

A black and white photograph of a marble statue, likely a personification of Poetry or Music, holding a lyre. The statue is shown from the waist up, with its right hand on the neck of the lyre and its left hand holding a scroll. The background is solid black.

DE GRUYTER

Sandra Richter

A HISTORY OF POETICS

GERMAN SCHOLARLY AESTHETICS AND POETICS
IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT, 1770–1960

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With Bibliographies by
Anja Zenk · Jasmin Azazmah
Eva Jost · Sandra Richter

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To Jörg Schönert

Preface

A history of poetics, a device for orientation I know not.¹

Poetics has always been a key to the history and systematic order of the humanities: the renaissance ‘poeta doctus’ proved his scholarly knowledge and stylistic competence by writing a poetological treatise. In the 19th century, poetics was seen as the core area of the humanities – as the ‘logic’ of the humanities. Nevertheless, we know astonishingly little about the different national histories of poetics; even less can be said about international developments and exchanges. Wilhelm Scherer is still correct when he states that a history of poetics is lacking.

These deficiencies originate from the conflicting nature of poetics itself: on the one hand, poetics participates in the general history and theory of science and the humanities but is neglected to a large extent by these fields of study. The reason is simple: poetics deals with poetry – and not with the ‘hard sciences’. On the other hand, poetics is close to the study of literature, to criticism and its history. But critique tends to focus on its ‘beautiful object’ and to ignore its own history, especially after the end of ‘great theory’ in the final decade of the 20th century. Facing so many difficulties, this study on German poetics in its international context cannot be anything but an expedition into uncharted territory. Only a few islands, the aesthetics of the ‘big thinkers’ of course, are well studied.

This study can build on this research but is designed to discover the lesser known texts. In order to do so, the study will focus on scholarly, ambitious aesthetics and poetics up until the point at which poetics become discredited in the 1960s. By then, poetological thinking tended to regard works published under the title of ‘poetics’ as not being scientific enough and preferred the term ‘literary theory’ instead. Literary theories from the 1960s to the present day are examined and presented by the

1 Wilhelm Scherer: *Poetik* [1888]. Mit einer Einleitung und Materialien zur Rezeptionsanalyse. Ed. Gunter Reiss. Tübingen: Niemeyer (dtv) 1977, p. 29: “Eine Geschichte der Poetik, ein Hilfsmittel zur Orientierung kenne ich nicht.”

Centre of Literary Theory at the University of Göttingen (director: Simone Winko; <http://www.simonewinko.de/arbeitsstelle.html>).

Furthermore, this study will only occasionally consider didactical school poetics or literary poetics. School poetics will be dealt with in a separate study by Anja Zenk who was a member of my Emmy Noether research group on 'Poetological Reflection. Poetics and Poetological Lyric Poetry in Aesthetic Context' from which the findings presented here result. Literary poetics were studied in other publications of the group:

By myself:

- (published under my maiden name Sandra Pott) *Poetiken. Poetologische Lyrik, Poetik und Ästhetik von Novalis bis Rilke*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2004.
- (published under my maiden name Sandra Pott) *Poetics of the Picture*. August Wilhelm Schlegel and Achim von Arnim, in: *The Image of Words. Literary Transpositions of Pictorial Ideas*, ed. by Rüdiger Görner. Munich: Iudicium 2005 (Institute of Germanic Studies X), pp. 76–90.
- (published under my maiden name Sandra Pott) *Poetologische Reflexion*. "Lyrik" in poetologischer Lyrik, *Poetik und Ästhetik* (19. Jahrhundert), in: *Lyrik im 19. Jahrhundert. Historische Gattungspoetik als Reflexionsmedium einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Germanistik*, eds. Steffen Martus, Stefan Scherer, Claudia Stockinger. Bern: Lang 2005 (Publikationen zur Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 11), pp. 31–60.
- *Lyrik im Ausgang aus der Stummfilmzeit: Claire Golls Lyrische Filme* (1922). In: *Literatur intermedial*, eds. Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, Thorsten Valk. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2009 (Spectrum Literaturwissenschaft 19), pp. 67–86.

By Gunilla Eschenbach: *Imitation und Parodie. Poetologische Lyrik und Poetik im George-Kreis* (submitted with Hamburg University).

By Eva Jost: *Dichtung als Sensation. Die populäre Moderne*: Otto Julius Bierbaum.

Some parts of this publication are further developed in the following contributions and articles by myself:

- (published under my maiden name Sandra Pott) *Von der Erfindung und den Grenzen des Schaffens. Fallstudien zur Inventio-Lehre in Poetik und Ästhetik*, in: *Imagination und Invention*, Paragrana 2 (2006), eds. Toni Bernhart, Philipp Mehne, pp. 217–242.

- (published under my maiden name Sandra Pott) International, nationale und transnationale Poetik: Hugh Blair auf dem Kontinent und einige Bemerkungen über den Transfer poetologischen Wissens seit 1790, in: *Triangulärer Transfer: Großbritannien, Frankreich und Deutschland um 1800*, Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift 56/1 (2006), eds. Sandra Pott, Sebastian Neumeister, pp. 99–114.
- Unsichere Schönheit. Der Ursprung der Ästhetik aus der Kritik des Skeptizismus. In: *Unsicheres Wissen. Skeptizismus und Wahrscheinlichkeit, 1550–1850*, eds. Carlos Spoerhase, Dirk Werle, Markus Wild. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2009 (*Historia Hermeneutica* 7), pp. 159–178.
- Anschaulichkeit versus Sprachlichkeit. Ein paradigmatischer Scheingegensatz in Ästhetik und Poetik (ca. 1850 bis 1950), in: *Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Oliver Huck, Sandra Richter, Christian Scholl. Hildesheim (forthcoming).
- (with Hans-Harald Müller) Nationale Philologien – europäische Zeitschriften. Zur Rezeption von Poetik und Literaturtheorie in den wissenschaftlichen und literaturkritischen Zeitschriften zwischen 1880 und 1930, to be published in the papers of the conference on European Philologies, VW-Foundation. Osnabrück University, April 2007 (forthcoming).
- Wie kam das Bild in die Lyriktheorie? Präliminarien zu einer visuellen Theorie der Lyrik, in: *Das lyrische Bild*, eds. Nina Herres, Csongor Lörincz, Ralf Simon. Munich 2008 (forthcoming).

For the generous support and funding the group has received in the Emmy Noether programme, I wish to thank the German Research Foundation. During the years of research necessary for a study like this the junior research group was hosted by various institutions: by Hamburg University (Institute of German Studies II), King's College London (German Department) and Stuttgart University (Modern German Literature I). We wish to thank all three Universities for their hospitality. Many colleagues are responsible for the warm welcome and the fruitful time that the group spent in Hamburg, London and Stuttgart. I can only name a few of them: Jörg Schönert did his utmost to support and help the group intellectually as well as administratively. Peter Hühn was a corner-stone for the integration of any English content. Hans-Harald Müller, whose principal field of research is on empirical poetics around 1900, became an intellectual counterpart for the group. The colleagues and friends from the research group 'Narratology' at the Univer-

sity of Hamburg (German Research Foundation) as well as Philip Ajouri (Stuttgart University) contributed to our interests by their own research. Lutz Danneberg and his 'Research Centre of Historical Epistemology and Hermeneutics' (Humboldt University Berlin), Simone Winko, Christoph König's 'Network Philologies in Europe' (University Osnabrück) and Marcel Lepper (German Literature Archiv Marbach) enriched the project through many discussions.

I am in great debt to Jasmin Azazmah, Saskia Bodemer, Mara Delius, Gunilla Eschenbach, Kristof Gundelfinger, Eva Jost, Tim Kopera, Deirdre Mahony, Petra Mayer, Oliver Krug and Yvonne Zimmermann. Without them, this manuscript would not exist. Gunilla Eschenbach and Eva Jost did some of the research on individual scholars. Saskia Bodemer, Mara Delius, Tim Kopera, Oliver Krug and Kristof Gundelfinger helped to find and analyse the material. Deirdre Mahony helped with proof-reading. Anja Zenk was responsible for the bibliography of poetics and was helped by Jasmin Azazmah, Eva Jost and myself. Last but not least, I wish to thank my curious students at Hamburg University, who stimulated this book by continuous questioning. The book was, however written in London, therefore its language is English.

Stuttgart 2009

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I. Introduction

In his famous book on *Truth and Method* (1960) Hans-Georg Gadamer reports a big shift in historiography: the scientification born in 19th-century poetics. This scientification is not only said to have introduced logic and the natural sciences but also to have colonised the humanities under the flag of objectivity. According to Gadamer, one person is especially to blame for this colonisation and he directly attacks him: Wilhelm Dilthey, Gadamer writes, against his own better knowledge, subordinated his poetics to the ideal of the natural sciences. Although Dilthey himself never forgot the romantic idea of ‘spirit’ (“Geist”) and, in his letters to Wilhelm Scherer, practised ways of scholarship which Gadamer esteems, Dilthey was blinded by the ideas of logical conclusion, of ‘induction’ and objectivity.¹ As a consequence, Gadamer argues, Dilthey neglected the core ideas of the humanities: ‘individual tact’ (“individuelle[n] Takt”), ‘culture of the soul’ (“seelische Kultur”), authority and tradition.²

Indeed, in his early writings on poetics Dilthey announced his aim to rebuild the humanities on the basis of empiricism and psychology.³ But in contrast to what Gadamer asserts, Dilthey’s goal was not to extinguish individuality. On the contrary, Dilthey hoped to be able to prove it. For this reason the poet, his experience, his fantasy, in short everything that distinguishes his extraordinary personality, nature and talent from non-creative people, became Dilthey’s field of study. Through the study of the poet’s experience Dilthey sought to find a ‘systematic poetics’ – a poetics that shows the laws of individuality and therefore serves as the ‘logic’ or the ‘general science’ (“allgemeine Wissenschaft”) of the humanities.⁴

Gadamer is also wrong in a second aspect. He accuses the 19th century alone and especially Dilthey of having established the reign of the natural sciences in the humanities. History proves to be more complicated: the ‘scientification’ of poetics can be traced back (at least) to

1 Hans-Georg Gadamer: *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*. Tübingen: Mohr 1960, p. 12.

2 Ibid., p. 13.

3 Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller: Dilthey gegen Scherer: Geistesgeschichte contra Positivismus. Zur Revision eines wissenschaftshistorischen Stereotyps. In: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 74 (2000) 4, pp. 685–709.

4 Wilhelm Dilthey: *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters: Bausteine für eine Poetik*. In: *Philosophische Aufsätze*, ed. by W.D. Altenburg: Pierer, 1887, p. 107.

Christian Wolff's rational psychology (1727)⁵ and to Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's reflections on aesthetics as a discipline (*Aesthetica*, 1750/1758). Wolff and Baumgarten focused on one question: how to judge emotions? While Wolff dedicated his psychology to the examination of cognition, Baumgarten grounded a new doctrine on Wolff's system: according to Baumgarten 'sensitive cognition' ("cognitio sensitiva") is analogous to reasonable judgement.⁶ Matters of taste and imagination in turn become the touchstones of aesthetics as well as of the philosophy of cognition and judgement – a development with a long afterlife in 19th-century poetics and aesthetics until Dilthey.

Taking this complex constellation into account I will show how complicated the late 18th-, 19th- and early 20th-century history of poetics is, thereby building on the increasing research interest in aesthetics and poetics. The last seven years have seen the publication of various large-scale 500- to 700-page anthologies on aesthetics of all kinds. To name only a few of them: *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics* (2001, ²2005) aims at a comprehensive overview which includes histories of aesthetics, the individual arts as well as current issues.⁷ In contrast to

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- 5 The book is known as 'German Metaphysics' but published under the title: *Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt*. Christian Wolff. Frankfurt: Andreä & Hort, 1727; see Matthew Bell: *The German Tradition of Psychology in Literature and Thought, 1700–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press 2005, pp. 22 f; Jean-François Goubet and Oliver-Pierre Rudolph (eds.): *Die Psychologie Christian Wolffs: Systematische und historische Untersuchungen*. Tübingen 2004 (Studien zur Europäischen Aufklärung 22).
 - 6 Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten: *Aesthetica*. Repr. ed. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970. (Frankfurt a. d. Oder 1750). Baumgarten was not the only one to formulate such an attempt. His disciple Georg Friedrich Meier developed a similar theory. See Meier's aesthetic chief work "Die Anfangsgründe aller schönen Wissenschaften und Künste" (3 parts, Halle 1748–50. Reprint of the 2nd ed. 1754 at Hildesheim/New York: Olms 1976), in which he summarizes his aesthetic views. Cf. also "Frühe Schriften zur ästhetischen Erziehung der Deutschen" (3 parts), ed. by Hans-Joachim Kertscher and Günter Schenk. Halle Saale: Hallescher Verlag 1999–2002. Cf. also Jean-François Goubet and Gérard Raulet (eds.): *Aux sources de l'esthétique: Les débuts de l'esthétique philosophique en Allemagne*. Paris 2005. (Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme 2005; Collection Philia); Stefanie Buchenau and Élisabeth Décultot (eds.): *Esthétiques de l'Aufklärung: Akten des Kolloquiums 'Esthétiques de l'Aufklärung (1720–1780)'*. In: *Revue Germanique Internationale* 4 (2006).
 - 7 Berys Gaut and Dominic McIver Lopes (eds.): *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*. 2nd ed. London, New York: Routledge 2005 (1st ed. 2001).

this, *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics* (2003) identifies general and specific issues with a focus on the method of aesthetical study.⁸ Last but not least, Blackwell publishers present a double-sided account of aesthetics: the anthology *Continental Aesthetics* (2001)⁹ followed by the companion *Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art. The Analytic Tradition* (2004).¹⁰ Both studies give the impression that a geographical line could be drawn between two entirely different traditions of aesthetics, one aiming at metaphysics and hermeneutics ('the Continental tradition'), the other at the analysis of art and its perception ('the Anglo-American tradition'). This impression is misleading, not only historically but also systematically.¹¹ 19th- and 20th-century aesthetics has been both analytical and hermeneutical or metaphysical, regardless of the country of origin.

This book is, in part, written against general assumptions about 'the tradition of aesthetics' and broad geographical denominations; rather, it aims to show how little we know about aesthetics, starting with the sub-field of aesthetics that is poetics. Not only key developments of poetics will be examined but also its results as well as its unresolved problems. Some of them appertain to the development of the 19th-century national philologies.¹² These national philologies still participated in the reflections on poetry that had already been developed in the light of a European 'res publica litteraria'. Yet national philologies also tended towards specific national canons of literature and towards a more or less specific national poetics. In this volume I will deal with the history of German poetics and ascertain whether or not this 'national' poetic thought shared at least some systematic knowledge about poetry as well as about its production and perception with other national or even local

8 Jerrold Levinson (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press 2003.

9 Richard Kearney and David Rasmussen (eds.): *Continental Aesthetics: Romanticism and Postmodernism. An Anthology*. Cambridge: Blackwell 2001. See also the smaller but more focused volume by J.M. Bernstein (ed.): *Classic and Romantic German Aesthetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press 2003.

10 Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugham Olsen (eds.): *Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art: The Analytic Tradition*. Cambridge: Blackwell 2004.

11 On this problem see the helpful review of 'Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art' by Roger Pouivet. In: *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 45 (2005) 1, pp. 88–94.

12 See the contributions in Frank Fürbeth, Pierre Krügel, Ernst E. Metzner and Olaf Müller (eds.): *Zur Geschichte und Problematik der Nationalphilologien in Europa: 150 Jahre Erste Germanistenversammlung in Frankfurt am Main (1846–1996)*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1999.

traditions of poetological thinking.¹³ For that purpose, I will firstly ask how to explain poetics (chapter 1). Secondly, a few words will be said on its periodisation (chapter 2). Thirdly, a brief remark on method will stress my particular aim (chapter 3).

13 Studies on comparative poetics are rare – even more so if the transfer of knowledge is called into question. More or less inspired by a comparative approach are Georges Saintsbury: *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe: From the Earliest to the Present Day*. Edinburgh, London: Blackwood 1961. (3 vols.); René Wellek: *A History of Modern Criticism: 1750–1950*. New Haven, London: Yale Univ. Press 1950 sq. (4 vols.); Jean Bessière, Eva Kushner, Roland Mortier and Jean Weisgerber (eds.): *Histoire des poétiques*. Paris: PUF 1997; Lubomír Doležel: *Occidental poetics: Tradition and progress*. Lincoln, Nebraska [et al.]: Univ. of Nebraska Press 1990.

1. Poetics as Field of Knowledge

In the middle ages, scholars studied the ‘ars poetica’ in the rhetoric-course of the ‘trivium’.¹ Until late in the 18th century ‘ars poetica’ comprised the examination and practice of poetry, of texts in verse (‘oratio ligata’)² and of texts which may also benefit from a certain liberty of invention and presentation (‘licentia poetica’) and which need not necessarily persuade but may instead educate and delight people (‘prodesse et delectare’).³ Therefore, not only metrics and versification but also general questions about the poet, his topics and his audience were part of the ‘ars poetica’. These questions did not vanish in 19th- and early 20th-century poetics and continue to play a role in current literary schol-

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- 1 On the early history of poetics Heinrich F. Plett (ed.): *Renaissance Poetics*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1994; Barbara Bauer: *Jesuitische ‘ars rhetorica’ im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*. Frankfurt a. M.: Lang 1986; Volkhard Wels: *Der Begriff der Dichtung vor und nach der Reformation*. In: *Fragmenta Melanchthoniana 3: Melanchthons Wirkung in der europäischen Bildungsgeschichte*, ed. by Günter Frank and Sebastian Lalla. Heidelberg: Winter 2007, pp. 81–104; Jörg Robert: *Methode – System – Enzyklopädie: Transformationen des Wissens und Strukturwandel der Poetik im 16. Jahrhundert*. In: *Maske und Mosaik: Poetik, Sprache, Wissen im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller and Jörg Robert. Berlin, Münster i. W.: Lit. 2007; Ingo Stöckmann: *Vor der Literatur: eine Evolutionstheorie der Poetik Alteuropas*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2001. (Communicatio 28); Stefanie Stockhorst: *Reformpoetik: Kodifizierte Genustheorie des Barock und alternative Normenbildung in poetologischen Paratexten*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2008. (Frühe Neuzeit 128).
 - 2 Ludwig Fischer: *Gebundene Rede: Dichtung und Rhetorik in der literarischen Theorie des Barock in Deutschland*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1968. (Studien zur deutschen Literatur 10).
 - 3 On 17th- and 18th-century poetics Ingo Stöckmann: *Vor der Literatur: Eine Evolutionstheorie der Poetik Alteuropas* (fn. 15); Jörg Wesche: *Literarische Diversität: Abweichungen, Lizenzen und Spielräume in der deutschen Poesie und Poetik der Barockzeit*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2004. (Studien zur deutschen Literatur 173); Dietmar Till: *Transformationen der Rhetorik: Untersuchungen zum Wandel der Rhetoriktheorie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2004; Volkhard Wels: *Der Begriff der Dichtung vor und nach der Reformation*. In: *Fragmenta Melanchthoniana*, vol. 3: *Melanchthons Wirkung in der europäischen Bildungsgeschichte*, ed. by Günter Frank and Sebastian Lalla. Heidelberg: Winter 2007, pp. 81–104.

arship. The following list of questions on, and topics of, poetics depicts this fictive entity of tacit or active poetological knowledge spread throughout poetological texts in various times and places. This list is meant as an addition to Heinrich Lausberg's systematic account of rhetoric.⁴ Although no poetological text will include every component named, the synchronised and fictive framework of questions and topics might be of some use to the historical as well as the systematic study of poetics. The fictive framework functions as tacit knowledge which can be activated should it be required.⁵ With the help of this list a study on the history of poetics will provide information on different historical stages in the development of poetics:

0. Context

- 0.1 Writer
 - 0.1.1 Reason for writing a poetological work
 - 0.1.2 Tradition/influenced by
 - 0.1.3 Adversaries
- 0.2 The poetological text
 - 0.2.1 Main idea
 - 0.2.2 Non-literary and literary fields of knowledge (which the text refers to)
- 0.3 Comparative poetics: other nations and literatures
- 0.4 Knowledge Claim
 - 0.4.1 Normative/descriptive
 - 0.4.2 Systematical/historical
 - 0.4.3 Essentialist/pragmatic

1. Production

- 1.1 Concept of the poet: poeta vates, poeta doctus, versificator, genius, poeta magus, the calculating poet
- 1.2 Act and process of production
 - 1.2.1 Erotics: courtship
 - 1.2.2 Enthusiasm
 - 1.2.3 Mania: kiss of the muses
 - 1.2.4 Furor poeticus/"Dichtungstrieb"
 - 1.2.5 Imagination
 - 1.2.6 Fantasy
 - 1.2.7 Temper/Character
 - 1.2.8 Taste/Goût/Geschmack

4 Heinrich Lausberg: *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*. Munich: Hueber 1960.

5 A similar approach is to be found in Katrin Kohl: *Poetologische Metaphern: Formen und Funktionen in der deutschen Literatur*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2007.

- 1.3 Concept of poetry (in relation to the arts, regarding the evolution of poetry, in contrast to myth, theology, philosophy, rhetoric, dialectics, ut pictura poesis, beauty and ugliness, humour, satire)
 - 1.3.1 Inventio: perception and apperception, materiae
 - 1.3.2 Dispositio: ordo naturalis vs. ordo artificialis, amplificatio
 - 1.3.3 Mimesis
 - 1.3.4 Sublime
 - 1.3.5 Nature and art, ars and techné
 - 1.3.6 Lexis/elocutio: virtutes elocutionis (aptum/decorum, puritas, perspicuitas)
2. Text/textual structure
 - 2.1 Genre/style:
 - 2.1.1 Genus humile/subtile
 - 2.1.2 Genus medium/mixtum
 - 2.1.3 Genus grande/sublime
 - 2.1.4 Personal style
 - 2.1.5 Genre (and the evolution of genre)
 - 2.2 Partes orationis (textus):
 - 2.2.1 Exordium
 - 2.2.2 Narratio
 - 2.2.3 Argumentatio (partitio/divisio, probationes)
 - 2.2.4 Peroratio (enumeratio, affectus)
 - 2.3 Metre
 - 2.4 Rhythm
 - 2.5 Verseform
 - 2.6 Rhyme
 - 2.7 Topoi/loci
 - 2.8 Ornatus: ornatus in verbis singulis (antiquitas, fictio, tropos), ornatus in verbis coniunctis (figurae verborum, figurae sententiae), compositio
 - 2.9 Simplex et unum: 'unity of the work'
3. Performance and Presentation
 - 3.1 Media
 - 3.2 Memoria
 - 3.3 Pronuntiatio/actio
 - 3.4 Mimic art
4. Reception
 - 4.1 Concept of the Audience/the Reader (national/international)
 - 4.1.1 Reader
 - 4.1.2 Historical audience and market
 - 4.1.3 Influence on the reader
 - 4.2 Officia oratoris (poetae): probare/docere, delectare, movere
 - 4.3 Aims of presentation
 - 4.3.1 Catharsis
 - 4.3.2 Pathos, compassion, sympathy/antipathy
 - 4.3.3 Ethos
 - 4.3.4 Persuasio
 - 4.4 Judgement, evaluation

In the period in question here, poetics explores its boundaries in a way that is still inspiring from today's perspective.⁶ Poetics participates in a variety of scholarly processes, influences these processes and stresses some questions or keywords accordingly. It is necessary to highlight just five of these processes: firstly, around 1830, history of literature establishes itself as its own genre – be it for the public or for the purposes of national philology.⁷ Histories of literature deal in great length and detail with writers, literary texts and their historical backgrounds. In contrast to the history of literature, poetics focuses on the core aspects and problems of literature in general. For that reason, the early Dilthey understands poetics as a theory or as 'the logic' of the humanities – a logic that does not necessarily care for historical 'incidentals'.⁸ As a consequence, poetics is not executed in one specific discipline; poetics turns into a field of study which occupies literary historians or scientists and philosophers, as well as classical philologists.

This ahistorical understanding of poetics shapes the whole corpus of poetics to different extents: poetics becomes detached from literary history but complements it as well. Even Oskar Ludwig Bernhard Wolff (1799–1851), professor at Jena University, in his popular historical anthology *Poetischer Hausschatz des deutschen Volkes* (1839, thirty-one edi-

6 Cf. Louis Armand (ed.): *Contemporary Poetics: Redefining the Boundaries of Contemporary Poetics in Theory and Practice, for the Twenty-First Century*. Northwestern Univ. Press 2007.

7 Michael S. Batts: *A History of Histories of German Literature 1835–1914*. Montreal [et al.]: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1993; Michael Schlott (ed.): *Wirkungen und Wertungen: Adolph Freiherr Knigge im Urteil der Nachwelt (1796–1994). Eine Dokumentensammlung*. In collab. with Carsten Behle. Göttingen: Wallstein 1998. (Das Knigge-Archiv 1); Michael Ansel: *G.G. Gervinus' Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen: Nationbildung auf literaturgeschichtlicher Grundlage*. Frankfurt a. M. [et al.]: Lang 1990. (Münchener Studien zur literarischen Kultur in Deutschland 10); Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller: *Nationalphilologie und 'Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte' zwischen 1890 und 1910: Eine Fallstudie zur Konzeption der Wissenschaftshistoriographie der Germanistik*. In: *Stil, Schule, Disziplin. Analyse und Erprobung von Konzepten wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Rekonstruktion (I)*, ed. by Lutz Danneberg, Wolfgang Höppner and Ralf Klausnitzer. Frankfurt a. M. [et al.]: Lang 2005, pp. 335–361.

8 This understanding has its forerunners. Already in 1871, Heymann Steinthal describes rhetorics, poetics and metrics as the 'rational foundation' ("rationale Grundlage") for literary history; Heymann Steinthal: *Einleitung in die Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Dümmler 1881, p. 35. (1st ed. 1871).

tions until 1901) includes an introduction to poetics.⁹ This introduction consists of several contemporary notions on poetry – from Kant’s *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Hegel’s and Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger’s aesthetics, as well as from August Wilhelm Schlegel, but it does not refer to the history of the *Hausschatz* as a whole.¹⁰ Poetics and literary history are presented in parallel, not in common. The same is true for G. A. Zimmermann’s *Handbuch der Deutschen Literatur Europa’s und Amerika’s* (1876). It contains a long and separate third part on verse poetics, rhetoric and style.¹¹

A similar double development of differentiation and complementation applies, secondly, for rhetoric or eloquence. Although poetics consists of rhetorical assumptions, the study of rhetoric becomes more and more a subject for specialised treatises. In short: 19th-century poetics participates in the general tendency of a ‘de-rhetoricisation’ that had already begun in the late 17th century.¹² This separation of rhetoric and poetics has different consequences: it can mean the simple exclusion of poetics from rhetoric or vice versa. This exclusion of poetics can be illustrated with the example of Christian Friedrich Koch’s *Deutsche Grammatik* (1848, six editions until 1875) and his *Figuren und Tropen, Grundzüge der Metrik und Poetik* (1860, four editions until 1880). In the first edition of the *Deutsche Grammatik* Koch distinguishes between grammar, rhetoric and metric; from the second to the fourth editions he

9 The 32nd edition does not contain the poetic chapter any longer. The reason for this change might be that the 31st edition is renewed not by Wolff himself; see Wolff’s *Poetischer Hausschatz des Deutschen Volkes*. Entirely renewed by Heinrich Fränkel, with an introduction by Wilhelm Münch, 31st ed. Leipzig: Wiegand, 1866.

10 See Oskar Ludwig Bernhard Wolff: *Poetischer Hausschatz des deutschen Volks: Ein Buch für Schule und Haus*. 21st ed. Leipzig: Wiegand 1863, pp. 61–69. Wolff trusts on phantasy in order to explain the concepts of poetry and poetics; *ibid.*, p. 61: “Poesie ist das freie Spiel der schöpferischen Phantasie und des Gemüthes in allgemeinsten Bedeutung, ohne bestimmt ausgesprochenen Zweck, [...]”/ ‘Poetry is the free play of creative phantasy and mind in the most general sense, without any distinctively named purpose.’

11 G.A. Zimmermann: *Handbuch der Deutschen Literatur Europa’s und Amerika’s: Dritter Theil, enthaltend einen Abriss der Literatur-Geschichte, Verslehre, Poetik, Rhetorik und Stilistik nebst Zugaben verwandten Inhalts. Ein Lese- und Hülfsbuch für den Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache*. Chicago: Enderis 1876.

12 Dietmar Till: *Poetik a.d. Grundlagen: ‘Rhetorisierte’ Poetik*. In: *Rhetorik. Begriff – Geschichte – Internationalität*, ed. by Gert Ueding. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2005, pp. 143–151, p. 144.

combines these areas whilst in the fifth and sixth editions his posthumous editor Eugen Wilhelm differentiates the fields again. Different patterns of this exclusion can be shown: rhetoric vanishes or dissolves into the areas of style and metric as in Karl Borinski's popular *Deutsche Poetik* (1895).¹³ In turn, literature becomes an autonomous art that is separated from rhetorical purposes such as the persuasion of a public. Nevertheless, rhetorical knowledge implicitly structures poetics. For instance, rhetoric is kept alive in Wilhelm Scherer's posthumously published oeuvre. The thorough and witty founding father of a whole philological school refers not only to the rhetorical order of speech, but also to the fact that rhetoric has provided a framework for poetics – a framework that can still be adopted and modified in current poetics. In stating this, Scherer explicitly contradicts 19th-century common sense: that rhetoric, style and poetics could be seen as separate fields of knowledge.¹⁴

This separation is further developed through the history and philosophy of language. History and philosophy of language transform the relations between rhetoric, language and poetry as well as the methods used to examine them. Following the examples of Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the philosopher of language Heymann Steinthal (1823–1899), Karl Heinrich Ludwig Pölitz (1772–1838), professor of the 'Staatswissenschaften' (natural law, international law, cameralism) in Leipzig and author of several books which from today's perspective fall under the heading of 'cultural history', published a four-volume book on *Das Gesamtgebiet der deutschen Sprache* (1825).¹⁵ He not only

13 On style see also Hans-Harald Müller: *Stil-Übungen: Wissenschaftshistorische Anmerkungen zu einem (vor-) wissenschaftlichen Problem*. In: *Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik von 1960 bis heute*, ed. by Ulrike Haß and Christoph König. Göttingen: Wallstein 2003, pp. 235–243.

14 Wilhelm Scherer: *Poetik* [1888]: *Mit einer Einleitung und Materialien zur Rezeptionsanalyse*, ed. by Gunter Reiss. Tübingen: Niemeyer (dtv) 1977, p. 27: "Diese gesamte Kunst der Rede ist in dem traditionellen Titel ‚Rhetorik, Poetik[,] Stilistik‘ enthalten. Aber dieser deutet hin auf ein Fachwerk [the reference is Wilhelm Wackernagel 1836], welches auf der Vereinzelung der Disciplinen beruht. Wir constatirten dagegen, daß sich die Forderung gerade nach einer umfassenden Betrachtung der Kunst der Rede ergibt." / 'This whole art of rhetoric is included in the traditional title ‚rhetoric, poetics, style‘. Yet this title alludes to a professional work which relies on the isolation of disciplines. In contrast, we state that a claim for a comprehensive observation of the art of rhetoric follows [from the isolation described].'

15 Among his countless works is also an *Aesthetik für gebildete Leser* (1806).

examines the history of the German language but also its genres: eloquence, prose, and poetry. The only connection that remains between these three is language; furthermore, poetry is envisaged as an autonomous art governed by its own principles.¹⁶ Persuasion, the classical rhetoric purpose, is omitted.¹⁷

Yet conflicting tendencies should be mentioned.¹⁸ Adolf Calmberg (1885–1915), a writer as well as a teacher of the German language and literature (Zurich), adheres to rhetorical descriptions. According to Calmberg, poetry is still to be described as a special kind of speech –

16 Karl Heinrich Ludwig Pölit: *Das Gesamtgebiet der deutschen Sprache, nach Prosa, Dichtkunst und Beredsamkeit theoretisch und practisch dargestellt*. Vol. 3: *Sprache der Dichtkunst*. Leipzig: Hinrich 1825, p. 4: “Wenn der eigenthümliche Charakter der Prosa auf der Darstellung der unmittelbaren Zustände des menschlichen Vorstellungsvermögen, und der eigenthümliche Charakter der Beredsamkeit auf der Darstellung der einzelnen Zustände des menschlichen Bestrebungsvermögens vermittelt der Sprache beruht; so beruht der eigenthümliche Charakter der Sprache der Dichtkunst auf der Darstellung der individuellen Gefühle vermittelt der Sprache, unter der Bedingung der Idealisierung dieser Gefühle durch die Selbstthätigkeit der Einbildungskraft.”/ ‘If the distinctive character of prose relies on the depiction of immediate states of the human faculty of impression and the distinctive character of rhetoric relies on the depiction of isolated states of the human faculty of thriving through language, then the distinctive character of the language of poetry relies on the depiction of individual sentiments through language on the condition of the idealisation of these sentiments through self-actuating imagination.’ See also Karl Tumlriz: *Poetik*. 1st part: *Die Sprache der Dichtkunst: Die Lehre von den Tropen und Figuren* [...]. 1st ed. Prague: dominicus 1881; 3rd ed. Prague: dominicus 1892; 4th ed. Leipzig: Freytag 1902; 5th augm. ed. Vienna: Temp-sky, Leipzig: Freytag 1907.

17 This way of dealing with poetry fits well into Pölit’s work which can be characterised as Kantian and oriented towards progress; Jochen Johannsen: *Heeren versus Pölit: Herders ‘Ideen’ im Streit zwischen empirischer und philosophischer Geschichte*. In: *Vom Selbstdenken: Aufklärung und Aufklärungskritik in Herders ‘Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit’*. Contributions to the Conference of the International Herder Society, ed by Regine Otto and John H. Zammito. Heidelberg: Winter 2001, pp. 199–213.

18 Again, it needs to be said that further research is required. In his case, it would be helpful to examine a considerable amount of 19th-century rhetorical treatises and to find out about their attention to the field of poetics. Advice can be found in Dieter Breuer and Günther Kopsch: *Rhetoriklehrbücher des 16. bis 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Bibliographie*. In: *Rhetorik*, ed. by Helmut Schanze. Frankfurt a. M.: Athenannaion 1974, pp. 217–355.

as ‘poetic speech’ (“poetische Rede”).¹⁹ The public seems to have esteemed his traditional approach as his *Kunst der Rede* was often reprinted (1881, ²1885, ³1891). Nevertheless, Calmberg also reduces the overlap of rhetoric and poetics to the very general ideas of speech: to the steps of the rhetor (inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio) and the style (aptum/decorum). The purposes of poetry can differ from those of rhetoric when it comes to genres like entertainment poetry, and, in contrast to the rhetor, the poet is allowed to make extensive use of his ‘licentia poetica’ in order to write beautifully.²⁰

Thirdly, problems of presentation and some questions of production become incorporated into the study of style.²¹ Already in the early 18th century, in the works of Christian Thomasius, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and others, the anthropological preconditions of good or even genial writing are a matter of interest.²² Following on from the works of Friedrich August Wolf and Friedrich Schleiermacher, scholars focus on personal style.²³ Although poetics adopts these ideas, treatises on style and on poetics form different corpora that overlap only to a limited extent. This is the case for instance in Wilhelm Wackernagel’s lectures on *Poetik, Rhetorik und Stilistik* (1836) which indicate in their title both a combination, and a separation, of the fields in question.

19 Adolf Calmberg: *Die Kunst der Rede: Lehrbuch der Rhetorik, Stilistik, Poetik*. Leipzig, Zurich: Orell Füssli & Co. 1884, p. VIII.

20 Ibid., § 66, pp. 216 f.

21 There is a lack of research concerning this development. Neither a date nor the main texts of this tendency can be named; cf. Lutz Danneberg, Wolfgang Höppner and Ralf Klausnitzer (eds.): *Stil, Schule, Disziplin: Analyse und Erprobung von Konzepten wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Rekonstruktion* (I). Frankfurt a. M. [et al]: Peter Lang Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften 2005.

22 Till: *Poetik a.d. Grundlagen* (fn. 12).

23 Wolf’s stress lies on ‘the own productive talent’ (“eigenes produktives Talent”), Friedrich August Wolf: *Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaft nach Begriff, Umfang, Zweck und Wert* [Museum der Alterthums-Wissenschaft, 1807]. Berlin: Akad.-Verlag 1985. (Dokumente der Wissenschaftsgeschichte), p. 5; Müller: *Stil-Übungen* (fn. 27), pp. 237 f; see also Gerrit Walther: *Friedrich August Wolf und die Hallenser Philologie – ein aufklärerisches Phänomen?* In: *Universitäten und Aufklärung*, ed. by Notker Hammerstein. Göttingen: Wallstein 1995. (Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert; Suppl. 3), pp. 125–136. On Schleiermacher and the prehistory of his thoughts on style Denis Thouard: *Dalla grammatica allo stile: Schleiermacher e Adelung. Riflessioni sull’individuazione nel linguaggio*. In: *Lingue e Stile* 3 (1994), pp. 373–391.

Things are different, fourthly, with the relation of poetics to criticism.²⁴ Whereas late 18th-century popular philosophy, to a large extent, derives its scope, concepts, inspirations and questions from current criticism, this marriage dissolves in the 19th century. Only few poetics attribute some poetological relevance to criticism: Rudolf Gottschall (1823–1909) being a journalist himself admits that writing reviews influences his poetics. Scherer critically examines the impact of criticism on the production and reception of literature. Ambitious poetics around 1900 tends to disregard criticism, and late in the 1950s the author Joachim Maass raises his voice against stupid and subjective judgements made by badly informed journalists.

These processes of differentiation, complementation and critical discussion are accompanied by new alliances: Fifthly, from the 18th century on, poetics and the newly emerging philosophical discipline of aesthetics have been difficult to divide.²⁵ Although the term aesthetics, established

24 Herbert Jaumann: *Critica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Literaturkritik zwischen Quintilian und Thomasius*. Leiden [et al.]: Brill 1995. (Brill's studies in intellectual history 62); Steffen Martus: *Werkpolitik: Zu Literaturgeschichte kritischer Kommunikation vom 17. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, mit Studien zu Klopstock, Tieck, Goethe und George. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2007.

25 A study on the history of aesthetics in the 19th and 20th centuries is itself a great desideratum. Although some older volumes offer helpful insights they neither meet current standards nor do they aim at integrating all the developments. See Robert Zimmermann: *Ästhetik. Erster, historisch-kritischer Teil: Geschichte der Ästhetik als philosophischer Wissenschaft*. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller 1858; Max Schasler: *Ästhetik: Grundzüge der Wissenschaft des Schönen und der Kunst*. Leipzig: Freytag 1886; Hermann Lotze: *Geschichte der Ästhetik in Deutschland*. Munich: Cotta 1868; Bernard Bosanquet: *A History of Aesthetics*. London: Swan Sonnenschein 1898. (2nd ed. Allen & Unwin 1922). Amongst current approaches, Manfred Frank: *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik: Vorlesungen*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1989; Andrew Bowie gives an inspiring insight into the ambivalence of the concept of 'subjectivity' in the principal aesthetic sources from Kant to Nietzsche. See Andrew Bowie: *Aesthetics and Subjectivity: From Kant to Nietzsche*. Manchester, New York: Manchester Univ. Press 1990. Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert introduces into some of the 'big texts'; see A.G.-S.: *Einführung in die Ästhetik*. Munich: Fink 1995. The most helpful works contributing to a general history of aesthetics are the following: Michael Titzmann: *Strukturwandel der philosophischen Ästhetik: Der Symbolbegriff als Paradigma*. Munich: Fink 1978; Georg Jäger: *Das Gattungsproblem in der Ästhetik und Poetik von 1780 bis 1850*. In: *Zur Literatur der Restaurationsepoche*, ed by Jost Hermand and Manfred Windfuhr. Stuttgart: Metzler 1970, pp. 371–404; Carsten Zelle: *Die doppelte Äs-*

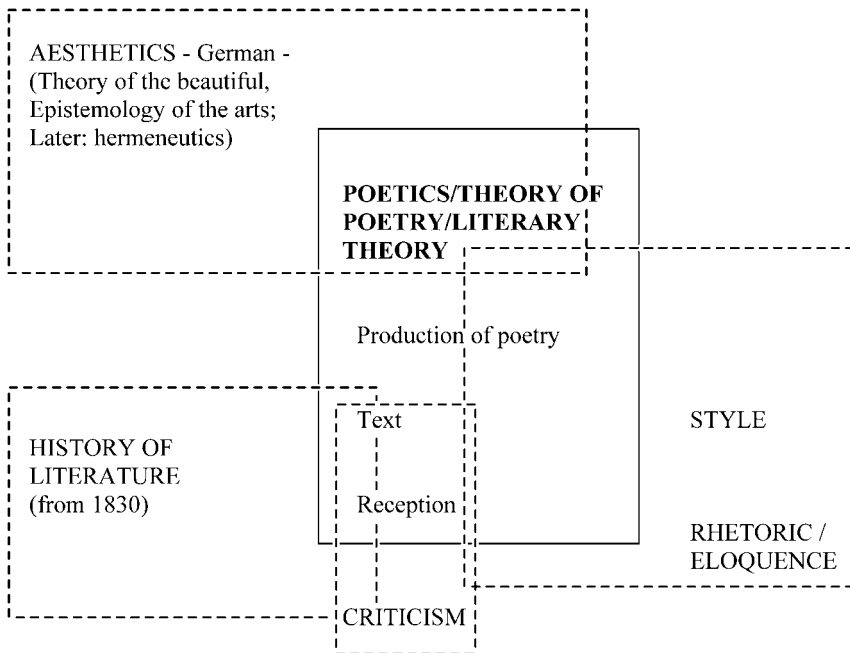
by Baumgarten, refers to theories of the beautiful and the epistemology of the arts, books on aesthetics published before 1890 usually include a section on poetics. Friedrich Theodor Vischer's six-volume *Aesthetik* for example, dedicates a whole volume to poetics. Also, popular aesthetics such as the often re-edited volume on poetics by the poet Carl Lemcke (1831–1913), co-founder of the poets' circle 'Das Krokodil', professor and director of the Stuttgart gallery, discuss poetry in large chapters.²⁶ Treatises on poetics, vice versa, often not only refer to aesthetic premises but also introduce aesthetic ideas – like Dilthey's *Einbildungskraft des Dichters* (1887). Nevertheless, the close relationship between aesthetics and poetics dissolves around 1890. On the one hand, aesthetic treatises move away from more specific theories of the arts. Being inspired by empirical aesthetics and aiming at original approaches, they often focus on one specific aesthetical issue such as the essence of art,²⁷ the more or less psychological theory of artistic creation,²⁸ the examination of aesthetical attractions, emotions and conceptions,²⁹ the differences between mere aesthetical effects and the beautiful,³⁰ or the attempt to describe aesthetics as a 'science of values' ("Wertwissenschaft").³¹ Aesthetics like these refer to the arts from rather abstract perspectives, observing them only as examples to prove general theoretical arguments.³²

thetik der Moderne: Revisionen des Schönen von Boileau bis Nietzsche. Stuttgart: Metzler 1995.

- 26 See Carl Lemcke: *Populäre Aesthetik. Mit Illustrationen.* Leipzig: Seemann 1865 (2nd ed. 1844; 3rd ed. 1870, 4th ed. 1873, 5th ed. 1879, 6th ed. 1890). Lemcke is in favour of a rather classical poetics; e.g. he attacks the 17th-century poet Daniel Casper von Lohenstein for using too many tropes and figures and highlights the value of simple speech (Lemcke 1865, p. 515, 517).
- 27 Konrad Lange: *Das Wesen der Kunst: Grundzüge einer realistischen Kunstlehre.* Berlin: Grote 1901. (2 vols.)
- 28 Ernst Meumann: *System der Ästhetik.* 3rd ed. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer. 1919. (1st ed. 1914).
- 29 Theodor Ziehen: *Vorlesungen über Ästhetik.* 2 parts. Halle a. d. S.: Niemeyer 1925.
- 30 Karl Groos: *Einleitung in die Aesthetik.* Gießen: Ricker 1892.
- 31 Jonas Cohn: *Allgemeine Ästhetik.* Leipzig: Engelmann 1901.
- 32 See for instance the often reedited and popular work by Robert Pröbß that reduces aesthetics to a minimal amount of principles – and ends up merely stating common late 19th-century assumptions; Robert Pröbß: *Katechismus der Ästhetik: Belehrungen über die Wissenschaft vom Schönen und der Kunst.* Leipzig: Weber (1878; 2nd ed. 1889); reprinted with a less didactical title: *Ästhetik: Belehrungen über die Wissenschaft vom Schönen und der Kunst.* 3rd, augm. and corr. ed. Leipzig: Weber 1903. The same is true for Max Diez: *Allgemeine Äs-*

This is also true for the large debate on a general ‘art science’ in the 1910s.³³ On the other hand, only the widely known aesthetics which indicate new or old trends are quoted in poetics: Theodor Lipps’s *Grundlegung der Ästhetik* (1903) for instance, in which the principle of pleasure as a basis for aesthetical effects is – following on from the works of Kant and Gustav Theodor Fechner – again spelled out,³⁴ or Johannes Volkelt’s attempt to revitalise normative aesthetics.³⁵

These five developments are illustrated in the following figure, which represents a synchronal cross-section:



thetik. Leipzig: Göschen 1906. (Sammlung Göschen 300), a popular work that saw two new prints with Göschen publishers (1912, 1919) and a third one with the recognised scientific publishers Walter de Gruyter (Berlin 1922).

33 For an overview see Emil Utitz: *Grundlegung der allgemeinen Kunstwissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Enke 1914. (2 vols.)

34 On its history see the chapters on Kant and his successors as well as on Gustav Theodor Fechner.

35 Johannes Volkelt: *System der Ästhetik*. Munich: Beck 1905–1914. (3 vols.)

This figure raises the question of whether the field of poetics can be perceived as a separate entity and, if so, which features characterise it? I suggest the following working definition: An x is a type of poetics if

- (1) it deals with a considerable amount of the poetological topics illustrated by the list above.
- (2) it develops relations such as those described in the synchronal scheme.
- (3) it tends to a more or less systematic view of texts (in most cases, literary texts) which could be either normative or empirical.

In order to limit this study I focus on those poetological treatises that present poetological topics in the form of a monograph or a long chapter of an aesthetic treatise that is comparable to a monograph. I will therefore exclude poetological texts that focus either on history like Alexander Jung's well-informed *Vorlesungen über die moderne Literatur der Deutschen* (1842) or on particular aesthetic aspects, such as Karl Rosenkranz's *Ästhetik des Häßlichen* (1853). Contemporary historical overviews on poetics will only play a role if they contribute important insights to the historical discussion. I will consider a historically specific perspective in the next chapter.

2. Text Types and Periods

Academical Aesthetics and Poetics

In the 19th century, at least three text types of scholarly poetics developed. They illustrate the enormous attention that was paid to poetics by the reading and writing public:¹ firstly, an academically and aesthetically ambitious, more or less analytical poetics re-emerged shortly after popular philosophy (Johann Georg Sulzer, Johann August Eberhard, Johann Jacob Engel) and Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Judgement* (1790). Until now research has largely ignored the fact that Christian August Heinrich Clodius (1772–1836, professor of philosophy in Leipzig), in the year 1804, wanted to re-establish poetics as a systematic discipline. Although admiring Kant, Clodius returned to Baumgarten and rediscovered rational psychology as a principle guide to the study of poetics. It seems that this approach did not disappear during the time in which the philosophy of history with its historical speculations was predominant. On the contrary, it is astonishingly revitalised by the post-idealist philosopher Vischer. In the second book of his *Aesthetics* (1847/48) Vischer pleads vividly for a psychology of the poet. Scherer, who consequently announced an empirical and philological poetics, as well as Dilthey, profited from his work.

In the meantime, historical and genetic poetics (Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Justus Herwig, August Wilhelm Schlegel) as well as cosmological poetics developed (among Friedrich Wilhelm Josef Schelling's admirers). The speculative outcome of these tendencies seems

1 In his helpful article on poetics Dietmar Till describes this development as a 'marginalisation' of poetics. This is convincing if one limits the concept of poetics – as Till does – to normative poetics and examines its relation to rhetoric. However, already in the 18th century, this limitation does not cover the aims of the poetics treatises published. With regard to these publications we understand poetics as an analytical as well as normative discipline. Therefore, the development of poetics should not be described as marginalisation but as a differentiation that ended up in the dissolution of poetics into different areas of study – as Till to some extent envisages himself; D.T.: *Poetik a.d. Grundlagen: 'Rhetorisierte' Poetik*. In: *Rhetorik. Begriff – Geschichte – Internationalität*, ed. by Gert Ueding. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2005, pp. 143–151, p. 149.

to have inspired post-idealist poetics to embrace empirical studies. Rudolph Gottschall, for instance, derived his poetic theory from the close observation of literature. Shortly after his poetological treatise, Moriz Carriere published one of the first pre-empirical aesthetics which draws on Schelling. Empirical aesthetics and poetics emerged a few years later, culminating in the influential volumes of Gustav Theodor Fechner, Rudolph Hermann Lotze and Wilhelm Dilthey.

After Dilthey lost faith in his project to establish poetics as the logic of the humanities (around 1890), other tendencies toward scientific poetics took centre stage. They prove the richness of a discipline which had spread itself widely and become differentiated: some of the new poetics were oriented towards literary science (Ernst Elster) or literary theory (a concept which has only been used in a programmatic way since the 1920s),² or towards the study of 'Geist' (Dilthey, Emil Ermaninger, Oskar Walzel, Hermann Hefele), language (Theodor Alexander Meyer), ontology (Roman Ingarden), existentialism or anthropology (Theophil Spoerri, Johannes Pfeiffer, Emil Staiger); others were inspired by Goethe's morphology (Günther Müller). During the Nazi period these concepts were kept alive but infiltrated by Nazi thought. Nazi germanists aimed at 'scientific' groundings of literary science in blood and race, in combination with heroic ethics. After 1945, Nazi watchwords were deleted in most texts and many Nazi germanists lost their jobs but poetological thinking did not change much.

Although the title of 'poetics' was still prominent until the 1950s and covered the area of literary theory, treatises, from then on, began to introduce new keywords,³ for example 'Theorie der Dichtung' – a theory said to be still concerned with enlightening the 'fundamental

2 Ralf Klausnitzer: Koexistenz und Konkurrenz: Theoretische Umgangsformen mit Literatur im Widerstreit. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag 2007. (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 15–48, p. 15.

3 On these processes Fritz Martini: "Poetik". In: *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß*, 2nd rev. ed. by Wolfgang Stämmeler, Berlin: E. Schmidt 1952; Gerhard Storz: *Wendung zur Poetik: Ein Literaturbericht*. In: *Der Deutschunterricht* 2 (1952), pp. 68–83. – Storz himself had published a popular work on poetics a few years before in which he gave the word a very emotional meaning. By referring to threatening experiences during the war, the text focuses on the relevance of poetry and promises a 'poetics for lovers' in order to rescue poetry and poetics in a difficult time; Storz: *Gedanken über die Dichtung: Poetik für Liebhaber*. Frankfurt a. M.: Societäts-Verlag 1941.

concepts of poetics' ("Grundbegriffe der Poetik").⁴ Already in 1947 there were notions of a new type of text: 'Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft', in which several methodological approaches were presented in parallel.⁵

In 1951 the belief in the various different kinds of poetics was finally phased out (Max Wehrli). When the new generation of academics developed an interest in analytical or political approaches, poetics became 'literary theory' although it still focused on poetological topics.⁶ The reason for this development lay in a serious critique: poetics of the 1930s, 40s and 50s were judged as far too traditional and vague, written from a point of view that only adored poetry and was, in part, inspired by fascist aesthetic ideals. Literary theory claimed to rejuvenate the description of literature by introducing new analytical tools and methods such as social history. Yet literary theory forgot its own Nazi past: also in the 1930s and 1940s, scholars like Karl Justus Obenauer, Heinz Kindermann, Ludwig Büttner and Julius Petersen had critically observed the vagueness of poetics and proposed new approaches under the flag of 'literary theory' or 'literary science'. Especially Petersen's approach lives on in Wolfgang Kayser's and Max Wehrli's works. However, it is no won-

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- 4 See the double play by Hans Achim Ploetz: *Die Theorie der Dichtung: Ein Beitrag zur gegenwärtigen Poetik*. Inaug. PhD-thesis at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University Berlin. Berlin: Tritsch & Huther 1936, pp. 5 f, fn. 3: "Trotzdem besteht kein einleuchtender Grund, den Namen 'Poetik' gegen andere einzutauschen, solange diese neue Bezeichnungen nur Teilgebiete der Poetik umfassen oder weiteste Allgemeinheiten nennen, z.B. Poesieästhetik, theoretische Literaturlehre, Literaturästhetik, allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft." / 'Still, there is no reason to exchange the name 'poetics' against another name as long as the new denotations comprise only separate parts of poetics or mention only large generalities, e.g. aesthetics of poetry, theoretical literature teachings, literature aesthetics, general literary science.'
 - 5 Richard Newald: *Einführung in die deutsche Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*. Lahr: Schauenburg 1947; see Jörg Schöner: "Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft": Zur Geschichte eines Publikationstypus der letzten 50 Jahre. In: *Jahrbuch der ungarischen Germanistik* (2001), pp. 63–72. Until the 1980s and compared to English publications, introductions to literary theory had seemed to be a German peculiarity. Before Terry Eagleton (*Literary Theory. An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell 1983), there had been no textbook for English literary theory.
 - 6 Another prominent title of the 1960s was "philosophy of poetry" but this notion still marks a more traditional account; Gerd Wolandt: *Philosophie der Dichtung: Weltstellung Gegenständlichkeit des poetischen Gedankens*. Berlin: de Gruyter 1965.

der that some theoretical tendencies in the 1950s again claimed the title of poetics and tried to mould the genre in their own way: Prague Structuralism is one of the best-known movements that referred to core concepts of ancient aesthetics as well as to aspects of traditional poetics (e.g. 'elocutio');⁷ its general aim was to revitalise these concepts and approaches in an analytical way.⁸

School Poetics and Popular Poetics

Compared to these texts and developments, a second group of poetological texts in the 19th and early 20th centuries can be described: school poetics. The study of poetics in schools takes a different direction from the approach of scientific poetics and will therefore be excluded from this book in order to facilitate separate study.⁹ At the beginning of the 19th century, school poetics still refer back to aesthetics but in the course of the century, less scientifically oriented poetics become the rule. This development has to be seen in relation to the changing ideas about, and regulations of, the study of German in schools. Even though knowledge of poetics was always demanded in the curricula, the time allocated to its study was often limited. Towards the turn of the century, literary history starts to dominate German as a subject and even less time is spent on poetics. School poetics certainly reflect that: by the end of the century, they had usually shrunk to an appendix to literary histories or anthologies including prosody and metrics. These continued to be printed (and used) until the first quarter of the 20th century, after which their use in schools seems to have declined to the point where the study of poetics was undertaken only at universities.

A subtle judgement might also distinguish another group of poetics: popular poetics that mediate between scientific poetics and school poetics. Johannes Minckwitz (1843–1901) for instance expands his *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Verskunst oder Prosodie und Metrik* (1854) to a still limited and practical *Katechismus der Deutsche Poetik* (1868). The reverse de-

7 Matthias Aumüller: *Innere Form und Poetizität: Die Theorie Aleksandr Potebnjaj in ihrem begriffsgeschichtlichen Kontext*. Frankfurt a. M.: Lang 2005. (Slavische Literaturen 35); Till (fn. 1), p. 150.

8 Lubomir Doležel: *Occidental Poetics. Tradition and Progress*. Lincoln, NE et al.: Nebraska Univ. Press 1990.

9 An additional study on school poetics in the 19th and 20th centuries by Anja Zenk is currently in preparation.

velopment could be shown for Conrad Beyer's voluminous and scientific *Deutsche Poetik* (1882–83) which provides a comprehensive account of verse form unrivalled since its publication.¹⁰ It was not Beyer himself who was responsible for the shortened version; on the contrary, he protested energetically against this monstrous act and denied having given the 'imprimatur'.¹¹ Other cases prove to have been less difficult: some popular poetics, though theoretically not ambitious, focused on more than just schools. They decisively directed their interest towards an educated public: a systematic version of such a popular poetics was published by Werner Hahn (1816–1890), a private scholar who devoted himself to writing popular works on political history, the history of Christianity and on the history of German literature.¹² A more aphoristic and, in part trivial, artistic poetics was published by Tony Kellen (Anton Kellen, 1869–1948). He was trained as a journalist, published especially on the history of leading women and worked as a reporter for the *Essener Volkszeitung*.¹³ Yet all these poetic treatises participate in the general characteristics and tendencies of either scientific or school poetics. Therefore, they are not dealt with in a separate chapter.

Literary Poetics

Instead, a third corpus of poetological texts needs to be stressed. It is the large corpus of literature on literature: the letters and essays written by poets about their poetics ideas, semi-fictional works such as Solger's *Erwin. Vier Gespräche über das Schöne und die Kunst* (1815) as well as the so-called 'implied poetics', the poetics exemplified by a work of literature.¹⁴ Although literature is not only a melting pot of poetological top-

10 On Beyer Klaus Manger: Zum Todestag des Schriftstellers und Literaturhistorikers Conrad Beyer (1834–1906). In: Jahrbuch der Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt 2006, pp. 37–41.

11 See second chapter.

12 Werner Hahn: *Deutsche Poetik*. Berlin: Hertz 1879.

13 Tony Kellen: *Die Dichtkunst: Eine Einführung in das Wesen, die Formen und die Gattungen der schönen Literatur nebst zahlreichen Musterbeispielen*. Essen: Fredebeul & Koenen 1911. Kellen often refers to Hahn – a fact that underlines a continuity of this type of popular poetics.

14 There is a tendency in current research to call this corpus 'meta-poetic' but this term can be misleading. It suggests that poetological literature deals with poetological (also theoretical) texts on poetics from a meta-theoretical point of view – a suggestion which might be favoured by the underlying premise that literature

ics but also a self-reflexive method of poetological thinking, I have to exclude this enormous corpus here and limit myself to the study of poetics treatises.¹⁵ Those readers who are interested in the various interrelations of literature and poetics will find some interesting and relevant remarks in other books and articles emerging from the project in which this study had been prepared.¹⁶

The bibliography of German poetics (and selected aesthetics) forming the material basis of this study encompasses the period from 1770 to 1960. The wealth of literature in this field, which has not been collected and analysed in any systematic study before, is immense: approximately 235 first editions of poetics in the narrow sense, 60 first editions of aesthetics dealing with poetics and 40 first editions of poetological texts close to literary theory were found; including later editions the total runs to 1240. The ratio of scientific to school poetics stands at approximately 1:3. Although in some cases it is difficult to determine in which category to post an item, in general, questions of didactic intention and content were deciding factors. Issues of categorisation as well as cross-dissemination from one field to the other will be dealt with in detail in chapters of their own. Throughout the early 19th century, the publication of poetics was limited, with one or two versions or theories appearing a year. A steady increase in production from the middle of the century onwards is notable, even though this is partially due to new editions of earlier works being put on the market. A peak is reached in the year 1888. Only after the mid 1920s does production lessen again and peter out to a similar rate as a century earlier.¹⁷

is the one and only 'authentic' language in which to communicate; on this discussion, cf. Author: *Poetiken: Poetologische Lyrik, Poetik und Ästhetik von Novalis bis Rilke*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2004, ch. I.; see also Monika Schmitz Emans, Uwe Lindemann, Manfred Schmeling (eds.): *de Gruyter Lexikon Poetiken: Autoren – Texte – Begriffe*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2009.

- 15 Further information on special topics of poetics in literature can be obtained from Dieter Burdorf: *Poetik der Form. Eine Begriffs- und Problemgeschichte*. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2001; Simone Winko: *Gefühl, Affekt, Stimmung, Emotion: Kodierte Gefühle. Zu einer Poetik der Emotionen in lyrischen und poetologischen Texten um 1900*. Berlin: Schmidt 2003; Wolfgang Bunzel: *Das deutschsprachige Prosagedicht: Theorie und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung der Moderne*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2005.

- 16 See the preface of this book.

- 17 Literary theories after 1970 are collected and presented on the website of the Center for Literary Theory at the University of Göttingen: www.literatur-

3. Methodology

The aims of this book will be approached methodologically by applying questions and results from intellectual history,¹ historical epistemology,² history of science and science research on the study of poetics.³ My goal is to inform the reader about a field of knowledge that was favoured by several scholars, taught and developed in special institutions, presented in the media, in books on poetry and received by a variety of popular, literary and academic audiences.⁴ I want to enable the reader to see a

theorie.uni-goettingen/literaturtheorie/. Furthermore, the German Literary Archive aims at exploring the history of the discipline through its theories, especially those after 1950; see Marcel Lepper: *Wissenschaftsgeschichte als Theoriegeschichte*: In: *Geschichte der Germanistik: Mitteilungen* 29/30 (2006), pp. 33–39; M.L.: *Wissenschaftsgeschichte im Deutschen Literaturarchiv Marbach*. In: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistenverbandes* 1 (2006), pp. 110–121.

- 1 If we refer to intellectual history we wish to stress that we examine a field of scholarship which is part of larger systems of education and produces its own characteristic ideas. On current approaches in intellectual history see the following periodical publications: *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1940 ff); *Scientia Poetica* (1997 ff); *Modern Intellectual History* (2004 ff); *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte* (2007 f); *Intellectual History Review* (2007 f). Some current approaches are presented in Brian Young and Richard Whatmore (eds.): *Palgrave Advances in Intellectual History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2006; *Journal for the History of Ideas* 67 (2006) 1, Special Issue.
- 2 The reference to historical epistemology is designed to underline the fact that poetics has often been recognized as an important area within epistemology or an area which applies epistemological premises. On current approaches in historical epistemology see the website of the Forschungsstelle Historische Epistemologie und Hermeneutik: www2.hu-berlin.de/fheh/.
- 3 Poetics has often been inspired by other areas of science, even the natural sciences. Therefore, I wish to highlight that poetics is to be regarded as a part of the history of science itself. On the fruitful relations between history of science, science research and literary science see Jörg Schönert (ed.): *Literaturwissenschaft und Wissenschaftsforschung*. DFG-Symposion 1998. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2000. (Germanistische Symposien; Berichtsbände 21).
- 4 In doing so I owe a great debt to Klaus Weimar's standard work *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Paderborn: UTB 2003 (1st ed. 1989). Weimar already traced important lines of the development of a 'Literaturwissenschaft' that – in part – encompasses the study of

panorama of scholarly aesthetics and poetics, of its most important questions, tendencies, practices and ideas. This panorama will be focused on implicit and explicit theoretical premises. Therefore, the history of poetics indicated by the title of this volume is perhaps more accurately characterized as a 'history of the theoretical premises of poetics'.⁵ Often, these premises are also regarded as the 'method' of poetics. Still, methodology had only been invented through Dilthey's rediscovery of the 'hermeneutica artificialis', the reflection on method in his *Entstehung der Hermeneutik* (1900).⁶ If I use the notion of method it is, therefore, a retrospective construct which often only covers pre-methodological observations and statements.

Furthermore, the question ought to be raised of whether or not poetics came to an end when modern methodology began. The reason for this lies not only in the development of poetics but also in the development of hermeneutics after 1900: throughout the 19th century philological practice linked the 'hermeneutica docens', the teaching of reading and commenting on texts, only vaguely with the 'hermeneutica utens',

poetics. In contrast to Weimar I do not claim to write the history of 'Literaturwissenschaft' but to present a corpus of texts that influenced its development. Also helpful for such a purpose is Sigmund von Lempicki: *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen 1920.

- 5 To name only a few of the most important ones: August Boeckh: *Enzyklopädie und Methodenlehre der philologischen Wissenschaften*. Erster Hauptteil: *Formale Theorie der philologischen Wissenschaft* (1886), ed. by Ernst Bratuschek. Stuttgart: Teubner 1966; Julius Petersen: *Die Wissenschaft von der Dichtung: System und Methodenlehre der Literaturwissenschaft*. Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt 1939; Horst Oppel: *Die Literaturwissenschaft in der Gegenwart: Methodologie und Wissenschaftslehre*. Stuttgart: Metzler 1939; Viktor Žmegač (ed.): *Methoden der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft: Eine Dokumentation*. Frankfurt: Athenäum-Verlag 1971; Albert Klein, Florian Vassen and Jochen Vogt (eds.): *Methoden der Literaturwissenschaft*. Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann 1971/1972; Manon Maren-Grisebach: *Methoden der Literaturwissenschaft*. Tübingen/Munich: Francke 1970. See as well the 'meta-reflection' on method by Lutz Danneberg: *Methodologien: Struktur, Aufbau und Evaluation*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989.
- 6 Lutz Danneberg: *Dissens, ad personam-Invektiven und wissenschaftliches Ethos in der Philologie des 19. Jahrhunderts: Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 'contra' Nietzsche*. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007. (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 93–147, pp. 143–147.

the reflection on philological activities.⁷ Poetics did not even need to reflect both of these aspects; its ongoing promise had been to provide some knowledge about both of them. Things changed when modern methodology (after Dilthey) started to perceive philological practices from a meta-perspective, thereby making the application of theories an issue of constant debate. Poetics, in turn, lost its innocence as well as its unique position between the reflection and application of philological and literary knowledge.

In the course of this competition between modern methodology and poetics, poetics aims at discovering hermeneutics on its own: firstly, hermeneutics is introduced when anthropology and existentialism are used, in order to defend the irrational and secret moments of poetry against the scientification of poetics. Among the advocates of such an understanding of literature and theory are Theophil Spoerri and his Zurich colleague Emil Staiger, as well as Staiger's student Peter Szondi. And although the notion of 'poetics' appeared as an anachronistic phenomenon in the 1960s, the constitution of the famous research group "Poetik & Hermeneutik" (first meeting in Gießen, June 1963) profits from the combination with the hermeneutical approach and revitalises the field of poetics.⁸ Secondly, a distinct rational hermeneutics becomes relevant once methodology successively enters the game and attention is drawn to the question of the adequate or inadequate interpretation of texts and their rules. Poetics – or parts of poetics – in the 1960s and 70s decisively modify themselves again into 'Literaturwissenschaft' ('literary science'), an area which in Anglo-American writing still finds its equivalent in the term 'poetics'.⁹

7 Ibid.

8 Klaus Weimar: *Historische Einleitung zur literaturwissenschaftlichen Hermeneutik*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr 1975, p. 26. See also Oliver Müller: *Subtile Stiche: Hans Blumenberg und die Forschergruppe "Poetik und Hermeneutik"*. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007. (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 249–264.

9 For a reflection on the notion of poetics Uri Margolin: *The (In)dependence of Poetics Today*. In: *PTL. A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 4 (1980), pp. 545–586, p. 545, fn. 2; see also Gerald Graff: *Professing Literature: An Institutional History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987; Robert Scholes: *The Rise and Fall of English: Reconstructing English as a Discipline*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; Aldár Sarbu: *English as an Academic Discipline: Some History*. In: *Neohelicon* 32 (2005) 2, pp. 443–456.

If I speak about ‘German poetics’, German is only an abbreviation. I take into account the different national histories of poetics in the German language: works on poetics were written in Switzerland, Austria, Germany and elsewhere, for example through German studies of foreign countries (‘Auslandsgermanistik’). Switzerland especially may be responsible for one of the most characteristic types of poetological thinking: an anti-modern one, conceived by the Zurich professors in literature Emil Ermatinger, Theophil Spoerri and Emil Staiger. This type of poetics still adhered to the aesthetic ideals of the Weimar classics; it was heavily attacked by the public as well as by authors and scientists in 1966 when Staiger held his “Zürcher Preisrede” on contemporary literature and criticism.¹⁰

Bearing these methodological reflections in mind, I will focus on those texts which have rarely been dealt with and avoid detailed (repetitive) presentations of those aesthetics which have – like Kant’s, Herder’s or Hegel’s writings – already received a considerable amount of attention. Referring to the dominant ‘big texts’, the first chapter will present the development of German aesthetics and academic poetics in the 19th century. It traces 19th-century poetics back to Baumgarten by beginning with popular philosophy. In doing so I will present the authors’ reflections on methods and general poetics in order to be able to compare their suppositions. By general poetics, I mean the concepts and questions mentioned as titles in the list above (e.g. the production of texts, textual structure, performance and presentation) and not specialised areas such as verse form.

10 On the problem of different national histories of literature see Lutz Danneberg and Jörg Schöner: *Zur Transnationalität und Internationalität von Wissenschaft*. In: *Wie international ist die Literaturwissenschaft? Methoden- und Theoriediskussion in den Literaturwissenschaften. Kulturelle Besonderheiten und interkultureller Austausch am Beispiel des Interpretationsproblems (1950–1990)*, ed. by Lutz Danneberg and Friedrich Vollhardt in collaboration with Hartmut Böhme and Jörg Schöner. Stuttgart: Metzler 1996, pp. 7–85; on the example of Switzerland Max Wehrli: *Germanistik in der Schweiz 1933–1945* [1993]. In: *M.W., Gegenwart und Erinnerung: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Fritz Wagner and Wolfgang Maaz. Hildesheim, Zurich: Weidmann 1998. (*Spolia Berolinensia* 12), pp. 307–320; Michael Böhler: *Länderspezifische Wissenschaftsvarianten in der Germanistik?* In: *Schreiben gegen die Moderne: Beiträge zu einer kritischen Fachgeschichte der Germanistik in der Schweiz*, ed. by Corina Caduff and Michael Gamper. Zürich: Chronos 2001, pp. 13–42.

General poetics is, in part, a German peculiarity but also a European phenomenon as would be shown through comparing German texts in this field with English ones. Such a cross-cultural study could build on the research interest in popular philosophy which most recently includes aesthetics¹¹ and on the interest in idealist aesthetics, notably the Hegel-adherent Bernard Bosanquet (1848–1923) and the Ruskin-admirer R.G. Collingwood (1889–1943),¹² as well as on the rising interest in comparative approaches in the study of romanticism.¹³ In addition to this, such a study could show to what extent ‘Auslandsgermanistik’ and English studies interfere with, or deviate from, one another in the area of poetics.¹⁴ In late 19th-and early 20th-century England, the situation of

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- 11 See foremost the companion by Elisabeth Décultot and Mark Ledbury (eds.): *Théories et débats esthétiques au dix-huitième siècle: Eléments d'une enquête*. Paris: Honoré Champion 2001. See also the specialized approaches by Norbert Waszek: “Aux sources de la Querelle” dans les “Lettres sur l'Education Esthétique de l'Homme” de Schiller: Adam Ferguson et Christian Garve. In: *Crises et Conscience du Temps*, ed. by Jean-Marie Paul. Nancy: Nancy Univ. Press. 1998, pp. 111–129; Timothy M. Costelloe: *Hume's Aesthetics: The Literature and Directions for Research*. In: *Hume-Studies* 30 (2004) 1, pp. 87–126; Paul Guyer: *The Value of Beauty: Historical Essays in Aesthetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press 2005; Jonathan Friday: *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the 18th Century*. In: *Hume-Studies* 31 (2005) 1, pp. 184–186; Peter Kivy: *The Seventh Sense: Francis Hutcheson and Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetics*. In: *British Journal of Aesthetics* 45 (2005) 4, pp. 445–447; Norbert Waszek: *Übersetzungspraxis und Popularphilosophie am Beispiel Christian Garves*. In: *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 31 (2007) 1, pp. 42–61.
 - 12 William Sweet: *British Idealist Aesthetics: Origins and Themes*. In: *Bradley Studies* 7 (2001) 2, Special Issue *British Idealist Aesthetics*, pp. 131–161.
 - 13 See, for instance, the first chapter on “Romantic Theoretical and Critical Writing” in the anthology eds. Steven P. Sondrup, Virgil Nemoianu in collab. with Gerald Gillespie: *Nonfictional Romantic Prose: Expanding Borders*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins 2004. (Coordinating Committee for a Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages).
 - 14 John Flood: *Poetry and Song on the Isle of Wight. A Mannheim Forty-Eighter Enjoys a Victorian Holiday*. In: *Expedition nach der Wahrheit: Poems, Essays, and Papers in Honour of Theo Stemmler. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag für Theo Stemmler*, ed. by Stefan Horlacher and Marian Islinger. Heidelberg: Winter 1996, pp. 381–397; John Flood: *Ginger Beer and Sugared Cauliflower: Adolphus Bernays and Language Teaching in Nineteenth-Century London*. In: *Vermittlungen. German Studies at the Turn of the Century. Festschrift für Nigel B.R. Reeves*, ed. by Rüdiger Görner and Hellen Kelly-Holmes. Munich: Iudicium 1999, pp. 101–115; Alexander Weber: *Der Frühsozialist Tho-*

poetics differs from that in Germany in one main respect: the metaphysically motivated interest in aesthetics is missing – a situation which is similar in France. Whilst aesthetics soon led German poetics to establish itself as a scientific discipline, rhetoric, eloquence and studies on style dominated the English and French scenes until the late 1840s.¹⁵ In addition to this, 20th-century English aesthetics proved to be more focused on analytical approaches yet did not simply ignore more hermeneutical ones as current anthologies suggest.¹⁶ Taking this into account, one could contest Dilthey's supposition:

'Yes, this German aesthetics hastened the fall of the old forms in France and England and influenced the first performances of a new poetic age yet uncertain of themselves.'¹⁷

Explaining why there obviously were common trends in the history of poetics in the 19th and 20th centuries, however, is a more difficult task. Studies not only on analogies, but also on transfer, on the book market, on translations, on scientific contact and on travel prove to be the only way to gather evidence about these trends. This history of poetics can obviously not present all sources and I want to stress its provisional character: it is intended as an introduction and a pioneering study into an international history of poetics, as well as a contribution to the history of 'Literaturwissenschaft',¹⁸ to a history of aesthetics that still deserves to be written (also with regard to the reception of aesthetic

mas Hodgskin und die Anfänge der Germanistik in Großbritannien. In: Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 31 (2006) 1, pp. 51–76.

15 On the French refutation and late acceptance of German aesthetics, c.f. Élisabeth Décultot: *Ästhetik/esthétique. Étapes d'une naturalisation (1750–1840)*. In: *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* 2 (2002), pp. 157–178. A comparable study on the English reception of German aesthetics remains a desideratum; Author: *Internationale Poetik* (see introduction). In some areas the classic study by Abrams gives no more than a first account; M. H. Abrams: *The mirror and the lamp: Romantic theory and the critical tradition*. New York: Norton, 1958. (Norton Library 102), for example depicts the interest that English rhetoric shows in the individual talent of the poet.

16 See the differentiated approaches in Peter Lamarque (ed.): *Aesthetics in Britain*. *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 40 (2000) 1, Special Issue 1960–2000.

17 Wilhelm Dilthey: *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters*. Bausteine für eine Poetik, In: *Philosophische Aufsätze*, ed. by W.D. Pierer, 1887, p. 103: "Ja diese deutsche Ästhetik hat in Frankreich und England den Fall der alten Formen beschleunigt und die ersten ihrer selbst noch ungewissen Bildungen eines neuen poetischen Zeitalters beeinflußt."

18 See Weimar (fn. 4).

writings)¹⁹ and to the various approaches to the aesthetic components of the 'Bildungsgeschichte' of the general public.

19 Most histories of aesthetics or aesthetical questions are characterised either by their introductory status or by their focus on a special aesthetic topic; see above.

II. Aesthetics and Academic Poetics in Germany

Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Hegel's *Philosophie des Schönen* – canonical texts like these are well-known. However, many discussions in the area of poetics and aesthetics go beyond the widely recognized philosophical systems and are in fact prior to idealist philosophy: concepts like the genius or the romantic vision of poetry originate from disposable knowledge that can seldom be traced back to one thinker or text. Furthermore, in the second half of the 18th century, universities established distinct courses ('collegia') on aesthetics, often based not on the 'big texts' (Baumgarten, Kant) themselves, but on manuals or commentaries, especially on Kant.¹ In the course of the 19th century, this situation became even more complex: schools of aesthetics and poetics developed and sometimes competed with each other, their members subscribing to specific approaches but also deviating from them. Therefore, the following chapter focuses on general methodological tendencies as they are expressed not only in major canonical texts, but first and foremost in minor writings on aesthetics and academic poetics.

As regards the long 19th and early 20th centuries, seven main methodological tendencies can be observed: Firstly, at the beginning of the 19th century eclecticism was still dominant. Philosophy was governed by an 'esprit de système' rather than by systematic thought. Popular philosophers directed their aesthetic ideas toward the educated public, to a public that constituted the audience of theatre plays and literature. Late 18th-century philosophers aimed at the moral, as well as the aesthetic, perfection of this particular audience (chapter 1). In turn (secondly), aestheticians and poeticsians felt the need to establish severe criteria according to which matters of taste were to be judged, an attempt heavily disputed by Kant and subsequent transcendental approaches to the subject (chapter 2).

A third tendency can be called the historical approach. This had already become fashionable in the 18th century as an opposition to Johann Christoph Gottsched's poetics, which had been criticized as being classicist and normative. In contrast to Gottsched's approach, Johann Georg Hamann, and most notably Johann Gottfried Herder, aimed at explaining poetry from its historical origins, proposing a poetics which moved away from rules and unified forms. Many scholars took up this impulse, carrying it further in favour of romantic ideas (August Wilhelm Schle-

1 See the helpful contribution by Thomáš Hlobil: Aesthetics in the Lecture Lists of the Universities of Halle, Leipzig, Würzburg, and Prague (1785–1805). In: *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 29 (2005) 1, pp. 13–50.

gel). One of these ideas was 'poiesis'. 'Poiesis' can briefly be explained as a new reading of Aristotle's idea of 'poiesis' which however goes beyond Aristotle in that poetry is regarded as the essential 'poiesis', the main act of creation which happens through art. This renewed idea of 'poiesis' was still relevant around 1900, contributing to an ongoing development: the further opening of new scholarly horizons for the study of poetry. In this case poetics became enriched with metaphysical, anthropological and psychological knowledge (chapter 3).

A fourth tendency incorporated poetics into various metaphysical systems. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling inspired a whole cohort of contemporary philosophers to build on his logotheological approach. The resulting aesthetics and poetics became renowned through their triadic systems which not only shaped genre theory (chapter 4) but also inspired pre-empirical approaches to the study of poetics. Similar observations apply to Hegel's aesthetics and the works which followed in his footsteps. Yet Hegel's approach led into the vast territory of post-idealist aesthetics and poetics, the fifth poetological tendency of the 19th century. The reason for this development lies in Hegel's philosophy itself: although speculative, Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die schönen Künste* aimed at historiographical and detailed, comprehensive depictions of poetry itself. His pupils expanded on these depictions, introducing psychological knowledge of the time into the study of poetry (chapter 5).

Pre-empirical and empirical poetics, the sixth tendency of 19th-century aesthetics and poetics, received a considerable impulse from speculative aesthetics. Schelling, for instance, had some impact on Moriz Carriere who was one of the first to propose a pre-empirical aesthetics. From the Hegelian school it was Friedrich Theodor Vischer who, fascinated with the poet's psyche, paid tribute to emerging psychological studies as well as to formalism (Johann Friedrich Herbart, Robert Zimmermann). The often repeated idea that 19th-century aesthetics suffered from a considerable shift from the speculative to the psychologist or empirical branch can be proven to be wrong. Rather, a field of empirical accounts rich in itself originated from a combination of both. In the 1980s, this field was still mainly associated with Wilhelm Scherer and Wilhelm Dilthey. But many names need to be added, among them the little-known teacher Heinrich Viehoff and the popular writer Richard Müller-Freienfels who disseminated psychological poetics (chapter 6).

Some works, notably those of Scherer und Eugen Wolff point to a seventh tendency which is best described as methodological pluralism.

This tendency characterised the field of aesthetics and poetics between 1890 and 1910, which then included almost all fields of knowledge in the study of poetry. Two major poetological works (Ernst Elster, Hubert Roetteken) aimed at facing this challenge by providing a comprehensive poetics which integrated most of these perspectives. Elster invented a new term for the result: “Literaturwissenschaft” (‘literary science’). Yet it is striking that both of them, Elster and Roetteken, accepted a simplifying premise: poetry is regarded as the principle form in which the sensitive individual expresses himself or herself, a belief that, from the second half of the 18th century on, was enforced through romanticism and became a kind of poetological dogma (chapter 7).

In contrast to these approaches, the eighth tendency of aesthetics and poetics proved to be more focused. Furthermore, it tended toward a criticism of the poetological dogma to which Elster and Roetteken subscribed: ‘Geisteswissenschaft’, the new tendency, promoted the influence of the intellect in poetry and beyond, in order to close the gap between the natural sciences and the humanities. The methods used to reach this novel correlation of the natural sciences and the humanities still testify to the richness of approaches prevalent around 1900: epistemology (Emil Ermatinger), formalism (Oskar Walzel) as well as typology (Hermann Hefele) can be named as main ways to understand poetry within the context of various fields of knowledge (chapter 8).

This exclusive, as well as inclusive, approach, which seems to restrict poetry to the intellectual and psychological experience of the poet, provoked contemporary thinkers. As a consequence, one of them, Theodor Alexander Meyer, risked providing another new account inspired by the psychology of peoples and the philosophy of language. Meyer opposed context-driven accounts of poetry and the psychologism often inherent in them. Meyer’s claim is simple: poetry should be understood in its own right. The resulting work focuses partly on the heritage of 19th-century formalism, as well as on a pre-emption of 20th-century Russian formalism (chapter 9), which itself profited from the tenth tendency of poetics and aesthetics: phenomenology and ontology (chapter 10).

It is not by mere accident that these formalist tendencies had a long life after 1945: during the Nazi period, Fascist approaches (thirteenth tendency) discredited context-driven poetics to a large extent, the reason being their ideological use of concepts like ‘the people’ or ‘race’. Astonishingly enough, it was Fascist poetics (Karl Justus Obenauer, Heinz Kindermann) who sympathized with Elster’s term “Literaturwissenschaft”, claiming that their ideological accounts provided ‘hard sci-

entific knowledge'. At the same time, serious (non-Fascist) scholars like Günther Müller limited their poetics to formal analysis for which they invented the term 'morphology' (chapter 13). Consequently, German studies after 1945 moved back to these formalist and work-focused accounts which seemed to guarantee neutrality as well as a decent grounding in a safe and well-tested tradition (chapter 12).

Nevertheless, a couple of context-related tendencies did survive the Nazi period: anthropology and existentialism. They had a considerable impact on poetics up until the 1950s and 60s. Borrowing extensively from Edmund Husserl's and Martin Heidegger's ontologist and phenomenologist approaches, the study of poetics concentrated on 'fundamental concepts' ("Grundbegriffe"). The best known representative for this account (which in fact goes back to Theophil Spoerri) was Emil Staiger. With his adaptation of Heidegger, Staiger was already being praised in the 1930s as a rising star of literary theory. From his reading of Heidegger he derived 'fundamental concepts' of the human condition which he transferred to style and genre in order to link the study of poetry to general anthropology (chapter 11).

This alliance ended in the late 1950s/ early 1960s. A new methodological pluralism arose, which to some extent made use of eclectic virtues and reached its peak in the 1980s. The reasons for this development are manifold: on the one hand, German literary theory appeared to be stagnant, old-fashioned and dominated by powerful old men (e.g. Staiger), all of them adhering to general and uncontested anthropological and subjective, in part also formalist, beliefs. This status quo required the introduction of new accounts such as Russian structuralism, American literary sociology or a refined literary criticism. It is to his credit that an outstanding scholar such as Max Wehrli provided a treatise which not only reflects this status quo but also develops it further (chapter 14).

On the other hand, beyond Wehrli, the student movement with its various intentions stormed the esoteric, yet important field of literary theory. Some scholars responded to this challenge with the help of left-wing ideology in order to come to terms with the Nazi past, including the Nazi-influenced past of German literary theory. Other, ideologically more moderate colleagues, opted for a new 'scientification' of literary theory. They changed not only the name 'poetics' but also general methodological premises in favour of "Literaturwissenschaft", hoping for a non-ideological treatment of literature and thereby constituting a new wave of scientification of German literary criticism. Still, the novelty of this "Literaturwissenschaft" needs to be contested in the

light of the history of poetics which was deemed to be old-fashioned (chapter 15).

1. Eclectic Poetics: Popular Philosophy (1770–1790)

‘Though not independent, they shine through a characteristic majesty of mind’ writes the historian Heinrich Luden (1780–1847), professor at Jena University, about late 18th-century popular aesthetic thinkers.¹ Luden, therefore, calls them ‘eclectics’ (“Eklektiker”).² His notion ‘eclectics’ refers to German thinkers like Kant’s role model Johann Nikolaus Tetens (*Philosophische Versuche über die menschliche Natur*, 1777), the philosophical physician Ernst Platner (*Philosophische Aphorismen*, 1776–1782) as well as to thinkers of other tongues: to the Swiss philosopher and diplomat Jean-Pierre de Crousaz (*Traité du beau*, 1714), to Charles Batteux (*Principes de la littérature, ou Cours des belles lettres*, 1774/ *Einleitung in die Schönen Wissenschaften*, 1774), Denis Diderot (Article “Beau” in the *Encyclopédie*, vol. 2, 1752/ *Abhandlung vom Schönen*, in: *Philosophische Werke des Herrn D.*, 1774), Xaver Bettinelli (*Dell’entusiasmo nelle belle arti*, 1769/ *Über den Enthusiasmus der schönen Künste*, 1778), Henry Home, Lord Kames (*Elements of Criticism*, 1770/ *Grundsätze der Kritik*, 1771), Alexander Gerard (*Essay on taste*, 1759/ *Versuch über den Geschmack*, 1766) and Edmund Burke (*Enquiry into the Origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful*, 1770/ *Philosophische Untersuchungen über den Ursprung unserer Begriffe vom Erhabenen und vom Schönen*, 1773).

These authors share various methodological assumptions: all of them direct their ideas toward a ‘theory of the beautiful sciences and arts’ (“Theorie der schönen Wissenschaften und Künste”), inspired by the French notion of ‘belles lettres’. Their writings focus on general questions such as the role of beauty and poetry, authorship, taste and genre. Baumgarten, Meier and later Kant, provide the dominant philosophical frameworks for such an enterprise, their philosophical systems being widely recognized as groundbreaking. Still, these authorities are heavily criticized for a considerable lack of focus on the arts in particular, on practical thinking in general and, correspondingly, for involving a

1 Heinrich Luden: Grundzüge ästhetischer Vorlesungen zum academischen Gebrauche. Göttingen: Danckwerts 1808, § 6, p. 5: “Wenn nicht unabhängig, doch in eigenthümlicher Hoheit des Geistes glänzend.”

