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Conflicting virtues of scholarship : moral economies in late nineteenth-century German Academia

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2. The Editorial Experience

Balancing between Editors, Authors, Publishers and Audiences

The importance of editors

After the founding of the Empire in 1871, the German market for academic journals boomed. The increasing interconnectedness of the German states, propelled by the continuous growth of postal and railway networks, encouraged publishers to invest in new journals.¹ This chapter looks at the editorial practices at some of these new periodicals. Looking back at the history of medical journals, one modern-day author argues that their story ‘is very much bound up with the characters and personalities of the many editors who, through the years, have contributed so much.’² Another paper on the history of scholarly publishing simply states that ‘[...] reviews were almost wholly performed by journal editors through most of the 19th century.’³ One author even notes that ‘as recently as the 1960s the then editor of *Nature* is said to have relied mainly on expert opinions within the editorial office, taking the occasional article with him to ask a colleague’s opinion over lunch at his London club.’⁴

Such statements suggest that the editors of scholarly journals played a very important role in evaluating the submitted work. Without consulting others, they decided whose research articles and book reviews would be published. This decision was, of course, influenced by the perceived quality of the submitted papers. However, for an outsider looking in, the full rationale behind such decisions is almost impossible to uncover—especially, in the absence of any related correspondence between author and reviewer/editor. Although many letters between editors, representatives of publishing houses and authors have been preserved, it is uncommon for these pieces of correspondence to contain detailed discussions about the scholarly merit of submitted papers. They do, however, shed some light on how the relationship between publisher, editor, author and reader shaped scholarly journals in the 19th century. This chapter’s analysis of these letters, therefore, can be considered an elaboration on Lynn Nyhart’s observation that ‘[...]

¹ Kirchner, Joachim, *Das deutsche Zeitschriftenwesen*, 238–240.

² Booth, Christopher C., ‘The Origin and Growth of Medical Journals,’ *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 113(5), 1990, 398–402. 402.

³ Mack, Chris, ‘350 Years of Scientific Journals,’ *Journal of Micro/Nanolithography, MEMS, and MOEMS*, 14(1), 2015, 1–3. 3.

⁴ Lock, Stephen, *A Difficult Balance: Editorial Peer Review in Medicine*, London, The Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, 1985. 3.

historical discussions suggest that [...] journals have adopted quite a variety of practices expressing different relationships between editors, contributors and readers.’⁵

Of course, there were major differences between the various journals and their editors. One factor to take into account is their institutional embedding. Many 19th-century journals were established in the wake of the founding of new scientific societies, who wanted to publish their own periodicals.⁶ Not all new journals, however, were associated with such societies. The founding of some of Germany’s most influential chemistry journals, for instance, completely relied on the initiative and commitment of one prominent editor, as illustrated by the examples of Justus von Liebig at the *Annalen der Chemie* and Wilhelm Ostwald at the *Zeitschrift für physikalische Chemie*.⁷ The management of their own journals enabled both men to present a new sub-discipline to a broader academic audience. At the same time, it also provided them a place to publish the findings of their own and associated research groups.⁸

This chapter deals with both individually administered and society managed journals. I will first focus on Wilhelm Wundt’s editorial career. After a short look at his experience with Richard Avenarius’ *Vierteljahrsschrift für die wissenschaftliche Philosophie*, I will turn to his own journal, the *Philosophische Studien*. Next the focus will shift to the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (ZDMG), which was published by the DMG. Finally, one more distinction is taken into account, namely that of the difference between specialised and general journals. While the editor of a specialised journal can be expected to be at least somewhat acquainted with the subjects discussed in his journal, this cannot be expected of the editor of a journal dealing with a wide range of issues. Therefore, the final part of this chapter is dedicated to Friedrich Zarncke’s editorial work at the *Literarische Centralblatt für Deutschland*.

⁵ Nyhart, Lynn K., ‘Writing Zoologically: The Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Zoologie and the Zoological Community in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany,’ in: Dear, Peter (ed.), *The Literary Structure of Scientific Argument: Historical Studies*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia (PA), 1991, 43–71. 44.

⁶ Cook, Alan, ‘Academic Publications before 1940,’ in: Fredriksson, Einar H. (ed.), *A Century of Science Publishing: A Collection of Essays*, IOS Press, Amsterdam, 2001, 15–24. 19; Houghton, Bernard, *Scientific periodicals: their historical development, characteristics and control*, Clive Binley, London, 1975. 31.

⁷ Klooster, H.S. van, ‘The Story of Liebig’s *Annalen der Chemie*,’ *Journal of Chemical Education*, 34(1), 1957, 27–30. 27–28; Hapke, Thomas, *Die Zeitschrift für Physikalische Chemie: Hundert Jahre Wechselwirkung zwischen Fachwissenschaft, Kommunikationsmedium und Gesellschaft*, Traugott Bautz, Herzberg, 1990. 22–47.

⁸ Morrell, J.B., ‘The chemist breeders: the research schools of Liebig and Thomas Thomson,’ *Ambix*, 19(1), 1972, 1–46. 5–6.

Wilhelm Wundt as editor

From its establishment in the late 1870s until his retirement in 1917 Wilhelm Wundt's operational base was his laboratory. The founding of his own journal, the *Philosophische Studien* was related to its establishment. The growth of his institute encouraged him to delve deeper into his empirical psychological and psychophysical studies and therefore created a continuing influx of prospective experimentalists. The subsequent increase of experimental findings and papers called for a new platform to publish this rather coherent body of work. Soon after the founding of his institute, Wundt already complained to his former pupil Emil Kraepelin: 'At the moment I have some works [...] that have been completed in my psycho-physical laboratory [...] I don't really know, where they can be published. I would really like a periodical that offers a place where such works can be brought together'.⁹ The *Philosophische Studien* would soon offer such a place. The founding of the *Studien* was not, however, Wundt's first editorial experience.

Wundt's earliest experiences with journal publishing were in the 1870s, when he supported an initiative of the young philosopher Richard Avenarius. He had met him at Leipzig's *Akademisch-Philosophische Verein* (academic-philosophical society) in 1875.¹⁰ Two years later, Avenarius, who shared Wundt's commitment to bringing together philosophy and the scientific method, accepted Wundt's former Chair of Inductive Philosophy in Zürich. That same year, he asked Wundt to cooperate with him on his newly established journal, the *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftlichen Philosophie* (Quarterly for Scientific Philosophy). Even if Wundt did not have any more editorial experience than Avenarius, the fact that he was eleven years older put him in the role of senior advisor. In the early years of the *Vierteljahrsschrift's* existence Avenarius often asked for Wundt's advice, for example on how to deal with pushy contributors.¹¹ During these years, Wundt learned how difficult it was to manage a new journal. Avenarius continuously shared his frustrations. '[...] It is truly embarrassing, how little success the invested effort and costs have earned us,' he complained in 1878.¹² Two years later, the financial viability of the journal was still not guaranteed: '[...] as little as our journal lacks in recognition and efficacy, so much does it still lack in a sufficient number of subscribers'.¹³ The difficulty to assess the success of the *Vierteljahrsschrift* is also reflected

⁹ Wilhelm Wundt to Emil Kraepelin, 14 October 1880, in: Steinberg, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Wilhelm Wundt und Emil Kraepelin*, 39–40.

