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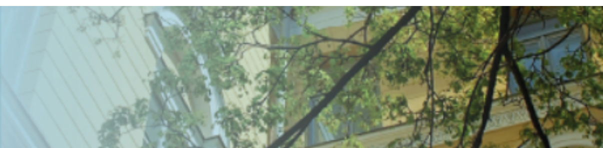

Enlightened Poetics and Experimental Poetry: Imagination and Emotion in the Eighteenth Century

Enlightenment and imagination are highly contested concepts and at the same time fundamental to any study of eighteenth-century literature and literary theory in Europe. Both imagination and emotion are linked to the increasing importance invested in literature as emotional communication in the era of sentimentalism. I enter this vast field to highlight parts of it which are of specific relevance to the discussion of poetical imagination in the second half of the eighteenth century. A confrontation of poetics with literature of the same period can contribute to a more far-reaching interpretation of the concepts in question, Enlightenment and imagination. I suggest that the radically different approaches by the poets on the one hand, and the learned professors on the other, cloud the similarity of their aim, an exploration of the passionate communication of humankind. Poetics and poetry respectively can be seen as very different answers to the same question of the limits of human expression.

It is certainly not to be taken for granted that theory and practice point in the same direction, or that theory necessarily precedes poetry neither in the eighteenth century, nor today. In fact, poetical theory and the poetry written towards the end of the eighteenth century address the concept of imagination in different ways. By studying both with a

specific focus on their interrelation I believe that we can learn more about enlightened imagination.

Not only do I argue that theory and practice are unlikely to be compatible, but I also question the construction of periphery and centre. The borders between languages and realms are often dissolved in the eighteenth-century republic of letters. A seemingly peripheral voice from Sweden interacts on equal terms with German and French poets and theorists in this exploration of eighteenth-century imagination and emotion.

1. Poetics and Enlightenment

In the 1770s and the 1780s Germany saw the publication of a great number of handbooks in poetics used for teaching purposes at universities and schools. Many of them found their way to foreign university libraries. In Uppsala, Sweden, librarians lectured on poetics with the help of two famous handbooks from the year 1783, Johann Joachim Eschenburg's *Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften* and Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*.[1] Enlightenment traits can be seen as an important part of the handbooks in poetics as such. A belief in perfectibility is highlighted in the prefaces and introductions to the poetics, for example by Johann Jacob Engel in his *Anfangsgründe einer Theorie der Dichtungsarten aus deutschen Mustern entwickelt* from 1783. He turns to his readers and asks the *connoisseur* (*Kenner*) to give his opinion and to provide Engel with better examples for a new and improved edition.[2] These learned men express a conversational ideal; they welcome readers to revise, to add, and to contradict their statements.

The incessant debate between Charles Batteux, the author of the influential *Les Beaux Arts réduits à un même principe* from 1746, and his German translator Johann Adolf Schlegel forms an extreme example.[3] Schlegel disagreed with Batteux on many points, and his comments in the first edition of the translation from 1751 were met with answers by the French theorist. Schlegel included the responses in a later edition, followed by his own final comments. The third German edition from 1770 includes all stages of the debate in footnotes, finally leaving only two lines of the original text on the page. The rest of the page is filled with the meticulously registered contributions by the two opponents.[4] The examples given above suggest a belief in progress by weighing arguments and the continuation of a discussion on equal terms also in the realm of poetics.

Hugh Blair, Regius professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in Edinburgh, began his famous lectures with a statement of a similar meaning: "What we call human reason, is not the effort or ability of one, so much as it is the result of the reason of many, arising from lights mutually communicated, in consequence of discourse and writing."[5] Blair refers to reason as a process involving many individuals and their utterances. The handbooks I am referring to belong to a similar scholarly tradition, in search of the principles regulating poetry. The authors' invitations to debate, their belief in the exchange of thoughts as the road to perfectibility can be interpreted as Enlightenment traits. In an illuminating overview with the title "Was There a Swedish Enlightenment?" Marie-Christine Skuncke refers to Wijnand W. Mijnhardt's definition of the Enlightenment as a belief in perfectibility, in connection with humankind, paired with a

belief in the possibility to improve society.[6] Both traits are combined in eighteenth-century poetics: first of all as a struggle for theoretical improvement by a continued discussion, and, secondly, as a belief in the moral effect of poetry suggesting the improvement of both man and society. We are faced with an Enlightenment *sapere aude*.