2 Ibid.

high level of abstraction.³ Furthermore, the description of aesthetic sentiment as the ‘lower faculty’ strikes contemporaries such as Moses Mendelssohn as being inappropriate for a field which claims a right on its own.⁴ As a consequence of these criticisms, most popular aestheticians avoid identification with particular philosophical positions; rather, they borrow their ideas from different contexts and remodel them in order to reach their public: students, an educated civil audience, all of them critical consumers of aesthetics and poetics.⁵

In the German context, it is the outspoken author, composer and musician Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791) who expresses this popular tendency clearly, addressing himself to the non-academic merchant, ‘who wants his comprehension to go beyond his horizon and to encounter in leisurely hours pleasant and useful forms of knowledge’.⁶ In order to recommend their thinking for aesthetic entertainment, popular eclectic aestheticians invent literary forms, for instance letters. The later Archbishop of Mainz and Ratisbon, Carl Theodor von Dalberg (1744–1817), for example, includes a dialogue with Count Firmian, minister in Milan, in his *Grundsätze der Aesthetik* (1791), an analytical approach to applied aesthetics.⁷ Still, few aestheticians are as witty as the Erfurt, and later Viennese, editor Friedrich Just Riedel

3 This aspect is most explicitly dealt with by Doris Bachmann-Medick: *Die ästhetische Ordnung des Handelns: Moralphilosophie und Ästhetik in der Populärphilosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart: Metzler 1989, pp. 1–38.

4 Moses Mendelssohn: [rev.] Georg Friedrich Meiers Auszug aus den Anfangsgründen aller schönen Künste und Wissenschaften (1758). In: *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 3 (1758) 1, pp. 130–138.

5 The aspect of active consumption is nicely highlighted by Kames and Gerard and could also be developed from the study of Eschenburg, Eberhard or Engel. See Maureen Harkin: *Theorizing popular practice in eighteenth century aesthetics: Lord Kames and Alexander Gerard*. In: *Aesthetic Subjects*, ed. by Pamela R. Matthews and David Mc Whirter. Minneapolis, London: Univ. Press of Minnesota 2003, pp. 171–189.

6 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart: *Kurzgefaßtes Lehrbuch der schönen Wissenschaften für Unstudierte [...]*. Leipzig [i.e. Münster]: [Perenon] 1777, p. 1: “der seine Verstandesthätigkeit bey müßigen Stunden über seine Sphäre erheben und sich mit angenehmen und nützlichen Kenntnissen berühren will.”

7 Carl von Dalberg: *Grundsätze der Aesthetik deren Anwendung und künftige Entwicklung*. Erfurt: Keyser 1791, p. 12, *passim*. Dalberg proposes several aesthetic laws (on the strength of the feeling of beauty, duration of the feeling of beauty etc.) and claims that they all help in politics as well. The dialogue with the count, dealing with a picture by Guido Reni (“Petrus”), serves as some kind of proof of Dalberg’s assumptions.

(1742–1785) who in his *Theorie der schönen Künste* (1767) mocks his own method ('neither purposeful nor methodologically sufficient') as well as the content of his book ('mere compilation') in a most appealing and sympathetic way that seems to be forgotten by the end of the 18th century.⁸

Summarizing these features, Luden is correct in calling the relevant cohort of thinkers 'eclectics'. Taking into account popular cultural contexts such as theatre,⁹ literary criticism and the growing book market, the eclectics pursue didactical aims. The greatest number of them presupposes that the knowledge about the beautiful arts enhances humanity. In the German-speaking countries this presupposition is often underlined with rational psychology, mainly the idea of perfection of the individual, and the emerging 'teachings of the experiences of the soul' ("Erfahrungsseelenlehre") which explore emotions, sentiments and attitudes in theoretical, as well as literary, form. Non-German writings show slightly different fields of reference: they primarily allude to rhetoric, eloquence, moral philosophy and anthropology.

Inspired by anthropological and psychological questions, popular philosophy inquires into the origin of the arts and compares them. As a result of these comparisons, literature is mostly deemed to be superior to painting or music and therefore said to deserve special attention.¹⁰ Consequently, literature mostly constitutes the focus of popular aesthetics. Among them, those writings devoted to poetry (not only to genre theory) will be discussed in the following chapter.

Though not entirely focused on literature, Johann Georg Sulzer's 'opus magnum' *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* is one of the most influential popular aesthetics. Despite receiving harsh criticism immediately after its publication in the 19th century, Sulzer has often been seen as the founding father of a systematical popular aesthetics and poetics. This reputation also goes back to his 1763 reflections on the opposing nature of sentiment and reason, which were designed to overcome the Baumgarten tradition and might be envisaged as the 'discov-

8 See mainly the preface of Friedrich Just Riedel: *Theorie der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften: Ein Auszug aus den Werken verschiedener Schriftsteller*. Jena: Cuno 1767, *3 verso.

9 See Johann Jacob Engel: *Ideen zu einer Mimik*. Berlin 1785/86. (2 vols.)

10 Charles Batteux: *Einschränkung der schönen Künste auf einen einzigen Grundsatz*. Hildesheim: Olms 1770. (2 vols.) and Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn: *Betrachtungen über die Malerey*. Leipzig: Fritsch 1762.

ery' of the 'Other of reason'.¹¹ Yet this dichotomous thought is dismissed in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*, in which he opts for a complementary function of both faculties (a). This late work of Sulzer's especially, inspired other popular philosophers to focus on aesthetics: Johann August Eberhard, Johann Jacob Engel and Johann Joachim Eschenburg, some of them carefully observing the literary scene and aiming at a new foundation of literary criticism (b).

(a) The Moralizing Standard Work: Johann Georg Sulzer
Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste (1771–1774)

Modernist reception regards Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* as a belated, traditional, conventional, yet comprehensive dictionary of 870 entries in four volumes¹² in which all the arts are judged by their moral purpose.¹³ The work was edited and enlarged four times (with an additional abbreviation under the title *Theorie der Dichtkunst*, 1788/89)¹⁴ and can be regarded as the end or the climax of the psychological and moral accounts of 18th-century aesthetics. As a consequence, it is a reference book for late 18th-century aestheticians or poeticians.¹⁵

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- 11 See the thorough analysis of Sulzer's writings by Wolfgang Riedel: *Erkennen und Empfinden. Anthropologische Achsendrehung und Wende zur Ästhetik bei Johann Georg Sulzer*. In: *Der ganze Mensch: Anthropologie und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Hans-Jürgen Schings. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 1994 (Germanistische Symposien; Berichtsbde. XV), pp. 410–439, p. 416.
 - 12 On the form of classification see Hans Erich Bödeker: *Konzept und Klassifikation der Wissenschaften bei Johann Georg Sulzer (1720–1779)*. In: *Schweizer im Berlin des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Martin Fontius and Helmut Holzhey. Berlin: Akademie 1996, pp. 325–339.
 - 13 One need only consult the judgements quoted by Cornelia Klinger: "Johann Georg Sulzer". In: *Ästhetik und Kunstphilosophie von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Julian Nida-Rümelin and Monika Betzler. Stuttgart: Kröner 1998, pp. 766–770.
 - 14 The abbreviation is prepared by Albrecht Kirchmayer, teacher in rhetoric; see: Johann Georg Sulzer: *Theorie der Dichtkunst: Zum Gebrauch der Studirenden bearbeitet von Albrecht Kirchmayer [...]*. 2 parts. Munich: Lentner 1788/89. – An almost complete list of the Sulzer-editions and reprints is given in Johan van der Zande's comprehensive article: *Johann Georg Sulzer's "Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste"*. In: *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 22 (1998) 1, pp. 87–101, p. 101. It only lacks the reprint of the first edition, Biel 1777.
 - 15 See the contributions in Jean-François Goubet and Gérard Raulet (eds.): *Aux sources de l'esthétique: Les débuts de l'esthétique philosophique en Allemagne*.

However, Sulzer's aesthetic theory fell victim to the new critical regime of Goethe, Schiller and their romantic counterparts, all claiming to found poetics on the new principle of autonomy. Sulzer's high reputation even after the advent of romanticism and the German classic may serve as a proof for the thesis that the *Allgemeine Theorie* was still regarded as an impressive work even in Eduard Mörike's and Friedrich Theodor Vischer's times: "Besides its misconceptions and errors, obsolete parts and trivialities it contains occasional instructive and even acute remarks."¹⁶ Mörike recommends Sulzer to Vischer, thereby winning the young theologian over to the study of aesthetics. Another 100 years later, Oskar Walzel in 1937 observes a considerable enthusiasm for Sulzer that is directed against the aesthetics of autonomy, in short, against Sulzer's enemies.¹⁷ In turn, Walzel pleads for a more differentiated positive evaluation of Sulzer's account, and provides such an evaluation in a detailed reading of Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*.

Some of the peculiarities of Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie* might be explained by his Swiss-German origin and intellectual focus. Sulzer (1720–1779)¹⁸ studied theology in Zurich as well as mathematics, philosophy and literature, wrote a physicotheological treatise *Versuch einiger moralischer Betrachtungen über die Werke der Natur* (1741, ed. by the Berlin pastor A.F.W. Sack) which might have been the fruit of his close relationship to the physicotheologian Johann Jacob Scheuchzer, translated Scheuchzer's *Itinera Alpina* (Magdeburg 1743), through his contacts to Leonard Euler and Maupertuis became a professor of mathematics at the Joachimsthaler Gymnasium in Berlin (1747), wrote for the 'memoires' of the Berlin Academy and travelled to Switzerland (1750) where he met his tutor and friend Johann Jakob Bodmer. Sulzer

Paris 2005 (Edition de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme 2005 (Collection Philia)).

- 16 Eduard Mörike an Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Ochsenwang bei Kirchheim, 26th February 1832. In: Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard Mörike und Friedrich Theodor Vischer, ed. by Robert Vischer. Munich 1926, pp. 48–57, p. 49: "Es enthält neben viel Falschem, Obsoletem, Halbem und Trivialem doch zuweilen lehrreiche, sogar feine Bemerkungen."
- 17 Oskar Walzel: Johann Georg Sulzer über Poesie. In: Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie 62 (1937), pp. 267–303, p. 267.
- 18 Anna Tumarkin: Der Ästhetiker Johann Georg Sulzer. Frauenfeld 1933; Armand Nivelle: Kunst und Dichtungstheorien zwischen Aufklärung und Klassik. Berlin 1960; Syliane Malinowski-Charles: Entre rationalisme et subjectivisme: L'esthétique de Jean Pierre de Crousaz. In: Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie 136 (2004), pp. 7–21.

seems to have started working on the *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1771–1774, ²1792–1794) in 1753.¹⁹ After the publication of this enormous work he was appointed professor of philosophy at the ‘École militaire’ of the Prussian King (1765) and later director of the philosophical class at the Berlin Academy (1775).

The *Allgemeine Theorie* can be characterised as a middle European aesthetics which is influenced by French and British, but mainly by Swiss and German works, notably the tradition of Baumgarten’s concept of ‘aesthetica’.²⁰ The French influence on Sulzer is broad: there is, firstly, the role model of the dictionary, established by the French Protestant Pierre Bayle, continued by the German Johann Heinrich Zedler and later, by Jacques Lacombe’s *Dictionnaire portatif des Beaux-Arts* (1752) and Antoine Joseph Pernéty’s *Dictionnaire portatif de peinture, sculpture, gravure* (1757). Yet Sulzer’s choice of the dictionary form could be said to be original because he saw Lacombe’s work for the first time only in 1756.²¹ The French line of dictionaries and encyclopaedias plays yet another role: the *Supplément à l’Encyclopédie* (1776/77) owes many articles to Sulzer.²² Secondly, Sulzer also distances himself from ‘the French’, from Voltaire and his ‘degenerated morals’ as well as from German authors who, like Christoph Martin Wieland, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, sympathise with the French and the morally ‘dangerous’ artistic tendency of the Rococo.²³

Astonishingly, it is supposed that just these authors, notably Gleim and Wieland, contributed some articles to the *Allgemeine Theorie* which was, in turn, seen as a partially collective work.²⁴ This fact points to a certain double morality of the *Allgemeine Theorie*: the opponents are part of the work that is designed to criticize them. In addition to this, many key articles simply reformulate moral statements and some even conceal Sulzer’s preference for moralistic literature. The article “Dichter”, for instance, does not mention Albrecht von Haller, one of Sulzer’s most adored moral authors. Furthermore, Sulzer, adhering to Baum-

19 Van der Zande: Sulzer’s “Allgemeine Theorie” (fn. 14), p. 91.

20 See Elisabeth Décultot: Éléments d’une histoire interculturelle de l’esthétique: L’exemple de la “Théorie générale des beaux-arts” de Johann Georg Sulzer. In: *Revue germanique internationale* 10 (1998), pp. 141–160; van der Zande: Sulzer’s “Allgemeine Theorie” (fn. 14), p. 99.

21 Van der Zande: Sulzer’s “Allgemeine Theorie” (fn. 14), p. 91.

22 Décultot: Sulzer (fn. 20), p. 143, p. 145.

23 Ibid., p. 147–155.

24 Van der Zande: Sulzer’s “Allgemeine Theorie” (fn. 14), pp. 92–97.

garten, ignores a moralizing treatise on ‘belles lettres’ which had had a huge impact on Swiss thinking: Jean Pierre de Crousaz’s *Traité du Beau* (1714).²⁵ The reason for this neglect might have been Crousaz’s confession to a belief in natural theology which contradicts Wolffian thought, in that Crousaz assumes that a natural geometrician governs the world.

Yet the moralizing impetus of the *Allgemeine Theorie* is in fact revealed through careful reading. The preface of the *Allgemeine Theorie* attributes simply two faculties to man: ‘mind’ (“Verstand”) and ‘moral sentiment’ (“sittliche[s] Gefühl”) the purpose of which is to allow people to enjoy the fruits of life unrecognizable through reason alone.²⁶ This statement does not attempt to moralize a ‘previously immoral’ aesthetics. Nor is it enough to be perceived as a final tribute to the Scottish Enlightenment. Along with Shaftesbury,²⁷ Adam Smith and others, Sulzer claims that the beautiful may evoke sympathy for the good and antipathy for the bad.²⁸ But in addition to this, he stresses the complementary nature of sentiment and reason and does not claim that they are equal or that sentiment is (as it is for Baumgarten) to be regarded as the minor version of reason.

In order to prove these claims, the two articles of the *Allgemeine Theorie* relevant in the context of this study will be discussed: ‘aesthetics’ (“Ästhetik”) and ‘art of poetry/poetics’ (“Dichtkunst/Poetik”). “Ästhetik” provides a general account of the field of study, largely influenced by Baumgarten. He is introduced as the first to have developed

25 On Crousaz Sandra Richter: Unsichere Schönheit: Der Ursprung der Ästhetik aus der Kritik des Skeptizismus. In: Unsicheres Wissen. Skeptizismus und Wahrscheinlichkeit, 1550–1850, ed. by Carlos Spoerhase, Dirk Werle and Markus Wild. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2009 (Historia Hermeneutica 7), pp. 159–178. Crousaz thought of beauty as being preestablished by God and rediscovered through natural theology – as Wolff and his successors did not accept natural theology it is likely that Crousaz was forgotten because of this element of his aesthetics. Still, Sulzer should have been aware of such a moralizing publication had he been interested in a moralized aesthetics.

26 Johann Georg Sulzer: Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzelnen, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter aufeinanderfolgenden, Artikeln abgehandelt. Leipzig 1771, vol. 1, pp. IIIff; Friedrich Springorum: Über das Sittliche in der Ästhetik Johann Georg Sulzers. In: Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie 72 (1929), pp. 1–42.

27 Walzel (fn. 17), p. 302; Décultot (fn. 20), p. 151.

28 Sulzer: Allgemeine Theorie (fn. 14), p. IV.

the area in a philosophical way and to have named it.²⁹ Following Baumgarten's thinking, aesthetics is explained as 'philosophy of the beautiful arts' ("Philosophie der schönen Künste") or as a theory which derives 'the rules of the beautiful arts from the nature of taste' ("die Regeln der schönen Künste aus der Natur des Geschmacks herleitet").³⁰ The relevant field of study lacks a systematic method; still, some necessary steps will be identified to cover the theoretical part of aesthetics: firstly, the intention and the essence of the arts is to be stated, secondly, the origin of the sentiments of the soul is to be shown and thirdly, genres of 'pleasant and unpleasant objects' ("angenehmen und unangenehmen Gegenstände") will be identified.³¹ The practical part of aesthetics is to grasp the different kinds of beautiful arts, the nature of genius, the genre of the specific arts as well as the rules for art. As a result, such a carefully developed aesthetics should be able to finalize the intentions of philosophy and ethics, that is, to teach one how to enjoy art and its use. In short: the paragraph summarises post-Baumgartian aesthetics but goes beyond it through its focus on the arts themselves.

Similar observations can be made for the paragraph on "Dichtkunst/Poetik." The section is written in order to help gifted writers. Therefore, it expresses a brief summary of an aesthetics of production. The reason for this purpose is explained by the lack of comparable models of poetry,³² states the author, an astonishing opinion if one takes the large amount of previous treatises on the matter into account. Still, claiming originality, Sulzer recommends examining firstly, the character of poetry, secondly, the means poetry uses in order to achieve its purpose, thirdly, the character of the poet and fourthly the concept of the poem. The rest of the paragraph contains only some brief remarks on Aristotle and, most notably, on Horace, of whom Sulzer writes that he speaks in the 'tone of a legislator' ("Ton eines Gesetzgebers"),³³ a sur-

29 Sulzer: *Allgemeine Theorie* (fn. 15), pp. 20–22, p. 20; on the closeness to the Baumgarten-tradition Annie Lamblin: Sulzer, *genèse et réception de sa "Théorie générale des Beaux-Arts"*. In: *Le texte et l'idée* 18 (2003), pp. 39–72.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 258: "Obgleich sehr viel zu dieser Theorie dienendes geschrieben ist, so fehlt es noch an einem Lehrgebäude der Dichtkunst." / 'Although much has been written that supports this theory, what is still missing is a systems of doctrines on the art of poetry.'

33 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

prising remark if one considers the satirical nature of the *Epistula ad Pisones*.³⁴

Yet this surprising remark again highlights Sulzer's normative poetological intentions within the general framework of post-Baumgartian popular aesthetics. Sulzer aims at what has been termed 'double morality': on the one hand, Sulzer directs himself against literary tendencies which appear as morally problematic and focus on the illustration of the morally good or bad, on the other hand, the norms or rules Sulzer proposes remain vague, profit from the deliberative genre of the encyclopaedia and point to an aesthetics of production rather than toward developing one. Contemporaries and posterity fail if they accuse Sulzer of having promoted an entirely preachy aesthetics.

A few years later, the *Allgemeine Theorie* was subject to a philosophical revision which, beyond the general criticism of Sulzer's theory, aimed at adapting it to current speculation. Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart (1738–1809), professor of philosophy and theology at Frankfurt Oder, in his own *Grundbegriffe zur Philosophie über den Geschmack* (1786) criticizes Sulzer for having restricted his aesthetical knowledge to small lexicon articles, but does not hesitate to repeat a good deal of them, e.g. the references to Aristotle, Batteux and Baumgarten in the paragraph on 'aesthetics'.³⁵ Like Sulzer, Steinbart holds the view that the beautiful arts cause a kind of pleasure which is directly linked to morals. Still, Steinbart goes beyond Sulzer in two methodologically relevant respects: firstly, aesthetic pleasure (and its morals) are grounded in a kind of 'neurophysiology before neurophysiology'. It is the recipient's nervous and sensual system that determines his perception of art, and art, in turn, appears to be distinct from non-artistic objects which require less nervous attention. Furthermore, the arts themselves can be differentiated according to physical and non-physical features, all of them presupposing various kinds of nervous activity. This differentiation leads to an unusually broad spectrum of arts.³⁶ Among the physical arts, Steinbart mentions sculpture, painting, as well as the art of etching, embroidery, and fashion. These are contrasted with non-physical arts, e.g. rhetoric and poetics.

34 The contemporaries Sulzer names only briefly are Boileau and Pope.

35 Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart: *Grundbegriffe zur Philosophie über den Geschmack*. Frankfurt, Leipzig [without publisher] 1786, p. 22.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Secondly, the perception of these various arts requires art to be extraordinary; art needs to prove its ‘more vivacious visions and stronger impressions of the perfect and beautiful’ (“lebhaftere Vorstellungen und stärkere Eindrücke von den Vollkommenen und Schönen”).³⁷ Developing these thoughts further, Steinbart promotes a ‘science of taste’ (“Geschmackswissenschaft”).³⁸ This science of taste is characterised by its focus on the features of the beautiful and practical arts, as well as by its interest in the sensual preconditions of the recipient. Morals come later, as a result of the agreeable effects of aesthetic pleasure. It seems that Steinbart, on the one hand, embraced the Sulzer tradition but, on the other hand, did not invest much thought in legitimating his morally optimistic view. In this respect Steinbart seems to stand rather in Johann Gotthilf Lindner’s shoes than in Sulzer’s. Lindner (1729–1776), a Northern German pastor, writer and friend of Johann Georg Hamann and Herder, in his *Kurzer Inbegriff der Aesthetik, Redekunst und Dichtkunst* (1771/72), explains poetry as the art of imitating nature by perfectly sensible beautiful speech – be it in order ‘to please or to move’ (“zu ergötzen oder zu bewegen”).³⁹

To conclude, Sulzer’s double morality offered his contemporaries many possibilities for rewriting and reinventing his popular aesthetics and poetics. Steinbart was one of the first to respond to the challenge. He relies on Sulzer’s practical and moralizing impulse and adds neurophysiological speculation. Astonishingly, a considerable number of similar writings were published in 1783.

(b) Popular Aesthetics as a Part of “Erfahrungsseelenlehre” in 1783: Johann Joachim Eschenburg, Johann August Eberhard and Johann Jacob Engel

Johann Joachim Eschenburg (1743–1820), Johann August Eberhard (1738–1809) and Johann Jakob Engel (1741–1802) all contributed further to the reduction of morals in aesthetics and all considered contemporary art, mainly theatre. Their more or less ‘empirical’ aesthetics were

37 Ibid., p. 122.

38 Ibid., p. 23.

39 Johann Gotthelf Lindner: *Kurzer Inbegriff der Aesthetik, Redekunst und Dichtkunst*. Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum 1971 (Athenäum Reprints), Ch. 5, 1st section, § 1, pp. 204 f.

inspired by, or at least related to, this particular artistic experience. According to Eschenburg, Eberhard and Engel, aesthetics is to be regarded as a part of “Erfahrungsseelenlehre”, thereby decisively moving away from Wolff’s and Baumgarten’s rational aesthetics which were still present in Sulzer’s work. Yet neither Eschenburg nor Eberhard nor Engel neglect the findings of rational psychology.

Because of these similarities, Eschenburg stresses the closeness of his aesthetics to Eberhard’s and Engel’s works: ‘the German public may have hopes for the ownership of an aesthetics by the deserving Professor Eberhard and a poetics by my very dear friend Professor Engel.’⁴⁰ Eschenburg, the son of a Lübeck merchant, attended the famous Hamburg Johanneum ‘Gymnasium’, studied in Leipzig with Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, Johann August Ernesti and in Göttingen with Christian Gottlob Heyne and Christian Friedrich Michaelis. He was appointed ‘Hofmeister’ (court tutor) and later professor at the practically oriented ‘Collegium Carolinum’ in Brunswick.⁴¹ The *Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften* (¹1783, ⁵1836) is the sum of lectures on the topic, which Eschenburg gave during the twelve years of his professorship. It comes as no surprise that the *Entwurf* still bears the pedagogical tone of lectures addressed to students, ‘whose talent one wishes to develop more, whose feeling of beauty and the good one wishes to train and to refine.’⁴²

In Eschenburg’s case, the audience not only includes German, but also English, students. Hence the attention Eschenburg pays to British literature and scholarship. Eschenburg collects ‘world literature’ and gives an account of the texts deemed to be the most valuable in his *Beispielsammlungen zur Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften*

40 Johann Joachim Eschenburg: *Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften*. Hildesheim, New York: Olms 1976 (Documenta Semiotica; series 3), not pag. [*2 verso]. “[...] da das deutsche Publikum zum Besitz einer Aesthetik von dem verdienstvollen Hrn. Prof. Eberhard, und einer Poetik von meinem sehr werthen Freunde, Hrn. Prof. Engel, ganz nahe Hoffnung hat.”

41 See Fritz Meyen: *Johann Joachim Eschenburg 1743–1820: Professor am Collegium Carolinum zu Brunswick. Kurzer Abriß seines Lebens und Schaffens nebst Bibliographie*. Brunswick 1957 (Brunswicker Werkstücke 20); Manfred Pirscher: *Johann Joachim Eschenburg. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. PhD-thesis. Münster 1960.

42 Eschenburg (fn. 40), not pag. [*2 recto]: “deren Talent man mehr zu entwickeln, deren Gefühl des Schönen und Guten man mehr zu üben und zu verfeinern wünscht.”

(1788–1795), one of the first attempts to publish an ‘international’ canon of literature, designed to replace the reference library and praising Wieland as the ‘classical’ poet – a judgement that upset Wieland’s fellow Weimar authors. The *Beispielsammlung* has often been regarded as one of the founding documents of comparative literature,⁴³ although Eschenburg simply inherits ‘supranational’ early modern ‘historia litteraria’ and develops it further with a focus on literature, thereby following the example of the popular religious journalist Johann Christoph (Christian) Stockhausen (1725–1784) who published four editions of his *Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek für die Liebhaber der Philosophie und der schönen Wissenschaften* (1767, 1771).⁴⁴ Still, the internationality characterises Eschenburg’s *Entwurf*. It should be seen as one of the key documents for a study of poetics that goes beyond the national level. It therefore deserves a prominent place in the history of poetics.

Without adhering to a specific method, Eschenburg focuses on the characteristics, the use and the history, of the beautiful sciences and the arts, as well as on the forces of the soul. He begins with an explication of aesthetics that is close to Baumgarten and Meier, as Eschenburg defines aesthetics as the sensible recognition of the beautiful. The arts operate through sensibly perfect presentation on our outer and inner aesthesis (“Empfindungsvermögen”).⁴⁵ They produce ‘aesthetical thoughts’ (“äs-

43 Roger Paulin: Johann Joachim Eschenburg und die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik am Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert. In: Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 11 (1986), pp. 51–72; Michael Maurer: Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland. Göttingen, Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987 (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London 19), pp. 292 f; Achim Hölder: Johann Joachim Eschenburg: Germanist und Komparatist vor dem Scheideweg. In: Germanistik und Komparatistik, ed. by Hendrik Birus. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 1995 (Germanistische Symposien Berichtsbände 16), pp. 571–592; Hermann Korte: Eschenburgs europäischer Lektürekanon. Ein Kapitel aus der Frühgeschichte moderner Kanonbildung um 1800. In: Literarische Kanonbildung, ed. by Heinz Ludwig Arnold and Hermann Korte, text + kritik 9 (2002), pp. 101–117.

44 To give the complete title Johann Christoph Stockhausen: Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek für die Liebhaber der Philosophie und schönen Wissenschaften. Zum Gebrauch akademischer Vorlesungen. 4th rev. ed. Berlin: Haude & Spener 1771 (1st ed. 1767). Stockhausen himself refers to huge scholarly publications such as Pierre Bayles “Dictionnaire historique et critique”, Daniel Morhofs “Polyhistor” and a number of well-known works of the ‘respublica litteraria’; *ibid.*, pp. 134 f, *passim*. – Stockhausen’s book was even used for teaching purposes at Leipzig University; Hlobil (fn. 1), p. 23.

45 Eschenburg (fn. 40), p. 8.

thetische Gedanken”) – true or at least probable, necessary, clear, witty, rich, manifold, great and sublime thoughts that occupy the recipient’s soul and lead to his perfection.⁴⁶

As a consequence of these elaborations, Eschenburg does not adhere to rational psychology but, in a chapter on the ‘forces of the soul’ (“See-lenkräfte”), he adopts the findings of contemporary ‘psycho medicine’ (Tetens, Platner’s *Aphorismen*) as well as the theory of genius (Gerard’s *Versuch über das Genie*). The ability to feel beauty in all the arts and sciences is called ‘aesthetical taste’ (“ästhetischer Geschmack”) – a term Eschenburg does not derive from Baumgarten but from more empirical writings like Gerard’s *Essay on Taste* (1759/ *Gespräch über den Geschmack*, Breslauische Beiträge I, 1766).⁴⁷ Taste needs to be trained; therefore, Eschenburg conceives a whole paragraph on the use of the learning and practice of the beautiful arts (inspired by du Bos’ *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*) and Christian Fürchtegott Gellert’s *Von dem Einflusse der schönen Wissenschaften auf das Herz und die Sitten*:

‘They [the beautiful arts] serve to train and hone the senses and the imagination, to the cultivation and nourishment of taste, to the facilitation of the social and attentive pleasure of men. They make as well the artist’s mind as the one of the initiate more perfect; they simplify by imitation of human attitude and action the study of the human heart; and thereby have the most beneficial influence on the heart; hone the moral sense, and make us more willing to exercise our duties more willingly and better disposed.’⁴⁸

46 Ibid., pp. 26–29.

47 Only late in 1795, does Eschenburg introduce taste as a criterion to distinguish the new ‘classical’ literature from the old ‘baroque’ literature, a diffuse distinction that does not meet the complexity of the earlier texts; see Michael Maurer: Johann Joachim Eschenburg und das Barock: Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der Kontinuität vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert. In: Europäische Barock-Rezeption, ed. by Klaus Garber in relation to Ferdinand van Ingen, Wilhelm Kühlmann, Wolfgang Weiß. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1991 (Wolfenbütteler Barock-Forschungen 20), part 1, pp. 337–349, pp. 340 f.

48 Eschenburg (fn. 40), p. 9: “Der Nutzen, den eine gründliche Erlernung und zweckmäßige Ausübung der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften gewähren kann, ist wichtig und vielfach. Sie dienen zu Übung und Verfeinerung der Sinne und der Einbildungskraft, zur Bildung und Nahrung des Geschmacks, zur Entwicklung der Thätigkeit und Fähigkeiten des Geistes, zur Beförderung des geselligen und theilnehmenden Vergnügens unter den Menschen. Sie machen den Geist des Künstlers sowohl, als des Kenners, vollkommener; erleichtern durch Nachahmung der menschlichen Gesinnungen und Handlungen

Eschenburg strives for an aesthetics grounded in morals. In accordance with Hutcheson, his British adherents and Sulzer, the education of the moral sense is the ultimate reason for aesthetics.

Eschenburg's genre theory complements these general reflections on the function of aesthetics. Poetics and rhetoric (like music and dance)⁴⁹ both – and rather traditionally – fall under the heading of 'beautiful' or 'oral arts'; they are to be distinguished from the 'creative arts' (drawing, painting, the art of etching, sculpture, stone-carving, architecture and horticulture).⁵⁰ The detailed characterisation of poetry is more surprising.⁵¹ Eschenburg recognises only two genres: the epic and the dramatic, which are divided by the criterion of speech. In epic poetry (which includes lyric poetry) the poet speaks himself; in dramatic poetry, invented characters talk.⁵² Epic poetry in itself includes differentiations: 'A poem is therefore an act of speech which gives the ideas that it denotes the highest and most functional degree of sensible force.'⁵³ Poetry and prose can be distinguished as regards, firstly, the level of sentiments expressed, secondly, form (verse vs. non verse), thirdly, the rhetorical use of words and phrases and fourthly, the purposes of poetry. In contrast to poetry which aims at the entertainment of fantasy, prose aims at the persuasion of reason and will through clarity, correctness and thoroughness of thought.⁵⁴

das Studium des menschlichen Herzens; und haben dabey den wohlthätigsten Einfluß auf das Herz; verfeinern das moralische Gefühl, und machen uns zur Ausübung unsrer Pflichten williger und geneigter."

49 Eschenburg possessed an impressive library on music and dance and served as a mediator in both fields; Laurenz Lütteken: *Die musikalische Bibliothek Johann Joachim Eschenburgs: Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch*. In: *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 20 (1996) 1, pp. 45–72.

50 Eschenburg (fn. 40), p. 5.

51 Georg Jäger: *Das Gattungsproblem in der Ästhetik und Poetik von 1780 bis 1850*. In: *Zur Literatur der Restaurationsepoche*, ed. by Jost Herman and Manfred Windfuhr. Stuttgart: Metzler 1970, pp. 371–404, p. 374 f.

52 Eschenburg's *Beispielsammlung* corresponds this differentiation to a large extent; Korte (fn. 43).

53 Eschenburg (fn. 40), p. 35: "Ein Gedicht ist folglich eine Rede, welche den Vorstellungen, die sie bezeichnet, den höchsten und zweckmäßigsten Grad sinnlicher Kraft ertheilt."

54 *Ibid.*, p. 36: "Dieser [Zweck] ist bey der Poesie die mögliche Sinnlichkeit und Lebhaftigkeit der Vorstellungen, und die Unterhaltung der Phantasie durch dieselben; bey der Prose aber die Klarheit, Bestimmtheit, Richtigkeit und Gründlichkeit der Vorstellungen, und die dadurch zu bewirkende Ueberzeugung des Verstandes und Lenkung des Willens."

Other aspects emanate from these distinctions and can be applied to poetry and prose as follows from their purpose:

‘Poetic genius consists predominantly of those abilities of the soul which require an end in itself: a ready receptiveness for sensual impressions, a lively and strong emotion, a vivid and productive imagination, combined with a mature ability of judgement and taste.’⁵⁵

The abilities of the poet have to be adjusted according to the purpose of his writing. As far as prose is concerned, it might well be that a high degree of knowledge is required, yet knowledge and rules do not suffice. Eschenburg quotes Horace “*natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte*”,⁵⁶ and points to Shakespeare whom he edited and defended against Voltaire.⁵⁷

The same ‘functional view’ is true for poetic matter. It comprises ‘every object which is capable of the sensibly perfect presentation through speech’.⁵⁸ As the new poetic matter, if carefully measured, challenges the aesthetical and moral abilities of the recipient, it is to be regarded highly. Consequently and together with Henry Home and Riedel’s *Theorie der schönen Künste*, Eschenburg praises the new: ‘Pleasing and touching to the senses is also the new, unexpected and unusual.’⁵⁹

Eschenburg’s book soon reached a canonical status among German aesthetical treatises; yet fifty years after its publication it had to face criticism. As a consequence, Moritz Eduard Pinder (1807–1871), a famous Berlin philologist and librarian, in 1836 rewrites the *Entwurf* in favour of classificatory and idealizing elements. Eschenburg’s morals have been

55 Ibid., p. 39: “Poetisches Genie besteht in einem vorzüglichen Maasse derjenigen Seelenfähigkeiten, welche die Erreichung des Endzwecks erfordert: in einer behenden Empfänglichkeit sinnlicher Eindrücke, in einem lebhaften und starken Gefühl, in einer reichen und fruchtbaren Einbildungskraft, verbunden mit reifer Beurteilung und Geschmack.”

56 Ibid., p. 41; Horaz: Sämtliche Werke. Lateinisch und deutsch, ed. by Hans Färber, Munich: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1993, v. 408, p. 568.

57 On this dispute and its influence on the German literary public see Anneliese Klingenberg: Leipzigs Stimme im Streit Eschenburgs mit Voltaire. In: Von der Elbe bis an die Seine: Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, ed. by Michel Espagne, Matthias Middell. Leipzig: Universitätsverlag 1993 (Deutsch-Französische Kulturbibliothek 1), pp. 117–123.

58 Eschenburg (fn. 40), p. 36: “Poetischer Stoff ist daher jeder Gegenstand, welcher der sinnlich vollkommenen Darstellung durch die Rede fähig ist.”

59 Ibid., p. 22: “Ergötzend und rührend für die Sinne ist ferner das Neue, Unerwartete, und Ungewöhnliche.”

made a mockery of, claims Pinder. In turn, Pinder focuses on the description of genre and the relation of the arts, simplifying, but also enriching, the text. A simplifying example can be seen in Pinder's treatment of the explanation of aesthetics Eschenburg derives from Baumgarten and Meier. Eschenburg (according to Pinder's revision) reduces aesthetics to the explanation of the 'theory of the beautiful arts of speech' that is part of a 'doctrine of the art as such'.⁶⁰ In contrast to this, Pinder himself adds new sources, e.g. Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart's *Grundbegriffe zur Philosophie über den Geschmack* (1785), Karl Philipp Moritz' *Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen* (1788), Bouterwek's *Aesthetik* (1806, ²1815), Friedrich W.J. Schelling's *Ueber das Verhältniß der bildenden Künste zu der Natur* (1808), Giovanni Battista Talia's *Saggio di Estetica* (1822), Luigi Pasquali's *Istituzioni di Estetica* (1827), Kant's *Critique of Judgement* and Hegel's lecture on 'belles lettres' (edition by the art historian Heinrich Gustav Hotho, Berlin 1835).⁶¹ The result of Pinder's attentive reception of contemporary aesthetics and poetics is twofold: firstly, it leads to an aesthetics of autonomy which considerably changes Eschenburg's original attempt. As Pinder claims, poetic art is 'a free expression of an ideal object present in mind which arises from an inborn drive'.⁶² Secondly, the claim of autonomy becomes applicable to the genre theory, in this case the distinction of poetry and prose: whilst poetry is said to be autonomous art which has its purpose in itself, prose is judged as expressive art which aims at teaching, enlightening and persuading reason.⁶³

Yet these new tendencies of aesthetical thinking were soon to be surpassed. As Sulzer's case shows, the new critical regime of Weimar and Jena was poised to take over aesthetical issues.⁶⁴ In contrast to

60 Johann Joachim Eschenburg: Entwurf einer Theorie und Litteratur der schönen Redekünste. 5th, fully corr. ed. by Moritz Pinder. Berlin: Nicolai 1836, p. 1.

61 On Hotho Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert: Heinrich Gustav Hotho: Kunst als Bildungserlebnis und Kunstgeschichte in systematischer Absicht – oder entpolitisierte Version der ästhetischen Erziehung des Menschen. In: Kunsterfahrung und Kulturpolitik im Berlin Hegels, ed. by A.G.-S. and Otto Pöggeler. Bonn: Bouvier 1983, pp. 229–261.

62 Eschenburg/Pinder (fn. 60), p. 23: "[Dichtkunst ist] eine freie, aus innerem Drange hervorgehenden Entäusserung eines im Geiste vorhandenen idealen Gegenstandes [...]."

63 Ibid., p. 24: "[...] dahingegen Poesie ihren Zweck in sich trägt, um ihrer selbst willen da ist."

64 See Paulin (fn. 43), pp. 52 f, pp. 64 f.

these tendencies whose representatives claimed to be more innovative than their predecessors, Eberhard and Engel adhered to the old poetic and popular traditions of thinking, modifying them slightly. Eberhard studied theology in Pietist Halle, became a teacher and pastor in Halberstadt and later in Berlin. In 1778, he was appointed professor of philosophy at Halle University (succeeding Georg Friedrich Meier on Christian Wolff's chair). He became a member of the Berlin academy (1786), published literature as well as philosophical treatises and edited several philosophical journals (*Philosophisches Magazin*, 1788–1792; *Philosophisches Archiv*, 1793–1795). As Schleiermacher's teacher and as a friend of Lessing, Friedrich Nicolai and Mendelssohn, Eberhard was critical of Kant and August Wilhelm Schlegel.

Eberhard's critique of Kant amounted to a famous dispute.⁶⁵ In 1788, Eberhard publicly attacked Kant, claiming that transcendental philosophy had already been included in Leibniz's system, the argument being weak but provocative. As a consequence, many contemporaries engaged in the debate which gives an interesting insight, not only into the long history of Leibnizian and Wolffian thought, but also into the history of the universities: it might well be that Eberhard's main reason for attacking Kant was not the heritage of Leibniz's system, but the reputation, as well as the financial situation, of his own institution – unlike up-and-coming Jena, Halle was losing students and tuition fees.⁶⁶

In the field of aesthetics, Eberhard gives a more positive and less polemical impression. Already in his *Theorie der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften* (1783) he displays some astonishing knowledge about the least known treatises on the issue. He even mentions forgotten works by the Swiss scholar Jean Pierre de Crousaz (*Traité du Beau*, 1714) and by the French writer Yves-Marie André (*Essay sur le Beau*, 1759), both of whom had nothing to do with Leibniz or Wolff.⁶⁷ Crousaz,

65 On the dispute see the recent publications by Manfred Gawlina: *Das Medusenhaupt der Kritik: Die Kontroverse zwischen Immanuel Kant und Johann August Eberhard*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1996. See also the new edition of the material which is criticized for its low quality in many areas: Marion Lauschke and Manfred Zahn (eds): *Immanuel Kant: Der Streit mit Johann August Eberhard*. Hamburg: Meiner 1998 (Philosophische Bibliothek 481); Michael Oberhausen: [rev. of Lauschke, Zahn]. In: *Kant-Studien* 92 (2001) 2, pp. 249–254.

66 Oberhausen (fn. 65), p. 254.

67 See Richter: *Unsichere Schönheit?* (fn. 25).

on the contrary, opted for an aesthetics grounded in natural theology, an approach that is contradictory to Wolff and therefore ignored even by Sulzer who should have known Crousaz's work.

Eberhard combines both accounts, the Wolffian and the natural theologian one. He bridged the gap between the two approaches with the help of the concept of perfection, used by Wolff as well as by Crousaz. The latter argues that nature, as well as artistic beauty, is perfect as God is responsible for both. Eberhard adopts this point of view but deletes the religious context: according to him, it is the purpose of the beautiful arts to promote aesthetic pleasure. This, in turn, originates in the observation of perfection, of a perfect work of art which enables us to observe our own perfection.⁶⁸ It is not by mere accident that Wolff's theoretical reflection on the 'analogon rationis', sensual perception, is added to the picture: the beautiful arts are responsible for establishing 'sensually perfect knowledge' ("sinnlich vollkommene Erkenntniß").⁶⁹ Furthermore, Eberhard takes in ambitious romanticism when focusing on literature and defining the poem as 'sensually perfect speech' ("sinnlich vollkommene Rede"),⁷⁰ an expansion of the traditional 18th-century concept of the poem that differs only a little from that of the brothers Schlegel.

It fits well into this pre-romantic, or rather late-enlightened, picture, that Eberhard's systematically ambitious *Theorie*, his *Handbuch der Aesthetik für gebildete Leser aus allen Ständen* (1803), serves as a popular aesthetics in the form of letters. Daughter Lady Drivers writes to her father, Sire Rößler. Eberhard aims at creating an intimate and noble atmosphere although the book addresses a wider audience: all those citizens who enjoyed a thorough and privileged education taught themselves in the circles of well-read persons and collected some knowledge in foreign and old literature.⁷¹ Forming literary circles, literary knowledge and more or less close contact to educated people plays a huge role in Eberhard's concept of aesthetic 'Bildung'. In addition to this, Eberhard argues that Germany is a culturally retarded nation: Germans do not have such a distinguished national taste as the French, the Italians and the English, and it is not by mere accident that daughter Drivers compiles

68 Johann August Eberhard: *Theorie der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften zum Gebrauche seiner Vorlesungen*. 3rd corr. ed. Halle: Waisenhaus 1790, p. 14, § 14.

69 Ibid., pp. 3 f, § 5.

70 Ibid., pp. 161, § 142.

71 Johann August Eberhard: *Handbuch der Aesthetik für gebildete Leser aus allen Ständen*. Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum 1972 (Athenäum Reprints), p. III.

her letters during a winter journey. She saw many theatre plays and wishes to learn how to judge them.

The fictional occasion is concrete and embedded in particular social circumstances: daughter Drivers wants to prove herself worthy of cultivated company such as her British husband. Yet she does not ask her husband himself but her German father, still the authority in the area of art. The communicative situation proves this interpretation: father Rößler adopts an almost Socratic position – he asks questions, waiting for his daughter to answer, whilst being himself however the stronger partner in the discussion.

In order to inform her about basic material he tells her about his method and comes up with an astonishing argument: he attacks German philosophy but confirms some of its principles. According to the father, German philosophers move around in ‘empty rooms of speculation’ and do not set up clear criteria in order to evaluate works of art.⁷² In contrast to them, Jean-François de La Harpe in his *Lycée ou Cours de Littérature ancienne et moderne* (16 vols., Paris 1799–1805) and Johnson in his *The Lives of the English Poets* provide accounts which are far better for use in criticism. Unlike in Eschenburg’s work, foreign aesthetics not only form an important source from which one might wish to borrow but they also become authoritative. Yet father Rößler legitimates his view with a classical German premise which is reminiscent of Baumgarten: ‘that the principles of aesthetics have the same degree of evidence as the principles of other sciences’;⁷³ reason lies in the pre-existence of its objects which now need to be explained, e.g. the sky was there before astronomy and so was beauty before the invention of aesthetics. Although a work of art is not a natural fact but a human artefact, an artist was not allowed, nor able, to take more than appropriate liberties in creating it. Therefore, every work of art is governed by nature, reason and value.

It is not so much a moral but a didactical purpose which is attributed to art: Sulzer’s dictionary was ‘well-intentioned but unaesthetical’,⁷⁴ overburdened with moral reflections and the incorrect attempt to reduce art to morals. Rather, art should demonstrate humanity in all social classes through ‘refinement of the mind and the heart’,⁷⁵ not by the

72 Ibid., pp. 10 f.

73 Ibid., pp. 17–19.

74 Ibid., p. 289: “gutgemeint[], aber unästhetisch.”

75 Ibid., p. 39.

'prodesse' of the sciences but with the help of the 'delectare'. This elaboration seems to constitute a move away from Eberhard's morals, yet it turns out that it fits nicely with the Wolffian adherent Eberhard who in his *Sittenlehre der Vernunft* (1781) argues in favour of a moral, ontologically grounded ideal of human perfectibility.⁷⁶

The proof for the closeness of the *Sittenlehre* and the *Handbuch* is given by Rößler's reaction to an intervention by Lady Drivers' husband. Being British, the husband adopts a type of Burckian view and advocates strength, greatness as well as the sublime when it comes to ways in which aesthetic sentiments can be evoked. Rößler disagrees, stressing the difference between a sublime aesthetics and aesthetical morality ("ästhetische Sittlichkeit").⁷⁷ According to Rößler (and again, it seems as if he defends Eberhard's point of view) the sublime is a most problematic category as it can be caused by horrifying events and terrible 'plays' of nature, floods or earthquakes. According to Rößler, aesthetic morality allows only limited degrees of strength and greatness. He wishes to highlight the cultivating effect of pleasure: 'the interest [in the arts] has reached its peak where pleasure is the most vivid.'⁷⁸ It is astonishing how far Rößler's argument corresponds to post-Burckian British aesthetics: Kames as well as Gerard address themselves to a young and female audience; they express their doubts about the concept of the sublime and argue in favour of sympathetic imitation.⁷⁹

Having discussed Eschenburg and Eberhard, Engel's *Poetik* reads as if its author aims at developing both approaches further. As was common at the time, Engel studied theology, and received his Doctorate from Rostock University. In 1766, he, like Eschenburg, was appointed as a 'Hofmeister' in Leipzig where he enrolled again, this time for history, law and languages. Having acquired some reputation he received a professorship at the famous Joachimsthaler Gymnasium in Berlin where Sulzer had lectured and became the teacher of the brothers Humboldt at the same time. Engel, however, did not pursue academia only:

76 Friedrich Vollhardt: Die Kritik der anthropologischen Begründung barocker Staatsphilosophie in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (J.M. v. Loën und J.A. Eberhard). In: Europäische Barock-Rezeption, ed. by Klaus Garber in relation to Ferdinand van Ingen, Wilhelm Kühlmann, Wolfgang Weiß. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1991 (Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 20), part 1, pp. 377–395, pp. 394 f.

77 Eberhard (fn. 71), pp. 251–285.

78 Ibid, p. 421.

79 Harkin (fn. 5), p. 176.

from 1787 to 1794 he served as a director of Berlin's court theatre, became a member of the Berlin academy, wrote literature and collaborated with Friedrich Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*. In addition to this, he enjoyed friendships with the painter Adam Friedrich Oeser and Goethe.

Engel's poetological attempt is twofold: he aims at establishing a national poetics which serves as a guide to national taste, and, in order to provide such a guide, he avoids the wish to write another new aesthetic treatise focusing instead on genre theory and limiting his efforts to the area of poetics. The reason for this twofold attempt lies in the deficits Eschenburg and Eberhard had remarked on earlier: there is a methodological, as well as a historical, need to provide such a poetological guide which defines clear concepts, designed to be applied in criticism. Contemporary criticism, so Engel's premise goes, is nothing but subjective. As a consequence, Engel writes about a duty he fulfils, the duty to give an introduction to 'the tasteful lecture of the best national poets' in order to train mind and taste by reading and evaluating works written in the mother tongue.⁸⁰

The addressees of Engel's *Poetik* are students, not the whole educated public as in Eschenburg and Eberhard's works. On the students' talent and ability the fate of the national culture depends, and their development, in turn, depends on a strong and vivid national culture as well as on role models. As a result of this education, a young man should be able to express himself in the language of his people and talk 'correctly and forcefully and acutely' ("richtig und kräftig und fein").⁸¹ Engel's ideally educated young man does resemble the traditional 'homo rhetoricus' but has to display some more talent and creativity. He is designed to be 'a future virtuoso' ("ein angehender Virtuose") who learns to develop, think and talk from the master, by listening, reading and imitating.⁸² Engel almost formulates a highly artistic ideal of poetological education, focused on the individual and his talents, training by the masters and aiming at useful, but above all, masterly, expression.

80 Johann Jacob Engel: *Poetik*. Schriften, 10th part. Reuttligen: Mäcken 1807, p. IV.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., pp. VIIIff.

Still, the method to be applied in the *Poetik* is to be ‘analytical’ and follows the form of a philosophical lecture:⁸³ Engel expands these general concepts first and gives examples later. Furthermore, he adheres to Eschenburg’s and Eberhard’s view that poetics is ‘a part torn off from the study of experience’.⁸⁴ Like Eberhard (and unlike Eschenburg), Engel’s genre theory is characterised by two basic genres only: the ‘historical’ and ‘pragmatical’ (also termed: ‘narrative’) which comprise drama and epic and lyric poetry. The tertium comparationis of the genres is action, speech being of secondary importance only.

Genre theory inspires Engel to move beyond Eschenburg and Eberhard. Engel vehemently adopts positions also defined by Hugh Blair and later by romanticism, by Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel. They all opt for an enthusiastic and strong understanding of lyric poetry. Engel polemizes against the idea that the outer world is to play a role in the explanation of poetry and its genres. According to Engel, lyric poetry cannot be measured in ‘realist’ terms.⁸⁵ He develops the traditional distinction of poetry and prose further: in contrast to prose which aims at truth, poetry presents fictional worlds, is richer in forms and expression (metaphors, tropes) and therefore more ‘advantageous’ (“vorteilhaft”) and ‘gleaming’ (“glänzend”) than prose.⁸⁶ Poetry attracts attention, enforces impressions, is easier to memorize,⁸⁷ reaches all gifts of the senses and the mind and flatters the ear, serves the imagination and enables the heart to be inflamed by every kind of emotion.⁸⁸ In turn, the poetical genius has particular ‘forces of the soul’ (“Seelenkräfte”) and a specific ‘ability to generate ideas of a high degree of vivacity’.⁸⁹ As a consequence, the author of lyric poetry becomes the role model for the student who is to be trained in a most artistic manner.

83 Ibid., p. VII. On Engel’s method see Alexander Košenina: Johann Jakob Engels sokratische Lehrmethode am Joachimsthaler Gymnasium zu Berlin (1776–1802). In: Johann Jakob Engel: Philosoph für die Welt, Ästhetiker und Dichter, ed. by A.K. Hannover-Laatzten: Wehrhahn 2005, pp. 189–204.

84 Engel: *Poetik* (fn. 80), p. VII: “ein abgerissener Theil der Erfahrungsseelenlehre”.

85 Ibid., p. XII.

86 Ibid., pp. 2–6.

87 Ibid., p. 7.

88 Ibid., p. 11.

89 Ibid., p. 16: “Poetisches Genie ist [...], die Fähigkeit, Ideen von einem hohen Grade der Lebhaftigkeit hervorzubringen.”

To conclude, popular aesthetics offers a wide variety of poetological accounts which differ in regard to their dealings with the Wolff-tradition as well as with moral philosophy. Whilst Sulzer subscribes to the Wolff-tradition in combination with the Scottish Enlightenment, Eschenburg, Eberhard and Engel move away from Wolff and Baumgarten. Eschenburg still views aesthetics as moral education but refers to British role models, who stress the relevance of the new, as well as the sensitive, function of poetry. In contrast to Eschenburg, Eberhard aims at developing the notion of perfection (as it is in Wolff's work) and natural theology. Furthermore, being critical of the Burkian sublime, Eberhard embraces British aesthetics (Kames, Gerard) as well as an almost pre-romantic concept of poetry. He also invents literary forms. In contrast to both, Engel opts for a refined national literary criticism which is grounded on mastership ('Meisterschaft'). Attempting a guide to taste, he wishes to educate the young literary and critical virtuoso who is inspired by a strong concept of poetry.

Kant builds on this analysis of taste but criticizes the whole study of aesthetics as conceptually inappropriate. In contrast to him, his successors advocate a harmonization of Kantian and pre-Kantian positions in the popular tradition.

2. Transcendental Poetics and Beyond: Immanuel Kant's Critical Successors (1790–1800)

Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770–1842), extraordinary professor of philosophy at the University of Frankfurt at Oder, expresses it clearly: Baumgarten was correct in conceiving aesthetics as a science of taste analogous to the philosophical disciplines;¹ yet things should not stop there. Kant is to thoroughly revise Baumgarten's reflections, to reject the notion of aesthetics, to focus on the faculty of judgement and the preconditions of judgement – with some reference to beauty, the sublime and taste.² Consequently, Kant's revolutionary *Critique* inspires a countless number of works which imitate or disseminate it.

Some works are simply designed to deliver an introduction to Kant's 'aesthetics' and will be excluded from the following presentation: Christian Wilhelm Snell (1755–1834), former student of Gießen University and later professor at the lyceum in Idstein, was the first to publish a *Lehrbuch der Kritik des Geschmacks, mit beständiger Rücksicht auf die Kantische Kritik der ästhetischen Urteilskraft* (1795) on Kant's *Critique*, a book which was widely used for aesthetic 'collegia' at the universities Halle (by Kant expert Ludwig Heinrich Jakob, 1759–1827), Leipzig (by the aesthetician Karl Heinrich Heydenreich, 1764–1801) and Würzburg (by Bonaventura Andres, 1744–1822).³ Still, Snell's manual includes astonishing remarks on its addressees: it is neither designed for universities nor for schools but rather for 'more mature young men'

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- 1 Wilhelm Traugott Krug: Versuch einer Systematischen Enzyklopädie der schönen Künste. Leipzig: Hempel 1802, § 10, p. 33.
 - 2 On the "Critique of judgement" see the most recent studies by Gary Benham: Kant and the Ends of Aesthetics. London: Macmillan 2000; Rudolph Gasché: The Idea of Form: Rethinking Kant's Aesthetics. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press 2003.
 - 3 Thomáš Hlobil: Aesthetics in the Lecture Lists of the Universities of Halle, Leipzig, Würzburg, and Prague (1785–1805). In: Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert 29 (2005) 1, pp. 20–33; on Heydenreich see also Manfred Frank: Selbstgefühl: Eine historisch-systematische Erkundung. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 2002, pp. 21 f, 179–189.

(“reifere Jünglinge”).⁴ The outstanding characteristics of this audience are announced whilst the institutional aspect of education is ignored entirely. Matters of taste cross institutional boundaries because of their nature. As if this revolutionary point of view requires authority, Snell reports faithfully on Kant’s understanding of beauty as well as on the sublime. Snell takes a step back from the master when it comes to the arts. As Kant’s *Critique* provides only a few remarks on them, Snell aids his argument with Eschenburg’s and Eberhard’s reflections in order to display some knowledge at least on poetry.⁵

Other faithful reporters risk additional deviation from Kant. Christian Friedrich Michaelis (1770–1834), for instance, professor of philosophy in Leipzig who regularly offered a course on aesthetics,⁶ in the first part of his *Entwurf der Aesthetik, als Leitfaden akademischen Vorlesungen über Kant’s Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (1796), fulfils the tasks of a commentary as well; yet in the second (short) part, he develops some of his own ideas. As Michaelis perceives the same lack of a theory of the arts in Kant as Snell, Michaelis focuses on the theory of the arts, promoting the development of aesthetics as a philosophical discipline. Therefore, he highlights the autonomy of literature and contrasts it with rhetoric, rhetoric being regarded as a ‘serious engagement which has an external purpose’,⁷ a distinction which became classical during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Michaelis’ *Entwurf* is reminiscent of Karl Philipp Moritz’s *Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen* (1788): before Kant, Moritz had pleaded for the purposelessness of art. In contrast to Kant, he claimed that the ‘free play of the imagination’ does not reside in the observing subject but in art itself,⁸ thereby turning art into metaphysics. Both Moritz

4 Christian Wilhelm Snell: *Lehrbuch der Kritik des Geschmacks mit beständiger Rücksicht auf die Kantische Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft* ausgearbeitet [...]. Leipzig: Johann Gottfried Müller 1795, p. II.

5 Snell (fn. 4), p. X, *passim*.

6 Hlobil (fn 3), p. 26.

7 Christian Friedrich Michaelis: *Entwurf der Aesthetik als Leitfaden bei akademischen Vorlesungen über Kant’s Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft*. Augsburg: Späth 1796, p. 34, § 63: Wilhelm Traugott Krug’s “Beredsamkeit” or “Redekunst” is deemed to be a “freies Spiel der Einbildungskraft” but “ernsthafte Beschäftigung [...] die ihren bestimmten Zweck ausser sich hat.”

8 Friedrich Vollhardt: *Das Kunstwerk als ein “in sich selbst Vollendetes”*: Zur Entstehung und Wirkung der Autonomieästhetik in Deutschland. In: *Kongreß Junge Kulturwissenschaft und Praxis: Kreativität und Leistung – Wege und Irrwege der Selbstverwirklichung*, ed. by Konrad Adam. Köln 1986 (Veröffentli-

and Michaelis display thoughts which might have been ‘in the air’ of pre- and post-Kantian Germany: According to Michaelis – who is closer in this respect to Moritz than to Kant – poetry is to be explained as ‘the art to execute a free play of the imagination like a business of mind’,⁹ the ‘like’ expressing the equality of poetry to the ‘serious business’ of reason. Following Moritz’s thinking and, to some extent, Kant’s, Michaelis legitimates the privileged role of poetry through autonomy: the poetic play has its purpose in itself – an understanding of art which has its predecessors in Riedel, as well as in the popular philosopher Johann Gotthelf Lindner (*Kurzer Inbegriff der Ästhetik, Redekunst und Dichtkunst*, 1771/2).¹⁰ Snell does not go so far. According to him, ‘serious engagement’ (“ernsthafte Beschäftigung”) is not the goal of poetry but rather its ‘secondary aim’ (“Nebenzweck”). Poetry serves as a ‘play of sensibility’ (“Spiel der Sinnlichkeit”), thereby augmenting reason to some minor extent. Snell opts for a more trivial version of an aesthetics of autonomy. The accounts discussed in the following chapters carry the deviation from Kant further.

(a) Critical Poetics and Popular Critique: Johann Heinrich Gottlob Heusinger (1797)

In contrast to Eberhard and Engel, Johann Heinrich Gottlob Heusinger, Christian August Heinrich C. Clodius and Joseph Hillebrand rely on Kant to a large extent. Still, they do not follow his transcendental philosophy of judgement; they aim at combining popular philosophy with

chungen der Hanns Martin Schleyer Stiftung 20), pp. 79–85, pp. 80 f; Friedrich Vollhardt: Selbstreferenz im Literatursystem: Rhetorik, Poetik, Ästhetik. In: Literaturwissenschaft, ed. by Jürgen Fohrmann, Harro Müller in collab. with Susanne Landeck. Munich: Fink 1995, pp. 249–272, pp. 271 f.

- 9 Michaelis (fn. 7), p. 34, § 64: “Die Dichtkunst lässt sich erklären als die Kunst, ein freies Spiel der Einbildungskraft wie ein Geschäft des Verstandes auszuführen. Der Dichter gebraucht Worte (den Gedankenausdruck) als Mittel zu seinem Zweck, einem unterhaltenden Spiele der Einbildungskraft mit ästhetischen Ideen.” Compare Snell (fn. 4), p. 292, § 128.

- 10 Johann Gotthelf Lindner: *Kurzer Inbegriff der Aesthetik, Redekunst und Dichtkunst* [1771/1772]. Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum 1971 (Athenäum Reprints), (2 vols.), 3. ch., §.2., p. 148: “Schön ist, was sinnlich gefällt, und wie Riedel den Zusatz macht, ohne interessirte Absicht, auch dann, wenn wir es nicht besitzen [...]”/ ‘Beautiful is that which is sensually pleasing, even if, as Riedel adds accidentally, we do not possess it.’

Kant's new approach, thereby applying aesthetics to literary problems and, of course, risking manifold contradictions.

Heusinger (1767–1837) received his Dr phil as well as his *venia legendi* from Jena University, becoming a professor at the cadet corps in Dresden in 1807 (until 1831). Among school books, novels and philosophical treatises he published a handbook on aesthetics. His *Handbuch der Aesthetik* (1797) considers Kant's *Critique of Judgement* in the first part, while the second part of the *Handbuch* expands on genre theory in a way which is close to Eberhard and Engel.¹¹ From Sulzer, Heusinger inherits the moral orientation of popular philosophy. Driven by didactical visions comparable to Engel, Heusinger develops a popular aesthetics for 'amateurs' ("Dilettanten").¹² Heusinger examines methods of professional literary critique (as executed by Wieland and Garve), stressing that this kind of critique is governed by principles which are not accessible to a general public.¹³ In turn, Heusinger perceives a lack of principles amongst the reading public, the amateurs. They should be helped by his *Handbuch* and be enabled to find criteria for poetic judgement. Heusinger's ideal readership therefore covers a larger audience than Engel; Heusinger addresses the whole unprofessional reading public.

Heusinger provides a critical poetics in favour of true popular critique. He claims to be the first one to publish such a popular aesthetics: 'The studies of Henry Home, Hugh Blair, du Bos, Pouilly are deemed to be too aphoristic and incoherent to have led to general principles about the pleasurable enjoyment of beauties of art.'¹⁴ As a remedy against this critical contingency, Heusinger recommends Kant's *Critique of Judgement*. Heusinger to a large extent reports Kant's ideas: the doctrine of the differentiation of the beautiful and the sublime, as well as the

11 Georg Jäger: Das Gattungsproblem in der Ästhetik und Poetik von 1780 bis 1850. In: Zur Literatur der Restaurationsepoche, ed. by Jost Hermand and Manfred Windfuhr. Stuttgart: Metzler 1970, pp. 371–404, p. 374.

12 Johann Heinrich Gottlob Heusinger: Handbuch der Aesthetik oder Grundsätze zur Bearbeitung und Beurtheilung der Werke einer jeden schönen Kunst als der Poesie, Malerei, Bildhauerkunst, Musik, Mimik, Baukunst, Gartenkunst etc. etc. Für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber. 2 parts. Gotha: Perthes 1797, I, p. IV.

13 Ibid., I, p. X.

14 Ibid., I, p. XVII: "Die Untersuchungen eines Home, Hugo Blairs, Du Bos, Pouilly, sind aber insgesamt zu aphoristisch und unzusammenhängend, als daß sie auf allgemeine Grundsätze über das Wohlgefallen an Kunstschönheiten führen könnten."

differentiation between the judgement of taste and the judgement of art, which requires more than taste.

Heusinger, being aware of Kant's sceptical attitude towards aesthetic judgements *a priori*, applies Kant's ideas to aesthetics by giving rules for identifying a most pleasing work of art. Thereby he goes far beyond Kant, contradicting his original aim to clarify the conditions of aesthetic judgements. However, according to Heusinger, a work of art must fulfil three criteria: firstly, a work of art must be 'pleasant' ("angenehm") to the recipient, secondly, the work of art must correspond to the things the artist will present (fulfil the requirements of reason and objectivity, as perfect as possible etc.) and thirdly, a work of art must enhance the 'morality of one's mind-set' ("die Sittlichkeit der Gesinnung").¹⁵ In short: 'perfection, morality and adoptability' ("Vollkommenheit, Sittlichkeit und Annehmlichkeit") are intentionally united in a work, so that they create pleasure, as shown in the Laokoon-sculpture.

A long paragraph on the relation of the arts attacks the popular and progressive romantic idea of the superiority of poetry over other arts. According to Heusinger, poetry should be understood in the framework of rhetoric. 'The poem is a speech that should please',¹⁶ writes Heusinger, sticking to the tradition of rhetoric. He continues with a classification of three sub-genres:¹⁷ firstly, lyrical poetry which is said to present sentiments (song, ode, hymn, elegy, heroide), secondly, didactical poetry which presents concepts (epigram, fable, allegory, satire, didactical poem) and thirdly historical poetry which presents incidents (poetical narrative, novel, heroic poem, dramatical poem). Heusinger also defines criteria to qualify different arts. Amongst these criteria he names the tools to present objects as well as the relevant art's relation to reality.¹⁸

Thereby, Heusinger's aesthetics and poetics still draw on 18th-century approaches: on moral philosophy, British criticism and Kant. The result is reminiscent of Eschenburg, Eberhard and Engel, yet the transcendental reflection develops popular philosophy further. This development proceeds into early 19th-century speculation through the work of Clodius.

15 Ibid., I, pp. 86–88.

16 Ibid., II, p. 4: "Das Gedicht ist also eine Rede, welche gefallen soll."

17 Ibid., II, pp. 9–12.

18 Ibid., I, pp. 297 f.

(b) Systematical and Empirical Poetics on a Cosmological Basis: Christian August Heinrich C. Clodius (1804)

Clodius stands in a family tradition of the poetic profession. His father Christian August Clodius was appointed professor of poetics in 1782 and was a scholar of the erudite type Goethe tended to parody. In contrast to his more traditional father, the young Clodius (1772–1836) corresponds to the ideal of an 18th-century genius:¹⁹ in 1787 he studied philology, jurisprudence and philosophy (Kant) in Leipzig, published a volume entitled *Gedichte* (1794), received his *venia legendi* for a work called *De poëseos generibus* (1795) and became a professor of practical philosophy (1810), sporadically teaching aesthetics.²⁰ Clodius translated La-fontaine's fables (1803), wrote a philosophical novel inspired by Rousseau (*Fedor, der Mensch unter Bürgern*, 1805) and edited Klopstock's bequested papers (1821). Clodius' philosophical master piece *Gott in der Natur, in der Menschengeschichte und im Bewußtsein* (1818–1822), his long poem on *Eros und Psyche* (postum 1839) and, last but not least, his *Entwurf einer systematischen Poetik* (1804) revealed an astonishing philosophical development which is typical for early 19th-century thinkers: Clodius started off as a Kantian, became increasingly critical and polemical towards Kant's formalism, opted for a moderate reasonable 'religionism' ("Religionismus"),²¹ regarded religion as being identical with awareness, aimed at restituting physicotheology and conceived an historicotheology. Kant's critique of reason was transformed into a limited belief in reason which should enable thinkers to pay tribute to the unbridgeable gap between the ideal and the real – a typical contemporary point of view.

In his *Entwurf*, Clodius soberly states that philosophy omits the empirical fields of knowledge. There is a want of 'fortunate experiments in the empirical' ("glückliche Experimente im Empirischen") in order to innovate.²² Yet he observes a tendency which promises new discoveries: 'Our poets philosophise and our philosophers become poetical.'²³ Phi-

19 Carl von Prantl: "Clodius, Christian August". In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. IV, pp. 334 f.

20 Hlobil (fn. 3), pp. 24 f.

21 Carl von Prantl: "Clodius, Christian August" (fn. 19), p. 335.

22 C.A.H. Clodius: Entwurf einer systematischen Poetik, nebst Collectaneen zu ihrer Ausführung. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel 1804. (2 vols.)

23 Ibid., vol. 1., p. IX: "Unsere Dichter philosophieren und unsere Philosophen werden poetisch."

losophers use the tacit knowledge of poetry and, in turn, poets make creative use of philosophical ideas. Still, this tendency represents only a preliminary stage of the kind of poetics Clodius wishes to propose: his poetics aims at a combination of ideal philosophical principles a priori, with the proofs a posteriori from 'Erfahrungsseelenlehre' and poetry. The *Entwurf* is to be understood as the first of numerous 19th-century attempts to formulate such an idea: inheriting Baumgarten's and Meier's concept of poetics and aesthetics incorporated into rational psychology, Sulzer's, Eschenburg's, Eberhard's and Engel's various ways of connecting 'Erfahrungsseelenlehre' and poetics, poetics now becomes part of a transcendental, as well as an emerging empirical, psycho-philosophy (Johann Friedrich Herbart).

The *Entwurf* unfolds this revised connection of poetics, psychology and philosophy: dealing with general poetics in the first book, Clodius expands on beauty, language and genre as well as on the relation of poetry and poetics. His second book focuses on special poetics, which means genre theory. This distinction of two poetological books finds many imitators throughout the 19th century. One result of the genre-related part is a relevant contribution to the genre of the opera. It is valuable in two aspects: firstly, Clodius emerges as one of the many contributors who highlight the notion of the 'romantique' in music theory; secondly, his reflections prove that the opera is still viewed as a mixed genre involving literature and music (and not as the execution of 'absolute music').²⁴

Clodius' system is based on the idea of beauty which he, rather associatively, following Confucian cosmogony (the division of two principle forces called yin and yang), Pythagoras' vision of a fourfold source of nature and Kant's categories,²⁵ divides into two, four and eight pictures. They are said to have a wonderful relation to the four ideas of reason and forces of the soul. Through this combination, Clodius displays his systematic, yet slightly obscure creativity. He aims at reconciling enlightenment with rising mysticism by securing the fruits of the enlight-

24 Ulrich Tadday: Christian August Heinrich Clodius' "Entwurf einer systematischen Poetik" von 1804 und die Anfänge einer Ästhetik der romantischen Oper. In: *Die Musikforschung* 51 (1998), pp. 25–33, p. 33.

25 Baronin Wolff (ed.): *Die Goldenen Verse des Pythagoras*. Munich-Planegg: Barth 1926.

enment and awakening ‘the mood for devotion in the minds’ (“Stimmung zur Andacht in den Gemütern”).²⁶

At the peak of the system stands an ‘absolutely necessary real being’ (“absolut notwendige[s] reale[s] Wesen”) also called God. This being elevates man and forces him by a ‘natural drive’ (“Naturtrieb”) to act in a way that makes him recognize his existence.²⁷ As a consequence, action and existence gain a higher purpose. Ideality can be seen as ‘a notion-less purposefulness’ (“begrifflose Zweckmäßigkeit”) – an experience of the divine, of religious belief which is more or less cosmological.²⁸ In turn, this cosmological religion guarantees the truth of the whole system: it allows man to interpret the world in a philosophical and scientific way. Belief is but a striving for ‘aesthetical evidence’ (“ästhetische Evidenz”) of the wisely ordered world.²⁹

It follows that it is reflexivity which attributes man a most important place on earth: he is different from animals because he perceives himself as a part of God’s nature, thereby emancipating himself from nature or pure instinct and embracing awareness. Art is a practice which recognizes this capability. Two types of art express different degrees of awareness: ‘conditional art’ (“bedingte Kunst”) and ‘unconditional’ (“unbedingte Kunst”) or free art.³⁰ The latter is most interesting as it is through free art that the artist or genius penetrates the frontiers of his individual nature and realizes the ideal. Poetry is such a free or ‘playing art’ (“spielende Kunst”) – as Clodius claims with Moritz and Michaelis in mind, without, of course, naming them.³¹ Yet Clodius combines the notion of poetry which is autonomous in itself with the subject-centred account in Schiller’s letters *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795): Each ‘unconditional’ action is regarded as an autonomous play that is, according to Schiller, characterised by a unifying, law-giving spirit, far detached from the sphere of the bare necessities.³²

26 Clodius (fn. 22), vol. 1, p. XIV.

27 Ibid., p. XV.

28 Ibid., p. XVIII.

29 Ibid., p. XVIII.

30 Ibid., I. ch., § 2, p. 5.

31 Ibid., § 2, p. 6, fn. 2.

32 Friedrich Schiller: *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen* (27th letter). In: F. Sch.: *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*, ed. by Otto Dann et al., Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag 1992, vol. 8, pp. 667–676.

Still, Clodius adheres to the transformation of poetry into metaphysics. This follows from the emphatic concept of poetry as a 'creative art' ("schöpferische Kunst").³³ Clodius describes poetry as non-mimetical, meaning that it does not imitate something that previously existed.³⁴ Guided by some primitive popular criticism of Aristotle, Clodius attacks the Greek philosopher, claiming that he was wrong in declaring mimesis as poetry's principle; according to Clodius, mimesis is only a rudimentary beginning of art.³⁵ As in many 19th-century theories of poetics, rhetoric is disqualified as a non-free, mimetical art, whereas poetry is said to produce the ideal through the creative use of language. Poetry goes beyond the more mimetical arts as it presents the 'creative force' ("schaffende Kraft") itself.³⁶

This emphatic notion of poetry also calls for a clear distinction between the object and its theory: poetics as it is abstracted from existing works of poetry. 'Poetics is theory of poetry in general and of the individual genres in particular, simultaneously the epitome of rules that are to be prohibited for poetical works [...].'³⁷ Poetics classifies poetry but not only that. It also provides norms and rules which may guide the writer. This claim, however, does not lead back to a 'poetics of rules' ('Regelpoetik'); rules are to be understood as hypotheses from rational psychology. It follows that these rules are not strict rules but rather negative statements on what to do (e.g. how to use language) and what to avoid (e.g. thinking in an inconsistent way). The creator-type poet is thought of in the same way.

It is the task of the aesthetic philosopher to explain whether or not a poetic work fulfils its duties. He has to investigate the relation of beauty to every spiritual force and examine the characteristics of beauty, as well as the essence of beauty and its necessary sub-genres.³⁸ The goal of free art is to realise the ideal beauty that can never be attained.³⁹ Therefore, the aesthetic philosopher informs his audience about the degrees of beauty that can be achieved theoretically or that are realised in a con-

33 Clodius (fn. 22), vol. 1, I. ch., § 2, p. 6, fn. 3.

34 Ibid., § 2, p. 6, fn. 3.

35 Ibid., § 2, p. 8, fn. 6.

36 Ibid., § 3, p. 14.

37 Ibid., § 5, p. 34: "Poetik ist Theorie der Poesie überhaupt und der einzelnen Dichtungsarten insbesondere, zugleich ein Inbegriff verbietender Regeln für die poetischen Kunstwerke [...]."

38 Ibid., II. ch., § 9, p. 215.

39 Ibid., § 2, p. 36.

crete work of art: the ‘lower beauty’ (“niedere Schöne”) which refers to the sensitive man who feels the ideality of nature and turns to grace, the naive, the lovely.⁴⁰ In contrast to this and similar to Kant’s thought, ‘higher beauty’ (“höhere Schöne”) occurs if man harmonizes spirit and nature in sublime art.⁴¹

Like Heusinger, Clodius combines ‘Erfahrungsseelenlehre’ and transcendental philosophy. In contrast to Heusinger, he advocates a strong idea of poetry which is marked by the notions ‘free play’ and ‘unconditional’. Furthermore, Clodius aims to make poetological thinking sacred again by adopting the cosmological speculation current at the time. The latter tendency was soon to be reversed by a man who was destined for the priesthood: Joseph H. Hillebrand (1788–1871).⁴²

(c) Towards a Realistic Poetics: Joseph Hillebrand (1827)

With the support of the local government, Hillebrand studied classics and oriental languages in Göttingen, acted as a priest and teacher in Hildesheim and converted to Protestantism because of disagreement with his church’s dogma. Like so many of his colleagues he was appointed ‘Hofmeister’; he also received a chair in philosophy at Heidelberg University as Hegel had left for Berlin. In 1822, Hillebrand moved to Gießen to take up the responsibilities of a chair as well as the directorship of the ‘Gymnasium’. In 1847, this popular teacher and colleague was elected to become a liberal member (and soon president) of the political chamber of Hesse. Therefore, he was dispensed from his academic office and forced to retire.

Although his writings tend towards schematic orders and use some capricious terminology, they are inspiring and idealist. Among his publications are the *Germanikus* (1817) on leading personalities of the Roman Empire, *Ueber Deutschlands National-Bildung* (1818) as well as a treaty on education, idealist novels (*Eugenius Severus*, 1819; *Paradies und Welt*, 1822) and elaborations on the history of literature (*Aesthetica literaria classica*, 1828; *Die deutsche Nationalliteratur seit dem Anfange des 18. Jahrhunderts besonders seit Lessing bis auf die Gegenwart*, 1845, ²1850,

40 Ibid., § 6, p. 65.

41 Ibid.

42 Carl von Prantl: Hillebrand, Joseph H. In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. XII, pp. 415–417.

³1875). Furthermore, Hillebrand's philosophical writings provide interesting information on the system of knowledge relevant at the time including pneumatics, cosmology, somatology, anthropology and cultural history. *Propädeutik der Philosophie* (1819), *Grundriß der Logik* (1820), *Die Anthropologie als Wissenschaft* (1822) and *Universalphilosophische Prolegomena* (1830) represent a position which arbitrates between Hegel and Herbart's psychologism.

Hillebrand's *Lehrbuch der Literar-Aesthetik* (1827) is conceived as an academic poetics, addressing university teachers as well as students. It is derived from lectures on general and literary aesthetics Hillebrand had given over ten years. Like Clodius, Hillebrand distinguishes general from special poetics; in contrast to Clodius he also expands on rhetoric and style. Less original than Clodius, Hillebrand claims that the main task of literary aesthetics or poetics (or, in the broad sense, theory of the beautiful arts of rhetoric) is the scientific observation of the beautiful as it is expressed in language and speech. In his definition of the beautiful and its application to poetry lies Hillebrand's original achievement and, through this definition and its application, he becomes a forerunner of realism.

The beautiful can be, according to Hillebrand, evaluated from two different angles: firstly, it can be judged formally, referring to its 'ability to provide pleasure' ("Wohlgefälligkeit"), 'ability to be observed' ("Anschaubarkeit") and 'harmony' ("Harmonie"). The criterion of harmony is restricted to characteristics which correspond to 'manifoldness, unity, proportion, [...] regularity' ("Mannichfaltigkeit, Einheit, Verhältnismäßigkeit [...], Regelmäßigkeit").⁴³ Secondly, beauty can be measured according to its 'aesthetical effect' ("ästhetischer Effekt"), be it the 'vitalisation of feeling' ("Belebung des Gefühls"), the 'engagement of the mind' ("Beschäftigung des Verstandes"), the 'engagement of imagination' ("Beschäftigung der Einbildungskraft") or the 'arousing of the consciousness of reasonable and higher independent action' ("Erweckung des Bewußtseyns vernünftiger und höherer Freythätigkeit").⁴⁴ Despite the fact that all beauty strives towards the metaphysical and ideal, it needs a realistic grounding: 'Every beauty must have its basis in some reality.'⁴⁵ The reason for this is the claim that truth is an essential

43 Joseph Hillebrand: *Lehrbuch der Literar-Aesthetik*. Mainz: Kupferberg 1827, (2 vols.), vol. 1, §§ 4–6, pp. 5–7.

44 Ibid., §§ 7–11, pp. 8–10.

45 Ibid., § 23, p. 19.

criterion for beauty; arbitrary and abstract depictions cannot be beautiful.

Yet the relations of beauty and reality can be manifold. Amongst the legitimate relations are the sublime as Kant describes it, 'grace' ("Anmuth"), 'the naïve' ("das Naïve") and 'the moving' ("das Rührende").⁴⁶ In contrast to Clodius, Hillebrand does not recognise a distinction between 'higher' and 'lower' beauty; he appreciates all its expressions.

The definition of poetry is modified according to these claims and features. Among the more common-sensical notions is the idea that the literary arts have 'a word-language' ("Wortsprache") as their medium of expression and can therefore express the conditions, as well as the development, of the 'inner nature' ("innere Natur") of men.⁴⁷ The new aspects again contain the claim that art has to refer to reality: 'Poetry in general is the creative reincarnation of the real, that is free individual presentation of an ideal built according to the elements of reality.'⁴⁸ In contrast to Clodius who states that poetry is but a mere creation of the new, Hillebrand argues in favour of a recombination of elements already given in reality. There is no such thing as a first and unique creation in poetry. On the contrary, firstly, poetry must be linked to an object, be it a feeling or a scene of life. Secondly, poetry must correlate content and form as perfectly as possible. Thirdly, poetry has to illustrate reality through a vivid and free expression. Fourthly, 'the essence of poetry is not concerned with its purpose' ("Dem Wesen der Poesie ist ihr Zweck gleich").⁴⁹ And this purpose is to stimulate and enrich spiritual and psychological life. This type of poetry strives for the expression of the ideal through realism.

To conclude, through the work of Kant's successors in transcendental philosophy, popular aesthetics was reimported into poetics. Kant's philosophy of judgement became a practical doctrine which provided definitions of poetry either within the framework of rhetoric (Heusinger) or beyond it, adopting the contemporaneous anti-mimetic aesthetics of autonomy (Clodius, Schiller), making poetics sacred again (Clodius) or considering an almost realist point of view (Hillebrand). Further-

46 Ibid., §§ 19–21, pp. 14 f.

47 Ibid., § 64, p. 49.

48 Ibid., § 124, p. 91: "Poesie überhaupt ist schöpferische Wiedergeburt des Wirklichen, also freie individualisierende Darstellung eines nach den Elementen der Wirklichkeit gebildeten Ideals."

49 Ibid., § 126, pp. 93 f.

more, as occurred in popular aesthetics, some of Kant's pupils focused on the reading public and aimed at establishing criteria for aesthetic judgement (Heusinger).

The transcendental approach did not survive long even though it was memorized and reinvented at various times during the 19th and early 20th centuries (e. g. through Neo-Kantianism). Things were different with the emphatic notion of poetry as well as with the practical and critical attempts of popular philosophy and the Kant-adepts. Their writings can be regarded as main stream and as shaping the following poetological tendencies as well.

3. Historical and Genetic Poetics: Johann Justus Herwig (1774), August Wilhelm Schlegel (1801–1803/1809–1811) and Johann Gottfried Herder's Heritage

In early 20th-century poetics Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) was regarded as the innovator who, beyond Goethe's and Schiller's classicist reign, revitalised and theoreticised poetics with his 'historical and ethnographical points of view' ("geschichtlichen und ethnographischen Gesichtspunkten").¹ This judgement is most intriguing as it highlights the enormous relevance of a poetological thinker who, through the dominance of speculative philosophy even in aesthetics, was largely forgotten by the beginning of the 19th century.

Indeed, it is history and the people that attract Herder's attention. Having studied in Königsberg with Kant and Hamann, Herder became one of the leading writers in late 18th-century Weimar. Yet because of his critique of Kant in *Kalligone* (1800) he argued with Goethe and Schiller. Furthermore, Herder opposed Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*:

'Sulzer's dictionary has appeared; the first part is, however, utterly below my expectations. None of the critical articles on literature are of use, neither are most of the mechanical ones, only the psychological articles are of use, but even in those one finds the most meandering and dour idle talk, as well as partisanship, all of which shine through the whole work.'²

1 Rudolf Lehmann: *Deutsche Poetik*. Munich: Beck 1908 (Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen, 3rd vol, 2nd part), pp. 10 f; see also Lehmann: *Poetik*. 2nd corr. and augm. ed. Munich: Beck 1919, pp. 10 f.

2 Johann Gottfried Herder: *Briefe*, ed. by Wilhelm Dobbek and Günter Arnold, Weimar 1977, (9 vols.), vol. 2, p. 106 (letter to Merck 16th Nov. 1771): "Sulzers Wörterbuch ist erschienen; aber der erste Teil ganz unter meinen Erwartungen. Alle litterarisch-kritischen Artikel taugen nichts, die meisten mechanischen nichts, die psychologischen sind die einzigen, und auch in denen das langwierigste, darbendste Geschwätze, sowie Landsmannschaft und Parteilichkeit aus dem ganzen Werke leuchtet."

At first sight, the harsh evaluation of Sulzer's dictionary is astonishing because Herder profits considerably from sources Sulzer and his contributors use, in short, from 18th-century anthropological and historical approaches (Montesquieu and the Scottish Enlightenment for example). Still, Herder, in his writings on aesthetics – *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (1770/71), the texts on the epigram (1786), idyll (1801) and didactic poem (1801) – offers different, often more complex and more innovative material or thoughts than Sulzer.³

To characterise Herder's approach only briefly: he directs his ideas against classicism, strict norms and teleological concepts of history. Opting for an almost transcendental conception of aesthetics,⁴ historical 'natural' standpoints and fluid values, Herder highlights the relevance of the particular people and its poetry. At the same time he pleads for the identity of means and purpose, of the dispersal of the good.⁵ As a consequence, he, following the work of Hamann and others, explores relatively uncharted poetic territory: the poetry of the people. Despite the fact that one of his favourite poems, the Ossian fragments, proved

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- 3 Robert E. Norton: Herder's aesthetics and the European enlightenment. Ithaca, London: Cornell Univ. Press 1991; Hans Adler: Die Prägnanz des Dunklen. Gnoseologie – Ästhetik – Geschichtsphilosophie bei Johann Gottfried Herder. Hamburg: Meiner 1990 (Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert 13); Wolfgang Proß (ed.): Werke. Johann Gottfried Herder. Munich, Vienna: Hanser 1984/87, (2 vol.); Ralph Häfner: Johann Gottfried Herders Kulturentstehungslehre. Studien zu den Quellen und zur Methode seines Geschichtsdenkens. Hamburg: Meiner 1995 (Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert 19); Ralf Simon: Das Gedächtnis der Interpretation: Gedächtnistheorie als Fundament für Hermeneutik, Ästhetik und Interpretation bei Johann Gottfried Herder. Hamburg: Meiner 1998 (Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert 23); Ulrike Zeuch: Umkehr der Sinneshierarchie: Herder und die Aufwertung des Tastsinns seit der frühen Neuzeit. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2000 (Communicatio 22), to name only a few recent research works on an author who currently inspires many discussions.
 - 4 Friedhelm Solms: *Disciplina aethetica*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1990; Friedrich Vollhardt: [rev.] Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert 16 (1992), pp. 70–74.
 - 5 Jürgen Fohrmann: Literaturgeschichte als Stiftung von Ordnung: Das Konzept der Literaturgeschichte bei Herder, August Wilhelm und Friedrich Schlegel. In: Historische und aktuelle Konzepte der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung: Zwei Königskinder? Zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Literaturwissenschaft, ed. by Wilhelm Voßkamp and Eberhard Lämmert. Tübingen 1986 (Akten des VII. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses: Kontroversen, alte und neue, ed. Albert Schöne), pp. 75–84, pp. 78 f.

to have been a forgery,⁶ Herder's Ossian interpretation informs the reader about his poetic approach: in contrast to the ideal of perfection, Herder advocates authenticity and closeness to the life and expressions of the (simple) people as revelations of God's own nature.

