932) is an epoch in itself. He sings mostly of human passions, with great intensity of emotion. He discarded old metres. English idiom has affected his Panjabi style. Collections of his important poems are *Khule Ghund* (1923) and *Khule Maidān* (1925).

Kirpā Sāgar (1879–1939) struck a romantic note in his *Lakshmī Devī* (1920–21), a historical romance full of adventure. His versification is spontaneous, his imagery and language are wedded to the soil, his descriptions of nature vivid. An effective nature poet is Dhanī Rām ('Chātrik'; b. 1876). His *Himālā, Gangā,* and *Rāt* are beautiful, with a wealth of imagery. In *Kōrā Qādir* he admonishes the Creator of humanity for dividing it into different creeds enslaved to traditions and selfish motives.

Panjabi drama began with translations from Hindi and English, its modern form is wholly the product of English influence. Its first phase was satire. In 1909 the Government college, Lahore, prepared and staged *Buḍḍhe dī Matt,* a satire on marriage in old age. I. C. Nanda was the first to apply modern technique and use idiomatic and stirring language. His *Subhadrā* (1920) marks a revolt against the old order of tradition and custom. In *Pūrab tē Paccham (East and West)* Gurbakhsh Singh depicts how Indian youth educated abroad become misfits for their old society. *Nawā Chānan (New Light)* is another satire on the way a middle class youth

is led astray by Western education. Kirpā Sāgar's *Ranjit Singh* (1923) is an historical play, but it lacks dramatic skill. One-act plays have also been tried, but not with much success.

The earliest attempt at novel writing is Vīr Singh's *Sundarī* (1897), a tragic tale of Sikh heroism. Nānak Singh is the best representative of the realistic tendency. In *Chiṭṭa Lahū* (*White Blood;* 1932) and *Gharīb dī Duniā* (*Poorman's World;* 1939) he depicts the struggle between high and low castes and between capital and labour. His language is pure and idiomatic, making free use of slang and colloquialism.

Nānak Singh is the first short story writer. In almost 100 stories, he takes the side of the down-trodden. Kartār Singh has a psychological interest, rather than social criticism. His stories are well-finished. In Gurbakhsh Singh's stories the desire to reform Indian society after Western models is patent. But the beauty of his language and style never allows readers' interest to slacken.

Little has been done in the essay. There are emotion and breadth of vision in the essays of Pūran Singh (*Khule Lekh;* 1929). Gurbakhsh Singh makes dry subjects glow with romance. Tejā Singh of Amritsar writes for art's sake; for purity of language and correctness of expression charged with emotional force, his style is unmatched. Very few scientific or critical works have yet appeared in Panjabi. There is a book on the study of literature in general, *Panjābī Sāhit (Rūp tē Vichār)*, by Har Dyal Singh. Karam Singh's grammar and Bishan Dās Puri's dictionary need much improvement. Kāhan Singh's *Guru Sabad Ratnākar Mahā Kosh (Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature)* is, however, a monument of research and industry. Since Urdu and Hindi have prior official status, Panjabi—though the spoken language of the Panjab—must strive against great obstacles to achieve literary art.

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BANARSI DAS JAIN.

SINDHI

Sindhi is the language spoken in the province of Sindh, in western India. The earliest known poet in Sindhi is Qazi Qadhan, but only 7 verses of his survive. Other authors of this period are Makhdum Nuh, Shah Abdul Karim, Md. Zaman, Girhori, Inayat, but the most towering personality of Sindhi literature as a whole is Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit (ca. 1689–1752). His *Risalo* is a bulky work and contains a variety of poems, lyrical, romantic, epic, elegiac; love, descriptive, nature, war, and didactic. Shah Latif, with his sweet songs and melodious utterances, turned the desert of Sindh into a beauteous garden.

Shah stands at the head of that distinguished group of Sindhi poets, ancient and modern, who sang of Sufism and Sufi culture. The list of his successors is long; the most renowned are Sami, Sachal, Dalpat, Bedil, Bekas, and Asu.

We possess few old books in prose, mostly on Islamic subjects, written ca. 250 years ago, by celebrated Muslim divines such as Mukhdum Hashim, Mukhdum Abdullah and Abul Hasan. The sentences end in rhyme.

Kewalram Salamatrai Advani, in the 1860's, wrote *Sukhri, Gul,* and *Gulshakar,* treatises on Ethics. His prose is purest Sindhi, in metaphors, in turns of thought, in local and historical allusions, with a fluent freshness of expression.

In the early days of Western Education there were numerous translations from Persian, Sanskrit, and English. The best is *Tarikh-i-Masum,* from the Persian, by Munshi Nandiram (1861). Navalrai and Udharam jointly translated Johnson's *Rasselas* into Sindhi; it has not lost its charm. Udharam's *Aesop's Fables* is written in terse, attractive style. Navalrai's compilations of Hindu and Muslim Law do him credit as a scholar. They also jointly wrote *Dunya-ji-Tarikh.*

Hiranand, Dayaram Gidumal, and Bulchand Kodumal form a group by themselves; they utilised prose as an instrument for the expression of social thought. They wrote homely stories of everyday life illumined by shrewd observations, pleasant humour, but incessant moralising. Theirs was, however, an energising idealism.

The contribution made by Kauromal Chandanmal to the development of Sindhi prose is not insignificant. His early writings, on many subjects, are couched in a style which is neither erudite nor pedantic but has an individuality of its own. Mirza Kalich Beg was a poet of no mean order. He also translated some of the plays of Shakespeare and wrote original dramas. Lilaramsing wrote the plays *Mohan Tarka* and *Surjan Radha,* in an easy and charming style. His religious plays *Harishchandra, Ramayana,* and *Drupadi,* are less successful. Parmanand Mewaram, a Christian by faith, has supplied Sindhis with stories that point a moral and adorn a dogma. His prose is both simple and melodious, strong and sweet.

The different forms of literature now being cultivated owe their origin to similar forms in European languages. Our modern scholars and writers are beginning to handle contemporary events and thought, in native examination of Western ways, contributing to the development of Sindhi Literature.

H. M. GURBAXANI.

TAMIL

The Tamil language is spoken by nearly twenty millions of people in the southern part of the Madras Presidency, Northern Ceylon and Southern Travancore.

Sangham Literature. The continuous tradition embodied in Tamil literature regarding the flourishing of three *Sanghams* (Academies) under the patronage of the Pandya kings is noteworthy. Agattiyanār (Agastya), the sage associated with the migration of northern culture into South India, headed the First Sangham; he is deemed to be the author of the earliest Grammar of the Tamil language. The same sage and his disciple Tolkāppiyar (author of the *Tolkāppiyam,* the earliest extant Tamil grammar) headed the Second Sangham. Both these Sanghams are said to have lasted many centuries. The last Sangham is brought down to historical times, and held to have been patronised by numerous Pandya monarchs. No works attributed to writers of the first two Sanghams have come down to us except the *Tolkāppiyam.* The traditional accounts of the three Sanghams are too mythical to be believed; but they admit of the possibility of some organised literary institution's having flourished at the two older Pandyan capitals (said to have been swallowed up by the sea) before the Third Sangham that functioned at Madura, the third capital of the dynasty. It is likely that the Sangham existed as an organised academy for several centuries from about the 5th or 6th C. B.C.