But to the reason of poetics we have to add the emotions of poetry. Poetry was in the second half of the eighteenth century very much concerned with the expression of emotions. It is the same Hugh Blair who defined poetry as "the language of passion".[7] But, as many scholars have suggested, it is certainly a mistake to place reason and emotions as opposite concepts in the eighteenth century.

It might be tempting to connect the Enlightenment with reason and a following epoch with emotions, whether the era is called *Sturm und Drang*, pre-romanticism or sentimentalism. I find this subdivision too limited and agree with scholars such as the Danish professor Thomas Bredsdorff who brings together both these tendencies under the heading Enlightenment. Bredsdorff adds *sentire aude* to Kant's famous *sapere aude*.[8] The link between the debate on the theory of literature and the many experiments of late eighteenth-century poetry are two sides of the same Enlightenment struggle, that of establishing an equal and transparent communication on the conditions and nature of humankind. Whether it takes the form of a paragraph on the psychological process of imagination, or if it turns into an imaginative artefact, a poem, is of less importance. Both discourses encourage humankind to face humankind.

2. Passionate Imagination

The theories of poetics in late eighteenth-century Germany rely on current scientific theories. A standard reference is Alexander Gerard's *An Essay on Genius* from 1774 and the elliptical language of passion is explained with the help of the British psychology of association.[9] It is evident that imagination is connected with emotion and this is the reason why I use examples from theories of the lyric genre. The lyric genre was regarded as the most passionate as well as the most disorderly genre during the late eighteenth century, and because of these traits it was placed even higher than tragedy and the epic.[10] It is the genre where imagination plays a crucial part, released by the emotional fervour of the poet.

The Enlightenment poetics of the 1780s that are mentioned above offer illuminating examples of how imagination is connected with emotions. The discussions about the lyric genre are of special interest, since they expose the underlying link between the imaginative process and the passionate moment of lyric creativity. Eschenburg very explicitly combines imagination, passion, and the lyric genre in his poetics from 1783. He connects imagination to *Begeisterung*, enthusiasm, in a paragraph on the ode:

> Eben diese Stärke der Leidenschaft, und die ausschliessende Richtung der Seele auf sie allein, macht es dem lyrischen Dichter unmöglich, an eine absichtliche, regelmässige Folge seiner Gedanken, Bilder und Ausdrücke zu denken; daher die lyrische Unordnung, die aber mehr scheinbar als wirklich ist, weil die Ordnung

> und Gedankenreihe der begeisterten Phantasie doch immer dabey wirksam ist und zum Grunde liegt.[11]

Eschenburg explains the disorder of lyric poetry as a seeming disorder, since it is the result of the specific order and train of thoughts of the enthusiastic imagination. In this standard poetics, Eschenburg establishes two parallel orders of the world. On the one hand, the traditional order of reason and academic logic remains stable, but on the other hand a new order of the enthusiastic imagination is established in its own right.

If we turn to Johann Georg Sulzer and his entry on the ode in the encyclopaedia of the fine arts from the 1770s with the title *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* we find similar definitions.[12] A poet, heated by imagination and emotion, expresses himself (rarely herself) in a specifically poetical way. The result is a poem that primarily offers the audience a psychological process that causes admiration and, at best, corresponding emotions. Poetry enables us to peep into the mind of the poet and to experience "a true and very remarkable representation of the inner state of mind".[13]