This historical spirit seems to have been in the air if one takes into account an astonishing, non-speculative but historiographical account of poetics in which Herder is not mentioned at all: Johann Justus Herwig's *Grundriß der eleganten Litteratur* (1774), written as a tool to help with his lectures and also used by Johann Joachim Schwabe (1714–1784) who taught aesthetics in Leipzig.⁷ Herwig himself (1742–1801) was a Lutheran pastor before he became a professor of 'belles lettres' at Würzburg University. Translating from Greek, French, Italian and English, he focused on religion and literature (e. g. in his *Journal für Freunde der Religion und Litteratur*, 1776–1781). Rejecting the French Revolution he was a renowned defender of the monarchy.⁸

Herwig's poetological *Grundriß* follows a threefold structure: firstly, the 'critical history' of poetry and the beautiful arts is presented, secondly, Herwig sums up his (rather basic) theoretical assumptions in order to apply them, thirdly, to the arts.⁹ In order to develop his project Herwig draws on the work of his colleagues Johann Ernst Christian Schmid (Gießen), Johann Joachim Schwabe and Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld who seem to be willing to promote similar histories of the arts.¹⁰ Following their interests (and indeed his own), Herwig draws a simplistic, yet surprisingly representative picture of the development of literature in Greece, China, Israel, Italy, Spain, France, England and Germany. This picture can be seen as an alternative draft to Hamann and Herder's criticism of 18th-century (German) literature, yet it pays tribute to Macpherson's Ossian as well.

6 Wolf Gerhard Schmidt: *Homer des Nordens und Mutter der Romantik*: James Macphersons "Ossian und seine Rezeption in der deutschsprachigen Literatur. Berlin, New York 2003/04. (4 vols.)

7 On Schwabe Thomáš Hlobil: *Aesthetics in the Lecture Lists of the Universities of Halle, Leipzig, Würzburg, and Prague (1785–1805)*. In: *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 29 (2005) 1, pp. 23 f.

8 See Herwig's books: *An Deutschlands Bürger von allen drey christlichen Religionen über die französische Freiheitstyanney* (1793); *Entwurf einer genealogischen Geschichte des Hauses Hohenlohe* (1796).

9 Johann Justus Herwig: *Grundriß der eleganten Litteratur. Zum Gebrauche seiner Vorlesungen*. [s.l.] Rienner 1774, [unpag.], content. The book is dedicated to the bishop of northern Bavaria.

10 Ibid., [unpag], Vorbericht.

Herwig's ordering principle is chronology; the focus lies on the extraordinary example as well as on genre. General tendencies are seldom identified. With regard to the ancients, Herwig adheres to simplifying explanations such as: 'the Hebrew had the advantage of the recognition of God and therefore their letters developed quickly'.¹¹ As far as contemporary literature is concerned, Herwig restricts himself to mentioning names and helps the reader with further references, for instance to Friedrich Just Riedel's *Briefe über das Publikum* (1768). Of course, he might have elaborated on all this in the course of his lectures as his lists read like a collection of famous 18th-century authors. Among the epic authors he names are Bodmer, Johann Peter Uz, Johann Jakob Dusch, Ewald Christian von Kleist, Klopstock and Wieland, among the dramatic ones Gellert, Lessing, Joachim Wilhelm von Brawe, Christian Felix Weiße, Tobias Philipp Freiherr von Gebler, Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg, Johann Benjamin Michaelis, Johann Christian Brandes, Johann Ludwig Schlosser, and among the poets (those of whom are not mentioned in Riedel) Denis Kretschmann, Karl Mastalier, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, Johann Gottlieb Willamov.¹²

Yet the historical and the theoretical parts do not have much in common although Herwig postulates that both areas must go hand in hand: 'the theorist is necessarily to become a practician as well'.¹³ The English are regarded as the role models for this double-sided approach as they, in contrast to the theory-centred scholarly approaches, extract their theories from the observation of art.¹⁴ Still, Herwig's theoretical reflections strike the reader as being basic and naïve. He highlights the role of the recipient to a great extent. It is the recipient who judges beautiful and ugly in art according to his own impressions.¹⁵ The one theoretical thought which is designed to link Herwig's theory with his historical observations is developed very little: 'all peoples, also the wild, have the seeds of the art of poetry in their soul'.¹⁶

In Herder's work, a particular people's poetry is explained by common 18th-century features such as climate, morals and traditions. These

11 Ibid., p. 19: "Das Hebräische hat den Vortheil der Wahrnehmung Gottes und entwickelte sich daher schnell [...]."

12 Ibid., p. 212.

13 Ibid., p. 9: "Der Theorist muß also nothwendig auch ein Praktiker werden."

14 Ibid., p. 11.

15 Ibid., p. 313.

16 Ibid., p. 13: "Alle Völker, auch die Wilden, haben den Samen der Dichtkunst in ihrer Seele."

features apply to all literatures of the world, and, in turn, they can all be compared with each other. The comparison follows the usual pattern of rise and fall, later used in Edward Gibbon's famous *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788),¹⁷ Herwig's as well as Herder's criterion being the closeness of poetry to its people. Yet, in contrast to Herwig and with regard to Germany, Herder diagnoses the lack of a golden literary age – the explanation emanates from his premises: counter to England and France, Germany suffers from the dispersal of its people. A new cultural unity would be required, a unity which could help to reflect the qualities of all nations in one.

It is, to some extent, Friedrich Schlegel who steps in, promoting cultural unity in a most ironic and refined way. Jürgen Fohrmann outlined Schlegel's main thoughts which both embrace and reject Herder in several respects: firstly, the development of the romantic as a literary and critical project, secondly, the plea for a new mythology which should serve as a future cultural centre, thirdly, the later tendency to focus on literary nation-building as an expression of heroic creation of meaning and self-definition.¹⁸ In contrast to his younger brother Friedrich, August Wilhelm Schlegel appears to be more philological and absorbed by a restrained focus on the reconstruction of literature only, moving away from inspiring speculation.¹⁹ Yet Fohrmann's decisive view draws on the late Bonn lectures (1818/19) and leaves out the earlier, more inspired Schlegel. It is this Schlegel who should be discussed here.

August Wilhelm von Schlegel's (or with his French name, Auguste Guillaume de Schlegel, 1767–1845)²⁰ lecture series are praised as the 'first attempt for a historically founded general poetic' ("erster Versuch zu einer historisch begründeten Gesamtpoetik")²¹ by early 20th-century poetological historiography. The former professor of German at Jena University (1798) gave the relevant lectures on the doctrine of the

17 See John G.A. Pocock: *Barbarianism and Religion*. Vol. 1: *The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon (1737–1794)*. Cambridge Univ. Press 1999.

18 Fohrmann: *Literaturgeschichte* (fn. 5), p. 81, 84.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

20 Harald Schmidt: *Schlegel, August Wilhelm*. In: *Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950*, ed. by Christoph König, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 3., pp. 1596–1598; see also the proceedings of the recent conference "Der Europäer August Wilhelm Schlegel. Romantischer Kulturtransfer – romantische Wissenswelten", Dresden 6/3–8/3/2008 (Organisation: York-Gothart Mix, Jochen Strobel).

21 Lehmann 1908 (fn. 1), p. 12; Lehmann 1919 (fn. 1), p. 12.

arts ('Kunstlehre') as well as on the history of classical and romantic literature as a private scholar in Berlin (*Vorlesungen über schöne Litteratur und Kunst*, 1801–1804).²² The context of Schlegel's lectures is not only an astonishing fact but also a signal: it was in Berlin before the Friedrich Wilhelms University was founded where scholars adhering to the Romantic Movement expressed the thoughts they polemically directed against 'enlightened rationalism', perceived as being dominant in most of the academic faculties.²³ Still, Schlegel soon left Berlin for Vienna where he prepared his works *Ueber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur* (1809–1811), translated into French (1813), English (1815), Italian (1817) and many other languages.²⁴ Furthermore, he was befriended by the members of early Jena romanticism as well as by Goethe, Schiller, Tieck and Schleiermacher. Between 1804 and 1817 Schlegel was appointed tutor by Madame de Staël, travelled to Italy, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Sweden and England, became secretary of the Swedish crown prince in 1813, rejected a professorship in Berlin (1818) and accepted another one at Bonn University. Schlegel might be one of the most honoured German professors as he received the Swedish Wasa medal, the Russian Wladimir medal, the English Guelfen medal and was honoured with the membership of several academies and of the "Ordre pour le mérite".

When Schlegel conceived his lectures his international experience was still in its infancy, yet the wish to develop a more than 'German' doctrine of the arts (and especially of poetry) is clearly expressed in all of them. Displaying a broad range of historical knowledge, the Berlin lectures inform the audience extensively about the principles of poetry, and can, with some reason, be called a first attempt to provide an historical poetics,²⁵ an attempt which builds on Herder's earlier approaches

22 Wolfgang Frühwald: Der Zwang der Verständlichkeit: August Wilhelm Schlegels Begründung romantischer Exoterik aus der Kritik rationalistischer Poetologie. In: *Die literarische Frühromantik*, ed. by Silvio Vietta. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1983, pp. 129–148, p. 132.

23 Ibid., pp. 131–133.

24 See Manfred Engel and Jürgen Lehmann: The Aesthetics of German Idealism and its Reception in European Romanticism. In: *Nonfictional Romantic Prose: Expanding Borders*, ed. by Steven P. Sondrup and Virgil Nemoianu in collab. with Gerald Gillespie. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins 2004 (Coordination Committee for Comparative History of Literature in European Languages 2001–2005), pp. 69–96, pp. 86 f.

25 As a consequence, the Berlin lectures have often served as a starting point for theoretical reflection; see Edgar Lohner: August Wilhelm Schlegel. In: *Deut-*

but embraces the history of poetry in a way which makes literary history itself become a theory. Schlegel turns the usual relation of literary theory and poetics on its head.

Following Herder (at least in part), Schlegel recognises three main theoretical opponents to his work: Baumgarten (and popular philosophy of the so-called moralising Sulzer type), Burke and Kant. All of them are deemed to be wrong because of their narrow definition of the beautiful and misleading methodological presumptions. Baumgarten and popular philosophy suffer from Wolff's disregard of aesthetic expressiveness.²⁶ Moreover, science and art cannot be treated in the same way; science requires a rigorous and systematic method whilst art is either beautiful or just not art – a strong vote for a separate aesthetical method that should not adhere to the 'more geometrico' principle.²⁷ Yet Burke's 'empirical system' ("empirisches System") is equally wrong as it restricts itself to 'imperfect inductions' ("unvollkommene Induktionen") by providing the average of a quantity of cases.²⁸ In addition to this, Burke's deduction of the beautiful is 'coarse' ("grob"): he explains its effects as a mechanical process only, which does not recognize human liberty,²⁹ reducing human beings to the status of animals.³⁰

Kant's transcendental approach proves to be the most innovative, philosophical and convincing, with one exception: the definition of the beautiful which Schlegel calls 'meager and restrained' ("mager und beschränkt").³¹ It renders Kant's whole *Critique* incoherent. In contrast to Kant, Schlegel holds the view that the definition of the beautiful cannot be divided from the sublime as well as from taste. Schlegel's example is the sublime: the beautiful needs to be grounded on the sublime and its boundlessness. One should think of the story (and possibly Cor-

sche Dichter der Romantik: Ihr Leben und Werk, ed. by Benno von Wiese. Berlin: Schmidt 1971, pp. 135–162; contesting the validity of Schlegel's concepts Klaus Lindemann: Theorie – Geschichte – Kritik: August Wilhelm Schlegels Prinzipienreflexion als Ansatz für eine neue Literaturtheorie? In: Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie 93 (1974), pp. 560–579.

26 August Wilhelm Schlegel: Vorlesungen über Ästhetik I (1789–1803). With commentary and afterword ed. by Ernst Behler in collab. with Frank Jolles (Kritische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen I). Paderborn: Schöningh 1989, pp. 182 f.

27 Ibid., p. 224.

28 Ibid.

29 Cf. Richard Shusterman: Somaesthetics and Burke's Sublime. In: British Journal of Aesthetics 45 (2005) 4, pp. 323–341.

30 Schlegel, (fn. 26), pp. 226–228.

31 Ibid., p. 231.

reggio's painting) of Zeus and Io, Hera's servant who is transformed into a cow. According to Schlegel, this story is essential and brutal – and not just nice (as Kant would claim).

Against all these thinkers Schlegel sets the romantic idea of 'poiesis' which, in this case, following the work of his brother Friedrich Schlegel and his playful as well as ironic *Gespräch über die Poesie* (1800), is to be translated as 'creative fantasy'.³² Consequently, A.W. Schlegel understands aesthetics as 'doctrine of art or poetics' ("Kunstlehre oder Poetik") because the 'free creating effectivity of fantasy (gr. poiesis)' ("freye schaffende Wirksamkeit der Fantasie") motivates every art.³³ Such a poetics should prove firstly, that art is necessary to the development of mankind and secondly, that it is autonomous.³⁴ Schlegel's attempt, which relies on a specific understanding of the Greek notion 'poiesis' (making, doing, creating), proves to have enormous consequences for the conception of poetics as a whole. According to Schlegel, poetics covers the area of aesthetics; he replaces the term 'misused' by Baumgarten and attacked by Kant and changes the study of art into a study of the production, as well as the products, of creative fantasy. This enterprise relies on the assumption that only human beings possess creative fantasy, a 'self-acting principle' ("selbstthätiges Prinzip") that enables us to understand existence and to develop complex inventions.³⁵ Schlegel's anthropological reason is language: contrary to pure animalistic sounds, language serves as 'thought-organon' ("Gedanken-Organ")³⁶ and enables man to develop higher cognitive or spiritual competences.

With this proposal, Schlegel moves markedly away from earlier writings on aesthetics, even those of the second half of the 18th century. Schubart, for instance, explained the notion of 'poiesis' in a strict way:

32 András Horn: *Das Schöpferische in der Literatur: Theorien der dichterischen Phantasie*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 2000; Volkhard Wels: *Zur Vorgeschichte des Begriffs der 'kreativen Phantasie'*. In: *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 50 (2005) 2, pp. 199–226.

33 Schlegel (fn. 26), p. 186.

34 Ibid. – The strong historical as well as anthropological claim Schlegel makes amounts to more than an 'ex negativo'-definition of art as Lindemann states (fn. 25), p. 562. In addition to this, the notion that art is autonomous is proven with the assumption of the self-governed, independent principle of 'poiesis', even if this assumption is not as convincing from today's perspective as Lindemann's (fn. 25), p. 564.

35 Schlegel (fn. 26), p. 398.

36 Ibid., p. 399.

poiesis is an artificial word for the recombination of given material.³⁷ Schlegel's understanding marks a new position in the history of aesthetics and poetics. Poiesis legitimises Schlegel's historiographical poetics,³⁸ a holistic understanding of poetics. As 'poiesis' is an anthropological feature and applies to all human creatures, no culture nor period is exempt from creating art. All periods are equally important. As a consequence, the true method of poetics is synthetical (not analytical as Kant claims), uniting the theory, critique and history (the genesis) of the beautiful arts, going back to the natural human origin of poetry. Yet the prehistory of Schlegel's notion of 'poiesis' in the sense of 'creative fantasy' is unclear.³⁹ 'Poiesis' in Schlegel's sense can only vaguely be traced back to Quintilian's imaginative orator⁴⁰ or Neo-Platonic thought.⁴¹ The novelty of the concept goes hand in hand with a polemic against old-fashioned rhetoric-influenced 19th-century aesthetics and poetics to a huge extent. These aesthetic and poetological texts inherit Schlegel's methodological approach as well.

Schlegel explains his method with the typically romantic and aporetic idea of 'infinite' ("unendlich[e]") poetry.⁴² Poetry understood in this way cannot be defined analytically. Through 'the medium of poetry' ("das Medium der Poesie") the human spirit emerges as poetry participates in the 'universal spirit' ("Universal-Geist").⁴³ 'The poetic' ("das

37 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart: *Kurzgefaßtes Lehrbuch der schönen Wissenschaften für Unstudirte [...]*. Leipzig [i.e. Münster]: [Perenon] 1777, p. 19: "Poesie ist, wie alle Kunstwörter, griechischen Ursprungs und heißt wörtlich: Eine Zusammensetzung schon vorhandener Materialien."

38 Lindemann (fn. 25, p. 565) doubts whether there is such a single justifying principle.

39 For a convincing attempt to prove that the notion of 'creative fantasy' cannot be traced back to the psychological doctrine of the 'facultates' see Wels (fn. 32).

40 On the pausable heritage of Quintilian's imaginative rhetor see Hans Peter Herrmann: *Naturnachahmung und Einbildungskraft*. Bad Hamburg [et al.]: Gehlen 1970, p. 171; Dietmar Till: *Transformationen der Rhetorik – Untersuchungen zum Wandel der Rhetoriktheorie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2004, pp. 376 f; Wels (fn. 32), pp. 213 f.

41 On the prehistory of 'creative fantasy' as regards Neo-Platonism see E.N. Tigerstedt: *The Poet as Creator: Origins of a Metaphor*. In: *Comparative Literature Studies* 5 (1968) 4, pp. 455–488; Dietmar Till: *Affirmation und Subversion: Zum Verhältnis von 'platonischen' und 'rhetorischen' Elementen in der frühneuzeitlichen Poetik*. In: *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit* 4 (2000) 3, pp. 181–210.

42 Schlegel (fn. 26), p. 387.

43 Ibid.

Poetische”) expresses itself in every art; poetry refers to all kinds of artistic invention.⁴⁴

Still, it is literature that fulfils a specific condition imposed on ‘poetry’: to presuppose language,⁴⁵ and it is lyric poetry that fits best into Schlegel’s descriptions.⁴⁶ To explain this phenomenon ‘genetically’ (“genetisch”) means to take into account its different steps of development – from the first ‘motion of the instinct’ (“Regung des Instinktes”) to the ‘perfect artistic intention’ (“vollendeten Künstlerabsicht”).⁴⁷ The idea of progress functions as a means to help the explanation: ‘it is always the progress from the need for free play.’⁴⁸ Art proceeds from one step to the next, starting with the human predispositions and developing them further. The result is called a ‘natural history of art’ (“Naturgeschichte der Kunst”),⁴⁹ a poetics which is distinct from its predecessors as it stresses the dynamics and the relevance of artistic developments.

The way this kind of ‘natural history’ runs is, of course, more or less speculative: poetry proceeds in potentials. It finds its peak in religion. Poetry becomes ‘the interpreter, the translator of this heavenly revelation [...], a language of the Gods’.⁵⁰ Mythology is the true ‘poetic world view’ (“poetische Weltansicht”).⁵¹ Therefore, Schlegel highlights that it is the step from ‘natural poetry’ (“Naturpoesie”) to ‘artistic poetry’ (“Kunstpoesie”) which is to be called progress in poetry.⁵² ‘Natural poetry’ refers firstly to elementary poetry in the form of original language, secondly, to the distinction of poetic succession by an external law of form (rhythm) and thirdly, to combining of poetic elements into a whole world view.⁵³ ‘Artistic poetry’ begins with the differentia-

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid., p. 388.

46 Lyric poetry is set against prose and defined as unique in its creation of words, flexions and grammar. Schlegel (fn. 26), p. 405 f.

47 Schlegel (fn. 26), p. 391.

48 Ibid., p. 402: “[...] es ist immer der Fortgang vom Bedürfnisse zum freyen Spiele.”

49 Ibid., p. 391.

50 Ibid., p. 388: “So ist sie [die Poesie] der Gipfel der Wissenschaft, die Deuterin, Dollmetscherin jener himmlischen Offenbarung, [...] eine Sprache der Götter.”

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., p. 391.

53 Ibid., p. 393: “1) Elementarpoesie in der Gestalt der Ursprache; 2) Absonderung der poetischen Successionen in unserm Innern [...] durch ein äußeres Ge-

tion of genre, explained with the help of the dualism of ‘objectivism’ and ‘subjectivism’: ‘The epic is the purely objective in the human spirit. The lyric is the purely subjective. The dramatic is the penetration of both.’⁵⁴ This differentiation of genre reaches its peak in romantic poetry, which strives for the infinite, for ‘boundless progressivity’ (“gränzenlose Progressivität”).⁵⁵

Schlegel’s Viennese lectures *Ueber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur* continue and specify this general approach with a focus on drama. What is particularly interesting and – to some extent – new in these lectures is, firstly, Schlegel’s stress on critique and issues of evaluation. Already in the Berlin lectures he had highlighted the relevance of critique – without, of course, proposing a comprehensive concept as scholars have regretted.⁵⁶ With regard to the different traditions and cultures of drama, in this book, he introduces the ‘torch of criticism’ (“Fackel der Kritik”)⁵⁷ that is to be used as a means not only to enlighten the history of drama but also to comparatively examine ‘the artistic value’ (“Kunstwerth”) of dramas produced in different periods and by different peoples.⁵⁸ The purpose of this attempt is the positive evaluation of romantic drama – a type of drama which decisively opts for the standpoint of modernity and neglects the simple ‘imitatio veterum’. Set against Greek drama, it shines in a most promising modern, yet blinding, light: in contrast to the Greek ideal of harmony, Romantic drama stresses the necessity of paradoxes as everything can amount to contradictions.⁵⁹ Romantic drama challenges the audience. Yet it provides what Schlegel calls the ‘essence of being’ without which drama would be irrelevant – the ‘root of our there-being’ (“Wurzel unsers Daseyns”)⁶⁰ or the ‘root of human there-being’ (“Wurzel des menschlichen Daseyns”)⁶¹ which is religion. It is this second, new aspect of his

setz der Form nämlich den Rhythmus; 3) Bindung und Zusammenfassung der poetischen Elemente zu einer Ansicht des Weltganzen, Mythologie.”

54 Ibid., p. 462: “Das Epische ist das rein objektive im menschlichen Geiste. Das Lyrische das rein subjektive. Das Dramatische die Durchdringung von beyden.”

55 Ibid.

56 Lindemann (fn. 25), p. 561, *passim*.

57 August Wilhelm Schlegel: *Ueber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur: Vorlesungen [...]*. Heidelberg: Mohr & Zimmer 1809, vol.1, p. 4.

58 Ibid., p. [III].

59 Ibid., pp. 12 f.

60 Ibid., (fn. 57), p. 6.

61 Ibid., (fn. 57), p. 19.

Viennese lectures that shows the extent to which they participate in the general romantic turn toward Catholicism.

To sum up, A.W. Schlegel's poetics arises from literary history which is a revolutionary step in the history of poetics, made possible by Herder before. In A.W. Schlegel's work the attempt to write a poetological natural history of literature is executed with romantic enthusiasm which makes the historical account even more comprehensible. It is however problematic at the same time, the reason being the ahistorical and aporetic concept of 'poiesis'.

Yet it was not only early 19th-century poetological historians, but also his contemporaries who appreciated Schlegel's account of poetry as given in the lectures. Philipp Mayer's *Theorie und Literatur der deutschen Dichtungsarten* (1824) is one of the best examples of the contemporaneous admiration for Schlegel. Mayer (1798–1828), a little-known Prague-German pedagogue, studied law in Vienna, admired literature and therefore conceived of a poetics in his leisure time. Still in 1824, he seems to have been influenced by Schlegel's Viennese lectures, thereby promoting a specific regional, as well as cosmopolitan, type of poetics. According to Mayer, Schlegel's works (as well as the works of his brother) contain not only all disposable knowledge about the poetics of all peoples, but also the right method for revealing it. In order to explain August Wilhelm Schlegel's genetic approach, Mayer simplifies it: lyric poetry e.g. is said to be 'the perfect expression of poetic sentiments'.⁶² The simplification of Schlegel's lectures is justified by Mayer's goals: he – in the long tradition of popular philosophy (especially Eberhard) and school poetics – wishes to introduce the youth to the national works of art and to teach them how to express their thoughts accordingly.⁶³

Beyond these pedagogical attempts, Schlegel's concept of 'poiesis' becomes canonised, e.g. in Ignaz Jeitteles' *Aesthetisches Lexikon*, published in 1839, the same year in which Jeitteles receives an honorary doctorate from Jena University, Schlegel's former home university. The Prague-born journalist and author Jeitteles (1783–1843) was close to the popular classicist author August Gottlieb Meißner but soon moved to Vienna where he supported the Pre-March movement.

62 Philipp Mayer: *Theorie und Literatur der deutschen Dichtungsarten: Ein Handbuch zur Bildung des Stils und des Geschmacks. Nach Hilfsquellen bearbeitet.* Wien: Gerold 1824, (2 vols.), vol. 2, p. 4.

63 Mayer (fn. 62), vol. 1, p. V.

Like Schlegel, Jeitteles defines poetry in the broad sense as ‘the manufacturing of the ideal, the mother of all arts’ (“Hervorbringung des Ideals, die Mutter aller Künste”) and poetry as a ‘productive force’ (“produktive Kraft”),⁶⁴ again referring to Schlegel.⁶⁵ The same is true for Schlegel’s notion of poetics; as Jeitteles writes, poetics is identical with aesthetics, the theory of art.⁶⁶ Taking into account Jeitteles’ enthusiastic view of poetry it is astonishing that he stops with A.W. Schlegel and does not integrate other romantic and speculative approaches into his dictionary, for instance logostheology and the poetic treatises inspired by Schelling. Yet Jeitteles might have wanted to restrict his dictionary to worldly speculation, expressing through this exclusion a fashionable scepticism as far as Schelling’s logostheological concepts are concerned.

64 Ignaz Jeitteles: “Poesie”. In: I.J.: *Aesthetisches Lexikon* enthaltend: Kunstphilosophie, Poesie, Poetik, Rhetorik, Musik, Plastik, Graphik, Architektur, Malerei, Theater. Hildesheim, New York: Olms 1978 (Repr. of the Vienna-Ed. 1839), pp. 191–193, p. 191.

65 Ibid., p. 192.

66 Jeitteles: “Poetik”. In: I.J.: *Aesthetisches Lexikon* (fn. 64), p. 193.

4. Logotheological Poetics Beyond Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling: Friedrich Ast (1805), Joseph Loreye (1801/1802, ²1820) and Johann Jakob Wagner (1839, ²1840)

Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), having studied with Hegel and Hölderlin in Tübingen, soon moved to Jena where he became acquainted with the regional romanticism (espoused by the brothers Schlegel and Novalis), finding appointments later in Bavaria and Berlin. It is not by mere accident that the philosophy of art is central for the early Schelling (*System des transzendentalen Idealismus* 1800; posthumously edited lectures *Philosophie der Kunst*, Jena 1802/03, repeated in Würzburg 1804/05, the academy speech *Über das Verhältnis der bildenden Künste zu der Natur* 1807):¹ philosophy of art automatically points to areas which cannot be explained by referring to reason only. And true philosophy, according to Schelling, involves going beyond the limited area of reason in order to try and attain wisdom.² Against transcendental philosophy, Schelling revitalises the tradition of the ‘*philosophia perennis*’ which is characterised by the fact that it conceives of philosophy as receiving. According to ‘*philosophia perennis*’ or Neo-Platonic trinitarian thought, originality does not matter much.³ Rather, ‘*philosophia perennis*’ aims at a kind of wisdom which is superior to human reason.

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- 1 Manfred Frank and Gerhard Kurz (eds.): *Materialien zu Schellings philosophischen Anfängen*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1975; Werner Beierwaltes: *Einleitung zu F.W.J. Schelling: Texte zur Philosophie der Kunst*. Stuttgart: Reclam 1982; Manfred Frank: *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1989; Bernhard Barth: *Philosophie der Kunst. Göttliche Imagination und ästhetische Einbildungskraft*. Freiburg, Munich: Alber 1991; Wilhelm G. Jacobs: *Geschichte und Kunst in Schellings “System des transzendentalen Idealismus”*. In: *Der Streit um die Grundlagen der Ästhetik 1795–1805*, ed. by Walter Jaeschke. Hamburg: Meiner 1999, pp. 201–213.
 - 2 Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann: *Philosophia perennis: Historische Umriss abendländischer Spiritualität in Antike, Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1998, pp. 716 f.
 - 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 702–704.

The human being might participate in this kind of wisdom through 'clairvoyance', a state that occurs when falling asleep, being half-conscious, or, as Schelling calls it, being magnetic, imbued with a polarizing force.⁴

In aesthetics, this particular type of philosophy claims that art enables mankind to regain prereflexive unity or original identity and to reach areas before or beyond consciousness. Schelling provides a processual synthesis in order to prove this claim: in contrast to nature which creates unconsciously but becomes conscious, artistic creation begins consciously but ends unconscious, contributes to a higher necessity and expresses eternal revelation, thereby finalising the system of knowledge.⁵ Art not only differs from nature but also becomes a 'mirror of the whole world' ("*Spiegel des Weltganzen*").⁶ Consequently, art represents the absolute and expresses mythology; in turn, the absolute is regarded as a true work of art.⁷

The mythological quality of art is especially characteristic of poetry which becomes the leading art. Following the trinitarian order Schelling presupposes three arts: the real, the ideal and the indifferent. Poetry is said to grasp the essence of art through language, i. e. the general. Schelling appeals to the old Aristotelian notion. Again, relying on Aristotle, Schelling regards tragedy as the ultimate form of art, the reason being that it is directed towards truth whilst lyric poetry appears to be subjective and the epic to be idealist only. Classicist value judgements correspond to this reasoning: Schelling prefers Calderón de la Barca's transparency to Shakespeare's unfathomability.⁸ Yet Schelling's reflections on art change over time. According to his late view, philosophy presents the 'original image' while art presents the 'counter image'.

4 Ibid., pp. 716 f.

5 F.W.J. Schelling: *Werke*, ed. Manfred Schröter. Munich: C.H. Beck 1927–1954. vol. 2, p. 613; Heinz Paetzold: *Ästhetik des deutschen Idealismus: Zur Idee ästhetischer Rationalität bei Baumgarten, Kant, Schelling, Hegel und Schopenhauer*. Wiesbaden: Steiner 1983, p. 123.

6 Lars-Thade Ulrichs: *Das ewig sich selbst bildende Kunstwerk: Organismustheorien in Metaphysik und Kunstphilosophie um 1800*. In: *Internationales Jahrbuch des Deutschen Idealismus/ International Yearbook of German Idealism* 4 (2006), pp. 256–290, p. 277.

7 F.W.J. Schelling: *Werke* (fn. 5), suppl. vol. 1, p. 475.

8 Paul Guyer: *Freedom of Imagination: From Beauty to Expression*. In: *Internationales Jahrbuch des Deutschen Idealismus/ International Yearbook of German Idealism* 4 (2006), pp. 312–334, p. 323.

Some of his pupils take up these aesthetic and poetological impulses: Friedrich Ast conceives an aesthetics of autonomy, combined with _logotheology. In contrast to Ast, Joseph Loreye converts from Kant's views to those of Schelling but remains sceptical as far as Schelling's religion is concerned. Contrary to him, Johann Jakob Wagner constructs his own cosmology, thereby inspiring many contemporary writers.

Ast (1778–1841), professor of classical philology at Landshut (later Munich) University from 1805, an inspiring but quiet university teacher, is among the most popular of Schelling's successors. The famous 20th-century germanist Peter Szondi esteemed his aesthetical critique of hermeneutics, Ast being the first to formulate the hermeneutic circle.⁹ Klaus Weimar's assessment of Ast is more critical. He regards Ast's doctrine of circular understanding as a mere intellectual accident which originated from an error in reasoning.¹⁰

Apart from Ast's accidental yet helpful invention and his study on Plato, he published a book on issues relevant in our context: the *System der Kunstlehre oder Lehr- und Handbuch der Aesthetik zu Vorlesungen und zum Privatgebrauche entworfen* (1805), later followed by a *Grundriß der Aesthetik* (1807). The title of the system already sets a slightly pedagogical tone, a tone Ast later regretted as it failed to express the original spirit of poetry – poetry understood in the sense of Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel.¹¹ This concept of poetry is further developed with the help of emphatic and highly-charged concepts borrowed from Schelling. Ast proposes a philosophical system that is founded in itself and aims at absolute unity (like all free, lively, harmonic systems). His far-reaching methodological premise is that the ideal and real worlds are one. Art, philosophy and religion have a common source: the absolute that is the eternal universe itself.¹² In turn, the theory of art becomes the

9 See the critical appraisal by Denis Thouard: *Critique et herméneutique dans le premier romantisme allemand: Textes de F. Schlegel, F. Schleiermacher, F. Ast, A.W. Schlegel, A.F. Bernhardt, W. Dilthey introduits, traduits, annotés*. Paris: Septentrion 1996, pp. 288 f.

10 Klaus Weimar: *Historische Einleitung zur literaturwissenschaftlichen Hermeneutik*. Tübingen: Mohr 1975, p. 111, p. 115.

11 Ast knew Friedrich Schlegel from Jena and Schlegel had an enormous impact on Ast's hermeneutics as well; see Weimar (fn. 10), pp. 111 f.

12 Friedrich Ast: *System der Kunstlehre oder Lehr- und Handbuch der Aesthetik zu Vorlesungen und zum Privatgebrauche entworfen*. Leipzig: Hinrichs 1805, § 9, p. 9: "das ewige und lebendige Universum selbst, durch seine Liebe; lebendig durch die unendliche Fülle seines Wesens [...]."

‘reflection of the godly spirit’ (“Wiederscheine des göttlichen Geistes”). Godly spirit reveals itself in the ‘history of the formation’ (“Bildungsgeschichte”) of art,¹³ displaying a complete harmony between epochs of art, elements of art and its philosophical elements. As a consequence, art is understood as the perception and expression of absolute and utmost harmony of the indefinite and the definite, the philosophy and the knowledge of the definite in the indefinite.¹⁴

But not only that, art is also conceptualized as the concrete sphere where the divine shows itself. The general is represented in the specific, the specific in the general.¹⁵ Therefore, the only true art is that which aims at the absolute. The absolute might be reached, to put it in technical terms, if art proves to have its purpose in itself. Ast follows Schelling’s work in combining the aesthetics of autonomy prevalent at the time with logotheology. Like Schelling, Ast refuses to educate artists through his aesthetics but rather conceives of his aesthetics as explaining the essence of art and its special forms.¹⁶

Still, even the essence of art comprises some simple reflections on its periods and genres. Ast, like many idealists, adheres to the trinitarian succession: the first period of art is dominated by ‘authority’ (Aristotle, Horace) the second one by empiricism (the English: Burke, Henry Home) and rationalism (Baumgarten and his pupils, Kant, Lessing) and the third one by genius (Winckelmann, Herder, Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel). Obviously, this trinity is not so much derived from the development of art itself as from the development of poetics and aesthetics. Things are different regarding the forms of art. As far as this issue is concerned, Ast astonishingly gives up trinitarian reflections and suggests four general forms of art: firstly, sculpture – as he writes – expresses essentiality, reality, the divine principle or organism; secondly, music stands for individuality, ideality – the human principle or ‘emotive mind’ (“Gemüth”).¹⁷ Thirdly, Ast speaks of ‘orchestraic’ (“Orchestik”) as the unity of sculpture and music in the real – or the harmonic life; fourthly, he introduces the contemporaneous popular notion of all-encompassing poetry into his system: poetry is regarded

13 Ibid., p. V.

14 Ibid., § 1, p. 3: “die Anschauung und Darstellung der absoluten Harmonie des Unendlichen und des Endlichen, die Philosophie und die Erkenntniss des Endlichen im Unendlichen”.

15 Ibid., § 1, p. 3.

16 Ibid., § 11, p. 11.

17 Ibid., § 101, pp. 109–111, p. 110.

as the unity of sculpture and music in the ideal – the absolute life and spirit.¹⁸ As in the writings of the brothers Schlegel, poetry is thought of as the ‘totality of art’ (“Totalität der Kunst”);¹⁹ it is only in poetry that the arts build an absolute and original unity.²⁰

The reason for this lies in the instrument of poetry: language. Language with its beautiful harmonic relation of consonants and vowels expresses ‘that which is sensually perceived and observed’ (“das sinnlich Wahrgenommene[] und Angeschaute[]”),²¹ the goal of this enterprise being ‘euphony’ (“*Wohlklang* [Euphonie]”).²² It is astonishing that Ast promotes such a goal and does not adhere to aspects of content; yet his preference might be explained by the fact that he strongly believes in the aesthetics of autonomy and wishes to demarcate the territory of poetry. ‘The free poetic’ (“das frey Poetische”)²³ is essential to him, not imitation (‘imitatio veterum’), a polemic that shows how close Ast is to the brothers Schlegel.

Yet his systematic reflections stem from Schelling’s model. This can be illustrated from Ast’s trinitarian distinction of poetic genre. Ast presumes that three eternal forms of ‘formation’ (“Bildung”) are given: magnetism (religion of nature), electricity, the expression of speciality in difference (poetry of nature) and process (philosophy of nature).²⁴ The ‘free poetic’ corresponds to these eternal forms: firstly, with the help of the organ of fantasy, events and stories are depicted (epos). Secondly, the organon of sensation covers imagination and sensation (lyric poetry); the third genre, instead, comprises both previously mentioned genres. They necessarily contradict each other; drama, the third genre, unites them with the help of the organon of reason and spirit.²⁵ This order is remarkable because it proposes a rather essential notion of fantasy that has not much in common with the romantic concept of ‘creative fantasy’.

Loreye (1767–1844) writes less radically as he was not entirely convinced by Schelling’s approach. According to Loreye, poetry can only serve as a copy of the absolute in the real but cannot be identical

18 Ibid., § 101, pp. 109–111.

19 Ibid., § 101, pp. 109–111, p. 111.

20 Ibid., § 120, p. 120.

21 Ibid., § 112, pp. 121 f.

22 Ibid., §§ 114–116, pp. 123–126.

23 Ibid., § 118, p. 128.

24 Ibid., § 166, pp. 168 f.

25 Ibid., § 166, pp. 166 f.

with the divine itself. Loreye studied in Straßburg, was a professor at the lyceum Rastatt ('Lyzealprofessor') for poetics and rhetoric and was later appointed Director of the lyceum (from 1818). Being a member of the anti-romanticist 'Vossische Club' (named after Johann Heinrich Voss), Loreye was a writer himself, focusing on topics such as loneliness. As a professor, Loreye published a treatise on rhetoric and 'Chrestomatik' (1809), a commentary on Horace's odes (1815) and a *Theorie der Dichtkunst*, the latter being first published in 1801/02 and later republished in a revised edition (1820). Both editions present the oeuvre as an 'enter-taining manual' ("unterhaltendes Lehrbuch") against the dogmatic ideas of the 'schoolmasterly tyranny' ("Schultyrannen") in poetics.²⁶

Yet the book is highly ambitious. The first edition is reminiscent of popular aesthetics and concentrates on the discussion of Kant, with a certain focus on the morals expressed in the *Critique of Judgement*: beauty is not a quality of objects but denotes the subjective recognition which is not contingent. Subjective recognition is (like in Kant's work) necessarily grounded in human nature as well as in the 'contingent conditions' ("zufällige Bedingungen") of human life such as birth, education and climate.²⁷ Loreye does not adhere to Kant's natural explanation only, he adds non-natural reasons. As a consequence, aesthetical judgements are generally accepted in a double, natural and non-natural sense.

Although Loreye expresses some original ideas in the general part of the first version of his poetics, it remains weak in more specialized aspects. Despite aiming at an empirical and innovative description of genre, Loreye restricts his definition of the poem to the phenomenon that pleases in 'pure imagination' ("der blossen Vorstellung").²⁸ In addition to this, Loreye adheres to the traditional romantic concept of the 'poeta vates', prescribing only one general rule for the poet: he should always grasp ideas that are worth his 'holy character and profession' ("heiligen Charakter und Berufe").²⁹

The second edition is more inspiring in both general and specific aspects. It expresses a decisive turn from Kant to Schelling, leading to a

26 Joseph Loreye: *Theorie der Dichtkunst durch lateinische und teutsche Muster beleuchtet*. Tübingen: Cotta 1801/1802, (2 vols.), vol. 1, p. III; with similar expressions J.L.: *Theorie der Dichtkunst, nebst einer lateinischen und teutschen Chrestomathie*. 2nd, fully corr. ed. Stuttgart, Tübingen: Cotta. 1820, (2 vols.), vol. 1, p. VIII.

27 Ibid., vol. 1, §§ 38–41, p. 8.

28 Ibid., vol. 1, § 105, p. 30.

29 Ibid., vol. 1, § 114, p. 31.

considerable scientification of Loreye's poetics. He begins with an overview of aesthetic theory since 1750. Reviewing the three schools of aesthetic theory, he criticizes Baumgarten for observing beauty as a quality of the object and Kant for his divisive reflections on beauty on the one hand, art on the other. Schelling, founder of the third school, is said to provide the solution. His 'definite Idealism' ("Definitiv-Idealismus") shows the identity of beauty and art and depicts art as the perfect copy of the absolute in the real world. In doing so, it satisfies the artist's sense of art: 'Schelling strolled into the sanctuary on the arm of the old arts and myth'.³⁰

Despite this stress on unity Loreye moves away from the romantic notion of 'poetry' in the brothers Schlegel's sense. The reason for this move might be that he, in this respect, adheres rather to popular philosophy or is not entirely convinced by the new and popular concept. According to Loreye, 'poetry' refers to articulated tones, alluding to Lessing's understanding of poetry as a successive and reflexive art. As in the first edition, yet more refined, Loreye stresses that true poetry requires choice: the poet has more options than other artists, therefore his orientation should be the 'harmony of all forces' ("Harmonie aller Kräfte").³¹ The only organ that helps him in this respect is the soul: 'The word that comes from the soul cannot be prosaic, it has to be a poem; in this higher life consists the nature of poetry'.³² Yet poetry allows for different types of genre:³³ firstly, 'works of the poetic emotion' ("Werke des dichterischen Gefühls") such as song, ode and sonnet, secondly, 'works of the poetic will' ("Werke des dichterischen Willens"), novel, drama and opera and thirdly, 'mixed poetic works' ("gemischte poetische Werke") such as discourse and letter.

In contrast to Loreye, Wagner (1775–1841) demonstrates his sympathy for unifying thought and moves away from Schelling only insofar as he develops his own cosmology. One of the reasons for this intellectual closeness might have been the institutional background of both thinkers: Wagner studied with Johann Gottlieb Fichte in Jena, one of the few philosophers who did not provide his own account of aesthetics

30 Ibid., vol. 1, §§ 4–6, p. 2: "Schelling wandelte an der Hand der alten Kunst und der Mythe in das Heiligthum."

31 Ibid., vol. 1, § 152, p. 44.

32 Ibid., vol. 1, § 155, p. 44.

33 Loreye 1820 (fn. 26), vol. 2, *passim*.

although he often referred to it implicitly.³⁴ His aesthetically interested pupil Wagner became Extraordinarius of philosophy at Würzburg University as a colleague of the intellectually dominant Schelling. Wagner offered courses on aesthetics, often under the new heading ‘philosophy of art’,³⁵ and joined the Würzburg ‘world-governing society’ (“weltregierende Gesellschaft”). He was regarded as a popular speaker, his public including ladies.³⁶ Johann Jakob Wagner thought of himself as the ‘true interpreter’ of Schelling.³⁷ Wagner was the author of idealist as well as ‘weltanschauliche’ writings, e.g. *Strahlen deutscher Weltanschauung* (1839) as well as *Dichterschule* (1840, ²1850). The *Dichterschule* is designed to be an ‘Organon’ of poetics, a scientific ‘school of poets’ (“Dichterschule”). Wagner highlights this claim so much because he regards the ‘school of poets’ as the ‘true education of life’ (“wahre Schule des Lebens”).³⁸ It is not by mere accident that Wagner impressed writers such as Friedrich Rückert and August von Platen who both studied with him.³⁹

34 Fichte published only one text indirectly concerned with aesthetics: “On the Spirit and the Letter in Philosophy”. This text cannot stand the comparison with ambitious works of Kant’s and Hegel’s. Fichte’s work is rather a rejection of Schiller’s “Letters on aesthetic education”, directed against Schiller’s appropriation of Kant with a few hints on his own view on autonomous aesthetic theory. See Claude Piché: The Place of Aesthetics in Fichte’s Early System. In: New Essays on Fichte’s Later Jena “Wissenschaftslehre”, ed. by Daniel Breazeale and Tom Rockmore. Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press 2002, pp. 299–316; Petra Lohmann: Die Funktionen der Kunst und des Künstlers in der Philosophie Johann Gottlieb Fichtes. In: Grundlegung und Kritik: Der Briefwechsel zwischen Schelling und Fichte 1794–1802, ed. by Jörg Jantzen, Thomas Kisser and Hartmut Traub. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi 2005 (Fichte Studien 25), pp. 113–132; Hartmut Traub: Über die Pflichten des ästhetischen Künstlers: Der § 31 des Systems der Sittenlehre im Kontext von Fichtes Philosophie der Ästhetik. In: Die Sittenlehre J.G. Fichtes 1798–1812, ed. by Christoph Asmuth and Wilhelm Metz. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi 2006 (Fichte-Studien 27), pp. 55–106.

35 Thomáš Hlobil: Aesthetics in the Lecture Lists of the Universities of Halle, Leipzig, Würzburg, and Prague (1785–1805). In: Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert 29 (2005) 1, p. 33.

36 Heinze: Wagner, Johann Jak. In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. vol. 40. Berlin 1971 (Repr. 1st ed. 1896), pp. 510–515.

37 Stefano Palombari: Weltgesetz und Tetrade: Struktur und Besonderheit der Philosophie des Johann Jakob Wagner. In: Rückert-Studien. Jahrbuch der Rückert-Gesellschaft 10 (1996), pp. 13–46, p. 29.

38 Johann Jakob Wagner: Dichterschule. Ulm: Stettin 1840, p. III, p. VIII.

39 Claudia Wiener: Johann Jakob Wagner – Dichter-Lehrer wider Willen. In: Rückert-Studien: Jahrbuch der Rückert-Gesellschaft 10 (1996), pp. 7–12.

World view is what governs and motivates Wagner's poetics. World view in Wagner's case means a poetic 'Kosmogonie':

'The world is full of life, which expresses itself and its powers in the sound and the warmth of a mineral, in magnetic and chemical operations, and even in the mechanical actions of fall and percussion.'⁴⁰

This poetic world view is said to be understood by everybody, to be grounded in human nature.⁴¹ Yet it is only a poetic genius who can arrange the poetic world in a new way, thereby becoming an 'alter deus'. Wagner develops a kind of graduation theory on the process of poetic productivity. It is perceived as a 'play of subjectivity and objectivity' ("Subjektivitäts- und Objektivitätsspiel"), of repetition and variation.⁴² As poetry is understood as the 'sheath' ("Hülle")⁴³ of the idea, its main task is to turn ideas into bodily form for perception by the spirit through the living word.⁴⁴ Wagner's cosmogony reflects extensively on this understanding as it justifies itself as a means for enabling poetry to grasp a first and physical idea of the development of the world.

Still, poetry is not the final intellectual practice relevant in the cosmos, which Wagner seeks to enlighten. In the philosophical tetrads he conceives, poetry figures as the leading art which includes genre poetics, prosodics and metrics. Poetry is the result of sculpture, painting and music. But as far as all intellectual styles (as he calls them) are concerned, poetic style is regarded only as the simplest style among pragmatic, rhetoric and philosophical styles.⁴⁵ Philosophical style, instead, appears as the most abstract one, restricting itself to pure schemes and to morality.⁴⁶ It might have been the (often naïve or all too playful looking) tetrads that led to the forgetting of Wagner even in the history of philosophy. In addition to this, it might also have been the fact that Wagner, to some degree, subordinated his thought to Schelling's.

Another thinker responds to Schelling's challenge, relying on him mainly methodologically: Friedrich Schleiermacher. When Schleier-

40 Wagner (fn. 38), § 1, p. 3: "Die Welt ist voll Lebens, welches im Mineral in Klang und Wärme, in magnetische und chemischen Regungen, ja selbst in den mechanischen Wirkungen des Falles und Stoßes thätig hervortritt [...]."

41 Ibid., § 72, p. 62.

42 Ibid., §§ 29–31, pp. 27–29.

43 Ibid., § 65, p. 77.

44 Ibid., § 12, pp. 10 f: "Verleiblichung der Ideen für die geistige Anschauung [...] durch das lebendige Wort."

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

macher, in his *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* (until 1825), praises Schelling's account of aesthetics, he obviously stands in a well-established tradition that, in 1805, had already reached school-level with Loreye's publication. Yet Schleiermacher appreciates Schelling only for the similarities of their approaches. According to Schleiermacher, they both depart from similar methodological assumptions. Schelling, Schleiermacher states, derives art from physics, whilst he himself regards art as a part of ethics and aesthetics as a discipline that is subordinated to ethics.⁴⁷ Reflecting carefully on method, Schleiermacher makes two interesting and revealing statements: firstly, that no concept of art has yet been accepted.⁴⁸ Secondly, that in the field of aesthetics, practice has always preceded theory.⁴⁹ Inspired by these general observations, Schleiermacher proposes an aesthetics of production: through art the individual expresses his genuine sentiments which create a specific aura. Consequently, art opposes both accidental subjective feeling, as well as thinking. Artistic subjectivity claims a right on its own.⁵⁰

It is astonishing that, in contrast to Schelling (who found many admirers including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Heidegger), Schleiermacher's innovative aesthetics received so little recognition in 19th-century aesthetics and poetics. In poetics it is mainly Benedetto Croce who, fascinated with Schleiermacher's 'subjective approach' pays tribute to

47 Friedrich Schleiermacher: *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*: Aus Schleiermacher's handschriftlichem Nachlasse und aus nachgeschriebenen Heften, ed. by Carl Lommatzsch. Berlin: Reimer 1842 (Repr. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1974), p. 44.

48 Schleiermacher (fn. 47), p. 15: "[...] der Begriff der schönen Kunst [...] steht noch nicht fest [...]."

49 Ibid., p. 30: "[...] daß die Praxis in diesem Gebiete immer vor der Theorie gewesen, und daß man erst von dem Zusammenschauen analoger Thätigkeiten und Producte dazu gekommen ist, den allgemeinen Begriff aufzustellen." As well as on p. 34: "Daß die Kunstwerke eher da sind, als die technischen und wissenschaftlichen Vorschriften darüber, versteht sich allerdings von selbst [...]."

50 Thomas Lehnerer: Selbstmanifestation ist Kunst: Überlegungen zu den systematischen Grundlagen der Kunsttheorie Schleiermachers. In: Internationaler Schleiermacher-Kongreß Berlin 1984, ed. by Kurt-Victor Selge. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1985 (Schleiermacher-Archiv I,1), pp. 409–422; Sarah Schmidt: Plädoyer für eine Betrachtung der 'Mittelzustände' vernünftiger Tätigkeiten oder das künstlerische Denken als innere Geselligkeit. In: Christentum – Staat – Kultur: Akten des Kongresses der Internationalen Schleiermacher-Gesellschaft in Berlin, März 2006, ed. by Andreas Arndt, Ulrich Barth and Wilhelm Gräb, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2008, pp. 613–636, p. 6.

him.⁵¹ This relative neglect of Schleiermacher in poetics could be explained by the fact that post-idealist approaches soon began to dominate aesthetics and poetics.

51 For this remark I wish to thank Sarah Schmidt; see also Guyer (fn. 8), p. 330–333.

5. Post-Idealist Poetics

Post-idealist aesthetics draws on the 'big philosophers': on Kant and Hegel mainly, in a few cases also on romantic philosophy. The leftwing thinkers Theodor Mundt and Ludolf Wienbarg, for instance, both rely on romanticism.¹ Yet both did not provide academic treatises on poetics and will therefore be excluded here.² For similar reasons, Jean Paul's aesthetics will be exempt from the discussion: even if his *Vorschule der Ästhetik* (1804) was one of the principal sources of inspiration for post-idealist aestheticians and served to enhance humour in aesthetic matters, his *Vorschule* is more an artistic commentary on aesthetic thinking as well as on the genre of the philosophical aesthetic itself, than an academic treatise.³

The accounts to be described here all fit into the scholarly type of post-idealist authors and poetics: Friedrich Bouterwek, attacking Kant, conceives an empirical idealist poetics which is characterised by some witty hedonism (a). In contrast to Bouterwek, Wilhelm Wackernagel reinforces religion in poetics and stresses the relevance of a Christian (Protestant) morality. Some Catholic scholars follow his example (b). Yet the decisive move in poetics comes only later, with Friedrich Theodor Vischer. Building on Hegel (and Jean Paul) he is one of the first to combine speculative with contemporaneous formalist and psychological thinking, thereby opening up new horizons for the study of poetics (c). Rudolf Gottschall, following in Vischer's footsteps, adds a practical field which characterises poetics according to its rele-

1 See the description of both by Petra Hartmann: *Geschichtsschreibung für die Gegenwart: Theodor Mundt und Ludolf Wienbarg*. In: *Forum Vormärz Forschung: 1848 und der deutsche Vormärz* 3 (1997), pp. 43–54.

2 For a more detailed discussion of both see Author: *Poetiken: Poetologische Lyrik, Poetik und Ästhetik von Novalis bis Rilke*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2004, pp. 184–201.

3 On the following see Götz Müller: *Zur Bedeutung Jean Pauls für die Ästhetik zwischen 1830 und 1848* (Weisse, Ruge, Vischer). In: G.M. (ed.): *Jean Paul im Kontext: Gesammelte Aufsätze*. With a bibliography ed. by Wolfgang Riedel. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1996, pp. 7–28, pp. 10–16.

vance for literature and the public: literary criticism, made famous through popular aesthetics (d).

(a) An Empirical Idealist Poetics: Friedrich Bouterwek
Aesthetik (1806)

Friedrich Bouterwek (1766–1828) joined the ‘Collegium Carolinum’ in Brunswick and took courses in law. Influenced by Eschenburg, he soon switched to the study of philosophy, aesthetics and literary history at Göttingen University (with, among others, Christian Gottlob Heyne and Georg Heinrich Feder). In 1797, Bouterwek was appointed professor of philosophy in that very place and wrote literature. An adherent to Kant in his youth, the middle-aged Bouterwek opted for Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi and the idea of defeating scepticism, whilst later considering himself as a moderate rationalist.⁴

Today, Bouterwek’s aesthetics is almost forgotten, maybe because he decisively dismissed the popular idealism of the time and its schools due to their incoherence and contradictions: on the one hand, Bouterwek pursued empirical goals; on the other hand, he stated that his oeuvre was driven by metaphysics. Still, the lack of attention paid to Bouterwek’s aesthetics does not correspond to its contemporaneous esteem: The *Aesthetik* achieved three editions, some of them rewritten to a considerable extent, with changes that even affect the cover print.⁵

The first cover shows a civilized Pan or Bacchus with a scarf around the genitals, playing two flutes in order to excite the public. Opposite Pan, a young holy man is sitting down, behind him stands a lady, dressed up and with a lyre behind her back. The cover is entitled ‘Distaste and Taste’ (“Ungeschmack und Geschmack”). The second edition trivializes and sexualizes the scene, renouncing the title: Pan loses his scarf and plays one great flute probably for the young man (who has lost his aureole) and the severe looking lady who lays her hand down on the young man’s shoulder.

4 On Bouterwek Fritz Jurczok: Friedrich Bouterwek als Ästhetiker. PhD-thesis Halle 1949; Jürgen Fohrmann: Das Projekt der deutschen Literaturgeschichte: Entstehung und Scheitern einer nationalen Poesiegeschichtsschreibung zwischen Humanismus und deutschen Kaiserreich. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 1989, pp. 85 f, p. 121.

5 See addendum.

These tendencies of reconfiguration do not directly correspond to the book's content, yet they indicate some radicalizations which are true for the theory as well. The first version of the book starts with some vehement polemics which, in the second and following editions, become more precise and lead to an original aesthetics. The first edition criticizes 'the new metaphysics of art' ("die neue Kunstmetaphysik") that is Kant's transcendental philosophy of aesthetical judgement as 'a colossal tastelessness' ("eine ungeheure Geschmacklosigkeit"),⁶ a notion which is indeed picked up on in the cover print. Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, so Bouterwek's criticism goes, stops half-way. The reason is Kant's definition of beauty. Bouterwek judges Kant's consideration of beauty as 'purposefulness without purpose' ("Zweckmäßigkeit ohne Zweck") in an ambivalent way. According to Bouterwek, this 'purposefulness without purpose' – as inspiring as it sounds – would, in Kant's version, only allow for the arabesque;⁷ some kind of 'adventurous conception' ("abentheuerliche Vorstellung").⁸

In contrast to Kant, Bouterwek praises the 'old empiric method' ("alte Empirie"), systems that are derived from the 'Erfahrungsseelenlehre' and popular philosophy. Despite not being entirely satisfied with their work, Bouterwek nonetheless sees Herder and Jean Paul as role models.⁹ In the first edition of Bouterwek's *Aesthetik*, the author aims at developing their approaches further, mainly through a careful and eclectic adaptation of Platonist aesthetics: beauty is explained as a relation of the perfect, the true and the good.¹⁰ Bouterwek stresses that for ancient Greek beauty means 'a liberal heroism, united with the physical assets and attractiveness of a perfect hero.'¹¹ This hedonistic version of Johann Joachim Winckelmann's understanding of 'kalokagathia', the harmony of outside beauty and inner morality, undermines the classicist view by stressing a kind of ideological liberalism as well as the attractive nature of the male body. Bouterwek, playing with impropriety, recommends this heroic understanding to his contemporaries, com-

6 Fr[iedrich] Bouterwek: *Aesthetik*. Leipzig: Martini 1806, (2 vols.), vol. 1, p. V.

7 Fr[iedrich] Bouterwek: *Ideen zur Metaphysik des Schönen*: In vier Abhandlungen. Eine Zugabe zur *Aesthetik*. Leipzig: Martini 1807, pp. 53–55.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

9 Bouterwek 1806 (fn 6), vol. 1, p. VI.

10 Bouterwek 1807 (fn. 7), pp. 47–49.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 62: "Das Schöne für sie [die Griechen] war ein liberaler Heroismus, vereinigt mit den körperlichen Vorzügen und Reizen eines vollkommenen Helden."

binning it with another provocation – to step away from the ‘useless’ notion of ‘purposefulness without purpose’.

From the second edition of his *Aesthetik* onwards, Bouterwek also stresses another aspect in order to develop contemporary aesthetics further: assumptions regarding ‘the original needs of the human ‘Geist’” (“die *ursprünglichen Bedürfnisse des menschlichen Geistes*”) or of the ‘immediate consciousness’ (“unmittelbaren Bewußtseyns”) which might lead to a more appropriate idea of the theory of art.¹² This aspect relies on the premise that beauty must be ‘felt’ (“empfunden”) and on the distinction of three ‘class concepts’ (“Klassenbegriffe”) for such feelings: first, the ‘physical’ (through organs), second, the ‘moral’ (love and respect), third, the ‘intellectual’ feeling as the feeling of beauty can be either a physical or a moral or an intellectual sentiment.¹³ In the second edition, Bouterwek calls his methods ‘analysis of sentiment’ (“Analyse des *Gefühls*”) and focuses on ‘psychological facts’ (“psychologische Facta”) in which awareness is grounded.¹⁴

To conclude, Bouterwek’s aesthetics follows the same path as Heusinger, Clodius and Hillebrand but renounces transcendental philosophy. The result is a kind of non-metaphysical, non-transcendental, new Platonic and sensitive empirical idealism,¹⁵ expressed in the form of a systematic poetics.¹⁶ It follows the same order as Clodius’ and Hillebrand’s poetics: general aesthetics, the concept of beauty, of the sublime and even of the comic, comes first. Particular aesthetics and beauty in nature and the arts with a focus on poetics, come later.

Furthermore, even if Bouterwek rejects the rhetoric tradition at first, his understanding of poetics adheres to it. Especially in the first edition, Bouterwek harshly distinguishes rhetoric from poetics, claiming that rhetoric is not part of the beautiful arts while poetry is the ‘beautiful rhetoric art in the true sense’ (“schöne Redekunst im eigentlichen Sinne”).¹⁷ Only poetry, Bouterwek states with an emphatic turn to-

12 Bouterwek 1806 (fn. 6), vol. 1., pp. VIIIff, 21 [emphasis in original].

13 Ibid., pp. VIIIff, 21.

14 Fr[iedrich] Bouterwek: *Aesthetik*. 2nd, corr. ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1815, (2 vols.), vol. 1, p. 18; see also Friedrich Bouterwek: *Aesthetik*. 3rd, newly corr. ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1825, (2 vols.), vol. 1, p. V.

15 Bouterwek uses the expression ‘empirical’ in order to describe his ‘way of analysis’; Bouterwek 1806 (fn. 6), vol. 1, p. 23.

16 Bouterwek 1806 (fn. 6), vol. 1, p. VII.

17 Ibid., p. 296.

wards autonomous aesthetics, has 'its purpose in itself' ("ihren Zweck in sich selbst").¹⁸ Rhetoric, however, means 'negative poetics' ("*negative Poetik*").¹⁹ The second edition withdraws this claim in a new chapter 'On poetry and rhetoric' ("Über Poesie und Rhetorik") and speaks of rhetoric as 'beautiful prose' ("schöne Prosa") and as possessing 'a certain prosaic beauty' ("eine gewisse prosaische Schönheit"), although poetry remains the true 'beautiful rhetoric'.²⁰ In order to draw a clear distinction Bouterwek introduces the concept of style. Style, as he sees it, does not require aesthetic attraction and therefore allows one to distinguish rhetoric from poetry.

In addition to this, poetry appears as the 'art of the inner sense' ("Kunst des inneren Sinnes") and a 'beautiful art of thought' ("schöne Gedankenkunst").²¹ Like the brothers Schlegel, Bouterwek conceives of poetry as the 'original art' ("*Ur-Kunst*") because it means a 'beautiful work of fantasy' ("schönes Werk der Phantasie") that is every work of art.²² Unlike Friedrich Schlegel, Bouterwek aims at avoiding a broad definition of poetry. Yet he fails to establish a clear criterion; even the material which constitutes poetry is not clearly defined. On the one hand, language is only the 'organ' ("Organ") of poetry but 'speechless poetry' is the true and original form of expression: 'The poem as poem has no existence but in thoughts' ("Das Gedicht, als Gedicht, hat kein Daseyn, außer in Gedanken").²³ This can be gleaned from the fact that deaf and mute people can also read poetry, which means that articulation is not necessary in order to understand it. Rhythm is a 'higher euphony' ("höherer Wohllaut") also understandable for those who are deaf and mute.²⁴ Nevertheless, traditional genres such as lyric poetry can be distinguished from others: in lyric poetry, Bouterwek formulates rather naïvely, the nature of the poet expresses itself; it is the most subjective form and directed toward song.²⁵

Yet, naïvety is not the main feature of Bouterwek's work. He provides in fact a sophisticated late-popular and pre-empirical aesthetics. Subverting Winckelmann's understanding of 'kalokagathia', Bouterwek

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., p. 299.

20 Bouterwek 1815 (fn. 14), vol. 2, p. 14; Bouterwek 1825 (fn. 14), vol. 2, p. 14

21 Bouterwek 1806 (fn. 6), vol. 2, p. 301.

22 Ibid., p. 302.

23 Ibid., p. 303.

24 Ibid., p. 304.

25 Ibid., pp. 350 f.

opts for a hedonistic aesthetics and poetics with a strong and emphatic concept of subjective poetry. Still, this thought develops in different steps which point in different directions: Bouterwek treats the aesthetics of autonomy ambivalently. The same is true for his view of the rhetoric tradition which he accepts only in the later stages of his work. Wackernagel, on the contrary, provides a decisive classicist, and even religious, poetics.

(b) Religious Poetics: Wilhelm Wackernagel's Lectures (1836/7) and Catholic Approaches

In his youth, Karl Heinrich Wilhelm Wackernagel (1806–1869) adhered to the revolutionary demagogue Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852) and, in turn, was refused academic appointments in Germany throughout his early career.²⁶ He studied classics and old German literature with August Boeckh and Karl Lachmann and, with the help of the brothers Grimm, he received his Dr phil in Göttingen (1833). As a professor for German language and literature in Basle (1835–1869) he, being grateful to his new hometown and host country, rejected other distinguished professorships in Berlin, Munich, Tübingen (where he would have succeeded Ludwig Uhland), and Vienna. However, Wackernagel managed to become the leading Germanist after Jacob Grimm's death. As a member of numerous academies and societies, (among others the 'Purposeless Society' ("Zwecklose Gesellschaft"), lead by Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben in Breslau (1827–1830), he wrote literature himself. The scholar and devoted academic teacher Wackernagel published a *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* (1848–1855), a monograph on Johann Fischart (1870, ²1874) and edited Walter von der Vogelweide (1833, translation by Wackernagel's friend Carl Simrock) as well as the famous *Evangelische Gesangbuch* (1854).

Wackernagel's most famous publication might still be the posthumously edited student-oriented 1836 lectures on *Poetik, Rhetorik, Stilis-*

26 Cathrin Bollberg: Wackernagel, Karl Heinrich Wilhelm. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Vol. 3. Berlin, New York 2003, pp. 1965–1967; in great detail Kurt R. Jankowsky: Wilhelm Wackernagel (1806–1869): A philologist in need of being rediscovered. In: Multiple perspectives on the historical dimension of language, ed. by K.R.J. Münster 1996, pp. 115–128.

tik. They found an editor only late in 1873 but experienced an international reception and various reeditions until 2003.²⁷ Wackernagel's student Ludwig Sieber (1833–1891), later chief librarian in Basle, used Wackernagel's manuscript with handwritten notes as a basis for the edition, admitting that the manuscript was far from complete, e.g. the chapter on rhythm was added from the various course papers. In addition, examples from Wackernagel's *Deutsches Lesebuch* are included in the text which makes his poetic thought demonstrative and practical.

The lectures combine what had already become separated: poetics, rhetoric and style. Wackernagel legitimates this combination in two different ways: the theoretical reason he gives refers to rhetoric and style (in this case tropes and metaphors). They are both regarded as expressions of truth which can, but do not need, to be beautiful. From a practical point of view, Wackernagel believed that he needed to reflect on all areas of language: students of theology attended Wackernagel's lectures, and they required a minimum knowledge of rhetoric and style in order to prepare good sermons.

Wackernagel grounds his lectures on a religious anthropology. God, he claims, has three main qualities: 'benevolence, omniscience, omnipotence' ("Allgüte, Allweisheit, Allmacht") that are reflected in his first and beloved being that is man (Genesis 1,27: God created man in His own image).²⁸ Although man does not possess these qualities in full, he may reach some degree of the good. If God is benevolent, man should strive for morality ("Sittlichkeit"); if God is wise, man should strive for knowledge ("Erkenntnis") and if God is almighty, the corresponding quality of man is his 'drive towards art' ("Kunsttrieb").²⁹ All these qualities correspond to each other, although one quality can sometimes be stronger than another.

This is all the more necessary as beauty is defined by 'unity in manifoldness': man is to demonstrate that he is made in God's image in that he displays the variety of virtues and values he is capable of.³⁰ Wackernagel aims at proving this definition through etymology and he opens up a new tradition for the German word 'schön'. In contrast

27 As in many other cases, the international reception of Wackernagel remains a field in need of further study.

28 Wilhelm Wackernagel: *Poetik, Rhetorik und Stilistik*, ed. by Ludwig Sieber. Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Olms 2003 (Bewahrte Kultur; Repr.), p 1.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 2.

to Kant and Hegel who derive the word from 'schauen', Wackernagel believes that 'schön' has its origins in the Old High German 'vakar' (which means beautiful) and which is related to the Greek *παχύς*, thick or tight.³¹

But Wackernagel not only aims at a new, more or less religious and Germanic definition of the beautiful. Like Bouterwek, Wackernagel inherits much from Eschenburg's, Eberhard's and Engel's popular aesthetics: through three forces of the soul man recognizes the beautiful. Firstly, the 'imagination' ("Einbildungskraft") either reproduces memories or produces visions which are already in the world but have not been expressed in the relevant way. Hereby, Wackernagel acknowledged (along with Hillebrand) that man cannot generate the new on his own. Still, Wackernagel (like Clodius) attacks Aristotle: his notion of mimesis strikes Wackernagel as being too narrow. It describes only a general tendency of human behaviour and not a specific characteristic of art or poetry. Furthermore, it does not allow for modern genres to be qualified as art, e.g. according to Wackernagel, the gospel cannot be qualified as an imitative genre.³² Secondly, 'emotion' ("Gefühl") leads man to the good and to morality. Thirdly, 'mind' ("Verstand") enables man to recognize truth.³³ Yet these three 'powers of the soul' do not always work in the same way; epochal and individual differences have to be taken into account.

These differences are in part caused by art itself. Wackernagel defines art as *téchne*, "Kunst" deriving from "können".³⁴ Art appears as a technique with a sense of the godlike creation inherent in it. In short, art means the 'beautiful objectivation of the subjectively perceived beauty' ("schöne Objektivierung des subjektiv angeschauten Schönen").³⁵ Hence art can be spiritual (e.g. poetry) or sensual (e.g. dance).

In the process of poetical conception, all three forces of the soul are more or less at work. They reach their highest level if they act in mutual agreement and in favour of 'perfect unity' ("vollkommener Einheit"), 'simplicity' ("Einfachheit") and "pure objective perception" ("reiner objektiver Anschauung") as in Hellenistic literature and, of course, in

31 Ibid., p. 3.

32 Ibid., p. 9, pp. 16 f.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., p. 5.

35 Ibid., p. 9.

Goethe's work – a clear classicist value judgement.³⁶ Excessive authors like Tieck (*Phantasmus*), Uhland, Matthiesson and Hölty incline too much towards fantasy; minor lyric poets like Schiller or Platen show the contradictory tendency: they lay too much stress on reason and combination.³⁷ Minor poetical forms rely on humour (derived from the notion 'temperament') and can be found in English satirical writing (Shakespeare, Swift, Sterne). The most perfect poetic type of expression is the sublime. It overwhelms and does not permit reasonable judgements (Klopstock's odes, Shakespeare's *King Lear*, VI,6). Wackernagel even excludes the ugly from poetry: Jean Paul's *Dr. Katzenbergers Badereise* cannot be called literature.³⁸

Art (and this is true for literature as well) has a purpose which is communication with the reader. Therefore, destructive texts like *Dr. Katzenberger* are to be excluded from the canon of high-valued literature:

'Every art has in its sensual presentations of its perceptions a purpose, which is this, and only this: that a soul that is arranged in similar ways as the one of the artist, ingests the sensual presentations, so that this sensual presentation, as it emerged from the mental perception of the artist, may turn into a mental perception of its listener and viewer. With this, the listener and viewer may return reproductively on the same path on which the artist had come towards him, so that in the listener's and the viewer's fantasy the fantasy of the artist may reflect and his emotion together with those of the artist sound as a chord.'³⁹

36 Ibid., p. 18.

37 Ibid., pp. 20 f.

38 Ibid., p. 26. See Günther Oesterle: Entwurf einer Monographie des ästhetisch Häßlichen: Die Geschichte einer ästhetischen Kategorie von Friedrich Schlegels Studium-Aufsatz bis zu Karl Rosenkranz' Ästhetik des Häßlichen als Suche nach dem Ursprung der Moderne. In: Zur Modernität der Romantik, ed. by Dieter Bänisch. Stuttgart: Metzler 1977, pp. 227–297; partially rev. repr.: Friedrich Schlegels Entwurf einer Theorie des ästhetisch Häßlichen. In: Friedrich Schlegel und die Kunsttheorie seiner Zeit, ed. by Helmut Schanze. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1985, pp. 397–451 (Wege der Forschung 609); Francesca Iannelli: Das Siegel der Moderne: Hegels Bestimmung des Häßlichen in den Vorlesungen zur Ästhetik und die Rezeption bei den Hegelianern. Munich: Fink 2007 (HegelForum).

39 Wackernagel (fn. 28), p. 30: "Jede Kunst hat nämlich bei der sinnlichen Darstellung ihrer Anschauungen einen Zweck, nämlich diesen, und diesen allein, dass eine Seele, welche der des Künstlers ähnlich organisiert ist, die sinnliche Darstellung in sich aufnehme, dass diese sinnliche Darstellung, wie sie aus

Throughout these lectures, Wackernagel elaborates on an early version of the theory of 'reproductive fantasy':⁴⁰ Literary innovation lives through 'images of memory' ("Gedächtnisbildern") of 'real' events which in turn are activated and combined by the 'drive towards art' ("Kunsttrieb").⁴¹ The ultimate goal of art, he adds here, is that the fantasy of the poet and that of the recipient are identical. One reproduces the other. Consequently, 'bad' and 'ugly' literature is to be excluded as it would irritate the reader in that it causes destructive feelings.

Moreover, poetics should observe how literature fulfils its communicative goal throughout the centuries. Its method should therefore be 'historical-philosophical' and 'natural historical'; poetics should, according to A.W. Schlegel's term, lead to a 'natural history of poetry'.⁴² Unlike Schlegel, Wackernagel's 'natural history of poetry' is grounded in a religious anthropology: man has inherited a certain drive towards art that is the imagination, enabling man to reproduce fantasies for others. As the drive towards art has always existed, and given first among other talents, poetry is older than prose. Astronomy in verse form serves as a proof.⁴³ The poetic genres follow almost naturally from the old age of poetry; they are ordered according to the forces of the soul. Lyric poetry, for instance, expresses emotion as 'mental innerness' ("geistige Innerlichkeit") but combines the subjective with the objective.⁴⁴ Although this genre theory sounds rather Hegelian and traditional, it is deeply rooted in Wackernagel's religious aims which, in comparison with contemporary aesthetics and poetics, make his lectures appear slightly esoteric.

However, Wackernagel was not the only one to approach poetics from a religious background. Catholic authors, especially Jesuits, became equally active and created a whole tendency of religious aesthetic thought. I shall give a brief account of their works which would require

einer geistigen Anschauung des Künstlers entsprungen ist, dem Hörer, dem Beschauer wiederum zur geistigen Anschauung werde, dass der Hörer, der Beschauer den gleichen Weg reproducierend zurückverwandle, auf welchem der Künstler ihm producierend entgegengewandelt ist, dass in seiner Phantasie die Phantasie des Künstlers wiedererscheine, sein Gefühl mit dem des Künstlers im Accord zusammenklinge."

40 See Gunilla Eschenbach: *Imitation und Parodie in George-Kreis* (Ts.).

41 Wackernagel (fn. 28), p. 3.

42 Ibid., p. 16.

43 Ibid., pp. 35 f.

44 Ibid., p. 119.

further study and contextualization with regard to the relevant orders and Universities.

Josef Jungmann (1830–1885), a Jesuit Professor at Innsbruck University, inspired by theological teaching requirements, conceived a two-volume treatise re-edited three times by the prominent Catholic publisher Herder (Freiburg Breisgau). A first edition appeared under the title *Die Schönheit und die schöne Kunst*; from the second edition onwards the book is simply called *Aesthetik* (1886). Its content (as well as its order) does not strike one as being particularly Catholic: the first volume deals with general concepts, the second one with the beautiful arts, especially rhetoric (which is, in contrast to most treatises, again included in the beautiful arts) and poetry.

Yet the definition of beauty contains confessional elements: ‘goodness, love and enjoyment’ (“die Gutheit, die Liebe und der Genuß”) are identified as the major characteristics of art,⁴⁵ combining moral as well as hedonistic strands of understanding, while beauty is seen as the ‘extra-sensory composition of things, which one can only know and recognise through reason’ (“übersinnliche Beschaffenheit der Dinge, welche nur durch die Vernunft erkannt wird”).⁴⁶ Jungmann refers to Thomas of Aquinas’ authority in order to highlight some evidence for this definition. This is a correct and helpful reference: Thomas Aquinas indeed held a strong view of (natural) reason which is, although inferior to the revelation and fallible, capable of discovering a huge amount of truth.⁴⁷ In addition to this, it was Thomas who pleaded for a close connection of beauty and the good. Beauty is said to help the good in two ways: firstly, it enhances the cognition to find the good, the well-proportioned. Secondly, beauty leads to tranquility, thereby stopping morally dangerous striving (‘appetitus’).⁴⁸

A similar confessional definition or argument is to be found in Jungmann’s poetics. In the tradition of pre-19th-century rhetoric, Jungmann revitalizes the idea that the main task of poetry is to stimulate emotions, to move the audience.⁴⁹ According to Jungmann, Hugh Blair and his adherents are wrong when restricting poetry to verse form and classify-

45 Josef Jungmann: *Aesthetik*. 3rd, augm. and corr. ed. in 2 vols., Freiburg i. Br.: Herder 1886, vol. 2, pp. 52–96.

46 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 23.

47 Thomas of Aquinas: *Summa theologiae*. Lugduni 1558, Ia, 1, art. 5, p. 5.

48 Ibid., qu. 5 a.4 ad 1, p. 20.

49 Jungmann, vol. 2 (fn. 45), p. 430.

ing it as the language of emotions. Jungmann stresses that it is insufficient to take into account lyric poetry only (like Blair). Following Jungmann's theory, poetry is subordinated to its rhetoric aim ('movere'). Beyond morally trivial civil poetry which depicts real phenomena and hedonistic poetry which aims at causing joy, there is foremost one type of poetry which aims at moving the audience:⁵⁰ religious poetry that expresses the revelation and causes religious sentiments in readers, an idea which Jungmann develops with reference to Thomas Aquinas, Suarez and late 18th-century popular philosophy (beyond Blair). In short: Jungmann's poetics can be qualified as being religious insofar as it revitalised the sublime in order to promote theological purposes. In addition to this, it can be said to be Catholic as regard its sources, Thomas Aquinas and Suarez.

Following in the footsteps of Jungmann, Catholics continued to consider the topic of aesthetics and poetics, as one can see from Gerhard Gietmann's (1845–1912) school poetics *Grundriß der Stilistik, Poetik und Ästhetik* (1897).⁵¹ Furthermore, Anton Kirstein, a Catholic professor of philosophy who taught at the seminary in Mainz adopted a more secular point of view. Although praising Jungmann for his account, Kirstein's *Ästhetik der Natur und Kunst* (1896) reads like other non-religious aesthetics, and reveals its Catholic tendency only when it comes to the choice of composers (Palaestrina), references to St. Augustine, or to the most honorable aim of aesthetics which is to praise God by enlightening the beauties of his creation.⁵² Religious aesthetics like Wackernagel's and the Jesuit's, inherit romantic mystic thought but also non-religious analytical and speculative aesthetics, combining them with traditional rhetoric knowledge. The result is striking in that it reunites fields of study which since the invention of philosophical aesthetics had become separated: rhetoric, poetics, aesthetics, style and homiletics. In contrast to Wackernagel, Hegel and his pupils carry the separation of the fields mentioned further.

50 Ibid., p. 405.

51 See the forthcoming study by Anja Zenk (preface).

52 Anton Kirstein: *Entwurf einer Ästhetik der Natur und Kunst*. Paderborn: Schöningh 1896 (Wissenschaftliche Handbibliothek, 3rd series: Lehr- und Handbücher verschiedener Wissenschaften 4), pp. 6 f.

(c) The Turning Point after Hegel and Beyond: Friedrich Theodor Vischer (1846–1857) and the New Challenges (Johann Friedrich Herbart, Robert Zimmermann)

The reception of Hegel in aesthetics produced an uncountable number of texts.⁵³ To name only the most important students of Hegel who worked in the area of aesthetics and soon emancipated themselves from their master:⁵⁴ Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger (1780–1819) studied law in Halle (Saale) but also devoted himself to philosophical studies, becoming a professor of philosophy and mythology at Berlin University in 1811. Like many of his contemporaries, e.g. Hegel's former student Christian Hermann Weisse (1801–1866), Solger aimed at a unity of revelation and speculation.⁵⁵ Among his aesthetic writings are the review on Schlegel's Viennese lectures, *Erwin. Vier Gespräche über das Schöne und die Kunst* (1815) and *Vorlesungen über Ästhetik* (1829). For Solger, irony as well as the difference between symbolic and allegoric art became most important.⁵⁶ Symbolic art develops 'the idea' in such a way that it cannot be divided from its expression. In contrast to the symbolic, allegoric art encompasses an activity of fantasy that goes beyond the work in question and is concerned with its relation to something else.⁵⁷ Like Hegel, Solger dedicates a long paragraph to genre theory

53 Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert and Otto Pöggler (eds.): *Welt und Wirkung von Hegels Ästhetik*. Bonn: Bouvier 1986 (Hegel-Studien); Karl Ameriks: *Hegel's Aesthetics: New perspectives on its response to Kant and romanticism*. In: *Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain* 45–46 (2002), pp. 72–92.

54 See e.g. the debate about Solger Heinrich Clairmont: 'Kritisieren heißt einen Autor besser verstehen als er sich selbst verstanden hat.' Zu Hegels Solger-Rezension. In: *Die "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik": Hegels Berliner Gegenakademie*, ed. by Christoph Jamme. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog 1994 (Spekulation und Erfahrung: Abt. 2, Untersuchungen 27), pp. 257–279.

55 Friedhelm Decher: *Einheit von Offenbarung und Spekulation: Anmerkungen zum mystischen Grundzug der Solgerschen Philosophie*. In: *Prima Philosophia* 13 (2000) 3, pp. 231–241.

56 Jacques Collette: *Enthousiasme et ironie: La dialectique artistique selon K.W.F. Solger*. In: *Les études philosophiques* Oct./Déc. 1992, pp. 487–498; Giovanni Pinna: *L'Ironia Metafisica: Filosofia e teoria estetica in Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger*. Genova 1994; Matthias Kossler: 'Leib' und 'Bedeutung' in der Ästhetik Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Solgers. In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 43 (1999), pp. 278–304, pp. 281 f.

57 Wolfhart Henckmann: *Symbolische und allegorische Kunst bei K.W.F. Solger*. In: *Früher Idealismus und Frühromantik. Der Streit um die Grundlagen der*

which is said to combine the spirit into a bundle: according to Solger, the epic, objectivity and narration belong in one category, lyric poetry, subjectivity and form in another whilst drama – the highest form – unites subjectivity and objectivity and expresses the passion of man in history.

Like Solger, Weisse, an unorthodox idealist who studied law, philosophy, art and literature, replaced Hegel's absolute spirit with God.⁵⁸ Although Weisse in his *System der Ästhetik als Wissenschaft von der Idee der Schönheit* (1830) stresses the importance of philosophical schools and pays tribute to Hegel,⁵⁹ he deviates considerably from his teacher in understanding aesthetics as the 'science of the idea of beauty'.⁶⁰ Following in Hegel's footsteps, Weisse is one of the philosophers who pays considerable attention to poetry which, according to Weisse, is the most concrete and rich art. The reason for this evaluation lies in language. Weisse regards poetry as the 'creature as well as the phenomenon of the creative principle as such' ("Geschöpf und Erscheinung des schaffendem Prinzip als solchem"),⁶¹ in turn, spirit expresses itself in language in renewed objectivity, aiming at the 'creative ideal' ("schöpferische[] Ideal").⁶²

Yet it would be too much to go into great detail as far as all these Hegelian tendencies are concerned. I shall instead draw attention to one particular work which is regarded as a product of Hegel's school and yet also goes beyond it: Friedrich Theodor Vischer's six-volume *Ästhetik oder Wissenschaft des Schönen* (1846–1858).⁶³

Ästhetik (1795–1805), ed. by Walter Jaeschke and Helmut Holzhey. Hamburg: Meiner 1990 (Philosophisch-literarische Streitsachen 1), pp. 214–240, pp. 227–229.

58 On Weisse Franz Ludwig Greb: Die philosophischen Anfänge Christian Hermann Weisses. PhD-thesis Bonn 1943.

59 Christian Hermann Weisse: *System der Ästhetik als Wissenschaft von der Idee der Schönheit*. Repr. Hildesheim: Olms 1966, (2 vols.), vol. 1, p. XII.

60 Ibid., vol. 1, § 2, p. 5.

61 Ibid., vol. 2, § 60, p. 228.

62 Ibid., p. 229.

63 Francesca Iannelli: Friedrich Theodor Vischer zwischen Hegel und Hotho: Edition und Kommentar der Notizen Friedrich Theodor Vischers zu Hothos Ästhetikvorlesung von 1833. In: *Hegel-Studien* 37 (2002), pp. 11–53; See also Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert: Friedrich Theodor Vischer: "Der große Repent deutscher Nation für alles Schöne und Gute, Recht und Wahre". In: "O Fürstin der Heimath! Glückliches Stutgard. Politik, Kultur und Gesellschaft in deutschen Südwesten um 1800, ed. by Otto Pöggeler, Christoph Jamme. Stutt-

Vischer was both a philosopher and a writer, popular for his parody of Goethe's *Faust* in *Faust III* (1862) and his witty novel *Auch Einer* (1878).⁶⁴ With his friends Eduard Mörike und David Friedrich Strauss Vischer engaged in discussions on all kinds of intellectual issues, from new trends in philosophy and literature to political events such as the 1848 revolution in which Vischer participated as a liberal politician.⁶⁵ Being appointed professor at Zurich (1855, later in Stuttgart 1866) he often left for Italy, praising the sensual atmosphere which corresponds to the experience of 'high art'. During these travels he searched for material in order to prepare his comprehensive aesthetics which includes painting, sculpture and music. The sixth volume is dedicated to literature and it is the focus of the following paragraphs, the general thesis being that Vischer's aesthetics marks a turning point in the history of the method of aesthetics: Vischer promotes speculative aesthetics in the Hegel-tradition and, in the late writings, an empirical aesthetics that goes hand in hand with new developments in the area (e.g. Lotze, Fechner).

gart: Klett-Cotta 1988, pp. 329–351. – The following remarks rely on previous publications in German, yet modify the issue considerably; Author: Poetiken, (fn. 2), pp. 164–172; Author: Von der Erfindung und den Grenzen des Schaffens: Fallstudien zur Inventio-Lehre in Poetik und Ästhetik. In: Imagination und Invention, ed. by Toni Bernhart, Philipp Mehne. Berlin: Akad.-Verl. 2006 (Paragrana, Supplement 2), pp. 217–242; Author: Anschaulichkeit vs Sprachlichkeit: Die Künste in den poetologischen Debatte zwischen 1900 und 1960. In: Konzert und Konkurrenz: Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert. Hildesheim: Olms, ed. by Oliver Huck and Christian Scholl, S.R. (forthcoming).