The *Tolkāppiyam* is divided into three books, dealing respectively with orthography, with accidence, and syntax, with war and love, and prosody. The first two parts reveal the condition of the Tamil language at the time; while the third section gives us glimpses of the political, social and religious life of the people. The work has been commented upon, especially by Ilampūraṇar, Naccinārkiniyar and Sēnāvaraiyar.

The chief literary extant works of the third Sangham are the *Eṭṭutogai* (*Eight Anthologies*), the *Pattupāṭṭu* (*Ten Idylls*) and the *Padineṇkīḻkaṇakku* (the *Eighteen Poems,* dealing mostly with morals). Of the *Eṭṭutogai* Collections one, the *Naṟṟiṇai,* contains 401 verses from the hands of 175 poets and deals with the respective themes of the five *Tiṇais: Mullai, Marutham, Pālai, Neithal* and *Kuṟiñji* (pastoral tracts, river valleys, desert, sea-coast and hill-region), the general basis being the treatment of love. The term *Tiṇai* connotes both the particular type of land and the social usages peculiar to it. Another of this collection is the *Paripādal* (indicating composition in a particular metre), said to have consisted of 70 stanzas composed by diverse hands, of which only 24 have survived. A third book is the *Kaliṭṭogai;* it contains 150 stanzas composed in the *kali* metre, by five poets. It also describes the five *tiṇais* above noted, and its general theme is love; but it embodies a number of moral maxims and describes some peculiar marriage customs of those days. A very important work of the Collection is the *Puranānūru,* (otherwise known as *Purappāṭṭu* or *Puram*) containing 400 heroic poems in the *ahaval* metre and describing the achievements of many princes, warriors and poets. It is a good picture of the heroism and war-like deeds of the ancient Tamils and can be regarded as a national war-saga.

A counterpart of the *Puranānūru* is the *Ahanānūru* (also known as *Neḍuntogai* or *Aham*). It contains 400 stanzas in the *ahaval* metre, but of uneven length, and its subject matter is the general theme of love. As many as 145 poets are said to have contributed to the Collection, which was made by one Rudrasarman of Madura under the auspices of the Pandyan King Ugraperuvaḻudi.

The *Kuṟuntogai* (the *Collection of Short Poems*) contains 402 verses in the *ahaval* metre; the general theme again is love, based on the five *tiṇais.* The collection was effected under the patronage of Pūrikko, a Tamil chief of the West Coast. The *Aiṅguṟunūru* (the *short 500 poems*) contains 500 verses divided into five *centums* dealing respectively with the five *tiṇais;* its compilation was effected under the auspices of a Chēra ruler. The last of these Eight Anthologies is the *Padiṟṟuprattu,* (the *Ten Tens*) which in its present form contains only 80 poems in praise of eight Chera Kings. A close study of this work is invaluable to a student of the history of the Chera dynasty. The total number of poems in these *Eight Anthologies* is over 2,300, and reference is made in them to as many as 530 poets.

The Second Collection of the Sangham works is the *Pattupāṭṭu* (the *Ten Idylls*). The *Tirumuruhāṟṟuppadai* is devoted to the praise of the different manifestations of God Muruga (subsequently identified with Kārtikēya or Subrahmaṇya) and of the different hill-shrines at which that Deity was worshipped. It is attributed to the famous poet, Nakkīrar; while the equally famous commentator, Naccinārkkiniyar, has furnished a valuable commentary on it. In another Idyll, the *Pattinappālai* of Rudrankaṇṇanār, is given a picture of the great Chola port of Kāvēripaṭṭinam (the Khaberis of the Graeco-Roman geographers) and of the trade relations of the Tamils with foreign countries. The *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* furnishes historical details about the kingdom of Kanchi and its celebrated ruler, Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan, as well as some aspects of the life in the city and its administration. It contains valuable material for the construction of the political geography of South India. In yet another work, the *Śirupāṇaṟṟuppaḍai,* historical details can be discovered concerning a number of contemporary ruling chieftains and the capital cities of the larger kingdoms of the Chera, Chola and Pandya. The famous Pandyan ruler, Neḍuñjeliyan of Talayālaṅgānam fame, is celebrated

in the well-known work, *Maduraikanci* by Māṅguḍi Marudanār. Pandya rulers are celebrated in two other poems, the *Neḍunalvāḍai* by the famous Nakkīrar, and the *Mullaippāṭṭu* of Nappūdanār. Kapilar, another celebrated poet of the Third Sangham, is credited with the authorship of *Kuriñjipāttu*, which depicts love and rural life in a very charming manner. The famous Karikala Chola, of the 2d c., is celebrated in an Idyll, *Porunararṟuppaḍai*, which praises his abilities and genius and describes the prosperity and fertility of the Chola kingdom. The tenth of the Idylls, known as *Malaipaḍukaḍām* (or *Kuttararṟuppaḍai*) celebrates a chieftain Nannan, and incidentally gives us a glimpse of the different regions of the land and its civilisation.

The *Padinenkilkaṇakku* is the third great collection of works attributed to the Sangham and consists of eighteen poems which deal primarily with morals (Tamil *Aram*, Sanskrit *Dharma*). Most of the works comprehended in this collection contain less than fifty stanzas and are composed in particular metres. Two of them, the famous *Tirukkuṟal* and the *Naladiyar*, composed in the Venba metre, are longer. The *Eṭṭutogai* and the *Pattu-pāṭṭu* constitute the category of *Mērkaṇakku*; the individual length of their poems ranges from 50 to 500 stanzas and they are composed in other metres. These eighteen works are known as *Kīlkaṇakku*. Several of them are of great interest. The *Kalavali Narpadu* (40 stanzas on the means and methods of war) celebrates the Chera ruler, Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai. *Ācharakkōvai* treats of the evaluation of education and educational discipline. In four other works of this collection, we find the five *Tiṇais* and their literary conventions treated. Three works are known by peculiar names, viz., the *Three Drugs* (*Trikaḍukam*), *Five Drugs* (*Sirupanchamūlam*) and *Seven* or *Six Drugs* (*Ēlādi*) respectively. The verses in these works contain wholesome prescriptions of truths and maxims that are as effective in curing mental ills as drugs are for bodily ailments. Another note-worthy work in the Collection is the *Paḷamoḷi* (*Proverbs*) supposed to have been compiled by a Jaina author; it contains valuable old sayings embodying rules of conduct and precepts of worldly wisdom, illustrated by old stories; it is assigned the third place of honour among the eighteen, after the *Sacred Kuṟal* and the *Nāladiyar*. The *Sacred Kuṟal* of Tiruvalluvar is one of the immortal treasures of Tamil literature. The author, according to tradition, was of a lowly caste; he composed the work as a guide to his friend Elala (an early ruler of Ceylon) or his son. The anthology known as *Tiruvalluva Mālai* (*Garland of Tiruvalluvar*) held to have been sung in his praise by the poets of the Sangham, has been attributed to the early centuries of the Christian era. The *Kuṟal* is popularly known as *Muppāl* (literary *Trivarga*) and deals with the three objects of life, *Dharma, Artha,* and *Kama* (*Aram, Porul* and *Inbam*); the fourth (*Moksa, Vīdu*) does not lend itself to didactic treatment and has been indicated in the last four chapters of the section on *Dharma*. The work consists of 133 chapters, each containing ten *Kuṟal veṇbas* (couplets). The work is a blend of oracular power and charm.