To Sulzer the ode becomes the highest sub-genre of the lyric and it is even offered the top position of all poetical genres.[14] He expands on the interrelation between emotion and imagination. It is easy to recognise the description given by Eschenburg. Sulzer agrees that the ode can be defined as poetry per se, since it develops the most vivid metaphors, the most unusual use of language, and the liveliest emotions. But Sulzer, just like his

contemporaries in Germany, appreciates this disorder as a parallel kind of order that follows not the rules of reason but the rules of imagination and emotion.[15]

I have referred to Eschenburg's and Sulzer's discussions on the ode for several reasons. First of all, they are excellent examples of the close link between imagination and emotion in eighteenth-century poetics. The two concepts become almost interchangeable. Secondly, they both define a poem as a nearly automatic outpouring of a human mind, rather than the result of an artistic achievement. The poetics of the late eighteenth century dwells more on general psychological processes than on the poet's intentional use of specific tropes and other linguistic means. And finally, it is evident that this kind of imaginative and emotional exclamation – the ode is an *Ausrufung*, in Sulzer's words – has epistemological qualities. It contains and communicates truths that are different, but not inferior, to rational statements:

> Denn insgemein denkt das in Empfindung gesetzte Gemüth ganz anders von den Sachen, als die ruhigere Vernunft. Aber wo auch bey der Leidenschaft der Dichter die Sachen von der wahren Seite sieht, wenn er ein Mann ist, der tief und gründlich zu denken gewohnt ist: da giebt die Empfindung seinen Lehren und Sprüchen auch eine durchdringende Kraft, und erhebt sie zu wahren Machtsprüchen, gegen die Niemand sich aufzulehnen getraut.[16]

Sulzer compares calm reason with the emotionally affected *Gemüth*. The German word, *Gemüth*, translates as temper, disposition, or nature. The conclusion is that the two seemingly opposites: reason and emotion, both lead to truth. The poet should be used to rational thinking and his teachings become irresistible with the addition of emotional power. On this point, the traditional rhetorical union of *logos* and *pathos* is transformed into a similar union based on the aesthetic point of departure.

Eschenburg's and Sulzer's theories form a continuation of Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's fundamental appreciation of sensate knowledge.[17] The focus on the so-called lower functions of the mind is transported from the rationalist logic of the early aesthetics of Baumgarten to an empirical discussion about the nature of man within poetics of the 1780s. The theories of the ode support the idea that the *sentire aude* achieves a position alongside the *sapere aude* as suggested by Bredsdorff. I argue that these two concepts merge in the poetics of the late eighteenth century. To feel is to know.

So far, the union between imagination and emotion seems to be hailed by an enthusiastic group of learned men in Germany of the 1770s and 1780s. At first glance their handbooks entail a very clear notion of dissent, in their willingness to let loose imagination and passion, and to accept the expressions as truths. But in the entry *Einbildungskraft*, imagination, in Sulzer's encyclopedia, the author very clearly demands a sense of order and a sense of judgment as companions to imagination. Should the poet lack these ordering qualities, his life will turn into a dream and his words into adventures from a magic world, writes Sulzer.[18] He repeats this argument in the entry *Begeisterung*,

enthusiasm, and warns for the foolishness of an enthusiasm that is not combined with a sound sense of judgment.[19]

The defence of emotional poetry and the restrictions of the highflying imagination are both strangely hesitant. Sulzer and his colleagues express more of their appreciation of the phenomena than full-scale analyses supported by their scientific ideals.

3. Imagination and Language

The most astonishing void in the sources I have mentioned so far is their silence on language. They write about poetry, about specific genres, such as the ode, but they have very little to say about the fact that poetry is a linguistic expression. The means of poetry moves from language to the mind of the poet. Instead of matters of style, of verse forms, of tropes, of beginnings and ends, we read about how to provoke or to prolong the passionate moment. Words turn into mere vehicles for emotions – and the most intense emotions of all are silent. The trope *aposiopesis*, signifying this emotional void, is very much in vogue in the eighteenth century. In the entry "Begeisterung", enthusiasm, Sulzer describes the artistic process with admirable confidence, a process that is supposedly identical for the writer and the painter:

> […] er darf sich nur seiner Empfindung überlassen. Alles, was er auszudrüken hat, liegt in seiner Phanthasie deutlich vor ihm. Ohne Vorsatz und Ueberlegung ordnet seine Seele jeden Theil auf das beste an, bildet jeden auf das lebhafteste

> aus. Seine Feder oder Pinsel, seine Hand oder sein Mund, sind nicht schnell genug, das darzustellen, was ihm dargeboten wird.[20]

Sulzer's reassurance is indeed admirable. We just have to entrust ourselves to our emotions, and the imagination will present to us everything we want to express, he writes. Our souls will order each part in the very best way, Sulzer claims. Apart from Sulzer's extreme faith in the automatic processes of the mind, it is evident that the medium for the expression is of no importance to him. The result of this emotional and imaginative process turns either into a painting or into a poem. The artist just has to choose between picking up a brush or a pen.

Sulzer's appreciation of passionate imagination reflects a specific development in eighteenth-century poetics. The rhetorical focus on *elocutio*, on the tropes and figures of the poetical text, gave way to the aesthetic perspective of poetics. As soon as the emotional drives of creativity, as psychological phenomena, came into focus the linguistic aspects of poetics were marginalized.

It seems that many poetics of the late eighteenth century disregard theories of language. Their focus had shifted from the combined psychological and linguistic theory within the context of earlier rhetorical and poetological theories to an intense discussion of sympathy, in its original meaning of feeling together.[21] A similar change is that artistic judgment should rely on taste, a concept that bears similar psychological connotations,

but for the reader instead of the poet. Blair's combined rhetoric and poetics is an illuminating example of this shift within rhetorical and poetological theory. He moves away from the long lists of tropes of traditional rhetoric and poetics to a stronger focus on taste.[22] The concept of taste tends to function as a group characteristic, uniting well-read, educated and polite men. It is less a part of a curriculum than an inner quality, a subtle sensitivity of an emotional élite.

The process involves a passionate imagination that is communicated to an audience, which is thus able to share the emotions of the poet and to enter his (seldom hers) imaginative world. But the poetic theories of the time have surprisingly little to say on the literary text, the set of words that convey the emotions in question.

If we turn to France and leave mainstream poetics behind we find explicit debates on language. Jean-Jacques Rousseau deplored the historical process that had made language become "more precise and less passionate" in the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, *Essay on the Origin of Languages* from the 1750s.[23] His longing for an original stage of immediate and passionate communication is evident in the treatise and in that sense his views are similar to those of his German colleagues. But while Eschenburg and Sulzer did believe that poets could communicate through language, even though the medium seemed to be of no importance, Rousseau posed the problem within language. The melodrama, invented by Rousseau in 1770, was an attempt to enhance the communication of emotions by combining spoken language with music and gestures.[24]

The sighs and tears of the eighteenth century gained a more privileged position as vehicles of passion compared to mere words.

As we have seen, Rousseau and several others discussed the matter of language outside the discipline of poetics. The handbooks mentioned above excluded a thorough investigation of language in an attempt to replace the rhetorical theory of language with a theory of aesthetics, of sensate knowledge. Aesthetics encouraged the construction of a set of fine arts, defining a common ground for the *Schöne Künste*. Consequently, late eighteenth-century poetics focussed on the joint aspects of the fine arts, highlighting concepts such as imagination. As a result, the specificity of poetical language had to be discussed elsewhere, for example in a treatise by Rousseau.

How were poets of the late eighteenth century to handle the contradictory trends? On the one hand they could read handbook poetics hailing a heated imagination, automatically leading to excellent poems. On the other hand, they had to check their enthusiasm in order not to transgress the limits of *decorum*. But why should they write poetry at all, when language seemed to be such a deficient medium for communicating emotions? Why not just cry, or sigh?[25]

This is one of the points where theory and practice take different roads. The writers of the late eighteenth century filled the blanks of contemporary theory with experimental works that can be seen as a comment on the relationship between imagination, emotion and language. The main characteristics of late eighteenth-century poetics are the decisive

changes within an old conceptual framework and its increasing inadequacy for contemporary poetry. School poetics maintained traditional lists of genres, while uproar against neo-classicist precepts already dominated the European stage. The gaps between theory, as it was taught at universities, and practice was becoming apparent.