¹⁰ Russo Kraus, Chiara, 'Back to the origins of the repudiation of Wundt: Oswald Külpe and Richard Avenarius,' *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 53(1), 2017, 28–47. 30.

¹¹ For example, see UAL, NL. Wilhelm Wundt, Richard Avenarius to Wilhelm Wundt, 5 May 1877 and 21 September 1879. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

¹² UAL, NL. Wilhelm Wundt, Richard Avenarius to Wilhelm Wundt, 31 December 1878. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

¹³ UAL, NL. Wilhelm Wundt, Richard Avenarius to Wilhelm Wundt, 19 December 1880. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

in the assessments of Avenarius' editorial work that his colleagues shared with the ministry of education. While one referent praised him for being 'particularly well-known as the editor of a philosophical quarterly', another emphasised that these efforts met 'with little success'.¹⁴ Wundt did not worry about this apparent lack of success and even shortly considered the possibility to publish the *Philosophische Studien* as a supplement to the *Vierteljahrsschrift*.¹⁵

Wundt planned to fill this supplement with doctoral dissertations of his students. When this plan faltered, Wundt's idea of creating his own platform started to take a more concrete shape. In the same letter to Kraepelin in which he had discussed the need for a gathering point for the experimental papers from his laboratory, he also complained that the *Vierteljahrsschrift* did not offer enough space for such publications.¹⁶ One year later he again complained about Avenarius' journal, lamenting the fact that it had become 'somewhat too abstract and dry'.¹⁷ When he mentioned the work completed in his laboratory, Wundt not only referred to his own writing. Most of the work in his institute was done by his students. This increasing student activity soon translated into a fast growing number of dissertations on experimental subjects, the first of which was finished by the mathematician Max Friedrich in 1881.¹⁸ An overview published by Leipzig University lists 186 dissertations supervised by Wundt during his Leipzig years, a large part of which were either the results from laboratory research or reflections on methodological issues arising in a laboratory environment.¹⁹ Even if it was easy for Wundt to get his own work published, it was still difficult for his students to find an audience.

Before the 19th-century serial publications of dissertations were not uncommon in the German lands.²⁰ At its founding in 1795 the *Archiv für die Physiologie* consisted, for example, largely of reprints of dissertations.²¹ By the time Wundt had established his laboratory, though, this genre of academic publishing had become a thing of the past. In 1880 Wundt therefore decided to discuss the acceptance of dissertations into the *Vierteljahrsschrift* with Avenarius. The latter had strong

¹⁴ GStA PK, VI. HA, Nl Althoff, No. 118, Liebmann to Althoff, 23 January 1884 and Müller to Althoff, 25 January 1884.

¹⁵ UAL, Nl. Wilhelm Wundt, Richard Avenarius to Wilhelm Wundt, 31 December 1880. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

¹⁶ Wilhelm Wundt to Emil Kraepelin, 14 October 1880, in: Steinberg, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Wilhelm Wundt und Emil Kraepelin*, 40.

¹⁷ Wilhelm Wundt to Emil Kraepelin, 4 August 1881, in: Steinberg, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Wilhelm Wundt und Emil Kraepelin*, 58.

¹⁸ For more on Friedrich, see: Domanski, Cezary W., 'A biographical note on Max Friedrich (1856–1887), Wundt's first PhD student in experimental psychology,' *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 40(3), 2004, 311–317.

¹⁹ Alle Dissertationen bei Wundt, chronologisch geordnet: <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/wwcd/chronos/chronos.htm>.

²⁰ Kronick, David A., *A History of Scientific and Technical Periodicals: The Origins and Development of the Scientific and Technological Press, 1665–1790*, The Scarecrow Press, New York (NY), 1962. 193–200.

²¹ Broman, Thomas H., 'J.C. Reil and the "Journalization" of Physiology,' in: Dear, Peter (ed.), *The Literary Structure of Scientific Argument: Historical Studies*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia (PA), 1991, 13–42. 23–24.

reservations. He was not convinced that they would be a valuable addition to his journal because they were published as books or brochures as well. He also pointed out that the newly promoted doctors usually asked for the immediate publication of their dissertations, which was something to which he did not want to commit. Only if their authors would refrain from their honoraria and show patience with regard to publication dates, Avenarius was willing to consider printing some of the best dissertations.²² Two weeks later, however, he returned to his earlier doubts: ‘At the moment, we have the experience that ‘philosophical’ essays in general, and philos. ‘doctoral dissertations’ in particular, hardly cover the printing costs’. It did not help, he added, that such essays dealt with subjects ‘for which there is — alas! — not much demand anyway’.²³ This strengthened Wundt’s conviction that he should found his own journal.

Therefore, he contacted the publishing house Wilhelm Engelmann, which had been publishing his books since the early 1870s. Although Engelmann accepted the idea of a journal that would include dissertations, he did have some reservations: ‘I think that young people, students, should renounce all *material* benefit from their intellectual efforts; I believe that the ideal state of mind, which we are obliged to maintain especially in our time, will not be encouraged in that way.’²⁴ The publisher also came up with some ideas for the new journal. He proposed to publish not only long research papers, but also to add short announcements and reviews of new German and foreign psychological literature: ‘I mean that, to a certain degree, we can give the journal the character of a *revue*’.²⁵ He also emphasised that the readership would most likely be larger if Wundt—in addition to experimental reports—would also publish theoretical essays.²⁶ Though the *Studien* would indeed include some theoretical papers, usually written by Wundt himself, he convinced Engelmann to abandon the idea of a *revue*. The journal would largely take the shape Wundt described to Kraepelin in 1880: ‘I think it is best, at least for now [...], to only publish standalone papers, no reading reports, reviews, etcetera.’²⁷

Wundt’s editorial independence is further illustrated by his publisher’s lack of interest in the financial returns of the *Philosophische Studien*. In 1882, Engelmann mentioned the ‘currently not very

²² Richard Avenarius to Wilhelm Wundt, 19 December 1880. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieife/home.htm>)

²³ Richard Avenarius to Wilhelm Wundt, 31 December 1880. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieife/home.htm>)

²⁴ Rudolf Engelmann to Wilhelm Wundt, 6 June 1881. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieife/home.htm>) Engelmann’s emphasis.

²⁵ Ibid. Engelmann’s emphasis.