The *Nāladiyār* (400 quatrains in Tamil) comes very near *Sacred Kuṟal* in subject matter, and division of topics. The peculiar terseness and vigorousness of the style of the *veṇbas*, their reflections upon the thoughts and ideas of the great mass of the Tamil people, the artistic wholeness of each quatrain, which is a kind of cameo, form life-like pictures. Some other verses supposed to have been executed by Jain hands were later collected into two works, *Paḷamoḷi* (*Old Sayings*) and *Aṟaneṟiccāram* (*Essence of the Way of Virtue*); these are probably later in date and have not been included in the Sangham works. The *Nāladiyār* in its final form is prob-

ably of the 8th c. A.D. There is no mention of God in the collection except in the invocation, and no trace of any religious bias to be found in it.

The most important figures among the poets of the Sangham age are Nakkīrar (fl. 2d c. A.D.); Kapilar, for whom Nakkīrar had abundant praise and who was a poet's poet; and Paranar, whose name occurs with that of Kapilar. Avvaiyar was possibly a contemporary of Kapilar; her pithy and epigrammatic sayings are found scattered through the voluminous works of *Narrinai, Kuruntogai, Puranānūru* and *Ahanānūru*. She is essentially a poetess of the people. Another poetess of the same name is of a much later age.

The *Silappadikāram* and the *Manimēkalai*, two of the five major Kavyas of Tamil Literature, are before the 7th c. Ilango Adigal, (2d c. A.D.?) author of the *Silappadikāram* (the *Epic of the Anklet*), was a prince of the Chera ruling house. The epic is tragic in its setting and displays the inexorable working of Destiny. The merchant Kōvalan, impoverished by his infatuation for a courtesan, Mādhavi, still enjoys the devotion of his chaste wife, Kaṇṇaki, and migrates with the latter from his native town of Kaveripaṭṭinam to Madura. There he is unjustly accused of the theft of a jewelled anklet belonging to the Pandyan Queen and sentenced to execution. His death was followed by the immolation of Kaṇṇaki, whose spirit ascended to Heaven. In commemoration of her chastity, the Chera monarch, Senguṭṭuvan, created the Pattini (Chaste Wife) Cult and built a temple. The epic ends with the execution of Kōvalan on the false charge, the death of the Pandyan king and queen in remorse, the destruction by fire of the city of Madura, and the deification of the chaste Kaṇṇaki as the Goddess of Chastity. This epic embodies the essence of *iyal* (literary Tamil), *isai* (music) and *nāṭakam* (drama). A wealth of *isaippāṭṭu* (lyric songs) can be discovered, particularly in the songs of the *Kuravaikkuttu* (group dance) and those in honour of God Muruya. It can be styled a *Nāṭakakkāppiyam* (dramatic epic). It has been edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar (d. 1942), to whom the Tamil world is greatly indebted for the rediscovery, interpretation, and careful editing of many classics of the Sangham and the post-Sangham epochs.

The twin of this epic is the *Manimekalai*, composed by Kūlavāṇigan Sāṭṭanār, a contemporary of Ilango Adigal. He narrates in this epic further incidents connected with the life of Mādhavi, the courtesan, and her daughter, Maṇimēkalai, who was instructed in the various truths expounded by the teachers of the different faiths.

The total number of poets referred to in the Sangham collections is over 530. From the internal evidence of the Ten Idylls, we get abundant evidence regarding the foreign trade of the Tamils; it is strengthened by the testimony of western classical writers, like Pliny (d. 79 A.D.), Ptolemy (d. 163 A.D.) and the *Periplus Maris Erythræa* (end of 1st c. A.D.). The last of the Chera, Chola, and Pandya rulers referred to in the Sangham works, we can thence conclude, flourished sometime about the end of the 2d and the beginning of the 3d c. A.D. There followed a dearth of literary output for about three centuries, the gloom of which lifts a little with the two great mystics Tirumular and Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, who were the harbingers of the Hindu Renaissance. Before them was the poet Poygaiyār, who has been identified with the early Vaishṇava Saint, Poygaiālwār (ca. 4th c. A.D.)

The Renaissance. Towards the end of the 6th c. the Pandyan kingdom built up a political predominance that lasted during the three succeeding centuries. Śaiva and Vaishṇava mystics began a vigorous attack on the prevailing faith of Jainism and Buddhism. Gnānasambaṇdar, the best known of the Śaiva saints, and his elder contemporary, Saint

Appar (Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār) flourished in the 7th c. The third of the saints, Suṇdaramūrthi Nayanar, is of the late 9th c. Appar, Sundarar and Sambandar are the renowned authors of the *Tēvāram* Collection, three books composed by Appar, three by Sambandar, and one by Sundarar. Mānikkavacaka (of jewel-like words; 9th c.), wrote *Tiruvācakam,* still recited daily in all the great Śaiva temples. His *Tirucirrambalakkōvai* was composed in honor of the sacred temple of Chidambaram.

The *Tēvāram* hymns of the three saints are the first of the collection of works held to be canonical by the Tamil Śaivas. They were systematically arranged in seven books by Nambi Āṇdār Nambi (ca. 975–1035), as the *Mūvar Aḍangan Murai* (the *Works of the Three Saints*). Nambi also invented the peculiar metre and music (*paṇ*) to which the songs of this collection have since been sung in the land. He included other religious poems, some of his own. Sēkkilar, a great poet and *bhakta* of the 12th c., composed the *Periya Purāṇam* (*Liber Sanctorum*) of the Śaivas, which contains a total of over 4,200 stanzas. It was added to the Śaiva Canon as the Twelfth Book or *Tirumurai* of the collection.

The Vaishṇava teachers have made equally important contributions to the mystic literature of the period. The earliest Āchāryas and Saints were twelve in number and are known as *Ālwārs* (deep in piety, learning, and wisdom). They are the authors of the great collection of *Nālāyirapprabandam* (or *Divyaprabandam*), which has stood on the same footing of sanctity as the *Tirumurai* collection since the 12th c. The first three of these Ālwārs flourished in the Pallava region of Toṇdainādu, perhaps before the 6th c. The greatest of them is Nammālwār (Saṭakōpa; early ?10th c.). Madhurakavi was one of his disciples. The famous Tirumangai Ālwār (mid 8th c.) wrote poems of a highly philosophical type. They now form a supplement to the four *Prabandas* of Nammalwār, the *Tiruviruttam,* the *Tiruvāsiriyam,* the *Periyatiruvandādhi,* and the *Tiruvāymoli.* The last of Nammālwār's works contains 1,000 poems and forms an excellent and masterly exposition of the various aspects and attributes of God Narayana. Periyālwār, another Saint, sang beautiful songs addressed to Sri Krishna; his daughter, Saint Āṇdāḷ, in her great work, *Nācciyār Tirumoli,* still sung in Vaishṇava households on marriage occasions, regards Vishnu as the lover and herself as the object of love.

The writings of the different Ālwārs cover a wide field of poetry, from the simple plaintive songs of Toṇḍaraḍippodi to the thought-laden odes of Nammālwār, from the polished poems of Kulaśēkhara Ālwār to the mystic-love songs of Āṇdāḷ. The *Pāndik-Kōvai,* Perundevanar's *Bhārataveṇba,* and the *Nandikalambakam* are secular works of the period.