The poetics of the time ignored many existing literary genres – the novel, for example, was still not quite accepted as a literary genre. The old distinction between eloquence, defined as prose, and poetry, defined by its verse form, competed with new ideas. The passionate ideal contributed to a focus on inner qualities as criteria defining poetry. Thus, the novel that had been hovering between rhetoric and poetics was transformed into a poetical genre in the early nineteenth century. Eschenburg's joint handbook, including both a rhetoric and a poetics, offers an illustrative example. The two editions from 1783 and 1789 discussed the novel in the section on rhetoric, but the novel was accepted as a literary genre in the 1805 edition, in spite of its prose form.[26] There are many literary innovations of the late eighteenth century that made the gap between theory and practice visible, such as the bourgeois tragedy, or the already mentioned melodrama. J. A. Schlegel, the translator of Batteux, complained about the criterion of state that demanded kings for tragedies and peasants for comedies. His appeal for fathers, lovers, husbands, and friends as worthy subjects for the poet suggests the tensions inherent in the handbooks of the era.[27]

On certain points, the foundation for poetics was discussed in the handbooks. Shifts took place within traditional concepts that changed meaning during the eighteenth century.

The concept of imitation, for example, could be understood as a recommendation to use the ancient Roman authors as models as well as a recommendation to the poet to apply the creative principle of nature.[28] These fundamentally opposite views of poetic creation coincided in the late eighteenth century and did not provoke a theoretical break until the very last years of the century in Germany. But while most theorists criticised poetics from a position within the tradition, the poets consciously transgressed the borders of convention.

4. Poetry as Imaginative Language

The Swedish poet Bengt Lidner (1757–1793) constitutes an excellent example of a poet struggling with these questions. His poetry shows the experimental force of late eighteenth-century poetry. Lidner applied very different means in order to make language a reliable vehicle for the communication of emotions. The limits of imagination were stretched well beyond the demarcations suggested by Sulzer and his colleagues.

Lidner, who died in 1793 at the age of 35, was extremely well read. He referred to Shakespeare as well as to Rousseau, to Salomon Gessner, Jean-Baptiste Willart de Grécourt, Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter, François-Thomas-Marie Baculard d'Arnaud and Goethe, just to mention some of the authors he appreciated. He studied in Göttingen supported by the Swedish king Gustavus III and stayed in Paris as the assistant to the Swedish ambassador and poet, Count Gustav Philip Creutz. His work is far from provincial, apart from being written in Swedish. Lidner takes part in a general European literary discussion on sensibility and *decorum*.

On the generic level his imaginative experiments are numerous. He preferred genres such as the oratorio, the opera, and the cantata since they allowed him to mix metric forms, and to mix epic progress and lyric expressions of emotions. This rare combination of shifting verse forms, of narration and reflection was also used in long poems that are very difficult to define according to the late eighteenth-century system of genres. I suggest that Lidner's construction of these mixed forms is a means to convey the very order of the imagination that is described in Sulzer's encyclopaedia. The poet's mind moves quickly from scene to scene; the effect is very close to a live broadcast, creating an intense emotional presence.

The generic level reveals the experimental character of Lidner's poetry. But he also excelled in the fashionable voids of the eighteenth century, the silences marked by a varying number of dots and dashes. According to Engel and others, the poet falls silent when his emotional engagement reaches its peak.[29] Very much in accordance with Rousseau's views, the most intense emotions seemed to be impossible to express in language. The prints of the time include elaborate signs, *points de suspension*, developed to mark these passionate abysses. Lidner preferred a system of dots and both long and short dashes, varying their number from one and up to five consecutive signs.