²⁶ Rudolf Engelmann to Wilhelm Wundt, 8 November 1882. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieife/home.htm>)

²⁷ Wilhelm Wundt to Emil Kraepelin, 17 December 1880, in: Steinberg, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Wilhelm Wundt und Emil Kraepelin*, 40.

favourable results' and, in the following year, he expressed the hope that 'the sales of the *Studien* will slowly but steadily increase, so that the still existing disparity between income and costs will gradually improve and become more balanced.'²⁸ An overview of the revenues and expenditures that Emanuel Reinicke, managing partner of the publishing house after Rudolf Engelmann's death in 1888, sent to Wundt in 1890 shows that the journal was far from profitable (see Figure 1). Even if the first volume had made a profit after having been available for more than seven years, none of the following four volumes had yielded a return that outweighed the production costs. Although he hoped that the other volumes would eventually break even, Reinicke proposed to either raise the sales price or limit the number of pages of the journal.²⁹

Despite the fact that some later issues eventually broke even, sales would never be impressive. It would take until 1912 before a modest reprint of a hundred copies of one 1894 issue of the *Studien* was required and, only in 1915, another similar reprint was needed of an 1891 issue.³⁰ Still, Engelmann did not worry about this lack of commercial success. This is probably best explained by the closing paragraph of Rudolf Engelmann's extensive 1881 letter: 'Finally, you will surely allow me to ask that you first turn to us when you are planning to publish any other more comprehensive work [...]. In the light of our pleasant personal relationship, I would greatly appreciate it, if we would have a similar and enduring author–publishing house relationship.'³¹ Until shortly before the First World War, Wundt indeed stayed with Engelmann. The highly profitable books he authored during the thirty years between 1880 and 1910 provided him with the freedom to manage his unprofitable journal without complaints or interventions from his publisher.

²⁸ Rudolf Engelmann to Wilhelm Wundt, 8 November 1882 and 3 February 1883. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

²⁹ Emanuel Reinicke to Wilhelm Wundt, 7 February 1890. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

³⁰ Universitätsarchiv Leipzig (hereafter UAL), NA Wundt/III/1681/9, Wilhelm Engelmann to Wilhelm Wundt, 29 July 1912 and UAL, NA Wundt/III/1681/10, Wilhelm Engelmann to Wilhelm Wundt, 15 January 1915.

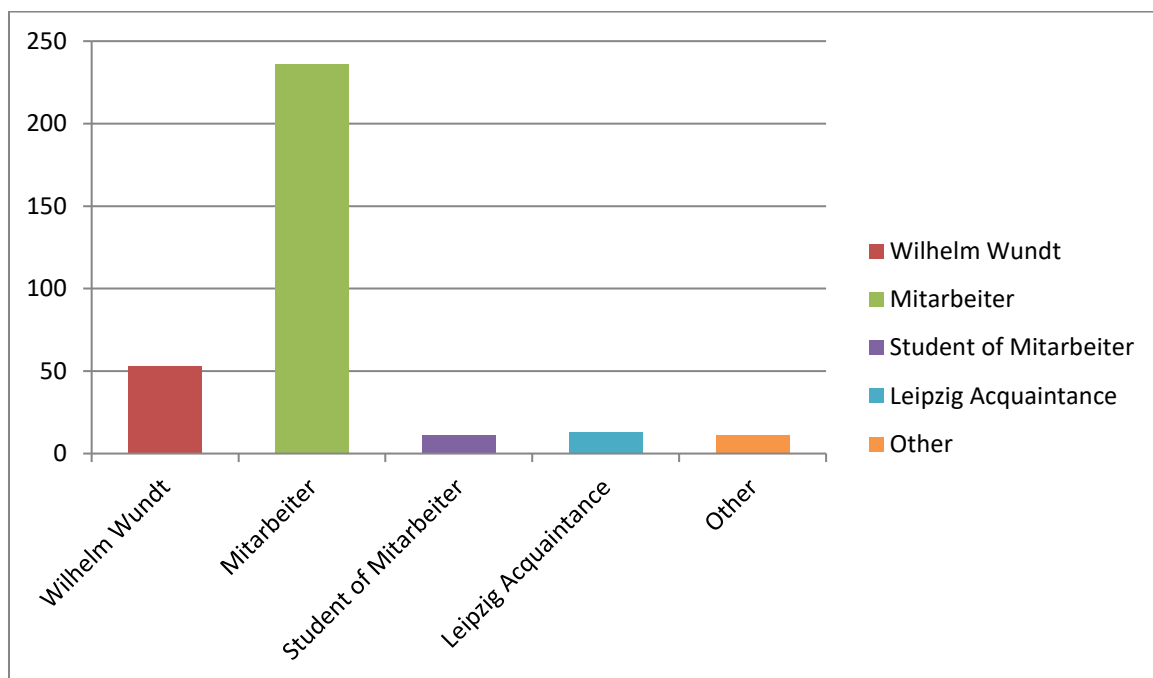
³¹ Rudolf Engelmann to Wilhelm Wundt, 6 June 1881. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

Band.	Heft.	Auflage.	Herstellungsk.	Stücky	Netto P.	Summe. 1681-514
I.	1.	1000	1075. 13	323	3.-	969.-
	2.	750	756. 15	327	3.-	981.-
	3.	750	893. 87	298	3.-	894.-
	4.	750	981. 24	246	3.-	738.-
			80	11.-		961.-
			3707. 09			4542.-
II.	1.	750	1086. 34	271	3.-	813.-
	2.	750	918. 87	255	3.-	765.-
	3.	750	1343. 69	250	3.75	937. 50
	4.	750	1072. 62	250	3.-	750.-
			47	12.75		509. 25
			4421. 52			3864. 75
III.	1.	600	1131. 60	244	3.75	915.-
	2.	600	1194. 03	243	3.-	729.-
	3.	600	769. 95	242	3.-	726.-
	4.	600	1097. 69	239	3.75	896. 25
			30	13.50		405.-
			4193. 27			3671. 25
IV.	1.	600	1082. 96	245	3.-	735.-
	2.	600	764. 92	237	3.-	711.-
	3.	600	1074. 82	254	3.-	762.-
	4.	600	904. 70	243	3.-	729.-
			16	12.-		192.-
			3827. 40			3129.-
V.	1.	600	1035. 17	241	3.-	723.-
	2.	600	1011. 86	234	3.-	702.-

Balance sheet of the *Philosophische Studien*. Attachment to the letter by Emanuel Reinecke to Wilhelm Wundt, 7 February 1890. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

Wundt used this independence to turn the *Studien* into the unofficial organ of his laboratory. (see Figure 2) The twenty volumes published between 1881 and 1903 contained 324 contributions, 53 of which had been written by Wundt himself. By far the largest number of contributions, however, was written by people close to him. The great majority of this group consisted of people who had worked in his laboratory, either as doctoral candidates or as assistants. The 236 papers falling under

this heading (*Mitarbeiter*) contain both dissertations and other contributions. In addition, some papers written by the pupils of Wundt's former students Kraepelin and Oswald Külpe (student of *Mitarbeiter*) were published in the *Studien*. Some acquaintances from Leipzig, such as Fechner, also contributed. Finally, there are eleven contributions written by people that are not easily categorised, such as Harald Höffding, the Copenhagen mentor of Wundt's Danish pupil Alfred Lehmann.³² All in all, it can be concluded that the lack of pressure to turn the *Philosophische Studien* into a commercially viable endeavour allowed Wundt to turn it into a platform for himself, his students and a few other associates.