- 64 Philip Ajouri: Erzählen nach Darwin: Die Krise der Teleologie im literarischen Realismus. Friedrich Theodor Vischer und Gottfried Keller. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2007, pp. 195–256; Alexander Reck: Friedrich Theodor Vischer: Parodien auf Goethes Faust. Heidelberg: Winter 2007.
- 65 On Vischer's bio-bibliography see Hilmar Roebeling: Zur Kunsttheorie F.Th. Vischers. In: Beiträge zur Theorie der Künste im 19. Jahrhundert. Vol. 1. ed. by Helmut Koopmann, Adolf J. Schmoll so-called Eisenwerth. Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann 1971 (Studien zur Philosophie und Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts 12/1), pp. 97–112; Gottfried Willems: Das Konzept der literarischen Gattung: Untersuchungen zur klassischen deutschen Gattungstheorie, insbesondere zur Ästhetik F. Th. Vischers. Tübingen 1981 (Hermæa 15); Wendelin Göbel: Friedrich Theodor Vischer: Grundzüge seiner Metaphysik und Ästhetik. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1983 (Epistemata; Würzburger wissenschaftliche Schriften 15).

Vischer, in fact, while writing his *Asthetik* was also rewriting it: the ironic and self-critical Vischer of the 1860s and 1870s in his *Kritik meiner Ästhetik* (1863/ 1873) exposed the faithful Hegelian scholar he was when publishing the first volume of the *Asthetik* in 1846. In the 1840s, Vischer had aimed to provide a metaphysically and logically grounded theory of the beautiful which was designed to complement Hegel's lectures (in Hotho's systematic revision) on the issue. Yet by the 1860s Vischer had begun to observe that a synthetical aesthetics would no longer be possible: aesthetic thinking seemed to change continuously. Reacting to the new trends and tendencies in aesthetics, Vischer opted for a middle position between the extremes of formalism and 'Gehaltsästhetik', speculation and empiricism; he revoked his central doctrines such as his understanding of natural beauty as well as his concepts of the sublime and the comical. At the same time, he enforced his understanding of art and its perception as accidental event. Consequently, his aesthetic writings should be seen as transitory texts which together develop an aesthetics of contingency.⁶⁶

Vischer's specific poetological inventions include, among other issues, firstly, his understanding of poetic humour, influenced by Jean Paul,⁶⁷ secondly, a particular explanation of fantasy and thirdly, a reassessment of the understanding of poetry which is linked to the explanation of 'perception' ("Anschauung"), the latter becoming a stumbling block around 1900.⁶⁸

Taking into account Hegel's stress on the concept of fantasy, Vischer chooses a confrontational approach which proves that he was already a critic of Hegel (Hotho) by the time he wrote his *Asthetik*:

66 Sandra Richter: Die Kontingenz der Kontingenztästhetik: Vischers ästhetische Schriften als transitorische Dokumente. In: Papers of the Vischer-conference, Stuttgart, June 2009.

67 Götz Müller: Zur Bedeutung Jean Pauls für die Ästhetik zwischen 1830 und 1848 (Weisse, Ruge, Vischer) [1977]. In: G.M., Jean Paul im Kontext. Würzburg 1996, pp. 7–28.

68 See the chapter on Meyer; see also: Gottfried Willems: Anschaulichkeit: Zur Theorie und Geschichte der Wort-Bild-Beziehungen und des literarischen Darstellungsstils. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1989 (Studien zur deutschen Literatur 103).

‘The previous attempts to understand fantasy did not explain anything. In contrast, we at least point in the direction where an explanation is to be found.’⁶⁹

Although Vischer originally refused to engage in the study of fantasy as this seemed too trivial to him and indeed tended toward the false direction of non-metaphysical aesthetics, he now attacks his teacher Hegel (Hotho) for having failed to give a sufficient explanation of fantasy. Vischer even claims to show a new way for future studies on the matter. This new way can be characterised by an amalgamation of different approaches: anthropology, poetics, rhetoric, physiology, physics and psychology. Vischer’s new way directs itself against two approaches in particular, which he appreciates but perceives as being one-sided and limited: subjectivism (Herder, Jean Paul) and formalism or exaggerated objectivism (Johann Friedrich Herbart, Robert Zimmermann).

According to Vischer, fantasy is a ‘gift of humanity’ (“Gabe der Menschheit”).⁷⁰ However, not every individual participates in it to the same extent. His anthropology of fantasy runs as follows: the normal man possesses a ‘passive fantasy’ which enables him to ‘find’ matter.⁷¹ It is different with genius, a person who has an excellent memory and is moved by passion, maybe caused by a specific physical condition (black gall, nervous activity, mania).⁷² The genius’ fantasy is active, grasping and depicting beauty. This kind of fantasy is the one that is to be explained by aesthetics. Vischer asks what generates beauty? Nature or the human being? He answers as follows:

‘The subject is capable of generating an image by perception, which had to lay in the subject as a possibility or as an original image, which becomes called into reality by the respective naturally beautiful object and now remodels this object as an inner yardstick, so that that which corresponds with the idea removes that which is not corresponding and the object expands into the realm of pure beauty, whereby it can

69 Friedrich Theodor Vischer: *Asthetik oder Wissenschaft des Schönen: Zum Gebrauche für Vorlesungen*. Book VI: *Kunstlehre Dichtkunst/Register*. 2nd ed., ed. by Robert Vischer. Munich: Meyer & Jessen 1922/23, (6 vols.), (1st ed. 1846–1857), II, 3. chap., III. C, 1., p. 366: “[...] die bisherigen Versuche, die Phantasie zu begreifen, haben nichts erklärt, wir aber weisen wenigstens auf den Weg hin, wo die Erklärung liegen muß [...]”

70 *Ibid.*, § 379, p. 357.

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*, § 385, p. 390.

serve the spirit as a model, by which the spirit then may be able to differentiate between the beautiful and the not beautiful.⁷³

The theory of the original image justifies Vischer's idea that beauty is generated by an 'interaction between discovery and creation' ("Wechselwirkung zwischen Finden und Schaffen").⁷⁴ The genius finds original images in himself and uses them to compare and assess reality. Finally, he wishes to create something new which resembles the original image – a doublesided process.

On the one hand, Vischer refers back to poetics inspired by neo-Platonic, as well as rhetoric, thought. He revitalises Scaliger's concept of the genius as a 'second creator'.⁷⁵ On the other hand, Vischer points to the 'inventio'-doctrine of classical rhetoric, in combination with the Platonic image theory.⁷⁶ Every artist should make use of a rich treasure of original images, demands Vischer, thereby drawing on a typical 17th-century rhetorical topos.

Seen from a poetic and rhetorical point of view, this artist's psychology sounds convincing. Yet it lacks proof. Vischer expects modern physiology and psychology to fill the gap, once both fields have established a reliable terminology and profound knowledge of the issue. Vischer's provisory physico-psychological result is as follows: at the beginning stands the specific anthropological or even physical disposition of the poet which is attracted by a certain event, an occasion, an idea.

73 Ibid., § 370: "Das Subjekt hat [...] die Fähigkeit, zugleich mit der Anschauung ein Bild zu erzeugen, das vorher als Möglichkeit oder Urbild in ihm angelegt gewesen sein muß, durch den entsprechenden naturschönen Gegenstand im Innern zur Wirklichkeit gerufen wird und nu als inneres Richtmaß diesen umbildet, das der Idee gemäß in ihm erhöht und das Ungemäße ausscheidet, ihn zur reinen Schönheit erweitert und dem Geiste überhaupt als das Muster dient, durch das er Schönes und Nichtschönes unterscheidet. In Wahrheit ist demnach das Subjekt der Schöpfer des Schönen, und die gesamte Naturschönheit verhält sich zu dieser Schöpfung als Objekt in dem Sinne des Stoffs einer Tätigkeit."

74 Ibid., § 383, p. 358.

75 Ibid.

76 Through his complex reflections, Vischer might also provide a refined version of Johann Jacob Breiting's statement that art has to search for its original images in nature; see J.J.B.: *Critische Dichtkunst*. Repr. of the 1740-edition, with a commentary by Wolfgang Bender. Stuttgart 1966 (Deutsche Neudrucke; Reihe Texte des 18. Jahrhunderts), vol. 1, p. 78; on Breiting's theory see Gabriele Dürbeck: *Einbildungskraft und Aufklärung: Perspektiven der Philosophie, Anthropologie und Ästhetik um 1750*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1998 (Studien zur deutschen Literatur 148), p. 80

'Association of ideas' ("Ideenassoziation"), a term that goes back to Herbart,⁷⁷ and 'apperception' ("Apperzeption") in a second step give rise to known images. Thirdly, passions have to 'cool down' in order to cause the final act: the 'binding and separating activity of fantasy' ("bindende und scheidende Tätigkeit der Phantasie").⁷⁸ It creates an 'image of the image' ("Bild des Bildes") which goes back to the original image.⁷⁹ It is this double sided approach of 'inventio' and 'creatio', the interplay of nature and 'the human new' (which is, of course, to some extent natural and already given) that has an enormous impact on aesthetics, even on Vischer's opponent Robert Zimmermann.⁸⁰ Furthermore, it is to be noted that it is Vischer who pleads for a combination of methods and fields of study, ranging from anthropology, poetics and rhetoric to physiology and psychology.

Vischer's concept of poetry is born of these reflections. Like his speculative predecessors from the Schelling and Hegel (Hotho) camp, Vischer conceives of poetry in the context of a general theory of the arts. Music is regarded as the most subjective art and 'bildende Kunst' as the most objective; poetry mediates between both, is subjective and objective at the same time and therefore represents the totality of the arts.⁸¹ As poetry is directed toward spirit, it devours all material matter and displays the highest form of fantasy, that is 'fantasy that produces poetry' ("dichtende Phantasie").⁸² This form of fantasy serves also as a means of compensation as poetry lacks the inwardness that is audible in music and the accuracy of creative arts: poetic fantasy creates 'the utterly new' ("das schlechthin Neue"), that is the unification of time and space.⁸³ It is its material that allows poetry to progress in such a way: language appears as the 'vehicle' ("Vehikel") of inner images,⁸⁴ a notion which had become famous through the works of

77 Walter Nowack: zur Lehre von den Gesetzen der Ideenassoziation seit Herbart bis 1880. PhD-thesis Halle 1925.

78 Vischer (fn. 69), § 399, p. 430.

79 Ibid., § 398, p. 427.

80 See the relevant chapter.

81 Vischer, IV, § 837, p. 14.

82 Vischer, VI (fn. 69), § 835, p. 4.

83 Ibid., § 841, p. 29.

84 Ibid., § 836, p. 6.

Eduard von Hartmann,⁸⁵ and was heavily criticized by the adherents of a linguistic view of poetry.⁸⁶

Unconcerned by these later views, Vischer expands on the linguistic, as well as visual, quality of poetry, taking in traditional descriptions: poetry appears as ‘oratory painting’ (“redende Malerei”) as Simonides claims,⁸⁷ but it cannot be restricted to simply copying. Loosely following Lessing in his *Laokoon*, Vischer mentions the successive character of tone that brings poetry close to music (although Vischer holds the view that the poet can show coexistent things or actions).⁸⁸ Being ‘liberal’ in his aesthetics as well, accepting and elaborating on the beautiful as well as the ugly, the sublime and the comic, the trivial (e.g. fashion) as well as the highly developed, Vischer provides only a few vague ‘laws of style’ (“Stilgesetz[e]”) in order to evaluate a beautiful work of poetry: firstly, poetry should not be ‘gestalt-less’ (“gestaltlos”) but should rather aim at the form of expression which music achieves.⁸⁹ Secondly, poetry should not add up every tiny detail as necessary in art.⁹⁰ His genre theory reflects on the issue in a similarly open minded way. The fact that this genre theory is derived from physico-psychological reflections closes the circle of his argument. Three types of fantasy correspond to three types of genre: firstly, ‘creating fantasy’ (“bildende Phantasie”) leads to epic poetry, secondly, ‘sentient fantasy’ (“empfindende Phantasie”) governs lyric poetry, thirdly, true ‘poetic fantasy’ (“dichtende Phantasie”) produces dramatic poetry.⁹¹ As in Schelling and A.W. Schlegel’s theories, dramatic poetry is regarded as the highest form of poetry since it synthesises all aspects and types of poetry in one form. The system of the arts repeats itself.

85 Eduard von Hartmann: *Philosophie des Schönen*. 2nd ed. with reference to the bequest of E.v.H. ed. by Richard Müller-Freienfels. Berlin: Wegweiser-Verlag 1924 (1st ed. 1887), p. 691; E.v.H.: *Grundriß der Ästhetik*. Bad Sachsa: Haacke 1909 (*System der Philosophie im Grundriß* 8), p. 236. Von Hartmann belongs to the advocates of an aesthetics ‘der Anschauung’ as well. In contrast to Vischer he is mostly interested in the question of how to restrict the scope of interpretations. Hartmann’s answer is clear: it is the intention of the author that determines the meaning of a text and the only task of the reader is to uncover this intention in order to understand the text; see S.R.: *Anschaulichkeit* (fn. 63).

86 See the chapter on Meyer.

87 Vischer, VI (fn. 69), § 838, p. 16.

88 Ibid., § 838, p. 19; § 839, p. 21.

89 Ibid., § 846, p. 46.

90 Ibid., § 847, p. 50.

91 Ibid., § 895, p. 261.

Still, Vischer's aesthetic 'liberalism' which advocates a middle position between aesthetic extremes is founded on two basic assumptions:⁹² firstly, the belief in cosmic harmony which unfolds only accidentally. It comprises an anthropology that is still grounded on Schiller's notion of the 'whole human being' ("ganze Menschen"). The modern human being, struck by the problem of reflection, rediscovers nature, simplicity and integrity through the arbitrary observation of art, a higher beauty. Unlike in Hegel's (Hotho's) thought, 'art in the highest sense' is not lost. On the contrary, art can regain its highest meaning as long as it reflects on the problem of modern reflexivity and enables the reader to relocate his position in this complex world whilst enjoying art. As a consequence, secondly, Vischer pleads for a renewed classicism in art that also allows for non-classicist forms such as the satire. In the case of literature he favours authors like Goethe who neither tend to the extreme of the fairy tale, nor to that of philosophical observations, but rather give an impression of the 'whole human being' ("ganze Mensch") through moderate plots, more or less harmonious forms and, perhaps, some degree of humour. It is through these harmonious presentations that the reader observes beauty.

A borderline case such as that of Mörike is fascinating in this context. Strauss and Vischer together in their letters carefully read and judge the pieces of their friend, engaging in a harsh discussion with him when fearing that he, adhering to romanticism and fairy tales, fails to evoke the neo-classicist ideal.⁹³ The result is not only a dispute about poetic norms but also an almost broken friendship, one of the reasons for this being that all three, conceiving of themselves as 'whole human beings' cannot separate norms, poetic practice and critique from the individuum. They adhere to the fatal connection of all these aspects according to which a person proves to be misguided when writing in a way that is considered to be naïve or problematic.

Yet despite these rigid classicist norms, Vischer's aesthetics proves to be a liberal account, even in the aesthetic norms it accepts. The combination of speculative, formalist and empirical tendencies and the attempt to avoid any exclusive philosophical position speaks for itself. Furthermore, the richness in artistic detail makes Vischer's aesthetics a most valuable book, even for artists themselves. It is not by mere accident that

92 See Author: Poetiken (fn. 63), pp. 166–172.

93 Ibid., pp. 139–142.

Gottschall published his critical poetics a year after the final volume of Vischer's aesthetics appeared on the book market.

(d) Literary Poetics: Rudolf Gottschall (1858, ⁶1893)

Although Rudolf Karl Gottschall (1877–1823; pseudonym Carl Rudolf) conceived a scholarly poetological book, he was only an academic by training, not by profession. Having studied law he became a journalist (*Ostdeutsche Zeitung*, 1862–1865), edited the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (1865–1888) and wrote and edited lyric, epic and dramatic poetry. During his life he published more than twenty plays and more than ten novels, most of them dealing with political events or personalities of public life. Writing literature, as well as every-day journalistic texts, shaped his poetics and its development.

The main characteristic of Gottschall's poetics is its closeness to literature. He aims to examine 'latent poetics' ("latente Poetik"),⁹⁴ thereby inheriting verse poetics in the tradition of Horace's so-called *Ars poetica*.⁹⁵ Gottschall focuses on the self-reflexive moment in literature, giving the relevant examples from authors like Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe and Jean Paul. Gottschall appreciates their critical activities, regards them as representative of some kind of preliminary poetics and complains that they have been largely neglected in the valuable aesthetics of Schelling, Solger, Hegel, Weisse, Vischer, Rosenkranz, Kuno Fischer and others. Gottschall aims to fill the 'gap' ("Lücke") caused by the metaphysical 'ignorance' of aesthetics.⁹⁶ With this stress on the mutual interference of criticism and poetics Gottschall is, of course, not as original as he declares himself to be. He follows in fact in the footsteps of popular philosophy, of Heusinger and Vischer. Like Heusinger, Gottschall strives for the institution of a thorough system of critical principles – principles which he finds eroded in his time.⁹⁷ There-

94 Rudolph Gottschall: *Poetik: Die Dichtkunst und ihre Technik. Vom Standpunkte der Neuzeit*. Breslau: Trewendt 1858, p. IV.

95 On the "Ars poetica" and its reception see Sandra Richter: *Außer Konkurrenz? Die "ars poetica" des Horaz in Kommentar und Poetik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Welche Antike?* Ed. by Ulrich Heinen [et al.] Wiesbaden (forthcoming).

96 Gottschall, 1st ed. (fn. 94), p. IV.

97 *Ibid.*, p. V: "Jetzt herrscht eine grenzenlose Verwirrung der kritischen Principien, ganz abgesehen vom Lobe der Kameraderie und den verschiedenen Aeu-

fore, avoiding any links with rule or normative poetics, he attributes to himself the role of ‘interpreter’ (“Interpret”) of current poetry in order to derive the relevant principles from literature itself.⁹⁸

Gottschall published the first result of these attempts in 1858, re-editing and rewriting his *Poetik* over the course of the next five decades. The book grew from one (1st and 2nd editions) to two volumes (3rd–6th editions) and came to include most of the new literary and theoretical tendencies as well as new examples not only from German but also from English and French poetry. Hence Gottschall’s *Poetik* is one of the most informative sources about poetological developments from 1850 up to 1890. As it provides many innovative ideas and does not lay stress on canonical knowledge, he explicitly warns that it is neither intended as a school book nor suited for education.⁹⁹

Gottschall, in his preface to the first edition, states that he relies on three authors: Rosenkranz, Carriere and Vischer. Indeed he even wanted to wait for Vischer’s volume on poetics (6th vol. of his *Aesthetik*) to be published before conceiving his own books.¹⁰⁰ Vischer’s *Aesthetik* is praised as ‘the key work of modern times’ (“Hauptwerk der Neuzeit”) in aesthetics, although it suffers from a lack of literary examples and aesthetic “Feinschmeckerei”.¹⁰¹ In addition to Vischer, Gottschall establishes alliances with others as regards his reflections concerning the his-

berungen der Parteiwuth; große Talente werden durch kleinlich mäkelnde Beurtheilung auf das Niveau der Mittelmäßigkeit herabgedrückt, der Glauben an die dichterische Kraft der Gegenwart durch die grundlosesten Behauptungen erschüttert.”/ An endless confusion of critical principals governs now, regardless of the praise of comradeship and the various expressions of party-furore; great talents are suppressed on the level of mediocrity by pedantic carping judgements, belief in poetic force of the present times is unsettled by reasonless statements.

98 Ibid., p. V.

99 Rudolph Gottschall: *Poetik: Die Dichtkunst und ihre Technik. Vom Standpunkte der Neuzeit.* 3rd corr. and augm. ed. Breslau: Trewendt 1873, vol. 1, p. XII.

100 Gottschall, 1st ed. (fn. 94), p. VI.

101 Rudolph Gottschall: *Poetik: Die Dichtkunst und ihre Technik. Vom Standpunkte der Neuzeit.* 2nd corr. and augm. ed. Breslau: Trewendt 1870, p. 18. It is impossible to translate “Feinschmeckerei”. The noun refers to eating like a gourmand. Gottschall transfers the noun to aesthetics and makes polemical use of it: Vischer is accused of having written an aesthetic treatise for well-educated gourmands only, not for the reading public.

torical treatment of matters (Rosenkranz),¹⁰² the ‘true’ poetic interpretation of poetry (Carriere *Das Wesen und die Formen der Poesie*) as well as the definitions of beauty and art: beauty is but an idea, distinct from the real world as well as from the claim to truth. Furthermore, beauty is ‘expressive’ (“anschaulich”), Gottschall writes, referring to Vischer’s aesthetics.¹⁰³ Gottschall chooses his works of reference well: Johann August Eberhard, for instance, is highly appreciated as he is said to have been the first to give a clear account of the effects of beauty, although he did not achieve a deeper grounding for aesthetics (as did Hegel and his pupils later).¹⁰⁴

By the second edition, most of Gottschall’s poetics is already set.¹⁰⁵ Still, the volumes grow. When in the fifth edition (1882) the author’s interest in detail explodes and almost destroys the book’s systematic order, Gottschall is happy to be able to refer to Conrad Beyer’s comprehensive *Deutsche Poetik* (1882).¹⁰⁶ Yet this does not spare him the duty of discussing new poetological approaches. In the sixth edition he pays tribute to Wilhelm Scherer’s *Poetik* (postum 1888), as well as to Eduard von Hartmann’s *Ästhetik* (1886/87),¹⁰⁷ stating that – unlike these new accounts – his own *Poetik* has already acquired the favour of the public. The tone of reservation becomes even more severe as far as the new poetic tendencies of the fin de siècle are concerned. Gottschall claims that he, in his *Poetik*, preserves the eternal truths of beauty against the new

102 Gottschall refers to Rosenkranz’ “Die Poesie und ihre Geschichte” (1855), a more or less historical outline of poetry which can be neglected here.

103 Gottschall 2nd ed. (fn. 101), p. 24. In his critical and polemical appraisal of Gottschall’s “Poetik” (first edition only), Horst Enders highlights this reference to Vischer and accuses Gottschall of having promoted a duality of sensuality and reason, feeling and language; H.E.: Zur Popular-Poetik im 19. Jahrhundert: “Sinnlichkeit” und “inneres Bild” in der Poetik Rudolph Gottschalls. In: Beiträge zur Theorie der Künste im 19. Jahrhundert. Vol. 1, ed. by Helmut Koopmann and J. Adolf Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth. Frankfurt a. M. 1971 (Studien zur Philosophie und Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts 12/1), pp. 66–84, pp. 71, passim. This accusation is not borne out by the facts as Gottschall stressed that the beautiful can originate in thought and spirit as long as it is transformed in such a way that it touches the senses; Gottschall 2nd ed. (fn. 101), p. 25.

104 Ibid., p. 11.

105 Therefore, quotes are taken from this edition.

106 Rudolph Gottschall: *Poetik: Die Dichtkunst und ihre Technik. Vom Standpunkte der Neuzeit*. 5th corr. ed. Breslau: Trewendt 1882, p. XIV.

107 Rudolph Gottschall: *Poetik: Die Dichtkunst und ihre Technik. Vom Standpunkte der Neuzeit*. 6th augm. and corr. ed. Breslau: Trewendt 1893, pp. XXf.

erroneous doctrines, a statement that is problematic, as well as characteristic of Gottschall's poetics. His *Poetik* is one of the books of reference for 19th-century poetics but loses its relevance with the new literary movements which are, in part, directed against Gottschall's principles.

By these principles I understand three ideas highlighted in Gottschall's typically 19th-century poetics: firstly, the idea of the classical, the middle position between poetological extremes, the stress on eternal truths, a combination of realism and idealism which avoids simple reproductions of reality or complex creations of ideal universes. This understanding of the classical is not identical with the one promoted by the 'Munich poet circle' ("Münchener Dichterkreis") although some features are similar. Still, Gottschall often polemicizes against the circle's main poets and thinkers such as Emanuel Geibel and his mannered compounds.¹⁰⁸ Despite adhering to the idea of the classical, Gottschall tends more towards realistic concepts of literature, avoiding the 'cultivated' version of the classic espoused by the Munich poet circle.

A second poetological principle demonstrated by Gottschall's book is the fact that most 19th-century poetics rely on metaphysical ideas of beauty, poetry and genre. The result can briefly be described as perception aesthetics.¹⁰⁹ As explained by a condensed version of Vischer's work which appears in Gottschall's *Poetik*, poetry depicts ideas through language, and language is the form which is superior to other arts. Lyric poetry appears as the sensitive art of individual expression, drama combines sensation and perception whereas epic poetry takes into account perception and the objective.¹¹⁰

Astonishingly enough, a third principle of Gottschall's poetics is modernity (in a 19th century understanding of the word). This understanding is inspired by the French revolution and the German liberal spirit of 1848. 'Modern' describes the national literature of the 18th and 19th centuries: Gottschall requires poetry to be written in the spirit of its time ('timeliness' / "Zeitnähe") and its people; he therefore calls his work a 'modern poetics'.¹¹¹ It is only with the Reformation that modernity begins, with its stress on human character, conflicts and social life. Through psychological analysis, modern humour and social aware-

108 Gottschall 2nd ed. (fn. 101), vol. I, p. 164.

109 See the chapter on Vischer.

110 Gottschall, 2nd ed. (fn. 101), vol. II, p. 3.

111 Gottschall, 1st ed. (fn. 94), vol. I, p. VI., p. 97.

ness, French writers make the most of it.¹¹² As a consequence, Gottschall polemicizes against fairy tales as well as against trivial and pre-individualistic poetry. In harsh contrast to Wackernagel, Jean Paul is appreciated as the modern role model who focuses on the individual human being. The 'modern ideal' ("moderne Ideal") is a synthesis that unites the plastic (the clarity of form) and the romantic, (the deep inner richness of the mind of the active, free and modern human being).¹¹³

In the course of the six editions of the *Poetik* these principles develop considerably, and are adapted to the new trends. These changes cannot be easily revealed because the table of content only mentions minor innovations (such as the chapter on the old epic verse in the second edition) and the framing criteria are modified by expanding examples and interpretation.¹¹⁴ After the second edition these modifications occur only in the form of corrections of sentences, in cutting and introducing passages.¹¹⁵ Yet they help to enforce or reduce seven tendencies that are already set in the *Poetik*:

Firstly, the *Poetik* revises the theory of the sublime and grace. Gottschall combines and defends both: moving beauty is grace, a lovely and untouchable thing beyond every concrete form. A new footnote in the second edition of the *Poetik* discusses the opponents of this theory, which is astonishingly said to be a theory of the sublime (Zeising, Carriere, in the sixth edition of the *Poetik* also Hartmann).¹¹⁶ In the tradition of Kant, they all recommend magnanimity as a criterion for the sublime and tend to downgrade grace which does not fulfil this criterion. In contrast to them, Gottschall appreciates both, although he focuses on the sublime as well. This can be proven from Gottschall's estimation of Byron whom he defends against the literary historian Georg Gervinus. Unlike Gervinus, Gottschall stresses the force Byron attributes to nature. Gottschall calls the description of the Alps in *Manfred* 'the grandiosest lyric poetry of the alpine world' ("die grandioseste Lyrik der Alpenwelt") comparing it to Albrecht von Haller's 'bad' poem *Die Alpen*.¹¹⁷

112 Gottschall, 2nd ed. (fn. 101), vol. I, p. 97.

113 Ibid., p. 128.

114 Ibid. p. XV: "Meine Prinzipien haben mir bei der kritischen Anwendung nie versagt."

115 The fifth edition, for instance, cuts a paragraph on 'Lautsymbolik' that is obviously no more important, Gottschall, 5th ed. (fn. 106), vol. I, p. 134.

116 Gottschall, 2nd ed., pp. 27 f; Gottschall, 6th ed. (fn. 107), vol. I, pp. 34 f.

117 Gottschall, 2nd ed. (fn. 101), vol. I, pp. 47 f.

A second tendency seems to contradict the general realist orientation of Gottschall's work. He disregards prose (e.g. Karl Gutzkow's novels) in comparison to verse form. The argument dates back to the 'Meistersang' and the brothers Grimm: were prose to serve poetic purposes, it would need to use every technique that renders lyric poetry worthy – rhythm, rhyme, metre, verse. The reason for this is not only to prevent the 'dangers' of the Sturm und Drang as well as of the Göttinger Hain but also to contribute to a better memorisation of the work in question.¹¹⁸

The third tendency of the *Poetik* is caused by the growing relevance of natural science even in poetry. Gottschall highlights his wish to distinguish poetry from scientific writing or 'descriptive poetry' in stating that a herbarium is not poetry and natural depiction is entirely different from true poetry. For instance, Gottschall understands Friedrich Wilhelm August Schmidt of Werneuchen's poem *Dorfe Döbritz*, a result of the author's poetic descriptions of rural life, as a mere botanic registration, a poetic herbarium. Although natural science has achieved public recognition this type of poetry cannot be accepted as high art.¹¹⁹

A fourth tendency again draws on new scientific movements, in this case characterology, an area of knowledge that has been reinvented various times since Theophrastos of Eresos' *Charakteres ethikoi* (ca. 319 B.C.).¹²⁰ Gottschall expresses his highest esteem for Julius Bahnsen's new characterology *Beiträge zur Charakterologie* (1867), claiming that it provides interesting insights for the study of literary characters.¹²¹ Gottschall's interest in Dickens and his character writing demonstrates an application of this area of knowledge.¹²²

The fifth tendency might help to explain some of Gottschall's interest in characterology. From the first edition he has battled for the understanding of genius and continuously elaborates on this. Genius is said to be the 'inner revelation' ("innere Offenbarung") and the poetic work

118 Ibid., p. 77 f.

119 Ibid., p. 82.

120 See Sandra Richter: *Charakter und Figur: Zur Rezeption der Charakterologie des Theophrast von Eresos seit dem 16. Jahrhundert bis zu Wielands "Abderiten"*. In: *Medizinische Schreibweisen*, ed. by Nicolas Pethes and S.R. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2008, pp. 145–169 (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 117), pp. 145–169.

121 Gottschall, 2nd ed. (fn. 101), vol. I, pp. 86 f.

122 Ibid., p. 138.

the 'external revelation' ("äußere Offenbarung") of the idea.¹²³ It follows that Gottschall pays due attention to the process of poetic creation: the selection of the motif, 'conception' (in the sense of irrational and almost biological "Zeugung"), the sketch (the rational element: "Skizze") and "composition" (dispositio/ elocutio).¹²⁴ Gottschall even refers to contemporaneous mysticism in order to examine genius: to Franz Xaver von Baader.¹²⁵ Like Baader, Gottschall stresses the inner source and motivation of true poetic enthusiasm, but he distances himself when Baader (like Justinus Kerner) compares poetic enthusiasm to somnambulism. Gottschall instead reintroduces Aristotle who, opposing Plato, finds poetic talent in all moderate authors and summarises with Horace ("natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte") that level-headedness has to be linked with enthusiasm in order to produce the best poetry.¹²⁶ A more contemporary reference is Schopenhauer. Hegel explains ingenuity by the overturn of quantity into quality. Schopenhauer grounds his ideas on genius on Hegel in claiming that one should refer to the most excellent works of a genius only to prove his inaccessible quality and not to disqualify him through naming the imperfect artefacts.¹²⁷

The sixth tendency deals with the downgrading of the Middle Ages in order to stress the ingenious nature of the present times. Gottschall opposes historicist writing which uses material from the Middle Ages. His argument stems from a liberalism that – as in Vischer's work – had become Gottschall's aesthetic confession: the middle ages are not exemplary because they were dominated by physical expression. Scenes such as the taming of Brunhild by Siegfried today prove to be nothing but 'vulgar and hackneyed' ("abgeschmackt").¹²⁸ Thereby, Gottschall devalues Hermann Lingg's *Völkerwanderung* and the various rewritings of the *Nibelungen* by Wilhelm Jordan, Ernst Benjamin Salomo Raupach, Emanuel Geibel and Friedrich Hebbel.¹²⁹

Gottschall's vision of modernity as being detached from these dark Middle Ages is developed further with reference to Gutzkow and the

123 Ibid., p. 82.

124 Ibid., pp. 130–154.

125 See Franz Xaver von Baader: *Gesammelte Schriften zur philosophischen Anthropologie*, ed. Franz Hoffmann. Aalen: Scientia 1963 (F.X.v.B., *Sämtliche Werke* I,4; Repr. Leipzig 1853), p. 138.

126 Gottschall, 2nd ed. (fn. 101), vol. I, pp 105 f.

127 Ibid., pp. 112 f.

128 Ibid., pp. 94 f.

129 Ibid.

novelist Benjamin Disraeli, First Earl of Beaconsfield (1804–1881), later Conservative British statesman and Prime Minister. Together with both writers, Gottschall, in his fifth edition, views modernity as the third ‘congruum’ (“Kongruum”) of the ancient and the romantic periods.¹³⁰ Gottschall inserts a long quote from Disraeli in order to legitimate the high valuation of modernity. Disraeli reports a sublime political thought when standing on the plane of Troja: the French Revolution is not of minor importance compared to the siege of Troja, and Napoleon is a character as interesting as Achilles. Therefore, Disraeli (Gottschall following him in this respect) wishes to introduce his own period as a new one, comparable to ancient times.

This emphatic evaluation of modernity characterises Gottschall’s poetics which provides a sum of liberal 19th-century poetics. In the attempt to promote a refined form of literary criticism, Gottschall takes in many areas of knowledge, eager to be at the forefront of what will later be called the literary and theoretical avantgarde. By his stress on modernity and through his theoretical ambitions, he stimulates poets and poeticsians to explore the dynamics of modernity and contributes to developments that abolish the liberal rules and norms he subscribes to: the literary and critical movements around 1900 which, departing from liberalism, establish new literary and critical schools and enforce programmatic disagreements about literary norms. From an academic point of view, Gottschall’s merit lies in the dissemination of contemporaneous aesthetic and poetic thinking, mainly in the attention he pays to pre-empirical and empirical aesthetics.

130 Gottschall, 5th ed. (fn. 106), vol. I, pp. 111 f.

6. Pre-Empirical and Empirical Poetics since 1820

As the influence of Hegel's thinking diminished, poetics began to focus increasingly on formalist and empirical, physiological and psychological aspects.¹ Initiated by Herbart, Zimmermann and Vischer but executed by Carriere, the adherents to the teaching of Fechner, Dilthey, Scherer and others, the second half of the 19th century faced waves of innovation in favour of an 'aesthetics from below' ("Ästhetik von unten").² These waves lasted until Nietzsche's time and he, even in his late writings, was inspired by these approaches,³ concerning himself rather with the needs of life than with speculation.⁴

Perhaps due to current trends towards a neuro-, bio- or cognitive poetics, late 19th century empirical and psychological aesthetics have become a field of interest in recent years. Still, few contributions have been exclusively dedicated to these theories. The main study was written by Christian G. Allesch in 1987; he focuses on the psychological foundations of the rising empirical aesthetics.⁵ In the more narrow

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- 1 On the differentiation of philosophical programmes at the time Klaus Christian Köhnke: *Entstehung und Aufstieg des Neukantianismus: Die deutsche Universitätsphilosophie zwischen Idealismus und Positivismus*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1986, pp. 109–167.
 - 2 Gustav Theodor Fechner: *Vorschule der Aesthetik*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1876, vol. 1, pp. 2 f, p. 6; see also Annalise Kiemle: *Anschauungen über das Wesen des dichterischen Kunstwerks von 1750–1920*. Berlin: Funk 1930, p. 35, passim; Wolfgang Höppner: *Das "Erebt, Erlebte und Erlernte" im Werk Wilhelm Scherers: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Germanistik*. Cologne [et al.]: Böhlau 1993 (*Europäische Kulturstudien; Literatur – Musik – Kunst im historischen Kontext* 5), p. 91.
 - 3 Gregory Moore: *Art and Evolution: Nietzsche's Physiological Aesthetics*. In: *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 10 (2002) 1, pp. 109–126.
 - 4 With a discussion of current research Werner Stegmaier: *Nietzsches Philosophie der Kunst und seine Kunst der Philosophie: Zur aktuellen Forschung und Forschungsmethodik*. In: *Nietzsche-Studien* 34 (2005), pp. 348–374, pp. 354 f.
 - 5 Christian G. Allesch: *Geschichte der psychologischen Ästhetik: Untersuchungen zur historischen Entwicklung eines psychologischen Verständnisses ästhetischer Phänomene*. Göttingen [et al.]: Verl. für Psychologie 1987; see also

area of aesthetics and literary criticism, Georg Jäger has provided a fascinating insight into the different tendencies of German and Austrian aesthetics, the latter remaining faithful to Herbart and formalism even after Herbartianism had passed its peak.⁶ In addition to Allesch, Gregor Streim provided a first account of what he calls “empirical-inductive poetics”.⁷ Together with Klaus Weimar, Streim considers empirical poetics to have led to a concurrence of poetics with literary history⁸ and to have increased the interest in the psychology of the poet and in clear scientific concepts. Still, empirical poetics is accused of failure when it comes to method: empirical poetics centred on well-known speculative categories, the reason being that its authors – due to a lack of instruments and experience as well as the ignorance of psychiatry⁹ – were unable to coherently and consistently develop the experimental approach they were aiming for.

Convincing as these considerations are, they benefit from further development: the concurrence of poetics and literary history led to a separation, differentiation, and, to some extent, coexistence of these fields. Especially regarding empirical aesthetics and Fechner, new questions, concepts and solutions to poetological problems were provided, which complement literary history. Taking into account these achievements as well as the preliminary state of experimental science it would be too harsh a judgement if one were to state that Fechner and other

some remarks by Margeret A. Boden: *Mind as Machine: A History of Cognitive Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006. (2 vols.)

- 6 Georg Jäger: *Die Herbartianische Ästhetik – ein österreichischer Weg in die Moderne*. In: *Die österreichische Literatur: Ihr Profil im 19. Jahrhundert (1830–1880)*, ed. by Herbert Zemann. Graz: Aked. Dr. u. Verl.-Anst. 1982 (*Die österreichische Literatur. Eine Dokumentation ihrer historischen Entwicklung*), pp. 195–219; Céline Trautmann-Waller and Carole Maigné (eds.): *Formalismes esthétiques et héritage herbartien*. Vienne, Prague, Mos-cour, Hildesheim: Olms 2009.
- 7 Gregor Streim: *Introspektion des Schöpferischen: Literaturwissenschaft und Experimentalpsychologie am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Das Projekt der ‘empirisch-induktiven’ Poetik*. In: *Scientia Poetica* 7 (2003), pp. 148–170.
- 8 See also Rainer Rosenberg: *Literaturwissenschaftliche Germanistik: Zur Geschichte ihrer Probleme und Begriffe*. Berlin: Akademie 1989, pp. 13–18; Streim (fn. 7), p. 152.
- 9 Psychiatry seems to have moved into literature only; see Horst Thomé: *Auton-omes Ich und ‘Inneres Ausland’: Studien über Realismus, Tiefenpsychologie und Psychiatrie in deutschen Erzähltexten (1848–1914)*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1993 (Hermaea 70). Few exceptions which take in brain research confirm the rule.

scholars interested in psychological poetics failed methodologically. They just proposed a first and fascinating attempt in the empirical direction.

It has often been stated that Dilthey initiated empirical poetics.¹⁰ Yet this view is limited to the late 19th century only. It is rather Carriere (and/or Vischer) who formulated a first comprehensive empirical attempt (relying on Schelling, Vischer and others) with Lotze, Fechner's student, developing some aspects further (a). Taking into account the intense reception of Fechner's methodological impulse to consider aesthetics from below and his aesthetical principles, he, together with Vischer, is to be regarded as the late 19th-century authority in the field – an authority who has been underestimated due to the dominance of the productive collaboration between Dilthey and Scherer (b, c).¹¹

Furthermore, beyond the big names, minor thinkers like Heinrich Viehoff and Richard Müller-Freienfels contributed considerably to the development of empirical poetics. It is to Viehoff's credit that he clearly recognised the shift from rational to empirical psychology and that he determined the position of poetics within this field. Müller-Freienfels, being one of the most important mediators of empirical psychology, actualised the field for reception in the early 20th century. In addition to both, Eugen Wolff developed Scherer's evolutionary account further (d).

(a) Poetics as Life Science: Moriz Carriere (1854/²1884, 1859)

Carriere (1817–1895) is mainly recognized as the aesthetician of the 'Munich poet circle' with its appreciation of art as the highest form of life and its opposition to mimesis in favour of a cosmological and Platonic model.¹² Yet Carriere's works have more to offer: inspired by

10 See e.g. Streim (fn. 7), p. 151.

11 On this collaboration Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller: Dilthey gegen Scherer: Geistesgeschichte contra Positivismus. Zur Revision eines wissenschaftshistorischen Stereotyps. In: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 74 (2000) 4, pp. 685–709.

12 Renate Werner: Ästhetische Kunstauffassung am Beispiel des 'Münchener Dichterkreises'. In: *Bürgerlicher Realismus und Gründerzeit*, ed. by Edward McInnes and Gerhard Plumpe. Munich: Hanser 1996 (*Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* 6), pp. 308–342, p. 328, *passim*.

his teacher Friedrich Adolph Trendelenburg, Carriere wrote his doctoral thesis on the Aristotelian notion of teleology (Berlin 1838), moving on to different kinds of writings in the fields of literature,¹³ religion, politics and philosophy, in his early years inspired by the liberal Pre-March era.¹⁴ He became a popular private scholar of philosophy and literature at Gießen University and was offered a professorship only late in 1887 at Munich University. Being an adherent of Kant in his youth he soon adopted Hegel's thought, in combination with speculative theism (Schelling, Franz Xaver von Baader) and developed his own position which has been called 'semipanthéism'.

Carriere's *Die Poesie* (1854/²1884) and *Aesthetik* (1859) mark moves away from the whole tradition of aesthetics and poetics which is dominated by philosophical speculation. Whilst *Aesthetik*, a book which took Carriere twelve years to write, lays down the main ideas and principles, *Die Poesie* develops them, historicises and naturalizes them. The main goal expressed in *Aesthetik* is to observe literature in the 'coherency of life' ("Zusammenhänge des Lebens").¹⁵ The natural sciences are conceived of as role models for such an enterprise, which aims to explain the whole cosmos.¹⁶ In turn, philosophy is conceptualised as 'life science' ("Lebenswissenschaft");¹⁷ aesthetics and poetics attend it.

Even if Carriere's work remains Platonic in some areas, he considerably changes the rhetoric and the presentation of poetics, expanding on approaches by Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Christian Hermann Weiße, Hermann Ulrici, Johann Ulrich Wirth, Karl Rosenkranz, Heinrich Ritter, Rudolph Hermann Lotze, Franz Hofmann, Heinrich Moritz Chalybäus, Richard Rothe, Christian Carl Josias Bunsen, Adolf Zeising and Ludwig Eckardt. Carriere does not expect to found a school of thought but to stimulate free thinking and research. He fulfils this goal. No Car-

13 Carriere published on Achim von Arnim (1841), Shakespeare (1856–1858), Schiller (1859) as well as on Bettina von Arnim (1887). He even wrote poems himself; see the collection "Agnes. Liebeslieder und Gedankendichtungen" (1883).

14 Wolfgang Bunzel: "Muth und Opferkraft für die Idee": Briefe Moriz Carriers an Arnold Ruge und Theodor Echtermeyer (1839/41). In: Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina-von-Arnim-Gesellschaft 8/9 (1996/97), pp. 39–73.

15 Moriz Carriere: *Aesthetik: Die Idee des Schönen und ihre Verwirklichung im Leben und in der Kunst*. 2nd rev. ed. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1873, (2 vols.), vol. 1, p. X.

16 Carriere (fn. 15), I, p. XIII: "[...] wir müssen es machen wie die Naturforscher, die das Bild des Kosmos durch die vereinte Kraft vieler entwerfen."

17 Ibid.

riere-school is developed; rather some similar approaches evolve a little later, with Lotze and Fechner. Fechner especially pleased Carriere with his highly disputed *Zend-Avesta* (1850), a partly poetic attempt to give an account of a new pantheist Zoroastrian Weltanschauung (before Nietzsche). Carriere wrote one of the few positive reviews of the *Zend-Avesta* remarking that the work corresponds to his own semipanththeist ideas.¹⁸

Die Poesie attempts to sketch some initial outlines for a history of literature, guided by the ideas of an evolution of literature and ‘education of the self, perfection of the self’ (“Selbstbildung, Selbstvervollkommnung”).¹⁹ The historical part of *Die Poesie* is reminiscent of Herder but is also well-informed by the historical science of language (Jakob Grimm, Franz Bopp, Max Müller) and the psychology of peoples (Heymann Steinthal, Moritz Lazarus).²⁰ Following Steinthal and Lazarus’ work and taking in Charles Darwin’s description of evolution, Carriere extensively examines the origin and development of language.²¹ Poetry

18 Hans-Jürgen Arendt: Gustav Theodor Fechner: Ein deutscher Naturwissenschaftler und Philosoph im 19. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt a. M.: Lang 1999 (Daidalus; Europäisches Denken in deutscher Philosophie 12), p. 133.

19 Carriere: *Die Poesie: Ihr Wesen und ihre Formen mit Grundzügen der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*. 2nd rev. ed. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1884, p. 7.

20 Carriere: *Die Poesie* (fn. 19), p. 16. On ‘Völkerpsychologie’ see Pierre Pénisson: Heymann Steinthal et la psychologie linguistique des peuples. In: *Revue germanique internationale* 10 (1998), pp. 41–50; Céline Trautmann-Waller: *Aux origines d’une science allemande de la culture Linguistique et psychologie des peuples chez Heymann Steinthal*. Paris: CNRS Editions 2006.

21 Carriere: *Die Poesie* (fn. 19), p. 37. – Darwin is, of course, only mentioned in the second edition of “*Die Poesie*”. Herder and Darwin became sources of reference which could be used against Hegel’s speculative philosophy. Carriere was among the first to provide such an account in the area of poetics. Hermann Hettner did the same in his “*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*”, vol. 1, p. XXVII; on Hettner see Wolfgang Höppner: *Die Beziehung von Dichter und Publikum als Grundverhältnis des literarischen Verkehrs*. In: *Weimarer Beiträge* 35 (1989) 1, pp. 208–232, pp. 211 f – The influence of Charles Darwin has been studied well in the course of the last ten years. Cf. Kurt Bayertz: *Die Deszendenz des Schönen: Darwinisierende Ästhetik im Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Fin de siècle: Zu Naturwissenschaft und Literatur der Jahrhundertwende im deutsch-skandinavischen Kontext*. Vorträge des Kolloquiums am 3. und 4. Mai 1984, ed. by Klaus Bohnen, Uffe Hansen and Friedrich Schmoe. Kopenhagen, Munich: Fink 1984 (Kopenhagener Kolloquien zur deutschen Literatur 11; Text und Kontext Sonderreihe 20), pp. 88–110; Kurt Bayertz: *Biology and Beauty: Science and Aesthetics in Fin-de-siècle Germany*. In: *Fin de siècle and its Legacy*, ed. by Mikuláš Teich and Roy Por-

is meant to be the revelation of the life essence and thoughts.²² Yet Carriere decisively moves towards psychology and omits the notions of idea and spirit, embracing the language of the life sciences. Beauty is regarded as ‘the full and flawless being, the perfection of life, the reconciliation of contradictions’ (“Das Schöne ist das volle mangellose Sein, die Lebensvollendung, die Versöhnung der Gegensätze”);²³ it ‘creates itself in the feeling spirit’ (“erzeugt sich im fühlenden Geist”).²⁴

However, it is more the claim for a new methodological foundation of poetics than the execution of it which characterises Carriere’s approach. He aims to observe and collect data, questioning the cause and reason of his beautiful objects – two methodological ideas which are directed against the philosophy of history in the area of aesthetics. Still, Carriere does not oppose the dialectic: according to him, a mature reason knows how to overcome contradictions and to do justice to being in its full meaning. The same relative traditionalism proves to be true for Carriere’s inclination towards a late-idealist understanding of the beautiful. A necessary condition of the beautiful is that it conveys an idea,²⁵ ideally a divine idea. Thus explication is driven by two movements: an underlying Platonist, as well as an underlying Fichtean, tendency. In accordance with Platonic thinking, Carriere defines the idea as ‘divine thought of things’ (“göttliche[n] Gedanke[n] der Dinge”)²⁶ which requires an individual life to realise itself.²⁷ The underlying Fichteanism points to the understanding of art which realises the idea. Fichte claims that art itself embraces the transcendental point of view; Carriere simplifies this thought: the spirit itself corresponds to the ideas and the views of the artist and philosopher.²⁸ It fits into the general picture that Carriere subscribes to the aesthetics of autonomy as provided by Schiller’s *Briefe über ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*.²⁹

ter. Cambridge Univ. Press 1990, pp. 278–295; Peter Sprengel: Darwinismus und Literatur: Germanistische Desiderate. In: *Scientia Poetica* 1 (1997), pp. 140–182.

22 Carriere: Die Poesie (fn. 19), p. 13.

23 Ibid., p. 4: “Das Schöne ist das volle mangellose Sein, die Lebensvollendung, die Versöhnung der Gegensätze.”

24 Ibid., p. 8.

25 Carriere: Aesthetik (fn. 15), I, p. 11.

26 Ibid., p. 18.

27 Ibid., p. 20.

28 Ibid., p. 26.

29 Ibid., p. 59.

Nevertheless some aspects of Carriere's aesthetics sound almost pre-naturalist: firstly, there is his epistemological solipsism (which predates solipsism). We only discover ourselves – that is, our inner life; everything outside our physical and mental boundaries needs to pass through our senses. In addition to this, every phenomenon needs to be treated by our brain. In turn, the world is but 'the objectified sensation of our own essence' ("die objectivirte Empfindung unsers eigenen Wesens").³⁰

As a consequence, secondly, the idea of beauty is conceived in a solipsistic way: Carriere rejects all kinds of simplifying materialism when claiming that the beautiful is mediated by our senses and our brain. Beauty is only perceived when a feeling of pleasure – the notion of pleasure referring back to Kant, Bouterwek and Jakob Friedrich Fries – not only causes joy but also reveals some spiritual content. Therefore, Carriere describes beauty as a double-sided entity, with exactly the same words in *Aesthetic* as in *Die Poesie*: 'the beautiful is the idea for the spirit, an epiphany for the senses' ("das Schöne ist Idee für den Geist, Erscheinung für die Sinne").³¹

Thirdly, the framework for this half idealist and half materialist concept of beauty is Carriere's liberal and progressionist view of the natural and spiritual world: at the very beginning, everything is reinvented by an 'inner driving force' ("innere Triebkraft") that combines everything and creates it anew.³² "A=A", writes Carriere, claiming that forces are sustained in the universe and ordered by natural laws.³³ Yet every natural and human being has to act according to these laws, thereby unfolding his true nature. Art and beauty, for instance, improve through freedom and autonomy.

What follows is, fourthly, a formalist as well as idealist and sensualist description of art and genre in general: nature shows its divine wisdom in the 'typical forms of individual life, which we call genres' ("typischen Formen des individuellen Lebens, welche wir Gattungen nennen").³⁴ As nature unfolds itself in space and time, there are three arts which express different combinations of the space-time relation: painting addresses space, music addresses time and poetry deals with both categories. This claim has been made by 'trinitarian aesthetics' in a more or less sim-

30 Ibid., p. 3.

31 Ibid., p. 9; Carriere: *Die Poesie* (fn. 19), p. 13.

32 Carriere: *Aesthetik* (fn. 15), I, p. 29.

33 Ibid., p. 34.

34 Ibid., p. 18.

ilar way although Carriere states that he has provided a more original definition than his predecessors (Hegel, Friedrich Thiersch, Max Schasler). Carriere's definition of poetry indeed follows well-known examples but adds a physical surplus: for Schiller and Wilhelm von Humboldt poetry is described as 'art through language' ("Kunst durch Sprache")³⁵ but the word is regarded as animated through oscillations of air.³⁶ The poetic word reveals 'the lively essence of the things and the thoughts of the self-consciousness.'³⁷ Consequently, poetry with its sub-genres (epic, lyric poetry, drama) is (as usual) presented as the art which unifies all others. Combining his explanation of beauty with his formalist insights, Carriere concludes: beauty 'is generally true and individually real at the same time, is expressive in generally recognized norms, pronounces and fulfils the law of life through its own free force.'³⁸

This pre-empirical account of poetics does not provide entirely new ideas about aesthetical phenomena. Yet it takes up different speculative aesthetic tendencies as well as emerging natural science and helps to revitalise the area of poetics which, after Hegel, suffered from a lack of new orientations.

(b) Psychological Poetics: From Gustav Theodor Fechner (1871/1876), Rudolph Hermann Lotze (1884) and Heinrich Viehoff (1820) to Wilhelm Dilthey (1887) and Richard Müller-Freienfels (1914/²1921)

Unlike Carriere and his own former student Lotze in their first approaches towards a new aesthetics, Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801–1887) decisively proclaimed an empirical scientific aesthetics. He even tried to win others over to his project – an approach which fits well into his general world view described as scientific by Michael Heidel-

35 Carriere (fn. 19), II, p. 449, quoting Schiller: "Mein unermeßlich Reich ist der Gedanke/ Und mein geflügelt Werkzeug ist das Wort!"

36 Ibid., p. 451.

37 Ibid., I, p. 588: "die Offenbarung des lebendigen Wesens der Dinge und der Gedanken des Selbstbewußtseins durch das Wort oder die Poesie."

38 Ibid., I, p. 55: "daß es allgemein wahr und individuell wirklich zugleich sei, daß es ausdrucksvoll sei innerhalb allgemeingültiger Normen, daß es das Gesetz des Lebens durch eigene freie Kraft rein ausspreche und klar erfülle."

berger.³⁹ Although Fechner did not focus on poetics, his work functioned as a role model for poetological treatises as well. In the following chapter, his aesthetics is examined and recognized as exemplary.

Fechner studied medicine in Leipzig but received his 'Habilitation' in physics and became a professor of physics (1834). In this role, he explored Galvanism and electronic processes. After overcoming a serious illness he devoted himself to natural philosophy and aesthetics. Beyond publications specialising in the natural sciences, he wrote satirical texts such as *Beweis, daß der Mond aus Jodine besteht* (1821), *Stapelia mixta. Humoristische Aufsätze* (1824), *Gedichte von Dr. Mises* (1841), *Elemente der Psychophysik* (1860) and additional elaborations on psychophysics (1877, 1882). His aesthetic thought is spelled out mainly in *Zur experimentellen Aesthetik* (1871) and *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (1876, ²1897), the result of his lectures on aesthetics from 1864/65.

Yet Fechner's empiricism is half realised and half postulated. In his *Vorschule* he declares that his forerunners include Hutcheson, Hogarth, Burke, Frederik Anton von Hartsen, Karl Köstlin, Lotze, Hans Christian Oersted, Zimmermann,⁴⁰ Jean Paul, Arnold Ruge, Ludwig Eckardt (1863/1864) and Alois Egger (1872) and distinguishes the old 'philosophical' (or objective) aesthetics (Kant, Hegel, Schelling) from the new 'empirical' (or subjective) aesthetics.⁴¹ Fechner's argument against objective aesthetics is a polemic against philosophical speculation. Objective aesthetics is said to result in vague and general concepts – in Fechner's florid description: 'all our systems of philosophical aesthetics appear to me like giants on feet of clay' ("so scheinen mir alle unsre Systeme philosophischer Aesthetik Riesen mit thönernen Füßen").⁴² Unlike these helpless giants, an aesthetics from below promises clear concepts and reasons for approval and disapproval.

Consequently, Fechner focuses on the nature of approval and disapproval and, like Carriere before him, reasons about the sentiment of pleasure, thereby introducing helpful new distinctions which concern

39 Michael Heidelberger: Die innere Seite der Natur: Gustav Theodor Fechners wissenschaftlich-philosophische Weltauffassung. Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann 1993; M.H.: Fechners wissenschaftlich-philosophische Weltauffassung. In: Fechner und die Folgen außerhalb der Naturwissenschaften: Interdisziplinäres Kolloquium zum 200. Geburtstag Gustav Theodor Fechners, ed. by Ulla Fix in collab. with Irene Altmann. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003, pp. 25–42.

40 Fechner (fn. 2), pp. 2 f, p. 6.

41 Ibid., pp. 1 f.

42 Ibid., p. 4.

the relation of pleasure and the beautiful. Pleasure is said to be the elementary feeling from which both originate: pleasure and repulsion are 'simple determinations of our soul that cannot be analysed any further'; they do not appear in reality but as functions or results of something.⁴³ What pleases and causes pleasure is beautiful (the contrary would be called ugly); hence beautiful is a practical category.⁴⁴ 'Beautiful in a general sense' is everything that has the characteristic to attract sensual "Ge-fallen".⁴⁵ 'Beautiful in a narrow sense' is that which reaches beyond mere sensual pleasure but is still within the area of the sensual.⁴⁶ In order to distinguish between both types of beauty, Fechner, like Carriere and Lotze, introduces a more or less idealist criterion. He cites the aphorism inspired by Winckelmann: "dem Guten, Wahren, Schönen" which indicates higher and more valuable forms of beauty.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Fechner presents this relationship in the following aphoristic form which turns the order of the bourgeois household into the order of the beautiful:

'The good is after all like the first man and the principal of the house, who simultaneously takes care of present and future, near and far; beauty is his blossoming wife, who looks after the present, always considering the will of her husband; the pleasant is the child who amuses himself with the sensual pleasures of the play of the individual; the useful is the servant, who lends his lordship a hand and who receives his bread only according to how well he performed. The truthful then joins the members of the family as preacher and teacher, as a preacher in belief, as a teacher in knowledge; the truthful lends the good his eyes, offers help to the useful and lets the beautiful see itself in the mirror.'⁴⁸

43 Ibid., p. 8.

44 Ibid., p. 13.

45 Ibid., p. 33.

46 Ibid., p. 15.

47 Ibid., p. 17, pp. 31 f.

48 Ibid., p. 32: "Das Gute ist nach Allem wie der ernste Mann und Ordner des ganzen Haushaltes, der Gegenwart und Zukunft, Nahes und Fernes in Eins bedenkt; das Schöne dessen blühende Gattin, welche die Gegenwart besorgt, mit Rücksicht auf den Willen des Mannes, das Angenehme das Kind, was sich am sinnlichen Genuße und Spiele des Einzelnen erfreut; das Nützliche der Diener, welcher der Herrschaft Handleistungen thut und nur Brod erhält nach Massgabe als er solches verdient. Das Wahre endlich tritt als Prediger und Lehrer den Gliedern der Familie hinzu, als Prediger im Glauben, als Lehrer im Wissen;

Yet Fechner does not adhere to the mere aphoristic and paternalistic explanation of the beautiful but develops a eudaimonist aesthetics according to which ethical judgements are to some extent identical with aesthetical judgements.⁴⁹ Moreover, Fechner formulates helpful and highly regarded principles of beauty,⁵⁰ claiming that the analysis of beauty should not be restricted to the work of art only.⁵¹ As a result of these principles the main definition of art is this: stimulation $a +$ stimulation b is worth more than $a + b$.⁵² Fechner emphasizes the common characteristic of art which is that it carries some higher meaning.⁵³ He refrains from expressing a complete art theory, applying his principles to painting mainly, giving only a few brief mentions of poetry. These remarks make use of the Bodmer- and Breitingen-understanding according to which poetry should preferably give an emotive depiction of reality. According to Fechner, the lyric poetry of Homer and Goethe can be regarded as exemplary whilst A.W. Schlegel's sonnets can be thought of as weak examples.

Yet before presenting his principles, Fechner again launches into a polemic, in this case against Zimmermann. Zimmermann himself was one of the first to suggest principles or even laws of aesthetics, grounded in Herbart's philosophy which Fechner detests.⁵⁴ Fechner attacks Zimmermann's laws, for instance, the 'principle of so-called perfection' ("Prinzip der sog. Vollkommenheit") according to which the weak is displeasing in comparison to the strong.⁵⁵ This principle draws on Herbart's claim that the tall is pleasing when considered next to the small, the small displeasing when considered next to the tall. Fechner argues that Herbart's and Zimmermann's principles are invented by mere accident and could be subverted by other reflections. Fechner himself, for instance, would neither prefer the tall nor the small, neither giants nor dwarfs when it comes to social groups. Yet Zimmermann's principle is not refuted. Fechner's only intention is to show that one should be

es leiht dem Guten das Auge, führt dem Nützlichen die Hand und hält dem Schönen einen Spiegel vor."

49 Fechner: *Vorschule* (fn. 2), p. 38.

50 *Ibid.*, I 53 ff; II, 231 ff.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

52 Gustav Theodor Fechner: *Die Elemente der Psychophysik*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1860. (2 vols.)

53 Fechner: *Vorschule* (fn. 2), p. 37.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 42 f.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

careful in proposing fundamental aesthetic principles as Zimmermann did.

Therefore, Fechner suggests six principles, stressing the relatively vague notion of principle as opposed to the relatively restrictive notion of law. He aims rather to explain a few aesthetic observations, defending the opinion that one cannot exhaust the whole area of aesthetics with only one or two principles. Fechner's principles can be grouped together according to their relation to quality and quantity, to content and form.⁵⁶ The principles of 'aesthetic threshold' ("ästhetische Schwelle") and of 'aesthetic assistance' ("ästhetische Hülfe") refer to quantity. Fechner calls 'aesthetic threshold' the degree of our responsiveness to aesthetic objects. Quality is not enough in this case; a certain quantity of sensation must accompany quality in order to surmount the threshold. As Hegel calls it: the turn from quality to quantity. The principle of 'aesthetic assistance' falls into the same category. In order to explain this principle Fechner uses the example of verse in a foreign language: although one might not understand it, one could nevertheless recognize the beautiful pattern which governs it and which would be useless if it were not denoting beauty. This is what is explained through the principle of aesthetic assistance:

'From the uncontentious meeting of conditions of pleasure, which on their own produce little, a larger and oftentimes much greater result of pleasure emerges than what would correspond to the actual measurements of pleasure of the singular conditions.'⁵⁷

The next three principles are formal or qualitative: the 'unitary combination of the manifold' ("einheitliche Verknüpfung des Mannichfaltigen"), the principles of 'truth', 'uncontradictedness' or 'unanimity' ("Wahrheit", "Widerspruchslosigkeit" or "Einstimmigkeit") and 'clarity' ("Klarheit"). The principle of the 'unitary combination of the manifold' is an old one, which draws on Horace as well as on Christian Wolff. Yet Fechner's version of the principle goes beyond 'Verknüpfung': he advocates harmony. Every moment has to correspond to the other⁵⁸ – as the next principle claims, all aspects of a work of art have

56 The principles are summed up *ibid.*, p. 46.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 51: "Aus dem widerspruchslosen Zusammentreffen von Lustbedingungen, die für sich wenig leisten, geht ein grösseres, oft viel grösseres Lustresultat hervor, als dem Lustwerthe der einzelnen Bedingungen für sich entspricht [...]."

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 52 f.

to fit together unanimously.⁵⁹ Still, the principle of truth also refers to simpler things, for instance, to the assertion that a work of art cannot be black and white at the same time. The attempt to reach such an ambiguity would reduce the sensation of pleasure the recipient of art expects. It is the task of the principle of clarity to detect failures of art such as ambiguity.⁶⁰ The sixth principle, the ‘principle of association’ (‘Associationsprinzip’) comprises the whole psychological debate about ‘association’ in the 19th century and Fechner claims that Herbart was entirely incorrect in his work on this subject, and in fact discredited the fruitful principle he himself wished to set up.⁶¹

Despite their ambitious aims and subtle tone of irony, Fechner’s aesthetic writings received only negative reviews, headed by Wilhelm Windelband’s rejection of Fechner’s account.⁶² It was only later, mainly through the enthusiasm of naturalism for empirical aesthetics that Fechner achieved some positive prominence. Wilhelm Bölsche in particular made positive reference to Fechner when reflecting on contemporary aesthetics and conceiving a programmatic treatise on *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie* (1886).⁶³ Bruno Wille even created a literary person of Fechner in his novels, fascinated by Fechner’s claims of scientific rigour and exactness.⁶⁴ Yet after Edmund Husserl’s critique of the psychologist idea that recognition could draw on experience (*Logische Untersuchungen*, 1900), Fechner’s psychological aesthetics became obsolete.⁶⁵

59 Ibid., pp. 80 f.

60 Ibid., pp. 46 f.

61 Ibid., pp. 86 f.

62 Arendt (fn. 18), Fechner, *Vorschule* (fn. 2) pp. 199 f.

63 See also Wilhelm Bölsche: *Hinter der Weltstadt: Friedrichshagener Gedanken zur ästhetischen Kultur*. Parts 1–3, Leipzig: Diederichs 1901; Gustav Theodor Fechner: *Die Tagesansicht gegenüber der Nachtansicht: Das Büchlein vom Leben nach dem Tode*. Selected and introduced by Wilhelm Bölsche. Berlin: Deutsche Bibliothek [1919].

64 Monika Ritzer: *Bild und Sinn: Fechners Ästhetik und ihre Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert*. In: *Fechner und die Folgen außerhalb der Naturwissenschaften. Interdisziplinäres Kolloquium zum 200. Geburtstag Gustav Theodor Fechners*, ed. by Ulla Fix in collab. with Irene Altmann. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003, pp. 131–152, p. 143; see also Uta Kösser: *Fechners Ästhetik im Kontext*. In: *ibid.*, pp. 113–130.

65 Mitchel G. Ash: *Psychologie und Deutschland um 1900: Reflexiver Diskurs des Bildungsbürgertums, Teilgebiet der Philosophie, akademische Disziplin*. In: *Konkurrenten in der Fakultät. Kultur, Wissen und Universität um 1900*,

Still, in his lifetime, Fechner had many productive students, among them Rudolph Hermann Lotze (1817–1881), the most influential German philosopher in the second half of the 19th century.⁶⁶ Having received his doctorate in philosophy and medicine (Leipzig 1838) as well as his ‘Habilitation’ in medicine (Leipzig 1839) and philosophy (Leipzig 1840) he focused on philosophy but did not abandon his medical interest. Rather, he created an inspiring book called *Mikrokosmos* (1856–1864) on the relations of the human being to natural life in which he – like Carriere and so many of his contemporaries – aims to reconcile naturalistic explanation with idealist speculation (the late Hegel-school, Fichte, Schelling). Later, Gottlob Frege and Bertrand Russell were to share Lotze’s epistemological programme, the refutation of the ‘algebraization of propositional logic’.⁶⁷ Together with Herbart, the empirical psychologist school founder Wilhelm Wundt and Franz Brentano, Lotze opts for empiricizing psychology or ‘Erfahrungsseelenlehre’.⁶⁸ The same conviction that he calls ‘teleological idealism’ guides his statements on aesthetics and poetics.

Lotze’s *Grundzüge der Aesthetik* (1884) in which he lays out his aesthetic and poetological thinking, stems from his lectures on the subject.⁶⁹ Hence the methodological style and the fact that his aesthetics sketches only an initial outline of a comprehensive future aesthetics. Surprisingly, this initial outline is to some extent reminiscent of Carriere’s aesthetics, develops them further and provides what could be called an advanced but typical mid 19th-century theoretical sketch.

ed. by Christoph König and Eberhard Lämmert. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1999, pp. 78–93, pp. 86 f.

- 66 On Lotze’s biography see Reinhardt Pester: Hermann Lotze: Wege seines Denkens und Forschens. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1997.
- 67 Gottfried Gabriel: Einleitung. In: Hermann Lotze, Logik. Erstes Buch. Vom Denken und Logik. Drittes Buch. Vom Erkennen. Hamburg: Meiner 1989, pp. XI–XXXV; Kai Hauser: Lotze und Husserl. In: Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie 85 (2003), pp. 152–178, p. 156.
- 68 On Wundt, his school and his international impact Werner Thiermann: Zur Geschichte des Leipziger psychologische Instituts 1875–1945. Promotion A. Leipzig 1981; Renate Topel: Die allgemeine Psychologie Wilhelm Wundts: Wundt und Helmholtz. Zwei Beiträge zur Theorie der Sinneswahrnehmung. Promotion B. Leipzig 1982; Michel Espagne: Wilhelm Wundt: La “psychologie des peuples” et l’histoire culturelle. In: Revue germanique internationale 10 (1998), pp. 73–91.
- 69 [Rudolph] Hermann Lotze: Grundzüge der Aesthetik: Dictate aus den Vorlesungen. Leipzig: Hirzel 1884.

Lotze's main issues are the definition of the beautiful and the role of poetry. He provides three definitions; the third is said to be the most comprehensive and convincing one. The first definition views beauty as caused by the 'impression of pleasure' ("Eindruck der Lust").⁷⁰ Like Carriere, Lotze highlights the deficit of such a definition: pleasure is a mere subjective criterion, reducing the definition of beauty to its effects only and neglecting the various empires in which beauty reveals itself:⁷¹ the 'empire of general laws' ("das Reich der allgemeinen Gesetze"), the 'empire of true matters and forces' ("das Reich der wirklichen Stoffe und Kräfte") and the 'distinct and specific plan' ("den bestimmten und specifischen Plan") which forms and assembles the matters and forces. A second definition of beauty comprises all these elements and attributes a spontaneous moment to beauty which is said to be 'the immediate emergence of a unity between these three powers which our cognition is not able to unite itself.'⁷²

But still, this addition strikes Lotze as incomplete. He therefore adopts a more idealist tone: beauty corresponds to the ideal realised in us and can be called 'objectivation' ("Objectivirung").⁷³ And as beauty is spontaneous it can only be attributed to the 'the moving world soul' ("der bewegten Weltseele")⁷⁴ in which joy and pleasure flourish.⁷⁵ Consequently, the final definition of beauty comprises both the subjective and the objective side of beauty and makes the characteristic of the movement more concrete, using the traditional Wolffian formula of perfection:

'[We] will call beauty the blissful enjoyment of the self, which approaches the whole in the world through the perfect and thorough coincidence of all real means of realisation with the content of what their purpose [is said to be], and which may be disturbed in the individual (the finite) by dissonant forces that may appear in any realisation of a purpose (and they usually do appear), but which shows itself to the

70 Ibid., § 1, p. 5. Cf. Hermann Lotze: Ueber den Begriff der Schönheit. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1845 (Printed from the Göttinger Studien), II.

71 Ibid., § 8, p. 10.

72 Ibid., § 9, p. 11: "[...] das unmittelbare Hervortreten einer Einheit zwischen jenen drei Gewalten, welche unsere Erkenntnis völlig zu vereinigen nicht vermag."

73 Ibid., § 6, p. 8.

74 Ibid., § 12, p. 13.

75 Ibid., § 15, p. 15: "Genuß oder Lust ist nur im Beseelten möglich."

beautiful objects in the infinite singular appearances in a concentrated and almost perfect expression.⁷⁶

As might be expected, poetry plays a leading role in such an aesthetics. According to Lotze, whilst other arts are restricted by their form, poetry is the only art which is capable of depicting inner and outer movements and addressing all three empires of beauty (space, time, sound) adequately. Lotze draws an astonishing conclusion from this traditional appreciation for poetry: all science, history, moral and natural philosophy become poetry when illustrating their content with sophisticated details. Poetry cannot adhere exclusively to abstract notions but needs to show the uncountable tender relations in which the meaning of the individual lies: 'In this meaning alone poetry has the purpose of teaching, that is to teach what cannot be expressed otherwise.'⁷⁷ Yet these poets of science also have to follow the rules of poetry and not give 'poetryless exercises of gifted virtuosity' ('poesielose Uebung[en] geistreicher Virtuosität').⁷⁸

Whilst Fechner leaves room for improvement as far as the artistic genres are concerned, Lotze to some extent focuses on poetics. Yet his main contribution is a slightly more empirical and, in parts, astonishing confirmation of the speculative assumption that poetry is the highest art. Going beyond Lotze's ideas, Heinrich Viehoff (1804–1886) becomes the strongest advocate of Carriere, Fechner and Lotze in the area of poetics. Having studied philology, mathematics and natural sciences in Bonn (with A.W. Schlegel), Viehoff did not take his Doctorate but finished with a teacher's exam, received several honours and decorations and was a member of the Freie Deutsche Hochstift at Frankfurt Main, the oldest German museum of literature and one of the oldest art and literature research institutes (founded in 1859), with two main re-

76 Ibid., § 16, p. 16: "[Wir] werden Schönheit jenen seligen Selbstgenuß nennen, der dem ganzen der Welt voraussetzlich wegen der vollkommenen Coincidenz aller realen Verwirklichungsmittel mit dem Inhalt ihrer Zwecke zukommt, und der in dem Einzelnen (dem Endlichen) zwar durch jene Dissonanzen gestört werden kann, welche da in der Realisierung jedes Zweckes vorkommen können und gewöhnlich in der That vorkommt, dagegen in etwelchen dieser endlichen, einzelnen Erscheinungen (den schönen Gegenständen) in einem concentrirten, der Vollkommenheit angenäherten Ausdruck sich zeigt."

77 Lotze (fn. 69), § 69, p. 63: "In diesem Sinne hat die Poesie den Zweck des Lehrens, nämlich das zu lehren, was auf alle andere Weise unausdrückbar ist."

78 Ibid., § 69, p. 63.

search areas: the Weimar classics and poetics.⁷⁹ Viehoff finally became a teacher and liberal politician in Düsseldorf as well as Erfurt (1850).

From around 1820 Viehoff focused on poetics, some of his thoughts being published in the *Archiv für den Unterricht im Deutschen* and the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*. His poetological works can be divided into two parts: the practical poetics, comprised in the *Vorschule der Dichtkunst* (1860) and the theoretical poetics *Die Poetik auf der Grundlage der Erfahrungsseelenlehre* (1888), unfinished (lacking paragraphs on idealism, realism and beauty) and published posthumously by Viehoff's son-in-law Viktor Kiy.

The practical poetics is designed to enable every man to develop his talent to write poetry, giving extensive examples and training patterns and referring back to A.W. Schlegel's dictum that only those who are trained in writing poetry should judge it. Viehoff's theoretical poetics transfers the 'aesthetics from below', mainly Lotze's and Fechner's theories, to poetics and address an academic public.

Although Fechner is highlighted as his main source of inspiration, Viehoff states that he differs from his predecessor in two respects: firstly, in the way Viehoff identifies the facts of experience which are said to constitute the basis of poetics,⁸⁰ secondly, in accepting Carriere's notions of life, instinct and drive to live as fundamental principles in his own aesthetics. These main ideas are laid out in the first volume of *Die Poetik* which expands on the methodological basis of poetics. The second volume refers to genre theory, with a novel approach that accepts only two main genres, the subjective (lyric poetry) and the objective (novel, drama) with various sub-genres.⁸¹ Still, the second volume is only a summary of renowned positions. Therefore, this volume should be excluded from the discussion.

It is in his first volume that Viehoff claims to represent the theoretical avantgarde of the 1880s. His remarks put poetics in a theoretically ambitious position comparable to that which Dilthey advocates, Dilthey himself (if informed by Viehoff's earlier publications) might even have borrowed some of his thoughts from Viehoff, the little known teacher:

79 Kurt Abels: Viehoff, Heinrich. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2002, vol. 3, p. 1942 f.

80 Heinrich Viehoff: *Die Poetik auf der Grundlage der Erfahrungsseelenlehre* in zwei Bdn. Ed. with a biographical sketch by Viktor Kiy. Trier: Lintz 1888, (2. vols.), vol. 1, book 2, § 24 f.

81 See Viehoff's sketch in Viehoff (fn. 80), § 147, p. 463.

poetics is part of an aesthetics that belongs to 'empirical psychology or Erfahrungsseelenlehre' ("empirische Psychologie oder Erfahrungsseelenlehre"),⁸² notes Viehoff, adhering to the new orientation of empirical psychology and proposing an empirical poetics. Its method should be inductive as well as deductive: the drive to live is to be regarded as a basic principle of all creatures; all aesthetical and poetological phenomena derive from it.⁸³

Viehoff's anthropological and ethical premise is reminiscent of Carrière, Lotze and Fechner as well: man strives to expand and enrich his existence; he strives for the feeling of pleasure. Yet the search for the feeling of pleasure is not egoistic and animal-like, rather its aim is the happiness of mankind. Viehoff grounds this positive evaluation in a kind of evolutionary eudaemonistic ethics of sympathy: feelings are conceived as permanent processes of the soul with a subjective as well as an objective character. Sensation is felt through the senses but transported into the brain and enriched by reason, other feelings, experience, will and the ability to decide.⁸⁴ In this process the egoistic instinct becomes converted into the sympathetic drive which is merely refined egoism and guarantees the endless perfection of mankind.⁸⁵

In order to prove this idea, Viehoff adopts and rejects Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and his *Wealth of Nations* at the same time. According to Viehoff, Smith was wrong in separating egoism from sympathy as both can be empirically proven to be united in the ontogenesis as well as the phylogenesis. The development from egoism to sympathy applies to mankind only: men are different from animals and capable of reasoning and communicating. Viehoff decisively argues against Social-Darwinism and opposes that admirer of Darwin, Gustav Jäger (1832–1972), a Viennese anthropologist and zoologist. Jäger follows Darwin's idea that the first parents of men were animals, the proof being that the animals and men all produce sounds. This theory was later adopted by Wilhelm Scherer as well. Viehoff instead holds the view that firstly, the parents of men were apes who were dumb, secondly, that men could only produce sounds because of the Sylvic cleft of the Reil-island in the brain.⁸⁶ As a consequence, Viehoff proposes a formula according

82 Ibid., § 1, p. 3.

83 Ibid., § 1, p. 4.

84 Ibid., § 4, pp. 10 f.

85 Ibid., p. § 5, 14.

86 Ibid., § 7, pp. 19 f.

to which one can quantify the sum of happiness the individual enjoys. It is a quotient of the quantity, duration and force of the attractions man can grasp in his lifetime. In addition to this, the 'measurement of pleasure' ("Lustwert"), the degree to which individual pleasure maximizes the pleasure of mankind, and the 'dignity of pleasure' ("Lustwürde"), the moral and artistic quality of pleasure, are to be counted in.⁸⁷

Having found a kind of empirical evidence for his claim, Viehoff expands on the perfection of mankind in considering three areas of spiritual life where egoism has been refined to sympathy: the 'Empire of the true, good and beautiful' ("Reich des Wahren, Guten und Schönen") – a quote which is reminiscent of Fechner.⁸⁸ But for Viehoff, the quote – as far as truth is concerned – offers the chance to criticize his role model: Fechner (and Gottschall) were wrong in attributing truth to reasonable processes only. Viehoff argues that scientific truth is part of poetry and sometimes one of its most noble topics. It is this argumentation which later attracted many poeticians and sometimes led to separate chapters on 'poetry and science' where the mutual exchange of scientists and poets is shown.⁸⁹

As far as the good is concerned, it is obvious that ethics and aesthetics have to go hand in hand. Man has to strive for the ideal. Viehoff proposes an ideal eudaemonistic ethics which attracted many opponents, for instance Otto Liebmann (1840–1912), a professor of philosophy at Straßburg und Jena Universities:⁹⁰ Liebmann points out that moral life is only achieved if the search for individual happiness is overcome. Viehoff opposes this in saying that true eudaimonia presupposes sympathy and the striving for a higher happiness of the whole of humanity.⁹¹ Individual egoism would be far from the eudaemonistic ideal.

Viehoff's explanation of the beautiful builds on this reflection and adds an aesthetics of autonomy, addressing the producer as well as the product and the recipient. An 'ideal picture of the beautiful' ("Idealbild des Schönen") which initiates autonomous play and makes man reflect, is required in order to strive for the best in art.⁹² The imitation of the ideal has to take into account two aspects: firstly, the object, the

87 Ibid., § 8, pp. 20 f.

88 Ibid., § 15, p. 38.

89 See e.g. Werner Hahn: *Deutsche Poetik*. Berlin: Hertz 1879, Excurs on "Poesie und Wissenschaft", pp. 46–49.

90 Otto Liebmann: *Zur Analysis der Wirklichkeit*. Straßburg 1876.

91 Viehoff (fn. 80), § 19, p. 47.

92 Ibid., § 23, pp. 62–65.

work of art, secondly, the subject or the recipient – as Vischer remarks, beauty is ‘contact’ (“Kontakt”) between the object and the observing subject.⁹³ Consequently, the producer of art should ask how to form an object which reaches the addressee.

This is a new account of poetics which refers back to Vischer’s animate post-Hegelian approach and correctly opposes the Herbart school which focused on beautiful form: although it is helpful that Herbart and his students tried to reduce aesthetics to a few cardinal truths, remarks Viehoff (as does Fechner), their statements are often wrong or misleading. Zimmermann, for instance, is said to have believed the following fundamental law: ‘the strong idea pleases next to the weak’ – which could be falsified with regard to the Madonna painting in the Capella Sistina. The child Jesus between the angels and the tall figures is not displeasing. In addition to this, formal aesthetics seems to have overstated some formal principles and has provided mere accidental aesthetic norms: some prefer the circle, the ellipsis (Winckelmann), the wave-like undulation on one dimension (Hogarth) or the spiral line in space.⁹⁴

Only empirical methods can help one out of this dilemma: Fechner suggested several of them (the method of selection, the method of production, the method of use) but Viehoff again aims to introduce a new one: statistics. That means to study the laws of creation and effect in different works of art and to derive aesthetic laws from them.⁹⁵ Even if Viehoff’s method always amounts to one norm for beauty – the old principle of unity in manifoldness – it is worth considering his empirical aesthetics.

The centre of Viehoff’s aesthetics is dominated by reflections upon fantasy: providing an emphatic interpretation of Quintilian’s remarks on the energy-driven and, therefore, highly imaginative rhetor as well as an interpretation of 18th-century psycho-medicine, Viehoff distinguishes productive fantasy (which reinvigorates an external perception) from re-productive fantasy (which is reminiscent of images created earlier).⁹⁶ Yet

93 Friedrich Theodor Vischer: *Kritische Gänge*, ed. Robert Vischer. 2nd ed. Munich: Meyer & Jessen 1922, vol. 4, p. 224: “Das Schöne ist einmal nicht einfach ein Gegenstand, das Schöne wird erst im Anschauen, es ist Kontakt eines Gegenstands und eines auffassenden Subjekts [...]”; Cf. Viehoff (fn. 80), § 24, p. 69.

94 Viehoff (fn. 80), § 24, pp. 70 f.

95 Ibid., § 25, pp. 72–75.

96 On Quintilian’s understanding of the rhetor Hans Peter Herrmann: *Nachahmung und Einbildungskraft*. Bad Hamburg [et al.]: Gehlen 1970, p.

fantasy is not limited to the artist only; the recipient is included in this understanding of fantasy. Fantasy can play the same roles in the recipient as it does in the artist. In short: the recipient becomes a kind of co-artist. Both the artist's and the co-artist's fantasies are governed by firstly, the 'association of ideas' ("Ideenassoziation"), the immediate intertwining of shapes and laws of the soul, explained by the English philosophers Locke and Hume and by the Germans Herbart, Beneke and Lotze,⁹⁷ and secondly, by 'apperception' ("Apperzeption"), a process in which new objects are identified through present schemes, well-described by Herbart, Steinthal and Hermann Siebeck.⁹⁸

Twenty poetological principles are derived from these reflections. They are not only observations but also suggestions concerned with the question of how to activate the imagination.⁹⁹ Yet most of these principles stem from Fechner, Viehoff's original contribution being the fact that he applies Fechner's principles to poetry. To give a selection of the most important principles:

- (1) The principle of the economic application of aesthetic means and tools. Fechner and Karl von Vierordt (Tübingen) explained this with regard to Goethe's Mignon song: nothing can be changed; everything is necessary and correctly placed. In Viehoff's words: this principle guarantees the utmost increase in pleasure. Yet he wishes for a more coherent derivative of the principle than is provided by Fechner and Vierordt.¹⁰⁰ Richard Avenarius, for instance, had already developed a more coherent version of the economic application principle; he called it the principle of the smallest measurement of force, an idea which is close to Viehoff's own thoughts on the issue.¹⁰¹

171; Dietmar Till: Transformationen der Rhetorik – Untersuchungen zum Wandel der Rhetoriktheorie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2004, p. 376; Volkhard Wels: Zur Vorgeschichte des Begriffs der 'kreativen Phantasie'. In: Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft 50 (2005) 2, pp. 199–226.

97 Viehoff (fn. 80), § 34, pp. 99–101.

98 Ibid., § 35, pp. 101–105; see Walter Nowack: zur Lehre von den Gesetzen der Ideenassoziation seit Herbart bis 1880. PhD-thesis Halle 1925.

99 Viehoff (fn. 80), § 35, p. 108.

100 Ibid., § 55, pp. 186 f.

101 Richard Avenarius: Philosophie als Denken der Welt gemäß dem Prinzip des kleinsten Kraftmaßes. Prolegomena zu einer Kritik der reinen Erfahrung. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland 1876.