The Chola Empire of Tanjore had a vigorous life from the 10th to the 13th c. Sēkkilār's *Periyapurāṇam* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Kambar belong to this age. Jayamkoṇdān's *Kalingattuparaṇi* describes the success of the Chola expedition against Kalinga (end 11th c.); it combines the portrayal of vigorous action with exquisite lyrical form. Kambar's *Rāmāyaṇa* (12th c.) is the high-water mark of Tamil poetry. Oṭṭakkūttar, court poet of three successive Chola monarchs, is associated with Kambar in a number of picturesque stories. Kambar's great work makes many wide departures from Vālmīki's original and presents conditions of his own age and country. His other works are equally meritorious; in one of them he praised Saint Saṭakōpa (Nammālwār) in a *centum* of verses. The well-known poet, Pugalēndi, is regarded as contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttar. He is best known by his *Naḷaveṇba,* a poem narrating the story of Nala in about 400 exquisite stanzas in the *Veṇba* metre. A large number of doggerel

verses still in current usage have also been attributed to him.

Grammar, lexicography and rhetoric now received prominent attention. The *Yāpparungalavirutti* of Amritasāgara and the *Yāpparungalakkārikai* of Guṇasāgara (late 10th c.) are a detailed treatise on prosody and an abridgement of it; they deal with a variety of metres in Tamil. The *Vīrasōliyam* by Buddhamitra is a synthesis between the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar and rhetoric. The *Daṇḍi-alankāram* is composed in *sūtra* style and treats of the nature of poetry, *kāvya*, and figures of speech. The *Nēmināṭham* of the Jain Guṇavīrapaṇḍita is also a small grammatical work. The *Nannūl*, also by a Jain, Pavaṇandi Munivar, is marked by simplicity and terseness; it treats only of letters and words. There are several commentaries on this work, which is held next only to *Tolkāppiyam* in esteem.

Some of the great commentators on the Sangham and other classics flourished in this period: (1) Iḷampūraṇar, whose commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* is a model of terse and critical elucidation; (2) Sēnāvaraiyar, on the same work; (3) Naccinārkkiniyar (late 13th c.), whose commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Pattu-paṭṭu*, *Kalittogai* and the great epic of *Jīvaka-Chintāmaṇi* are much cherished; (4) Parimēḷalagar, noted for his commentaries on the *Sacred Kuṛaḷ* and on *Paripāḍal*; (5) Aḍiyārkunallār (15th c.), an accomplished scholar who made a special study of musical treatises; he was most meticulous about the use of alien words and extinct proverbs. Meykaṇḍar (early 13th c.) made the first systematic statement of the tenets of Tamil Śaivism, in his famous work, *Sivagnānabodham*. The first half of this work discusses the nature of bondage, while the second describes the path for the attainment of salvation; it is marked by a synthesis of reason and Yogic mysticism.

Sakala Āgama Paṇḍita, a Brahman philosopher, surrendered himself to the teachings of Meykandār and became his disciple, taking the name of Aruḷnandi Sivācharya; he composed the *Sivagnāna Siddhi*. This work, which forms the classic treatise on Tamil Śaivism, is a comprehensive statement of the doctrine of *Svapaksha*, prefaced by a critical discussion of rival systems. Aruḷnandi Sivācharya handed over the torch to Maraignāna Sambanda, author of the *Sivasamaya Neri*, who passed it on to Umāpati Sivācharya. Umāpati (13th–14th c.) scholiast and poet, flourished at Chīdambaram; he was the author of a good portion of the basic literature of Śaiva Siddhānta, the *Eight Works*, beginning with the *Sivaprakāsa*. Another writer of the Siddhānta School was Manavachakam Kadandān, who wrote the *Uṇmai Neri Viḷakkam* (*Explanation of Truth*), in the form of questions and answers on the main points of Siddhānta teaching. Valuable works on grammar like *Ilakkaṇakkottu*, *Ilakkaṇa-Viḷakkam* and *Sūrāvaḷi Tolkāppiya-sutra Virutti*; theological works like the *Prabhulinga Līlai*; anthologies of morals like *Nīti Neri Viḷakkam* are among the best fruits of the literary output of this age.

To this age also are to be attributed the sweet religious and philosophical songs of the mystic poet, Tāyumānanswami, and the works of a princely writer, Ativīrarama Pandyan, who wrote the *Naishada* and translated the *Kūrma Purāṇam* and the *Kāsikāndam*. Aruṇagirināṭha (ca. 1420), composer of the inimitable *Tiruppugal* (lyrics in praise of Subrahmaṇya), was probably also the father of Rajānātha Dindima, author of the *Sāḷuvābhyudaya*. Villiputtūrar, the author of the Tamil *Mahabharata*, was a contemporary. There also flourished Kacciappa Sivācharya, the author of *Kandapurāṇam*, an elaborate epic depicting the miracles of Kanda (Subrahmanya), Pillaippurumāl Aiyangar, author of the *Ashta Prabhandam*, and Tāyumānavar, mystic saint whose songs have been

greatly cherished by the people from his time to our own days.

The Jains contributed greatly to Tamil literature. *Jivaka Chintāmaṇi* (9th c. ?) the greatest of the *Pancha Mahākāvyas* in Tamil, is by a Jain author, Tirutakka Dēvar. It introduced the Sanskrit *Kāvya* form and the *Viruttam* metre. Other Jain works in Tamil are the so-called five minor *Kāvyas* (*Sirukāppiyam*), (1) *Yasōdara Kāvya*, the *Chūḷāmaṇi*, based upon a Puranic story; (2) the *Nīlakēsi*, a controversial work dealing with the systems of Indian Philosophy and equipped with an excellent commentary by Vāmana Muni. This is an answer to (3) the *Kuṇḍalakēsi*, which is lost; (4) the *Udayaṇa Kāvya* and (5) *Nāgakumāra Kāvya*.

The modern period began with the coming of the Portuguese (late 16th c.). Robert De Nobili spent a long career in South India (1606–56). As Tatva Bōdhaka Swami, he compiled several prose works in Tamil: *Atma Niṛṇayam; Satya-Vēda Lakshaṇam; Yēsunādhar Charitram;* also, a Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary. The even more famous Father Constantius Beschi spent the years 1710–47 in the southern Tamil districts, where he acquired a marvellous knowledge of Tamil. As Vīra Mahāmuni, he wrote didactic prose: *Vēdiar Olukkam, Veda Viḷakkam* and *Gnāna Uṇarthal*. His *Vamanakathai* and *Paramārthagurukathai* are works of popular instruction seasoned with humour and wit. His *Tonnūl Viḷakkam* and *Koduntamil Ilakkaṇam* are grammars (1737) following Western models. Beschi in his various poetical works has scrupulously adhered to the orthodox technique, but effected innovations in design and execution as well as in material and make-up.

Indian talents naturally set to work in the trail of western scholars. Rhenius was the first to popularise scientific knowledge in Tamil. The earliest Tamil periodical was published in 1851, in missionary zeal. *Vivēka Viḷakkam* was started in 1865 to build up a healthy Protestant Hinduism. *Amirthavachani* was the first Tamil journal published for women. Public opinion on political and social matters was greatly advanced by the still thriving daily, *Swadesamitran*, begun in the 1870's by G. Subramania Iyer.

Like modern Tamil prose, Tamil drama has grown appreciably in the last few decades. *Kūttu* and *Naṭakam* (paṅtomimes and literary dramas) are referred to in ancient Tamil works; but not a single old play has survived. Among recent plays are Sundaram Pillai's *Manōnmaṇīyam*, a well-written drama in blank verse, with an interlude in the shape of an exquisite adaptation of *The Hermit;* Lakshmana Pillai's *Satyavati*, following in design Shakespeare's *Cymbeline; Rupavati* and *Kalāvati* of V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri; and *Sarasāngi* of Sarasalōchana Chettiar; besides numerous plays, social, Puranic and farcical, from the prolific pen of Rao Bahadur P. Sambanda Mudaliar.