Contributors to the *Philosophische Studien*

Peripheral scholars in the *Philosophische Studien*

The *Studien* contained many contributions by Wundt's most successful students, such as Emil Kraepelin, Oswald Külpe and Ernst Meumann. More remarkable, however, is the high number of contributions by Wundt students who found themselves at the periphery of German academic life, such as Ludwig Lange, Julius Merkel, Gottlob Friedrich Lipps and Friedrich Kiesow. After they finished their dissertation with Wundt, these men struggled to have a successful academic career

³² Höffding, Harald, 'Zur Theorie des Wiedererkennens,' *Philosophische Studien*, VIII, 1893, 86–96.

and their continued publication in the *Studien* guaranteed at least some sustained interest in their stubbornly continued experimental endeavours.

Lange's story was especially tragic. His father died while he was studying in Leipzig. Because this posed a financial threat to his academic career, Wundt hired the talented young man as his assistant.³³ Wundt could already have known about the instability of his new employee. In an earlier letter he had mentioned that he had 'reason to doubt the health of his mental state' and that he had often suffered from 'agonising passive fantasies [and] obsessive thoughts'.³⁴ Still, Lange seemed to function quite well in Wundt's laboratory during the next couple of years. Apart from his dissertation he published four more papers in the *Studien* between 1885 and 1888.³⁵ In 1887, however, he suffered his first bout of mania, which would be alternated with periods of severe depression in the next decades.³⁶ This forced him to quit academia. Looking back on his 'chronic suffering of several years' he admitted that 'considering the severe illness I could not do otherwise than to fail to do my duty'.³⁷ Lange might be the distinguished member of Wundt's institute who Kiesow later described as having become 'mentally deranged', which 'was interpreted unfavourably for the new methods of psychological observation'.³⁸ Still, Wundt continued to support him. He published the papers that, in his ever-shortening bright moments, Lange wrote in the *Studien* and supported his application for the position of university librarian in Leipzig in 1919.³⁹ His papers did not elicit much of a reaction from his peers, however, and his Leipzig application was turned down.

Though not all people mentioned above had a successful academic career, none of them suffered as sad a fate as Lange. Julius Merkel finished his dissertation with Wundt in 1883. It was immediately published in the *Philosophische Studien*.⁴⁰ During the following ten years, Wundt continued to publish his work. In addition, he also extensively commented on Merkel's manuscripts.⁴¹ In some of his letters Wundt urged Merkel to present his findings in the light of

³³ Laue, M. v., 'Dr. Ludwig Lange. 1863–1936. (Ein zu Unrecht Vergessener.)', *Die Naturwissenschaften*, 35(7), 1948, 193–196. 194.

³⁴ Ludwig Lange to Wilhelm Wundt, 9 June 1885. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbriefe/home.htm>)

³⁵ The dissertation was published in two parts: Lange, Ludwig, 'Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Bewegungsbegriffes und ihr voraussichtliches Endergebnis. I.', *Philosophische Studien*, 3(3), 1886, 337–419 and Lange, Ludwig, 'Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Bewegungsbegriffes und ihr voraussichtliches Endergebnis. II. (Schluss)', *Philosophische Studien*, 3(4), 1886, 643–691.

³⁶ Laue, M. v., 'Dr. Ludwig Lange,' 194–195.

³⁷ Ludwig Lange to Wilhelm Wundt, 30 December 1887. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbriefe/home.htm>)

³⁸ Kiesow, F., 'F. Kiesow,' in: Murchison, Carl (ed.), *A history of psychology in autobiography*, volume I, Russell & Russell, New York (NY), 1961, 163–190. 172.

³⁹ Laue, M. v., 'Dr. Ludwig Lange,' 194.

⁴⁰ Merkel, Julius, 'Die zeitlichen Verhältnisse der Willenstätigkeit,' *Philosophische Studien*, 2(1), 1883. 73–127.

⁴¹ For example, see Wilhelm Wundt to Julius Merkel, 28 March 1886, 5 October 1887 and 26 November 1891. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbriefe/home.htm>)

other research carried out in his laboratory, such as that by Karl Adolf Lorenz and Paul Adolf Starke. In other letters he expressed doubts about Merkel's methodology. He, for example, questioned the practicality of experiments on the measurement of the perception of certain sounds being twice as loud as others.⁴² Meanwhile Merkel's academic career had come to a standstill. A few years after obtaining his doctorate, he found a job as a mathematics teacher at a high school in Zittau, a small-town in the south-east of Saxony.⁴³ He taught at this school until at least 1915.⁴⁴ So, even if Wundt's efforts to support Merkel's scholarly efforts succeeded in getting him a substantive number of publications in the *Studien*, they did not thus further his academic career.

Although it took him a long time, Friedrich Kiesow eventually succeeded in acquiring a professorship. Kiesow was already in his thirties when he started his study with Wundt, in 1891. He received his doctoral degree three years later.⁴⁵ After this accomplishment he was not, however, allowed to start working on his *Habilitation*, the requirement for an academic teaching position in Germany. This was because as a young man illness had kept him from receiving his *Abitur*, the high school qualification for university entrance without which it was hard to enter a university and impossible to qualify for submitting a *Habilitation*.⁴⁶ He therefore went to Turin to work with the Italian psychologist Angelo Mosso.⁴⁷ Meanwhile his relationship with Wundt ensured his continued visibility in Germany. Kiesow kept sending his manuscripts to Leipzig and Wundt usually published them immediately.⁴⁸ He even encouraged Kiesow to publish a paper that had already been printed in Mosso's *Archives Italiennes de Biologie* in the *Studien* as well, arguing that 'the circle of readers of [the *Studien*] and Mosso's *Archiv* don't overlap anyway'.⁴⁹ Wundt continued to publish Kiesow's

⁴² Wilhelm Wundt to Julius Merkel, 5 October 1886. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

⁴³ Merkel is mentioned as Wissenschaftl. Lehrer für Mathematik in the annual report of the school in 1889: Schütze, Johannes, *Jahresbericht des Königl. Realgymnasiums mit höherer Handelsschule zu Zittau für das Schuljahr 1888/89*, Zittau, 1889. 32. (accessed at <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ulbdsp/periodical/structure/7514853>) This is the oldest annual report of the school that I have been able to find. However, already in 1887 Merkel sent a letter to Wundt from Zittau, suggesting that he already worked there in that year: Julius Merkel to Wilhelm Wundt, 8 October 1887. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

⁴⁴ Merkel is mentioned as Professor für Mathematik und Physik in the 1915 annual report. This is the most recent annual report of the school that I have been able to find, so it is not unlikely that Merkel kept working here after this year: Korselt, Ernst, *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Realgymnasiums mit Höherer Handelsschule in Zittau für das Schuljahr Ostern 1914 bis Ostern 1915*, Zittau, 1915. 22.

⁴⁵ Kiesow is not included in the overview of dissertations written under the supervision of Wundt at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/wwcd/chronos/chronos.htm>. However, in his autobiographical essay Kiesow mentions that he completed his doctoral work in Wundt's institute and that it was judged by both the zoologist Rudolf Leuckart and Wundt. See: Kiesow, F., 'F. Kiesow,' 172, 176.