- (2) The principle of the aesthetic threshold: an impression must have a certain degree of strength, necessary force and originality – perceivable to its addressees.¹⁰² In chemistry, Fechner remarks with a certain sense of humour, this aesthetic principle fails as chemists have most often destroyed their sense of smell.
- (3) The principle of aesthetic assistance: this is illustrated by Chateaubriand's poem *Jeune Fille et Jeune Fleur* and Viehoff's translation which, he claims, underlines the beauty of the original. If two conditions of pleasure (in this case: original and translation) meet, they produce an additional increase in pleasure ($a+b+x$).¹⁰³ In the case of the poem, x refers to the rhythm and metre of the translation which form a sort of music in order to improve the original.
- (4) The principle of capacity: a work of art should not go beyond the capacities and norms of its addressees as this can be dangerous, cause misleading receptions and cost much in terms of energy on both sides.
- (5) The principle of exercise: this principle relies on the work of the medical doctor Alfred Kußmaul (1822–1902), himself an author and critic of the 'Biedermeier', and Wilhelm Wundt. It explains the physiological and psychological developments that are produced through exercise. According to this principle, attraction is only perceived up to its peak. At the peak, awareness of the attraction vanishes – as can be shown from Heise's *Nächtliche Wasserfahrt bei Neapel*: "Eine heilige Stille schwebt auf den Wassern, nur / Durch ein-tönigen Rudertakt unterbrochen."¹⁰⁴
- (6) The principle of solving aesthetical conflicts: again, the example is translation (from Sophocles to Longfellow). According to this principle it is questionable whether or not it is aesthetically better to translate in a way that is true to the original or in a way that is beautiful. Both principles of translation often conflict. According to Viehoff, the only correct solution is to follow the 'tone of the feel of the original' ("Gefühlston des Originals").¹⁰⁵
- (7) The principle of aesthetical reconciliation: a cause of repulsion is balanced by pleasure – as could be observed from dialogical

102 Viehoff (fn. 80), § 56, pp. 194–196.

103 Ibid., § 56, pp. 196–200.

104 Ibid., § 57, pp. 207 f: 'A holy silence levitates on the water, disrupted only through the monotonous beat of rowing.'

105 Ibid., § 58, pp. 209–217.

poems like Rückert's *Die Zwei und der Dritte*. When fantasy and wit contradict each other, reason comes in as a third, reconciling element.¹⁰⁶

- (8) The principle of the aesthetical 'consequence' ("Folge") raises the question of order.¹⁰⁷ What to present first in order to awaken aesthetic pleasure – the more or the less beautiful? Viehoff's answers refer to everyday pedagogy: gifts to children should always start with the smallest first.

To conclude, Viehoff's contribution to poetics cannot be underestimated. Inspired by Vischer's notion of fantasy he took on eudaimonistic ethics (as did Fechner) and decisively argued against Social Darwinism. Building on Fechner's principles he developed them further, focusing on all sides of the process of literary communication: the author, the text as well as the recipient.

In the 1890s, the empirical approach as represented by Fechner, Lotze and Viehoff became popular among the many poetic treatises, as is shown by Paul Heinze's and Rudolf Goette's *Deutsche Poetik* (1891). Heinze (1858–1912), a little known scholar and poet, and Goette (*1860), a literary historian and author of many successful ballads, set themselves ambitious goals: to provide new definitions of beauty and genre in the framework of an empirical poetics. Yet they never quite achieve their goal as they use not so much an empirical as a metaphysical vocabulary, alluding to Carriere, reducing beauty to a phenomenon which points to the laws of life.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, they criticize Fechner for failing to give clear distinctions, e.g. of simple and artistic impressions of the senses¹⁰⁹ – a distinction he never aimed to give. Furthermore, Heinze und Goette do not discuss a thinker who, from today's perspective, is most associated with the empirical and psychological approach: Wilhelm Dilthey.

It has often been stated that Dilthey opted for a dichotomy of the natural sciences and the humanities, claiming that irrationality, understanding, soul, history and type and are to be found on the side of the humanities whilst the natural sciences could be characterized by ra-

106 Ibid., § 59, p. 220.

107 Ibid., § 59, pp. 220–226.

108 Paul Heinze and Rudolf Goette: *Deutsche Poetik: Umriß der Lehre vom Wesen und von den Formen der Dichtkunst. Mit einer Einführung in das Gebiet der Kunstlehre*. Dresden–Striesen: Heinze 1891. p. 43.

109 Ibid.

tionality, nature, development, law and explanation.¹¹⁰ It is to the credit of recent research that this picture has been corrected by stressing that Dilthey's main interest is in the human being as a whole¹¹¹ and by claiming that Dilthey was not that committed to the dichotomy of the sciences.¹¹² These studies show that Dilthey's work reflects the gap between analytical or speculative approaches in philosophy and the factual world.¹¹³

As regards Dilthey's general considerations on the method of the 'Geisteswissenschaften', I will argue that he is in favour of an inclusionist view as far as the natural sciences are concerned. This interpretation can be proven by Dilthey's *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (1883), his first broad-scale attempt to define 'Geisteswissenschaften' as such.¹¹⁴ In this text Dilthey is concerned with a philosophical legitimization of the 'Geisteswissenschaften' while his statements on their relation to nature and the natural sciences oscillate enormously. It is only in the chapter on the classes of statements in the 'Geisteswissenschaften' that Dilthey's argument becomes entirely clear: Methodologically, the 'Geisteswissenschaften' do not differ from the natural sciences. They also express facts and consider general laws of development – except in one aspect: the 'Geisteswissenschaften' add a surplus in formulating value judgements and prescribing rules.¹¹⁵ Dilthey calls this the 'practical' aspect of the 'Geisteswissenschaften'. He claims that all classes of state-

110 See Otto Friedrich von Bollnow's early standard work: Dilthey: Eine Einführung in seine Philosophie. Leipzig: Teubner 1936.

111 See the research report in Joachim Thielen: Wilhelm Dilthey und die Entwicklung des geschichtlichen Denkens in Deutschland im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1999 (Trierer Studien zur Kulturphilosophie 3), pp. 82–84.

112 See Frithjof Rodi: Drei Bemerkungen zu Diltheys Aufsatz "Die Entstehung der Hermeneutik von 1900". In: *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 57/226 (2003) 4, pp. 425–438, p. 425, *passim*.

113 Herein, I follow Werner Stegmaier's approach; W.St.: Philosophie der Fluktuation: Dilthey und Nietzsche. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1992 (Neue Studien zur Philosophie 4); see also Arne Homann: Diltheys Bruch mit der Metaphysik: Die Aufhebung der Hegelschen Philosophie im geschichtlichen Bewußtsein. Freiburg i. Br.: Alber 1995.

114 See Rudolf A. Makkreel: Dilthey: Philosoph der Geisteswissenschaften. Transl. by Barbara M. Kehm. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1991, p. 51/engl. original: Dilthey – Philosopher of the Human Sciences. Princeton Univ. Press 1975.

115 Wilhelm Dilthey: *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* [1883]: Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gesellschaft und der Geschichte. 4th ed. Stuttgart: Teubner 1959, vol. 1, pp. 26 f.

ments need to come together in order to amount to a correct and fully-fledged 'geisteswissenschaftliche' result.¹¹⁶ As a consequence, Dilthey's position can be summarised as an inclusionist view according to which the natural sciences and the 'Geisteswissenschaften' – methodologically speaking – are part of the science of man.

Dilthey's poetological oeuvre *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters. Bausteine für eine Poetik* (1887) encompasses his inclusionist approach. It is a rhetorically powerful sketch, close to the work of Fechner and Viehoff but also inspired by other empirical approaches: already in the 1850s, Dilthey had, together with Lazarus und Steinthal, taken into consideration an empirical philosophy of history that referred back to Herbart and his psychology of peoples.¹¹⁷ In his Berlin period, Dilthey discovered positivism and empiricism, however, at the same time, Schleiermacher and the notion of 'Geist' shaped the intellectual agenda.¹¹⁸ In 1860, on being appointed professor in Basle, Dilthey studied physiology, psychophysics (with Johannes Müller and Hermann Helmholtz) and familiarized himself with neurophysiology, later borrowing heavily from Müller's account of Goethe's morphology.¹¹⁹ In Breslau, Dilthey continued his studies in psychology, and started to work on his project of an empirical poetics, his corresponding partners being Graf Paul York von Wartenburg and Scherer.¹²⁰

116 Ibid., p. 27.

117 See the summary by Tom Kindt: Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911). In: Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik in Porträts, ed. by Christoph König, Hans-Harald Müller and Werner Röcke. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2000, pp. 53–68, pp. 55 f; in detail on Lazarus: Hans-Ulrich Lessing: Dilthey und Lazarus. In: Dilthey-Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Geschichte der Geisteswissenschaften 3 (1985), pp. 57–83; the impact of Herbart on poetics and art theory in general is evaluated by Céline Trautmann-Waller: Zwischen Kunstgeschichte, Formalismus und Kulturanthropologie: Was hatte die Berliner Völkerpsychologie über Kunst zu sagen? In: Konzert und Konkurrenz. Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert, ed. by Oliver Huck, Sandra Richter and Christian Scholl [in print].

118 See Kindt: Wilhelm Dilthey (fn. 117), pp. 56 f.

119 Frithjof Rodi: Das strukturierte Ganze: Studien zum Werk von Wilhelm Dilthey. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft 2003, pp. 89–106. The relevant article is a modification of F.R.: Morphologie und Hermeneutik: Zur Methode von Diltheys Ästhetik. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1969.

120 On the close academic relations between Dilthey and Scherer see Kindt/Müller (fn. 117).

'The poetics created by Aristotle is dead',¹²¹ with these thunderous words Dilthey announces the end of a poetological era. According to him, this era had been shaped by a poetics of form and technique – an astonishing evaluation as regards Aristotle's poetics which in fact focused on morals and content. Yet it is possible that Dilthey, in his rhetorical wish to attack all poetics before empiricism and to introduce a new poetics, simply mentioned the main authority in order to provide a most convincing (though in fact polemical) framework for his diagnosis of literary practices. Today, there is 'anarchy' or more precisely 'anarchy of taste' in the area of literature – a diagnosis which Dilthey repeats various times, blaming it on the inadequacy of Aristotle's poetics.¹²² Aesthetics and poetics are limited to academia only, having become detached from the literary life in which an enormous variety of form governs, responding to mass interest. Art has become 'democratic', a horror for Dilthey. Poetics needs to be fenced in through the invention of a new poetics.¹²³

According to Dilthey, this new poetics is not only an academic exercise but also something desired by the artists themselves.¹²⁴ In the chaos of forms, values and judgements, they search for truth – without having the slightest idea where to find it. Aesthetical education, the old project executed by Schiller, popular philosophy and Heusinger, is Dilthey's solution to this lack of poetics. Dilthey aims to reestablish the 'natural relation' ("natürliche Verhältnis") between art, aesthetic judgement and the public, presupposing that such a relation exists and intending to entirely renew poetics, rhetoric and logic. In short: Dilthey wishes to reconcile the 'trivium' with his aim to promote humanism beyond the narrow bounds of higher education.

The method of such a poetics is 'empirical' ("empirisch")¹²⁵ and 'comparative' ("vergleichend"); it has to begin with 'the analysis of

121 Wilhelm Dilthey: *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters: Bausteine für eine Poetik* (1887). In: Wilhelm Dilthey, *Die geistige Welt. Einleitung in die Philosophie des Lebens*. 2nd half: *Abhandlungen zur Poetik, Ethik und Pädagogik*. Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner 1924 (Wilhelm Diltheys *Gesammelte Schriften* 6), pp. 103–241, p. 103: "Die von Aristoteles geschaffene Poetik ist tot."

122 *Ibid.*, pp. 103 f.

123 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

124 See Kurt Müller-Vollmer: *Towards a Phenomenological Theory of Literature. A Study of Wilhelm Dilthey's "Poetik"*. The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1963 (*Stanford Studies in Germanics and Slavics* 1), pp. 51–55.

125 Dilthey (fn. 121), p. 126.

the creative ability' ("Analysis des schaffenden Vermögens") of the poet or the 'fantasy of the poet' ("Phantasie des Dichters").¹²⁶ Consequently, the main question of this renewed poetics is anthropological and historical: the foundation of literature in human nature or the 'psychological structure' ("psychologische Struktur") and the historical circumstances in which literature is developed or its 'historical variability' ("historische Variabilität") should be studied.¹²⁷ Furthermore, 'universal laws' ("allgemeingültige Gesetze") are to be found which reveal the 'original cell' ("Urzellen") and historical types of poetry¹²⁸ and can serve as 'rules for creation and as norms of critique' ("Regeln des Schaffens und als Normen der Kritik").¹²⁹ Consequently, literary history and poetics complement each other: 'the side of' ("neben") the history of literature which makes available examples and sources is joined by a 'general science of the elements and laws' ("eine generelle Wissenschaft der Elemente und Gesetze").¹³⁰ Such a poetics is analytical as well as normative, deriving its norms from natural reality – a method which runs the risk of committing the naturalistic fallacy.

It follows from these methodological reflections that not only poetry, but also the poet and the way in which he creates his works, need to be studied carefully. As a result, Dilthey proposes a poetics of content – unlike the criticized poetics of form and technique associated with Aristotle – which has its foundation in the poet himself. This becomes clear through the observation of the notion of 'experience' ("Erlebnis") highlighted by Dilthey as the source of poetry.¹³¹ It is the vivid experience, the energy of spirit and heart and the force to generalise which together build the 'maternal earth' ("mütterlichen Boden") for true poetry and its different historical types – Dilthey repeats 'mütterlichen Boden' various times in order to underline the vitalist and quasi-biological element of poetry, 'its kernel-like content' ("ihr kernhafter Inhalt").¹³² The forms of poetry (motives, fables, novels) are but a means for transforming ex-

126 Ibid., p. 130.

127 Ibid., pp. 108 f.

128 Ibid., p. 130.

129 Ibid., p. 107.

130 Ibid., p. 107; see also p. 132.

131 Karol Sauerland: Diltheys Erlebnisbegriff: Entstehung, Glanzzeit und Verkümmern eines literaturhistorischen Begriffes. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1972.

132 Dilthey (fn. 121), pp. 128–130.

perience.¹³³ The biologist and content-oriented approach corresponds to the general function Dilthey attributes to poetry: ‘that she enforces and awakes our liveliness’ (“daß sie [...] Lebendigkeit in uns erhält, stärkt und wachruft”) in order to build a revitalised version of Schiller’s human being, the ‘full, complete and healthy being’ (“volle, ganze, gesunde Mensch”).¹³⁴

It is the poet who is responsible for making and transforming experience in favour of the vital aesthetic education of his readers. Consequently, he is attributed abilities which exceed the normal human being’s. The psychology of the extraordinary personality of the poet becomes a major part of Dilthey’s poetics. According to Dilthey, the poet is different from ordinary men in the following respects, which result from his extraordinary ‘imagination’ (“Einbildungskraft”):¹³⁵ firstly, the poet possesses an intensity and manifoldness of the ‘images of perception’ (“Wahrnehmungsbilder”),¹³⁶ secondly, the poet’s sensual organisation is different (the sensitive ears and eyes, the enormous vocabulary – Shakespeare for example had a command of 15 000 words – Goethe could discuss questions ranging from anatomy to jurisprudence). Thirdly, the poet acts ‘unintentionally’ (“absichtslos”) or autonomously in Schiller’s words. Fourthly, the poet is possessed of an unusual clearness, force and projection of ‘images of memory’ (“Erinnerungsbilder”) as explained by Fechner. Fifthly, the poet has the energy and force to rebuild psychological situations, actions and characters. Sixthly, the poet appears to be an energetic ‘being imbued with’ images (“Bese-

133 Therefore, Rodi links Dilthey’s poetics with the notion of ‘inner form’ with which Dilthey acquainted himself through Schleiermacher, Friedrich Schlegel and Humboldt; Rodi: *Das strukturierte Ganze* (fn. 119), pp. 116 f.

134 Dilthey (fn. 121), p. 131.

135 Rodi has shown that Dilthey not only derives his theory of the imagination from Johannes Müller but to a large extent copies Müller on these issues; Rodi: *Das strukturierte Ganze* (fn. 119), pp. 90–106. The most comprehensive account of Dilthey’s notion of “Einbildungskraft” is to be found in Makkreel: Dilthey (fn. 121) pp. 117–248.

136 On these “Wahrnehmungsbilder” see Jacob Owensby: *Dilthey and the Narrative of History*. Ithaca, London: Cornell Univ. Press 1994, p. 141. Owensby compares Dilthey’s view to the British associationists and stresses that in contrast to the British, Dilthey does not regard images as self-enclosed and changeless but as parts of a ‘mental whole’: ‘Poetic images function, then, to articulate the unity of the individual’s psychic life.’

lung”), seventhly, the ‘urge’ (“Drange”) to write and eighthly, a poetic fantasy which can transgress the borders of reality.¹³⁷

In order to explain how the poetic imagination acts and produces poetry, Dilthey distinguishes his poet psychology from the psychology of the mentally ill. He also draws a distinction between the psychology of the peoples like Lotze and Fechner when identifying psychic laws of poetic creation.¹³⁸ According to Dilthey, poetic creations are never entirely new but rather recombinations of already-existing impressions, to which new impressions can be added in the following ways:¹³⁹ on the level of recognizing and thinking, apperception is at work, on the levels of will and of feeling ‘Bildung’ guides and disciplines the senses.

It is the level of feeling which Dilthey examines closely as it promises insights into the irrational nature of poetic creation. He distinguishes several ‘circles of feeling’ (“Gefühlskreise”):¹⁴⁰ firstly, the common sense or the sensations which result from physiological processes and cause pain or pleasure, secondly, elementary feelings that stem from sensations under the condition of interest (pleasure and listlessness), thirdly, feelings which result from perceptions, e.g. the perception of rhythm and metre and fourthly, feelings that originate in the ‘thoughtful combination of our ideas’, e.g. in wit or humour.

It is the fourth group which guarantees satisfaction (“Wohlgefälligkeit”) and, as a consequence, pleasure.¹⁴¹ The reason for this is to be found in the principles which help to tie together our perceptions – principles that are mainly borrowed from Fechner.¹⁴² Among the older and general principles of ‘unity of interest’ (“Einheit des Interesses”), ‘the manifold from and within the unfold’ (“Viel aus Einem und in Einem”), ‘unity in the manifold’, (“Einheit im Mannigfaltigen”) and ‘adequateness of intellect’ (“Verstandesangemessenheit”),¹⁴³ Dilthey ex-

137 Dilthey (fn. 121), p. 138: “[...] dichterische Phantasie gewährt uns nur ein Wort, in welchem die Vorgänge selber verborgen bleiben.”

138 Ibid., p. 139: “Ich behaupte nun, daß das Leben der Bilder in dem Träumenden, dem Irren, dem Künstler von dieser Psychologie nicht erklärt werden kann.”/ ‘I claim that the life of the images of the dreamer, the lunatic, the artist cannot be explained by this kind of psychology’. The poet instead, writes with the full energy of his healthy soul; Ibid., pp. 163–190.

139 Ibid., pp. 144–148.

140 Ibid., p. 153.

141 Ibid.

142 Ibid., pp. 157–163.

143 Ibid., p. 153.

plicitly and positively takes up Fechner's 'principle of something being without contradiction' ("Prinzip der Widerspruchslosigkeit"), his 'principle of clarity' ("Prinzip der Klarheit"), the 'principle of aesthetic threshold' ("Prinzip der ästhetischen Schwelle"), the 'principle of association' ("Prinzip der Assoziation")¹⁴⁴ and the 'principle of aesthetic reconciliation' ("Prinzip der ästhetischen Versöhnung").¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, Dilthey dedicates a long paragraph to Fechner's 'principle of absolute impact' ("Totalwirkung") and expands on the 'principle of tension' ("Prinzip der Spannung").¹⁴⁶ Fechner claims that if different types of pleasure are added they maximise the total feeling of pleasure. Dilthey instead, argues more carefully in claiming that this maximises the total sum of elementary feelings. A similar differentiation guides Dilthey's thought on tension: it can originate from all kinds of inner drives and thoughts.

In addition to this and maybe due to his attempt to lay out some first ideas for a theory of poetics, Dilthey, unlike Fechner, focuses more on the principles of poetic composition. He makes a strong claim for a poetics of experience which became famous: poetry, claims Dilthey, is conceived by the urge to express experience ("Drang, Erlebnis auszusprechen").¹⁴⁷ Again, he stresses the irrational, vital nature of poetic creation but also observes general laws which guide it: firstly, the principle of a different emphasis of individual parts of the whole ("Prinzip einer verschiedenen Betonung der Bestandteile") which weighs every part of the poetic work according to its importance for the whole. Secondly, the principle of an utmost approximation to pure satisfaction ("Prinzip der möglichsten Annäherung an reine Befriedigung"), the exclusion of all artificial trumpery, added to produce pleasant effects. Thirdly, the 'principle of forming the essential and meaningful' ("Prinzip der Herausbildung des Wesenhaften und Bedeutenden") which highlights the most important aspects of the creation.¹⁴⁸

Dilthey glorifies his own poetic model when he states that the big gap between Herder and Kant, between history and analysis, is closed through the reflections and principles he himself proposes. Yet what is striking and convincing is the thorough 'analysis of human nature'

144 Fechner, *Vorschule* (fn. 2), I, p. 94.

145 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

147 Dilthey (fn. 121), pp. 190–197.

148 *Ibid.*

in which Dilthey grounds his account.¹⁴⁹ He radically breaks with idealised images of the poet and his creation as well as with Herbart's wish to confer high ethical ideas on poetry. Dilthey calls these ideas 'shadow-like abstract concepts' ("schattenhafte Abstracta").¹⁵⁰ At the same time, Dilthey (like Carriere and Lotze before him) keeps aspects of idealism alive in stressing the natural foundation of ethical principles in the instinctual will of the poet for truthfulness and the conservation of the true self, a refined version of the old anthropological principle of the 'conservatio sui'. The poet's expression is regarded as a sophistication of the life-impulse toward an artistic perfection and unification of lived experience.

It is no wonder that this high-aiming and high-achieving poetics found its public. Dilthey's early poetological programme has a strong polemical bias. It thrives on a rhetoric which makes it appealing. In addition to this, there is a good deal of innovative substance in the text itself: psychological aesthetics and poetics are taken into account and developed further. Building on the classicist norm of the 'full, complete and healthy being', Dilthey provides an empirical, as well as normative, poetics which focuses on the irrational nature of the poetic creation, on the poet's experience and the composition resulting from it. This poetics unquestionably runs several risks: of confusing is and ought, and of committing the naturalistic fallacy.

In 1896/97, psychological poetics was taught at a grammar school in Vienna.¹⁵¹ In addition to this, Dilthey's version of psychological poetics, especially his strong concepts of experience and life, moved into literature: Dilthey and George established a friendly acquaintance and although both promoted different ideas of life and art, they at least dealt with similar themes, with life and will. Furthermore, they shared an interest in the poet's persona, especially Hölderlin.¹⁵² The latter interest might have led George to style his own personality the way he did.¹⁵³

149 Ibid., p. 157.

150 Dilthey (fn. 121), pp. 156 f.

151 See the clear, but not very inspiring summary of J. Obermann: *Grundlinien der psychologischen Ästhetik*. In: *Jahresbericht des K.K. Staatsgymnasiums im II. Bezirk von Wien, Taborstr. 24 für das Schuljahr 1896/97*, ed. by Gustav Waniek. Vienna 1897, pp. 3–59.

152 Walter Müller-Seidel: *Dilthey's Rehabilitation Hölderlin's: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Betrachtung*. In: *Hölderlin und die Moderne: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, ed. by Gerhard Kurz, Valérie Lawitschka and Jürgen Wertheimer. Tübingen: Attempto 1995, pp. 41–73, esp. pp. 63–73.

This connection with Dilthey's 1887-poetics fascinated Richard Müller-Freienfels (1882–1949), an almost professional traveller as well as a lecturer and writer at the Trade School Berlin ('Handelsschule Berlin'). Müller-Freienfels became one of the most important mediators of psychological poetics.¹⁵⁴ He was responsible for many innovative insights himself as he renewed psychological poetics through combining it with other current trends in poetics (e.g. questions of race and social status), rendering it practical and useful for the general public as well as for critics or other professionals in the field. Therefore, Müller-Freienfels' small volume *Poetik* was published twice (1914/²1921) in the popular Teubner series "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt". The two editions differ from one another little, although the second one is better arranged and gives a more detailed list of research literature. They replaced a similarly popular but older account of poetics: Karl Borinski's *Deutsche Poetik* (1895), published in the widely read "Sammlung Göschen".¹⁵⁵ In this small and handy book Borinski (1862–1922), a professor of German literary history who focused on poetic theory, provided a representative sum of his research, highlighting the debate between naturalism and idealism – with a considerable interest in the psychology and the typology of the poet.

Müller-Freienfels' *Poetik* develops this interest further. He aims at providing a psychological understanding of poetry and its impact, with a double focus on the poet and the public – a focus that is already present in the work of Viehoff and Dilthey who are astonishingly not mentioned in Müller-Freienfels' bibliography in the first edition.¹⁵⁶ Like Dilthey, but tending more towards the Darwinist camp (reminis-

153 See Hans-Georg Gadamer: Stefan George (1868–1933). In: *Die Wirkung Stefan Georges auf die Wissenschaft: Ein Symposium*, ed. by Hans-Joachim Zimmermann. Heidelberg: Winter 1985 (Supplemente zu den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 4), pp. 39–49; Lothar van Laak: "Dichterisches Gebilde" und Erlebnis: Überlegungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Wilhelm Dilthey und dem George-Kreis. In: *George-Jahrbuch* 5 (2004/5), pp. 63–81.

154 On the reception of Dilthey's poetics see the helpful overview by Müller-Volmer (fn. 124, pp. 33–48) in which the author stresses the long life of three concepts: 'Spirit of the times' ("Zeitgeist"), 'World-View' (Weltanschauung) and 'Inner Experience' ("Erlebnis").

155 Karl Borinski: *Deutsche Poetik*. Stuttgart 1895 (Sammlung Göschen 40).

156 Dilthey comes in in the second edition: Richard Müller-Freienfels: *Poetik*. 2nd, corr. and augm. ed. Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner 1921 (Aus Literatur und Geisteswelt 460), p. 42.

cent of Wilhelm Scherer) Müller-Freienfels is interested not only in the psychological order and classification of literature and its genres, but also looks for the causes that lead to the survival of genres – ‘struggle for existence’ (“Kampfe ums Dasein”) Müller-Freienfels writes, openly alluding to Darwin.¹⁵⁷ Müller-Freienfels explores the subsistence of style and genre, as well as norms that are ‘a posteriori’ derived from reality.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, he calls his approach ‘empirical literary science’ (“empirische Literaturwissenschaft”).¹⁵⁹ Its main goal is to determine – with the help of Carriere, Viehoff and Dilthey – exactly what the nature of poetic pleasure is (“poetische[r] Genuß”).¹⁶⁰

Müller-Freienfels’ definition of poetry follows Dilthey’s but focuses on the notion of experience itself: poetry is an art that operates through language (a notion which refers to the Theodor Alexander Meyer discussion)¹⁶¹ and evokes experiences of the soul (“seelische Erlebnisse”) which enrich our lives.¹⁶² Yet Müller-Freienfels not only borrows from Dilthey and others but, when it comes to the concrete historical observation of poetry, also adds some new reflections as well, for instance on trends in contemporaneous literature: Müller-Freienfels describes the increasing internalisation or psychologisation of poetry (“zunehmende Verinnerlichung oder Psychologisierung der Dichtung”).¹⁶³ Stefan George’s *komm in den totesagten park und schau!* and Richard Dehmel’s *Die stille Stadt* are discussed as examples of a new type of sophisticated indirect expression of feeling. These texts prove that contemporary lyric poetry expresses feeling and experience in a more refined way than Goethe.¹⁶⁴ Examples like these are not only designed to help literary critics to perform, but also to demonstrate the extent to which Müller-Freienfels and his notion of a poetry based on experience differ from

157 Richard Müller-Freienfels: *Poetik*. Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner 1914 (Aus *Natur und Geisteswelt* 460), p. III.

158 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

159 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

160 *Ibid.*, p. IV.

161 See the chapter on Meyer. Müller-Freienfels takes up Meyer’s argument positively although he claims that one should not restrict poetry to language only. Yet he is convinced that the more traditional position which judged poetry according to the feeling it produced is inadequate. Müller-Freienfels 1914 (fn. 157), p. 89.

162 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

163 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

164 *Ibid.*, pp. 70 f.

Dilthey. Müller-Freienfels indeed reinvigorates the term, applying it to complex modern poetry.

Another fascinating invention by Müller-Freienfels is the typology of poets that is highlighted in the second edition.¹⁶⁵ Although this typology still makes use of Dilthey's emphasis on the greatness of the poet, Müller-Freienfels discusses rather the conditions and expressions of a poet's greatness.¹⁶⁶ Hippolyte Taine's idea of the 'milieu', of race, moment and specific talent strike Müller-Freienfels as too narrow and vague.¹⁶⁷ He proposes using style as a tool to distinguish between different types of poet.¹⁶⁸ According to him, style expresses the 'unity of artistic impact as such as it is to be found in a work' ("Einheit der künstlerischen Wirkungen überhaupt, wie sie sich an einem Werke finden").¹⁶⁹ The following types are mentioned:¹⁷⁰

- (1) The 'poet of expression' ("Ausdrucksdichter") vs. the 'poet of creation' ("Gestaltungsdichter"): the 'poet of expression' is more inclined toward lyric poetry, like Goethe and Hebbel who express their soulful experience, using the form of the symbol. The "Gestaltungsdichter", like Sophocles, Calderon, Schiller, Poe, Balzac, Zola, Maupassant and Platen instead, focuses on composition and matter.
- (2) The poet who works following an archetype ("Modelldichter") vs. the poet who works according to fantasy ("Phantasiedichter"): the "Modelldichter" is interested in the objective; on the contrary, the "Phantasiedichter" (for example the women of the romantic period) stresses the subjective.
- (3) The 'Optimists' vs. the 'Pessimists': pessimists are often the more sensitive poets whilst the 'balancing optimism' ("Ausgleichsoptimus"), e. g. of Nietzsche's Zarathustra, tends to sound naïve.

165 Müller-Freienfels 1921 (fn. 156), pp. 15–42.

166 See Müller-Freienfels 1914 (fn. 157), p. 9.

167 Müller-Freienfels 1914 (fn. 157), pp. 22 f.

168 Types are understood here according to William Stern's classifications: *Die differentielle Psychologie in ihren methodischen Grundlagen*. Leipzig: Barth 1911. Type in Stern's understanding means a psychological type: a dominant disposition which can be ascribed to a group of human beings in a similar way, without the group then necessarily being thoroughly distinguished from others; see Müller-Freienfels 1914 (fn. 157), pp. 26–43.

169 Ibid., p. 13.

170 Ibid.

- (4) The 'sensitive' ("Sensible") vs. the 'active' ("Aktive"): this pair draws a distinction between active poets like Schiller and sensitive or nervous ones like Hauptmann or Hofmannsthal.
- (5) The 'seer of specifics' ("Spezialseher") vs. the 'seer of types' ("Typenseher"): the "Spezialseher" like Goethe concentrates on details whilst the "Typenseher", like most naturalists, is busy with the depiction of types.
- (6) The 'popular poet' ("Volksdichter") vs. the 'scholarly poet' ("gelehrte Dichter"): the 'popular poet' includes different sub-types like the reflective poet (Heine); the 'scholarly poet' instead is outdated, representing the Renaissance and Baroque poets only.

A similar typology applies to the recipient of poetry; its 'tertium comparationis' is now the way art is enjoyed:¹⁷¹

- (1) The 'teammate' ("Mitspieler") re-experiences that which is depicted and puts himself in the character's position.
- (2) The 'spectator' ("Zuschauer") is always conscious of the fact that he only perceives art and keeps his distance.

Despite the criticism of 'psychologism' which began around 1900, psychological poetics had a long after-life resulting from the experiments in the Wundt-school, up to (and including) the work of Wolfgang Kayser.¹⁷² Like Müller-Freienfels' account most approaches aimed to combine psychological poetics with new accounts. Thereby, they followed Müller-Freienfels' tendency to combine psychological approaches into a new formalist, emotive and epistemological agenda.

One of the most interesting books in this context is Emil Winkler's *Das dichterische Kunstwerk* (1924). Winkler (1891–1942), a professor of romance studies in Innsbruck and Vienna who published on medieval as well as contemporary lyric poetry, participates in the criticism of psychologism but also provides a mixture of older psychologist and formalist approaches (Th.A. Meyer). Winkler refers back to Müller-Freienfels, e.g. takes up the theories on the team mate and spectator, as well as to Viehoff's analysis of the sensitive effect of poetry. Winkler combines his theories of 'emotive value' ("Gefühlswert") and apperception in 1929 with the analysis of style in order to create a new theory: the theory

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 44 f.

¹⁷² See Wolfgang Kayser: *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk*. 4th ed. Bern: Francke 1956, p. 333.

of ‘etymic values of language’ (“etymische Werte der Sprache”).¹⁷³ This theory is designed to examine the psychological conditions that are ‘dormant’ in linguistic expression,¹⁷⁴ an account which might have inspired Arno Schmidt’s ‘Etym-theory’ for which Schmidt received some academic attention.¹⁷⁵ Winkler develops his theory of ‘etymic values of language’ further with the help of Theodor Lipps’ *Asthetik*: according to Lipps and Winkler, each work is an ‘emotional [...] symbol’ (“emotionelles [...] Symbol”)¹⁷⁶ which can be understood by the recipient. Winkler’s reading of a poetic work is, in turn, described not with the help of the outdated term “Einfühlung” but in terms of an original reader-psychology. Winkler almost invented the term ‘ideal reader’ when explaining that the reader has to be recognized as part of the work when interpreting it – in the sense of the ‘consorting of my persona with what is presented in the work of art’ (“Zusammenstimmen meiner Persönlichkeit mit dem, was das Kunstwerk [...] darbietet”).¹⁷⁷ A similarly inspiring yet far more inclusive, in part also psychologist, account is presented by Wilhelm Scherer.

(c) Processual Poetics: Wilhelm Scherer (1888)

Scherer (1841–1886), one of the most influential Germanists in the 19th century, wrote standard works on almost all fields of study. Although having been regarded as the representative of ‘positivism’ he neither aimed at a philosophical formulation of his ideas nor defended a purified version of positivism. Rather, he was inspired by different English and French positivist accounts, in combination with a certain romanti-

173 Hans Peter Althaus: Sprachtheorie und Belletristik. Die Etymtheorien von Emil Winkler und Arno Schmidt. In: Sprachtheorie – Der Sprachbegriff in Wissenschaft und Alltag. Jahrbuch 1986 des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache, ed. by Rainer Wimmer. Düsseldorf: Schwann 1987 (Sprache der Gegenwart 71), pp. 191–205.

174 See also Wilhelm Schneider: Ausdruckswerte der deutschen Sprache. Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner 1931, a book well-known to theorists close to Heidegger such as Johannes Pfeiffer.

175 Althaus (fn. 173), pp. 196–199.

176 Emil Winkler: Das dichterische Kunstwerk. Heidelberg: Winter 1924 (Kultur und Sprache 3), p. 6.

177 Ibid., p. 14.

cism.¹⁷⁸ Scherer began to consider a poetological work in the 1870s; in the summer semester of 1885 he lectured on poetics, the lectures being a literary event in Berlin. It is from the lectures and notes of Scherer's students, that the fragment of the *Poetik* (1888) originates. The text was posthumously published by Jewish-German scholar Richard Moritz Meyer (1860–1914), one of Scherer's most famous students, who wrote one of the first biographies of Nietzsche, contributed intensively to problems of literary theory and was fascinated with George very early but was never offered a chair.¹⁷⁹

Scherer's *Poetik* is one of the richest and wittiest texts on poetics. Furthermore, the *Poetik* represents a third big step in 19th-century poetics after Vischer and Fechner (whom Scherer extensively quotes, polemicalising against Vischer): although Vischer proposed the right direction towards psychology and provided some excellent concrete observations in his 'mediocre' ("mäßige[m]") book on poetics,¹⁸⁰ he adhered to speculation and failed in providing solutions to the problems he raised. Fechner instead, as in the works of Viehoff and Dilthey, becomes some kind of role model in Scherer's *Poetik*. It is Fechner's empirical account that fascinates Scherer and, as a consequence, he himself suggests replacing normative aesthetics with historical and empirical poetics. Today, some of his accounts can still be regarded as relevant:¹⁸¹ for instance, the conception of literature as 'good' ("Ware") that refers to the historical school of German national economy (Wilhelm Roscher, Karl Knies), the evolutionary foundation of poetics and the 'protostructuralist' approach to genre that views genre as system.¹⁸²

178 See Hans-Harald Müller: Wilhelm Scherer (1841–1886). In: Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik in Porträts, eds. König, Müller, Röcke (fn. 117), pp. 80–94.

179 Wilhelm Scherer: *Poetik* [1888]. Mit einer Einleitung und Materialien zur Rezeptionsanalyse, ed. by Gunter Reiss. Tübingen: Niemeyer (dtv) 1977. On Meyer Hans-Harald Müller: Richard Moritz Meyer – ein Repräsentant der Scherer-Schule. In: Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Wien 2000. In: Zeitenwende – Die Germanistik auf dem Weg vom 20. Ins 21. Jahrhundert, ed. by Peter Wiesinger. Bern: Lang 2003, vol. 11, pp. 225–230; on the origin of the "Poetik" see Höppner: *Die Beziehung* (fn. 21), pp. 82 f.

180 Scherer (fn. 179), p. 46.

181 H.-H. Müller: Wilhelm Scherer (fn. 178), p. 91.

182 Höppner: *Die Beziehung* (fn. 21), pp. 218–222.

Still, it is characteristic of Scherer's *Poetik* that he also takes up traditional notions in order to combine them into his new account. This is true for his tentative rhetorical definition of poetics:

'Above all, poetics is the discipline of coherent speech; and in addition, it is the discipline of some employments of the incoherent, which are closely related to those of the coherent.'¹⁸³

Scherer's method is far from providing definitions in a scholastic manner. He focuses on phenomena in a complex area, approaching them in an almost Socratic way, stressing the provisory nature of his *Poetik*. It is said to be a mere 'outline' ("Grundriß").¹⁸⁴ The reason for this lies firstly in the area of aesthetics, of which poetics is a part. Aesthetics itself is developing quickly and no firm system has been established: Scherer regards Carrière's *Aesthetik* to be stimulating because of its comparisons; Fechner's *Vorschule der Ästhetik* is the most helpful work which clearly advocates an 'aesthetics from below'. Secondly, poetics, aesthetics and philology have been driven apart and need to be reconnected: 'Essentially, that task is yet to be achieved.'¹⁸⁵ Against this background, Scherer formulates his 'programme' ("Programm"):

'[...] to completely (exhaustively) describe the poetic creation, the real and the possible, in its process, in its results, in its effects.'¹⁸⁶

What necessarily follows is methodological pluralism. Consequently, almost every contemporary methodological approach can be found in Scherer's poetics, its focus being on the poetic process.¹⁸⁷ The following remarks are designed to give an overview of the variety of approaches, questions and topics that are presented in the *Poetik*:¹⁸⁸

183 Scherer (fn. 179), p. 28: "Die Poetik ist vorzugsweise die Lehre von der gebundenen Rede; außerdem aber von einigen Anwendungen der ungebundenen, welche mit den Anwendungen der gebundenen in naher Verwandtschaft stehen."

184 Ibid., p. 52.

185 Ibid., p. 48: "Die Sache ist wesentlich noch zu machen."

186 Ibid., p. 49: "[...] die dichterische Hervorbringung, die wirkliche und die mögliche, ist vollständig zu beschreiben in ihrem Hergang, in ihren Ergebnissen, in ihren Wirkungen."

187 Ibid., p. 52.

188 See as well Steffen Martus who combines Scherer's approaches with current research: "jeder Philolog ist eine Sekte für sich": Wilhelm Scherer als Klassiker des Umgangs mit Klassikern. In: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistenverbandes. Klassiker der Germanistik. Local Heroes in Zeiten des Global Thinking, eds. Petra Boden, Uwe Wirth 53 (2006) 1, pp. 8–26, p. 17.

- (1) Meta-rhetoric, -poetics, -aesthetics as well as methodology: looking for an appropriate approach to poetics, Scherer informs the reader about the beginning and the meaning of poetics since ancient times. Although Scherer's history is more a bibliographical account with some hints on the content of the works, he stresses the relevance of the ancients. He begins his aesthetic history with Homer, the person who first thought about poetry, highlights the relevance of Aristotle and touches upon Plato as well as Horace and others. Medieval and early modern poetics are briefly mentioned but regarded as an appendix of the ancients only. Scherer's interest grows as regards Baumgarten and the foundation of aesthetics. It is not by mere accident that Scherer on the one hand polemicalises against speculative poetics (Baumgarten, Kant, Hegel, Vischer, Batteux, Marmontel, Burke) and on the other hand appreciates Lessing's as well as Herder's literary and historical accounts. Both are said to have paved the way for Fechner's empirical aesthetics and Scherer's own empirical poetics.
- (2) Rhetoric and poetics. Before entering the empirical camp, a threefold relationship between rhetoric and poetics is still to be mentioned: (a) Scherer discusses Aristotle as he provided the first (and still relevant) theoretical framework for the understanding of poetry as a whole. (b) Secondly, Scherer stresses the requirement of an all-encompassing art and understanding of speech. One should, for example, distinguish versified speech from other types. Although it suffices to understand poetry as 'lively speech' ('lebendige Rede')¹⁸⁹ rhetoric is still an important framework for poetics (c).¹⁹⁰ In contrast to what might be assumed due to the general 19th-century tendency of 'de-rhetorisation', Scherer opts for the reinvention of rhetoric: the steps of the rhetor ('inventio', 'dispositio', 'elocutio'), for instance, are still useful and should be adopted in favour of an empirical rhetoric. The 'inventio' could be regarded as a part of the analysis of matter, the 'dispositio' as a part of a renewed analysis of the connections from the inner form to the 'outer form' ("äußere Form");¹⁹¹ in turn, 'elocutio' becomes almost identical with 'outer form' and covers language as well as metre.¹⁹²

189 Scherer (fn. 179), p. 160.

190 Ibid., p. 27.

191 Scherer's interesting idea in this regard is to overcome the problematic distinction between content and form – an idea that found many admirers up to Oskar Walzel. Along with Wilhelm von Humboldt Scherer understands the 'inner form' as a characteristic of things ("charakteristische Auffassung"); Scherer (fn. 179), p. 150.

- (3) Comparative functional and historical poetics: Relying on Darwin (unlike Viehoff), Herbert Spencer and Edward Burnet Tyler, one of Scherer's main aims is to explore the origin of poetry.¹⁹³ He provides a twofold result which gives an evolutionary account of the history of poetry as well as a biological and functional analysis of poetry. The first stage of poetry was its separation from dance as an expression of joy,¹⁹⁴ the second the separation from song¹⁹⁵ or the imitation of birds who, through singing, not only signal joy, but also the will to mate.¹⁹⁶ A third step of the evolution of poetry might have been the separation from laughter but there is a lack of research on this issue so this step is unproven. Yet as the *tertium comparationis* of all these steps is the mode of expression, the symbolic act ("symbolische Handlung") of signalling joy or other more or less physical sensations,¹⁹⁷ the origin of poetry can be explained as follows:

[...] poetry originates in joviality and seems to the majority of human beings akin to pleasure and amusement. The large majority seeks to find in poetry only pleasure through the depiction of pleasure. Sad objects and events which cause true pain are probably avoided by this majority. But we found out on our strenuous journey that poetry serves not merely to detect or to console and comfort, but that it also is something that serves to act on one's will, it is also a form of stimulation, a magic force with which those who employ it become capable of directing human beings to good and evil, for they can through their imagination exert power on the passions and deed of humans.¹⁹⁸

192 Ibid., p. 136.

193 Höppner (fn. 21), p. 104.

194 Charles Darwin: *Ausdruck der Gemüthsbewegungen bei den Menschen und Thieren*. German by Gustav Carus. Stuttgart: Schweizerbart 1872, p. 222; Scherer (fn. 179), p. 58; on Darwin's aesthetics reflections see Lisa Sideris: *One Step Up, Two Steps Back: Aesthetics, Ethics and Savagery in Darwin's Theory of Evolution*. In: *Soundings. An Interdisciplinary Journal* 84 (2001) 3–4, pp. 365–388.

195 Scherer (fn. 179), p. 18.

196 Darwin: *Ausdruck* (fn. 194), pp. 84 f; Scherer (fn. 179), p. 58.

197 Scherer (fn. 179), p. 61.

198 Ibid., pp. 79 f: "[...] die Poesie entspringt aus der Heiterkeit und wirkt auf die Mehrzahl der Menschen als Vergnügen. Die weit überwiegende Masse sucht in der Poesie nur Vergnügen durch Darstellung von Vergnügen. Traurige Gegenstände, die wirklichen Schmerz erregen, werden ursprünglich von ihr wahrscheinlich gemieden, [...]. Aber wir haben auf unserem mühsamen Weg zugleich gefunden, daß die Poesie nicht bloß Ergötzlichkeit oder Trösterin, daß

Yet Scherer adheres to an underlying norm when it comes to the higher functions of poetry. It is more or less detached from its biological origins:¹⁹⁹ high poetry provides ‘delectation and amusement’ (“Vergnügung”), ‘instruction’ (“Belehrung”), ‘satisfaction of the thirst for knowledge’ (“Befriedigung der Wißbegier”) and ‘impact on the will’ (“Einwirkung auf den Willen”).²⁰⁰ The reason for this higher development is that tradition and exercise have made poetry a powerful tool of communication.²⁰¹

- (4) Evaluative/Axiological poetics. The result of the higher development of poetry is that people attribute a certain value to it or – as in the church – use poetry’s power. Two main types of values can be distinguished: economic value or ‘exchange value’ (“Tauschwert”) and ideal value.²⁰² Economic value is a category recognised already in the early ages of poetry, e.g. poet laureates expected material favours for their poetry. Poetry was a good. After the invention of book printing this tendency grew – and led to new organisations of book trade, e.g. honorarium, and new forms of poetry, e.g. the Feuilleton of the French journal *Le Figaro* which makes extensive use of poetry. Furthermore, a new profession was established: critics who mediate between literature and the public, the German role model being Lessing. Although in the 19th century criticism had become less effective, success played an important role for writers who were economically dependent on remuneration; in short: the laws and institutions of the *res publica litteraria* had fundamentally changed. Poets became servants of the public and (as Dilthey diagnosed) a democratic reign in literature was established. Like Dilthey, Scherer highlights its negative consequences: contemporary poets have to please everybody (not only their patron). Yet this development has led to a differentiation of the ideal values attributed to poetry:²⁰³ the ideal value corresponds to the purposes of poetry (entertainment, instruction, edification), the ethical function being the best example for the ideal value.

sie auch ein Mittel ist, um auf den Willen zu wirken, eine Erregerin, eine Zaubermacht, mit welcher der, der sie übt, die Menschen zum Guten und zum Bösen lenken und durch ihre Phantasie auf ihre Leidenschaft und Thaten wirken kann.”

199 Ibid., p. 16.

200 Ibid., p. 82.

201 Ibid., p. 80.

202 Ibid., pp. 84–94.

203 Ibid., pp. 94–100.

Scherer proposes a sort of typology in order to distinguish between different kinds of ethic poetry: ‘direct’ ideal values are revealed in Gellert’s fables which Scherer detests for openly displaying their pedagogical intention, whilst ‘indirect’ values are presented in Zola’s studies of vice and virtue. In contrast to both, Goethe neglected the ethical function, thereby constituting the role model for today’s poetics. Consequently, Scherer claims, contemporaries should ask if poetry ought to have ethical effects at all. Scherer restricts himself to naming the different worlds poetry might refer to – with or without ethical intention: the outer or physical world, the ethical, psychological or inner world and the third world, which is everything from fantasy to fate. Today, poetry covers aspects similar to science, notes Scherer: ‘The matter of poetry is thus on the whole the same as that of science.’²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, poetry and science are not identical. Poetry does not aim at complete observation or analysis, and as Scherer stressed before: poetry is always a less content-related, but a more structurally ambitious, exercise with the imagination playing a strong part in it.

- (5) Poetics of production.²⁰⁵ As Steinthal recognized, Scherer borrows his general analytical terms from economic thinking – ‘nature, capital, work’ (“Natur, Kapital, Arbeit”)²⁰⁶ but acknowledges some differences between both areas: nature is more or less identical with matter, capital means traditional forms and matters which the poet uses. The work of the poet alludes to the ways in which he makes use of traditions and (poetically) processes experience as well as knowledge. Observing the history of the literary work, Scherer highlights different types: he decisively dismisses the idea of the lonely poet-genius and directs attention to works that result from the division of labour, e.g. collective processes such as Ezzo’s song about the miracles of Christ or *Don Juans Ende* by Paul Heyse, a work which draws on different sources. In addition to this, Scherer points out the difficulties of working procedures and claims that interrupted work is one of the most common contemporary forms.

204 Ibid., p. 139: “Das Stoffgebiet der Poesie ist also im Ganzen dasselbe wie das Stoffgebiet der Wissenschaft.”

205 Ibid., pp. 101–124.

206 Heymann Steinthal: Wilhelm Scherer, Poetik. In: Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft 19 (1889), pp. 87–97, p. 88; Höppner (fn. 21), p. 108.

Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, for instance, originated in different phases and parts. Nevertheless, continuous production is the only guarantee for the unity of the work, a clear and classical value judgement.²⁰⁷ Consequently, 'creative forces of the soul' ("schaffende Seelenkräfte") should be the main area of interest – as Vischer had correctly claimed.²⁰⁸ Following Vischer's advice, it is now Scherer who makes use of various 'empirical' contributions of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie* and defines fantasy as 'reproduction that transforms those who employ it' ("die verwandelnde Reproduktion").²⁰⁹ Yet as Jean Paul, Justinus Kerner and Vischer had previously stressed, the whole process of creating a poetic work is to be seen as a process of fantasy – a claim which takes up Vischer's points. The same is true for Scherer's attempt to explore the physical characteristics of the genius: he follows Vischer's eclectic addition of Plato's childish reflection assuming genius in the liver, Aristotle's idea that it may be discovered in the gall bladder and the association of genius with the melancholic as well as the detection of 'heightened excitability of the nervous system and a very lively fantasy' ("gesteigerte Reizbarkeit des Nervensystems und eine sehr lebhafte Phantasie") in the body of the genius.²¹⁰ And like Vischer, Scherer concludes that these characteristics are not sufficient to define genius; the whole complex of how a poet deals with tradition, how original he is, if he follows his fantasy or his judgement, if he is a professional or a dilettante and his relationship to ethics, needs to play a part in his evaluation.

- (6) Poetics of reception. Scherer's poetics of reception is as complex as his poetics of production. He begins with some observations which might be called group sociology and, going beyond these groups, constructs a kind of average reader in order to explain the phenomenon of reception. This average reader commands 'relishing forces of the soul' ("genießende Seelenkräfte"),²¹¹ analogous to the creative forces of the soul of the poet, of fantasy, taste, reason and judge-

207 Scherer (fn. 179), p. 108: "Das Wünschenswerthe, um die Einheit des Werkes zu erzielen, ist anhaltendes Arbeiten [...]."

208 E.g. Hermann Cohen: Die dichterische Phantasie und der Mechanismus des Bewußtseins. In: *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 6 (1869), pp. 171–263; Scherer (fn. 179), p. 109.

209 Ibid.

210 Scherer (fn. 179), pp. 117 f.

211 Ibid., pp. 124–136.

ment. Yet this approach to the psychology of the reader does not explain why a book is read or even successful. Scherer claims that Fechner's principles, although they are not entirely correct, provide the most helpful account. Furthermore, Scherer directly alludes to the 'principle of being without contradiction' ("Princip der Widerspruchlosigkeit"), the 'principle of clarity' ("Princip der Klarheit")²¹² and the 'principle of aesthetic threshold' ("Prinzip der ästhetischen Schwelle")²¹³ to which he adds 'comprehendability' ("Verständlichkeit") as a requirement for poetry.²¹⁴

Scherer's *Poetik* concludes in a somewhat open-ended manner, providing many fascinating insights into almost every area of poetic theory. Yet, judged according to his own premises, he had formulated so few expectations that he easily fulfilled them in a well-informed, clever manner. Despite his empirical and non-normative intention Scherer's presentations are grounded in clear value judgements deriving from Lessing or 19th-century post-Goethean classicism.

Due to the rich and fragmentary nature of Scherer's *Poetik* its reception was complex. The verdict of positivism that made Scherer 'a negative classicist'²¹⁵ did not hinder colleagues and the public in their appreciation of the work. Astonishingly, the most controversial aspect in the history of the reception of Scherer was his eudaimonistic definition of literature ("dem Vergnügen und der Belehrung") and the ethical account he shared not only with Horace but also with Kant, Herbart, Carriere, Lotze, Fechner, Viehoff and Dilthey. For instance, Heinze and Goette in their *Deutsche Poetik* mention Scherer's plea for joy only in a footnote and with the comment that this was, generally, not to be taken seriously ("schlechterdings nicht ernst zu nehmen").²¹⁶ This quote founded a tradition of reception up until the Nazi-period: Karl Justus Obenauer, one of the leading Nazi Germanists, uses the same quote to degrade Scherer and 19th-century poetics overall. Still, this is only one stream of the reception of Scherer's work. His *Poetik* is cited as one of the most impressive and inspiring accounts not only in Emil Staiger's famous *Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters* (1939)

212 Fechner, *Vorschule* (fn. 2), p. 80, p. 84.

213 Ibid., I, 49.

214 Scherer (fn. 179), p. 131.

215 Martus (fn. 188), p. 15.

216 Heinze/ Goette (fn. 108), p. 17.

but also in Julius Petersen's impressive encyclopaedia *Die Wissenschaft von der Dichtung* (1944).

(d) Evolutionary Poetics: Eugen Wolff (1899)

Eugen Wolff (1863–1929) represented a new generation of scholars who were critical of the Scherer school of thought which, unlike its founding father, limited itself to philology. In turn, Wolff and his partisans were criticized by well-established colleagues who were friendly toward the Scherer-school philologists. For his theoretical ideas, Wolff even faced a challenge to a duel by the slightly older Professor Konrad Burdach (Halle).²¹⁷ As a consequence and despite completing his doctorate on Karl Gotthelf Lessing (Jena 1886) and his 'Habilitation' on Johann Elias Schlegel in Kiel (1889),²¹⁸ Wolff, like many other contemporaries, did not pursue a distinct academic career but established close links to literary circles and became an author himself. Wolff wrote in the spirit of Berlin naturalism, founded the literary circle "Durch" and contributed to journals like the *Akademischen Blätter. Beiträge zur Litteratur-Wissenschaft* (1884 ff), and, as Ernst Elster and Hubert Roetteken would later do, aimed to found an independent discipline which, from the 1880s, became known as 'Literaturwissenschaft'.²¹⁹

Due to Wolff's interest as a literary critic and his attempt to renew poetics, his aim in the *Poetik* (1899) is 'to ground the theory of poetry on a comprehensive history of world poetry'.²²⁰ Although he does not

217 Dorit Müller: "Lufthiebe streibarar Privatdocenten": Kontroversen um die theoretische Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft (1890–1910). In: Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 149–169.

218 Christoph Deupmann: Eugen Wolff. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, CD-Rom.

219 Klaus Weimar: Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Paderborn: Fink 2003, pp. 138 f; on the notion of "Literaturwissenschaft" and the gap between academic as well as literary generations Müller: "Lufthiebe streibarar Privatdocenten". (fn. 217)

220 Eugen Wolff: *Poetik. Die Gesetze der Poesie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung: Ein Grundriß [...]*. Oldenburg, Leipzig: Schulzische Hof-Buchhandlung 1899, V: "Das letzte Ziel meiner Betrachtung muß bleiben, die Theorie der Dichtkunst auf einer umfassenden Geschichte der Weltpoesie aufzubauen [...]."

name Dilthey, Wolff's programme is theoretically close to Dilthey's earlier *Bausteine der Poetik*. They differ in the execution in that Wolff makes use of extensive references to contemporary literature, his book being richer in concrete observations. It is not by mere accident that amongst the preparatory works Wolff not only mentions his *Prolegomena der literar-evolutionistischen Poetik* (1890) but also his essays from the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* (new series, vol. 6, pp. 423 ff) and *Tägliche Rundschau* (autumn 1897).

Like Dilthey, Wolff states that 'poetics is the science of the laws of poetry.'²²¹ He stresses the inductive or empirical method he uses:²²² the 'speculative-dogmatic poetics' ("spekulativ-dogmatische Poetik") of Gottsched and Bodmer/Breitinger, the 'empirical poetics' ("empirische Poetik") of Scherer and the 'psychological-inductive poetics' ("psychologisch-induktive Poetik") of Dilthey – Wolff aims to go beyond their approaches. He calls his account 'poetics concerned with the history of development' ("entwicklungsgeschichtliche Poetik") – a poetics that is not limited to nature (as Scherer's is – misleadingly – said to be) but includes the spiritual world as well. In contrast to Scherer's ideas, Wolff states that he does not simply transfer the term 'Entwicklung' from the natural sciences to spiritual life and that he does not reduce poetry to a 'natural gift' ("Naturgabe") but regards it as a 'gift of culture to humanity' ("Geschenk der Kultur an die Menschheit").²²³ In order to mark the difference between Dilthey's, Scherer's and his own poetics, Wolff claims to refer back to Hegel. Hegel is introduced as the ancestor of Wolff's evolutionary approach – which, of course, renounces Hegel's metaphysical speculation. Contrary to Hegel, the new evolutionary poetics should rather show the empirical 'principle of change' ("Prinzip der Wandlung") that determines the development of poetry.

Consequently, poetry is defined with regard to hypotheses about its development only: poetry has different forms of revelation ("Offenbarungsformen") that should be explored by evolutionary poetics.²²⁴ Yet not all poetry seems to be worth considering. With Paul de Lagarde's harsh racist words, 'peoples without a history are not normal but the re-

221 Ibid., p. 1: "Poetik ist die Wissenschaft von den Gesetzen der Poesie."

222 Ibid., pp. 7–10.

223 Ibid., p. VII.

224 Ibid., p. 20.

sult of an illness,²²⁵ Wolff refuses to deal with their poetry. He limits his analysis to the poetry of the so-called cultured peoples, proposing the following hypotheses of development: early poetry originated through 'deification' ("Vergöttlichung") as can be shown from the episode on Nal and Damajanti in the Indian *Mahabarata*.²²⁶ The next step is 'heroomorphism' ("Heroomorphismus"), heroism as expressed in Shakespeare's *Othello*.²²⁷ 'Physiomorphism' ("Physiomorphismus") followed. As with Kriemhild in the *Nibelungenlied* physical relations illustrate the development from the godlike to the civil.²²⁸ It is only lately that subjectivity and abstraction have come to dominate literature. The psychology of the poet, which is only a summary of psychological poetics, corresponds to this general history.²²⁹

To sum up, poetics not only applies to literary history but also means applied literary history: it takes over the function of a literary encyclopaedia,²³⁰ for instance in Conrad Beyer's voluminous *Deutsche Poetik* (1882–1887).²³¹ Furthermore, according to Wolff, poetics moves decisively towards methodology,²³² a role which had been played by the introductory and theoretical parts of poetics before but is now expanded.

225 Ibid., p. 28: "Ungeschichtliche Völker sind nicht das Normale, sondern die Wirkung einer Krankheit."

226 Ibid., p. 34.

227 Ibid., p. 39.

228 Ibid., p. 47.

229 See *ibid.* (fn. 220), pp. 53–57, pp. 241–250.

230 Weimar: Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft (fn. 219), pp. 146 f.

231 See introduction.

232 Ibid.

7. Comprehensive Poetics

Unsatisfied with the objective tendency of empirical poetics, poetic theory searched for new approaches. Some thinkers found them in the poetic tradition. Hermann Baumgart in his *Handbuch der Poetik* (1887) for instance, revitalised Aristotle's and Lessing's ideas of mimesis (without linking them to rhetoric).¹ Thereby, Baumgart (1843–1926), professor of literary history in Königsberg, hoped to promote the idea of the “unity of artistic imitation” (“*Einheit der künstlerischen Nachahmung*”) in order to provide new guidelines for aesthetic judgement.² Yet this seemed like late 18th-and early 19th-century common sense and did not help ambitious poetics further. Consequently, other thinkers moved in different directions.

Ernst Elster and Hubert Roetteken both reinvented the psychological account, stressing the irrational and subjective element of literature and exchanging Fechner for a new authority: Wilhelm Wundt. Yet they went beyond psychology in that they both discussed formalist topics, their theories resulting in comprehensive though – at least in Elster's case – problematic accounts: Elster combines systematic poetological approaches forming a new normative and emotionalist agenda which is in some part anti-scientific (a). Contrary to him, Roetteken moves back to empirical aesthetics and poetics, reintroduces the notion of pleasure and advocates a vitalist account of poetics (b).

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- 1 Dietmar Till: Poetik a. Grundlagen: ‘Rhetorisierte’ Poetik. In: Rhetorik. Begriff – Geschichte – Internationalität, ed. by Gert Ueding. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2005, pp. 144–151, p. 148.
 - 2 Hermann Baumgart: *Handbuch der Poetik: Eine kritisch-historische Darstellung der Theorie der Dichtkunst*. Stuttgart: Cotta 1887 (Repr. Hildesheim, Zurich, New York 2003), vol. I, p. IV. Karl Tumlirz later opts for a similar theoretical mixture as Baumgart; see K.T.: *Die Sprache der Dichtkunst*. 6th ed. Vienna: Tempsky, Leipzig: Freytag 1919 (1st ed. 1907), p. 7, passim.

(a) On the Way to a New Discipline Called
'Literaturwissenschaft': Ernst Elster (1897)

Ernst August Eduard Jakob Elster (1860–1940) studied jurisprudence, economics and philology at Jena, Berlin and Leipzig Universities (with E. Sievers, W. Scherer and W. Wundt). Although Elster graduated in Leipzig (completing his Doctorate on Lohengrin and his 'Habilitation' on Schiller's *Don Carlos*) he always looked beyond Germany's borders: he became a 'Lektor' in German at Glasgow University, in 1903 he refused the offer of a professorship in London and taught as a guest professor at Cornell University (1914). From 1901 he served as a professor at Marburg University and became its 'Rektor' in 1915/1916.³ Elster was a member of several literary associations as well as of the early Germanist association; his main research areas included modern German literature, Heine, comparative literature⁴ and literary theory, an area which he pushed decisively through his inaugural lecture at Marburg University (*Ueber die Elemente der Poesie und den Begriff des Dramatischen*).

Elster was the first Germanist to prominently adopt the new term 'Literaturwissenschaft' as conceived by the Berlin classicist Oskar Froehde (1869–1916) who, in 1893, and against the 'Altertums- und Geisteswissenschaften,' promoted his own psychology-based discipline called 'Literaturwissenschaft'.⁵ In Elster's publications, 'Literaturwissenschaft' becomes a doctrine of principles. His main book bears the title *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft* (1897/1911) and covers the area

3 Kai Köhler: Elster, Ernst. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York 2002, vol. 1, pp. 430–432.

4 Ernst Elster: Weltliteratur und Literaturvergleichung. In: Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literatur 107 (1901), pp. 33–47; transl. E.E.: World Literature and Comparative Literature (1901). In: Yearbook of comparative and general literature 35 (1986), pp. 7–13.

5 Klaus Weimar: Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts Paderborn: Fink 2003, p. 486; Holger Dainat: Von der Neueren deutschen Literaturgeschichte zur Literaturwissenschaft: Die Fachentwicklung 1890 bis 1913/14. In: Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik im 19. Jahrhundert, ed. by Jürgen Fohrmann and Wilhelm Voßkamp. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 1994, pp. 494–537; Gregor Streim: Introspektionen des Schöpferischen: Literaturwissenschaft und Experimentalpsychologie am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Das Projekt der 'empirisch-induktiven' Poetik. In: Scientia Poetica 7 (2003), pp. 148–170, pp. 148 f.

which was formerly called 'Poetik'.⁶ Taking into account the emotional and normative views Elster introduces into the area, it is not by mere accident that current research is sceptical of Elster's approach: Klaus Weimar calls it 'a pure failure' ("ein[en] reine[n] Fehlschlag")⁷ which fulfils the function of a 'prescriptive methodology' only.⁸

In his *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft* (1897/1911) Elster proclaims the unification of the different, often one-sided, methods and views of literature in order to develop a comprehensive 'Literaturwissenschaft' and to explore the whole area of 'Literaturforschung', a task not previously attempted, or indeed conceived of.⁹ As the key for such a unifying project, Elster recommends Wundt's experimental version of modern psychology. It should help firstly, to analyse the different aspects of poetic thought, secondly, to provide sharp definitions of concepts and thirdly, to explore literature without one-sidedness. Although this approach is reminiscent of empirical poetics, Elster stresses the differences: his focus is on the history of literature which his 'Literaturwissenschaft' should support through a richness of examples and the implicit rejection of Dilthey's idea that poetics should serve as a logic of the humanities.¹⁰

Yet the order and content of Elster's two volumes is not that new; they present an enlarged, more or less historical poetics with astonishing anti-scientific inclinations. To begin with, Elster announces an irrational 'Weltanschauung', the aesthetical worldview, implicitly referring to Viehoff's concept of the emotive measurement ("Gefühlswert") and Dilthey's notion of life: the aesthetical worldview should stand in the middle of 'Literaturwissenschaft' and outline 'the emotive measurements of life' ("die Gefühlswerte des Lebens"),¹¹ presupposing that its object, that is literature, expresses 'powerful, innermost life' ("kräftige[s] innere[s] Leben").¹²

Elster's definition of literature follows from this premise: 'Literaturwissenschaft' should consider every text which attracts "strong and meaningful emotions" ("starke und bedeutsame Gefühle") and which

6 Weimar: Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft (fn. 5), pp. 146 f.

7 Ibid., p. 145.

8 Ibid., p. 147.

9 Ernst Elster: *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft*. Halle a.d. S.: Niemeyer 1897, vol. 1, p. 1.

10 Ibid., p. 5.

11 Ibid., p. 15.

12 Ibid., p. 37.

functions largely through its form¹³ – like Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation* and Alexander von Humboldt's *Kosmos*. Even if the main area of competence remains poetry, the 'Literaturwissenschaftler' is to further develop a method which not only helps him to analyse poetry but also the types of texts mentioned. Elster calls this new method 'to-sensing' ("Anempfinden"). His example is Gretchen from Goethe's *Faust*: a criminologist would deal with her case considering it in terms of seduction; the 'Literaturwissenschaftler' should focus on her feelings. What sounds like an innovative approach, which includes different texts and not only 'high literature', is bought at a high price through a method which seems to be insufficient and restricted to Elster's emotional aesthetic worldview.

Yet the 'poetical norms' ("poetische Normen") Elster wishes to apply to literature implicitly quote from Fechner's principles and from Dilthey; if not, they underline Elster's normative and irrational point of view:¹⁴ firstly, the 'norm of poetic importance and meaning' ("Norm der poetischen Bedeutsamkeit") which means that literature needs to evoke emotional results from life, secondly, the 'norm of the novelty of the content of emotion' ("Norm der Neuheit des Gefühlsinhaltes") which condemns the emergence of epigons, thirdly, the 'norm of diversification and enhancement of contrasts' ("Norm der Abwechslung und der Kontraststeigerung"), e. g. Schiller who illustrated Wallenstein's character by contrasting him with Max, fourthly, the 'norm of the harmonious content of emotion' ("Norm der Harmonie des Gefühlsinhaltes"), fifthly, the norm of the poetic tuning of emotion ("Norm der poetischen Abtönung der Gefühle") in favour of the poetic depiction, sixthly, the norm of the topical, national and popular content ("Norm des zeitgemässen, nationalen und volkstümlichen Gehaltes") as represented in Goethe's *Iphigenie*, seventhly, the 'norm of the truth of life' ("Norm der Lebenswahrheit") which advocates an adequate presentation of historical circumstances, eighthly, the 'norm of the actual content of life' ("Norm des konkreten Lebensgehaltes") which rejects abstract and scientific digressions, ninthly, the 'norm of moral perception' ("Norm der moralischen Anschauung") which requires a fixed ethical standpoint on the part of the poet and leads to the disregard of Heine and tenthly, the 'norm of the unity of poetic shapes' ("Norm

13 Ibid., p. 17.

14 Ibid., pp. 55–73.

der Einheit der poetischen Gebilde”) which refers back to Aristotle’s poetic principles of a unity of space and time.

Yet in order not to downgrade Elster’s, in part, innovative approach, it needs to be stressed that his approach to the poet is up-to-date as far as the works mentioned are concerned. Elster polemically (and unfairly) rejects all explanations of poetic fantasy: Vischer is said to fail because of his metaphysical speculations,¹⁵ Carl Lemcke is also condemned because of his lack of logic. Scherer is presented like a theoretical idiot who had no clue about literature, the poet and his driving force which is fantasy.¹⁶ Ignoring the whole half-popular literature on fantasy that was published after Dilthey,¹⁷ Elster derives his definition of fantasy from Wundt:¹⁸

‘Imagination means to think in images, a process which is directed by a unifying idea – the key motif – that usually appears involuntarily; it is then supported by the potency of association.’¹⁹

This is an interesting definition which highlights the closeness of fantasy and thinking, (re)introduces the notion of the image and has a considerable impact on future poetics.

Consequently, Elster’s chapter on aesthetical concepts develops Wundt’s definition further. Separating subjective aesthetical concepts (e.g. the naïve) from objective aesthetical concepts (e.g. the comic and humour) and aesthetical apperception, Elster explores what, from today’s perspective, could be called mind mapping through cognitive metaphors. According to him, it is apperception which enables us to objectify individual experience without committing the mistake of abstraction.

Another innovative aspect in Elster’s *Prinzipien* is to be found in his view of style to which he dedicates the whole second volume. Even if the normative framework of his book is problematic, it allows for an understanding of style simply as the ‘relation of the poet to the content of

15 Ibid., p. 77.

16 Ibid., p. 84.

17 See for instance Max Darnbacher: *Vom Wesen der Dichterphantasie*. Stettin: Norddeutscher Verlag für Literatur und Kunst 1921.

18 See Wilhelm Wundt: *Ueber die Definition der Psychologie*. In: *Philosophische Studien* 12 (1896), pp. 1–66, p. 23.

19 Elster 1897 (fn. 4), p. 93: “Die Phantasie ist ein Denken in Bildern, geregelt durch eine meist unwillkürlich (durch die ‘Konzeption’) gewonnene, eine Einheit schaffende Gesamtvorstellung, das Grundmotiv, und im einzelnen reichlich unterstützt durch die Wirksamkeit der Association.”

life' ("Verhältnis des Dichters zu dem Stoff des Lebens")²⁰ which revitalises a theory of style that focused on form only. A similar argument is true for Elster's psychological explanation of types of writing which go beyond strict genres – and which later have some effect on genre theory as well: the pathetic, the Satiric, the tragic and the comic are derived from our psychic needs. They are 'typical forms' ("typische Formen") of our fantasy and stimulate our feelings to a high degree.²¹ Roetteken, appreciating the new impulse given by Elster, aims to espouse a productive rationalization of his emotive doctrines.

(b) Back to Poetics: Hubert Roetteken (1902/1924)

Hubert Roetteken (1860–1935) studied in Heidelberg, Berlin and Straßburg. He received both his 'venia legendi' as well as his professorship for history of German literature at Würzburg University, his research spanning from Hartmann von Aue to Heinrich von Kleist. Beyond his historical works, the title of Roetteken's theoretical master piece *Poetik. Erster Theil: Vorbemerkungen. Allgemeine Analyse der psychischen Vorgänge beim Genuß einer Dichtung* already calls for attention. Building on Elster, Roetteken, who is not convinced by 'Literaturwissenschaft', reinvents the term 'Poetik'. In addition to this, he subscribes not to Elster's normative account, but to the older notion of pleasure – introduced by empirical aesthetics and poetics, his focus being on questions of the reception of literature. The result is a systematic and open-minded, critical, eclectic, funny and lively up-to-date poetics.

Unlike Elster, Roetteken's goal is to serve both the practical interest of the literary historian, and the scholar who is interested in poetics as a logic of the humanities.²² For both purposes he refers to psychology, in this case an inspiring eclectic mixture of Fechner, Wundt, Hermann Ebbinghaus (*Grundzüge der Psychologie*, 1902), Oswald Külpe (*Grundriß der experimentellen Psychologie*), Lipps' contributions to the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*, the controversial debate about Karl Lamprecht's analysis of

20 Ibid., p. 45.

21 Ibid., pp. 238 f.

22 Hubert Roetteken: *Poetik. Erster Teil: Vorbemerkungen. Allgemeine Analyse der psychischen Vorgänge beim Genuß einer Dichtung*. Munich: Beck 1902, pp. 1 f. The second part of the *Poetik* originated from the same premises see Roetteken: *Aus der speziellen Poetik*. Leipzig, Vienna: Fromme 1924 (Special print from the periodical "Euphorion", vol. 25), p. 3.

psychological factors in history²³ and the ongoing discussion under the heading of experimental or psychological aesthetics, for instance the psychologist Karl Marbe's (1869–1953) critique of Elster.²⁴

Marbe argued that the analysis of the psychological is of no use to the literary critic and attacks Elster's notion of "Anempfinden". Against this critique, Roetteken defends psychology and claims that poetics should not stop with a purely instinctive understanding of the psyche only. Nevertheless, Roetteken shows a certain sympathy for the instincts and provides a more refined version of Elster's emotionalist account: Roetteken omits the term "Anempfinden" and stresses 're-experiencing' ("Nacherleben") – which had to some extent already been conceived by Vischer, Scherer and Wundt²⁵ – as a way to understand psychological life, positively referring to Simmel *Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie* and Hermann Ebbinghaus (*Grundzüge der Psychologie*)²⁶ and distancing himself from Lamprecht's typological approach: whilst Lamprecht explores psychological types and typical experiences, Roetteken argues in favour of individual 're-experiencing'.²⁷ He gives two reasons for his defence of individuality: firstly, the vital account of history and literature is to be preserved. 'The historian should not be a studious hermit' – a ballroom may be an ideal field of study for him.²⁸ Secondly, Roetteken includes what Foucault later termed the 'blind spot' of the scholar: 'Every human being has in fact its psychology or at least fragments of such a psychology and it also inevitably breathes

23 Karl Lamprecht: *Alte und neue Richtungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft*. Berlin: Gaertner 1896; K.L.: *Die historische Methode des Herrn von Below*. Berlin: Gaertner 1899; K.L.: *Die Kulturhistorische Methode*. Berlin: Gaertner 1900.

24 Karl Marbe: [rev.] Ernst Elster, *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft*. Erster Band. Halle 1897. In: *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie* 1898, pp. 327–343; Streim (fn. 7), pp. 165 f.

25 Gregor Streim: *Introspektion des Schöpferischen: Literaturwissenschaft und Experimentalpsychologie am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Das Projekt der 'empirisch-induktiven' Poetik. In: *Scientia Poetica* 7 (2003), pp. 148–170, pp. 158 f.

26 Cf. Hermann Ebbinghaus: *Grundzüge der Psychologie*. 1st to 3rd ed., ed. by Ernst Dürr. Leipzig: Veit & Comp. 1913, vol. 2, pp. 232–262; Roetteken 1902 (fn. 22), pp. 19 f.

27 Roetteken 1902 (fn. 22), pp. 14–16.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 22 f: "Der Historiker soll kein Stubengelehrter sein, ein Ballsaal kann unter Umständen ein vortreffliches Studienfeld für ihn abgeben."

down the neck of the literary historian when he begins to work.’²⁹ The term “Nacherleben” therefore signals that one should refrain from the idea that interpretation could shed all individual conditioning and interests.³⁰

Yet in order to explain his notion of “Nacherleben”, Roetteken focuses on method and the requirement of objectivity: he proposes a two-step interpretation. All interpretation should begin with examining details in the context of the whole. But in a second step, one should objectify the results as far as possible, ameliorate the observations and strive for a complete interpretation. As poetics asks for a substrate of objectified results, every poetician should use the method of comparison, overlook all different historical periods and works but order them according to their similarities, to features they have in common and that could lead to, or answer, poetological questions. For this purpose, Roetteken develops a sophisticated doctrine of types: the notion of type does not refer to an average set of characteristics; it is a category that relies on quantity and individuality. Roetteken focused on ‘typical cases’ (“typische Fälle”), the perpetually recurring core of individual cases.³¹ Referring to the examples of lyric poetry, Roetteken takes up Goethe’s notion of the symbol which Roetteken considers to have been misused by many aestheticians. Johannes Volkelt in his *System der Ästhetik* (1904), for instance, expands on different non-Goethean, yet inspiring, types of the symbol in which he grounds his notions of ‘simple and symbolic empathy’ (“einfache und symbolische Einfühlung”).³²

It fits into the general picture that Roetteken does not provide a systematic definition of poetry but an analytic one: firstly, poetry consists of language and sounds, a feature Scherer mentioned before.³³ Secondly, language mediates meaning and meaning refers to external objects or in-

29 Ibid., p. 25: “So hat tatsächlich jeder Mensch seine Psychologie, oder wenigstens Bruchstücke einer solchen, und auch dem Litterarhistoriker sitzt sie, wenn er an seine Arbeit geht, unabwerfbar im Nacken.”

30 As a consequence, the concept of “Nacherleben” cannot be identified with the traditional ‘uninterested pleasure’ (“interesselose Wohlgefallen”) as Streim suggested (fn. 25), p. 169. Roetteken’s “Nacherleben” is never uninterested.

31 Roetteken 1924 (fn. 22), p. 25.

32 Johannes Volkelt: *System der Ästhetik*. vol. 1: *Grundlegung der Ästhetik*. 2nd, rev. ed. Munich: Beck 1926, pp. 204–208.

33 Roetteken 1902 (fn. 22), pp. 40–42. In this context, Roetteken criticizes Scherer for having also included arts like ballet into his analysis. Roetteken rather adheres to texts.

cidents. This definition provokes the question of reception which lies at the heart of Roetteken's approach: how to understand this meaning?

According to Roetteken, every human being has a desire to capture what he or she does not understand. Poetry often offers difficult aesthetical precepts that we aim at exploring with the help of our psychological abilities, for instance, fantasy. Referring to Fechner (2nd vol. of *Elemente der Psychophysik*) and his funny example of the fat Hamlet rejected in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*,³⁴ Roetteken concludes that a literary text does not provide exact meanings but evokes impressions and emotions in the reader. In order to characterize this process, Karl Groos introduces the term 'inner imitation' ("innere Nachahmung")³⁵ and Wundt observes the variety of 'images of memory' ("Erinnerungsbilder") in human beings: taste, smell, pressure and temperature could be felt in entirely different ways if they are felt at all.³⁶ Roetteken alleviates Wundt's radical judgement:³⁷ images of memory are possible and more likely to be intersubjective if they are initiated by clear objects or concepts.

Yet Wundt has a point. Our memory and attention are not only affected in different ways but also by different objects, the reason for this being likes and dislikes.³⁸ Yet memory and attention will both be processed in the same way: through what Roetteken terms fusion/ amalgamation ("Einschmelzung"), a further development of Robert Vischer's 'sensing' ("Einfühlung") and Volkelt's 'merging' ("Verschmelzung"). "Einschmelzung" means that the immense mass of emotions, impressions ('associative factors'/'assoziative Faktoren') and sensations ('direct factors'/'direkte Faktoren') deriving from a literary text will lose their characteristics and be combined into something new.³⁹ The aesthetical value of the result will be felt through pleasure and displeasure: in the joy that is so necessary for our lives.⁴⁰

34 Ibid., p. 53: "Wie Wilhelm Meister gelegentlich der Hamletaufführung auf die Stelle hinweist, wo Hamlet fett und kurz von Atem genannt wird, antwortet ihm Aurelie: Sie verderben mir die Imagination! Weg mit ihrem fetten Hamlet!"

35 Karl Groos: *Die Spiele der Menschen*. Jena: Fischer 1899, p. 423; Roetteken 1902 (fn. 22), p. 66.

36 Wilhelm Wundt: *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*. 6th ed. Leipzig: Engelmann 1908, vol. 1, p. 45, p. 406.

37 Roetteken 1902 (fn. 22), pp. 70 f.

38 Ibid., p. 94.

39 Ibid., pp. 174–193.

40 Ibid., p. 270.

Roetteken's practical, as well as theoretical, poetics provides a refined and rational approach to psychological poetics with a focus on interpretation. Still, contemporaries felt that too much psychologism was represented in it. 'Geisteswissenschaftliche' poetics responded to this criticism.

8. Poetics and “Geisteswissenschaft”

In 1887, the young Dilthey contributed remarkably to the development of an empirical poetics: he recommended poetics as a general science for the humanities. Only two decades later, this function which he had intended for poetics became the focus of a new project often perceived as being detached from Dilthey's previous account. An anonymous author published an extensive book called *Grundriß einer Methodologie der Geisteswissenschaften mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Poetik* (1908).¹ In this book, the author reformulates Dilthey's aim in a particularly metaphysical way, declaring poetics to be the basis of “Geisteswissenschaft” (‘intellectual history’, ‘history of ideas’).

Following the approach of contemporary “Geisteswissenschaft” and growing anti-psychologism,² the anonymous author conceives poetics as an oppositum to the natural sciences and radically positions it against psychologism. He assumes that aesthetics cannot unite all three arts. Every art form requires a different theoretical setting. This conviction is explained with regard to poetics. Stating a regulative ‘axiom’ (or ‘dogma’) that should govern research, the anonymous author adheres to the triadic order of dialectics: his axiom means that dualism is always reconciled in a third element.³ He finds his dialectic solution in Fichte's monism (the only existing subject is the I; the non-I is but a function of the I) as well as in Schelling. According to Schelling (and the anonymous author); lyric poetry is seen as the ‘non-Self’ (“Nicht-Selbst”)

1 Anon.: *Grundriß einer Methodologie der Geisteswissenschaften mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Poetik*. Vienna: Manz 1908.

2 The best accounts of these developments are to be found in Matthias Rath: *Der Psychologismustreit in der Philosophie*. Freiburg i. Br., Munich: Alber 1994; Martin Kusch: *Psychologism: A case study on the sociology of philosophical knowledge*. London: Routledge 1995. Still, Stefano Poggi identifies sources earlier than Kusch and dates the anti-psychologist argument back to the Hegelian Johann Eduard Erdmann (1860 s); Stefano Poggi: *Am Beginn des Psychologismustreites in der deutschen Philosophie: Psychologie und Logik bei den Herbartianern*. In: *Herbarts Kultursystem: Perspektiven der Transdisziplinarität im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Andreas Hoeschen, Lothar Schneider. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 2001, pp. 135–148.

3 Anon.: *Grundriß* (fn. 1), p. 10.

and as ‘unfathomable reality’ (“unergründliche Realität”) in contrast to the epic (the ideal and identic I).⁴

Although the anonymous author is a little eccentric, his ‘method’ comprises all the key features of “geisteswissenschaftliche” poetics and can therefore contribute to a better contextualisation of Dilthey’s own, so-called ‘late’ approach – which is, in fact, not much different from the one he conceived earlier. Under the heading of “Geisteswissenschaft”, even Dilthey himself is said to have turned away from his early empirical interests in poetics, although he simply transferred to the study of literature what he had already developed for the study of philosophy.⁵ With the publication of Dilthey’s *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (1906), Paul Kluckhohn praises the triumph of “Geisteswissenschaft” over other methods in the emerging literary science⁶ – a judgement that expresses the feeling of the “Geisteswissenschaftler”. Through his attempts, Dilthey is said to enhance the methodological state of the humanities, to ‘scientificate’ the humanities and to increase their relevance for the general public. Yet Dilthey is not simply the founder of the “geisteswissenschaftliche” approach in poetics, but still a philosopher interested in empirical developments.⁷ The “geisteswissenschaftliche” picture of Dilthey might have been caused by the fact that so little of his work was available on the general book market; in turn, *Das Erlebnis*

4 Ibid., p. 34.

5 Ulrich Herrmann: Materialien und Bemerkungen über die Konzeption und die Kategorien der “Geistesgeschichte” bei Wilhelm Dilthey. In: Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, ed. by Christoph König and Eberhard Lämmert, Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1993, pp. 46–57.

6 See Paul Kluckhohn: Geistesgeschichte. In: Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte. 2nd ed. vol. 3. Berlin: de Gruyter 1958 p. 538; Manon Maren-Grisebach: Methoden der Literaturwissenschaft. 10th ed. Tübingen: Francke 1970, p. 23.

7 Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller: Konstruierte Ahnen: Forschungsprogramme und ihre ‘Vorläufer’. Dargestellt am Beispiel des Verhältnisses der geistesgeschichtlichen Literaturwissenschaft zu Wilhelm Dilthey. In: Literaturwissenschaft und Wissenschaftsforschung. DFG-Symposium 1998, ed. by Jörg Schönert. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2000, pp. 150–173; Hans Harald Müller: Die Lebendigen und die Untoten: Lassen sich Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Wissenschaftskonzeptionen als ‘Kontroversen’ rekonstruieren? Am Beispiel von Positivismus und Geistesgeschichte. In: Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern et al.: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 171–182. See also the previous chapter on Dilthey in this book.

und die Dichtung and the small volume of his printed work complicated the appraisal of Dilthey’s fragmented writings.⁸

Beyond Dilthey and his reception as a “Geisteswissenschaftler”, contemporaries and even advocates of “Geisteswissenschaft” such as Karl Viëtor (1892–1951) attacked the typical “geisteswissenschaftliche” lack of clear concepts and programmes as ‘a final flaring of a senile idealism’ (“das letzte Aufflackern eines senilen Idealismus”).⁹ Indeed, Hegel and his idealist contemporaries had already provided historiography with a vague notion of ‘Geist’. Whereas Hegel’s philosophy of history illustrates how the ‘absolute spirit’ is the origin and the result of all history, 19th-century historiographic accounts in his tradition limited themselves to the reconstruction of philosophical schools or concepts, and as such were attacked by Nietzsche for being ‘historicist’. It is only after Nietzsche that a new generation of “Geisteswissenschaftler” emerged who claimed to differ from their ancestors.