However, it would be a mistake to interpret all eighteenth-century silences as sheer linguistic pessimism. Lidner and his colleagues explored a semantic field, combining words and signs in order to communicate emotions. Many of them certainly did share Rousseau's nostalgia and his longing for transparent communication on a theoretical

level, but just like Rousseau they produced an impressive number of pages filled with words. The style may seem exaggerated and exasperating for a twenty-first-century reader, but seen as a comment and as a parallel to the theoretical debate it makes sense. Language stands at the centre of these sentimental texts, and the combination of words, silences, and signs turns the reader's attention both to the semantic and the sentimental aspects of literature. The authors attuned words, silences, and signs to a new elaborate and passionate discourse with their readers. The enthusiastic responses from the readers of this kind of literature show that their efforts were far from futile.[30]

Lidner's conscious attempts to express a specific imaginative and emotional process were not restricted to literary form. He was accused of blasphemy in a Stockholm periodical after having published a poem on a countess Spastara, who dies in her burning house after trying to rescue her baby son. The scene is the earthquake of Messina in 1783 and Lidner based his poem on a newspaper article.[31] Lidner soon published a defence, where he argued that his accusation against God for not saving the young virtuous mother and her son was the instantaneous reaction of his heart. He argued entirely for the rights of passion – it is the passions that define humanity, as God's creations. Lidner exclaims: "I write, heated by passions, for those only who have hearts that feel the same as I feel."[32] In Lidner's case, passion and imagination are not restricted by the judgment and order that Sulzer asked for.

Lidner's belief in the universality of passion, along with the belief in the uniqueness of every heart, formed the basis for his literary project. His poetics led him to cross generic

borders, but also to transgress the limits of *decorum*. It is, perhaps, ironic that his claim for uniqueness and authenticity takes the shape of an allusion to a fellow poet. Lidner's declarations are identical with those of Goethe's Werther, who claimed that his knowledge could be shared by anyone, but that his heart belonged to him alone: "Ach, was ich weiß, kann jeder wissen – mein Herz habe ich allein."[33]

It is obvious that Lidner wanted to create a sentimental logic that could transform the order of society and of the entire universe. He achieved this on at least two levels. On the one hand he merged incompatible entities, such as criminal and hero, man and god. The passions erased the borders between men and women, between crime and virtue, between kings and peasants, and between madness and sanity. On the other hand, he dissolved the link between *res* and *verba*, things and words. In a standard rhetorical and poetical theory the figurative level of a poem should always correspond with a literal level, as a one-to-one relationship. But in several of Lidner's poems the metaphorical level runs amok, and it is increasingly difficult to translate it back to a 'normal' sense. The result was that the epistemological power of imagination called forth new truths, and conjured up new worlds. J. A. Schlegel's gentle scepticism against the criterion of state turned into both a poetically and politically radical statement in the hands of the Swedish author.

5. The Perfectibility of Poetics and Poetry

Poetics and poetry of the late eighteenth century approach the problem of how to make imaginative and passionate language work. To use a key concept from Jean Starobinski's studies of Rousseau, the transparency, *transparence*, of emotional communication is the

aim of this specific poetics.[34] In spite of the ambivalent approach to language, even a certain pessimism, the late eighteenth century is an extraordinary era. Both the theory and practice of poetry reveals an exuberant energy in its negotiations of imagination, emotion, and language.

The expressive theories and the poets should not necessarily be taken at face value. Several handbooks suggest creative processes that are not quite possible to carry through. Likewise, the poets' repeated claims for authenticity, their descriptions of their poetry as the result of a sincere passionate moment of creation, raise doubts by their sheer persuasiveness. I argue that the very ideal of sentimentality, whether we trust the expressed emotions as sincere or not, was a very conscious strategy by the theorists and the poets of the second half of the eighteenth century. This experiment led to a more profound exploration of the relationship between words and things, and between human beings. Lidner, my main example, was an extremely skilled poet who could shift between the authentic sentimental ideal and the elegant satire of a rococo man of the world. His works reveal a keen awareness of all levels of poetry as language: genre, arrangement, verse form, stylistic level, metaphors, and even punctuation.