Sastriar's monostichs, *Tanipāsurattokai*, are fine adaptations of Shakespeare's Soṇnets. Vēdanāyakam Pillai's *Penmathimālai* and *Sarvasamaya Samarasa Kirtanais* are lyrical symphonies. The nationalist poet, Subramania Bharati, has composed *Swādēsa Gītam* (*National Songs*), some of which constitute a high level of patriotic poetry.

The output of novels and instructive prose works is also on the increase. The earliest prose-writer of modern times was Tāṇḍavarāya Mudaliar, author of the famous Tamil *Panchatantram*. Ārumuga Navalar of Jaffna set the example of dignified, chaste and simple Tamil prose style. Saravaṇaperumāl Aiyar and Visākhaperumāḷ Aiyar are early prose writers. Rajam Aiyar is the author of *Kamalāmbāḷ*, a realistic novel; Madhaviah's *Padmāvati* is a work of realistic fiction in racy style. Vēdanayakam Pillai's *Pratāpa Mudaliār Charitram* and *Suguna Sundari* are more Addisonian. Saravana Pillai's *Mohanāngi* is another realistic novel. From the early nineteenth century

we find a chain of great Tamil scholars and writers like Tandavaraya Mudaliar, Viraswami Chettiar, Mazhavai Mahalinga Iyer, Ramanuja Kavirāyar, T. Minakshisundaram Pillai and Mahamahopadyaya V. Swaminatha Iyer, who have enriched the literary heritage of modern Tamil. New flowers are yet blooming and new fruits ripening on the old tree of Tamil.

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RAO BAHADUR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

TELUGU

The Telugu language, also called Andhra, belongs to the Dravidian group. Beyond a few stray verses found in epigraphical records, especially in Kannada and Telugu, we cannot point to any extensive work in these dialects before the 8th c. A.D. Great literary antiquity is, however, claimed for them, and that for Tamil is most persistent and insistent, though exaggerated and unsupported by dated or reasoned evidence.

Early Period (1022–1500). In Rajamahendravaram on the eastern bank of the great Godavari, the great Eastern Chalukya King Rājarāja ruled in peace in the first quarter of the 11th c. Nannaya, the first poet in Telugu who wrote any extensive work, belonged to a family closely entwined with the Royal Eastern Chalukyan house; he sought the help of Narayanbhatta in the translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata.* Narayanabhatta was already renowned as a master poet in eight languages including Telugu. Their work is characterized by a restraint, balance, accomplishment, grace and chastity that have made their poetry the basic model of Telugu poetry. The march of its diction is as broad, deep, and majestic as the waters of the Godavari, on whose flooded banks the task was accomplished. They completed only three out of the eighteen *parvas.*

Two centuries later, Tikkana began his literary career with his *Nirvachan-ottara-Ramayana,* all in verse. But he conceived a vaster work, the completion of the *Mahabharata.* He projected the form before himself and cried, "Lord of my heart! Here you are! What dost thou want as an adornment?—a garland of skulls or the resplendent Kaustubha?—the cup of poison or the milk from Yasoda's breast?" And the answer came back in ringing chimes, "My child! You have realised me in my true form. I want both for I am both. I am both Hari and Hara—and more; I am Hari-Hara-Natha, the lord over both of them directing the activities of both." The *varnas* (colors, words) which he used in its formation were entirely and distinctively Telugu, soft, sweet and soothing. He sat with leaf and style in hand, and the style never faltered; his work is the masterpiece of Telugu.

Many others wrote *Kāvyas* in Tikkana's time; as Kātana's *Dasakumaracharitram,* an adaptation of Daṇḍin's work of that name; Māraṇa, Tikkana's pupil, wrote the *Mārkandeya Purana.* Madiki Singana, Tikkana's great-grandson, wrote the *Jnāna-Vāsishtamn,* a lengthy work in the *dvipada* metre dealing with vedantic philosophy. Errāpragada, of the next century, also worked on the Telugu *Mahabharata.* His great work is *Harivamsa,* which sets him among the best Telugu poets. He also translated the *Ramayana.*

The *Ramayana* versions are of two types, one in the traditional *Champu* form, the other in the *dvipada* metre. The *Champu* type of the Telugu *Ramayana* is said to be the work of five different poets, Mantri Bhāskara, Huḷakki Bhāskara, Mallikārjuna, Kumāra Rudra and Ayyalarya, but the reading public has always regarded the work as a unitary

whole. The Bhaskara *Ramayana* is almost a family affair. Mantri Bhaskara and Hulakki Bhaskara are really one person, Hulakki being a variant of "Ulakki" meaning 'one in service' (of the king); Mallikarjuna was his son; Kumara Rudra his pupil and Ayyalarya a close friend. At the same time Gona Buddharaja and his two sons, Kāchavibhu and Vitthalaraja worked on a version; Buddharaja completed the first six kandas, the *Ramayana* proper, and his sons the seventh or *Uttarakanda*. This is entirely in *dvipada* form. This, and the effective poetry of Pālkuriki Somanatha, made the *dvipada* by far the most popular poetic form in Telugu. Somanatha's two works, the *Basavapurana* and *Panditaradhyacharitram* are vivid documents of the Vīrasaiva movement, which he established.

By the 15th c. there arose in Mahārāshṭra, Gujarat and Bengal a great revival of the Vaisnavite religion. Potana of Bammera wrote the Telugu *Bhagavata*, which created a new tradition in Telugu literature, the tradition of devotional literature. Krishna worship began to become popular side by side with that of Rama. Krishna was a lovable human figure with all the foibles that man is heir to. The boy Krishna became the model and representative of the Telugu child.

At this time appeared the dominating personality of Śinatha. He moved from court to court, from land to land, sweeping all jealousy before him and establishing himself at the head of the literary world. He was literally bathed in gold under a canopy set with pearls. He was borne in golden palanquins. He was formally installed on a golden throne as the unchallenged sovereign of the realm of letters, "Kavi Sārvabhauma."

Srinatha began with the adaptation of Harsha's *Naishadha* into Telugu, a masterpiece that established a new tradition in Telugu literature. His *Kāsikhandam* and *Bhimakhandam* continued his repute; his *Haravilasam* is grace itself in literary form. *Palnati-vira-charitram* is filled with real national characters, in living flesh and blood; national history inspiring the Telugu to accomplish deeds of valor and chivalry.

Popular forms of Telugu literature include the *vachanas*, village songs chanted by the masses, or by wandering friars, often charming airs of devotion; and the *sataka* (centum) which—devotional, didactic, elegiac, satiric, or erotic—exist in great numbers and have long been popular.

The Viajayanagar Period is full of the earlier melody, but softer and more soothing. Nachana Somanatha, Sarvajna (all-knowing), wrote *Uttara Harivamsa*, of the Hari-Hara-Natha deity, in beautiful verse. Pillalamarri Pinaviranna's *Jaimini Bharatam* and *Sakuntala Parinayamu* are sweet and smooth flowing.