⁴⁶ Robinson, 'Wilhelm Wundt and the Establishment of Experimental Psychology, 137.

⁴⁷ Kiesow, F., 'F. Kiesow,' 177.

⁴⁸ For example, see Wilhelm Wundt to Friedrich Kiesow, 7 June 1896 and 8 November 1898. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

⁴⁹ Wilhelm Wundt to Friedrich Kiesow, 19 November 1897. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>) Kiesow, Friedrich, 'Un appareil simple pour déterminer la sensibilité des points de température,' *Archives Italiennes de Biologie*, 30, 1898, 375–376; Kiesow, Friedrich, 'Ein einfacher Apparat zur Bestimmung der Empfindlichkeit von Temperaturpunkten,' *Philosophische Studien*, 14, 1898, 589–590.

work until he acquired the *libera docenza* title, the Italian equivalent of *Privatdozent*, in 1899.⁵⁰ Three years later he was appointed as associate professor. This delighted Wundt, who wrote Kiesow that among his most enjoyable recent experiences was the fact that ‘two of my most diligent young assistants — you and Kirschmann — to whom the psychological teaching profession in Germany was barred for external reasons, have found an suitable position abroad’.⁵¹ From this moment on, Kiesow would publish less regularly in Wundt’s journals. The dissertations written by his own doctoral candidates after his promotion to full professor in 1906 could not be published in the successor of the *Philosophische Studien*, the *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie* because most of them were written in Italian.⁵² Ten years later Kiesow followed his teacher’s example and founded his own journal, the *Archivio italiano di psicologia* for exactly this purpose.⁵³

A final example of a pupil who spent most of his academic career in the periphery of German academia, to whom Wundt continued to give access to the pages of the *Studien* is Gottlob Friedrich Lipps. In 1888 Lipps received his doctorate after writing his dissertation under Wundt’s supervision. Determined to write a *Habilitation* but not financially independent, he looked for a job in the vicinity of a German university. In this way he could both make money and stay in touch with academic life. He spent twelve long years in the vicinity of Strasbourg, first as a high school teacher in Hagenau, then in a similar position in the city itself. His teaching position did not, however, allow him to focus on his *Habilitation*.⁵⁴ After spending ten years in the Alsace without finishing his *Habilitation*, Lipps contacted Wundt to ask if he could help him land a job in Leipzig, which would allow him to write his *Habilitationschrift* under his supervision.⁵⁵ In 1902 he finally found a job at a Leipzig *Gymnasium*.⁵⁶ Two years later, sixteen years after receiving his doctorate, his *Habilitation* was approved. After teaching in Leipzig for some more years he was even appointed at Wundt’s old chair in Zürich, in 1911. During all his years on the academic periphery, Wundt had

⁵⁰ Kiesow published one more essay in the *Philosophische Studien* in volume 19 in 1902, but volume 19 and 20 should not be counted as regular instalments because they were published as *Festschrifte* for Wundt’s 70th birthday.

⁵¹ Wilhelm Wundt to Friedrich Kiesow, 15 February 1902. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>) August Kirschmann was a student of Wundt as well. Like Kiesow he had not received his Abitur, so instead of writing a *Habilitation* he went to Toronto, where he would be appointed as full professor in 1902. See: Robinson, ‘Wilhelm Wundt and the Establishment of Experimental Psychology,’ 131. He would in the end be allowed to write a *Habilitation* in 1919, after the First World War had forced him back to Leipzig. See: <https://portal.hogrefe.com/dorsch/kirschmann-august/>.

⁵² Wilhelm Wundt to Friedrich Kiesow, 6 September 1909. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

⁵³ Friedrich Kiesow to Wilhelm Wundt, 31 December 1919. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

⁵⁴ Wilhelm Wundt to Gottlob Friedrich Lipps, 26 December 1894. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

⁵⁵ Wilhelm Wundt to Gottlob Friedrich Lipps, 4 February 1900. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

⁵⁶ Wilhelm Wundt to Gottlob Friedrich Lipps, 15 February 1902. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbrieft/home.htm>)

not only published his work, he had also taken care of its immediate publication without even reading each individual paper.⁵⁷ Wundt's support of Lipps, which also consisted of getting him a job as the editor of a manuscript found in Fechner's estate, proved that his assistance of his less immediately successful students through continued exposure in the *Studien* occasionally paid off.⁵⁸ Unlike Lange and Merkel, Lipps ended up being a full professor and unlike Kiesow he accomplished this at a German language university.

Free from the need to make a profit and in close collaboration with his loyal students and co-workers, Wundt published a journal with a clear voice and focus. Looking back at his first year as a journal editor, Wundt remarked with some sarcasm 'I just don't have to tell the reader, who has informed himself of the content of the preceding papers, that it has not in the least been my intention to provide an open podium where the advocates of all possible and impossible philosophical points of view can raise their voices to their heart's content'.⁵⁹ Contrary to other philosophical journals, he had decided not to focus on subjects he caustically summed up as 'immanence and transcendence', 'understanding of being' and 'a typo in Kant'. Instead, he argued that his modest aim had been 'to publish a number of papers about philosophical issues, the treatment of which seems to be promising to me'. Meanwhile Wundt, of course, also realised that the legitimisation and propagation of experimental methods in philosophy had been another, less modest, intention. On a more practical level, providing a platform for the research carried out under his supervision by his most promising students and other associates was another consciously pursued goal.

The omnipotence of Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer

The *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* was founded in 1846 as the internal organ of the newly established *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* and as the successor of Christian Lassen's *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. In its first preface the editorial board emphasised the broad audience it intended to reach, calling upon 'all those who are somehow affected by the current upswing in oriental studies in Germany or who are themselves participating' for support.⁶⁰ The fact

⁵⁷ For example, see Wilhelm Wundt to Gottlob Friedrich Lipps, 15 February 1894 and 1 December 1898. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbriefer/home.htm>)

⁵⁸ The invitation to work on Fechner's manuscript can be found in: Wilhelm Wundt to Gottlob Friedrich Lipps, 26 December 1894. (accessed at <http://home.uni-leipzig.de/wundtbriefer/home.htm>)

⁵⁹ Wundt, Wilhelm, 'Schlusswort zum ersten Bande,' *Philosophische Studien*, I, 1883, 615–617.

⁶⁰ Rödiger, Emil, August Pott, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer and Hermann Brockhaus, 'Vorwort,' *ZDMG*, 1, 1847, III–VI. VI.

that all paying members of the *DMG* received the *Zeitschrift* assured the journal's commercial viability. In addition, the close relationships between the *DMG* and the publisher of its journal further promoted editorial independence. Hermann Brockhaus, sanskritist and co-founder of the *DMG* and its journal, was the son of Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, the founder of the famous Leipzig publishing house F.A. Brockhaus. The Brockhaus family was happy to support a financially risk-free publishing initiative by one of its own members. The relationship between the *DMG* and the publisher of its journal was so close that from 1862 onwards the firm F.A. Brockhaus, through its representative O. Matthesius, officially held the position of treasurer of the society.⁶¹ However, even if Hermann Brockhaus was important in establishing a good working relationship with his family's publishing house, the most influential early editor of the *Zeitschrift* would be Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, who wholeheartedly embraced his editorial independence.