Lidner's poetry, with its many echoes from the young Goethe and Baculard d'Arnaud, from Rousseau and Gotter, marks an experimental phase of the enlightened imagination. It draws a picture of the psychological phases of a passionate mind in words that tend to efface their own existence. But it is the very words, as a medium, that have the power to evoke emotions in an audience, even centuries apart from their authors.

This experimental phase in European literature and theory led to conscious innovations of literary genres and of the genre of literary theory. Poetics moved closer to new scientific areas, such as aesthetics and psychology, in an attempt to organise a new field of study, a group of fine arts, irrespective of their artistic means. This explains why they fall silent on language.

The insistence on authentic emotions, the sometimes long-winding registrations of every shift of passion, the transgressions of borders between sacred and mundane, between high and low, mark out a fascinating period in Western literature. Enlightenment imagination and passion can be seen as a criticism against the rules and norms of the earlier poetics and rhetoric, with their precise equations between specific tropes and specific emotions. The dream of a seamless emotional communication, beyond words, or rather before words, led to advanced literary works, creating new relationships between words and things. Thus poetics and poetry contributed to transform traditional theories of language, each in their own way. In this sense imagination of the late eighteenth century was part of the Enlightenment, as a demand for *sentire aude*, and for dissent. And in spite of the ambiguous view of language, the late eighteenth century saw an explosion both of literary theory and of literary works.

Even though transgressions of *decorum* are common in Lidner's poetry – and in poetry throughout Europe – it seems that authors and readers conversed with a mutual sense of sentimental virtue. Enlightened imagination did not necessarily create new worlds, but

evoked new dreams and new bonds between equals, priding themselves on their emotional knowledge and emotional virtue.

The result of eighteenth-century sentimentality is at times rather exasperating for a modern reader – so many words for so many emotions as well as strange contradictions and omissions. But if we consider late eighteenth-century theory and practice as two sides of the same unsparing Enlightenment investigation of humankind, their experimental force becomes visible. They make it evident that there is no such thing as a simple language of passion, but that there are many languages of passion yet to be explored.

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[1] Johann Joachim Eschenburg, *Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften* (Berlin and Stettin, 1783; repr. Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, I–II (London, 1783).

[2] Johann Jacob Engel, *Anfangsgründe einer Theorie der Dichtungsarten aus deutschen Mustern entwickelt*, (Berlin and Stettin, 1783; repr. Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977), xxix.

[3] Charles Batteux, *Les Beaux Arts réduits à un même principe* (Paris, 1746), [Charles Batteux], *Einschränkung der Schönen Künste auf einen einzigen Grundsatz; aus dem Französischen übersetzt, und mit verschiednen eignen damit verwandten Abhandlungen begleitet von Johann Adolf Schlegeln*, I–II (Leipzig, 1770; repr. Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976).

[4] See Anna Cullhed, *The Language of Passion: The Order of Poetics and the Construction of a Lyric Genre 1746–1806* (Frankfurt am Main [et al.]: Peter Lang, 2002), 50. For an example of the extensive footnotes, see Johann Adolf Schlegel, *Einschränkung*, I, 368.

[5] Blair, *Lectures*, I, 1.

[6] Marie-Christine Skuncke, ”Was There a Swedish Enlightenment?” in *Norden och Europa 1700–1830: Synvinklar på ömsesidigt kulturellt inflytande: Rapport från en konferens i Reykjavík 14–15 juni 2002*, ed. Svavar Sigmundsson (Reykjavík: Félag um átjándu aldar fræði Háskólaútgáfan, 2003), 25–41, here 27.

[7] Blair, *Lectures*, II, 312. See also Cullhed, *The Language of Passion*, 10.

[8] Thomas Bredsdorff, *Den brogede oplysning: Om følelsernes fornuft og fornuftens følelse i 1700-tallets nordiske litteratur* (København: Gyldendal, 2003), 208. On the German discussion, with specific focus on the impact of the religious movements, see Gerhard Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, Vols. 1 and 3 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974–1980) and Hans-Georg Kemper, *Deutsche Lyrik der frühen Neuzeit*, Vols. 1–6 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987–2006). The relationship between reason and emotion is of varying importance in the scholarly traditions of different countries, but the catch-word label for the eighteenth century as “the age of reason” is still in use.