In literary studies, the core phase of this ‘new’ “Geisteswissenschaft” spanned the years from around 1905 to the 1930s. It began with Wilhelm Dilthey’s second book on poetological questions in 1906, produced impressive and comprehensive programmatic opera such as Friedrich Gundolf’s *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist vor dem Auftreten Lessings* (1911)¹⁰ and ended – strictly speaking – with Emil Staiger’s turn towards interpretation and his polemics against the notion of experience, which had been used until then as one of the main concepts of “Geist-

8 Paying particular attention to the American reception of Dilthey in this context Gerhard Masur: Wilhelm Dilthey and the History of Ideas. In: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13 (1952) 1, pp. 94–107; see also Tobias Bube: Wilhelm Dilthey und die Engländer: Die poetisch-historische Verhinderung eines interkulturellen Transfers von gesellschaftlicher Urteilskraft. In: *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 28 (2002), pp. 139–183.

9 Karl Viëtor: Deutsche Literaturgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte. In: *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 60 (1945), pp. 899–916; Max Wehrli: Was ist/ war Geistesgeschichte? In: *Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, ed. by Christoph König and Eberhard Lämmert. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1993, pp. 23–37, p. 23.

10 On Gundolf, who cannot be considered here as he did not write a poetological treatise – Ernst Osterkamp: Friedrich Gundolf (1880–1931). In: *Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik in Porträts*, ed. by Christoph König, Hans-Harald Müller and Werner Röske. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2000, 162–175.

eswissenschaft".¹¹ Therefore, the intellectual approach in literary science has often been deemed convincing from only a negative point of view: "Geisteswissenschaft" opposed contemporary trends, which can be labelled as positivism, empiricism and psychologism. As a consequence, "Geisteswissenschaft" thrived on the ideas supported by anti-positivist, anti-empiricist and anti-psychologist movements: the notion of experience as mentioned above, the concepts of spirit, life and narrative structures that give the impression of coherence. In his insightful article on Rudolf Unger's introduction to *Hamann und die Aufklärung* (1925; ²1963), Klaus Weimar closely examines these narrative structures; he shows how metaphors of vegetation and vitalist and teleological visions shape the procedural outlook which "Geisteswissenschaft" favours.¹²

Yet it would be too harsh a judgement and even false to reduce "Geisteswissenschaft" to vague notions and the problematic use of narrative structures. "Geisteswissenschaft" had a point when criticising psychologism for committing a naturalistic fallacy. Although the accusation of psychologism was ubiquitously used in the first half of the 20th century,¹³ the accusers rightly revealed a methodological problem. Psychological aesthetics and poetics such as the early Dilthey's or Müller-Freienfels' derived aesthetic norms from natural properties of man. To some extent and in different ways, they reduced the perception of literature to physical or psychological reactions of their readers.

It is to Rainer Kolk's credit to have explored the 'double chances' made possible by "Geisteswissenschaft": he claims that "Geisteswissenschaft" offered not only formulas for scientific self-reflection, but also the ethical orientation required after Nietzschean attacks on bourgeois ethics and Christianity.¹⁴ Despite "Geisteswissenschaft" being heterogeneous, it seems to have helped the humanities to regain an understanding of themselves, the methods which they could use to solve the crises

11 I borrow the final date of this periodisation from Max Wehrli: *Was ist/ war Geistesgeschichte?* (fn. 9) p. 29.

12 Klaus Weimar: *Das Muster geistesgeschichtlicher Darstellung: Rudolf Unger's Einleitung zu "Hamann und die Aufklärung"*. In: *Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, ed. by Christoph König and Eberhard Lämmert (fn. 5), pp. 92–105.

13 See the number of accusers and the variety of arguments against psychologism in Kusch (fn. 2), p. 99, pp. 101–121.

14 Rainer Kolk: *Reflexionsformel und Ethikangebot: Zum Beitrag von Max Wehrli*. In: *Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, ed. by Christoph König and Eberhard Lämmert (fn. 5), pp. 38–45.

they faced when confronted with 19th-century positivism. Even if the concept of “Geisteswissenschaft” remained unclear, it promoted the idea of reshaping the humanities. In addition to that, the ethical element helped to stress the value of this methodological and reflexive attempt. In the course of the revaluation of all values “Geisteswissenschaft” re-established the value relevance of ‘Bildung’: of education in its most ethical sense.

Referring to Kolk’s observation, the following chapter will contest the assumption that the “geisteswissenschaftliche” approach in literary science did not provide anything but intellectual dust, covering the fact that history is neither governed by ‘Geist’, nor developing teleologically. The heritage of “Geisteswissenschaft” has still, to this day, not been sufficiently assessed. This fact supports the hope that one may find clear silhouettes in the dark “geisteswissenschaftliche” fog. In order to shed some more light on this darkened subject, I will consider the methodological basis of “Geisteswissenschaft”: Dilthey’s famous writing *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* serves as a starting point (a). Thus, I will argue that, in poetics, “Geisteswissenschaft” not only promoted the methodological relevance of epistemology (b), but also helped to rediscover ancient aesthetic concepts, thereby leading towards a new structural literary science (c). Furthermore, “Geisteswissenschaft” often addressed issues which take into account the ‘whole’ human being and aimed at speculative combinations of anthropology with typologies of literature (d).

(a) Renewed Historical Poetics: Wilhelm Dilthey (1906)

The preface dedicates *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (1906) to the memory of Hermann Usener (1834–1905), a childhood-friend of Dilthey’s.¹⁵ Usener was a professor at the universities of Greifswald and Bonn, and a specialist in ancient history as well as religion. Although the dedication may signal a new stage of reflection, the book is not so much a turning point as a step back toward psychology, and forth toward “Geistesgeschichte” at the same time. The introduction of *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* transforms Dilthey’s old ideas in order to legitimize his key concept of experience in a new way. What is more: the

15 Wilhelm Dilthey: *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*. 16th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1985, p. [5].

introduction serves as a framework for texts, which Dilthey had published in the 1860s and 70s.¹⁶ It follows that the texts, all of which were revised marginally, were conceived in order to provide examples for Dilthey's first stage of poetological reflection: for his empirical poetics.¹⁷ Taking this context into account, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* appears in a new light. It can no longer be read as heralding the dawn of a new poetics or as a founding document for the "geisteswissenschaftliche" approach. Rather, one ought to carefully observe the programme which Dilthey indicates in his introduction and to what extent it differs from his previous approach.

According to the new Dilthey, literature is shaped by the 'genius of nations' ("Genie der Nationen") as well as by individuals.¹⁸ Therefore, literature develops 'in typical steps' ("in typischen Stufen").¹⁹ Focusing on German poetry and on some European texts as well, Dilthey calls the first step the determination of the 'common spirit' ("Gemeingeist").²⁰ Political and military communities expand their culture by telling, or writing about, myths, the lives of heroes or reporting on the culture's typical actions and characters. The second step comprises a 'summary of the whole hitherto development' ("Zusammenfassung der ganzen bisherigen Entwicklung") in knightly lyrics and epics, e.g. in French narrative art, Wolfram's *Parzival*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and Dante's *Commedia divina*.²¹ Alluding to Hegel's descriptions and terms, the medieval spirit, according to Dilthey, is 'objectified' in epics: the poet's fantasy is dominated by the society's spirit and its limited horizon;²² 'fantasy creates typically and conventionally'.²³

The third step, the 'period of great art of fantasy' ("Epoche der großen Phantasiekunst") spans from the 14th to the middle of the 17th century.²⁴ It is the period of Petrarca, Lope de Vega, Cervantes, and Shake-

16 Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller: *Konstruierte Ahnen* (fn. 7), pp. 156 f.

17 Ibid., p. 157.

18 Dilthey: *Das Erlebnis* (fn. 15), p. 7.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.: "[...] derselbe allgemeine Geist, der sich in dieser Welt objektiviert hatte, faßt sie nun in der Form der Epik auf." / 'that general mind which had objectified itself in this world, now captures it in epic form.'

23 Ibid., p. 8: "Die Phantasie schafft typisch und konventionell." / 'Fantasy creates typically as well as conventionally.'

24 Ibid.: "Aus den Lebensbezügen selber, aus der Lebenserfahrung, die in ihnen entsteht, unternahm sie [die Poesie] es einen Bedeutungszusammenhang aufzu-

speare, an era that is characterised by a new dynamic: the destruction of the theological system and the rise of the modern sciences. According to Dilthey, poetry from this point on begins to focus on life and experience. Poets manage to free themselves from history and tradition; they no longer imitate the ancient role models ('imitatio veterum') but rather compose. The individual depicts itself as the 'alter deus' and frees its imagination from a higher being for the benefit of beautiful verse and exciting dramas.

The fourth step surpasses the third. In the 18th century, reason becomes an autonomous principle with truth as its goal. Mathematics, the explanation 'more geometrico', is the method which governs new thinking and inspires the regulation of language, rules of style and also the taste in poetics. This combination of new thoughts and aims leads to a 'new type of poetry' ("neuer Typus der Dichtung").²⁵ Literature becomes an instrument for social movements, for law and solidarity, guided by the new moral idea of perfectibility.²⁶ Drama (in particular comedy), and poetry (in particular the didactic poem), observe the morals and the social structures of the time and provide in-depth studies of psychology, biography and individual development.²⁷ Yet they express individual feelings only in the form of universal emotions. In short: the 'reality sense' ("Wirklichkeitssinn") of the Enlightenment changes the experience of the poets, who in turn modify their attitude toward the objects and genres of poetry.²⁸ Astonishingly, Hölderlin is introduced as representative of such a highly developed poetry. This is an original step which draws on Dilthey's early study on Hölderlin.²⁹

bauen, in dem man den Rhythmus und die Melodie des Lebens vernähme." / 'From references to life themselves, from lived experience, which develops in such references, poetry began to configure a context and connectivity of meanings, in which one was to sense the rhythm and the melody of life.'

25 Dilthey: *Das Erlebnis* (fn. 15), p. 14.

26 On perfectibility see Walter Sparr: *Perfektibilität: Protestantische Identität "nach der Aufklärung"*. In: *Theologie und Aufklärung. Festschrift für Gottfried Hornig*, ed. by Wolfgang E. Müller and Hartmut H.R. Schulz. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1992, pp. 339–357.

27 Dilthey: *Das Erlebnis* (fn. 15), p. 17.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 15 f.

29 Wilhelm Hoffner [Wilhelm Dilthey]: *Hölderlin und die Ursachen seines Wahnsinnes*. In: *Westermanns Monatshefte* 22 (1867), pp. 15–165; Walter Müller-Seidel: *Dilthey's Rehabilitierung Hölderlins: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Betrachtung*. In: *Hölderlin und die Moderne: Eine Bestandsauf-*

In the case of *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, the development of poetics follows a certain formula: progress of mind leads to a new poetry. This formula, however, is conceived by Dilthey with the express intention of not encroaching Hegel's philosophy of history and his school of thought. According to Dilthey, events of mind, in contrast to Hegel, have to be observed in individual ways. It is still the concept of experience (related to the notion of 'life')³⁰ that seems to indicate a layer underlying intellectual history which characterises Dilthey's new approach. In addition to that, Dilthey does not adopt the traditional dialectic trias of historical developments as executed by Hegel. Dilthey aims at a more historical or realistic point of view, although he – like the history of philosophy – seems to argue in favour of a teleological order of history: Dilthey suggests that his four steps show a unilinear progress towards experience, universality and autonomous art, signaling the highest degree of cultivation.

To conclude, Dilthey's *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* continues his earlier poetological studies on the imagination, not only by compiling a selection of older articles but also by drawing on his psychological approach. Yet the new book does not show the same enthusiasm for a scientification of poetics and for an empirical poetics as the older study. In addition to this, the book provides the reader with a more developed historiographical account which borrows considerably from Hegel. In short, when comparing *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters* and *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, a shift in focus from psychology to philosophy of history and not a general change of mind can be observed. It is this later stage of Dilthey's reflections which inspires Emil Ermatinger's manifold account of literary theory. In addition to this, Dilthey's approaches become summarized under the heading 'Dilthey School' and provide the founding theories for one of the most important journals in German, the *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* (1923 ff).³¹

nahme, ed. by Gerhard Kurz, Valérie Lawitschka and Jürgen Wertheimer. Tübingen: Attempto 1995, pp. 41–73.

- 30 On this complex and ambiguous notion see Werner Stegmaier: *Philosophie der Fluktuanz. Dilthey und Nietzsche*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1992 (Neue Studien zur Philosophie 4), p. 166.
- 31 Christoph König: *Individualität, Autonomie, Originalität. Zur Rezeption Diltheys in den ersten Jahren der "Deutschen Vierteljahrsschrift"*. In: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 2 (1993), pp. 197–220.

(b) On the Way to Epistemological Poetics:
Emil Ermatinger (1921)

Das dichterische Kunstwerk (1921, ²1923, ³1939) relies on Dilthey's concept of experience – a tradition attacked by Emil Staiger, Ermatinger's successor at Zurich University who received his predecessor's chair despite the latter's protest.³² Still, Ermatinger was one of the most influential literary scholars in the 20th-century German-speaking countries and beyond.³³ He studied classics, history, philosophy, pedagogy and German at Zurich and Berlin Universities and was awarded his first professorship at Zurich University in 1909. As an active scientist and politician of science he contributed to many grand projects in the humanities – for instance to the monumental “Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen” with its 20 volumes on the classical period edited by Ermatinger from 1932 to 1936. The opus was headed by Heinz Kindermann, one of the most prominent Nazi-Germanists; Ermatinger himself did not refrain from his editorship during the Nazi period. On the contrary, he revised his theoretical chef d'oeuvre *Das dichterische Kunstwerk* so that its third edition contains anti-semitic attacks on Alfred Döblin. Despite this anti-semitism Ermatinger acted as a guest professor at Columbia University, New York (1939) and between 1939 and 1945 he was a member of the Swiss-American Society for Cultural Relations.

In *Das dichterische Kunstwerk*, Ermatinger proposes an original reformulation of a double sided poetics: a poetics with a historical-philological, as well as a “geisteswissenschaftliche”, side. He criticizes poetics in which only one of these approaches is executed, polemically stating that historical-philological poetics is only confirming facts, whilst “geisteswissenschaftliche” poetics renounces historical examination. Ermatinger wishes to mediate between both, reconstructing poetry in a way that is inspired by the history of philosophy, the concept of inner form and the notion of experience. This notion is justified by epistemological scepticism in the most astonishing manner.

Ermatinger is one of the first thinkers to introduce epistemological scepticism into poetics. He holds the view that we do not know reality as such. The world is always a creation of the individual; therefore, po-

32 See below.

33 Julian Schütt: Ermatinger, Emil. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 1, pp. 448 f.

etological attention needs to consider the creative individual with its diverging forces (illustrated with the help of Faust and Mephistopheles, the forces of good and evil). In addition to this, experience comes into play. Experience does not mean artistic experience as Hippolyte Taine understands it. Taine uses the concept of 'milieu' in order to explain the experience of the poet through his biographical context. Arguing against Taine, Ermatinger states that it would be 'more beneficial' ("ersprießlicher") to talk about the quarrel of the ego with the world.³⁴ Therefore, he distinguishes the 'experience of thoughts' ("Gedankenerlebnis"), the 'experience of matter' ("Stofferlebnis"), and – as a synthesis of the 'experience of thoughts' and the 'experience of matter' – the 'experience of form' ("Formerlebnis").³⁵

Ermatinger explains the 'experience of thoughts' as the mental standpoint of the ego: it covers the development of a poet's world view, its essence and problems as well as different types of world views. In contrast to the 'experience of thoughts', the 'experience of matter' means the perception of the world by the poet: the finding of matter for poetry, the essence of matter, the tradition of matters in literature and the fruitfulness of a peculiar matter.³⁶ In order to unite both types, the 'experience of form' is directed towards the inner form: 'The inner form of a work of poetry is a soulful life [...]',³⁷ states Ermatinger and combines formal with psychological study. He tries to overcome the distinction between form and content by outlining the fact that inner and outer forms influence each other so that they differ only in some minor respects.

At this point, the "geisteswissenschaftliche" part of Ermatinger's approach can be deciphered: behind every work of art lie 'universally recognized, eternal values' ("allgemeingültige, ewige Werte"),³⁸ the essence of all experience. They especially shape the 'experience of form' as it is form that conveys and illustrates inner values. Therefore, experience and its values differ as far as form, especially genre, is concerned. Lyric poetry for instance is not marked by cognitive coherence and operates

34 Emil Ermatinger: *Das dichterische Kunstwerk: Grundbegriff der Urteilsbildung in der Literaturgeschichte*. Leipzig, 2nd ed. Berlin: Teubner 1923, p. 29.

35 Ibid., p. 49.

36 Ibid., p. 138.

37 Ibid., p. 206: "Die innere Form des Dichtwerkes ist ein seelisches Leben [...]" / 'The inner form of the work of poetry is an inner life'

38 Ermatinger (fn. 34), p. 59.

beyond space and time. It only knows the here and now; the experience and the values lyric poetry fosters are limited to the subjective.³⁹

Considering these differences of genre, a work of literature can be characterised by its 'expressiveness' ("Anschaulichkeit").⁴⁰ Ermatinger incorporates Theodor A. Meyer's polemics against a poetics of expressiveness into his own account by misunderstanding Meyer as well as the theories Meyer criticises: in Ermatinger's work, expressiveness becomes the general notion for the 'individual psychic atmosphere' ("individuelle seelische Atmosphäre") of a work of literature.⁴¹ Yet 'expressiveness' also refers in fact to more abstract aspects, to ideas and thoughts that do not shape the individuality of a work but 'objectify' its meaning. The reason for Ermatinger's misunderstanding of Meyer is to be found in Ermatinger's main aim: he wishes to investigate types and laws of experience in order to explore the resulting psychic atmosphere in a literary work.

Despite this misunderstanding, Ermatinger's theoretical reflections soon acquired prominence, especially in Switzerland. One of the most enthusiastic documents of reception is Ernst Georg Wolff's *Ästhetik der Dichtkunst* (1944). It was not by mere accident that his *Ästhetik der Dichtkunst* was judged by Max Wehrli to be 'overburdened'.⁴² Wolff (1883–1962), a writer, composer and aesthete, attempts to develop a new systematic aesthetics on an epistemological basis. However, he is so fascinated by Heidegger's terminology and style that it is difficult even to understand his theory. Wolff wishes to provide a new basis for the judgement and critique of poetry. Therefore, he starts with general observations on epistemology and it is in this context that he mentions Ermatinger as his chief witness. Ermatinger becomes a role model for the combination of epistemology and aesthetics. He is said to be the first thinker to have espoused an 'epistemologically grounded aesthetics' ("erkenntnistheoretisch fundierte Ästhetik").⁴³

Wolff is right in this respect: Ermatinger indeed introduces epistemological scepticism to poetics. What is later seen as a traditional, ideal-

39 Ibid., p. 171.

40 Ibid., p. 210.

41 Ibid.

42 Max Wehrli: *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft*. Bern: Francke 1951, 2nd ed. 1969 (*Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte; Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe 3*), p. 42.

43 Ernst Georg Wolff: *Ästhetik der Dichtkunst: Systematik auf erkenntnistheoretischer Grundlage*. Zurich: Schulthess & Co. 1944, p. V.

ist, unmodern approach had been highly innovative when it was first conceived. This clash of judgements originates in the *Dichterische Kunstwerk* itself: Ermatinger does not manage to adjust his work to new requirements. He continues to judge modern poetry from the idealist point of view, discovers a new idealism in expressionism and sets up a canon of those poets closest to idealism (or expressionist idealism). This canon comprises the works of Christian Morgenstern, Richard Dehmel, Georg Trakl, Stefan George and Rainer Maria Rilke and shapes 'Swiss' histories of literature until Robert Faesi (1883–1972) and Emil Staiger (1908–1987). Such histories encountered their first opponent in Ermatinger's student Walter Muschg (1898–1965). Muschg's approach reads like an antithesis to Ermatinger and Faesi.⁴⁴ In contrast to these late attacks, Oskar Walzel, as well as Wolff, testifies to the innovative quality of Ermatinger's theory.

(c) Bi-polar Poetic Formalism: Oskar Walzel (1926)

Ermatinger's notion of inner form lives on in Walzel's theoretical work which dominates his second academic phase: Walzel (1864–1944) studied German in Vienna and Berlin with the philologist Jacob Minor as well as with Wilhelm Dilthey. After some historical work on Friedrich Schlegel (Dr phil) and Lessing (Habilitation), he was offered a professorship in Bern (1897). In 1907 his theoretical phase began with a calling to Dresden University where Walzel held a professorship for history of literature and art. A professorship at Bonn University (1921) as well as lectures in Russia, England and Italy formed the fruits of his theoretical achievements.⁴⁵

At this time, various honours and academy memberships were conferred on Walzel. Today, he is especially famous for small range con-

44 André Bucher: Zur Rezeption der klassischen Moderne in der Schweizer Germanistik: Untersuchungen zu Ermatinger, Faesi, Muschg und Staiger. In: Schreiben gegen die Moderne. Beiträge zu einer kritischen Fachgeschichte der Germanistik in der Schweiz, ed. by Corina Caduff and Michael Gamper. Zurich: Chronos 2001, pp. 65–83.

45 Peter Gossens: Walzel, Oskar. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 1, pp. 1980–1983.

cepts such as the 'lyric I' or 'experienced speech' ("erlebte Rede").⁴⁶ However, his larger theoretical works are on the verge of rediscovery. These works are based on two premises: firstly, the work of poetry has a being in its own right (as other works of art); a text should not be reduced to a mere tool for the exploration of something else.⁴⁷ Secondly, Walzel opts for a world view typical for his era: he expresses doubts about 'the negativity of materialism' which is inspired by the natural sciences and pleads for a new optimism.⁴⁸

Both premises are reflected in Walzel's major theoretical works: *Gehalt und Gestalt* (1923) and *Das Wortkunstwerk*. The first of these focuses on a single topic: the relation of content and form in a work of art. In contrast to this, the second book deals with a variety of poetological aspects. Nevertheless, it is intended as a 'coherent work' ("geschlossenes Ganzes") that should not replace, but rather complement, current poetics.⁴⁹ It programmatically deals with the so-called 'artwork of words' ("Wortkunstwerk").⁵⁰ Its meaning is best expressed in the chapter "Das Wesen des dichterischen Kunstwerks" (1924) which reexamines the problem of *Gehalt und Gestalt*.

Concerning the question of the relation of content and form, Walzel calls his approach an 'approach to poetry informed by the history of ideas' ("ideengeschichtliche Betrachtung von Dichtung").⁵¹ The history of ideas was the 'Aschenbrödl' in literary research; now, it is said to be glorified in many works. In Walzel's case, ideas are to be identified with the vision of the poet conceiving a work. This vision is – Walzel argues against Plotinus (*The Beautiful* I 6, 1) – not identical with content or with the work of art in total.⁵² On the contrary, the vision can be en-

46 Klaus Weimar: Oskar Walzels Selbstmißverständnisse. In: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistenverbandes 53 (2006), pp. 40–58, p. 44.

47 Ibid., p. 44.

48 Oskar Walzel: *Das Wortkunstwerk: Mittel seiner Erforschung*. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer 1926, p. XIV: "über die Verneinung des naturwissenschaftlichen Materialismus zu einem neuen bejahenden Weltbild zu gelangen." / 'to come to a new, positive, affirmative world view by means of a negation of scientific materialism'

49 Ibid., p. XIII.

50 Ibid., p. XII.

51 Ibid., p. VII.

52 Walzel: *Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerk des Dichters*. 2nd ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1957 (*Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*; 1st ed. 1923 ff), p. 154. In the relevant chapter, Plotinus indeed focuses on form and rejects the idea that ideas as such are beautiful.

tirely different from its result. Therefore, Walzel distinguishes between content, form and the work of art in total. Content means ‘the thoughtful’ (“das Gedankliche”), recognising, will and – astonishingly – the feeling represented in a work of art.⁵³ It emanates from form (“Gestalt”). In a close reading of Walzel Klaus Weimar shows that “Gestalt” is almost identical with the notion of text, given the fact that “Gestalt” refers to all the sensual aspects of a poetic presentation.⁵⁴

This reading, although text-centered and plausible, proves to be ahistorical. Situating Walzel in the vast context of 19th- and early 20th-century poetics, his thought ought rather to be judged as faithful to tradition, prolific and innovative. Walzel’s thought arises from a critique of two poetological traditions. Firstly, he attacks formalism which he – more or less correctly – identifies with Theodor Lipps⁵⁵ as well as with Johannes Volkelt who is (correctly) said to have restricted the notion of form to the surface of a work of art, only in order to be able to distinguish between form and content.⁵⁶ Secondly, Walzel highlights the key problem of an aesthetics of content which – according to Walzel – originates in Plotinus’ work and is taken up by Ermatinger. The key problem of Plotinus’ and Ermatinger’s aesthetics is said to be the focus on content and the neglect of form. Only a productive reception of Plotinus such as Goethe’s unfolds the meaning of the aesthetic of content, especially of Plotinus’ valuable notion of inner form. Walzel – like George, Gundolf and Robert Boehringer⁵⁷ – claims that it was Goethe who discovered that every “Gestalt” requires a particular “Gehalt”.⁵⁸

In contrast to both approaches, the formalist as well as the content-related one, Walzel associates himself with Herbart and Robert Zimmermann in a rich historical survey which seems to have been informed by the long tradition of organological thinking beyond Goethe and the ongoing popularity of the “Gestalt”-concept in the work of Carl Gustav

53 Walzel: *Das Wortkunstwerk* (fn. 48), pp. 101 f.

54 Weimar: Oskar Walzels Selbstmißverständnisse (fn. 46), p. 56.

55 Theodor Lipps: *Ästhetik, Psychologie des Schönen und der Kunst*. Hamburg, Leipzig: Voss 1903 ff, p. 2, pp. 95 f; Oskar Walzel: *Gehalt und Gestalt* (fn. 52), p. 144.

56 Johannes Volkelt: *System der Ästhetik*. Munich: Beck 1905, vol. 1, p. 392; Walzel: *Gehalt und Gestalt* (fn. 52), p. 145.

57 See Gunilla Eschenbach: *Imitation und Parodie in George-Kreis* (Ts.).

58 Walzel: *Gehalt und Gestalt* (fn. 52), pp. 157 f.

Carus, Ernst Mach and Christian von Ehrenfels.⁵⁹ Walzel defends Herbart and Zimmermann against Vischer who judged Herbart and Zimmermann to be limited formalists.⁶⁰ It is unclear to which aspects of their works Walzel is alluding; it might well be Herbart's and Zimmermann's historical, rather than their formalist interests. Walzel aims at a new and self-reflexive solution to the problem of content and form. Hence, he concludes his survey as follows: firstly, the problem of "Gehalt" and "Gestalt" should be seen from a historical perspective. A work of art can only be interpreted adequately if one knows about the contemporary positions concerning this central aesthetic problem. Only then will it become clear what the author wishes to express in his work and how he wishes to be understood. Secondly, the historicising of the problem of form and content admits the theoretical double bind of the problem itself. Historicising the problem means to accept both positions. Walzel opts for a 'bi-polarity' ("Zweipoligkeit") of poetological theory.⁶¹

It is this 'bi-polarity' that guarantees Walzel a place in contemporary German poetics.⁶² The reception of his works began shortly after their publication and was closely interwoven with the reception of Husserl and Ingarden. Like Walzel, both these scholars asked how to analyse the structures of an autonomous work of art such as a work of poetry. In his doctoral thesis Hans Achim Ploetz (*1911) who graduated with Eduard Spranger and Julius Petersen from Friedrich-Wilhelms-Univer-

59 Kevin Mulligan and Barry Smith: *Mach and Ehrenfels: The Foundation of Gestalt Theory*, ed. by Barry Smith. Munich, Vienna: Philosophia 1988; Walter Gebhard: *Die Erblast des 19. Jahrhunderts: Organismuskurs zwischen Goethes Morphologie und Nietzsches Lebensbegriff*. In: *Faszination des Organischen. Konjunktoren einer Kategorie der Moderne*, ed. by Hartmut Egger, Erhard Schütz and Peter Sprengel. Munich: Iudicium-Verl. 1995, pp. 13–36; Annette Simonis: *Gestalttheorie von Goethe bis Benjamin: Diskursgeschichte einer deutschen Denkfigur*. Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau 2001 (Kölner Germanistische Studien NF 2), pp. 201–204; Philip Ajouri: *Anfänge der Gestaltpsychologie bei Christian von Ehrenfels und Ernst Mach*. In: *Scientia Poetica* 11 (2007), pp. 122–136.

60 Walzel: *Gehalt und Gestalt* (fn. 52), p. 148.

61 Ibid.

62 The Russian reception was far broader. Already in 1922 a selection of Walzel's essays had been translated into Russian; following this edition Walzel became an adored formalist; Alexander Nebrig: *Walzel und die 'Ausdrucks-kunst': Der Formdiskurs in Philologie und Avantgarde*. In: *Geschichte der Germanistik. Mitteilungen* 31/32 (2007), pp. 42–50, p. 47.

sity Berlin, documents this common interest. Ploetz's *Die Theorie der Dichtung* (1936) highlights the fact that Ermatinger, Spoerri, Walzel and Ingarden answered the same question: what constitutes a literary work? Furthermore, through the analysis of the work as such, they distance themselves from Scherer: It is not the genesis of the work or the conditions of its production but rather its structure, which is of poetological interest. As Walzel explains, it is not the 'becoming' ("Werden") of the literary work, rather the work itself ought 'to be grasped in its emergence' ("als Erscheinung zu fassen").⁶³ Despite this inspiring statement, Walzel's notion of 'bi-polarity' does not solve the problem of how to grasp the poetic work. Ploetz criticizes Walzel's notion as a problematic a priori construction, which prevents the reader from observing the structure of the literary work.⁶⁴

Through Ploetz's eyes, Walzel becomes a Pre-Ingardenian. It was only Ingarden who, according to Ploetz and others, provided helpful methodological reflections and tools: the structural analysis of language, genre and style. The work of another little known thinker called Hermann Hefele tends toward a similar direction, however, Ingarden was yet to appear on the poetological scene.

(d) Typological Poetics and the Relevance of the Creative: Hermann Hefele (1923)

Hefele (1885–1936) was the son of a Catholic cleric and a Professor of history at Braunsberg academy. His contributions cover a wide range of topics (history and culture of the middle ages as well as the Renaissance) and through their engaging style show him to be a scholar used to addressing a wider audience. He appears to have been a kind of Catholic Friedrich Gundolf. Among Hefele's books, *Zur Psychologie der Etappe* (1918), *Das Gesetz der Form* (1919), *Literatur und Dichtung* (1922) and mainly *Das Wesen der Dichtung* (1923) shall be discussed here.

Das Wesen der Dichtung stands as a striking example of an approach which inherits much from "Geisteswissenschaft". Already in the opening words of the book Hefele states: 'The question about the essence of

63 Walzel: *Gehalt und Gestalt* (fn. 52), p. 6; Hans Achim Ploetz: *Die Theorie der Dichtung: Kritische Beiträge zur gegenwärtigen Poetik*. Inaug. PhD-thesis, Friedrich-Wilhelms-University Berlin. Berlin: Tritsch & Huther 1936, p. 7.

64 Ploetz (fn. 63), p. 9.

poetry is only a partial problem within the larger context of all Geisteswissenschaft and its definition.⁶⁵ Therefore, Hefe­le aims to give neither philological, nor historical, explanations. On the contrary, he perceives poetry as ‘history in an elevated sense’ (“Geschichte im höheren Sinn”).⁶⁶ Various references to Gundolf and the early work of Heidegger (before *Being and Time*) illustrate Hefe­le’s idea. Literature, for example, is regarded as ‘individual expression of the creative personality’.⁶⁷ Consequently, Hefe­le conceives of poetry as an area of human practice that involves a certain degree of inspiration, fantasy, genius, or irrationality, a point of view particularly popular at the time. But Hefe­le also differs from Gundolf’s popular approach; Hefe­le confesses himself to be a devoted Catholic rationalist, with strong ties to the Italian Renaissance – different to the liberal Gundolf who sympathised with English literature.

As is typical for a “Geisteswissenschaftler”, Hefe­le’s method is syn­thetical and both rational, as well as intuitive. Through this double sided account he criticizes other, more limited methods: historicism, as well as positivism. His own account, he claims, will not fall into these traps. On the contrary, it will select the essential aspects of poetry: Hefe­le aims at understanding the ‘poetic creating itself’ (“dichterische[] Schaffen[] selbst”). Therefore, he intends to exclude contingency and ‘irrelevance’ (“Belanglosigkeit”), e.g. remarks on the poet’s biographic life. Hefe­le focuses on the ‘governing rules’ (“Gesetzmäßigkeit”) or ‘customary processes inherent in such creations’ (“Typik des Verlaufs”).⁶⁸ The resulting methodological concept is formal: the literary work stands by itself, ready for eternity. ‘The complete(d) body of poetics’ (“der fertige Körper der Dichtung”) denies the process of its creation. Such a poetic artefact consists of an artistic language that is derived from every-day language but refined. As a consequence, Hefe­le opposes a “Geisteswissenschaft” which ignores the formalist features of poetry, picking up the fashionable polemics against the aesthetics of expressiveness (“Anschaulichkeit”).⁶⁹

65 Hermann Hefe­le: *Das Wesen der Dichtung*. Stuttgart: Fr. Fromanns (H. Kurtz) 1923, p. 9: “Die Frage nach dem Wesen der Dichtung ist nur ein Teilproblem aus dem großen Komplex aller Geisteswissenschaft und ihrer Begründung.”

66 Ibid., p. 10.

67 Ibid.: “individuale[r] Ausdruck der schöpferischen Persönlichkeit”.

68 Ibid., pp. 15 f.

69 See Sandra Richter: *Anschaulichkeit vs. Sprachlichkeit. Ein paradigmatischer Scheingegensatz in Poetik und Ästhetik* (ca. 1850 bis 1950). In: *Konzert und*

Yet contradicting his own premises, Hefele, through formal analysis, is mainly interested in the process of creation. He adheres to the heroism of his time, inspired by Nietzsche and others. Like many other scholars, for instance Herbert Cysarz,⁷⁰ Hefele intends to develop a psychological typology of the spiritual; he presents two mental types: 'the romantic man' ("der romantische Mensch") focuses on subjectivity and perceives the whole cosmos as a mirror of the self, whereas 'the classic man' ("der klassische Mensch") is inclined toward the objective, toward eternal laws that are independent of the individual human being.⁷¹ Both types are said to be 'basic forms of all political and cultural life' ("Grundformen alles politischen und kulturellen Lebens").⁷² As such they contribute to the depicting of pure ideas in characteristic genres and literary tendencies. Hefele's poetics is obviously governed by an underlying Platonism combined with contemporary physical thinking, a feature that becomes apparent with Hefele's examination of the 'creative force' ("schöpferische Kraft").⁷³ It is said to transform the perceived or experienced outside world in a form given by the 'womb of its very own (and innermost) idea' ("Mutterleib der eigenen Idee").⁷⁴ Plato's ideas are incorporated into a physical creation.

It goes without saying that though Hefele's poetics only seldom transcends the level of speculation, it makes for a pleasant read, but reduces various aspects to highly generalised and restrictive statements. His explanation of lyric poetry serves as an example. According to Hefele, lyric poetry 'occurs in the sphere of experience that originates in the body and the bodily' ("geschieht in der Erlebnisform des Körpers und des Körperhaften");⁷⁵ the 'will to the body' ("Wille zum Körper") represents the 'inner form' of lyric poetry.⁷⁶ Its 'organ' ("Organ") is the sense of taste, its content and form is intense self-sufficient individual

Konkurrenz: Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert, ed. by Oliver Huck, Sandra Richter and Christian Scholl. Hildesheim [in print].

70 On the intellectual trend toward typological notions in the 1920s; Hans Epstein: *Die Metaphysizierung in der literaturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung und ihre Folgen*. Dargelegt an drei Theorien über das Literaturbarock. PhD-thesis, Frankfurt a. M.: Eberlin 1929.

71 Hefele (fn. 65), p. 47.

72 Ibid., p. 47.

73 Ibid., pp. 79 f.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., p. 143.

76 Hefele (fn. 65), p. 175. – Hefele makes use of the Plotin notion of 'inner form', thereby opting for a broad meaning of form and content.

experience – not extensive objective perceptions or public experience.⁷⁷ Although Hefe­le opts for a rather broad understanding of form and content, this depiction obviously leads to a restrictive comprehension of lyric poetry and of the other genres as well. Once again, lyric poetry is limited to subjectivity – as it had been in the whole “geistesgeschichtliche” tradition Hefe­le criticizes.

He is not able to escape the Hegel and Vischer tradition – be it in genre theory or with regard to the more general question of creation. Although Hefe­le tries to propose a new method in order to investigate creation, the result is nothing but speculation – speculation that is astonishingly not derived from the analysis of poetic works but, again, from generalisation. Hefe­le claims that all poetic analysis should lead to one ultimate goal: to discover the meaning of ‘the creative’ and its effect. It is not by mere accident that he suddenly focuses on the effect: The highest value, meaning and purpose of poetry is to depict the ‘spiritual conscience of the community, people and humanity’ (“ideelles Bewußtsein der Gemeinschaft, Volk und Menschheit”).⁷⁸ Thus Hefe­le’s work points in entirely new directions which have not much in common with the polemics he relies on: the polemics against all kinds of context-driven accounts of literary work, as expressed by Theodor A. Meyer.

77 Ibid., pp. 143 f.

78 Ibid., pp. 233 f.

9. The Turn Towards Language: Theodor A. Meyer (1901)

Language had already been one of the main interests of the late 18th century.¹ In the 19th century, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Heymann Steinthal and others managed to place language at the centre of intellectual debates, an achievement which finds its expression in extensive works such as Gustav Gerber's *Die Sprache als Kunst* (1885), in Nietzsche's theory of metaphors, in part quoted from Gerber,² and in the philosophy of language or early linguistics.³ Inspired by this general interest in language, the question of how to perceive literature was raised anew. In his work, Wilhelm von Humboldt claims that poetry means 'art through language',⁴ and Johannes Minckwitz (1812–1885), a private scholar in Greek, Latin and German Literature and a writer himself, in his *Katechismus der Deutschen Poetik* (1868), is the first thinker to coin the term 'art-work of language' ("Sprachkunstwerk").⁵ In the poetological context,

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- 1 This chapter is – in part – a translation of the longer contribution by Sandra Richter: *Anschaulichkeit vs. Sprachlichkeit: Ein paradigmatischer Scheingegensatz in Poetik und Ästhetik* (ca. 1850 bis 1950). In: *Konzert und Konkurrenz. Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Oliver Huck, Sandra Richter and Christian Scholl. Hildesheim [in print].
 - 2 Anthonie Meijers: *Gustav Gerber und Friedrich Nietzsche: Zum historischen Hintergrund der sprachphilosophischen Auffassung des frühen Nietzsche*. In: *Nietzsche-Studien* 17 (1988), pp. 369–390; Anthonie Meijers and Martin Stingelin: *Konkordanz zu den wörtlichen Abschriften und Übernahmen von Beispielen und Zitaten aus Gustav Gerber: Die Sprache als Kunst* (Bromberg 1871) in *Nietzsches Rhetorik-Vorlesung* und in "Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinne". In: *Nietzsche-Studien* 17 (1988), pp. 350–368.
 - 3 See the prominent lectures edited by Ferdinand de Saussure, Charles Bally, Albert Secheh Riedlinger: *Cours de linguistique générale*. Lausanne, Paris: Payot 1916.
 - 4 Wilhelm von Humboldt: *Schriften zur Altertumskunde und Ästhetik: Die Vasken*, ed. by Andreas Flitner and Klaus Giel. 5th ed. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges. 2002, (5 vols.), p. 173 (II, 159): "Die Poesie ist die *Kunst* durch *Sprache* [...]."/ 'Poetry is art through language.' [Italics in the original].
 - 5 Johannes Minckwitz: *Katechismus der Deutschen Poetik*. Leipzig: Weber 1868, 1. Chapter.

the term originates in the differentiation of the arts. Lessing, Hegel, Schelling and others describe the privileged material of the poet as the ‘most subtle, spiritual and liquid matter that exists’.⁶ Such material knows no limits other than those of the human mind itself.⁷

Minckwitz’s formulation represents an early form of a poetological approach which became famous around 1900: the claim that “Sprachlichkeit” (a direct translation would be the awkward noun ‘linguisticness’) constitutes the key feature of literature as developed in Theodor Alexander Meyer’s *Das Stilgesetz der Poesie* (1901). Meyer became one of Vischer’s successors as chair of language and literature at the Technical University Stuttgart,⁸ after he had directly attacked Vischer. In Meyer’s view, Vischer’s work represents an ‘aesthetics of expressiveness’; Meyer, instead, claims to provide a new account of literature and to institutionalize his opinions where ‘expressiveness’ once governed.

At the same time, Roetteken critically discussed Wilhelm Scherer’s holistic concept of poetry, opting for an examination of poetic language.⁹ In 1907 the Jewish-German philosopher Jonas Cohn, a colleague of Wilhelm Wundt (1892–1894) and later a Neo-Kantian, officially subscribed to “Sprachlichkeit” in the *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*.¹⁰ The reflections on “Sprachlichkeit” soon became canonized in Rudolf Lehmann’s *Deutscher Poetik* (1908); they persisted until the 1950s and 60s – with considerable modifications.¹¹ As some of these accounts of “Sprachlichkeit” will be covered in the following chapters this chapter focuses on Meyer.

6 Johannes Minckwitz: *Katechismus der Deutschen Poetik*. 2nd augm. and corr. ed. Leipzig: Weber 1877, p. 8: “der feinste, geistigste und flüssigste Stoff, den es giebt [...]”

7 Ibid., p. 15.

8 See Alexander Reck: Meyer, Theodor Alexander. In: *Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950*, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 1, pp. 1220 f.

9 See chapter 6.

10 Jonas Cohn: Die Anschaulichkeit der dichterischen Sprache. In: *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1909), pp. 182–201; on Cohn Stefan Nachtsheim: Lage und Aufgabe der zeitgenössischen Kunst in der Kulturphilosophie Jonas Cohns. In: *Ideengeschichte und Kunstwissenschaft: Philosophie und bildende Kunst im Kaiserreich*, ed. by Ekkehard Mai and Stephan Waetzoldt. Berlin: Mann 1983, pp. 153–170.

11 See chapter 6; Gerhard Storz: *Sprache und Dichtung*. Munich: Kösel 1957, pp. 24–26; Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer: *Poetik als sprachtheoretisches Problem*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1967 (Studien zur deutschen Literatur 8).

Meyer's position is to some extent derived from Lessing, Steinthal,¹² Fechner and Wundt – not in order to recommend psychologism as the ideal method of interpretation, but rather the contrary: in order to restrict its role in the interpretation of literature.¹³ Meyer concentrates on Vischer's notion of 'inner symbols' ("innere Sinnbilder") in order to highlight his own non-psychological account: firstly, not all human beings dispose of the competence to generate such images; secondly – as Wundt showed – symbols are always unclear and subjective.¹⁴ To conclude, Meyer holds the view that the interpretation of poetry neither can nor should, use (and indeed ought not to use) the notion of 'expressiveness' as it goes hand in hand with the problematic idea of symbols.¹⁵ In drawing this rigid conclusion, Meyer presupposes that ambiguity and vagueness are to be banned from the interpretation of poetry. Firstly, poetry does not need 'perceptions' because the reader can trust in the author's ability to depict a certain content. Secondly, poetry must not turn into an esoteric art, relying on talent only accessible to the few and automatically leading to isolated experiences of art.

In addition to this, Meyer recalls Lessing's doctrine of poetry as 'successive art': it is only step by step that poetry produces a picture of the whole; words have to be connected, sentences to be understood. A view which privileges 'expressiveness' would be inclined to think little of such a form of art. The poet, according to Meyer's conclusion, has a

12 See Bernhard Klöckener: Theodor A. Meyers "Stilgesetz der Poesie" und der ästhetische Diskurs der Jahrhundertwende. In: *Poetica* 29 (1997), pp. 270–305, pp. 58 f, pp. 275–277. In the "Stilgesetz" see also Käte Hamburger: Theodor A. Meyers Sprachtheorie der Dichtung. In: *Probleme der Moderne: Studien zur deutschen Literatur von Nietzsche bis Brecht*. Festschrift für Walter Sokel, ed. by Benjamin Bennett, Anton Kaes and William J. Lillyman. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1983, pp. 183–195.

13 Previous research claimed that Meyer's main opponent was naturalism; see Gottfried Willems: *Anschaulichkeit: Zur Theorie und Geschichte der Wort-Bild-Beziehungen und des literarischen Darstellungsstils*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1989 (*Studien zur deutschen Literatur* 103), p. 345.

14 Theodor A. Meyer: *Das Stilgesetz der Poesie*. Leipzig: Hirzel 1901, pp. 50 f. It is not by mere accident that the "Stilgesetz" came to the attention of Wolfgang Iser, see Iser: *Vorwort*. In: Theodor A. Meyer. *Das Stilgesetz der Poesie*. Mit einem Vorwort von Wolfgang Iser. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1990, pp. 13–20.

15 Roetteken gives a somewhat different account to Wundt's theory of images. According to him, Wundt has shown that images have a certain continuity and intersubjectivity – a view that coincides with Wundt: *Grundriss der Psychologie*. 15th ed. Leipzig: Kröner 1922 (1st ed. 1896), pp. 107 f.

command of language only if he can trust that language does not attract inner images.¹⁶ Language is expected to extinguish the inner image, to summarize and shorten it, and it is only then that language suits the poetic purpose.

Consequently, poetry is seen as an ‘art of linguistic dissimulation’ (“Kunst der sprachlichen Verstellung”), as an art which modifies its objects and their relations.¹⁷ This art does not allow one to refer back to reality. In poetry, reality vanishes entirely. Therefore, it is only the text which deserves interpretation. Methodological asceticism – or the polemical notion “Werkimmanenz” – is the motto of Meyer’s *Stilgesetz*.¹⁸ His work advocates a focus on the text and its linguistic material only, a more or less formalist view of literature which declares intersubjectivity, clearness and comparability to be its main criteria.¹⁹ The exclusion of ‘obscuritas’ becomes a turning point in the history of poetics:²⁰ it legitimises the attack on ‘expressiveness’ and the new approach of “Sprachlichkeit”. Bearing in mind this context, Meyer claims to have erased the ‘mythologems of the aestheticists of perception/expression’ (“Mythologeme[] der Anschauungsästhetiker”).²¹

Still, compared with the approaches of the poetics of expressiveness, Meyer’s critique encounters difficulties in finding subjects of application. Even Vischer, when mentioning ‘inner images’, polemicized against a simplifying account of images in poetics. In addition to this, he – like Meyer – stressed Lessing’s old doctrine of successiveness. Actually, there are only two differences between Meyer’s and Vischer’s po-

16 Meyer (fn. 14), p. 56: “[...] wenn er sich darauf verlassen kann, dass mit der Sprache kein Reiz zum innern Sehen verbunden ist.” / ‘if he can rely on language not entailing an impulse for a form of inner seeing’.

17 Ibid., p. 57.

18 On “Werkimmanenz” and the methodological problems of the notion see Lutz Danneberg: *Zur Theorie der werkimmanenten Interpretation*. In: *Zeitenwechsel. Germanistische Literaturwissenschaft vor und nach 1945*, ed. by Wilfried Barner and Christoph König. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1996, pp. 313–342.

19 On formalism in interpretation see Dieter Burdorf: *Poetik der Form: Eine Begriffs- und Problemgeschichte*. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2001; see also Hans-Harald Müller: *Zur Genealogie der werkimmanenten Interpretation*. In: *Konzert und Konkurrenz. Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert*, (fn. 1).

20 On ‘obscuritas’ Carlos Spoerhase: *Die ‘Dunkelheit’ der Dichtung als Herausforderung der Philologie*. In: *Konzert und Konkurrenz: Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert*, (fn. 1).

21 Meyer (fn. 14), p. 57.

sitions:²² firstly, Vischer does recognize the role of language in poetry but only to a minor extent. Secondly, Vischer trusts in the productive approach of the reader who, when reading a poetic work, starts to reflect and think on his own.

Despite Meyer's misleading interpretation of Vischer, contemporaries received the *Stilgesetz* in a most enthusiastic way. Max Dessoir, one of the most engaged representatives of the general science of art, stylized Meyer's thesis, calling it 'the ascendant truth of the future' ("Kronprinzen-Wahrheit, der die Zukunft gehört").²³ The reason for such enthusiasm might have been the fact that Meyer met the expectations of his age: language had indeed been neglected by poetics although it had received enormous attention in philosophy and in modern literature. It is not by mere accident that 'art of language' ("Sprachkunst") became one of the most famous literary notions of the first decade of the 20th century, supported by treatises such as Fritz Mauthner's *Beiträgen zur Kritik der Sprache* (I, 1901) and literary writings by Karl Kraus (*Die Sprache ist das Material des literarischen Künstlers*, 19/1/1909 in his *Aphorismen*),²⁴ Josef Weinheber and other poets.²⁵

Still, the formalist approach in poetics as presented in the *Stilgesetz* remains only one amongst a multitude of plausible accounts of literature which appeared around and after 1900. Wolfgang Iser has questioned why this is the case and provides a simple answer. He refers to the inconsistencies of the "Stilgesetz" itself:²⁶ Iser has a point. Indeed, Meyer is criticized for underestimating the productive role of images, and the formalist camp itself, especially Roetteken, stands as one of the best examples for this criticism.²⁷ Yet it might also be the dominance of other approaches which hindered recognition of an undercurrent of a formalism. Formalism survived only to some extent: continued talk of the 'art-

22 Compare with the chapter on Vischer.

23 Max Dessoir: *Die Anschaulichkeit der Sprache*. In: *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 1 (1906), pp. 353–368, p. 366.

24 Friedrich Jenacek: Josef Weinheber: "Notturmo". *Anmerkungen zu Leistung und Grenzen des Literaturpädagogen Johannes Pfeiffer*. In: *Jahrbuch des Wiener Goethe-Vereins* 86–88 (1982–1984), pp. 361–385, p. 363.

25 Jenacek (fn. 24), p. 373; See the announced paper Wilhelm Kühlmann: "Schuldig sein und auch – gerichtet". Ein Versuch zum 'Fall Josef Weinheber'. In: *Die Schuldfrage. Untersuchungen zur geistigen Situation der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit* [in print].

26 Iser (fn. 14).

27 Roetteken: *Aus der speziellen Poetik*. Leipzig, Vienna: Fromme 1924 (Special print from the periodical "Euphorion", vol. 25), p. 5.

work of words' or 'language' alluded, if not to Meyer, then to the general trend of putting the literary work at the centre of the analysis, a trend that is most polemically expressed in the *Stilgesetz*.

In German poetics, this formalist approach is embedded in all sorts of so-called methods. Before Hefele and Walzel, Lehmann was one of the first thinkers to develop the formalist approach further. He combined it with biology. In his *Deutsche Poetik* (1908, ²1919) he presents an artistic poetics ("Poetik als Kunstlehre") and conceptualizes the poetic work – in analogy to biology – as a 'vivid unity' ("lebendige Einheit").²⁸ The focus is neither on content nor on form but on the basic material of poetry: language and metre, the laws of composition and artistic intention.²⁹ Anthropology and existentialism can be said to advocate similar approaches. Even if they give the description and recognition of the human being or of being as such as their ultimate goal, they refer positively to the idea that it is the work itself which should be the source of poetics and, in turn, of the claims it makes about being.

This work-centered approach has its origin not only in Meyer's work but also in Husserl's epistemology. Later, Ingarden was to give a renowned ontological account of poetics. Consequently, he perceived Meyer as one of its forerunners, praising the *Stilgesetz* as one of the most convincing works of the recent years in contrast to psychologist approaches (R.M. Werner, Lipps).

28 Rudolf Lehmann: *Deutsche Poetik*. Munich: Beck 1908 (Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen, 3rd vol, 2nd part), p. 41; see also also Lehmann: *Poetik*. 2nd corr. and augm. ed. Munich: Beck 1919, pp. 43–52.

29 Lehmann 1908 (fn. 28), p. 43.

10. Phenomenological and Ontological Poetics: Edmund Husserl and Roman Ingarden (1931)

Husserl and Ingarden are – apart from Ludwig Wittgenstein (and the rarely mentioned Franz Brentano)¹ – some of the prominent examples of thinkers showing that ‘Continental philosophy’ has been involved in the analytical tradition of aesthetics to a great extent.² Furthermore, they show how and why the analytical tradition is a response to questions and criticisms around and after 1900. To name only two of the most dominant criticisms: psychologism, on the one hand, all too easily took reality and its impact on the individual for granted. Teachings of ‘weltanschauungen’ (“Weltanschauungslehre”), on the other hand, such as all the trivial writings which appeared after Nietzsche and display an individual’s opinion about the very essential problems of life as well as regarding current political issues,³ are not scientific enough although they discuss some important ontological questions.

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- 1 Wittgenstein had no impact on early 20th-century German poetics, still he gave his *Lectures on Aesthetics* (1938) which were widely received and debated in the Anglo-American context; Thomas Tam: *On Wonder, Appreciation, and the Tremendous in Wittgenstein’s Aesthetics*. In: *British Journal of Aesthetics* 42 (2002) 3, pp. 310–322; Simo Saatela: ‘Perhaps the Most Important Thing in Connection with Aesthetics’. Wittgenstein on ‘Aesthetic Reactions’. In: *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 56/219 (2002), pp. 49–72; Kathrin Stengel: *Ethics as Style. Wittgenstein’s Aesthetics Ethics and Ethical Aesthetics*. In: *Poetics Today* 25 (2004) 4, pp. 609–625. – On Brentano see Susan Krantz: *Brentano’s Empirical Aesthetics*. In: *Brentano-Studien* 9 (2001) 1, pp. 215–228.
 - 2 On this misleading distinction see the remarks in the introduction; on Husserl see Michael Dummett: *Origins of Analytical Philosophy*. London: Duckworth 1993; decisively focused on phenomenology Herbert Spiegelberg: *The Phenomenological Movement*. The Hague: Nijhoff 1982; Simon Glendinning: *In the Name of Phenomenology*. Routledge 2007; cf. also Brian Elliott: *Phenomenology and Imagination in Husserl and Heidegger*. Routledge 2005, pp. 25–39.
 - 3 Horst Thomé: *Weltanschauung*. In: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Basel: Schwabe 2004, vol. 12, col. 453–460.

It is these questions on which Husserl and Ingarden focus. The critique of psychologism becomes clear with Husserl's increasing distance from the work of Hermann Lotze between 1894 and 1896.⁴ Without completely abandoning Lotze's views, Husserl accuses him of advocating a problematic epistemological dualism between logical laws and facts, which finally results in metaphysics and psychologism.⁵ The critique of "Weltanschauungslehre" plays a part in the development of Husserl's phenomenology as well. In his *Logische Untersuchungen* (1900: *Logical Investigations*) he adheres to strict science as the ultimate goal of philosophy. In contrast to the loose reflections of "Weltanschauungslehre", Husserl conceives of theory as uniting all sciences; therefore, it needs to be revised according to its own theoretical premises. In 1904, Husserl met the Munich group of phenomenologists as well as Theodor Lipps. From that point on phenomenology began to develop considerably.⁶ It played a part in the general history of "Geisteswissenschaften" but constituted a distinct approach: unlike Windelband, Rickert and Dilthey, Husserl in his *Ideen* (1913; *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*) opts for a strict division of physical and spiritual data and turns to a 'Lotzean' transcendental idealism.⁷

Amongst the premises of Husserl's theory relevant for this study, are his ideas on perception: perception does not refer to individual examples but to something general which can be expressed with words. As a consequence, perception is conceived as a mental act, an intentional experience.⁸ In addition, Husserl proposes the idea of different degrees

4 Dagfin Føllesdal: Husserl und Frege. Avhandlinger Utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 2 (1958); Kai Hauser: Lotze und Husserl. In: *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 85 (2003), pp. 152–178, p. 163.

5 Ibid., p. 162. This position might be influenced by Gottlob Frege's critique of Husserl's *Philosophie der Arithmetik* (1891).

6 Eberhard Avé-Lallemant: Die phänomenologische Bewegung: Ursprung, Anfang und Ausblick. In: *Husserl und die phänomenologische Bewegung. Zeugnisse in Text und Bild*, ed. by Hans Rainer Sepp. Freiburg i. Br., Munich: Alber 1988, pp. 61–75; Helmut Vetter: Zur Begrifflichkeit der Phänomenologie am Beispiel von Husserl und Heidegger. In: *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 48 (2006), pp. 203–225, p. 204.

7 John E. Albert: Husserl's Position Between Dilthey and the Windelband-Rickert School of Neo-Kantianism. In: *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 26 (1988) 2, pp. 279–296.

8 Husserliana vol. XIX/1: *Logische Untersuchungen. Untersuchungen zur Phänomenologie und Theorie der Erkenntnis*, ed. Ursula Panzer. The Hague:

of fulfilment of perception: perception can be more or less rich, vivid or real; however, the ultimate aim of the ‘primordial constitution of essences’ (“Wesensschau”) is the process of accumulating a sense of fullness.⁹ Despite the fact that Husserl’s ideas on perception proposed and inspired some accounts of aesthetics – such as ‘thing aesthetics’ (“Dingästhetik”)¹⁰ and ‘transcendental aesthetics’¹¹ – it is to Ingarden’s credit that he adopted some of Husserl’s inventions and developed the most comprehensive and coherent model of a phenomenological aesthetics.

Roman Ingarden (1893–1970) was born in Krakow and studied philosophy, psychology and mathematics in Lemberg, Göttingen, Vienna and Freiburg.¹² He wrote his PhD under the supervision of Husserl on *Intuition und Intellekt bei Henri Bergson* (1918) and the ‘Habilitation’ with Kazimierz Twardowski (a student of Franz Brentano) in Lemberg where Ingarden taught until the outbreak of World War II. From 1950 until 1956 he was not allowed into the educational system because of his ‘idealism’ which was regarded as a suspicious ideology – a ridiculous accusation as Ingarden argued against idealist positions for most of his life. This is apparent in Ingarden’s attempt to refute the late idealist Husserl from a realist phenomenologist perspective (as some of Husserl’s Göttingen students did, some of them inspired by Franz Brentano or Brentano’s students such as Alexius Meinong).

Ingarden’s philosophy is twofold. Firstly, he covers issues of ontology in *Der Streit um die Existenz der Welt* (3 vols., 1964/65/74). The transcendental idealist Husserl claims that the ‘real world’ exists only through consciousness. In contrast to him, Ingarden’s ontology focuses on what could possibly exist (a priori), thereby aiming to avoid the metaphysical problems of the realism/idealism dichotomy. This dichot-

Nijhoff 1984, p. 172; Vetter: *Zur Begrifflichkeit der Phänomenologie* (fn. 6), pp. 206 f; Danielle Lories: *Remarks on Aesthetic Intentionality: Husserl or Kant*. In: *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 14 (2006) 1, pp. 31–49.

9 Vetter: *Zur Begrifflichkeit der Phänomenologie* (fn. 6), p. 208.

10 Paul S. MacDonald: *Husserl and the Cubist on a Thing in Space*. In: *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 36 (2005) 3, pp. 258–276.

11 Paul R. Gyllenhammer: *The Passivity of Optimizing Practices: A Development of Husserl’s Transcendental Aesthetics*. In: *Southwest Philosophy Review* 19 (2003) 1, pp. 97–105.

12 Carlos Spoerhase: *Ingarden, Roman*. In: *Kindlers Literaturlexikon*, ed. by Heinz Ludwig Arnold. 3rd corr. ed. Tübingen: Metzler 2009.

omy could be solved, according to Ingarden, if the relation of the ‘real world’ and consciousness were to be examined.

Secondly, this ontology was preformed and illustrated with the help of Ingarden’s poetological works: mainly *Das literarische Kunstwerk* (1931) but also *Erlebnis, Kunstwerk und Wert* (1969) and *Gegenstand und Aufgaben der Literaturwissenschaft* (1976) served as preliminary studies for Ingarden’s realist phenomenology.¹³ It was through the aesthetical and poetological works that Ingarden’s philosophy reached his academic public, the later ontologist works being hidden behind the Iron Curtain.

Ingarden’s view of art follows different directions: most importantly, he aims at defining the ontological state of art. This state is – as in the late works of Husserl – conceptualized as a result of intentions only. Yet art (and the main example is literature) allows for subtle distinctions of intentional and real worlds – and this is the reason why Ingarden engaged in aesthetics: literary works and their representations exemplify intentions. As purely intentional objects works of art can be contrasted with real world objects – and, in turn, real world objects would require a different ontological state than intentional objects. Furthermore, Ingarden, fascinated with artistic details, endeavours to find suitable descriptions for the relevant aspects of artworks. In addition to this, his goal is evaluation, the appraisal of felicitous or less felicitous art.

Das literarische Kunstwerk, Ingarden’s major poetological and analytical work demonstrates these aims. Apart from inspiring detailed observations (e. g. on the novel),¹⁴ Ingarden’s principal aim is what he calls an ‘essence anatomy’ (“Wesensanatomie”) of the literary work,¹⁵ in order

13 Jeff Mitscherling: *Roman Ingarden’s Ontology and Aesthetics*. Univ. Press Ottawa 1997.

14 Roman Ingarden: *Das literarische Kunstwerk: Mit einem Anhang von den Funktionen der Sprache im Theaterschauspiel*. 4th ed. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1972, pp. 219 f. Against a judgement in the “*Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*”, Ingarden claims to have been the first thinker to discover the narrator in the novel. He rejects the view by the DVJs that it was Wolfgang Kayser who discovered the narrator first.

15 Ingarden (fn. 14), p. 2. On the concept of the work in this context see Maria E. Reicher: *Zur Metaphysik der Kunst: Eine logisch-ontologische Untersuchung des Werkbegriffs*. Graz: dbv-Verl. für die Techn. Univ. Graz 1998 (Dissertationen der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz 111); Daniela Angelucci: *L’oggetto poetico*: Conrad, Ingarden, Hartmann. Macerata: Quodlibet 2004 (*Estetica e critica*).

to determine its 'basic structure' ("Grundstruktur") and 'mode of being' ("Seinsweise").¹⁶

According to Ingarden, the literary work is both real and ideal. As a real object (and as in Husserl's thinking), it originates in an intentional act, the act of conceiving and writing. In addition to this, it becomes an ideal object, primarily for the recipients. Ingarden quotes Scheler in this respect: 'A work of intellectual culture is capable of being understood intellectually by a given number of people and simultaneously sensed and enjoyed by them in its entirety.'¹⁷ A work of art such as literature exists beyond the author's intention; it can be grasped by many people – in similar and different ways. Still it remains one work; Ingarden uses organic metaphors and speaks of the 'organic construction' ("organische[] Bau") to describe his vision of the work as a whole.¹⁸ Ingarden's thinking here is conceived with regard to Walzel's *Gehalt und Gestalt*. Walzel holds the oversimplifying view that the literary work is structured by one layer only.¹⁹ Against this view, Ingarden (perhaps inspired by Lehmann) stresses that a literary work consists of different layers which interact with each other – like an organic unity. This concept is further explained in the famous theory of the four layers of the artwork which are designed to show its 'polyphony', the coexistence and cooperation of different layers which all totalise a certain potential to stimulate aesthetic experiences.²⁰

The first layer is called the layer of sound-formation. It comprises the aspects of word-sound, sound-configuration as well as its meaning, all three of which are only relatively constant: the phonic material, for instance, is not part of the literary work and therefore different in every imagination. The second layer is the one of meaning-units: of words,

16 Ingarden (fn. 14), p. XI.

17 Max Scheler: *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und materiale Wertethik*. In: *Jahrbuch für Philosophie* 1 (1913), pp. 405–565, 496; Ingarden (fn. 14), p. 2: "Ein Werk geistiger Kultur kann gleichzeitig von beliebig vielen erfaßt und in seinem Werte gefühlt und genossen werden." / 'A work of culture can be understood by a given number of people and simultaneously be felt and enjoyed in its value'.

18 Ingarden (fn. 14), p. 25.

19 Ibid., p. 29.

20 Ibid., p. XI, p. 26 *passim*. See also Peter M. Simons: *Strata in Ingarden's ontology*. In: *Kunst und Ontologie. Für Roman Ingarden zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. by Włodzimierz Galewicz, Elisabeth Ströker and Władysław Strozewski. Amsterdam – Atlanta, GA: Rodopi 1994 (Elementa; Schriften zur Philosophie und ihrer Problemgeschichte 62–1994), pp. 119–140.

sentences, coherence of sentences and quasi-judgements, judgements which are judgements but fictional only – a concept which instigated a harsh debate with the German-Jewish philosopher and philologist Käte Hamburger (1896–1992), a professor of General Literary Science at Stuttgart University from 1959.²¹ A third layer refers to schematised aspects and continuities; a fourth one to presented objects: room and time. Through these four layers a literary work expresses truth:²² in so far as it copies reality, presents the work as a coherent unity and shows the metaphysical qualities that are essential for a certain situation. Ingarden sums up this view in the following way:

‘The idea of the work lies in the essential connectedness of the being that is brought to demonstrative self-presence and which exists between a certain presented situation of life [...] and a metaphysical quality that reveals itself in this situation [...]. In the uncovering of such an essential connectedness of being that cannot be determined by concepts lies the creative act of the poet.’²³

21 Ingarden (fn. 14), pp. 184–192. The controversy with Käte Hamburger concerns the view of quasi-judgement as well as Ingarden’s conception of literature in general. According to Ingarden (as mentioned above) literature is real and unreal. Hamburger claims that this view is insufficient in order to understand the character of the non-real in literature; she criticizes the view that poetic objects are designed only intentionally and can therefore only represent the illusion of reality – a view that, according to her, fails to understand the mimetic quality of a work of art. See Elisabeth Ströker: *Fiktive Welt im literarischen Kunstwerk: Zu einer Kontroverse zwischen Roman Ingarden und Käte Hamburger*. In: Galewicz, Ströker, Strozewski (fn. 20), pp. 141–165, pp. 154 ff. Still, Ingarden manages to reject the accusations convincingly and to defend his intentionalism; see Julia Mansour: *Fehdehandschuh des kritischen Freundesgeistes: Die Kontroverse um Käte Hamburgers “Die Logik der Dichtung”*. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 235–247, p. 244.

22 Ingarden (fn. 14), pp. 322–325.

23 Ibid., p. 325: “Die ‘Idee’ des Werkes liegt in dem zur anschaulichen Selbstgegebenheit gebrachten Wesenszusammenhang, der zwischen einer bestimmten dargestellten Lebenssituation [...] und einer metaphysischen Qualität besteht, die an dieser Situation zur Selbstoffenbarung gelangt [...]. In der Enthüllung eines solchen Wesenszusammenhangs, der rein begrifflich nicht zu bestimmen ist, liegt die schöpferische Tat des Dichters.” / ‘the ‘idea’ of the work lies in the coherence of essence that is made clear in its ‘self-condition’. This coherence exists between a certain described life-situation and a metaphysical quality which achieves in this situation a form of self-revelation. The creative act of the

The work has an 'idea' which cannot be defined but only expressed through the 'essential interconnection' ("Wesenszusammenhang") of the unique and united work of art, the intentional creation of the poet which is to be understood as an organic whole – a premise as well as a consequence of Ingarden's circular but convincing theory.

Ingarden's theory is especially helpful because of three methodological premises: firstly, the exclusion of the author's experience and fate – a slightly complicated premise when it comes to the investigation of an individual author's intentions.²⁴ Secondly, Ingarden gives no account of the reader and his psychological situation when reading. Thirdly, he avoids the 'realist standpoint' which detects objects and facts that could have been archetypes for the literary work.²⁵

Because of these elaborated methodological assumptions and the convincing layer-model, the German reception of Ingarden began immediately. Once again, it was Petersen's pupil Ploetz who gave an early and comprehensive account.²⁶ Ploetz was impressed by Ingarden's method of 'structural analysis' ("Strukturanalyse"), his theory of layers.²⁷ Nevertheless, Ploetz feared that the word layer was too ambiguous and exclusive. The way Ingarden conceptualizes these layers does not cover the whole work of art, e.g. the level of values is excluded.²⁸ Furthermore, Ploetz's account of Ingarden adheres to the debate which refers back to Meyer: Ploetz asks what Ingarden's 'represented realness' ("dargestellte Wirklichkeit") could mean and whether it is the object depicted in poetry²⁹ or images which generate "Stimmung" ('mood', 'atmosphere', 'attunement'), a term Ploetz borrows from Husserl's and Heidegger's phenomenology.³⁰ This constructive criticism reflects more a

poet lies in the revelation of such a coherence of essence, which cannot be put in terms'.

24 Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller: Was war eigentlich der Biographismus – und was ist aus ihm geworden? Eine Untersuchung. In: Autorschaft. Positionen und Revisionen, ed. by Heinrich Detering. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2002 (Germanistische Symposien, Berichtsbände XXIV), pp. 355–375.

25 Ingarden (fn. 14), pp. 19–24.

26 See also Introduction.

27 Hans Achim Ploetz: Die Theorie der Dichtung: Kritische Beiträge zur gegenwärtigen Poetik. Inaug. PhD-thesis. Friedrich-Wilhelms-University Berlin. Berlin: Tritsch & Huther 1936, p. 40.

28 Ibid., p. 45, p. 42.

29 Ibid., p. 21.

30 Ploetz (fn. 27), p. 26. "Stimmung" is difficult to translate as no English word covers its whole meaning; see David Wellbery: Stimmung. In: Historisches

general discussion, than weaknesses in Ingarden's impressive oeuvre itself.³¹ The discussion of Ingarden's work did not stop until recently: with its clear analysis *Das literarische Kunstwerk* had a considerable impact not only on German contemporaries but also on later poetological schools such as Reader Response Theory (Hans Robert Jauss, Wolfgang Iser), Empirical Reception Theory (Siegfried J. Schmidt), New Criticism and individual thinkers such as Michel Dufrennes and Nelson Goodman.³²

Wörterbuch ästhetischer Grundbegriffe, ed. by Karlheinz Barck [et al.], Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2003, vol. 5., pp. 703–33, p. 703.

- 31 It is soon transferred overseas: René Wellek introduced Ingarden to American scholars, and some of his works are translated into English. An extended introduction for students followed in 1981. Eugene E. Falk: *The Poetics of Roman Ingarden*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1981.
- 32 Anna-Terea Tymieniecka (ed.): *Ingardeniana III: Roman Ingarden's Aesthetics in a New Key and the Independent Approaches of Others*. The Performing Arts, the Fine Arts, and Literature. Dordrecht: Kluwer 1991 (*Analecta Husserliana* 33).

11. Anthropology, Existentialism and Hermeneutics: the Influence of Søren Kierkegaard and Martin Heidegger

However, under the cover of phenomenological ontology, poetological research at the beginning of the 20th century also went beyond a priori distinctions, not by means of psychologism but with the intention of discovering the 'world' and the individual's existence in the world through art.¹ From this elaborate point of view, both the individual author and his work become examples of an outstanding way to deal with one's particular existence, as well as examples for the human being in general. In short: poetics and anthropology appromixate each other in such a way that poetics not only delivers material for a general anthropology, but is also changed into a poetic anthropology itself.

Consequently, poetological interest borrowed its main ideas from the most prominent thinkers who showed some interest in these issues: Kierkegaard and Heidegger. Yet philologists seldom extensively reflected on their philosophies. Kierkegaard and Heidegger provided general frameworks and keywords (for Heidegger, for instance, being, there-being, time, understanding, "Stimmung") which were used to develop one's own thoughts on the human existence in connection with the literary work. Only in a few cases (Pfeiffer, Staiger), was Heidegger's thought more or less directly applied to poetics. Did the Germanists' engagement with Heidegger remain, in general, superficial and without substance? Indeed, the reference to Kierkegaard and Heidegger is mainly a question of style, of a way to create a 'deeper' meaning, hitherto unknown and unknown during the eras of scientific poetics, be they characterised by psychologist, ontologist or evolutionist approaches.

The reception of Kierkegaard was impressive when it came to the amalgamation of style, philosophy and the human being behind the scene. In the 1920s and 30s, he was adored as the Protestant character

1 Compare John E. Albert: Husserl's Position Between Dilthey and the Windelband-Rickert School of Neo-Kantianism. In: *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 26 (1988) 2, pp. 279–296, p. 214.

type although his writings have much more to offer, especially on art (chapter a).² Things proved to be more complex with Heidegger although the general tendency of a more or less associative reception is true as well (chapter b–c). A great number of studies have been written about Heidegger's heritage and poststructuralist literary theory. Yet very little is known about the early reception of Heidegger in literary theory before 1960. The only overview at hand tends to neglect the early phase in favour of the second one, claiming that Staiger's application of Heidegger was insufficient and too philological, whilst focussing on Paul de Man's concept of allegory and Jacques Derrida's discussion of Heidegger's interpretation of Hölderlin.³ More specialised approaches stress the inadequacy of Heidegger's reception in literary studies on the one hand⁴ and highlight the continuity of Heidegger's concept and thought on the other, e.g. when it comes to the notion of the Sublime (as far as there is such a notion in Heidegger's work) which is still present in the work of Adorno.⁵

Until the poetics of the 1960s, it is astonishingly only Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (1927) that seems to count. His fundamental ontology inspired by Christian theology received enormous attention, also because he, as Husserl's former assistant, could be seen as being at the forefront of phenomenology. The fact that Heidegger opposes Husserl's scientific concept of phenomenology did obviously increase the interest in Hei-

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- 2 Isaak Winkel Holm: Monstrous Aesthetics: Literature and Philosophy in Søren Kierkegaard. In: *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 32 (2005) 1, pp. 52–74. See also Dominic Desroches: *Existence esthétique, musique et langage: Retour sur la réception critique de Kierkegaard par Adorno*. In: *Horizons Philosophiques* 16 (2006) 2, pp. 21–38.
 - 3 Anselm Haverkamp: Heidegger und die Literaturwissenschaft: Die poetologischen Quellen der seinsgeschichtlichen Subjektkritik. In: *Heidegger-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. by Dieter Thomä in collab. with Katrin Meyer and Hans Bernhard Schmidt. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2003, pp. 492–499, pp. 496–499.
 - 4 Klaus Weimar, Christoph Jermann: 'Zwiesprache' oder Literaturwissenschaft. In: *Neue Hefte für Philosophie* 23 (1984), pp. 113–157.
 - 5 Karl Heinz Bohrer: Das 'Erhabene' als ungelöstes Problem der Moderne: Martin Heideggers und Theodor W. Adornos Ästhetik. In: *Das absolute Präsens. Die Semantik ästhetischer Zeit*, ed. by K.H.B. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1994, pp. 92–120; Julian Young: *Death and Transfiguration: Kant, Schopenhauer and Heidegger on the Sublime*. In: *Inquiry* 48 (2005) 2, pp. 131–144.

degger,⁶ in the subjective element of perception and Heidegger's hermeneutic standpoint.⁷

Still, what is (correctly or misleadingly) referred to as 'the turn' ('die Kehre'),⁸ Heidegger's late work under the heading of 'unspeakability' as well as his admiration for Stéphane Mallarmé,⁹ his discussion of Mörike's poem "Auf eine Lampe"¹⁰ and his interest in Celan¹¹ found only little poetological attention (before poststructuralism).¹² *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes* (finished in 1936, published only in 1950), the idea that observing art means maintaining truth and the particular stress on the creative process, were elements discussed later. The same is true for the poetological reception of Heidegger's contributions on Hölderlin (1937). The reason for this late reception might be the 'antiphilolog-

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- 6 Thomas Wolf: Konstitution und Kritik der Wissenschaften bei Heidegger. In: Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung 57 (2003) 1, pp. 94–110.
 - 7 Helmut Vetter: Zur Begrifflichkeit der Phänomenologie am Beispiel von Husserl und Heidegger. In: Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte 48 (2006), pp. 203–225, pp. 214–223.
 - 8 Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert convincingly shows that there is a considerable continuity between Heidegger's phenomenological ontology and his definition of art: understanding of art is the result of the application of the analytic of 'Dasein'. Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert: Heideggers Bestimmung des Kunstwerkes – im Rückblick auf "Sein und Zeit". In: Philosophie und Poesie. Otto Pöggeler zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. by A.G.-S. vol. 2. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog 1988 pp. 143–168, pp. 144 f.
 - 9 Frank-Rutger Hausmann: Martin Heidegger, Hugo Friedrich und Stéphane Mallarmé. In: Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte 30 (2006) 3,4, pp. 377–394, esp. pp. 385–394.
 - 10 See Markus Wild: "Schon unser Briefwechsel hat das Gedicht allzu schwer belastet." Staiger und Heidegger über Mörike "Auf eine Lampe". In: Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 207–222.
 - 11 Otto Pöggeler: Spur des Worts: Zur Lyrik Paul Celans. Freiburg i. Br., Munich: Alber 1986; Otto Pöggeler: Mystical elements in Heidegger's thought and Celan's poetic traces. In: Wordtraces: Readings of Paul Celan, ed. by Aris Fioretos. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press 1994, pp. 74–109; see also Robert André: Gespräche von Text zu Text: Celan – Heidegger – Hölderlin. Hamburg: Meiner 2001.
 - 12 On the rediscovery of the late work see e.g. Julian Young: Heidegger's Philosophy of Art. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press 2001, the first comprehensive study on Heidegger's aesthetics in English. It sees the 'Origin of the Artwork' as its beginning. A similar approach is presented by Alosin Ross: The Work of the Art-Work: Art after Heidegger's Origin of the Work of Art. In: Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology 37 (2006) 2, pp. 199–215.

ical affect' ("antiphilologischer Affekt")¹³ as shown by Heidegger's reflections on Hölderlin. They participate in a long tradition of poetological self-reflection¹⁴ as well as in a long tradition of praising Hölderlin as 'poeta vates', a tradition which, although its early protagonists would have opposed against the political appropriation, lasted from the George circle to the National Socialist representatives of the 'Ahnenerbe' and led to publications like Amadeus Grohmann's *Heldentum. Hölderlin. Auswahl für Soldaten* (1944), a brief book for the mental stimulation of soldiers on the front-line.¹⁵ After 1945, Heidegger's open sympathy for the National Socialists caused all kinds of problems: for instance a controversy with the contemporaneously influential Adorno who, under the surface of polemics, in fact shared many assumptions on artworks with Heidegger.¹⁶ Those involved in the early reception of Heidegger and its pre-history had not envisaged such interference from politics.

(a) On the Way to Hermeneutical Poetics:
Theophil Spoerri (1929)

Theophil Spoerri (1890–1974) was born in the canton of Neuenburg and educated bilingually. He studied romance philology in Zurich, Bern, Paris and Siena. At the age of 32 he was appointed professor for Romance philology at Zurich University; with Emil Staiger he founded the periodical *Trivium*, was politically active in local movements ("Gotthard-Bund", "Moralische Aufrüstung") and received sev-

13 Claudia Albert: Hölderlin. In: *Deutsche Klassiker im Nationalsozialismus: Schiller – Kleist – Hölderlin*, ed. by C.A. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 1994, pp. 189–247, p. 210.

14 Jürgen Söring: Sprach-Reflexion und Sprach-Denken: Martin Heidegger und die Konkrete Poesie. In: *Poetica. Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 16 (1984) 1–2, pp. 110–137.

15 Albert (fn. 13); on similar Hölderlin-editions Marcel Lepper: Gegen die Naïveté der Wissenschaft? Hölderlin-Editoren im Deutschen Literaturarchiv. In: *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 17 (2007) 2, pp. 498–502; M.L.: Am Quell? Zur Geschichte der Hölderlin-Philologie. In: *Geschichte der Germanistik* 31/32 (2007), pp. 25–33.

16 Andreas Dittrich: Jargon der Eigentlichkeit? Die Kontroverse zwischen Heidegger und Adorno über die philosophische Lesbarkeit ästhetischer Texte. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 223–234.

eral honorary distinctions (honorary doctoral degree at Geneva university, Dante-medal of Florence). His publications include *Von der dreifachen Wurzel der Poesie* (1925), *Die Formwerdung des Menschen* (1938) and the existentialist *Die Struktur der Existenz* (1951) which is an introduction into the art of interpretation.

Most of Spoerri's theoretical intentions are already pointed out in his *Präludium zur Poesie* (1929), an elaborate, witty introduction to poetry, rich in style and examples, though sometimes exposing a penchant for Suada. The style corresponds to the book's content. Spoerri aims to (re)discover the secret of poetry.¹⁷ He claims that the old 'Literaturwissenschaft' (Elster, Roetteken and others) devoted itself to science, the new one instead reveals itself as an 'ars hermeneutica', following the premise: 'Poetry cannot be explained but can only be interpreted and understood through interpretation.'¹⁸ Thereby Spoerri establishes a harsh contradiction between science and the arts (and their interpretation), a contradiction which proved effective in the works of Staiger, Gadamer and Spoerri's student Peter Szondi: Spoerri was one of the most important mediators, if not the most important mediator of hermeneutics in the area of poetics. He took up the 19th-century theological notion of hermeneutics, possibly influenced by Dilthey's treatise *Die Entstehung der Hermeneutik* (1900) and decisively applied hermeneutic approaches to the study of poetry.¹⁹ Although Dilthey's methodological reflections on the issue are far clearer and better informed than Spoerri's, it is to Spoerri's credit that he developed hermeneutics in the context of poetics.

Spoerri's *Präludium* does not claim to be precise or scientific but rather artistic, anthropological and even existentialist. Alluding to the context of philosophy of life turned into philology, it is dedicated to the Zurich professor of romance studies Ernest Bovet (1870–1941), Spoerri's teacher. Among the works of reference, Spoerri names Kierkegaard and Pascal, Lipps, Bergson, Croce, Cysarz, Dilthey (1906), Ermatinger, Gundolf, Hefele, Lipps, Unger, Walzel and Winkler; it seems as if Spoerri had not discovered Heidegger yet.

17 Theophil Spoerri: *Präludium zur Poesie: Eine Einführung in die Deutung des dichterischen Kunstwerks*. Berlin: Furch Verlag [1929], p. 5.

18 Ibid., p. 14: "Poesie läßt sich nicht erklären, sondern nur deuten und durch Deutung verstehen."

19 On Dilthey's treatise see Frithjof Rodi: Drei Bemerkungen zu Diltheys Aufsatz "Die Entstehung der Hermeneutik" von 1900. In: *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 57/226 (2003) 4, pp. 425–438.

Nevertheless, Spoerri's aim is to interpret in the sense of 'synthetical understanding: understanding from the whole to the whole'.²⁰ This process is also called 'symbolic viewing' ("symbolisches Sehen")²¹ and described as a circle of different relations: 'Interpretation points to the whole, which materialises in the diversifications of the singular and specific'.²² Consequently, this kind of viewing is opposed to scientific cognition; viewing aims at a 'deeper meaning' ("tiefer[n] Sinn") behind life²³ which is revitalised in the vivid concrete artwork and uncovered by the interpreter. Therefore, the interpreting subject cannot be entirely distinct from the text or the object; both are part of an endless underlying circle of meaning. Some decades later, Gadamer was to elaborate on such processes of understanding, describing them as the 'hermeneutic circle'.

An organic or even anthropological understanding of poetry enables Spoerri's idea of understanding. As with all art, poetry is said to be a combination of form, content and rhythm.²⁴ 'Form is the harmony of the outer and the inner sphere'.²⁵ Therefore, form is responsible for the artistic effect of a work. Content instead is seen as the 'body, soul, and spirit of a work of art' ("Leib, Seele und Geist des Kunstwerkes")²⁶ whilst rhythm works as the 'heartbeat' ("Herzschlag") of poetry.²⁷ The perception of such a work causes aesthetical pleasure, 'self-enjoyment' ("Selbstgenuß") as Lipps puts it.²⁸

Consequently, following the typological tendency already described with regard to Hefele's work, Spoerri builds his genre theory on anthropological assumptions that combine assumptions about poetry with assumptions about the human being. He recognises three 'basic forms'

20 Spoerri (fn. 17), p. 14: "Deuten ist synthetisches Verstehen: Verstehen vom Ganzen aus, auf das Ganze hin." / 'Interpretation is synthetical understanding: understanding from the whole, towards the whole'.

21 Ibid., p. 16.

22 Ibid., p. 18: "Die Deutung weist hin auf die Ganzheit, die sich in der Mannigfaltigkeit des Besonderen durchsetzt – als Einheit der ausgefalteten Ordnung und Einheit der verbindenden Kraft."

23 Ibid., p. 50.

24 In taking all art into account Spoerri pays tribute to Wölfflin; Spoerri (fn. 17), p. 5.

25 Ibid., p. 109: "Form ist Harmonie von Äußerem und Innerem."

26 Ibid., p. 109.

27 Ibid., p. 117.

28 Ibid., p. 130.

(“Grundformen”) of poetry: epic, dramatic and lyric.²⁹ Still, every kind of amalgamation is possible. Therefore, Spoerri does not restrict his genre concepts to genre theory, he regards them rather as essential categories – an idea Spoerri takes from Bovet. In his book *Lyrisme, Épopée, Drame, un loi de l'histoire littérature expliquée par l'évolution générale* (1911) Bovet describes genres as general concepts of human evolution: ‘the lyrical’ expressing youth, strong feelings, future and innovation, ‘the epic’ representing the adult, the ripening personality which aims at the realisation of ideas and ‘the dramatic’ originating in turbulent phases in which a person has to reinvent him- or herself.³⁰ Bovet applies this evolutionary concept not only to literature but also to general history, identifying lyrical, epic and dramatic periods. With this early book on a typological as well as evolutionary approach, Bovet indeed invented the stylistic periodisation which a few years later became famous through Heinrich Wölfflin’s widely recognized *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915).³¹

Spoerri considerably changed Bovet’s and Wölfflin’s original models. Adhering to Bovet’s intuitive argumentation, he grounds these models anthropologically and restricts them to literature. A possible source for this refined evolutionary approach to genre concepts could have been a late representative of psychological poetics: Robert Hartl.³² Building on the Austrian tradition of Herbartianism Hartl aims to close a gap in psychological poetry:³³ genre theory. He views the distinction of three genres as a ‘psychological necessity’ (“psycholo-

29 Ibid., passim.

30 Ernest Bovet: *Lyrisme, Épopée, Drame: Une loi de l'histoire littérature. Expliquée par l'évolution générale*. Paris: Armand Colin 1911, pp. 189 f; Georges Büttiker: Ernest Bovet (1870–1941). Basel, Stuttgart: Helbing und Lichtenhahn 1971 (Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 122), pp. 16 f.