Between the 1840s and 1880s Fleischer's influence on the *Zeitschrift* cannot be underestimated. As the correspondence of Nöldeke and De Goeje shows, Fleischer often made major changes to submitted manuscripts. Nöldeke described his efforts as follows: 'By and by, apart from the language, the shape of the essay will still change, tremendously; I know how ruthless Fleischer is in deleting and correcting mistakes, how he often translates passages anew. [...] I can assure you that many articles in the *Zeitschrift* deserve Fleischer's name rather than that of the original author'.⁶² De Goeje was acutely aware of Fleischer's thorough editorial practices as well. After noticing some changes in a paper he had submitted to the *Zeitschrift*, he wryly noted that 'Fleischer [was] responsible for all those strange German words, which I would never have come up with myself.'⁶³

De Goeje and Nöldeke never complained about these amendments, but they did criticise another editorial habit of Fleischer: his tendency to publish excerpts of private correspondence without asking for prior consent. De Goeje experienced this in 1862, when he suddenly noticed excerpts of a private letter about his research findings and plans in the *Zeitschrift*.⁶⁴ In previous centuries, this would not have been extraordinary; it was expected that editors with a 'particularly active and large correspondence' shared what they deemed to be of broad general interest.⁶⁵ In the 1860s, however, this was not standard practice and De Goeje desperately asked Nöldeke: 'What can be done about this? If you write to [Fleischer], do you write 'confidential' above the letters that are not intended

⁶¹ Pischel, Richard, Franz Praetorius, Ludolf Krehl and Ernst Windisch, *Die Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft 1845–1895. Ein Ueberblick*, Leipzig, F.A. Brockhaus, 1895. 41.

⁶² UBL: BPL 2389, Theodor Nöldeke to Michael Jan de Goeje, 25 September 1858.

⁶³ UBL: BPL 2389, Michael Jan de Goeje to Theodor Nöldeke, 21 October 1864.

⁶⁴ Goeje, Michael Jan de, 'Von Herrn Dr. de Goeje,' *ZDMG*, 17, 1863, 393–394.

⁶⁵ Yale, Elizabeth, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia (PA), 2016. 65.

for a wider audience?⁶⁶ In his defence, Fleischer pointed out that De Goeje's letter was of general interest and emphasised that the publication of his plans might convince others to refrain from 'competing' with him.⁶⁷ De Goeje grudgingly accepted Fleischer's ways, which were a common practice at the *Zeitschrift*, after all. The issue of the *Zeitschrift* in which his correspondence with Fleischer had been published also contained excerpts of letters to Fleischer's co-editors Hermann Brockhaus and Emil Rödiger.⁶⁸ All that De Goeje could do was to privately complain that his Leiden colleague J.P.N. Land had suffered the same fate and that his English friend and colleague William Wright had been livid.⁶⁹

Fleischer used his far-reaching editorial influence not only to ensure that all papers in the *Zeitschrift* would live up to his standards of scholarly excellence, but also — because the aim of the *Zeitschrift* was to represent all German orientalists — to make sure that no member of the society would feel excluded or marginalised. Especially when a member's particular piece of work merited a harsh rebuke, it was difficult to strike a balance between honest scholarly criticism and collegial loyalty. The difficulty of this balancing act repeatedly shows itself in his correspondence with Nöldeke. In 1879, for example, Fleischer received a review copy of Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici's text edition of the fairy tale collection *Thier und Mensch*, which was full of mistakes.⁷⁰ Realising that he could not publish a favourable review, Fleischer tried at least to soften the blow. First, he wrote Dieterici a letter to prepare him for some heavy criticism. Then, he wrote Nöldeke to ask if he could write a serious and rigorous review in which he would avoid any inclination to ridicule Dieterici, something that he could not expect from younger, less restrained reviewers.⁷¹ This review by Nöldeke was never published in the *Zeitschrift*, however.⁷² Later that year, Nöldeke published a favourable review in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, in which he emphasised the importance of the text edition and praised Dieterici's decision to add a list of corrections based on Fleischer's earlier privately voiced criticism.⁷³ In the end, Fleischer had succeeded in ensuring a friendly reception of Dieterici's text edition without explicitly going against his initial harsh judgement.

Another example of Fleischer's balancing act is that of his handling of an affair that took place in the 1870s as a result of strong disagreements about the authenticity of newly found Moabite

⁶⁶ UBL: BPL: 2389, Michael Jan de Goeje to Theodor Nöldeke, 9 November 1862.

⁶⁷ UBL: BPL: 2389, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer to Michael Jan de Goeje, 17 March 1863.

⁶⁸ See: 'Aus Briefen an Prof. Brockhaus' and 'Aus Briefen an Herrn Prof. Rödiger,' ZDMG, 17, 1863, 382–390 and 395–397.

⁶⁹ UBL: BPL: 2389, Michael Jan de Goeje to Theodor Nöldeke, 9 November 1862.

⁷⁰ Dieterici, Friedrich, *Thier und Mensch vor dem König der Genien*, Leipz, Hinrichs, 1879.

⁷¹ Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen (hereafter UBT) Md 782 A 68, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer to Theodor Nöldeke, 29 April 1879.

⁷² UBT: Md 782 A 68, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer to Theodor Nöldeke, 4 August 1879.

⁷³ Nöldeke, Theodor, 'Thier und Mensch vor dem König der Genien,' *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1879, 1259–1260.

artefacts. The discovery of the contentious artefacts was preceded by that of the Mesha inscription in the late 1860s. Even today, this discovery is still described as ‘the greatest Biblical discovery of modern times’.⁷⁴ After this inscription had stirred up European interest in so-called Moabitica, the Jerusalem antiques shop owner Moses Shapira showed a large collection of earthenware and figurines with Moabite inscriptions to the German pastor Hermann Weser. Weser immediately wrote Konstantin Schlottmann, member of the board of the *DMG* and co-editor of its *Zeitschrift*.⁷⁵ Schlottmann published a glowing report in the *Zeitschrift*.⁷⁶ He was the only expert in this field on the board of the *DMG* and he convinced its general assembly to both promise the fast and complete publication of a description of the artefacts and to advise the Prussian Ministry of Education to purchase the whole collection.⁷⁷ The ministry did not waste any time. Not only did they immediately buy the collection, but, one year later, they also purchased a similar one from the same seller.⁷⁸ Within a couple of months, however, Albert Socin published the first critical assessment of the authenticity of the collection in the *Zeitschrift*.⁷⁹ Fleischer feared that this would be the beginning of a painful polemic between the society’s members. The fact that its general assembly had followed Schlottmann in providing an advice that had convinced the Berlin government to waste a large amount of money, made the situation even more delicate.

