

Sandra Richter
A History of Poetics

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German Scholarly Aesthetics and Poetics
in International Context, 1770–1960

With Bibliographies by
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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 Films* (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. (Editions 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 Haugam 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 rhetoric’ 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 –

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- 16 Karl Heinrich Ludwig Pölitz: *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 Pölitz’s work which can be characterised as Kantian and oriented towards progress; Jochen Johannsen: *Heeren versus Pölitz: 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.: Athennaion 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-*

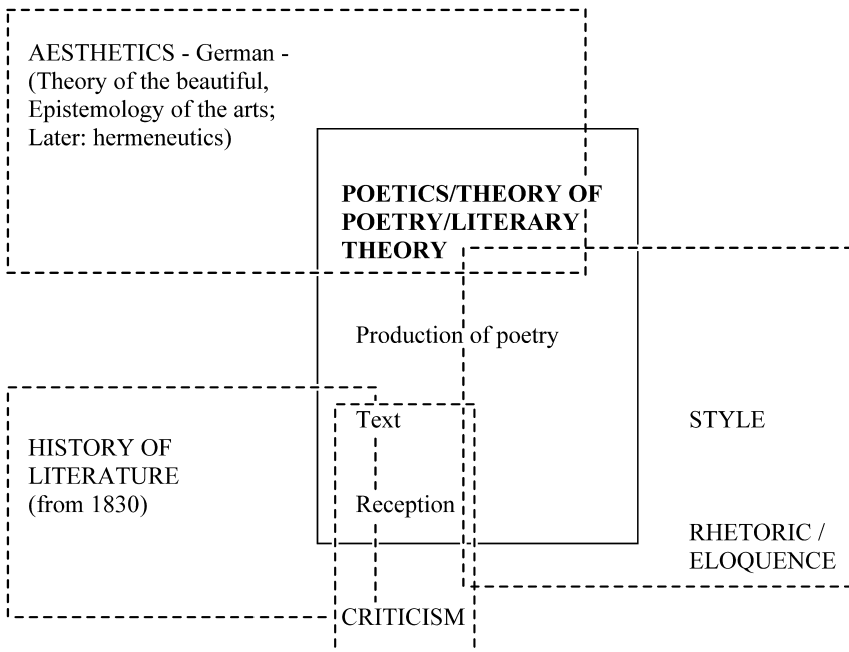
by Baumgarten, refers to theories of the beautiful and the epistemology of the arts, books on aesthetics published before 1890 usually include a section on poetics. Friedrich Theodor Vischer's six-volume *Aesthetik* for example, dedicates a whole volume to poetics. Also, popular aesthetics such as the 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 Pröbl that reduces aesthetics to a minimal amount of principles – and ends up merely stating common late 19th-century assumptions; Robert Pröbl: *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' Poetic*. 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 Ermatinger, 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 job 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 Stammer, 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 Schönert: "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 poeto-logical 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 Potebnjas 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 Schönert: *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 Schönert. 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