The *prabandha* type of the Telugu *kavya* is the distinctive contribution of this age, during which it received its embellishment and finish. A galaxy of poets employed it, including the Emperor Krishnadevaraya. His *Amuktamalyada* is a poem of rare merit, full of intimate pictures of contemporary life, brilliant description, and poetic fancy.

Allasani Peddana was the greatest of the court poets of Krishnadevaraya. His *Manucharitra* gives vivid pictures of the ideal innocent man, Pravara and the lovely maiden Varudhuni who tempted him. Nandi Timmana, nicknamed "Mukku Timmana" (Nasal Timmana), was another poet of the royal court. He wrote *Parijatapaharanam*, "the theft of the wish-yielding Parijata tree" from the garden of Indra by Krishna. Where Peddana shows the triumph of manhood, Timmana shows its subjection at the hands of a scheming and jealous woman, whom Krishna must placate by the theft. For it, Krishna was rightly awarded the punishment that he deserved, perpetual imprisonment in the hearts of the Telugu people.

The Ashta-dig-gajas (the eight elephants of the quarters) of Krishnadevaraya's court must

at least be mentioned. Dhurjati with his *Kalahastimahatmya;* Madayyagaru Mallanna with his *Rajashekharavilasa;* Tallapaka Chinnanna with his *Ashtamahishi Kalyana;* Tenali Ramakrishna with his *Pandurangamahatmya;* Sankusala Nrishimha; and Ramarajabhushana, were other great poets of the court.

Pingali Surana (ca. 1568) wrote *Kalapurnodayam* and *Prabhavati-Pradyumnam,* effective narratives. The incidents are varied, the characters distinct and individual. Ramarajabhushana wrote the allegorical *Vasucharitra,* in a new style of poetry. It is no longer the grand sweep of the imagination, nor the imposing grandeur of monumental architecture; it is the chiseling of miniature sculpture, fine craftsmanship on a golden ornament: balance, symmetry, poise, grace. For two centuries lesser poets strove in vain to reproduce his charm.

Some effective writers continued the older strains. Addanki Gangadhara wrote the *Tapati Samvaranopakhyana;* Gawana and Sankavakavi wrote the *Harischandropokhyana,* the former in the *dvipada* metre, the latter in the *champu* style. Tarigoppula Dharmanna wrote *Chitrabharatamu;* Sarugu Tammayya, *Vaijayantivilasamu;* Kamsali Rudrayya, *Nirankusopakhyanamu;* Kanuparti Abbayamatya, *Aniruddha charitram.*

Most prominent in Southern Telugu is Chemakura Venkatakavi (ca. 1630). His *Vijayavilasamu* and *Sarangodhara charitramu* are marked by grace and feeling, with a coolness and fine humor and ease in which the Telugus take refreshing relief. Other writers, until the mid 18th c., flourished in the South.

The 18th c. does not show much worthy literary output. In the Northern districts, Kuchimanchi Timmakavi and Adidam Surakavi were prolific writers of considerable merit. The first half of the 19th c. is most blank and bleak. Poets were content to eke out their livelihood by clinging to such patrons as they could cajole. Famine and pestilence were rampant. When, in 1857, the country passed into the hands of the British Crown, learning did not receive any recognition. The first Telugu work had been printed in 1796, but it did not help to spread culture. Such scholarly work as was done proceeded in Sanskrit.

In the 20th c., Kandukuri Veeresalingam sought to bring the literary style within the understanding of the masses. He was the pioneer of modern Telugu literature, drawing into it almost every modern English form: polemics; poetry; original Telugu dramas and farces; the novel; biography; translations of Sanskrit plays; adaptations of English plays; grammar, prosody, poetics: the range of his activity was vast, his achievements astounding.

Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham, "the blind poet of Andhra," followed Veeresalingam in social reform. He cultivated oratory as a fine art, and in the novel and the drama he was refreshingly original. The Tirupati-Venkatesvara kavulu were poets who revived the old free traditions; they wrote many excellent *kavyas* and dramas. Gurazada Appa Rao wrote a Telugu social play, *Kanyasulkam,* as propaganda against infant marriages, which is effective drama. He revived the form of metrical expression, *Mutyalasaramu* (necklace of pearls), from the old Bhamini-shatpadi metre of Kannada; it is still the metre of many a Telugu woman's song. His friend Gidhgu Ramamarti Pantulu played the chief role in the development of modern Telugu. Young writers flocked into the movement, enriching it in all the ways they were capable of. A new freedom, a new strength, and a new spirit spread everywhere. This was brought to a head in the establishment of the Navya Sahitya Parishad in 1933 at Berhampore, over which the master installed the present writer as President. Rayaprolu brought the message of Rabindranath to the Andhras. Another group of young writers called themselves

members of the Sahiti Samiti. At its center stood Tallavajjhula Sivasankara Sastry, unobtrusive, capable of repressed hilarity, a driving force. Many of the best Telugu writers are of this group.

Among current writers, R. V. M. G. Rama Rao Bahadur, the talented Yuvaraja of Pithapuram, has published poems, plays, and prose writings of great lyrical beauty and suffused with original thought. The twin poets of Proddatur (Cuddapah district) have produced works of epic dimension. Gadiyarama Venkate Sesha Sastri wrote *Siva Bharatamu*, of high poetic excellence and scope; the story of modern India and of Sivaji the Great. The other great work is the *Rāṇā Pratapashimha Charitram*. Lacking the unity of its companion epic, it is marked by a lively poetic fancy. These works show that the great tradition of Telugu literature is still thriving in the modern world.

C. NARAYAN RAO.

URDU

Written in Arabic script with certain additions, Urdū is the language spoken and understood in a majority of the Indian Provinces. The word 'Urdū' is Turkish and means *camp* or *army*; the term *horde* is another form of the same word.

The first great Persian writer of India to use Hindustānī was the famous Amīr Khusrū (1255–1325). Save for one or two Ghazals, in which one distich is in Persian and the other in Hindustānī, these works are lost. This mixed type of poetical utterance was known as *Rekhta*. It continued, for a long time, to distinguish the new type of poetry from the Classical Persian, and what is now known as the Urdū language began to be commonly called *Rekhta*. The real impetus to the growth and development of Urdū came from the Deccan, where under the patronage of religious preachers and learned saints, coupled with the demand of the time and circumstances, Urdū acquired a literary form. Sayyid Muḥammad Banda Nawāz Gīsū Darāz (d. 1422) composed booklets, verses, and other works in this language. No less than 101 works are attributed to him, some of them still extant. A number of other Ṣūfīs also utilized this language; among these are Shāh Mīrān Jī, surnamed Shamsu'l-'Ushshāq (d. 1496), Shāh Burhān Jānam (d. 1582) and Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā (d. 1675). In Gujrāt, Shāh 'Alī Muḥammad Jieu Gāmdhanī (d. 1575), author of the *Jawāhiru'l- Asrār* (his *Dīwān*), Shaikh Khūb Muḥammad, author of the famous mathnawī *Khūb Tarang* (written in 1578) and Amīn, author of *Yūsuf and Zulaikhā* (written in 1697), wrote in Urdū.

Under the Quṭb Shāhs of Golcunda (1590–1687), Urdū literature flourished. Sulṭān Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, fourth king of the dynasty, ruled at Golcunda from 1580 to 1611; he founded the city of Ḥyderābād. He has left a voluminous *Kulliyāt* in Urdū, remarkable for its pictures of everyday life. His two successors, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh (1611–1626) and Sulṭān 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh and also Tānā Shāh, the unfortunate last prince of that dynasty, freely composed in Urdū.