31 Hans-Harald Müller: Die Übertragung des Barockbegriffs von der Kunstwissenschaft auf die Literaturwissenschaft und ihre Konsequenzen bei Fritz Strich und Oskar Walzel. In: *Europäische Barock-Rezeption*, ed. by Klaus Garber in collab. with Ferdinand von Ingen. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1991 (Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 20), pp. 95–112.

32 Hartl has left no traces in bio-bibliographical Handbooks or other resources.

33 See Georg Jäger: Die Herbartianische Ästhetik – ein österreichischer Weg in die Moderne. In: *Die österreichische Literatur: Ihr Profil im 19. Jahrhundert (1830–1880)*, ed. by Herbert Zeman. Graz: Aked. Dr. u. Verl.-Anst. 1982 (Die österreichische Literatur. Eine Dokumentation ihrer literarhistorischen Entwicklung), pp. 195–219.

gische Notwendigkeit”) or as a natural law.³⁴ It originates in the different forms of human experience: ‘the lyrical’ (“das Lyrische”) resulting from a powerful emotional experience, ‘the dramatic’ (“das Dramatische”) from the immense energy of action, ‘the epic’ (“das Epische”) from an intense objective observation.³⁵

Yet in order to develop his genre concepts Spoerri (like Hartl) relies on Dilthey’s key term of the experience, understanding it (as Ermatinger does) in an epistemological way, (in contrast to Hartl) moving away from disregarded psychologism. Experience is reviewed as the basis of the cognizable and this, in turn, is conceived as being static, dynamic or normative. The static is associated with the epic, the dynamic with the lyrical and the normative with the dramatic, whilst – as in the works of Hegel, Schelling, Nietzsche and others – the tragic is praised as the most essential form of the human being.³⁶

Consequently, genre theory is not the ultimate goal of Spoerri’s *Prä-ludium*. He aims to found a whole anthropology grounded on the understanding of the highest human art that is poetry. The result is illustrated in a table he calls ‘table of categories’ (“Kategorientafel”), alluding to Kant:³⁷ ‘the static man’ (“der statische Mensch”) is governed by his intellect, his role is that of the bourgeois who counts on possession, the machine, science, causality, security, bones and death; the ultimate form of this type of human being is the Nietzschean ‘Herrenmensch’ (“Herrenmensch[]”).³⁸ In contrast to him, ‘the dynamic man’ (“der dynamische Mensch”) behaves emotionally, adheres to Rousseau, romantics, Nietzsche, plays the Don Juan character and lives a bohemian life. His element is fluidity, the non-conceptual or ‘non-graspable’ (“Nicht-Verfügbare”).³⁹ ‘The normative man’ (“der normative Mensch”) represents a higher form than the two previously mentioned. He devotes himself to a higher goal, believes in Paulus, combines the Latin Catholicism of Pascal with the Protestant Kierkegaard and his interest in per-

34 Robert Hartl: Versuch einer psychologischen Grundlegung der Dichtungsarten. Vienna: Österreichischer Schulbuchverlag 1924 (Deutsche Kultur; Literaturhistorische Reihe 2), p. III.

35 Ibid., pp. 111 f.

36 Spoerri (fn. 17), pp. 149 f.

37 Ibid. and passim; see the print section of this book.

38 See table.

39 Ibid.

sonality, searches for balance and the middle, is aware of a higher, religious meaning and unites all contradictions.⁴⁰

In the form of a poetics Spoerri presents his anthropological, ethical and religious confession which is grounded in love that 'is nothing else but a kind of existential yes-saying' which distinguishes man and animal and again refers to Nietzsche.⁴¹ Although souls are identical everywhere, the anthropologist as well as the interpreter of an artwork must take into account differences: firstly, the problem of history or the tension between the eternal creative and the historical concrete; secondly, the elitist creation that is an artwork;⁴² thirdly, milieu and 'moment' ("Kairos");⁴³ fourthly, the dialectics of epochs. In mentioning these aspects Spoerri alludes to contemporaneous theories, yet he also excludes and rejects some of them. The most important rejection is that of the work of Josef Nadler and his concept of race which Spoerri harshly attacks in a footnote. According to Spoerri, milieu is enough to cover all the aspects which shape a person's life and can only be controlled by the relevant person to a minor degree (lifestyle, habits etc.).⁴⁴ As a conse-

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid., p. 37: "Liebe ist nichts anderes als existentielles Ja-Sagen [...]."

42 Ibid., p. 43: "Die Elite ist die schöpferische Schicht, die Masse der tragende Unterbau. Geschichte ist zumeist Geschichte der Elite [...]." / 'The elite is the creative class, the masses are the supporting foundation. History is mostly history of the elite'.

43 On "Kairos" see also Richard Alewyn: *Johann Beer: Studien zum Roman des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller 1932; Klaus Garber: *Kulturelle Räume und präsentimentale Mentalität: Das Werk über Johann Beer und den Roman des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: K.G. (ed.): *Zum Bilde Richard Alewyns*. Munich: Fink 2005.

44 Spoerri (fn. 17), p. 44: "Es liegt kein Anlaß vor, den Begriff der Rasse vom Begriff des Milieus zu unterscheiden. Wer will den Anteil der Landschaft, der historischen Tradition, der Sprache von dem Anteil der Stammesgewohnheiten und der Blutmischung trennen." / 'There is no reason to distinguish the term race from the term milieu. Who would want to separate the role of landscape, historical tradition, and language from the role of customs and habits and the mixing of blood'. [fn. 1:] Josef Nadler "stellt beide Mächte zusammen im Titel seines Monumentalwerkes: "Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften". Vielfach ist das, was man auf den Einfluß der Rasse zurückführt, nicht anderes als Einfluß der Sprache. Der grobe Unfug, zu dem Begriffe wie 'esprit latin' und 'germanische Volksseele' Anlaß gegeben haben, wäre leicht in die gebührenden Schranken zurückzudämmen gewesen, wenn man sich dessen bewußt gewesen wäre, daß damit nur die Besonderheiten der französischen und deutschen Sprache gemeint sein können." / 'Nadler connects both powers in the title in his monumental work []. Often that which one as-

quence, the concept of race strikes him as being misleading, referring to a primitive biological layer only.

In 1943, Spoerri programmatically stresses: 'Literaturwissenschaft ist philology and not history.' In contrast to the Fascist usurpations of poetics, Spoerri restricts its task to the critique of style; history is but 'a mere auxiliary science' ("Hilfswissenschaft").⁴⁵ Johannes Pfeiffer's work points in similar existentialist and anthropological directions, yet his poetics proves to be more reflective of methodology as it is informed by Heidegger and developed in the context of early 20th-century phenomenology.

(b) Existentialist Poetics: Johannes Pfeiffer (1936)

Johannes Pfeiffer was born in Guatemala in 1902 (†1970) and studied German, history of art and philosophy with Husserl, Heidegger, Hermann Nohl, Karl Jaspers and Friedrich Gundolf. He received his doctorate in Freiburg with Husserl and the latter's former assistant Oskar Becker whose role must not be underestimated: Becker focused on the ontological explanation of aesthetic phenomena, aiming at a kind of neo-romanticism with a distinct admiration for the artist as someone who, through his achievement, unites all areas of life.⁴⁶ Following Becker's approach, the title of Pfeiffer's dissertation reads *Das lyrische Gedicht als ästhetisches Gebilde* (1931). Wanting to submit his 'Habilitation' to

cribes to the influence of race is nothing but the influence of language. The nonsense which was created by terms such as 'esprit latin' and 'soul of the Germanic people' could have been avoided had one known that these terms referred only to the specifics of the German and the French language'.

45 Theophil Spoerri: Über Literaturwissenschaft und Literaturkritik. In: Trivium. Schweizerische Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Stilkritik 1 (1943), pp. 1–43, pp. 2 f; see Ursula Amrein: Diskurs der Mitte: Antimoderne Dichtungstheorien in der Schweizer Germanistik vor und nach 1945. In: Schreiben gegen die Moderne: Beiträge zu einer kritischen Fachgeschichte der Germanistik in der Schweiz, ed. by Corina Caduff and Michael Gamper. Zurich: Chronos 2001, pp. 43–64, p. 56.

46 The following information on Becker as well as on Pfeiffer's discussion of Klages is taken from Otto Pöggeler: Romantische oder existentielle Deutung des Dichterischen? Die unterdrückte Auseinandersetzung von Johannes Pfeiffer mit Ludwig Klages. In: Perspektiven der Lebensphilosophie. Zum 125. Geburtstag von Ludwig Klages, ed. by Michael Großheim. Bonn: Bouvier 1999 (Abhandlungen zur Philosophie, Psychologie und Pädagogik 253), pp. 157–168.

that admirer of Heidegger Hermann Pongs at the technical university Stuttgart,⁴⁷ he was refused because of his lack of a national-socialist mindset. This was a tragic event also because Becker and others wanted Pfeiffer to continue with his 'Habilitationsschrift', designed to give a proper account of Ludwig Klages' work. Yet Pfeiffer had to give up and became a teacher, free lance writer and private scholar in Bremen where he focused on the works of Rudolph Alexander Schröder, Friedo Lampe and (astonishingly) Hans Grimm, the SS-officer who was president of the German academy of poetry during the Nazi-period. Furthermore, Pfeiffer wrote an introduction to existentialism, inspired by Christian ethics (*Existenzphilosophie*, 1933, ⁵1966 under the title *Existenz und Offenbarung*) as well as various poetological works: *Umgang mit Dichtung* (1936, 11th ed. 1967, Span. Mexico 1951, Portug. Lissabon 1966), *Über das Dichterische und die Dichtung* (1956), *Wege zur Dichtung* (1952, ⁶1969) and *Was haben wir an der Dichtung?* which includes a discussion of Heidegger's accounts of literature (1955, ³1966).

Umgang mit Dichtung has become the most popular amongst Pfeiffer's poetological books and will therefore occupy a central role in this chapter. In comparison with other poetics, the reason for the prominence of this particular work might be that it offers an anti-psychologist, phenomenological, existentialist, anthropological and moral account combined with distinguished scholarship, which is easily understood. The intellegibility is explained by the development of the *Umgang*: Pfeiffer's lectures at the 'Volkshochschule Bremen' (1934) were compiled into a first book version in 1936 and revised later on.

The popular context in which the lectures were conceived proves to be responsible also for the general theoretical framework of the *Umgang*. Pfeiffer warns his reader to stay away from two theoretical vices: 'diletantism', the pure interest in a topic, and 'aestheticism', pure formal in-

47 On Pongs and his four-volume literary theory "Das Bild in der Dichtung" see Sandra Richter: *Wie kam das Bild in die Lyriktheorie? Präliminarien zu einer visuellen Theorie der Lyrik*. In: *Das lyrische Bild*, ed. by Nina Herres, Csongor Lörincz and Ralf Simon. Munich: Fink (forthcoming). Pongs' theory is problematic in two respects: firstly, Pongs builds his theory on a vague notion of the image which becomes identical with 'existence'. Secondly, especially the second volume is marked by a considerable move toward National Socialism and theories of race and blood.

terest.⁴⁸ The correct professional interpretation ought to be informative regarding both areas, thereby uncovering the ‘truth’ of a work of art. With the help of one method this truth can be grasped: ‘a compassionate attentiveness’ (“ein[em] teilnehmende[n] und mitschwingende[n] Fühlen”),⁴⁹ a professional participation and sentiment. As this might sound contradictory, Pfeiffer’s explanation of poetry is designed to give some evidence for his methodological preference. The method of professional sentiment is justified thus:

‘if poetry consists of sonic matters, its rhythmic-melodic creative force is decisive and crucial; if poetry consists of meaning matters, its metamorphic powers are decisive and crucial; as rhythmic-resonating and melodic-sounding and poetic language it has the power to proclaim an essential atmospheric sense, as a language structured into sentences that is meaningful and representational it has the power to evoke an image suffused with atmospheric mood and flow.’⁵⁰

What amounts to a holistic understanding of poetry, discloses its Nietzschean roots. Pfeiffer conceives of two spheres which mutually influence each other: the sphere of melody and rhythm, the ‘Dionysian’ sphere which articulates a (‘basic Stimmung’) “Grundstimmung” and the ‘Apollonian’ sphere which is governed by objects, grammar, clear structure and amounts to pictures.⁵¹ Although both spheres appear to be separated, Pfeiffer points to overlaps: it can be that the “Grundstimmung” develops types of “Stimmung” which are not that basic but closely interwoven with grammar and clear structure (“stimmungsdurchtränkt”). In short: “Stimmung” is the underlying rhythm of poetry – and a mode of being as such – which discloses itself in degrees. Pfeiffer’s poetics participates in the popularity of “Stimmung” in the cir-

48 Johannes Pfeiffer: *Umgang mit Dichtung: Eine Einführung in das Verständnis des Dichterischen*. Leipzig: Meiner 1947 [Veröffentlicht unter der Lizenz Nr. 162 der Sowjetischen Militärverwaltung in Deutschland].

49 Ibid., pp. 9 f.

50 Ibid., pp. 23 f: “[...] insofern Dichtung gefügt ist aus Schallmasse, ist entscheidend ihre rhythmisch-melodische Gestaltungskraft, insofern Dichtung gefügt ist aus Bedeutungsmasse, ist entscheidend ihre Verwandlungskraft; als rhythmisch-schwingende und melodisch-klingende und dichterische Sprache die Kraft, eine zuständige Grundstimmung zu verlautbaren, als satzmäßig-gegliederte und gegenständlich-meinende hat dichterische Sprache die Kraft, ein stimmungsdurchtränktes und von Bewegung durchströmtes Bild zu beschwören.”

51 Ibid.

cle of Husserl and later of Heidegger.⁵² “Stimmung” is an existential category, an essential moment of there-being that is the reflection of being.

As a consequence, Pfeiffer concludes that the more of the underlying rhythm an interpretation discloses the better it is. In turn, the same is true for poetry: the more “Stimmung” poetry mediates the better the relevant work is. “Stimmung” expresses ‘inner truth’ (“innere Wahrheit”) – an idea which Pfeiffer explains with the help of Heidegger’s work and early existentialism: Heidegger speaks of the investigative force (“erschließende Kraft”), Jaspers of ‘illuminatory powers’ (“Erhellungskraft”) of “Stimmung” as far as ‘inner truth’ is concerned.⁵³ ‘Inner truth’ means ‘to be real’ on the one hand, to demand something on the other. It is ‘inner truth’ that is illustrated not only in the beautiful but ‘meaningful form’ (“‘bedeutsame’ Form”) of poetry.⁵⁴ In Pfeiffer’s words: poetry is ‘a harmonious illumination of the essence and the symbolic accumulation of Being in the realm of creative language’ (“stimmungshafte Wesenserhellung und sinnbildliche Seinsverdichtung im Medium gestaltender Sprache”),⁵⁵ a concept Pfeiffer proves with examples from Claudius, George, Trakl, Rilke and Rudolph Alexander Schröder.

Pfeiffer reveals his Heideggerian and existentialist concept of poetry in his various writings, for instance in his collection of essays *Die dichterische Wirklichkeit* (1962). From the contemporaneous background of emerging literary theories such as Marxism, a ‘slowly developing disease’ (“schleichende[] Krankheit[]”) that does not allow for correct interpretation,⁵⁶ Pfeiffer draws a picture of decadence. He urges the reader to stay faithful to ‘the only true’ understanding of art according to which interpretation must serve the work of art. With Richard Alewyn’s key term “Kairos”, Pfeiffer describes interpretation as a fruitful and rare moment,⁵⁷ a moment that needs to be accompanied by a ‘judging

52 See David Wellbery: Stimmung. In: Historisches Wörterbuch ästhetischer Grundbegriffe, ed. by Karlheinz Barck [et al.], Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2003, vol. 5., pp. 703–33, pp. 724–726.

53 Pfeiffer 1947 (fn. 48), p. 40.

54 Ibid., p. 69.

55 Ibid., p. 90.

56 Johannes Pfeiffer: *Die dichterische Wirklichkeit: Versuche über Wesen und Wahrheit der Dichtung*. Hamburg: Meiner 1956, p. 10.

57 See Alewyn, Garber (fn. 43).

appreciation' ("wertendes Verständnis") of poetry.⁵⁸ It is not by mere accident that Pfeiffer thinks highly of Theophil Spoerri's *Der Weg zur Form* (1954) and Hugo Friedrich's *Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik* (1956). Spoerri is said to have developed a coherent and holistic understanding of form as a "gesamtmenschlicher Vorgang" and to have elaborated on three major functions of poetry: 'the changing of the world, the moving of the soul, the determination/judgement of the mind' ("die Verwandlung der Welt; die Bewegung der Seele; die Entscheidung des Geistes").⁵⁹ Friedrich instead highlights the main problems of modern poetry whereby his examination – perhaps against the intention of Friedrich himself – is seen as an 'appeal' ("Appell") for moderate and sensitive writing which not only focuses on formal plays.⁶⁰

A similar positive approach can be seen from Pfeiffer's attempt to go beyond Heidegger's thinking and to rediscover the magic in poetry through a romantic and existentialist reading of Klages in 1951: Pfeiffer esteems Klages' more or less immanent poetics because they expand on the romantic view that poets have a privileged access to original language and to 'original song' ("Urlied"), the source of all poetic forms.⁶¹ According to Klages, the poet's 'looking' enables him to write; the original picture as well as the original song move away and he is left alone, attempting to testify to the cosmic vision he has seen. Still, Pfeiffer remains critical; he stresses that Klages' understanding of the process of poetic production lacks the sensibility for the experience of transcendence and trusts too openly in the calling by the muses.

To conclude, Pfeiffer proved to be one of the minor thinkers in the area of poetics who was, nevertheless, well-informed by contemporary research and able to consider it in a most creative and popular way. In his work he transforms Husserl's as well as Heidegger's philosophies into an existentialist framework for interpretation and examines the ideas of Jaspers, Kierkegaard and Klages as well. As a result, poetry is understood as an art work which carefully balances irrational and rational elements, "Stimmung" and image; it goes beyond the everyday actuality and can only be understood by readers who really engage with poetry. Consequently, Pfeiffer does not entirely renounce psychologism: it is the writer's and the reader's psyche that count when either producing or inter-

58 Pfeiffer 1956 (fn. 56), p. 9.

59 Ibid., p. 15.

60 Ibid., p. 19.

61 See Pöggeler: Romantische oder existentielle Deutung (fn. 46), pp. 160–168.

preting poetry. Although one might be critical of this approach to Josef Weinheber,⁶² it is fair to note that Pfeiffer, being a teacher at popular schools, had little chance to introduce more advanced and formalist models into poetics. And yet he found himself in the avantgarde mainstream of contemporary poetological writing.

(c) Anthropological Poetics in Refined Genre Theory: Emil Staiger (1939/1946)

In contrast to Pfeiffer, Emil Staiger (1908–1987) had an impressive career which was, however, to be characterised by the typical scheme of ‘rise and fall’. In the 1940s and 50s Staiger was praised as the most innovative poetological thinker whose books were among the most popular. In the 1960s he, together with Ermatinger and Faesi, and in opposition to the younger Adolf Muschg, shaped the anti-modern climate of Swiss German studies,⁶³ although Staiger, by raising phenomenologist and existential ideas, contested Ermatinger and Faesi to a certain extent.⁶⁴ In the late 1960s Staiger’s works dramatically lost the canonical status they had achieved in the 1940s and 50s.⁶⁵

The first and obvious explanation for this is the so-called ‘Zürcher Literaturstreit’ which started with Staiger’s speech *Literatur und Öffentlichkeit* (1966, Schauspielhaus Zurich) when he received the Zurich literature award. Attacking and misinterpreting the attempts of modern literature (especially Peter Weiss) Staiger stressed some old classicist and neo-humanist rules: that the aesthetical value and morality of an author have a close relation to each other, that morality must be part of the

62 Friedrich Jenaczek: Josef Weinheber: “Notturmo”. Anmerkungen zu Leistung und Grenzen des Literaturpädagogen Johannes Pfeiffer. In: Jahrbuch des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 86–88 (1982–1984), pp. 361–385, p. 381.

63 André Bucher: Zur Rezeption der klassischen Moderne in der Schweizer Germanistik: Untersuchungen zu Ermatinger, Faesi, Muschg und Staiger. In: Schreiben gegen die Moderne: Beiträge zu einer kritischen Fachgeschichte der Germanistik in der Schweiz, ed. by Corina Caduff and Michael Gamper. Zurich: Chronos 2001, pp. 65–83, pp. 77–81.

64 Max Wehrli: Germanistik in der Schweiz 1933–1945 [1993]. In: M.W., Gegenwart und Erinnerung. Gesammelte Aufsätze, ed. by Fritz Wagner, Wolfgang Maaz. Hildesheim, Zurich: Weidmann 1998 (Spolia Berolinensia 12), pp. 307–320, p. 319.

65 Heinz Schlaffer: Emil Staigers “Grundbegriffe der Poetik”. In: Monatshefte 95 (2003) 1, pp. 1–5, p. 2.

opus' content and, as a consequence, that modern literature which contests bourgeois values lacks morality. The public, even the Pen-centre in Darmstadt and Germanist Associations opposed Staiger and his polemics.⁶⁶ Although the dispute was over by 1968, Staiger became the counter-image of the student movement and of the new generation of Germanists.⁶⁷

Still, this does not explain why Staiger's central ideas are neglected today.⁶⁸ The second reason for Staiger's fall lies deeper, in the renewed general development of 'literary science' into a scientific, objectivised field of study where social history plays the most important role, an account which is often combined with a certain contempt for the classicist values of the 'Bildungsbürger' advocated at least by the late Staiger.⁶⁹ For Max Wehrli, the 'Literaturstreit' marks the journey from the restricted methods of formal, immanent interpretation to new shores.⁷⁰ Staiger's ideas did not meet the new criteria. He, not only in the 'Literaturstreit' but also in his poetological books, relies on a more or less intuitive approach. It is grounded in the critique of style and the 'close reading' of authors like Horace, Goethe and Mörike.⁷¹ This ap-

66 A documentation of this process is to be found in Robert Weninger: *Streitbare Literaten: Kontroversen und Eklats in der deutschen Literatur von Adorno bis Walser*. Munich: Beck 2004, pp. 68–83; on Staiger's polemics Yvonne Wübben: *Propaganda, polemisch: Zur Aktualität von Emil Staigers Stilkritik*. In: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistenverbandes: Klassiker der Germanistik. Local Heroes in Zeiten des Global Thinking*, ed. by Petra Boden and Uwe Wirth 53 (2006) 1, pp. 60–72.

67 Therefore, Michael Böhler reflects on the minimal impact of the 'Zürcher Literaturstreit', see M.B.: *Der 'neue' Zürcher Literaturstreit: Bilanz nach zwanzig Jahren*. In: *Formen und Formgeschichte des Streitens. Der Literaturstreit*, ed. by Franz-Josef Worstbrock and Helmut Koopmann, vol. 2: *Kontroversen, alte und neue*, ed. by Albrecht Schöne. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1986 (*Akten des 7. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses, Göttingen 1985*), pp. 250–262.

68 See Böhler, *Der 'neue' Zürcher Literaturstreit* (fn. 67), p. 254.

69 Georg Bollenbeck: *Vom allmählichen Abhandenkommen des Platzierungssinns: Denkstil und Resonanzkalkül in 'verteilersprachlichen' Texten Emil Staigers*. In: *Semantischer Umbau der Geisteswissenschaften nach 1933 und 1945*, ed. by Georg Bollenbeck and Clemens Knobloch. Heidelberg: Winter 2001, pp. 132–157.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 256 f.

71 This is stressed as Staiger's genuine poetic approach; see Bernhard Böschstein: *Emil Staigers "Grundbegriffe": ihre romantischen und klassischen Ursprünge*. In: *Zeitenwechsel Germanistische Literaturwissenschaft vor und*

proach is legitimised through the works of Hefele, Spoerri, and Pfeiffer in adopting the theories of Husserl and Heidegger. Following this tradition, anthropology constitutes the main aim of Staiger's poetics; therefore, current research again, but hesitantly recommends Staiger's poetics as a historical document worth reading on the issue.⁷² Doubts touch on Staiger's method which is characterised by paraphrase instead of interpretation and by the lack of clear concepts – Heinz Schlaffer describes Staiger's *Grundbegriffe der Poetik* as 'more basis than concept' ("mehr Grund als Begriff").⁷³ Still, Schlaffer argues, one ought to take into account that Staiger writes for the educated public and not only for students or colleagues; books like the *Grundbegriffe* (and with them all poetics written before 1968) matter not only in the history of science but also in the history of education.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, Staiger sets himself ambitious theoretical goals. They originate, in part, in his reading of Heidegger. Staiger reported that he was fascinated by the powerful language of *Sein und Zeit* and highly impressed by the account of ontology, which rejects psychologism in favour of phenomenology.⁷⁵ The two theoretical works he published both demonstrate that he adheres to this general anti-psychologist Heideggerian framework.

Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters (1939, ²1953) is not a comprehensive poetics but an approach focused on the problem of time, as one would suspect given that it was inspired by Heidegger's *Being and Time*. The book is divided into three chapters: 'the tearing time' ("Die reiende Zeit"/ Brentano), 'the instant' ("Der Augenblick"/ Goethe), 'the quiet time' ("Die ruhende Zeit"/ Keller) each of which depicts a form of expressiveness for an author. Like Heidegger, Staiger

nach 1945, ed. by Wilfried Barner and Christoph Knig. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1996, pp. 268–281.

72 Schlaffer: Staigers "Grundbegriffe"; Fritz Breithaupt: Emil Staiger und das Anthropologische. In: Monatshefte 95 (2003) 1, pp. 6–13.

73 Schlaffer: Staigers "Grundbegriffe" (fn. 72), p. 3.

74 Ibid., p. 2. This is also true for Staiger's famous methodological article "Die Kunst der Interpretation" (1951); see Volker Ladenthin: Legitimation von Wissenschaft: Emil Staigers Aufsatz "Die Kunst der Interpretation" als Paradigma. In: 1955–2005: Emil Staiger und "Die Kunst der Interpretation" heute, ed. by Joachim Rickes, Volker Ladenthin and Michael Baum. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen zur Zeitschrift fr Germanistik 16), pp. 135–154.

75 Emil Staiger: Ein Rckblick. In: Heidegger, Perspektiven zur Deutung seines Werks, ed. by Otto Pggeler. Knigstein/Ts.: Athenum, 1984, pp. 242–245.

claims that 'there-being' reveals itself in the way the individual author deals with the most demanding issues of existence: time and death.

Staiger's theory behind these assumptions is independent of Heidegger's work. The philologist claims that the history of literature, his discipline of reference, contributes as an independent science to 'general anthropology' ("allgemeine Anthropologie"), the science that asks the basic question 'What is the human being?' ("Was ist der Mensch?").⁷⁶ Staiger obviously follows in Spoerri's footsteps in this regard but he also alludes to other, well-known theorists such as Wilhelm Scherer, thereby combining different poetological traditions. Scherer is (slightly deviating from the original) quoted as the authority on the history of literature, formulating its key questions thus: 'the experienced, the learnt, the inherited' ("Erlebtes, Erlerntes, Ererbtes").⁷⁷ These concepts are said to still be able to cover the subject's main questions.

Staiger is critical only as far as 'the learnt' is concerned. Firstly, knowledge in literature is difficult to discover as literature contains only vague utterances and minor knowledge-claims. Secondly, learning can itself be the object of literature, and in this respect the 'learnt' is to be regarded as a valuable object of poetics.

The 'inherited' brings a more positive attitude to light: despite the fact that the question of heritage poses a challenge to the study of literature, it is a question worth asking in a most subtle way. Literature and the area of 'Geist' in total are to be attributed a certain autonomy.⁷⁸ Therefore, Nadler's biological or geopolitical approach is inappropriate; the beautiful cannot be considered as a mere product of unconscious external effects. As a consequence one cannot, Staiger argues in Spoerri's footsteps explain 'Geist' but only describe poetry (rhythm, grammar, rhyme, sound, choice of words) or imitate it. Heidegger's thinking is

76 Emil Staiger: *Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters: Untersuchungen zu Gedichten von Brentano, Goethe und Keller*. Zurich: Atlantis 1953 (1st ed. 1939), p. 9.

77 The famous formula of the "Ererbte, Erlebte und Erlernte" originates in Scherer's publications on Goethe: *Aufsätze über Goethe*, ed. Erich Schmidt. Berlin: Weidmann 1886, p. 15; Wolfgang Höppner: *Das "Ererbte, Erlebte und Erlernte" im Werk Wilhelm Scherers: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Germanistik*. Cologne [et al.]: Böhlau 1993 (*Europäische Kulturstudien; Literatur – Musik – Kunst im historischen Kontext* 5), p. 127.

78 Staiger: *Die Zeit* (fn. 76), p. 13: "Der Geist aber hat unbeschadet seines Ausruhens und seiner Daseinsabhängigkeit den Charakter der vollsten Eigengesetzlichkeit." / 'The mind has the character of fullest inner legality, independent from its repose and right to exist'

played off against that of Nadler when Staiger introduces the idea of the hermeneutic circle.⁷⁹ ‘Cautiousness’ (“Behutsamkeit”)⁸⁰ is to serve as a guide for the interpretation of literature. Hence, Staiger expands on the expression of the existential structure of there-being, ‘deriving [it] from the things themselves’ (“aus den Sachen selbst”) – a demand to which Staiger adds an exclamation mark.⁸¹ Like Heidegger Staiger claims that ‘there-being’ is already there, in the literary work, and needs to be revealed.⁸²

‘Then he [the philologist] examines poetry itself, not something that lies behind it [!]. Then he wants to comprehend what apprehends him, not what becomes visible only if the poetic vanishes.’⁸³

The last sentence of this Heideggerian, yet simultaneously non-Heideggerian statement has become famous for the abbreviation ‘comprehend that which apprehends us’ (“begreifen, was uns ergreift”), the formula of intuitive poetics from the 1930s until the 1950s.

It follows as natural that Scherer’s ‘Experienced’ (“Erlebtes”) strikes Staiger as constituting the most important aspect of the interpretation. Staiger emphatically quotes Ermatinger’s title *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* and combines it with a reference to Gundolf, as both focus on typologies of experience. Yet Staiger, with a slightly rigid constructivist objection (before the emergence of constructivism as a definite tendency of thought), argues: ‘The world that is not yet experienced by the one that is experiencing cannot be imagined at all.’⁸⁴ The world is only a bundle of characteristics imagined by the poet anyway; in

79 Staiger: *Die Zeit* (fn. 76), p. 13; on Staiger’s reception of Heidegger’s hermeneutics cf. Andrea Polaschegg: *Tigersprünge in den hermeneutischen Zirkel oder Gedichte nicht verstehen: Gattungspoetische Überlegungen* (lange) nach Emil Staiger. In: 1955–2005: Emil Staiger und “Die Kunst der Interpretation” heute, ed. by Joachim Rickes, Volker Ladenthin and Michael Baum. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen zur Zeitschrift für Germanistik 16), pp. 87–109.

80 Staiger: *Die Zeit* (fn. 76), p. 17.

81 Martin Heidegger: *Sein und Zeit*. Halle a. d. S.: Niemeyer 1927, p. 153; Staiger: *Die Zeit* (fn. 76), p. 18.

82 Heidegger (ibid., p. 28) uses the reflexive Greek verb φαίνεσθαι (‘to show itself’) in order to explain his understanding that a phenomenon is what reveals itself.

83 Staiger: *Die Zeit* (fn. 76), p. 15: “Dann untersucht er die Dichtung selbst, nicht etwas, das dahinter liegt. Dann will er begreifen, was ihn ergreift, nicht was ihm erst sichtbar wird, sobald das Dichterische verblasst.”

84 Ibid., p. 14: “Die Welt, die dem Erlebenden noch unerlebt gegeben sein soll, ist überhaupt nicht vorstellbar.”

turn, the concept of experience becomes superfluous. The notion of experience is – as in Ermatinger's work – only regarded as taking a circuitous route to the poet's world.

Die Zeit soon received enthusiastic reviews and references. To quote only two of the most famous ones, Julius Petersen praises 'this highly accomplished and sensitively written book' ("dieses hochkultivierte, feinfühliges Buch"),⁸⁵ and still in the early 1950s the critical Max Wehrli writes the following astonishing sentences:

'Presumably since the time of idealism the most cohesive and compact but also the most audacious beginnings for a poetics emerged where their categories and terms are no longer of eclectic or accidentally empiric origins, but where they have a systematic and philosophic substantiation.'⁸⁶

The systematic and philosophical order of Staiger's work was appreciated during the 1950s, but was heavily criticized by the next generation. This criticism mostly ignores *Die Zeit* and focuses on the *Grundbegriffe der Poetik* (1946), translated only late in 1991 as *Basic Concepts of Poetry* (published by the University of Pennsylvania Press). If *Die Zeit* is to be regarded as a preparatory work; the *Grundbegriffe* is expected to provide a fully-fledged poetics.

Poetics, according to Staiger, no longer refers to a practical doctrine but rather pays tribute to the differentiation of literature. In order not to reduce individual phenomena to patterns, poetics is inclined to refuse systems. Still, every true work of poetry participates in literary characteristics and types often specified as 'genre'.⁸⁷ As a consequence, a determination of the lyric, the epic and the dramatic should be possible. These concepts refer to essential qualities of literature, for Husserl they refer to its 'ideal meaning' ("ideale Bedeutung") and it is the idea, the 'basic concept', the essential quality that counts even in the individual expres-

85 Julius Petersen: *Die Wissenschaft von der Dichtung: System und Methodenlehre der Literaturwissenschaft*. With contributions from the bequest papers ed. by Erich Trunz. 2nd ed. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt 1944, pp. 490 f.

86 Max Wehrli: *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft*. Bern: Francke 1951, 2nd ed. 1969 (*Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte; Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe* 3), p. 62: "Es sind wohl seit den Zeiten des Idealismus die geschlossenssten, wenn auch kühnsten Ansätze zu einer Poetik, deren Kategorien und Termini nicht mehr eklektischen oder zufällig empirischen Ursprungs sind, sondern eine systematisch-philosophische Begründung haben."

87 Staiger: *Grundbegriffe der Poetik*. Zurich: Atlantis 1946, p. 10.

sion.⁸⁸ Therefore, Staiger claims to espouse a ‘fundamental poetics’ (“Fundamentalpoetik”) which is said to contribute to ‘philosophical anthropology’ (“philosophische Anthropologie”),⁸⁹ although, as is admitted at the end of the *Grundbegriffe*, fundamental poetics will remain a philosophical ‘propaedeutic’ (“Propädeutik”) as it can only prepare further systematic and historical investigation.⁹⁰ The whole account is reminiscent of Spoerri although the concrete realisation is different.

What should be regarded as the essence of genre or the ‘ideal meaning’? Staiger, again, refers to Heidegger. Genre concepts reveal themselves as ‘literary scientist’s names for possibilities of human there-being’.⁹¹ The approach is similar to *Die Zeit* although the ultimate goal is different. Heidegger’s *Being and Time* again opens up manifold possibilities of combining phenomenological ontology and poetics. The analysis of style, the way to deal with time and death, is used to distinguish not only the style of individual poets but also genre concepts: the ‘fundamental existential’ (“fundamentales Existential”) expresses itself in dramatic style,⁹² ‘existential orientation and mood’ (“Befindlichkeit oder Stimmung”) expresses itself in lyric poetry,⁹³ ‘decaying’ (“Verfallen”) produces epic poetry.⁹⁴ The triade itself is grounded in Heidegger’s three-dimensional time: ‘the lyric there-being remembers, the epic envisions, the dramatic drafts’.⁹⁵

Staiger explains these concepts in great detail,⁹⁶ constructing abstract analogies as Spoerri had done before – both claim that the dramatic is the form in which all stages realised themselves. The “Stufenfolge” (‘graduation of stages’) syllable – word – sentence, corresponds to Cas-

88 Edmund Husserl: *Logische Untersuchungen*. 4th ed. Halle: Niemeyer 1928, vol. II,1, pp. 91 f; Staiger: *Grundbegriffe* (fn. 87) , p. 9.

89 Ibid., p. 12.

90 Ibid., p. 232.

91 Ibid., p. 237: “[...] da sich die Gattungsbegriffe als literaturwissenschaftliche Namen für Möglichkeiten des menschlichen Daseins enthüllten [...].”

92 Ibid., p. 238.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.: “Entwerfen, Befindlichkeit und Verfallen konstituieren zusammen die ‘Sorge’, womit in ‘Sein und Zeit’ noch das Sein des Menschen als Zeit bezeichnet wird.” / ‘Devising, mental state, and degeneration constitute the notion of concern’.

95 Staiger: *Grundbegriffe* (fn. 87), p. 234: “das lyrische Dasein erinnert, das epische vergegenwärtigt, das dramatische entwirft.”

96 See the helpful overview in Fritz Breithaupt: *Emil Staiger und das Anthropologische*. In: *Monatshefte* 95 (2003) 1, pp. 6–13, p. 10.

sirer's doctrine of the stages of language: firstly, language passes through a phase of sensual expression (the lyric), then it becomes a demonstrative expression (the epic) and, last but not least, an expression of conceptual thinking (the dramatic).⁹⁷ Other "Stufenfolgen" Staiger mentions concern the becoming-of-the-subject of the human being: childhood (the lyric), youth (the epic), maturity (the dramatic)⁹⁸ as well as the stages of 'perceiving-illustrating-proving' ("Fühlen – Zeigen – Beweisen").⁹⁹

The *Nachwort* (given as a lecture at Oxford University in 1948, printed in the second edition of the *Grundbegriffe* in 1951) is designed to justify the risky but traditional approach of the book. Thereby, Staiger stresses two aspects which are worth noting: firstly, he claims that the old genre theory has lost its foundation and that only adjectives, names for qualities, would be adequate to denote what is left of traditional genres. Secondly, Staiger opposes simple 'picturebook-phenomenology' ("Bilderbuchphänomenologie", Max Scheler)¹⁰⁰ and highlights his attempt to describe the essence of the human being by providing an up-to-date and fundamental understanding of the work of art with words, which expresses 'the purest being of humankind' ("das reinste Sein des Menschen").¹⁰¹

In the *Nachwort* Staiger stresses the main aims of his poetics which are – to some extent – grounded in Heidegger's work. If in *Die Zeit* Heidegger's remarks on time are directly applied to literature, Staiger's *Grundbegriffe* develops *Being and Time* further: literature represents 'there-being'; the philologist need do no more than reveal the 'oeuvre' itself. It is not by mere accident that Staiger in *Grundbegriffe* moves away from Heidegger's thinking a little more. From this point on, Staiger constructs analogies in order to deal with the difficult issue of genre

97 Ernst Cassirer: *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*. part 1. Berlin 1923; Staiger: *Grundbegriffe* (fn. 87), p. 224. On Cassirer Sebastian Luft: *Cassirer's Philosophy of Symbolic Forms: Between Reason and Relativism; a Critical Appraisal*. In: *Idealistic Studies* 34 (2004) 1, pp. 25–47; Roger H. Stephenson: *The Aesthetics of Weimar Classicism, Ernst Cassirer and the German Tradition of Thought*. In: *Publications of the English Goethe Society* 74 (2005), pp. 67–82.

98 Staiger: *Grundbegriffe* (fn. 87), p. 226.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 227.

100 Staiger: *Nachwort*. In: *Grundbegriff der Poetik*. 2nd ed. Zurich: Atlantis 1951, pp. 235–263, pp. 259 f.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

concepts which are now turned into anthropological ideas. It is this approach which guarantees Staiger's continued impact not only in the 1950 s and 60 s but also in today's biopoetics.¹⁰²

102 See, for instance, Katja Mellmann's contribution in which she defends Staiger's approach on tension against his critics; K.M.: Vorschlag zu einer emotionspsychologischen Bestimmung von 'Spannung'. In: *Im Rücken der Kulturen*, ed. by Karl Eibl, K.M. and Rüdiger Zymner. Paderborn: Mentis 2007, pp. 241–268, pp. 242 f.

12. The After-Life of the ‘Artwork of Language’ (“Sprachkunstwerk”)

One of the ideas most relevant in the 1950s (but considerably less in the 60s) was the conceptualisation of the ‘artwork of words’ as presented by Theodor A. Meyer, Walzel and others. Poetological writings actualised the accounts handed down to them: Wolfgang Kayser, for instance, presents an inspiring amalgamation of the most innovative theories known up until 1948 (a). In contrast to Kayser, Herbert Seidler, aims to rediscover stylistics in order to develop a normative aesthetics of literature (b).

(a) The Great Amalgamation: Wolfgang Kayser (1948)

Wolfgang Kayser (1906–1960), studied German, history, philosophy and English in Berlin. He wrote his doctoral thesis on Harsdörffer and his ‘Habilitation’ on the ballad, both works were supervised by Julius Petersen. Having been appointed ‘Lektor’ in Denmark and later in Lisbon he became influential both in Germany and abroad. In 1949 Kayser received a calling to Göttingen University and then a guest professorship in Zagreb (1954, 1957) as well as in Harvard (1955/56); he refused offers of professorships in Cologne and Berlin.¹

Kayser is especially famous for one book: *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* (1948) which serves as an introduction to literary studies. With twenty more or less unrevised reeditions appearing up until 1992,² it is probably the most popular introduction to literary studies that has ever been published. Yet it is more than an introduction of the type which is concerned with the current methodologies or with the rhetorical tools of literary studies. *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk*, mentioning the ‘artwork’ al-

1 Teresa Seruya: Kayser, Wolfgang. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 2, pp. 904–906.

2 Until the 16th edition, the bibliographies are carried further; they then remained the same from the 16th to the 20th editions.

ready in its title, stresses the artificial aspect of poetry and, therefore, intends to provide a kind of salvation for poetics. Poetics, in turn, is understood as the theory of literature which examines poetry as art and refuses to reduce poetry to a mere product of its context or to disregard the characteristic features of a literary text.

This type of literary study has polemically been named “Werkimmanenz”, a somewhat misleading title for a widespread set of methodological accounts from the 1940s to the 1960s.³ Kayser’s broad understanding of literature and the fact that he does not draw clear distinctions from what might be called ‘belles lettres’ (which include non-literary texts, e.g. on philosophical issues) contradicts any notion of “Werkimmanenz”. Furthermore, the methodological interest of *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk*, the fact that it introduces different ‘work methods’ (“Arbeitsweisen”) of ‘Literaturwissenschaft’, complements this impression.⁴ In Kayser’s case, only one feature associated with “Werkimmanenz” is correct: the recognition of the artwork as such.

Kayser pursues one goal wherein the original character of his book lies: he aims at examining ‘poetry as linguistic artwork’ (“Dichtung als sprachliches Kunstwerk”).⁵ In contrast to Ingarden and others he does not use the word ‘word’ to describe the artwork but insists on language. This shift may already signal how aware Kayser was of an emerging field of study: linguistics, or, philosophy of language. The most important task for research, Kayser writes, is to determine the linguistic forces that are effective in a poetic work.

Yet he shares the assumption with Ingarden that poetry does not live and does not originate as a ‘reflection of something else’ (“Abglanz von irgend etwas anderem”), e.g. of the poet’s psychology, to reintroduce a well-known topos from the critique of psychologism.⁶ Contrary to the assumptions of psychologism, poetry is well-structured and hermetically

3 On the problems that follow from this notion see Lutz Danneberg: Zur Theorie der werkimmanenten Interpretation. In: *Zeitenwechsel. Germanistische Literaturwissenschaft vor und nach 1945*, ed. by Wilfried Barner and Christoph König. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1996, pp. 313–342.

4 Wolfgang Kayser: *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk: Eine Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft*. 4th ed. Berlin: Francke 1956, p. 5.

5 Ibid., pp. 18 f.

6 Ibid., p. 5: “[...] ein neuer Abschnitt in der Geschichte der literarischen Forschung hat begonnen.” / ‘a new chapter has begun in the history of literary research’.

arranged.⁷ While psychological and even social interpretations of the artwork should not be entirely excluded, the stress of every interpretation should be on the essence of poetry as such. Kayser quotes Aristotle in order to mention an authoritative proof of his attempt, acknowledging that a more contemporary account has to go further.⁸

This particular strategy of referring to the old authorities is in interesting contrast to the fact that Kayser ignores the early 20th-century ones: he inherits his concepts from Staiger *Die Zeit*, Jolles, Ingarden and Günther Müller. Aiming at the theoretical avantgarde, Kayser does not even mention Th.A. Meyer or Ermatinger and rejects Croce's intuitionist explication of poetry which draws on Schleiermacher and assumes that poetry is but the expression of a poet's feeling.⁹ In short, Kayser's *Sprachliches Kunstwerk* is astonishing for two reasons: firstly, it provides a synthesis of trends, pointing in the direction of emerging theories of linguistics. Secondly, it does not develop these ideas very much, considering the introductory nature of the book. Taking into account the numerous innovative approaches in the field of poetics and literature theory published in the 1970s, it is surprising that it is *Das sprachliche*

7 Ibid., pp. 18 f.

8 Ibid.

9 This view had already been criticized by Winkler; see Sandra Richter: Anschaulichkeit vs. Sprachlichkeit: Ein paradigmatischer Scheingegensatz in Poetik und Ästhetik (ca. 1850 bis 1950). In: *Konzert und Konkurrenz. Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Oliver Huck, Sandra Richter, Christian Scholl. Hildesheim [in print]. In the 1930s and even in the 50s the discussion of Croce was ongoing; see the contributions by V. Stella, G. Uscatescu, F. Tessitore and M.G. Montaldo Spigno on "Benedetto Croce e l'estetica europea". In: *Atti del IV e V Seminario Teoresi e poeticità nella cultura europea*. Genova, 6–7 dicembre 1989 e 28–29 novembre 1991, ed. by Maria Adelaide Raschini. L'Aquila: Japadra 1993. See also the objections by R.G. Collingwood (1938) and John Hospers (1955); Gordon Graham: Expressivism: Croce and Collingwood. In: *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*, ed. by Berys Gaut and Dominic McIver Lopes. London, New York: Routledge. 2nd ed. 2005 (1st ed. 2001), pp. 133–145; R. Keith Sawyer: Improvisation and the Creative Process: Dewey, Collingwood, and the Aesthetics of Spontaneity. In: *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 58 (2000) 2, pp. 149–161. See also the remarks on Croce in the context of the German discussion on genre theory Ralf Klausnitzer, Guido Naschert: *Gattungstheoretische Kontroversen? Konstellationen der Diskussion von Textordnungen im 20. Jahrhundert*. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 369–412, pp. 373–379. See also the brief remarks on Schleiermacher in this book.

Kunstwerk that has been reedited and read so often, even up until the 1990s. Yet contrasting *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* with contemporary writings such as Seidler's *Die Dichtung*, the surprise vanishes. Considered alongside *Die Dichtung*, Kayser's work looks like a far more innovative and comprehensive account which, although led by out-dated approaches, helped to shape the future of literary science.

(b) Back to a Poetics of Style: Herbert Seidler (1959)

Seidler (1905–1983) studied with Emil Winkler, an early rationalist opponent of the intuitionist Croce,¹⁰ became a member of the NSDAP and therefore lost the 'venia legendi' in 1945 but was denazified in 1946. From 1958 until 1963 he served as a professor of Modern German philology at Johannesburg University, edited the periodical *Sprachkunde* (1971 ff) and became prominent through his rude opposition to Käte Hamburger.¹¹ In 1959 he aimed to create a final synthesis of the old-fashioned 'inter ars'-debate combined with the turn toward language.

Seidler's *Die Dichtung. Wesen – Form – Dasein* (1959) is a final attempt to protect the old poetics against the modern, his adversaries being new theorists like Hamburger who aim to introduce a decisive scientification of poetics.¹² The text *Die Dichtung* developed throughout Seidler's lectures on the topic at Innsbruck University. Yet Seidler does not content himself with providing a guide for students; he aims to create 'a new poetics' ("eine neue Poetik") although the title "Poetik" struck him as being too problematic.¹³ Nevertheless, *Die Dichtung* claims to provide a poetics that is a 'contained representation of poetry' ("geschlossene Darstellung der Dichtung").¹⁴ Like Kayser, Seidler highlights the aspect of language in order to characterize poetry, and with so many of his contemporaries he shares the interest in anthropology as well as in

10 Richter (fn. 9).

11 Julia Mansour: Fehdehandschuh des kritischen Freundesgeistes: Die Kontroverse um Käte Hamburgers "Die Logik der Dichtung". In: Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 235–247, p. 243.

12 Ibid., p. 243.

13 Herbert Seidler: *Die Dichtung: Wesen – Form – Dasein*. Stuttgart: Kröner 1959 (Kröners Taschenausgabe 283), p. 2.

14 Ibid.

existentialist approaches to literature. The whole oeuvre, however, is less original even than Kayser's *Sprachliches Kunstwerk*. Still, it is an – in part – surprising, astonishingly theoretical and slightly conservative 'anthropological' reproduction of ideas and theories already developed.

The historical chapter on poetics introduces poetics since the Sturm und Drang and amounts to an astonishingly positive judgement of psychological poetics and the work of the young Dilthey, the argument being that psychological processes lead to cultural achievements.¹⁵ Nevertheless, it should not be the task of the interpreter to examine the poet's psyche; he might only wish to understand the process of creation.¹⁶ A representative poetics of the time such as *Die Dichtung*, Seidler assumes, has to complete three tasks: firstly, it must describe the relation of poetics to all branches of science and the humanities, secondly, it ought to expand on a general 'Literaturwissenschaft' and thirdly, it should bring the artwork closer to the reader through providing theoretical knowledge.¹⁷

Still, the principle which should bring the reader closer to literature is reminiscent of Heidegger as well as of older approaches in praise of the extraordinary qualities of literature: 'reverence' ("Ehrfurcht") is the principle in question.¹⁸ Many secrets and depths remain imperceptible to the human eye, writes Seidler, a 'deep experience' ("tiefes Erleben") or at least the preparedness for such an experience is said to be the premise for reading poetry.¹⁹ The argument is grounded in the 'irrational' nature of poetry: poetry can only be experienced 'by means of a specific attitude' ("in ganz bestimmter Haltung")²⁰ that is through 'aesthetic experience' ("ästhetisches Erleben") and 'aesthetic pleasure' ("ästhetische Lust").²¹ Despite this stress on emotion and senti-

15 Ibid., pp. 5 f.

16 Ibid., p. 82.

17 Ibid., pp. 7 f.

18 Ibid., p. 10: "Nur mit Ehrfurcht darf sich der Erforscher der Dichtung nähern. Er muß wissen, daß viele Geheimnisse und Tiefen der Dichtung dem erkennenden Auge des theoretischen Menschen verschlossen bleiben müssen, sie hat er zu verehren." / 'The scholar should approach poetry with nothing but reverence. He needs to know that many secrets and depths of poetry will be closed off to the knowing eye of the theoretical mind, and precisely these secrets and depths he has to worship'.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., pp. 47 f.

21 Ibid., p. 134: "Wir versenken uns dabei in die Fülle eines Gegebenen aus einer bestimmten inneren Haltung, in der alle seelischen Kräfte mitwirken und die

ment, Seidler emphasises that a kind of theoretical approach to poetry is possible as well.

Poetry, in turn, is both 'a phenomenon so decisive for humankind' ("menschlich so wichtiges Phänomen")²² and a special type of art because of the immense possibilities of language. Seidler reexamines Meyer's arguments against Vischer in claiming that poetry is not only the 'vehicle of poetry' ("Vehikel der Dichtung")²³ but an 'artwork of language' ("Sprachkunstwerk") which carries its world in itself, thereby revealing something deeper ("Tieferes").²⁴ The ultimate goal of poetry is 'enlightenment of being' ("Seinserhellung")²⁵ or, according to Spoerri, 'the perfection of there-being' ("die Vollendung des Daseins").²⁶

The rest of *Die Dichtung* reads like a combination of Heideggerian romanticism, Walzel, Ermatinger, Ingarden's layer model²⁷ and Staiger. As far as the romantic aspect is concerned, Seidler (influenced by Heidegger) adheres to the romantic and post-romantic notion that Aristotle's 'mimesis' does not reflect the deeper meaning of poetry correctly.²⁸

The only way to describe and distinguish different types of poetry (and even genre) is, according to Staiger, through the analysis of style and time as both express the characteristics of a particular human being.²⁹ Poetry can be differentiated according to the three 'attitudes' ("Haltungen"),³⁰ the lyric, the epic and the dramatic. Seidler develops Staiger's approach further in that he expands on genre: the lyrical, for instance, is characterized by, firstly, 'innerness' ("Verinnerung") which allows no distance between the object and the subject,³¹ secondly, 'examination' ("Betrachtung"), thirdly, 'spectating' ("Zuschauen") as in Goethe's poem on the metamorphosis of plants³² and, fourthly, 'being enraptured' ("Hingerissensein"), a form of pathos which is typical for drama but also

aus dem Tiefsten steigt." / 'We delve with this into the fullness of that which is there and given, an act which derives from a specific inner countenance in which all mental powers are active and which ascends from depths.'

22 Ibid., p. 10.

23 Ibid., p. 21.

24 Ibid., pp. 49 f.

25 Ibid., p. 48.

26 Ibid., p. 94.

27 Ibid., pp. 284–316.

28 Ibid., pp. 67–70.

29 Ibid., p. 148.

30 Ibid., p. 95.

31 Ibid., p. 350.

32 Ibid., pp. 351 f.

for the lyric and epic.³³ Like Staiger's genre theory Seidler's builds on the premise of 'shifting boundaries with other categories and types' ("fließende Grenzen zu anderen Gattungen und Arten").³⁴

A similar modification of Staiger's thinking is perceptible in Seidler's evaluation of poetry according to its representation of time: poetry should have, remarks Seidler rather normatively, 'through/all-encompassing movement' ("durchgehende Bewegung"), coherence in the sense of 'various repetitions' ("verschiedene Wiederholungen"), 'equilibrium of elements' ("Ausgewogenheit der Glieder") and 'own space' ("eigenen Raum").³⁵ Still, since grotesque, kitsch and popular literature may also possess these elements, Seidler restricts his evaluation of poetry, referring to Walzel: the best poetry is 'poetry, that is marked by an extensive and thorough content' ("Dichtung, die durch den umfassenden, weit- und tiefreichenden Gehalt ausgezeichnet ist").³⁶ "Gehalt und Gestalt" need to be balanced in a harmonious way.³⁷

Even if Seidler's (and, to some extent) Kayser's approaches strike one as being out-dated already in the 1940s, the extent to which they differ from poetics conceived in the Nazi-period is astonishing. It is as if scholars in the 1940s and 50s had to go back to the early 1940s and extinguish all context-driven approaches as they seemed to be contaminated by the Nazis' want for historically relevant interpretations. Still, the contradiction is not that harsh: already in the 1940s and 50s, the conditioning of a work of art by the respective historical situation is a valid interest of poetics.³⁸

33 Ibid., p. 352.

34 Ibid., p. 378.

35 Ibid., pp. 263–274.

36 Ibid., pp. 340 f.

37 Ibid., pp. 138–145.

38 Ibid., p. 361.

13. Poetics under the Fascist Regime

In George Tabori's drama *Mein Kampf* Adolf Hitler is portrayed as an uneducated and unsuccessful painter of trivial "Heimatkunst" (regional folk-art), who lives off the goodwill of his Jewish neighbour in a Viennese men's boarding house. Having failed as a painter he devotes all his energy to politics. He aims to create an aesthetic politics, and art is seen as one of the means to support and glorify his political goals. Indeed, in his various 'speeches on culture' ("Kulturredten"), the historical Hitler claimed that art should be 'a mission sublime and commanding one's fanaticism in pursuing it'.¹ The same was true for art theory. It had to serve the so-called 'Third Reich'. State-run universities as well as scientific and cultural foundations were peculiarly likely to be usurped by the Fascist regime or even (like the "Forschungsgemeinschaft Deutsches Ahnenerbe e.V.", 1935–1945, and the "Aktion Ritterbusch", 1940–1945) founded by the National Socialists and suffused with Fascist ideology.² Literary science not only saw the dismissal of Jewish colleagues but also the establishment of institutions to cultivate the 'ancestral legacy' ("Ahnenerbe"). However, despite the political will to colonize art as well as its theory under the flag of Fascism, poetics, from 1933 to 1945, showed a variety of accounts, and not all of them were in agreement with the political attempts of the Nazi Party.

Two poetics published in Germany at the time (those of Karl Justus Obenauer and Heinz Kindermann) support Fascist ideas. They even claim to develop Fascist thinking further and to help a 'true German poetry' by establishing a new literary science (a, b). Still, at the same time

1 Heinz Kindermann: *Dichtung und Volkheit: Grundzüge einer neuen Literaturwissenschaft*. Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt 1937, p. 13.

2 See Frank-Rutger Hausmann: "Deutsche Geisteswissenschaft" im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Die "Aktion Ritterbusch" (1940–1945). 3rd ed. Heidelberg: Synchron 2007 (1st ed. 1998); Frank-Rutger Hausmann: *Auch im Krieg schweigen die Musen nicht: Die Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Institute im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2001; see also the latest study on the "Geschichte der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft 1920–1970," carried out by Rüdiger vom Bruch and Ulrich Herbert (presentation of results: DFG Pressemitteilung No. 6, 2008).

the largest historiography of poetics *Geschichte der deutschen Poetik* (4 vols., 1937–1959) had been written by Bruno Markwardt (1899–1972), a professor at Greifswald University. Furthermore and in contrast to Obenauer's and Kindermann's approaches, three theories of poetics participate only in the general scientific interest of the time in questions of biology, race and morphology (Ludwig Büttner, Günther Müller, Julius Petersen). Büttner and Müller do not refer positively to National Socialism at all and Petersen praises it only in a few noncommittal sentences of his huge opus magnum (c, d, e).

Last but not least, there is a third pattern of poetics which deserves mention: the pattern of elitist aesthetic escapism with its preference for aesthetic heroism and autonomy. Although this pattern does not bring many new thoughts to the study of poetics it is a remarkable account of the historical circumstances that determined events during the 1940s. The pattern in question is revealed by Eckart Peterich (1900–1968), a journalist, from 1959 director of German libraries in Italy, programme director of the Goethe Institute Munich in 1962 and later freelance writer. His *Mass der Musen* was first published in 1944 (“Venedig, im April 1944”), destroyed in an air-raid on Freiburg im Breisgau and then in 1947 republished under the French military regime.³ The latter circumstance highlights the fact that the book contains no explicit reference to Fascism as it was republished immediately. Indeed, the very abstract essay tries to derive the essence of poetry from the muses. As there is an abundance of photos of copper-plate engravings of the muses (produced by an anonymous engraver around 1460), the book styles itself as a “Gesamtkunstwerk” of poetics.⁴

The aim of the work is to place old thoughts in a new order: tradition – not individuality or originality – plays the main part in this version of poetics.⁵ The muses guide the poet and legitimate poetry. Mnemosyne becomes the leading muse as she is said to express a threefold meaning: she represents the individual, humanity and all muses.⁶ Mnemosyne, however, is the sovereign of a realm accessible to only a few elected poets and a small audience: ‘Culture, however, is immortal. [...] Only those who are free entirely may possess it [culture]; this is

3 Eckart Peterich: *Das Mass der Musen: Überlegungen zu einer Poetik*. 2nd ed. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder 1947, preface [not pag.].

4 See, for instance, the Poesia-print in the addendum.

5 Peterich (fn. 3), p. preface [not pag.].

6 However, a Mnemosyne-print is missing in Peterich's book.

why the people do not yet possess it today.⁷ This aesthetic elitism is reminiscent of that prevailing in the George-circle, which through its ideas of an aesthetic universe distances itself from the ordinary people as well as from political leaders. Peterich carefully omits every political or historical reference. Nevertheless, he subtly states that the history of humanity (and poetry as part of it) will be written by the muses not by the dukes.⁸ This plea for an autonomy of poetics is already a political statement – a statement that is far detached from the open sympathy for National Socialism as demonstrated by Obenauer.

(a) Problems of German Poetics: Karl Justus Obenauer (1936)

Obenauer (1888–1973) is well-known due to a most problematic decision: As dean at Bonn University in 1936 he instructed the faculty to disallow Thomas Mann his honorary doctorate. Therefore, and also because he was a fervent party member of the NSDAP, depicting National Socialism as a new kind of mysticism or pantheism, he had difficulties finding further employment after 1945.⁹ From 1936 Obenauer had been the co-editor of the *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Bildung*, the periodical of the ‘Society for German Education’ (Gesellschaft für Deutsche Bildung; Deutscher Germanistenverband e.V.) that was attached to the ‘National Socialist Teacher Association’ (Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund). Obenauer’s monograph *Volkhafte und politische Dichtung. Probleme deutscher Poetik* (1936) was published in a comparatively politicized con-

7 Peterich (fn. 3), pp. 36 f: “Kultur aber ist ein Unsterbliches. [...] Kultur aber vermögen nur völlig freie Menschen zu tragen; darum trägt sie das Volk heute noch nicht.”

8 Peterich (fn. 3), p. 77: “Gewaltig aber ist die Macht der Musen: sie, nicht die Fürsten, schreiben die Geschichte der Menschheit.”/ ‘The power of the muses is enormous, the muses and not the princes write the history of humankind.’

9 Thomas Pittrof: Obenauer, Karl Justus. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 2., pp. 1342 f; see also Eberhard Lämmert: Ein Weg ins Freie. Versuch eines Rückblicks auf die Germanistik vor und nach 1945. In: Zeitenwechsel: Germanistische Literaturwissenschaft vor und nach 1945, ed. by Wilfried Barner and Christoph König, Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1996, pp. 411–417, p. 412; Holger Dainat: Zur Berufungspolitik in der Neueren deutschen Literaturwissenschaft 1933–1945. In: Literaturwissenschaft und Nationalsozialismus, ed. by Holger Dainat and Lutz Danneberg. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003 (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 99), pp. 55–86, pp. 69 f.

text: with Armanen publishers, in a special series called 'World View and Science' ("Weltanschauung und Wissenschaft"). As the advert indicates, this title refers to works published in favour of National Socialism.¹⁰

Volkhafte und politische Dichtung is the extended version of Obenauer's inaugural lecture at Bonn University. Obenauer aims to produce 'a German poetics' ("eine deutsche Poetik")¹¹ which in his case means not only a book on German literature but a peculiar German poetics. Therefore, Obenauer programmatically begins his poetics with a reference to the early Dilthey: Dilthey called poetics a true and abstract introduction into literary history, and Obenauer turns Dilthey's theories around. Poetics, the 'doctrine of the essence and the forms of poetry' ("die Lehre vom Wesen und von den Formen der Dichtung")¹² is indeed to be seen as a true introduction into the field but not as an abstract overview. Poetics should contain a decisive foundation for literature, its claims of primacy based on empirical historical research.¹³

The problem of contemporary poetics follows from this claim: poetics has lost its reputation because it is no longer able to answer the question of the essence of poetry. The latest historically sufficient answers were the doctrine of mimesis as well as the romantic and idealist aesthetics of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Historicism and psychologism were not able to respond convincingly. In order to prove his judgement Obenauer polemically quotes 'the enemy', Scherer's *Poetik*: 'poetry offers delight by means of anticipating future delight',¹⁴ a quote which sounds like a trivialized version of hedonist ideas,¹⁵ ideas that are to be rejected in the name of new and sacred inventions. Obenauer diagnoses that in the course of the 19th century, the great idea about the mission of the poet lost its relevance, and consequently, poetics was discredited. It is not by mere accident that the notion of a mission of the poet in 1936 is directly reminiscent of Hitler's speeches on culture.

10 Karl Justus Obenauer: *Volkhafte und politische Dichtung: Probleme deutscher Poetik*. Leipzig: Armanen 1936 (*Weltanschauung und Wissenschaft* 5), additional advert, p. 35.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

14 Scherer: *Poetik*, ed. Gunter Reiss. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1977, p. 62: "Die Poesie gewährt Vergnügen durch die Vorstellung eines künftigen Vergnügens"; Obenauer (fn. 10), p. 4.

15 See also the chapter on Scherer and his reception.

Obenauer's method already anticipates the link to National Socialism and its doctrine: 'blood-bound empathy' ("bluthaftes Einfühlen") is the racial premise of Obenauer's method of interpretation; he praises it as a 'deep need' especially of the German researcher.¹⁶ Consequently, Obenauer specifies his 'German poetics' as a doctrine of the essence and form of German poetry, which is synthetical and closely related to general doctrines of art and soul, anthropology, 'national theory' ("Volks-theorie") and philosophy.¹⁷ Its principal tasks are to formulate clear ideas about the mission of the poet in a 'national state of the people' ("volkhaften Staate"), a doctrine of life as well as of the general rules of poetry and to develop a sense for 'all that is coming into being (and livelihood) and all that is yet to come' ("lebendig Werdende und Zukünftige").¹⁸

In order to reveal his poetics in detail Obenauer follows the theory of Heidegger, who in *Time and Being* states that true movements in science disclose themselves by the radical revision of their key concepts.¹⁹ Obenauer therefore examines established ideas and proposes new, mostly racial or cultural key concepts of poetics such as political and "volkhafte" poetry, 'species-specific' ("arteigene") poetry, 'Nordic-German' ("nordisch-deutsche") poetry and 'typical German values of expression' ("typisch deutsche Ausdruckswerte") that are opposed to 'a rootless and aloof bourgeois international' ("wurzellos weltbürgerlich internationale") art that might be individualistic, too conscious of class and inclined toward 'useless' l'art pour l'art.²⁰

Obenauer's concepts will be explained with the help of contemporaneous national theories which Obenauer mentions without pursuing his poetical plan: Max Hildebert Boehm's scientifically ambitious "Volkstheorie" ('theory of the people/national theory')²¹ and the con-

16 Obenauer (fn. 10), p. 5. On the relevance of race in programmatic approaches of National Socialism in the humanities see Michael Grüttner: Die nationalsozialistische Wissenschaftspolitik und die Geisteswissenschaften. In: Literaturwissenschaft und Nationalsozialismus, ed. by Holger Dainat, Lutz Danneberg. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003 (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 99), pp. 13–39, p. 27.

17 Ibid., p. 6.

18 Ibid., p. 6, passim.

19 Ibid., p. 24.

20 Ibid., p. 8.

21 Max Hildebert Böhm: Das eigenständige Volk: Volkstheoretische Grundlagen der Ethnopolitik und Geisteswissenschaften, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1932.

cept of the 'autonomous people' ("eigenständige Volk"), a people that determines itself in history and Josef Nadler's concept of the people as 'clannish entity' ("stammhaftes Gefüge").²² Although Obenauer doubts that landscape entirely structures or forms the people, Adolf Helbock's attempt to formulate an essential concept of people as expressed in his monograph *Was ist deutsche Volksgeschichte* (1935) is praised.²³ The same is true for the racist, yet bourgeois and conservative author Hans Grimm (1875–1959) who, with his major work *Volk ohne Raum* (1926), provided the Nazis with one of their key political ideas (the lack of space for the Nordic race). Grimm is particularly enthusiastically perceived as he vividly advocates the political office of the poet and argues against 'egoistic' poetry, precisely against the poet Paul Alverdes (1897–1979), a former officer and free lance writer who, from 1934, acted as co-editor of the unpolitical bourgeois monthly *Das innere Reich* (1934–1944).²⁴ This self-presentation is, however, misleading as Grimm regularly met with Alverdes and other non-National Socialist or even anti-National Socialist conservative writers.²⁵

A consequence of these oppositions, the key concept of the 'indigenous poet' ("volkhafte Dichter"), is explained in millenarian terms: Obenauer promotes here the idea of an ultimate relationship between the poet and his people.²⁶ This relationship is a relationship of fate – a fate that only the poet can foresee, a poet like Hans Sachs for instance who had already served as an example of the poeta vates in the work of Friedrich Schlegel. The poet is able to act as a vates as Obenauer at-

22 Obenauer (fn. 10), pp. 9 f.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 12; on the periodical Marion Mallmann: "Das Innere Reich": Analyse einer konservativen Kulturzeitschrift im Dritten Reich. Bonn: Bouvier 1978 (Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik und Literaturwissenschaft 248).

25 Klaus van Delft: Kritische Apologie des Nationalsozialismus: Hans Grimms Konservative Revolution? In: Leid der Worte: Panorama des literarischen Nationalsozialismus, ed. by Jörg Thunecke. Bonn: Bouvier 1987, pp. 255–277; Uwe-Karsten Ketelsen: Klaustrophobie im Kloster Lippoldsberg: Hans Grimms Roman "Volk ohne Raum". Ein Bilderbuch rechter Ideologie in Deutschland. In: Literatur und Drittes Reich, ed. by U.-K. K. Schernfeld: SH-Verlag 1992, pp. 199–215; Gerd Koch: Dichtertage bei Hans Grimm in Lippoldsberg. In: Zeitschrift für Germanistik 2 (1994), pp. 337–349.

26 Obenauer (fn. 10), p. 15: "eine tiefste, letzte Wesens- und Existenzbeziehung zwischen dem Genius des Dichters und des Volkes." / 'a deepest, ultimate relation of essence and existence between the genius of the poet and of the people'.

tributes a special capacity to him: fantasy – a notion of fantasy that covers everything from ‘racial-national powers’ (“rassisch-völkische Bildkräfte”) to sublime spiritual viewing.²⁷ Being kissed by the muse, Obenauer’s poet awakens his motives by a ‘creative choice of form’ (“schöpferische Formwahl”).²⁸ The results of this grasp of poetry express and thereby guarantee the states, actions and passions of a people.²⁹ This in turn becomes Obenauer’s essence of poetry: the mission the poet fulfils for his people.

Obenauer, however, failed to conceive a whole new German poetics. His account of the difficulties of poetry remained a sticking point as did his propositions about how a future poetics shall arise and direct the people’s fate. Yet his *Volkhafte und politische Dichtung* pointed the way towards a National Socialist poetics, grounded in a racist theory of interpretation and revitalised concept of the ancient poetasters. It was Kindermann who radicalised Obenauer’s thoughts.

(b) Poetry and “Volkheit” – a New Literary Science: Heinz Kindermann (1937)

Heinz Kindermann (1894–1985), a member of the NSDAP from 1933 and ‘one of the most ambitious Nazi-Germanists’ (“einer der ehrgeizigsten Nazi-Germanisten”),³⁰ taught at the Universities of Danzig and Münster. In 1943, he founded the ‘Centre for Theatre Science’ (“Zentralinstitut für Theaterwissenschaft”) in Vienna that later became a big

27 Ibid., p. 29: “Wer die Phantasie studiert hat, weiß, daß sie alles umfaßt, was an plastischem und bildhaftem Vermögen in uns ruht: sie reicht hinab bis zu den letzten mütterlichen Gründen der rassisch-völkischen Bildkräfte und hinauf bis zu den erhabensten Höhen der geistigen Schau.” / ‘Those who have studied fantasy know that it embraces all of our abilities to capture malleable and pictorial material; poetry reaches from the last motherly foundations of racial-national powers of composition to the most sublime heights of the intellectual show.’

28 Ibid., p. 25.

29 Ibid., p. 34.

30 Jens Malte Fischer: “Zwischen uns und Weimar liegt Buchenwald.” Germanisten im Dritten Reich. In: *Merkur* 1987, pp. 12–25, p. 20; on Kindermann and his academic career see Mechthild Kirsch: *Heinz Kindermann – ein Wiener Germanist und Theaterwissenschaftler*. In: *Zeitenwechsel: Germanistische Literaturwissenschaft vor und nach 1945*, ed. by Wilfried Barner and Christoph König. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1996, pp. 47–59.

representative institute in the cultural centre of the “großdeutsche Reich”. Between 1933 und 1945 Kindermann was one of the most profusely publishing Germanists, judged as a popular scientist by the Nazis as his writings were very much inspired by National Socialist ideas. Following the work of Heidegger and his adherents, Kindermann attacked Geisteswissenschaft and opted for a historical anthropology of literature. Combining popular, anthropological as well as biologist and racist accounts, one of his main theoretical contributions was his idea of ‘literature from abroad/outside Germany’ (“auslanddeutsche Literatur”). Kindermann postulated the biological idea that literature is the expression of the ‘body of the people’ (“Volksganze”), and therefore, expanded the term German literature to all literature written in the German language.³¹ Although this concept was inspired by Fascist ideas and led to a homogenisation of all literature written in German, the concept opened up an empirical interest in what was written beyond German borders. Nevertheless, this was of minor interest and significance. After World War II Kindermann was dismissed from his job. In 1954, however, he was re-appointed as professor for theatre science at Vienna University, despite student protests. The protests need have looked no further for their justification than quotes from Kindermann’s work *Dichtung und Volkheit* (1937).

Kindermann radicalises Obenauer’s approach by expanding on his key term “Volkheit” (which roughly translates as ‘the essence of a people’): Kindermann invents his own etymology for “Volkheit” by mixing up some passages from Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister* (“Aus Makariens Archiv”) with biologist and racist reflection. As a result, “Volkheit” is understood as a unity of ‘a people’s body, mind/spirit and soul’ (“Volkskörper, Volksgeist und Volksseele”) which aims to be eternal.³² Consequently, “volkhafte Dichtung” cannot be characterised by dead letters; it is ‘a continuously procreating form of art’ (“fortzuzeugendes Leben”).³³

Kindermann uses the notion of “Volkheit” to develop a visionary National Socialist poetics that aims to create a new foundation of a

31 Alexander Ritter: “Auslanddeutsche Literatur”: Ideologische und fachtheoretische Definition. Dokumentarisches zu Heinz Kindermann und seiner national-konservativen literaturwissenschaftlichen Programmatik. In: Deutsche Regionalliteraturen in Rumänien 1918–1944, ed. by Peter Motzan and Stefan Sienerth. Munich: Südostdt. Kulturwerk 1997, pp. 21–32.

32 Kindermann (fn. 1), p. VII.

33 Ibid., p. IX.

so-called literary science. In fact, it is a normative and primitive methodology for literary studies as well as a normative poetics for poets. Kindermann however, in contrast to Obenauer, omits the term poetics and uses the more innovative "Literaturwissenschaft".

Kindermann briefly reconstructs the evolution of literary science, legitimising his account with the words of Nietzsche: 'only by employing the highest mental powers of the present may you interpret the past' ("Nur aus der höchsten Kraft der Gegenwart dürft ihr das Vergangene deuten").³⁴ This legitimisation deserves some attention: Kindermann writes a presentist poetics. His theories do not allow for a purposeless objective, neutral or 'pure historical' science. But not only that: Kindermann goes further in attributing a distinct present to the poetics to be envisaged. Science in general and poetics in particular should perceive themselves as means to develop, sustain and promote their nation. Therefore, science should prepare itself for future action: 'mental preparation' ("seelische[s] Bereitmachen[]")³⁵ was a term often heard in National Socialist speeches before World War II.

From a scientific point of view, Kindermann's literary science is not as innovative as it promises to be. For instance, he does not propose a new methodology for his literary science but a new attitude ("Grundhaltung") or mentality towards poetry.³⁶ Innovation in Kindermann's case means creating an ideology. He undermines concepts that are already used in poetics, e.g. Rudolph Unger's fruitful 'history of problems'. Kindermann appreciates Unger's context-related approach to literature but according to Kindermann it is not problems, but rather forces, which govern German literature.³⁷ One should explore the 'force of German poetics' ("Kraftfeld der deutschen Dichtung") anew,³⁸ thereby, contributing to the 'great German turn' ("große deutsche Wende") that – both in literature and literary science – reveals itself through 'the influence of blood' and through 'a love characterised by its readiness for action' ("tatbereite[] Liebe").³⁹

The same process of 'transformation' occurs, according to Kindermann, in the work of Dilthey: Dilthey is correct in stating that each

34 Ibid., pp. 32–34.

35 Ibid., p. 44.

36 Ibid., p. VIII.

37 Ibid., p. 65.

38 Ibid., p. VIII.

39 Ibid., p. IX.

work is a unity of its own – but the cause for this is to be seen in the poet's experience with his people: in the 'racial-mental, national and social capacities of the poet and the/his society' ("rassenseelischen, völkischen und sozialen Möglichkeiten des Dichters und der Gemeinschaft").⁴⁰ From this premise follows a task: literary science should not limit itself to the study of the history of a work, but should also take the history of its effects into consideration.⁴¹ It should show the picture of the German man in German poetry and should rebuild literary science as 'national science/study of life' ("volkhafte[] Lebenswissenschaft").⁴² In short: Kindermann reformulates Dilthey's account by establishing an ideology. Again, Dilthey's concepts of experience and life prove to be open to an approach inspired by biologist, racist and National Socialist tendencies.

Like in the work of Obenauer, the main topics of such a revised poetics are the poet and his people. But Kindermann develops Obenauer's ideas further. This strategy of 'outbidding' can be shown from Kindermann's poetological assumptions and consequences: Firstly, biologist selection is seen as the principle of literary evolution. Therefore, literature ("Schrifttum") that is nationally indifferent or decisively international is dangerous for the 'blood circulation' of the nation.⁴³ Secondly, poetry is more than an 'artwork of words' ("Wortkunstwerk").⁴⁴ It is primarily to be seen as a sacrifice to "Volkheit".⁴⁵ Kindermann gives several quotes in order to illustrate this idea: Paul Ernst's article *Das deutsche Volk und der Dichter von heute* (1932/ published 1933) shows that the poet is the conscience of his people, Ernst himself being the best example of this as he received the renowned Goethe-medal in 1933 (before Hitler had the power to confer the medal which had been originally founded by chancellor Hindenburg).⁴⁶ Another example is Friedrich Griesse (1890–1975), a national poet who, in his *Gesang des Sämanns*, depicts the poet as someone who sows ("Sämann") the seeds for/of his nation, not openly alluding to National Socialism but nevertheless supporting its

40 Ibid., p. 78.

41 Ibid., p. 65.

42 Ibid., p. 89.

43 Ibid., p. 1.

44 Ibid., p. 10.

45 Ibid., p. 10.

46 For information on the medal I wish to thank Bernd Hamacher.

ideology through key words.⁴⁷ What follows comes as no surprise: Hitler's speeches on culture with their statements on the missionary task of art.⁴⁸

Thirdly, Kindermann defines in which direction this mission should go: poetry should not only contribute to the national community of life, but should also enhance the 'state of being well-fortified and able-bodied' ("Wehrhaftigkeit") and the 'force of resistance' ("Kraft des Widerstandes").⁴⁹ Fourthly, each poet is only a link ("Glied") in the chain of his people; his poetry speaks not so much of his individual fantasy, but more of the 'choir of the community' ("Chor der Gemeinschaft").⁵⁰ Fifthly, the poet is an elected person who has the duty to renew his community through his writings. He is to follow particular role models: the most honoured NS-author Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer (1878–1962), Hans Grimm, former expressionist turned National-Socialist poet Hanns Johst (1890–1978) who wrote 'the' National-Socialist drama *Schlageter* (1933)⁵¹ and the writer Wilhelm Schäfer (1868–1952) who in his speech *Der Schriftsteller* (1911) pleaded for an archaic and national understanding of the poet's mission – a mixture that clearly reveals Kindermann's ideological preferences.

Kindermann's poetics does not require further description: it is a National Socialist text from its premises, through its little developed methodology to its examples. Although it presents itself as a theory of literature, it is based to a large extent on preconceiving contemporary poetics from a Fascist point of view. Already in 1937, it reads like a war-mongering document that obviously served political and not scien-

47 On Griese see Stefan Busch: "Und gestern, da hörte uns Deutschland": NS-Autoren in der Bundesrepublik. Kontinuität und Diskontinuität bei Friedrich Griese, Werner Beumelburg, Eberhard Wolfgang Möller und Kurt Ziesel. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1998.

48 Kindermann (fn. 1), p. 13.

49 Ibid., p. 28.

50 Ibid., p. 6. The author refers to Ernst Krieck: Nationalpolitische Erziehung. Leipzig: Armanen 1932; Walter Gross: Rassenpolitische Erziehung. Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt 1934.

51 On Johst see Helmut F. Pfanner: Hanns Johst: Vom Expressionismus zum Nationalsozialismus. The Hague, Paris: Mouton 1970; on "Schlageter" Helmut Göbel: Zum politischen Drama und Theater im Nationalsozialismus: Hanns Johsts "Schlageter" als politisches Märtyrerdrama und die nationalsozialistischen Massenveranstaltungen. In: Aspekte des politischen Theaters und Dramas von Calderón bis Georg Seidel. Bern [et al.]: Lang 1996, pp. 269–288.

tific purposes. This is different from Ludwig Büttner's poetological approach.

(c) Biologist Approaches: Ludwig Büttner (1939)

Despite his eloquent and thoughtful theoretical approach, Ludwig Büttner (1909–1984) belongs to the group of little-known literary scientists. This lack of prominence might be due to two facts: firstly, he did not make a very successful career for himself. He received his doctorate at Erlangen University; after some years of teaching and assistantship he moved to Middlebury/Vermont as a university teacher. Secondly, after having finished his theoretical oeuvre, Büttner focused on authors such as Georg Büchner as well as on the history of drama and lyric poetry and left the area of poetics.⁵² In contrast to more conventional as well as to Fascist approaches, Büttner's exciting earlier *Gedanken zu einer biologischen Literaturbetrachtung* (1939) aims to establish a biologist poetics that does not adhere to National Socialism (yet it proves to be anti-Semitic). Büttner remained ideologically tentative and sceptical. Although Büttner – like Obenauer and Kindermann – attacks *Geisteswissenschaft* in his work and proclaims an entirely new account of poetics, Büttner presents his findings as provisory results only; he explores possibilities.

This scepticism stems from a methodological question to which Büttner knows no sufficient answer: 'To what extent are biological cognitions for a deepening, extension or correction of the present foundation of *Geisteswissenschaft* possible, useful and necessary?'⁵³ Büttner clearly distinguishes the areas of the body and the mind and does not claim superiority of one over the other. This premise leads him to a critique of existing biological approaches: They overlooked Büttner's

52 Ludwig Büttner: Georg Büchner: Revolutionär und Pessimist. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Nuremberg: Carl 1948; L.B. (ed.): Das europäische Drama von Ibsen bis Zuckmayer: Dargestellt an Einzelinterpretationen. Frankfurt a. M.: Diesterweg 1960; L.B.: Von Benn bis Enzensberger: Eine Einführung in die zeitgenössische deutsche Lyrik. 3rd rev. ed. Nuremberg: Carl 1975 (1st ed. Nuremberg 1971).

53 Ludwig Büttner: *Gedanken zu einer biologischen Literaturbetrachtung*. Munich: Hueber 1939, p. 8: "Wieweit sind die biologischen Erkenntnisse für eine Vertiefung, Erweiterung oder Korrektur der bisherigen Grundlage der Geisteswissenschaft möglich, brauchbar und notwendig?"

methodological question as they were too much driven by the natural sciences.

Few exceptions confirm the rule. Büttner thinks highly of Hans F.K. Günther's 'physical description of a race' ("leibliche[] Beschreibung einer Rasse") which is said to be a combination of artistic and scientific observation, of intuition and statistics.⁵⁴ Another positive role model is Alfred Rosenberg's Fascist 'chef d'oeuvre' *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1930) – a widely acknowledged as well as highly disputed attempt at an intuitive racial world view.⁵⁵ Rosenberg (1893–1946), fascinated by Houston Stewart Chamberlain's racial theories, is to be regarded as the ideologist-in-chief of the National Socialist party who promotes race purification. In contrast to Oswald Spengler's sceptical depiction of the 'Decline of the Occident', Rosenberg's *Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* proposes a racial symbolism that includes a new 'Nordic' religious myth as well as a new 'Germanic' aesthetics.⁵⁶ National Socialism becomes the telos of Rosenberg's ideology of history – an ideology which German academics were not allowed to oppose.

Büttner therefore uses a special strategy to cite (yet subvert) Rosenberg's ideology. Büttner concludes that both Günther and Rosenberg

54 Ibid., p. 17.

55 Ibid., pp. 20 f; on Rosenberg see Herbert P. Rohfelder: *A Study of Alfred Rosenberg's Organization for National Socialist Ideology*. PhD-thesis 1963 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor); Reinhard Bollmus: *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem*. Munich: Oldenbourg 2006; Ernst Piper: *Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe*. Munich: Pantheon Verlag 2007.

56 Alfred Rosenberg: *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung des seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit*. 17th–20th ed. Munich: Hoheneichen-Verl. 1934, pp. 277 f: "Auch die Zeit der dickbändigen Aesthetiken ist vorüber. Die überwiegend zergliedernde Arbeit [...] hat uns auch eine lange Reihe sich bis ins feinste verästelnde Werke über das Wesen der Kunst und die aesthetische Empfindung beschert. Eine ungeheure geistige Arbeit liegt hier aufgespeichert, aber kein Mensch liest heute Zimmermann, Hartmann, ja kaum noch Fechner, Külpe, Groos, Lipps, Müller-Freienfels, Moos und viele andere." / 'The time for/of multi-volume works on aesthetics is over. The largely dissecting, analytic way of working brought us a large number of works on the essence of art and aesthetic perception which are infinitely ramified. A tremendous intellectual work is stored here, but nowadays hardly anybody is reading Zimmermann, Hartmann, and very little by Fechner, Külpe, Groos, Lipps, Müller-Freienfels, Moos and others'. The problem of this 'anatomic aesthetics' is said to have been its analytic premise. Rosenberg aims to replace this premise with regard to a synthetical Wagnerian aesthetic religion.

prove the existence of a 'race's soul' ("Rassenseele"), a concept that – according to Büttner – does not so much aim to distinguish between races as to draw attention to the various racial identities of every human being: race seldom appears in pure form; almost everybody is a hybrid, a "Mischling".⁵⁷ For those who know Rosenberg's *Mythus* – his classical definition of the soul as 'inner element' of race,⁵⁸ his vehement attacks on 'a pessimist Jewish and Catholic religion' which imprisons the Nordic soul and its positive religion – it is evident that Büttner considerably re-interprets Rosenberg's concept without making this overt. The same is true for Günther's approach: Büttner reduces the relevance of the biological race, implicitly turning it around by recognising the multiplicity of races in which everybody participates.