[9] Klaus R. Scherpe, *Gattungspoetik im 18. Jahrhundert: Historische Entwicklung von Gottsched bis Herder* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), 137–143. See also Cullhed, *The Language of Passion*, 194.

[10] This is one of the main lines of argument in Cullhed, *The Language of Passion*.

[11] Eschenburg, *Entwurf*, 107.

[12] Johann Georg Sulzer, ”Ode,” *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, III (Leipzig, 1793; repr. Hildesheim, Zürich, [et al.]: Georg Olms Verlag, 1994), 538–550.

[13] "Dadurch wird jede Ode eine wahrhafte und sehr merkwürdige Schilderung des innern Zustandes, worein ein Dichter von vorzüglichem Genie, durch eine besondere Veranlassung auf eine kurze Zeit ist gesetzt worden. Man wird von diesem sonderbaren Gedicht einen ziemlich bestimmten Begriff haben, wenn man sich dasselbe als eine erweiterte, und nach Maaßgebung der Materie mit den kräftigsten, schönsten, oder lieblichsten Farben der Dichtkunst ausgeschmükte Ausrufung vorstellt." Ibid., III, 539.

[14] Ibid., III, 538.

[15] Ibid., III, 539.

[16] Ibid., III, 545.

[17] On Baumgarten's influence on eighteenth-century genre poetics, see Hans Adler, *Die Prägnanz des Dunklen: Gnoseologie, Ästhetik, Geschichtsphilosophie bei Johann Gottfried Herder* (Hamburg: Meiner, 1990). See also Scherpe, *Gattungspoetik*, 169–177.

[18] Sulzer, "Einbildungskraft," *Allgemeine*, II, 11.

[19] Sulzer, "Begeisterung," *Allgemeine*, I, 351.

[20] Ibid., I, 354.

[21] See James Engell, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 143–144.

[22] The first lecture, after the introduction, bears the title "Taste" and the concept is introduced prior even to language.

[23] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Essay on the Origin of Languages," in *The* Discourses *and other Early Political Writings*, ed. and transl. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 256. The essay remained unpublished and was originally written as a part of the second discourse on inequality of men, around 1754.

[24] Kirsten Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion 1770–1815*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Stockholm Studies in Theatrical History 1 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), 40–46.

[25] On the interrelation between bodily signs and literary signs of emotions, see Albrecht Koschorke, *Körperströme und Schriftverkehr: Mediologie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (München: Fink, 1999).

[26] See Lars Gustafsson, *Romanens väg till poesin: En linje i klassicistisk, romantisk och postromantisk romanteori*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Historia litterarum 23 (Uppsala, 2002), 71–76.

[27] Schlegel, *Einschränkung*, II, 280.

[28] Cullhed, *The Language of Passion*, 251–258.

[29] Engel, *Anfangsgründe*, 304.

[30] See for example Robert Darnton's famous essay on Rousseau's readers. Robert Darnton, "Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity," in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1984), 215–256.

[31] Bengt Lidner, *Samlade skrifter*, Svenska författare utgivna av Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet XIV, eds. Harald Elovson, Bernt Olsson & Barbro Nilsson, I–III (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1930–61); IV (Lund, 1991–92). The poem *Grefvinnan Spastaras död* was published in 1783, see *Samlade skrifter* II, 129–140, for the 1786 version see II, 433–453.

[32] Ibid., II, 182.

[33] Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, Zweites Buch, in *Goethes Werke*, Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden, ed. Erich Trunz, VI, 10th ed. (München: C. H. Beck, 1981), 74. On the function of the literary allusion, see Richard Alewyn, "Klopstock!", in *Euphorion*, Band 73, 4. Heft, 1979, 357–364.

[34] Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau:La transparence et l'obstacle* [1971], Swedish translation by Jan Stolpe, *Genomskinlighet och hinder* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2002).