Among other famous poets of this regime, Mullā Wajhī, the poet laureate of Sulṭān Qulī Quṭb Shāh, is pre-eminent. His famous mathnawi, *Quṭub Mushtarī* (1609), relates the love-adventure of the prince who afterwards became king of Golcunda. Wajhī is also author of a very important prose work, *Sab Ras*, from the Persian. It is written in simple, rhymed prose. The style is flowing, and Ṣūfī'istic teachings are presented in a narrative form.

Another important poet of this regime is Ghawwāṣī, attached to the court of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh. His two works, *Qiṣṣa-i-Saifu'l-Mulūk Wa Badī'ul-Jamāl* and the *Ṭūṭī Nāma*, are well known. The first is a Dakhanī

version of a story in Persian adopted from the *Arabian Nights;* the second is a translation into Urdū of Ḍiyā'ud-Dīn's Persian work bearing the same title.

The only extant poetical work of Ibn-i-Nishāṭī is his mathnawī, *Phūlban* (1655), a Persian romance of about 3,500 lines. It shows a highly developed art, and is marked by simplicity and fluency of language.

Among other poets of the Quṭb Shāhī regime, Ṭab'ī of Golcunda wrote (1670) the romance *Qiṣṣa-i-Bahrām Wa Gul Andām,* based upon Niẓāmī's *Haft Paiker.* His poem is more original than two other poems on the same theme produced by Amīn and Dawlat, known as *Bahrām Wa Bānū Ḥusn.* Muḥammad Amīn wrote an unfinished poem, *Qiṣṣa-i-Abū Shaḥma,* a story about the son of Khalīfa 'Umar-b-al-Khaṭṭāb.

The 'Ādil Shāhī regime of Bījāpūr (1590–1686) was also distinguished for art and learning. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, king of Bījāpūr (1580–1626), who in 1599 founded near his capital a garden city which he named *Nawraspūr,* was himself a great poet and wrote a poem on music in Dakhanī-Urdū, *Nawras Nāma.* Ẓuhūrī (d. 1626) and Mulla Malik Qummī jointly wrote a Persian preface to this work. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was a master of Indian music, hence was called the *Jagat Gurū.* During his reign a number of poets and scholars flocked to his court. Under Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (1626–1656) poets also flourished. Of these Ḥasan Shawqī was the author of the *Fatḥ-Nāma-i-Niẓām Shāh* (which describes the battle of Tālikota). Rustumī wrote the *Khāwar-Nāma* (1649), telling the story of 'Alī; it has been considered the first epic in Urdū. Rustumī was also a good prose writer. Malik Khushnūd, the poet laureate of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, wrote two romances, *Bahrām* (6,500 lines) and *Yūsuf and Zulaikhā.*

By far the greatest poet of the 'Ādil Shāhī regime is Nuṣratī (d. 1683), who flourished in the court of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (1656–73). His *Gulshan-i-'Ishq,* of some 8,000 lines, describes the love story of Manōhar Madhūmālatī, a typically Indian theme. His *'Alī Nāma* is a long account of the glorious deeds of his royal master, with more description and less panegyric than usual. His *Mi'rāj Nāma,* written earlier, contains many more Dakhanī expressions and is more difficult to understand. His *Guldasta-i-'Ishq* is a collection of lyrics; he also left a collection of odes. He excelled in lofty imagination, freshness of subject and aptness of diction.

Among other Bījāpur poets are Ayāghī (*Najāt Nāma* and *Shamā'il Nāma*); Sayyid Bulāqī (*Mi'rāj Nāma*); Shāh Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā; 'Abdu'l-Mumin (*Asrār-i-'Ishq*); Shāh Muḥammad Qādirī (author of a number of prose tracts containing Ṣūfī doctrines); Ātishī; Amīn (author of an incomplete poem *Bahrām Wa Ḥuan Bānū,* finished by Dawlat) and Mīrān Hāshimī. The last named composed a long romance of 12,000 lines, and is the first writer of *Rekhtī* (language of women), which was highly developed by Rangīn.

Under Aurangzeb and his Successors, Muḥammad 'Alī 'Ājiz wrote a romance, *Qiṣṣa-i-Firōz Shāh* or *Qiṣṣa-i Malika-i-Miṣr,* 800 lines long. In 1688 Walī'u'llāh Qādirī translated from the Persian the work known as *Ma'rifat-i-Sulūk.* His father, Shaikh Dā'ūd Ḍa'īfī, who was a renowned Ṣūfī, has left two poems, in one of which he tells the story of a woman who burnt herself in her love for the Prophet Muḥammad. The other is styled *'Hidāyāt-i-Hind;* it deals with the beliefs and tenets of the Ḥanafī sect. Shāh Ḥusain Dhawqī, famous as Baḥru'l-'Irfān, rendered into Urdū verse Wajhī's *Sab Ras* and named it *Wisālu'l-'Āshiqīn* or *Ḥusn-Wa-Dil.* His *Mābāp Nāma* is an eulogy of the saint Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī of Baghdād. More important was Qādī Maḥmūd Baḥrī (fl. 1680–1700) of Gogī, author of the poem *Man Lagan,* also of 14 love poems, 4 elegies, 2 odes and a mystical

ode, *Bangab Nama.* Muḥammad Fayyāḍ Walī of Velūr (fl. 1690–1707), wrote the romance, *Qiṣṣa-i-Ratan Wa Padam,* of 8,000 lines, based upon Muḥammad Ja'isī's *Padmāwat,* and a collection of elegies, *Rawḍatu'sh-Shuhadā'.*

The most important poet of the Deccan, instantly and permanently popular, is Shamsu'd-Dīn Walī'ullāh Walī (d. 1741), one of the greatest names in Urdū literature.

Walī's poetic composition is divisible linguistically into 3 sections, pure Dakhanī (more than one-third of his *Kulliyat*); Urdū Dakhanī words; and pure Urdū. His lyrics number 422; he wrote 6 odes eulogizing saints or on religious subjects; 2 mathnawīs, of which one is in praise of Sūrat. His tyle was simple and dignified, sometimes rising to real eloquence.

Among Walī's younger contemporaries are Hāshim 'Alī (ca. 1680–1760), author of *Dīwān-i-Ḥusainī,* a large collection of marthias (elegies); Imāmī, Raḍā of Gujrāt, a good poet and famous teacher, of finished form; Sayyid of Gujrāt, also a vigorous writer; Sayyid Muḥammad Wālih, author of a tragedy *Qiṣṣa-i-Ṭālib Wa Mohanī.* The most important of Walī's contemporaries was his own pupil Sirāju'd-Dīn Sirāj of Aurangābād. Sirāj was acknowledged as a fitting successor to Walī; people gathered week by week for crowded poetical meetings in his house. He has left a *Dīwān,* containing about 10,000 lines, a *Kulliyāt,* and a romance entitled *Būstān-i-Khiyāl,* marked by freshness of subject and loftiness of thought.

Ghulām Qādir Sāmī (fl. 1695–1782), a teacher of poetics, is the author of *Qiṣṣa-i-Sarw Shamshād.* Sayyid Muḥammad is the author of a romance called *Faiḍ-i-'Ām* (1727); Mīrzā Dā'ūd Khān (d. 1754), of Aurangābād, was a pupil of Walī and left a small *Dīwān;* Ṣābir wrote in 1743 a short work in which he dealt with the duties of husband and wife.