After Socin had published his first criticism of Shapira’s wares, more people expressed doubts about their authenticity. Explicitly referring to the government involvement Fleischer tried to persuade Socin to postpone further critical assessments until Schlottmann would have published all his findings.⁸⁰ This call for caution was initially quite successful among all German colleagues. Most early critical evaluations of the collections bought by the ministry were written by foreign scholars and published abroad.⁸¹ The discussion in Germany did not continue until after an article by Schlottmann in the *Zeitschrift*, in which he defended the collection’s authenticity against the allegations of his French detractor Charles Clermont-Ganneau.⁸² Realising that he could no longer

⁷⁴ Quoted in: Graham, M. Patrick, ‘The Discovery and Reconstruction of the Mesha’ Inscription,’ in: Dearman, Andrew (ed.), *Studies in the Mesha inscription and Moab*, Scholars Press, Atlanta (GA), 1989, 41–92. 42.

⁷⁵ Heide, Martin, ‘The Moabitica and Their Aftermath: How to Handle a Forgery Affair with an International Impact,’ in: Lubetski, Meir and Edith Lubetski (eds.), *New inscriptions and seals relating to the biblical world*, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta (GA), 2012, 193–242. 194–195.

⁷⁶ Schlottmann, Konstantin, ‘Neue Moabitische Funde und Räthsel: Erster Bericht,’ *ZDMG*, 26, 1872, 393–416.

⁷⁷ ‘Protokollarischer Bericht über die in Halle a/S. am 28. Sept. 1872 abgehaltene Generalversammlung d. D.M.G.,’ *ZDMG*, 27, 1873, IV–VI. VI.

⁷⁸ Heide, Martin, ‘The Moabitica and Their Aftermath,’ 198.

⁷⁹ Socin, Albert, ‘Ueber Inschriftfälschungen,’ *ZDMG*, 27, 1873, 133–135.

⁸⁰ UBT: Md 782 A 68, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer to Albert Socin, 22 October 1873. Since this letter was found between the letters that Fleischer had sent to Nöldeke, it is probably a copy of his letter to Socin.

⁸¹ Heide, Martin, ‘The Moabitica and Their Aftermath,’ 200.

⁸² Schlottmann, Konstantin, ‘Ueber die Aechtheit der Moabitischen Alterthümer,’ *ZDMG*, 28, 1874, 171–184.

suppress the debate in Germany, Fleischer urged Nöldeke to use all his influence to make sure that Schlottmann's critics would at least not attack him outside the pages of the *Zeitschrift*.⁸³

Although the editors of the *Zeitschrift* were averse to controversy in its content, Fleischer had good reasons for giving Schlottmann's critics some leeway. The first reason was that, as the representative organ of a whole profession, the *DMG* was not supposed to openly side with one of its members. Fleischer could not risk the impression that he was trying to silence Schlottmann's critics. The second reason was that, if the discussion could be contained to the *Zeitschrift*, he would be able to ensure that it would be polite and professional. This ambition, however, was infeasible. In 1875 and 1876, the authenticity of the Moabite was discussed in a myriad of German books and journals.⁸⁴ Nöldeke added to the discussion with a warning against Shapira's business, in his review of Socin's Baedeker travel guide, a long essay in the *Deutsche Rundschau* and a book review in the *Literarische Centralblatt*.⁸⁵ Though Fleischer could not confine the debate to the pages of the *Zeitschrift*, he was successful in another respect — his repeated admonitions to refrain from offensive remarks and personal attacks paid off: '[...] with God's help, the case [...] has solved itself. The 'God' that helped us with this, is mainly the spirit of moderation in thought and expression of thought, for which I have to praise the opponents Schlottmann and Kautzsch. [...] the opponents focused on an honest dispute, which is unimaginable without mutual respect and the avoidance of all personal remarks and offensive insinuations.'⁸⁶

The struggles of August Fischer

From 1903 onwards August Fischer, who had been appointed to Fleischer's old chair in Leipzig in 1900, would be the editor-in-chief of the *Zeitschrift*. In this capacity he faced the same challenges as Fleischer. On the one hand, a journal aiming to represent the whole community of orientalists had good reason to stay away from controversy. This provided an incentive to limit disagreement and debate on its pages. On the other hand, this same representative function obliged him to refrain from openly taking sides in debates between disagreeing scholars. This forced him to allow at least

⁸³ UBT: Md 782 A 68, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer to Theodor Nöldeke, 28 June 1875.

⁸⁴ For example, see Diestel, Ludwig, 'Die moabitischen Alterthümer,' *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 21, 1876, 451–473; Kautzsch, Emil and Albert Socin, *Die Aechtheit der moabitischen Altertümer geprüft*, Strasbourg, Trübner, 1876; Koch, Adolf, *Moabitisch oder Selimisch? Die Frage der moabitischen Altertümer*, Stuttgart, Schweizerbart, 1876.

⁸⁵ Nöldeke, Theodor, "'Bädeker" im Morgenlande,' *Im neuen Reich. Wochenschrift für das Leben des deutschen Volkes in Staat, Wissenschaft und Kunst*, 5. Jahrgang, 2. Buch, 1875, 15–20. 19; Nöldeke, Theodor, 'Die moabitischen Fälschungen,' *Deutsche Rundschau*, 6, 1876, 447–451; Nöldeke, Theodor, 'Koch. Ad. Moabitisch oder Selimisch?,' *LC*, 1976 (13), 425–428.

⁸⁶ UBT: Md 782 A 68, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer to Theodor Nöldeke, 21 July 1875.

some room for disagreement and debate. Lacking Fleischer's fatherly authority — De Goeje sometimes talked about 'Papa Fleischer' and Nöldeke about 'der gute Alte' — Fischer's task proved to be even more daunting than his predecessor's.⁸⁷

In editing manuscripts, Fischer took liberties that were similar to those of Fleischer; he deleted inappropriate expressions and corrected any mistakes he encountered.⁸⁸ However, unlike Fleischer's amendments, Fischer's changes drew public criticism. In 1905, the executive board of the *DMG* received a complaint from Gustav Jahn, an Emeritus Professor of Semitic Languages in Königsberg.⁸⁹ He protested the fact that the text of his manuscript about the Mesha inscription had been changed by Fischer without prior consultation and he angrily asked if the charter of the *DMG* even allowed this.⁹⁰ The members of the board were not very sympathetic to Jahn's plight. Nobody disputed Franz Praetorius' harsh opinion that 'it is generally known that Jahn's intellectual powers haven't been normal for quite some time' and that 'his scholarly works have slipped more and more into the domain of the ridiculous'.⁹¹ One board member noted that even though his impression of him was 'unpleasant', Jahn still deserved a well-motivated reply; after all, members of the *DMG* did have the right to turn to the executive board, in cases of disagreement.⁹² Fischer explained that most of his deletions had been necessary because Jahn had personally attacked scholars he disagreed with by dismissing them as being 'dull-witted orthodox' and accusing them of lack of honesty and moral courage.⁹³ The other deletions, Fischer argued, had been 'so minor that only a troublemaker or a lunatic' would bother to protest them.⁹⁴

Ernst Windisch, a long-time co-editor of the *Zeitschrift*, defended Fischer's decisions. It was the task of the editor-in-chief, he argued, to ensure that no scholar would be provoked without good reason. After all, this would only lead to the sort of debate for which the pages of the *Zeitschrift* were not intended.⁹⁵ The only alternative to editing Jahn's polemic submission, would have been to reject it altogether. This, however, had not been an option, since it had been a reaction to a recently

⁸⁷ UBL: BPL 2389, Michael Jan de Goeje to Theodor Nöldeke, 19 November 1876, 7 January 1878 and 4 December 1882; UBL: Or. 5585e, Theodor Nöldeke to Michael Jan de Goeje, 11 October 1876.