Büttner's relatively open-minded account leads to a combination of mental as well as physical characteristics. 'The racial principle is to be seen in the interplay with other principles: the wholeness, the individuation, the entelechy.'⁵⁹ Race does not exist as a separate unity; rather, the concept of race serves heuristic tasks – tasks that cannot be fulfilled without taking into account other aspects of individual and social development. They are briefly characterised by the phrase 'completeness, individuation, entelechy' ("Ganzheit, Individuation, Entelechie")⁶⁰. As if this idea does not stress Büttner's bio-mental approach thoroughly, he introduces another expression for his combinations: 'the fate of the people is historically developed in language, ethics and achievement. Blood and soul form an organic unity.'⁶¹ According to Büttner, it is not blood alone that determines an individual's or a society's fate. Rather, both depend on the particular unity of blood and soul as expressed in the development of language, ethics and achievement.

57 Büttner (fn. 53), p. 18.

58 Rosenberg (fn. 56), p. 2. On Rosenberg's attacks against those 'sects' said to oppose the true Nordic religion; Rosenberg: *Protestantische Rompilger: Der Verrat an Luther und der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Hoheneichen Verl. 1937.

59 Büttner (fn. 53), p. 25: "Das rassische Princip muß im Zusammenwirken mit anderen Prinzipien: der Ganzheit, der Individuation, der Entelechie geschaut werden."

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., p. 32: "Was im Volk schicksalhaft angelegt ist, entfaltet sich geschichtlich in Sprache, Sitte und Leistung. Blut und Geist. Bilden eine organische Ganzheit, und biologische Erscheinungen wie das Volkstum sind leibliche und seelisch-geistige Erscheinungen."

This theory of race finds an ideal object in the German people. In order to study the Germans, Büttner suggests two concepts: 'Nordic', referring to most parts of the German race and 'Germanic', denoting the people's culture. 'German culture is the organic and historical development of Germanic culture, which, in this process, fused and coalesced the racial and cultural other into its essence',⁶² states Büttner. He stresses that a multiracial and multicultural layer underlies German identity – a most controversial description in a time when the homogeneity of the people was officially praised. It follows from Büttner's multi-racial concept that Germany as a 'people of the middle' ("Volk der Mitte") is full of tensions.⁶³ Although Büttner does not expand on this consequence one could perhaps understand his expression 'people of the middle' as an explanation of the rising political conflicts of the late 1930s.

Poetics, however, according to Büttner, ought not to serve political, but rather scientific, interests. Therefore, Büttner ascribes the following tasks to the study of poetics: firstly, the racial analysis of the poet which is, secondly, specified by the study of the 'genetic make-up of the poet' ("Erbbild des Dichters").⁶⁴ Büttner again expresses his scepticism when it comes to the evaluation of this genetic make-up: genius, for instance, cannot be inherited. Thirdly, Büttner demands the observation of the poetic creation of human beings ("dichterische Menschengestaltung") as well as of the influence of racial factors.⁶⁵ This third step proves to be difficult as one has to take into account the poet's fantasy, which tends not to follow racial patterns. Nevertheless, Büttner expects to solve the problem through racial comparison: folk and racial characteristics are expected to reveal themselves in syntax, in the construction and development of climax, in sentences, the choice of words, the level of tone and in composition and symbols.⁶⁶

Büttner breaks with his more or less scientific race-centred approach only when it comes to Jewish influences on German culture, claiming that this race affects German culture negatively. He does not justify why it is this race that endangers the – in itself manifold – German culture. Instead, he attacks normative aesthetics. According to Büttner,

62 Ibid., p. 35: "Die deutsche Kultur ist die organisch und geschichtliche Weiterentwicklung der germanischen Kultur, die aber rassistisch und kulturell Anderes wesenhaft eingeschmolzen hat."

63 Ibid., p. 39.

64 Ibid., pp. 62 f.

65 Ibid., pp. 72 f.

66 Ibid., p. 85.

normative aesthetics has always been oriented towards the South; Nordic form seems to have been too difficult to analyse. Büttner alleges that Jewish thought is responsible for this trend. He states that Jewish intellectuals have tended to colonise German language and literature as they are not of the same race (“*arthaft*”).⁶⁷ Büttner therefore pleads for a particular kind of research: he wishes to find out to what extent ‘the Jewish literary science’ (“*die jüdische Literaturwissenschaft*”), exemplified by colleagues like Gundolf and Strich, applied ‘non-German’ norms to German literature.⁶⁸ This pleading grants a concession to Fascism.

Although Büttner’s attempt to establish a biologist poetics sounds promising, its founder discredits it through his anti-Semitism. Yet Büttner’s method is developed in a neutral way and should be recognised. Before Büttner, no literary theorist had formulated such a thoughtful, methodologically open and clear account of the difficult area of race and culture.

(d) Morphological Poetics: Günther Müller (1943)

Büttner’s important role in the history of poetics can also be proven by the fact that his methodological key question was a subject of inquiry for other academics. Günther Müller (1890–1957) whose early formalist works were based on Edmund Husserl and whose name is still connected with the concepts of narrative time (“*Erzählzeit*”) and narrated time (“*erzählte Zeit*”) was one of those literary scientists who devoted their attention to the relation of nature and mind.⁶⁹ He provided a traditional solution to Büttner’s problem: morphological poetics. According to Müller, his approach inspired by Goethe can close the gap between natural and human science as it discovers the ‘sources of life’ (“*Quellen des Lebens*”).⁷⁰

67 Ibid., p. 20.

68 Ibid., p. 113.

69 On the relation of Müller and Husserl see Pierre Deghaye: *De Husserl à Günther Müller*. In: *Études Germaniques* 20 (1965), pp. 366–369; Andreas Pilger: *Nationalsozialistische Steuerung und die ‘Irritationen’ der Literaturwissenschaft*. In: *Literaturwissenschaft und Nationalsozialismus*, ed. by Holger Dainat and Lutz Danneberg. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003 (*Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur* 99), pp. 107–126, pp. 123 f.

70 Günther Müller (fn. 69), p. 246.

Like Büttner's biologist approach, Müller's morphological one is far removed from Fascist goals – not only because of Müller's Catholicism (which he eschewed in the 1930s) but also because of the fact that his colleague Kindermann made his academic life at Münster University unbearable.⁷¹ Müller relies on a prominent tradition of thought: Aristotle had taken the first steps towards a teleological biology.⁷² Goethe was the thinker who complemented them with botanical as well as anatomical studies.⁷³ Around 1900, his morphology became particularly popular and it is this general trend which Müller still adheres to: monolinear theories of progress failed to convince contemporary historians. Therefore, they were looking for new concepts to explain historical changes. Morphology provided one of the most promising accounts. Firstly, it allows a link between natural and cultural developments. Secondly, morphology examines its objects within an endless circle of life. It takes into account degrees of high development without considering them as the ultimate and best phase of history. Instead, historical texts such as Oswald Spengler's famous *Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918/1922) distinguish between types of development, types that can reoccur and that mark phases of the rise and fall of nations.⁷⁴

71 Pilger: Nationalsozialistische Steuerung, (fn. 69).

72 Wolfgang Kullmann: Die Teleologie in der aristotelischen Biologie: Aristoteles als Zoologe, Embryologe und Genetiker. Heidelberg: Winter 1979; Wolfgang Kullmann: Zum Gedanken der Teleologie in der Naturphilosophie des Aristoteles und seiner Beurteilung in der Neuzeit. In: Zum teleologischen Argument in der Philosophie: Aristoteles, Kant, Hegel, ed. by Jürgen-Eckhardt Pleines. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1991, pp. 150–171.

73 Dorothea Kuhn: "Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen ward als Herzenserleichterung geschrieben": Goethes Voraussetzungen und Ziele. In: In der Mitte zwischen Natur und Subjekt: Johann Wolfgang Goethes 'Versuch, die Metamorphose der Pflanzen zu erklären'. 1790–1990. Sachverhalte, Gedanken, Wirkungen, ed. Senckenbergische Naturforschende Gesellschaft. Coll. Willi Ziegler, ed. by Gunter Mann, Dieter Mollenhauer and Stefan Peters. Frankfurt a. M.: Kramer 1992, pp. 19–31; D.K: Typologie und Metamorphose: Goethe-Studien, eds. Renate Grumach. Marbach a. N.: Dt. Schillergesellschaft (Marbacher Schriften 30).

74 On Spengler see Herbert Jauman: Oswald Spengler "Der Untergang des Abendlandes" (1918/1922). In: Große Theorien von Freud bis Luhmann, ed. by Walter Erhart and Herbert Jaumann. Munich: Beck 2000 (Beck'sche Reihe 1398), pp. 52–72; Horst Thomé: Geschichtsspekulationen als Weltanschauungsliteratur: Zu Oswald Spenglers "Der Untergang des Abendlandes". In: Literatur und Wissen(schaften) 1890–1935, ed. by Christine Maillard and Michael Titzmann. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2002, pp. 193–212.

Spengler himself was no National Socialist and neither was Müller.⁷⁵ Müller's main text *Morphologische Poetik* was published in the international journal *Hélicon* (Amsterdam, 1944). The journal's purpose is conducive to Müller's attempt: he aims to create a new poetics in European literary science by investigating 'simple laws of composition' ("einfache[] Gestaltungsgesetze").⁷⁶ Therefore, Müller encounters some methodological problems: simple in his case means that a statement needs no proof. It is no wonder that the notion 'simple' is of some importance throughout the whole text.

Astonishingly, Müller does not quote the historian of art, literature and language Johannes Andreas Jolles (1874–1946) in this context. Already in 1930, Jolles had published his major work *Einfache Formen*, a typology of oral narrative forms like wit, phrase or puzzle.⁷⁷ Müller might have had political reasons for his ignorance of Jolles: in 1933, Jolles joined the NSDAP, became a member of the "Sicherheitsdienst Reichsführer-SS" (SD) in 1937 and received the Goethe-medal from Hitler in 1944, the year of Müller's publication. Still, both studies are so close that Müller's account can be regarded as a further development of Jolles'.

Jolles differentiates between three tasks of literary science: the aesthetical, the historical and the morphological; all three work according to their own methods. His focus is on the morphological task that is the description and definition of form, or more precisely "Gestalt".⁷⁸ "Ge-

75 Rainer Baasner assumes that Müller's interest in morphology might be related to the Nazis but taking into account the context mentioned above, this assumption seems to be short-sighted; see Baasner: Günther Müllers morphologische Poetik und ihre Rezeption. In: *Zeitenwechsel: Germanistische Literaturwissenschaft vor und nach 1945*, ed. by Wilfried Barner and Christoph König. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1996, pp. 256–267, p. 257.

76 Günther Müller (fn. 69), p. 225.

77 Re-appraisals of the work are to be found in Heilna Du Plooy: *Literatur uit die lewe: André Jolles se 'Einfache Formen'*. In: *Journal of Literary Studies* 4 (1985), pp. 20–37; Ulla Fix: *Was ist aus André Jolles "Einfachen Formen" heute geworden? Eine kulturanalytische und textlinguistische Betrachtung*. In: *Sprache und Kommunikation im Kulturkontext*, ed. by Volker Hertel. Frankfurt a. M.: Lang 1996, pp. 105–120; Regula Rohland de Langbehn: *La teoría de las 'formas simples' de André Jolles (1874–1946): Una reconsideración*. In: *Hispanic Research Journal. Iberian and Latin American Studies* 3 (2002) 3, pp. 243–260.

78 André Jolles: *Einfache Formen. Legende/ Sage/ Mythe/ Rätsel/ Spruch/ Kasus/ Memorabile/ Märchen/ Witz*. 2nd unchanged ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1958 (1st ed. 1930), pp. 6 f.

stalt” is more than form. As Müller does later, Jolles derives this term from Goethe’s morphology as well as from Oskar Walzel who is, incidentally, not mentioned in *Einfache Formen*. Goethe holds the view that “Gestalt” names what belongs together and is fixed in its character even though the relevant object is still developing; in other words: “Gestalt” refers to a core of a unity which expresses itself in different ‘forms’ but cannot be changed.⁷⁹ It is something to be traced ‘underneath’ the surface.

Jolles turns this abstract biological idea into a pragmatic critical concept: the concept of “Gestalt” is replaced by the concept of simple forms such as legends. Legends exist everywhere and at all times: be it in antiquity or in the middle ages. Jolles explains this phenomenon as a great cultural earthquake through which spiritual tendencies generate characteristic expressions which are condensed by language.⁸⁰ The task of the morphologist is to classify the results, that is, the different types of simple forms.

Müller instead focuses on development, on the ‘forming, creative forces’ (“formende[], bildende[] Kräfte”) as they are individually specific, thereby making normative poetics impossible.⁸¹ He starts from two axioms (“Grundsätze”), which are stated as ‘simple observations’ (“einfache Beobachtungen”): firstly, poetry is ‘language-bound’ (“sprachgetragene”) reality; secondly, the force that gives birth to this ‘language-bound’ reality is a force of nature.⁸²

The first ‘simple observation’ is reminiscent of Ingarden’s structural layers of an ‘artwork of words’: Müller claims that in a literary text, language forms a body of resonance (“Klangleib”) of fewer or bigger sensual forces,⁸³ then comes the ‘arrangement’ (“Gefüge”) of sentences which in a poetic text can either be logical or illogical; the ‘arrangement of meaning’ (“Bedeutungsgefüge”) makes the work complete.⁸⁴ Müller lays stress on the difference between poetic and non-poetic writing in order to indicate a theory of interpretation: it is not statements and correctness which are of most importance or relevance in a work of art, but

79 Ibid., p. 6.

80 Ibid., p. 265.

81 Günther Müller: *Morphologische Poetik* [1944]. In: G.M., *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, in collab. with Helga Egner ed. by Elena Müller. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1968, pp. 225–246, p. 225.

82 Ibid., pp. 226 f.

83 Ibid., p. 227.

84 Ibid., p. 228.

'something Other' ("etwas Anderes"): this 'Other' is constituted by the combination of language and meaning as it appears in poetry.⁸⁵ The second 'simple observation' refers to the Greek notion of 'physis' which includes cultural aspects like talents and gifts as well.

The analysis of layers as well as the idea of 'physis' indicate a theoretical direction well-known as a result of the work of Theodor A. Meyer and others: the work of art is to be seen as a 'unity' ("Einheit")⁸⁶ as 'actuality of the gestalt' ("Gestaltwirklichkeit").⁸⁷ Originating in the characteristics of language, for instance the succession of words and sentences, the work is further developed in a series of genres as well as in its specific individual features. These developments are described as a pattern of metamorphosis, a change from one state to another. Adopting Goethe's morphology, Müller distinguishes two 'types of metamorphosis' ("Metamorphose-Arten"):⁸⁸ a 'vertical' ("vertikale") and a 'spiral

85 Ibid., p. 229.

86 Ibid., p. 231.

87 Ibid., p. 235: "Dichtung ist eine Gestaltwirklichkeit, die durch sprachliche Entfaltung eines Kräftespiels von Bedeutungen gebildet wird, dies ist ein Kernpunkt morphologischer Poetik. Es ist zugleich eine Bestimmung des Typus Dichtung, Typus wieder im Sinn von Goethes Morphologie genommen (die ihn besonders in dem osteologischen Entwurf herausarbeitet). Und schon aus den bisherigen Ausführungen geht hervor, daß auch der Typus Dichtung nicht ohne Metamorphose erscheinen kann. Einmal stellen die unübersehbaren Reihen der wirklichen Dichtungen lauter Abwandlungen, Metamorphosen dieses Typus dar. Diese Abwandlungen bilden Gattungen und Arten, in denen sich der allgemeine Dichtungstypus zu Gattungen und Arten besondert. Zum andern verwirklicht sich jede Dichtung in einem Werden, das bei aller Verschiedenheit mit dem Wachsen einer Pflanze verglichen werden kann und das sich durch Metamorphosen vollzieht." / 'Poetry is a gestalt-reality which is created by the linguistic unfolding of an interplay of powers of meanings, and this is a key aspect in morphologic poetry. It is also a definition of the type of poetry, 'type' in the sense of Goethe's morphology (elaborated in particular in the osteological thoughts). As it became already apparent in our previous observations, the type of poetry cannot appear without metamorphosis. For the highly visible numbers of true poetry are modifications and metamorphoses of this type. These modifications generate further kinds and types into which this general type of poetry is differentiated. Furthermore, every work of poetry reaches its fullest potential in a becoming, which, despite some differences, can be compared to the growing of a plant, and which occurs by means of metamorphosis'.

88 Goethe developed his reflections on the different types of metamorphosis from the Greek 'systole' / 'diastole', see Goethe: *Botanik als Wissenschaft* (1788–1794). In: Goethe, *Schriften zur Morphologie*, ed. by Dorothea Kuhn. Frank-

tendency' ("spirale Tendenz") that stem from fundamental male and female phenomena such as 'leading force' ("Führkraft") and 'swelling force' ("Schwellkraft").⁸⁹

Müller engages with the biological model to a considerable extent; he follows the biological thinking of his time, moving away from classification and embracing typology: every poetic work originates from one original germ or from the original plant. The goal is to show its metamorphosis and the different phases of the work. A poetics like this 'is not aesthetics but gestalt-studies';⁹⁰ it does not observe aesthetical attraction, but rather the general laws of formation. In order to complement this biological holism the reader is seen as part of the work of art. He is asked to read the work aloud, to observe the meaning of the body of language. Therefore, the reader forms the work of art by himself, at least to some extent. He thereby contributes to the amalgamation ("Verschmelzen") of abstract poetic structures and the realized work.⁹¹ It is no wonder that this approach criticizes the doctrine of experience and other external explanations of the poetic,⁹² the argument being that the work and the process of its perception should be seen as one. Müller's morphology tends toward a certain hermeticism: there is no way out of the poetic work that is identical with its perception.

Rather than closing the gap between natural and human science, Müller seems to impose the naturalist model upon cultural phenomena. This tendency is also proven by the fact that non-biologist works such as Staiger's *Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters* are quoted mainly in

furt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag 1987 (J.W. Goethe, Sämtliche Werke, Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche I, 24), pp. 93–108, p. 107, passim; see also Gabriele Malsch: Systole – Diastole, Motus cordis – Motus in omnibus: Zur Geschichte eines Begriffspaares. In: Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte 41 (1999), pp. 86–118.

89 G. Müller (fn. 69), pp. 237 f.

90 Ibid., p. 241: "Diese Poetik ist nicht Ästhetik, sondern Gestaltkunde."

91 Ibid., p. 242.

92 Ibid., p. 245: "Schädelform, Gesichtsausdruck, Gebärde, Stimmklang sind nicht der ganze Mensch, aber sie bringen ihn zur Erscheinung. Die Dichtung als sprachgetragene Gestalt ist nicht der Dichter und nicht sein Erlebnis, sondern ein Gebilde, das in einen völlig anderen, von eigenen Gesetzen durchwalteten Wirklichkeitsbereich gehört [...]" / "Shape of the skull, facial expression, gestures, sound of voice do not make the whole human being, but they let it appear. Poetry as a gestalt of language is constituted by not by the poet or his experiences alone. Rather, it is a creation which belongs to a very different area of reality, governed by its own laws.'

order to illustrate Müller's reflections. Nevertheless, Müller goes far in developing what promises to be a poetological approach worth discussing – an approach that was not widely recognized, but popular within a small group of scholars: Using Müller's poetics as his starting point, Horst Oppel wrote a whole *Morphologische Literaturwissenschaft – Goethes Ansicht und Methode* (1947), a work that was criticized by the anti-biologist Hans Pyritz.⁹³ Pyritz's criticism might have influenced Eberhard Lämmert who conceived his *Bauformen des Erzählens* (1955) as a moderate interpretation of the morphological approach.

All three examples show, however, that Müller and his successors helped to build a branch of German formalism – a formalism that was inspired by Ingarden's structural approach but tried to combine it with biologist assumptions. The attractive aspect of this combination is a systematic one: if one could convincingly close the gap between nature and mind (or culture) in the area of poetics, the result would respond to Dilthey's demand: poetics could become the leading science not only of the humanities, but of an integrative bio spiritism.

(e) Towards a Methodology of a 'General Literary Science':
Julius Petersen (1939, ²1944)

The enormous variety of poetological approaches existing already in the 1890s, led to a new sub-discipline of literary science: methodology. Methodology covers a grey zone between poetics (which in some parts means methodology), logic and epistemology. As part of literary studies, methodology provides information regarding the premises, arguments and ways of engaging with literature; as part of logic and epistemology the methodology of literary studies becomes an example for the whole spectrum of scientific approaches, for its convincing and problematic assumptions and habits.⁹⁴ Julius Petersen main work represents one of the first and most comprehensive examples of this tendency.

Julius Petersen (1878–1941) studied German, history of art and philosophy in Lausanne, Munich, Leipzig and Berlin (with Wilhelm Dilth-

93 On these sources see Baasner (fn. 75), pp. 263–265.

94 See also introduction of this book.

ey, Heinrich Wölfflin and Gustav Roethe).⁹⁵ After having obtained his qualifications and working as a journalist for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), he relocated many times: he received a professorship at Munich University (1911), at Yale University (1912), at Basle University (1914), at Frankfurt am Main University (1914/1915) and finally settled down in Berlin (1920) where he became director of the German seminar. Various academic travels brought him to the USA (1933), England (1935) and Estonia (1935). His prizes, honours and memberships in literary societies or academies and his various editorships, cannot be counted. Amongst his students were some of the most influential Germanists of the time: Richard Alewyn, Hans Pyritz, Karl Viëtor and Benno von Wiese to mention only the most important names.

What might have fascinated them regarding Petersen, could have been his interest in methodology as clearly shown in *Philosophie der Literaturwissenschaft* (1930), a volume Petersen co-edited with Ermatinger. The volume turns out to serve as an introduction to contemporary methodologies. Starting from this background, Julius Petersen's main work *Die Wissenschaft von der Dichtung. System und Methodenlehre der Literaturwissenschaft* (I, 1939, ²1944) is not a poetic treatise but an interesting example: it sums up nearly all relevant poetological tendencies of the time, as in his inaugural lecture "Literaturgeschichte als Wissenschaft" (Basle, 1914) aiming to combine text-based and context-based approaches.⁹⁶ Therefore, the text not only reads like a well-written handbook of poetics but it also tries to heighten the diversity, from more or less developed approaches to firm methods. Although Petersen's book does not provide many original ideas its methodological account of poetics was still influential in the 1950s, 60s and early 70s. Petersen's belief in method and his plea for a 'general literary science' ("allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft")⁹⁷ has an after-life in Wolfgang Kayser's and Max Wehrli's theories. One reason for this may also be found in Petersen's methodological scepticism, which shapes his plea for methodology: despite being a National Socialist, Petersen is sceptical when it comes to the scientific relevance of biological and racial approaches.

95 Red.: Petersen, Julius. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 2, pp. 1385–1388.

96 On the Inaugural lecture and related methodological controversies see Petra Boden: Julius Petersen: Ein Wissenschaftsmanager auf dem Philologenthron. In: Euphorion 88 (1994) 1, pp. 82–102, pp. 82–96.

97 Petersen (fn. 95), p. 1.

What is more: Petersen defended and employed a Jewish colleague despite the Nazi rule prohibiting the employment of Jews and, therefore, suffered to a considerable extent through Franz Koch's actions, a newly established Berlin colleague who was himself a Nazi.⁹⁸

Politics on the whole seems to be far detached from the study of literary method when reading Petersen's preface. He presents his oeuvre as a continuation of his inaugural lecture at Basle, entitled "Literaturgeschichte als Wissenschaft" (1914), a continuation that was never completed: the oeuvre remains a fragment even in its second edition, prepared and prefaced by Erich Trunz (1905–2001), Petersen's PhD-student who joined the National Socialist party, became a professor in Prague (1940), lost his office (1946–1950) and was reinstalled as a professor in Münster (1955–1957) and Kiel (1957–1970). Petersen distinguishes his approach from Elster, Walzel, Ermatinger and others in saying that they either took the work or the psychology of poetic creation into account whereas he himself aims at a double and comprehensive perspective. Synthesis is the keyword for his general literary science.⁹⁹ The task for such a science is nothing less than that of revealing humanity in the spiritual world.

In order to serve his humanist ideal, Petersen considers extensively the concept and development of method, the literary work and the poet, as well as the future prospects for literary science. All this is executed with a remarkable openness that combines the national with the transnational: although national literary histories are divided, it should be easy not only to compare them but also to find out about processes of transfer between them. The 'travel pass' ("Reisepaß") that guarantees open access to the other national or, indeed, international areas, can be obtained easily.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, literature is only to be perceived as an 'organism' in the national language it uses.¹⁰¹ There are as many literary histories as literary languages, but there is only one literary science.¹⁰²

Petersen's doctrine of method is best understood in the context its double, national and transnational, background. As a 'common doctrine

98 Boden: Julius Petersen (fn. 96), pp. 97–102.

99 Julius Petersen: *Die Wissenschaft von der Dichtung: System und Methodenlehre der Literaturwissenschaft*. With contributions from the bequest papers ed. by Erich Trunz. 2nd ed. Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt 1944, p. XIX.

100 Ibid., p. 5.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid., p. 9, p. 12.

of method' literary science offers orientation to all literary histories,¹⁰³ as well as providing a statement of accounts of science as such. Despite his stressing of methodology, Petersen's statement of accounts does not take the concept itself all that seriously. Like Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), maybe the most important theologian, church historian and organiser of science in the late 19th century, Petersen names this method 'mother wit' ("Mutterwitz"), 'a way of experience that cannot be transferred' to another person ("unübertragbare Erlebnisart", Friedrich Gundolf).¹⁰⁴ 'There are as many methods as there are standpoints and aims [...]', concludes Petersen.¹⁰⁵ As a consequence, the high tide of literary method around and after 1890 is depicted as an 'inflation period of methods' ("Inflationszeit der Methoden").¹⁰⁶ All these methods, however, have something in common: they direct the interpretation of literature in a fruitful way.

Therefore, Petersen recommends logic as a basis for general theoretical reflection, stating that everything beyond it is individualistic only. In his theoretical fragment Petersen tries to show to what extent such a meta-theoretical approach can be helpful. Against the fragmentation and differentiation of the humanities around and after 1890, he goes back to the foundations of literary theory, following Sigmund von Lempicki's (1886–1943) 'Habilitation' *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1920, ²1968) and J.H. O'Leary's *English Literary History and Bibliography* (1928). Close to Lempicki's thinking, Petersen names three sources of a general literary science: 'literary history, aesthetic literary criticism and history' ("Literärhistorie, ästhetische Literaturkritik und Geschichtswissenschaft");¹⁰⁷ observing the long history of the development of literary theory this amalgamation sounds plausible although not complete. It might have been useful to have mentioned rhetoric, grammar and other fields of knowledge like medicine.

Still, many discussions of so-called methods develop the meta-scientific account in great detail. This presentation will only highlight some of Petersen's most striking comments that relate firstly, to past poetic

103 Ibid., p. 13.

104 Ibid., p. 14.

105 Ibid., p. 14: "Es gibt [...] ebenso viele Methoden, als es Standorte und Zielsetzungen gibt [...]."

106 Ibid., p. 17.

107 Ibid., p. 20.

debates such as psychologism, secondly, to the contemporary situation and thirdly, to the most valuable approaches.

Petersen introduces his historical judgement with his general views on literature and the poet. They both express a broad understanding of the subject: for instance, literature is to be understood as the 'art of holistic fantasy and sensuality' ("Kunst allseitiger Phantasiesinnlichkeit") that includes every sense.¹⁰⁸ Its principle agent is the poet, the 'unity of causes' ("Ursacheneinheit") of the work; but in order to understand a work it is not enough to examine 'the poetic man' ("den dichterischen Menschen"); 'genetic relations' ("genetische Verbindungen") between the work and the poet ought to be observed as well.¹⁰⁹

Petersen explains this idea by referring to psychologism. In contrast to the general spirit of the 1920s to the 1940s, he astonishingly appreciates psychological approaches, although he states that the act of creation remains a mystery.¹¹⁰ The only way to approach it is to look backwards: a scientist needs to analyse the work first and then consider its genesis, taking into account the poet and his context. From the background of this modified psychological theory of development Petersen defends 'positivism' against all too simple devaluations; he praises Scherer's philological approach as 'devotion to detail' ("Andacht zum Kleinen") and even expands on Scherer's French reception (Victor Basch).¹¹¹ Petersen's own position is disclosed by his positive remarks on Elster: the small impact of Elster's (according to Petersen) intelligent books is to be explained by new poetological trends leaning toward historical and problem-related approaches.¹¹²

These approaches continued to be significant and to shape literary thinking in the 1940s. Petersen depicts literary studies with regard to their context and attributes to them an important task: in all countries that participate in the War, the evaluation of poetry is to be regarded as being part of a country's reconstruction.¹¹³ Despite this all-encom-

108 Ibid., p. 255.

109 Ibid., p. 278.

110 Ibid., pp. 157 f.

111 Ibid., p. 37.

112 Ibid., pp. 43 f.

113 Ibid., p. 47: "In allen Ländern, die am Weltkrieg teilgenommen haben, ist die Wertung der Dichtung und der ihr geltenden Wissenschaft als Pfeiler eines Wiederaufbaus, der auf Sichselbstfinden ausgeht, unverkennbar." / 'It is apparent that in all countries that participated in the world war the appreciation of

passing humanism, Petersen, at this point – perhaps as a mode of self-defence against Nazi critics like Koch¹¹⁴ – adheres to National Socialism as he writes that, in Germany, these tasks are 'determined by the particular stand-point of National Socialist world view'.¹¹⁵ The 'people' has to be seen as a key concept that mediates between the individual and humanity; therefore, traditional concepts are to be reinvented and decorated with the 'proud brandings of people-hood, race and existence' ("den stolzen Federzeichen Volkheit, Rasse und Existenz").¹¹⁶

Yet Petersen's close examination of poetic theories expresses a sceptical, rather than an enthusiastic, attitude towards National Socialism and its world views: he expands on Obenauer who calls for a new poetics based on national biology (Paul Krannhals), blood (Franz Koch himself) and race (Hans F.K. Günther, Ludwig Ferdinand Clauß). As Petersen states, German literary history offers a lot of examples for questions of race but it is not adequate to expell the Jewish element from it (as Büttner advocated); in-depth study is still required on the extent to which races influence each other and the history of literature.¹¹⁷ Existing studies grounded in biology, race and blood do not provide any convincing results. On the contrary, they confuse more than they prove, e.g. when it comes to the relation between poet and race: poets like Hinrich Wriede (*1882) who mostly wrote in dialect and the sailor-poet Gorch Fock (1880–1916) were both born in the formerly Danish Hamburg-Altona. Nevertheless, they do not fit into the Nordic type at all.¹¹⁸ The same confusion is true for the relation between the physical and spiritual nature of the human being; despite Obenauer's, Büttner's and other attempts, nothing is yet proven.¹¹⁹ As a consequence, Petersen only vaguely expands on the chances of such accounts: according to

poetry and scholarly reasearch on it form a key pillar of the kind of reconstruction that aims at finding oneself.'

114 See Boden: Julius Petersen (fn. 96), p. 100.

115 Petersen (fn. 95), p. 48: "bestimmt ist durch den veränderten Standort national-sozialistischer Weltanschauung".

116 Ibid., p. 48.

117 Ibid., p. 49.

118 Ibid., p. 288.

119 Ibid., pp. 286 f: "Mangels fester Formen für das Verhältnis zwischen der körperlichen und der geistigen Natur des Menschen bleibt die gegenseitige Hilfeleistung [von Rassetheorie und Literaturwissenschaft] unsicher." / 'In the absence of distinct categories for the relationship between the nature of body and mind of human beings the mutual assistance and interexchange between theories of race and literary studies remains uncertain.'

him, research on the ‘original mothers’ (“Urmütter”) and on genetic make up and environment are factors that might help to explain a poet’s genius.¹²⁰ He also expresses some interest in the literary survival of the fittest: leaders and followers amongst the poets can be distinguished as their relation to each other shapes literary history.¹²¹ Again, despite being a National Socialist, Petersen doubts the explanatory potential of simplistic racial accounts; he adheres to some heroic and Darwinist humanism.

Contrary to his doubt in racial accounts Petersen is most excited by formalist and phenomenological approaches. The work of Husserl, Heidegger and Ingarden lives on in the 1940s. Petersen compares Ingarden’s phenomenology to the forgotten work of his Romanian counterpart Michel Dragomirescu (*La science de la littérature*, 1928–29). Dragomirescu aims to introduce a scale of aesthetic judgements which Ingarden wishes to avoid.¹²² Petersen’s enthusiasm for formalism increases only in respect of Heidegger and Emil Staiger (*Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters*, 1939) who is regarded as the young theoretical genius following in Heidegger’s footsteps: Heidegger’s question of being is said to be essential for the study of literature; the same is true for Heidegger’s hermeneutics and Heidegger’s Hölderlin-readings.¹²³ Staiger introduces new view-points and concepts when it comes to lyric poetry. Instead of “Weltanschauung” he focuses on pure form; instead of using Dilthey’s concept of experience, Staiger relies on Heidegger’s concept of time. ‘This accomplished and deft book’ (“dieses hochkultivierte, feinfühliges Buch”),¹²⁴ writes Petersen about *Die Zeit*, thereby pointing in the poetological direction which his general literary science favours. Looking backwards, Petersen was on the right track. Heidegger and Staiger survived when Obenauer and Büttner were long forgotten.

120 Ibid., pp. 304–322.

121 Ibid., p. 568.

122 Ibid., p. 64.

123 Ibid., p. 249, p. 258, p. 442.

124 Ibid., pp. 490 f.

14. New Approaches in a Reproductive Era

As mentioned with reference to Kayser and Seidler, one theory is said to dominate literary thinking after 1945: ‘work immanence’ (“Werkimmanenz”).¹ This assertion is neither wrong nor right. However, context-driven approaches, especially those that link the study of literature to biology and race, were problematic for social and cultural reasons. Studies of this kind force the scientist into the area of politics that in the 1940s and 50s was overshadowed by the Nazi-past. But besides these historical circumstances, there are inner-scientific explanations for the preference for work-related theories: since the critique of ‘expressiveness’, context-driven approaches have largely been discredited.² Despite some tendencies to revitalise them in the 1930s and 40s, influential scientists like Petersen rank them lower than the methodological assumptions coming from formalism and phenomenology. On the one hand, the reason for this lies in the appreciation of literature. Literature is said to be an inconsummable, complex, rich, inexhaustible entity that in itself includes more than one can discover in relation to context.³ On the other hand, meta-scientific problems are not solved: Büttner, Müller and others made strong claims about the common nature of the natural and the human sciences, but they had not been able to prove them.

Reflecting these preconditions, literary theory or poetics in the 1940s and 50s restricts itself to the reproduction of formalist and phenomenological approaches. An extreme example for such a relatively meager account is Joseph Körner’s *Einführung in die Poetik*, published in the year 1949 in Frankfurt am Main, permitted by the media control watchdog of the military government. Körner’s (1888–1950) ‘Habilitation’ on *Romantiker und Klassiker. Die Brüder Schlegel in ihrer Beziehung zu*

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- 1 Lutz Danneberg: Zur Theorie der werkimmanenten Interpretation. In: Zeitenwechsel. Germanistische Literaturwissenschaft vor und nach 1945, ed. by Wilfried Barner and Christoph König. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer 1996, pp. 313–342.
 - 2 See chapter 12.
 - 3 Carlos Spoerhase: Die ‘Dunkelheit’ der Dichtung als Herausforderung der Philologie. In: Konzert und Konkurrenz: Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert, ed. by Christian Huck, Sandra Richter and Oliver Scholl. Hildesheim [in print].

Schiller und Goethe (1924) had been rejected at Prague University in the course of a highly controversial dispute about the general aims of literary science – with the Jewish-German Körner representing the philological camp that had come under attack from the ‘Ordinarius’ August Sauer who advocated the study of national character.⁴ Nevertheless, Körner received the ‘*venia legendi*’ for a second ‘Habilitation’ on *Recht und Pflicht. Eine Studie über Kleists “Michael Kohlhaas” und “Prinz von Homburg”* (1926) and was employed as a professor in Prague (1930–1938). Still, he was dismissed from his office when the Nazis took over Czechoslovakia, deported to Theresienstadt and freed in 1945; he became a private scholar with a state pension until his death (again in Prague).⁵ Affirming the work of Theodor A. Meyer and his successors, Körner defines literature as art of language or of words, states its artistic claim and restricts the notion of literature to texts (pantomime, for instance, is not part of literature). In turn, Körner’s book focuses on the language aspect of literature: on style, prosody and the generic. Körner goes beyond formalism only through a vague amalgamation of psychological and post-Heideggerian poetics in praising ‘the poet’s mission’ (“des Dichters Sendung”) that is the ‘spiritually produced and unconscious voicing of psychological experiences’ ‘in unconscious necessity’ (“in bewußtloser Notwendigkeit”).⁶ Even if such a poetics fulfils teaching needs, it seldom goes beyond this and reveals any more information. What is more: it leaves students in the dark when it comes to the origin of adored achievements such as the poet’s mission.⁷

Yet Körner’s *Einführung* is an extremely reductive example. Other texts such as Wolfgang Kayser’s *Sprachliches Kunstwerk* have more to offer and,⁸ after Kayser, some new accounts of poetics and literary theory arose. This chapter will only discuss two of them. They were both conceived for college or university teaching; their writers sharing some scientific, as well as writing, interests. However, both texts were

4 Petra Boden: Julius Petersen: Ein Wissenschaftsmanager auf dem Philologen-thron. In: Euphorion 88 (1994) 1, pp. 82–102, pp. 87–92.

5 Gerhard Sauder: Körner, Joseph. In: Internationales Germanistenlexikon 1800–1950, ed. by Christoph König. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2003, vol. 2, pp. 974–976.

6 Joseph Körner: Einführung in die Poetik. Frankfurt a. M.: Schulte-Blumke 1949 (Veröffentlicht, unter der Zulassungs-Nr. US-W-1042 der Nachrichtenkontrolle der Militärregierung), p. 7.

7 See the chapter on poetics during the Nazi-period in this book.

8 See chapter 12.

written under entirely different circumstances and follow different methodological assumptions. Hence they stand as examples for tendencies already in existence at the time or tendencies which they themselves brought to fruition: Joachim Maass' work represents some of the old aesthetics and opts for an author-based poetics (a). On the contrary, Max Wehrli devoted himself to high methodological ideals of the international humanities (b).

(a) Author Poetics from America:
Joachim Maass (1949, ²1955)

Little is known about Joachim Maass:⁹ He was born in Hamburg on 1st September 1901 as the son of a wealthy Jewish-German merchant family, attended the famous school of the Johanneum, loved his hometown and left it only late in 1938. Arriving in America, he was helped by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation as well as by the Oberländer Trust who were interested in placing Jewish-German scholars and artists in university jobs. In 1940, Maass got a job at the women's college Mount Holyoke in South Hadley, Massachusetts where he wrote and lectured. Contemporaries like Hermann Hesse judged Maass to be one of the most promising young novellists of the 1930s. Maass died on 15th October 1972 in New York.

In his *Die Geheimwissenschaft der Literatur. Acht Vorlesungen zu einer Ästhetik des Dichterischen* (1949) Maass not only reflects on his own theories of writing, but also aims to provide a more than subjective theory of literature. The book is in fact the result of a lecture series he gave at Mount Holyoke seven years previously. Components of the lecture series result from his experience as a poet as well as from teaching modern literature (Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Rilke, Hofmannsthal, Kafka, Freud). As regards the idea of writing such a book in the first place, Maass is inspired by the observation that modern literature lacks an appropriate theory. Maass wishes to provide such a theory. The reception of this theory was however characterised by public misunderstanding and mere subjective interpretations in journalism.

9 The following information is taken from Dieter Sevin: Joachim Maass. In: *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*, ed. by John M. Spalek, Joseph Strelka. part 1. Bern: Francke 1989, pp. 599–621.

Maass' methodological premise reads like a vivid critique of journalism, as well as of literary science. Journalistic literary critique has always been the 'tittle-tattle in the backstreets of scholarly critique of literature' ("Hintertreppen-Tratsch").¹⁰ To put it bluntly, this is no critique at all but rather individual judgement. In contrast to this, literary theory focused on genre theory; after Hegel, it tended to simplify poetics as it subsumed everything under the headings of subjectivity and objectivity.¹¹ The cause for both aberrations is to be seen in the lack of a clear and well-built critical system, in a lack of common feelings for values that could be shared by critics and readers.

Despite the idea of an aesthetics of literature that is already expressed in this ex negativo-description, Maass confesses to remaining sceptical: there is no such thing as a logic of aesthetics. Instead, instinct proves to be one of the most important weapons of the critic. Therefore, the lecture series cannot provide a definite aesthetic of modern literature. However, Maass goes as far as possible. He calls his method "donquijotesk" which means that he pursues a kind of trial and error approach – with an unclear goal.¹² In fact, this "donquijotesk" notion is essentially a facade; Maass turns to the Socratic method, making use of extensive pedagogical questioning. His lecture can be qualified as a systematical approach to what is an aesthetics or poetics of modern literature, an approach that does not follow the 'dry pattern of a school book' ("trockene[n] Lehrbuch-Muster") but aims at a vivid demonstration of rather open norms for literature.¹³ The fact that Maass dedicates his *Geheimwissenschaft* to his poet friend Friedo Lampe (1899–1945, his work was edited by Johannes Pfeiffer)¹⁴ reflects not only on the experience of War but proves Maass' ironic, drastic and decisive account when it comes to world views and poetry: Maass in his dedication remarks that the homosexual Lampe who was neither a National Socialist nor an officer (as he fell ill with bone tuberculosis) was shot by Russian soldiers as they thought he was an SS-man – this dedication sets the laconic and secretive tone of the *Geheimwissenschaft*.

10 Joachim Maass: *Die Geheimwissenschaft der Literatur: Acht Vorlesungen zur Anregung einer Ästhetik des Dichterischen*. Berlin: Suhrkamp 1949; Repr. Vienna, Munich, Basel: Desch 1955, pp. 12 f.

11 Ibid., p. 141.

12 Ibid., p. 19.

13 Ibid., p. 7.

14 Friedo Lampe: *Das Gesamtwerk*, ed. by Johannes Pfeiffer. Hamburg: Rowohlt 1955.

For the purpose of the *Geheimwissenschaft*, Maass reminds his students of the Greek “*aisthetikós*” which he translates as ‘perceptive, predominantly through the senses’ (“geeignet zur Aufnahme, hauptsächlich durch die Sinne”).¹⁵ The aesthetic work expresses human content – a content which is to be understood as a symbol, a concept Maass might have borrowed from Cassirer. Like a formula, the symbol expresses something in short form, in this case the dark experiences of human beings, their original knowledge. In attributing these characteristics to the symbol, Maass moves away from ‘a particularly crude form of blood and soil philosophising’ (“Blut und Boden-Philosophasterei”) and the Nazi adoration for the ‘chthonic’ (“Chthonische”)¹⁶ or the ‘original orphic murmur’ (“orphische[] Urgeraune”).¹⁷ Maass aims at a knowledge that is more than subjective, that can potentially be shared by everybody.

Bearing this background in mind, he applies three criteria to the symbol. It has to be judged according to, firstly, the degrees of its ‘temporal disjuncture’ (“Zeitungebundenheit”), secondly, its deepness, purity and accuracy and thirdly, its ‘worldliness’ (“Welthaltigkeit”).¹⁸ To explain these features a little more Maass does not provide clear definitions. He expands on the context of such judgements: a good poet is not led by fashion and trends only, he aims rather to provide in-depth studies that teach his public by examples. The ambitious poet-teacher adheres to the idea of the ‘*poeta doctus*’: good artists have always been great intellectuals, working against all ‘frivolous’ inventions (“alles Leichtfertige”) and – playing with words – ‘all that is easily ready’ (“alles leicht Fertige”).¹⁹

Such a poetics is moving when it comes to its writer’s experience. It is a voice to be heard when in respect of literary critique. But already in the 1950s it no longer fulfils scientific requirements: Although Wehrli appreciates Maass’ lecture series and praises its pleasant style, he complains about the conventional differentiation of symbolic and linguistic expression.²⁰

15 Maass (fn. 10), p. 7.

16 Ibid., p. 82.

17 Ibid., p. 147.

18 Ibid., p. 115.

19 Ibid., p. 117.

20 Max Wehrli: *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft*. Bern: Francke 1951, 2nd ed. 1969 (*Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte; Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe* 3), p. 71.

(b) Holistic Poetics in a General Literary Science:
Max Wehrli (1951, ²1969)

Wehrli, himself a poet and a professor at Zurich University, is famous for his sensitive use of the voice as well as for his narrative account of the literature and culture of his home town Zurich.²¹ In his writings he often distances himself from his profession, e.g. through his critique of scientific language. Wehrli warmly describes the chances and problems of 'intellectualisation' of speech and opts for a slight degree of self-reflection: 'a pinch, a moment of openness, of suspiciousness, even a form of relativising oneself' ("einen Hauch, ein Ingrediens der Offenheit, des Misstrauens, ja der Selbstrelativierung").²² The same ideology-free openness is true for his understanding of literature: he conceives literature as part of its contexts and cotexts.²³ Taking into account that Wehrli is both oriented towards analytical science, as well as towards its self-reflection, his account might be described as holistic.

In the same way, already in the 1950s, Wehrli's *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* (1951) addresses itself to the German-speaking academic audience. In 1945, his colleagues Richard Newald and Helmut de Boor, members of the NSDAP, were expelled from Switzerland. Soon (in 1949, 1952) both colleagues were appointed again – this time at the Free University Berlin. A few years earlier than Wehrli, Newald published an – in some chapters interesting and still worth reading – *Einführung in die deutsche Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* (1947) that is not only in favour of a separation between politics and the humanities, but also abolishes the term and the concept of poetics completely.²⁴ As always, Wehrli does not care for harsh judgements. He sets a different tone.

21 Peter von Matt: In memoriam Max Wehrli. In: *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 34 (1999) 1, pp. 1–6.

22 Max Wehrli: Zur Sprache unserer Wissenschaft. In: *Der gesunde Gelehrte: Literatur-, Sprach- und Rezeptionsanalysen. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Hans Bänziger*, ed. by Armin Arnold and C. Stephen Jäger. Herisau: Schläpfer 1987, pp. 16–25, p. 24.

23 Max Wehrli: Vom Schwinden des Werk-Begriffs [1990]. In: M.W., *Gegenwart und Erinnerung: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Fritz Wagner and Wolfgang Maaz. Hildesheim, Zurich: Weidmann 1998 (*Spolia Berolinensia* 12), pp. 64–74.

24 Richard Newald: *Einführung in die deutsche Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*. Lahr: Schauenburg 1947 (Visa No. 3.133/L de la Direction de l'Éducation Publique Autorisation No. 3.154 de la Direction de l'Information).

His lucid, highly reflective and clear presentation of literary science, especially of poetics and its problems, does not aim at a revolutionary approach. Rather, Wehrli wishes to give an account of the area of knowledge and the methods of literary science, which to some extent refers to Wolfgang Kayser's *Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft* but criticizes Kayser's work for its self-limitation to the interpretation of the work only, and goes far beyond it.²⁵ Wehrli's *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* proves to be most fascinating for the development of both the decreasing and increasing areas or sub-disciplines, of poetics on the one hand, of literary theory on the other.

The content of the book illustrates this double-sidedness: the first chapter deals with general aspects of literary science (systematics, history), the second one with critique and techniques of the edition of texts. Developing these approaches further, the third chapter focuses on poetics, the fourth on the work, the poet and society. The fifth chapter gives an account of literary history. Poetics encompasses firstly, aspects of aesthetics and poetics (poetry in the circle of the arts, literature and language, poetry/literature/non-poetry) and secondly, the poetic work of art (general characteristics, style, types and genres, evaluation).

In his definitions Wehrli points out the distinctions he has in mind when it comes to literary science and poetics. General literary science is explained thus:

'We understand literary science as the study of literature's nature, origin, appearance and its various connections to life; thus, (in a more strict sense) it is concerned predominantly with the study of principles and methods of scholarly approaches to literature. Its disciplinary boundaries shall be drawn in a generous rather than a restrictive manner. The phenomenon of the verbal artefact shall serve as an initial and tangible manifestation.'²⁶

In short: general literary science covers all aspects that arise from the phenomenon of literature, especially the meta-question of how to interpret literature methodologically. This definition reads like a description

25 Wehrli: *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* (fn. 20), p. 55.

26 Ibid., p. 4: "Unter Allgemeiner Literaturwissenschaft wird im Folgenden die Wissenschaft vom Wesen, Ursprung, Erscheinungsformen und Lebenszusammenhängen der literarischen Kunst verstanden; sie ist dadurch, in einem engeren Sinn, speziell die Wissenschaft von den Prinzipien und Methoden der wissenschaftlichen Literaturbetrachtung. Die Grenzen sollen weit und nicht scharf gezogen sein. Fester, greifbarer Anhaltspunkt ist zunächst das Phänomen des sprachlichen Kunstwerks."

of what Petersen had already suggested in his voluminous *Wissenschaft von der Dichtung*. In addition to this, Wehrli's stress on method relies on Petersen.

Wehrli contrasts his integrative understanding of general literary science with his definition of poetics, which is narrower: Poetics refers to a trias of 'creation', 'work' and 'understanding'.²⁷ It provides the systematic fundament of literary science and is part of philosophical aesthetics as well. Still, general literary science and poetics both aim at a systematic foundation of the study of literature. Therefore, they overlap to an extent, which concerns method and general aspects of theory. Nevertheless, general literary science includes more than poetics, e.g. studies on a text's context, which, before distinctions like this arose, were part of poetics.

Wehrli, however, expresses doubts when it comes to the value of philosophy. Philosophical aesthetics today, he writes, can be defined as 'unsystematic poking about' ("unsystematische 'Schießbuden-technik'").²⁸ It is more an eclectic comparative art science; as a consequence poetics is not leading towards new ideas. In contrast to this, philosophy of language and early linguistics look promising. Taking into account that literature is a verbal form of art ("‘‘worthafte Stiftung’, Sprachkunst, Wortkunst’"),²⁹ poetics should follow this artistic path. Wehrli offers suggestions. According to him, the Geneva school of linguistics, the Anglo-American critique of language (I.A. Richards), the theory of the world field (Jost Trier) and language statistics and physiognomics (Hans Gaitanides) will prove fruitful. Wehrli advocates a unity of literary science and linguistics as they deal with different aspects of the same phenomenon: language and literature are phonetic systems of

27 Ibid., p. 40: "Literaturwissenschaft steht und fällt mit der Überzeugung, daß Dichtung – als ein Schaffen, ein Werk und ein Verstehen – etwas Wirkliches darstellt, das nicht durch ein Anderes ersetzt oder auf ein Anderes reduziert werden kann. Die Lehre vom dichterischen Phänomen in diesem dreifachen Aspekt heißt Poetik und stellt nach heute vorherrschender Überzeugung den systematisch grundlegenden Teil der Literaturwissenschaft dar." / 'Literary Studies depends on the conviction that poetry – seen as a creative act, a work of poetry and an understanding of it – cannot be substituted by something else or be reduced to something else. The study of the poetic phenomenon understood in this tripartiate aspect is called poetics and is, according to common understanding, the systematic, basic part of Literary Studies'.

28 Ibid., pp. 40 f.

29 Ibid., p. 45.

signs, both social as well as individual, to be observed diachronically as well as synchronically.³⁰

Yet Wehrli not only speculates about future prospects but also provides some new accounts of more traditional poetological questions. He clearly states that poetics has been a non-normative practice for a long time. As a descriptive science it is open to practical use and practised by poets. Along with Dilthey and Croce, Wehrli understands poetics as being concerned with creating and understanding (“Schaffens- und Verstehenspoetik”).³¹ As far as scientific poetics are concerned, however, developments are difficult to show and not all of these developments are to be appreciated. On this occasion, Wehrli quotes Max Kommerell and states ironically: the essence of something is questioned if its function becomes unclear.³² Nevertheless, Wehrli tries to find his way through the thicket of poetics using Kayser as a guide. Like (and indeed also in contrast to) Kayser, Wehrli observes three main tendencies of poetics: firstly, the term poetics itself is protean and has become unclear; secondly, poetological accounts focus on the description of the work and show some references to phenomenology (Ingarden, Donald Brinkmann *Natur und Kunst*. Zurich 1938), to the philosophy of existence (Johannes Pfeiffer) as well as to the critique of style (Staiger). Thirdly, Staiger’s emphatic notion “daß wir begreifen, was uns ergreift” is said to set the tone for current poetics. Wehrli attacks this tone with his typically subtle irony: theory, he writes, is replaced by pedagogy, advice and initiation.

This picture of poetics explains some of Wehrli’s scepticism when it comes to the future use of the term. Nevertheless, he claims that some aspects of the area are still important: firstly, style. Like Kayser, Wehrli defends the anti-humanist opinion ‘style is not the individual’ (“Der Stil ist nicht der Mensch”).³³ The individual cannot be measured according to the beauty of his writing. Instead, style might be differentiated with the help of the term “Stimmung”.³⁴ Both concepts are derived from Heidegger’s *Time and Being* in which being-there is understood as being in time and further applied to the analysis of style in Staiger’s cou-

30 On the differentiation of literary science and linguistics see Ulrike Haß and Christoph König (eds.): *Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik von 1960 bis heute*. Göttingen: Wallstein 2003 (Marbacher Wissenschaftsgeschichte 4).

31 Wehrli: *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* (fn. 20), p. 40.

32 Ibid., p. 53.

33 Ibid., pp. 58 f.

34 Ibid., p. 61.

rageous account of *Die Zeit*.³⁵ Yet it might be too difficult to pursue such an approach as an enormous number of criteria would be required to judge questions of style accordingly. What is more: beyond the category of time, the category of space has been widely neglected and needs some reshaping, e.g. as Spengler does in his morphology of culture and Spoerri in his *Verwandlung der Welt*. To fulfil current requirements the reflection of reality in Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis* must not be overlooked.³⁶

As far as the literary work of art is concerned, Wehrli shows some sympathy for Heidegger's thinking. Ernst Georg Wolff's suggestions strike Wehrli as being too complicated; astonishingly, the same is true for Ingarden. In contrast to both, Heidegger's *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerks* as well as his interpretations of Hölderlin and Rilke promise to be more fruitful: poetry is to be seen as the emancipation of the individual, as an existential act. The work must not be understood in terms of its 'thinghood' ("Dingcharakter") and the empty scheme of form and content – on the contrary, the work expresses there-being.³⁷ The Heidegger-Staiger line prevails. Types and genres, assumes Wehrli, cannot be explained more ambitiously than with Staiger's *Grundbegriffe*. Still in the 1950s, Wehrli adheres to the idea that genre concepts are concepts of style and are to be understood as names for the possibilities of being, thereby, gaining anthropological meaning and exploring connections between individual works.³⁸ Nevertheless, Wehrli opts for a position which is directed against the level of abstraction in Staiger's work. Wehrli pleads for a historical understanding of genre: it is necessary to understand the historical context of a work as well as the work itself. One should avoid speculating about its anthropological value.

This final attack reveals Wehrli's key aim: he introduces some historical scepticism into poetics, a sub-discipline which itself has become historical.³⁹ Therefore, in Wehrli's *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* poetics is reduced to the theory of the interpretation of the work and its key terms whilst literary science is responsible for analysis and contexts.

35 See David Wellbery: *Stimmung*. In: *Historisches Wörterbuch ästhetischer Grundbegriffe*, ed. by Karlheinz Barck [et al.], Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2003, vol. 5., pp. 703–33.

36 Wehrli: *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* (fn. 20), pp. 61–63.

37 Ibid. pp. 59 f.

38 Ibid., p. 75.

39 Ibid.

By reformulating poetics and literary science in this way, Wehrli's book is an admirable attempt to reform the old university and its disciplines; his *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* shows that 1968 was already present in 1950s scientific approaches, with utmost respect for the old as well as the new. Although some of the German scholars might have shared Wehrli's views, it is worth noting that his work originated in Switzerland. The *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* proves the fruitfulness of theoretical innovations in so far as they are well-informed by past ideas and directed towards the future.

15. Conclusion: Tendencies, Trends and Sunken Ideas

Wehrli's book reflects the problematic status of poetics in balancing the term with the notion 'literary theory'. Although the expressions 'poetics' and 'literary theory' often seem to be used in contingent ways, the turn from poetics to literary theory means more than a change of semantics.¹ It conveys a shift in focus as well as in method. Wehrli's work is representative of the idea that poetics mainly refers to the work itself, the favoured method being hermeneutics. Contrary to poetics, literary theory is more inclined towards analysis and explanation, to the study of the work in context. Such contexts can be derived either from linguistics or social history. Methods vary. They range from structuralism to modified forms of hermeneutics.

This differentiation of poetics and literary theory appears as the expression and result of theoretical problems which had been inherent in poetics itself: whilst the dominance of rhetoric was about to be phased out, the genre of scholarly or academic poetics had served as a form in which theoretical reflections on literature could be carried out. The object of study had been clearly limited, especially since the Weimar classic: the object of study was the (more or less) fictional work of literature. From the late 19th century on, the unity of the object became contested. In addition to this, theory evolved quickly. With the invention of the term 'literary theory' and the transformation of poetics, a growing need for theoretical self-reflection became clear, a need which finally exploded the frame of poetics.

Still, this was a gradual movement not a caesura. This conclusion is proven by the focused summary of the history of poetics as documented in the previous chapters which have reported on the development of poetic theory in the specific genre of scholarly or academic poetics. The organising principles were implicit and explicit theoretical assumptions which underlie the relevant books or book-length chapters. As a

1 Georg Bollenbeck and Clemens Knobloch (eds.): *Semantischer Umbau der Geisteswissenschaften nach 1933 und 1945*. Heidelberg: Winter 2001.

result, fourteen main poetological tendencies can be presented, most of them spanning several different approaches.

Firstly, eclectic poetics of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were discussed in the light of contemporary problems. Even in Sulzer's 'opus magnum' morals continued to constitute a main challenge for poetics. In addition to this, the moral impact of poetics on the growing reading public required intense reflection. Transcendental poetics (secondly) restricted these reflections by questioning the scientific status of aesthetics as a whole. Yet Kant's radical position in this respect was harmonised with older popular philosophy as well as with the new popular cosmology. The outcome was considered problematic in the light of theoretical reflection. Yet from a pragmatic point of view, it helped poetic and aesthetic theory to flourish further. A third impulse for the growth of poetics and aesthetics came from historiographical and genetic interests in poetics as executed by Herder, Herwig and A.W. Schlegel. These interests found their afterlife in literary historiography, thereby promoting the differentiation of the rising national philologies.

A fourth tendency coexisted with these interests but focused on the speculative order of genre: logostheological poetics, inspired by Schelling. These accounts occupied the broad area of post-idealist poetics (fifth tendency). Yet together with Herbart's heritage and the new orientations of the Hegel-School as found in Vischer, logostheological poetics also inspired pre-empirical poetics. Pre-empirical and empirical poetics, the sixth tendency, proved to be fruitful in that scholars aimed at applying 'Völkerpsychologie' and 'Erfahrungsseelenlehre' to literature. Furthermore, they promoted an interest in the poet's psyche and emotive interpretations (seventh tendency) which, of course, was later criticised as amounting to a naturalistic fallacy (eighth tendency).

Consequently, poetics promoted the recognition of the literary work as such. This promotion was performed in the light of highly ambitious epistemological assumptions (eighth and tenth tendencies) as well as contemporaneous philosophy of language (ninth tendency). Furthermore, the genre of poetics transformed itself into a sub-genre of *Weltanschauungslehre*: anthropology, existentialism, typology and hermeneutics were conjoined in the most surprising ways (eleventh tendency). This amalgamation enjoyed a long afterlife: after 1945, it was this tendency (in combination with the ninth one) that could be rediscovered easily, the reason being its distance from politics. Under the Fascist regime, some prominent poetic theories (or more exactly, literary theories) had been built upon problematic assumptions regarding

race and blood (thirteenth tendency). As a consequence, poetic theory needed to be purified. Taking into account this need for purification, the 1950s appear as a grey zone, a “Janus-faced” period.² This is marked by traditional accounts but also by new attempts which sooner or later bid farewell to poetics and embraced literary theory (fourteenth tendency). Through this implicit and explicit gesture, the 1950s and 60s stood in direct continuity to the Nazi period in which both notions, ‘Poetik’ and ‘Literaturtheorie’, as well as pleas to accept one and reject the other, were to be observed.³ Still, the political conditions and premises of these pleas had changed radically. Formalist, anthropological and existentialist poetics survived until the mid 1970s.⁴ It was only in the 1980s, through introductions such as David Wellbery’s *Positionen der Literaturwissenschaft* (1985), that they were finally replaced.

Beyond these continuities, some of the tendencies mentioned are shaped by recurring interests: the first recurring interest concerns the relationship of literature and scholarship as it is reflected in literary criticism. Popular philosophy, Heusinger, Gottschall and Maass focus on the problem of how to judge a literary work adequately and how to fascinate the public with it, thereby often implicitly or explicitly promoting a poetics of rules (an approach which, in fact, continued until the 20th century). A second interest is historiography (Herder, Herwig, A.W. Schlegel, Eugen Wolff). Religion constitutes a third interest; Schelling, Wackernagel, Jungmann and Spoerri consider religious aspects of literature from different confessional and even meta-confessional perspectives. The fourth widespread interest is in the psyche of the poet, be it within the framework of ‘Erfahrungsseelenlehre’ or in psy-

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- 2 Georg Bollenbeck and Gerhard Kaiser (eds.): *Die janusköpfigen 50er Jahre*. Wiesbaden: Westdt. Verl. 2000 (Kulturelle Moderne und bildungsbürgerliche Semantik 3).
 - 3 Cf. Wilhelm Voßkamp: *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität: Zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft im Dritten Reich*. In: *Wissenschaft im Dritten Reich*, ed. by Peter Lundgreen. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1985, pp. 140–162; Marcus Gärtner: *Kontinuität und Wandel in der neueren deutschen Literaturwissenschaft nach 1945*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis-Verl. 1997.
 - 4 Cf. Manon Maren-Grisebach: *Methoden der Literaturwissenschaft*. Bern, Munich: Francke 1970; Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermans (eds.): *Methodenfragen der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1973 (Wege der Forschung 290); Manfred Jurgensen: *Deutsche Literaturtheorie der Gegenwart: Georg Lukács – Hans Mayer – Emil Staiger – Fritz Strich*. Munich: Francke 1973; Horst Turk: *Literaturtheorie I: Literaturwissenschaftlicher Teil*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1976.

chology (popular philosophy tended to follow this track until the works of Dilthey were published). The fifth long-lasting interest, formalism and the focus on the work as such, opposed the fourth. Formalism appears in a variety of different forms which overlap only to a minor extent. To name just the most important representatives: Herbart and Zimmermann, the Austrian tradition, T.A. Meyer, Walzel, Husserl, Ingarden, Staiger, Jolles and Günther Müller.

The sixth interest exceeds the previously mentioned ones: Vischer, Scherer and Wehrli all aim at meta-poetic reflections, arising from huge cross-readings, observations and combinations of previous accounts. Meta-poetic or meta-aesthetic reflections, of course, can also be found in Kant as well as in most preliminary chapters to works on poetic theory. Still, these reflections are more or less detailed and valuable. In the cases of Vischer, Scherer and Wehrli, they amount to new impulses from which the area of poetic or literary theory profits enormously.

Furthermore, it is possible to identify developments of poetic theory which were driven by new academic challenges: the late 1940s/ early 1950s, the late 1960s/ early 1970s and today's academia faced a considerable demand for introductions to literary theory or overviews.⁵ The first wave of demand was caused by the lack of trustworthy poetic texts after 1945. With their reformation of study programmes in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the growing mass universities contributed to a second wave of demand. The far-reaching revision of the 'Lehramts'- and 'Magister'-study programmes in favour of today's Bachelor/Master-programmes increased this demand for the third time. Publishing companies transformed academic revisions into markets and chances to sell books to the student customer.

Another complex pattern in the history of poetics and literary theory is the recurring scientification.⁶ Going beyond the scope of this study,

5 Jörg Schönert: "Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft": Zur Geschichte eines Publikationstypus der letzten 50 Jahre. In: *Jahrbuch der ungarischen Germanistik* (2001), pp. 63–72.

6 Lutz Danneberg and Hans-Harald Müller: Verwissenschaftlichung der Literaturwissenschaft. Ansprüche, Strategien, Resultate. In: *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Wissenschaftstheorie/ Journal for General Philosophy of Science* 1 (1979), pp. 162–191; Rainer Rosenberg: Die Semantik der 'Szientifizierung': Die Paradigmen der Sozialgeschichte und des linguistischen Strukturalismus als Modernisierungsangebote an die deutsche Literaturwissenschaft. In: *Semantischer Umbau der Geisteswissenschaften*, ed. by Georg Bollenbeck and Clemens Knobloch. Heidelberg: Winter 2001, pp. 122–131.

three main scientific movements in the area of poetics can be observed: the psychologism of the late 19th century, the want for scientifically correct literary theory in the 1960s and 70s and current 'cognitive', 'neuro-scientific' literature studies or 'biopoetics'. Psychologism has been discussed at length in the previous chapters and should, therefore, not be revisited. The 1960s/70s scientification would be an interesting case to discuss as it was promoted through heated political debate between two generations of scholars. The replacement of poetics by the notion of literary theory was enforced through those parties of the younger generation who longed for 'scientifically correct' explanations of literature,⁷ be they structuralist,⁸ materialist, feminist, media- or reception oriented.⁹ Things are different again with 'biopoetics'.¹⁰ As in the 19th century (yet in more refined ways) scholars aim at uncovering the psychological motivations of poets and readers, thereby hoping to ground aesthetic assumptions in 'hard' biological knowledge and to bring the 'two cultures' together. It is not by mere accident that they are again accused of committing naturalistic fallacies.¹¹

7 A helpful overview and analysis is to be found in Silvio Vietta: *Kanon- und Theorieverwerfungen in der Germanistik der siebziger Jahre*. Aus der Diskussion. In: *Germanistik der siebziger Jahre: Zwischen Innovation und Ideologie*, ed. by S.V. and Dirk Kemper. Munich: Fink 2000, pp. 9–58.

8 See the results of the conference on the history of structuralism at the German Literary Archive, Marbach Neckar as well as the preparatory study by Marcel Lepper: *Die strukturalistische Kontroverse, die keine war: Die Konferenz von Baltimore und die Folgen*. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.]: Lang 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 311–326.

9 On the different types of reception theory Tom Kindt: *Denn sie wissen nicht, was sie tun: Stanley Fish vs. Wolfgang Iser*. In: *Kontroversen in der Literaturtheorie/ Literaturtheorie in der Kontroverse*, ed. by Ralf Klausnitzer and Carlos Spoerhase. Bern [et al.] 2007 (Publikationen der Zeitschrift für Germanistik NF 17), pp. 353–368.

10 Karl Eibl: *Animal Poeta. Bausteine zur biologischen Kultur- und Literaturtheorie*. Paderborn: Mentis 2004; Katja Mellmann: *Emotionalisierung – Von der Nebenstundenpoesie zum Buch als Freund: Eine emotionspsychologische Analyse der Literatur der Aufklärungsepoche*. Paderborn: Mentis 2006 (Poetogenesis 4). Karl Eibl, Katja Mellmann, Rüdiger Zymner (eds.). *Im Rücken der Kulturen*. Paderborn: Mentis 2007.

11 Raymond Tallis: *License my raving hands: Does neuroscience have anything to teach us about the pleasure of reading John Donne?* In: *The Times Literary Supplement* 11 (2008), S. 13–15.

Every scientification tends to be surpassed by other scientific programmes or by recurring waves of descientification. Among the examples discussed, existentialist and anthropological poetics are likely to meet the criteria for descientifications; among the most recent programmes, one would name deconstruction. The scholarly consequences of these scientifications and descientifications range widely. To give only a sketch (which could and should be expanded to a wider meta-theoretical discussion): scientifications as well as descientifications are inclined to form groups of belief, joined by different generations of scholars. Once a programme has lost its allure, the relevant group is to invent itself anew – at high cognitive, and perhaps social, costs. Some scholars might have fought bitterly for ‘their’ programme, alienating colleagues or endangering the consensus as well as the methods of the discipline. Even if new accounts are valuable and enhance the public recognition of literary theory, these costs should be taken into consideration. It is not by mere accident that the philologies now, after decades of ‘methodological innovation’ and theoretical or even ideological promises (sometimes fulfilled, but also sometimes broken), face a serious discussion about their credibility.¹² Some programmatic novelties have indeed led to a lack of consensus among colleagues and a decline in method.

Still, these pessimistic remarks should be contrasted with sober observations: firstly, most theoretical innovations from 1800 to the 1950s refer to those areas which were previously treated by rhetoric. If we return to the list of questions on, and topics of, poetics presented in the introduction of this book, this observation can be illustrated: Whilst rhetoric grounded its concept of the poet in enthusiasm, mania, furor poeticus, character and taste, 19th-century poetics pleaded for a scientific examination of the poet’s psyche, alluding to concepts like imagination and fantasy. Mimesis, as the main rhetorical description of the poetic act, was replaced by the study of the poet’s experience – which was later denounced for committing a naturalistic fallacy. Furthermore, the rhetorical doctrine of genre was substituted for the idea of personal style. The teachings on *memoria* and *pronuntiatio* moved into specialised treatises for actors. In addition to this, the whole area concerned with reception was transformed considerably. The rhetorical aims of presentation counted as antiquated. A broad modern audience, buyers and readers

12 See the Forum “Credibility. The New Challenge”. In: *The German Quarterly* 80 (2007) 4, pp. 421–426.

of printed books, required further study. This type of study was initiated through the description of the book market by Scherer. These inner-poetic developments reacted to external demand: to new philosophical, psychological or sociological challenges. Reactions like these kept poetic theory moving and made it a representative area of the development of scholarship in total.

All these poetological innovations ranged within boundaries and led to more or less precise but varying ideas about literature, poetics and literary theories. The stability within the variety of approaches is considerable. This observation becomes more apparent in the 20th century: after the methodological debate about the linguistic nature of the artwork of words and the requirements for its interpretation (Th.A. Meyer), poetological invention seemed to be restricted to world views or ideologies, methodological innovations being limited to changes of context or to the import of anthropological, existentialist or biological tools of description. The Nazi period serves as the best example of this tendency: concepts such as race and blood were taken into poetics and expelled from it after National Socialism was over. Poetic theory, obviously a stable yet fragile field of knowledge, was able to move back to the late 1920s or early 1930s state of research. What is more, poetic theory managed to come up with other innovative concepts shortly after its ideological downfall.

Secondly, as if an invisible hand process were at work, forgotten poetological patterns of descriptions began to come back one or two generations after they were lost. Observing most recent publications and trends, it seems as if current approaches are somewhat reluctant when it comes to innovation. Instead of proposing new theories, they move back. Sunken ideas, outmoded as an 'irrational stock of poetics' in the 1960s, are about to be revitalised. Schleiermacher's, Heidegger's and Staiger's notions of "Stimmung" are a good example of this trend.¹³ After all the attempts to get underlying, pre-reflexive feelings out of the text and its interpretation, "Stimmung" is coming back and faces a revival which aims at going beyond Staiger in the light of current lit-

13 David Wellbery: *Stimmung*. In: *Historisches Wörterbuch ästhetischer Grundbegriffe*, ed. by Karlheinz Barck [et al.], Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2003, vol. 5., pp. 703–33; Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht: *Schluss mit Stimmung. Der existentialistische Sound der Dekonstruktion*. In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 January 2007, No. 20, p. N3.

erary theory. It is only a matter of time until notions like “Geist”, “Erlebnis”, “Gestalt”, “Seele” and “Kunstwerk” are reinvented as well.

Seen from a bird’s eye view, this reinvention of old poetic notions complements a larger trend in the politics of science across Europe: the rediscovery of elements which had been expelled from the universities in the 1960s and 70s. Some of these sunken ideas have been reintroduced with the whole political and administrative force of the Bologna process: rhetoric and style, for instance, have celebrated a comeback in the trivialised form of ‘soft skills’. In the 1960s and 70s, rhetoric and style were regarded as being personal expressions and excluded from the scientified canon of literary science. Consequently, literary theory was measured not by ‘beautiful’ writing but by terminology and correctness. This is understandable and respectable, also in the light of the opposition to vague notions of anthropological and existentialist accounts dominant at the time. Still, the exclusion of rhetoric and style altogether went too far: literary theory became a more and more esoteric practice. This process has not been examined up until now but would form the basis of a most interesting study. Such a study should combine an investigation of the development of literary theory in the 1970s and afterwards with an examination of the development of academia and the public reception of such theories.

A book like the present one cannot fulfil this task. Rather, it is appropriate for this study to end with a meditation on another sunken idea, forgotten by everybody, including those who make science policy. This dusty good is called inspiration, often considered by old-fashioned scholarly poetics. Inspiration cannot be explained (in total). Still, it would be boring to simply admire it. It might be worth asking which conditions help inspiration to emerge. In the light of this study, it seems that among these conditions one ought to include the existence of well-reflected and well-written books on literary theory which remain distant from the immediate demands of the book market or regional Bachelor-/Master-study programmes. And inspiration would ask for more: for a culture of responsibility and historical awareness in which enthusiasm and respect for innovative literary theory can grow without ignorance and regret.

What would such a culture of responsibility and historical awareness look like? Taking into account the many poetological inventions discussed in this book I wish to propose four principles which could help to initiate such a culture:

- (1) *Historical awareness.* New theoretical projects should ask themselves to what extent they are new, and reflect their novelty in the light of previous theories. The approaches discussed often use a kind of rhetoric of the new and demarcate the field in order to present their aims. One of the most successful scholars to use such a type of rhetoric (without going into detail as far as his sources are concerned) was the young Dilthey. Two of the most reflected and influential approaches, those of Vischer and Scherer, are in opposition to their predecessors', they name role models and manage to gain intellectual energy from these debates.
- (2) *Addressee orientation.* Still, to attract a general public or to fight for the recognition of literary or text theory, the rhetoric of the new is helpful and, perhaps, indispensable. This rhetoric can even be understood as an abbreviation. Essays or journal articles have to be short, persuasive and provocative – and a scholar like Vischer was a master of provocation. Yet when it comes to addressing the academic public, the rhetoric of the new not only requires relativisation, but the new project will also profit from more detailed, reflective and self-critical presentations which make the project more credible for the academic audience.
- (3) *Correctness.* This specific audience would be interested in examining the inner-theoretical correctness of new theories proposed – a project which in the 1970s gained the attention of a group of scholars associated with argumentation theory and analytical philosophy and is today covered by the analytical theory of literature.¹⁴ Indeed, correct arguments can decide the fate of a theoretical approach. After Husserl and the critique of the natural fallacies committed by psychologism, this approach was dead for advanced literary theory, even if psychologism survived in some degree in practical analyses and theories.
- (4) *Appropriateness.* This after-life of psychologism could be explained by the fact that it often seemed to provide appropriate interpreta-

14 See the overviews by Werner Strube: *Analytische Philosophie der Literaturwissenschaft. Untersuchungen zur literaturwissenschaftlichen Definition, Klassifikation, Interpretation und Textbewertung.* Paderborn [et al.]: Schöningh 1993; Simone Winko/Tilmann Köppe: *Theorien und Methoden der Literaturwissenschaft.* In: *Handbuch Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Thomas Anz, Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2007, vol. 2., S. 285–372. The whole working group “ReVisionen” (with a series published with de Gruyter) has subscribed to analytical literary science.

tions, a fact which should be esteemed as well. In addition to questions of inner-theoretical correctness, theories should be apt to the objects they describe and correctly applied to their objects, thereby testing themselves.¹⁵ Examining the appropriateness of a theory would mean to confront it with those literary texts the relevant theory aims at describing. The approaches discussed solved this problem in different ways. They seldom allowed themselves to go into greater detail but rather concentrated on specific text elements only. Furthermore, they chose those texts which fitted the relevant theory. Spoerri and Staiger, for instance, both selected those poets and works for their typologies which obviously possessed many characteristics of the relevant type. Of course, according to Spoerri's world view, a combination of Pascal and Kierkegaard would constitute a 'normative man's' belief.

- (5) *Efficiency*. Beyond the principles named, new theoretical projects should consider the costs of further exploration. To found a new project could mean encouraging young scholars into it, making them spend their early academic life reflecting on this new and little established approach. Would this be an effective tool for presenting them to the academic audience or would this rather hinder their acceptance in the field in which they want to qualify? Furthermore, an intense one-dimensional theoretical claim could call into question a scholar's seriousness and cause a public scandal. In the case of Staiger, for instance, literary theory made him famous at first – and discredited him in 1966. He underestimated the costs of his wish to implement classicist views on the contemporaneous literary field.
- (6) *Relevance*. Furthermore, Staiger was wrong in considering his views relevant. Should a new theory be suggested, the question of its relevance (both within and outside of academia) ought to be raised. The audience should be sensitive to the specific new approach. Otherwise, a lot of intellectual energy would be wasted. In turn, the new approach should consider itself in the light of current discussions in order not to be entirely behind trends or, alternatively, to swamp the public. The young Staiger, for instance, hit the intellectual mark of his time; the later Staiger was clearly very far off it.

15 Danneberg/Müller (fn. 6), pp. 190 f.

Taking my pleas for historical awareness seriously, I understand these principles in Fechner's sense: as preliminary remarks and non-normative suggestions for a literary and text theory in a future culture of academic responsibility.

III. Bibliographies and Prints

Taking into account the variety of primary texts related to the issue of poetics, the bibliography is split into several parts: the first contains comprehensive German poetics in the narrow sense, i. e. books which mainly refer to structure, genre and ways of interpreting literary texts. These works are inclined to be didactical yet can be highly theoretical as well (1.). The second part presents comprehensive German aesthetics which either refer to the aesthetics of literature or are mentioned in the poetological texts discussed (2.). Poetological texts from the 1930s onwards, which tend towards literary theory, are listed in the third part (3.). The fourth part of the bibliography gives an insight into Non-German rhetoric, poetics and aesthetics, mainly in the 18th and early 19th centuries, the reason for the selection being the reception of the relevant texts through German poetics and aesthetics (4.). Additional sources are grouped together in the fifth section. In this section one also finds poetological texts which do not contain a comprehensive poetics but deal with one specific poetological issue such as fantasy or suspense (5.). Research literature is to be found in the final part of the bibliography (6.). It is, however, often difficult to decide where to place a publication. Some texts might well fall into more than one group. Take for example Max Wehrli. His *Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft* is as much a poetological and theoretical text as it is a part of the research literature on previous poetics and aesthetics. In cases like this, the decision on where to place a book follows the purposes of this study. Another categorisation might well be possible.

A further note on the bibliographical strategies of this volume might be helpful: as the title of this publication indicates, the focus of the source bibliographies is on works published between 1770 und 1960. Still, there will be a certain overlap with 18th-century texts as they remained among the principal theories until the 20th or even 21st century. Due to the narrow focus of the first section, its bibliography is more or less complete. The other bibliographies are more selective. If possible, all first editions are mentioned. Later editions are taken in if they contain significant changes or if the final edition is concerned. Also, reprints are included as they may inform the reader about later stages of the reception of the relevant work. All parts of the bibliography were completed in 2006. Secondary literature published later is only occasionally included.

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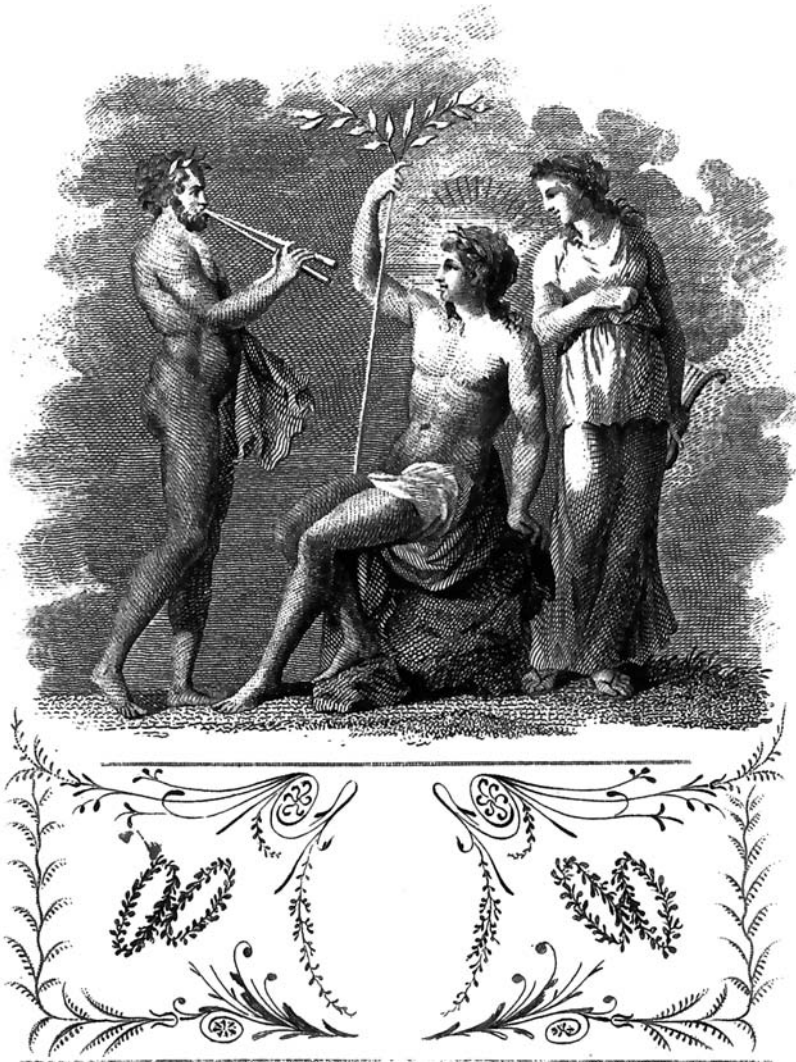
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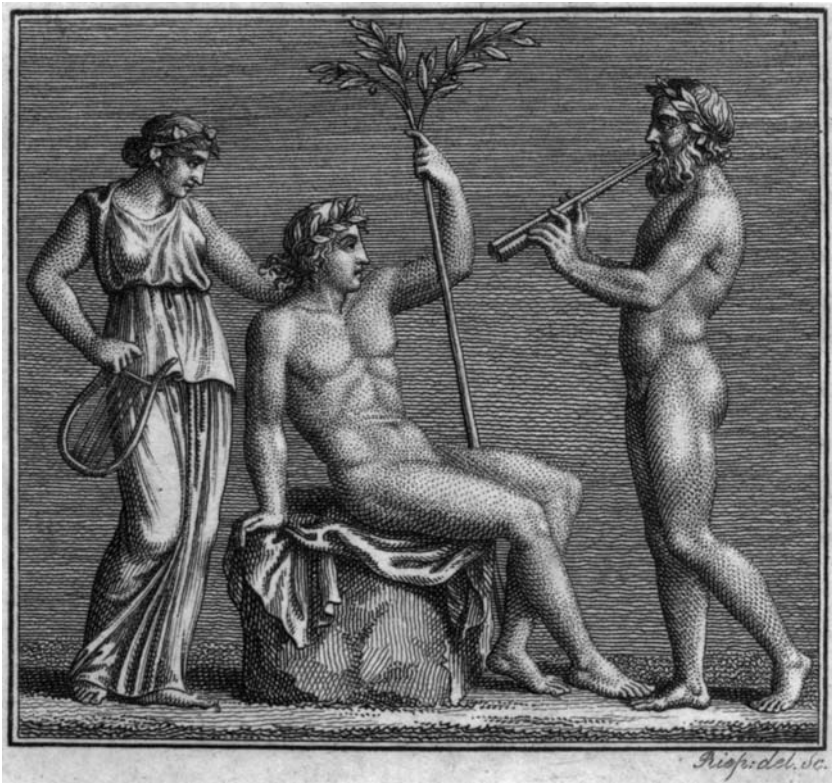
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7. Prints



*Ungeschmack u. Geschmack.
Nach einem antiken Vasengemälde.*



Friedrich Bouterwek: Aesthetik. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
1815, vol. 1, title page.

Kategorientafel.

<i>Das Statische</i>	<i>Das Dynamische</i>	<i>Das Normative</i>
(das Bestehende, äußerlich Konstante, Starre):	(das Wechselnde, innerlich Bewegte, Fließende):	(das Beharrende, innerlich Konstante, in frei gewählter Rich- tung Strebende):
<i>Grenze</i>	<i>Unbegrenztheit</i> (Unendlichkeit, Tiefe)	<i>Gestalt</i>
<i>Vielheit</i> (Teilbarkeit, Zusammengesetztheit)	<i>Einheit</i> (Verschmelzung, Ungeschiedenheit)	<i>Ganzheit</i>
<i>Gesetz</i>	<i>Freiheit</i> (Ungebundenheit)	<i>Richtung</i>

Theophil Spoerri: Präludium zur Poesie. Eine Einführung in die Deutung des dichterischen Kunstwerks. Berlin [1929], p. 321.

Die drei Ansichten der Wirklichkeit.

Das Normative

Gott
Geist
Wert
Willen
Zukunft

Das Dynamische

Ich
Seele
Trieb
Gefühl
Gegenwart

Das Statische

Welt
Leib
Ding
Verstand
Vergangenheit

Die drei Bereiche der Kunst

Poesie
Drama
(*normativ*)

Musik

Lyrik
(*dynamisch*)

Epik
(*statisch*)

Plastik

Theophil Spoerri: Präludium zur Poesie. Eine Einführung in die Deutung des dichterischen Kunstwerks. Berlin [1929], p. 322.

Die Welt in normativer Beleuchtung.

Das Dynamische

Das Statische

Kosmos

Unbegrenztheit als unendliche Mög- lichkeit der Form.	Grenze als natürliche Schranke, als formhafter Umriß
Einheit als Verbundensein mit der Mitte	Vielheit als schöpferische Mannigfal- tigkeit
Freiheit als Selbstverwirklichung	Gesetz als göttliche Ordnung

Chaos

Unbegrenztheit als Formzertrümmerung	Grenze als kerkerhafte Schranke
Einheit als Vermengung aller Substanzen	Vielheit als Unstimmigkeit, Zerrissenheit
Freiheit als dämonische Willkür	Gesetz als sinnlose Gebundenheit

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