Upper India. With the departure of Walī to Delhi began a new era in Urdū literature. The center of attraction changed from the Deccan to the North, with the result that Dakhanī poets like Firāqī, Fakhrī and Āzād also flocked there. The characteristic feature of the poetical product of this age is simplicity of language and predominance of Ṣūfī' thought. Ẓuhūru'd-Dīn Ḥātim (1699–1781 or 92) tried to write in the vein of Walī. His first *Dīwān* contains poems written in the old style; *Diwānzāda* contains, besides new poems, selections from the old *Dīwān.* Ḥātim is known for having acted as teacher of other poets rather than for his own composition. Mīrzā Jān-i-Jānān Maẓhar (1699–1781) was a polished poet. Āzād (in his *Āb-i-Ḥayāt*) calls him one of the 'Four Pillars of Urdu' (the three others being Mīr, Sawdā, and Dard).

The greatest figure of the period is Mīr Taqī Mīr (1724–1810) of Agra. His ghazals and mathnawīs are by far the best to be found in Urdū literature. Mīr wrote several volumes of lyrics, of some 40,000 lines, and a large number of romances. Those on which his great fame rests deal with love; they are *Shu'la-i-'Ishq* and *Daryā-i-'Ishq.*

Muḥammad Rafī' Sawdā (1713–80) was the first to write powerful satires. He and Dhawq must be counted as the greatest qaṣīda-writers in Urdū. His poetical composition consists of (1) more than 40 qaṣīdas in praise of Nuwwābs, about a third of the Prophet Muḥammad and his relatives, the rest purely satirical; (2) nearly 100 elegies, averaging 100 lines each; and (3) a large number of lyrics, perhaps 10,000 lines in all.

Mīr Dard, commonly known as Dard (1719–85), is fourth of the great Urdū poets. As he was a Ṣūfī, he confined himself to religious lyrics and other poems of that type. Dard began writing religious prose when quite young. Though his lyrics are in one vein, they are keen and shining as swords.

The fame of Mīr Ḥasan (1736–86) rests on his mathnawi, *Siḥru'l-Bayān,* often called *Mathnawī-i-Mīr Hasan,* the most popular

romance in Urdū, the story of the love of Prince Benaẓīr and Badr-i-Munīr, beautifully and simply told. He wrote ten other mathnawis, the best of which is perhaps *Gulār-i-Iram.*

Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi (1750–1824) excelled in lyrics, but also composed odes and romances. He wrote 8 volumes of poetry, and compiled (1794) a Persian Anthology of 300 Urdū poets.

Insha'u'llah Khān Insha (d. 1817), commonly known as Insha, was remarkable for his humor and sparkling wit. His work comprises some 9,000 lines. Part I of his *Darya-i-Latafat* (in Persian) is the first grammar of Urdū written by an Indian.

Wali Muḥammad Nazir (1740–1830) ranks among the first poets in Urdū. Among his poems, those of boyhood, kite-flying, the squirrel, the crow, the deer, bulbul fighting, are noteworthy for their appeal to children.

Of the later poets of this period, Ḥaider 'Alī Ātish (d. 1846); Imām Bakhsh Nāsikh (d. 1836); Anīs; and Salāmat 'Alī Dabīr are most prominent. Ātish was the natural poet; Nāsikh was a master of words; the former used simple, colloquial language, the latter indulged in bombastic and obscure Persian figures. Ātish is one of the best Urdū lyric writers; he has left two collections of poems, of some 40,000 lines. Of Nāsikh's three volumes of lyrics, *Daftar-i-Parēshān* is outstanding.

Modern Urdū Literature begins with the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Urdū was no longer the handmaid of Persian, but became a dominant language, which soon captured the highest place among the spoken languages of India.

The marthia writers, Anīs and Dabīr, paved the way for poets like Dhawq, Amīr, Dāgh, Ḥālī, Sir Sayyid, Āzād, Shiblī Nu'manī, the greatest being Ghālib and Iqbāl. Babar 'Alī Anīs (1802–74) was the greater and more natural poet than his compeer Salāmat 'Alī Dabīr (1803–75). The latter was more scholarly in nature and more effective in description. Anīs left four volumes, containing over 1,000,000 lines, of simple diction and flowing rhythms. Dabīr's works occupy two large volumes. To these two goes the chief credit for popularizing modern Urdū.

Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dhawq (1789–1854) was the first poet of importance after the swing of literature from Lucknow to Delhī. Most of his work was lost during the Mutiny, what we possess (about 12,000 lines) is due to the painstaking work of Āzād and other pupils of Dhawq. Dhawq laid perhaps too much stress on mere words and idioms, often playing with meanings. His great distinction is in Qaṣīda-writing, which he brought to perfection.

Asadu'llāh Khān Ghālib (1797–1869), though he wrote more in Persian, is the greatest poet in Urdū. He left both prose and poetry of the first order. Beside his *Dīwān,* his two volumes of letters—*Urdū-i-Mu'allā* and *Ūd-i-Hindī*—stand as models.

Muḥammad Mu'min Khān Mu'min (1800–51) was fond of astrology, medicine, and poetry; he wrote lyrics, odes (Qaṣīdas) and a mathnawī entitled *Mathnawī-i-Jihādiyya.*

Amīr Aḥmed Mīnā'ī (1828–1900) and Nawāb Mīrzā Khān Dāgh (1831–1905) flourished at the Rāmpūr Court. Amīr was the greater scholar; Dāgh, the greater poet. Amīr's special domain was the Qaṣīda, in which he achieved great eminence. Dāgh surpassed in the lyric. *Mir'ātul-Ghaib* and *ṢanamKhāna-i-'Ishq* are Amīr's Dīwāns; *Gulzār-i-Dāgh, Aftāb-i-Dagh, Faryād-i-Dagh, Mehtāb-i-Dagh* and *Yādgār-i-Dāgh* are those of Dāgh.

The Aligarh movement produced writers like Sir Sayyid, Nawāb Muḥsinu'l-Mulk, Moulvi Chirāgh 'Alī, Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥālī, Maulvī Nadhīr Aḥmad, Maulvī Dhakā'ullāh and Shiblī Nu'mānī, most of whom preferred prose to poetry. The figurative and metaphonic style

of Āzād is notable; Maulvī Nadhīr Aḥmad's didactic novels paved the way for modern story writing; the historical and critical writings of Shiblī Nu'manī are outstanding; and Ḥalī's *Musaddas* and *Shi'ru-Shā'irī* are of permanent worth. The greatest figure in modern Urdū is Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, whose constructive philosophy and creative thinking reach beyond the language. His *Bāng-i-Dirā, Six Lectures on Reconstruction of Islām, Bāli-Jibrīl, Jāvīd Nāma, Ramūz-i-Khudī, Darb-i-Kalīm* and *Zubūr-i-'Ajam* are helping to establish Urdū as a valid world literature. In this aim, great help is coming from Maulvi 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdū of Delhī, and H. E. H. the Niẓām of Ḥyderābad-Deccan, under whom Urdū has become the official language of the State. In the currents of the modern world, there is vivid and valid creation in Urdū.

CHAND HUSAIN SHAIKH.

INDO-ANGLICAN—*See* Indian.

INUIT—*See* North American Native.

IONIC (Ionian)—*See* Greek.

IRANIAN—*See* Persian.

IRAQ—*See* Aramaic.

END OF VOLUME ONE