⁸⁸ See, for example, his comments in: Universitätsarchiv Halle-Wittenberg (hereafter UAHW): Rep. 90:67, August Fischer to the executive board of the *DMG*, 9 November 1905; UAHW: Rep. 90:70, August Fischer to the executive board of the *DMG*, 4 April 1908.

⁸⁹ Mangold, Sabine, *Eine „weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft“ – Die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 2004. 94–95.

⁹⁰ UAHW: Rep. 90:67, Gustav Jahn to the executive board of the *DMG*, 8 November 1905.

⁹¹ UAHW: Rep. 90:67, Franz Praetorius to the executive board of the *DMG*, 9 November 1905.

⁹² UAHW: Rep. 90:67, Ernst Windisch to the executive board of the *DMG*, 12 November 1905.

⁹³ UAHW: Rep. 90:67, August Fischer to the executive board of the *DMG*, 10 November 1905.

⁹⁴ UAHW: Rep. 90:67, August Fischer to the executive board of the *DMG*, 12 November 1905.

⁹⁵ UAHW: Rep. 90:67, Ernst Windisch to the executive board of the *DMG*, 12 November 1905.

published article by Eduard König and the editor had to allow this diversity in viewpoints.⁹⁶ While Jahn was annoyed by Fischer's changes to his manuscript, Fischer would have preferred not publishing anything by him at all: 'I have [...] regretted the inclusion of König's essay for a long time, because it means that I have to let [Jahn], who does not produce anything that is not complete or half rubbish, have his say in the *ZDMG*, as well.'⁹⁷ To terminate the debate, Fischer even added a footnote to König's reply to Jahn's criticism, stating that the discussion should not be continued in the *Zeitschrift* and that he had only allowed the criticism and the reply 'for reasons of fairness'.⁹⁸

Fischer's lack of the paternal authority was not the only reason he found himself in more profound editorial quarrels than Fleischer. He also took more liberties than his predecessor. In the same year that Jahn filed his complaint with the executive board, Fischer drew criticism for his own writing as well. He had started a new section in the *Zeitschrift*, the editorial glosses, in which he published 'short remarks with critical or complementary content in a casual way, as they came to me while reading the essays and announcements that I received for the *Zeitschrift*'.⁹⁹ He stated that he hoped that nobody would attribute polemic motivations to him and that nobody would be offended. This proved to be wishful thinking. Jakob Barth, who Fischer had especially singled out for criticism, entered into a sharp and prolonged debate with him both in private as well as on the pages of the *Zeitschrift*.¹⁰⁰ Barth's indignation became widely known, when he shared his anger in his private correspondence with some colleagues, such as Nöldeke, with whom he had studied, and De Goeje, on whose al-Ṭabarī edition he had worked.

In those private circles sharp criticism of Fischer circulated. Nöldeke argued that Fischer did not have the right to place himself above his authors in such a pedantic way in letters to De Goeje and Goldziher.¹⁰¹ De Goeje agreed that Fischer must have acted on bad advice when he published his glosses.¹⁰² A worried Fischer, who had heard of the commotion his words had caused, wrote to De

⁹⁶ The published contributions in the *ZDMG* on this debate were: König, Eduard, 'Ist die Mesa-Inschrift ein Falsifikat?', *ZDMG*, 59, 1905, 233–251; Jahn, Gustav, 'Die Mesha-Inschrift und ihr neuester Vertheidiger. In Verbindung mit einer Textkritik mehrerer Bibelstellen', *ZDMG*, 59, 1905, 723–742; König, Eduard, 'Mesa-Inschrift, Sprachgeschichte und Textkritik', *ZDMG*, 743–756.

⁹⁷ UAHW: Rep. 90:67, Franz Praetorius to the executive board of the *DMG*, 9 November 1905.

⁹⁸ Footnote to: König, Eduard, 'Mesa-Inschrift, Sprachgeschichte und Textkritik', 756.

⁹⁹ Fischer, August, 'Redakteurglossen', *ZDMG*, 59, 1905, 442–456. 442. See also: Engberts, Christiaan, 'The Scholar as Judge,' 105–106.

¹⁰⁰ The writings by Fischer and Barth printed in the *Zeitschrift* were: Barth, Jakob, 'Ursemit. *el*, zum Demonstrativ *el*, *ti* und Verwandtes', *ZDMG*, 59, 1905, 633–643; Fischer, August, 'II.', *ZDMG*, 59, 1905, 644–671. Fischer mentions his unfriendly private correspondence with Barth during this period in: UAHW: Rep. 90:70, August Fischer to the executive board of the *DMG*, 4 April 1908.

¹⁰¹ UBL: BPL 2389, Theodor Nöldeke to Michael Jan de Goeje, 8 July 1905; MTAK: GIL/32/01, Theodor Nöldeke to Ignaz Goldziher, 10 July 1905.

¹⁰² UBL: BPL 2389, Michael Jan de Goeje to Theodor Nöldeke, 17 July 1905.

Goeje to ask him if he thought his glosses had damaged the cause of the *DMG*.¹⁰³ De Goeje's reply must have been unexpectedly harsh, judging by the rather upset tone of Fischer's next letter: 'To be honest, the extent to which I would have aimed with my glosses to give a 'final criticism' or to function as 'chief justice' in front of whom 'no appeal is possible' is incomprehensible to me.'¹⁰⁴ Although the executive board of the *DMG* supported Fischer, he announced the discontinuation of his glosses, at the society's general assembly of 1905.¹⁰⁵ This, however, would not be the end of the public hostilities between Barth and Fischer.

The resolution of their dispute had not satisfied Barth. He decided to continue the debate in his 1907 book *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*. He lambasted Fischer for his 'intemperate outbursts that are otherwise not common in scholarly communication' and even asserted that Fischer had 'concealed scientific facts'.¹⁰⁶ An angry Fischer used the *Zeitschrift* to put Barth back in his place with snide remarks, such as 'With excessive confidence alone, one cannot make it in scholarship in the long run, at least not in Arabic studies'.¹⁰⁷ After reading Fischer's diatribes, Barth submitted a reply for publication in the *Zeitschrift*. The vicious tone of this reply led to a drawn-out discussion about the appropriateness of its publication. Praetorius argued that this 'sad history would only become sadder with the publication of an upset, likewise personally targeted reply by Barth'.¹⁰⁸ The affronted Fischer was even clearer: 'Everywhere in modern society an inflicted injustice or insult is amended either by taking it back, or by calling the offender to order, but not by giving the offended the right to insult the offender now to the best of his abilities or, if possible, to outdo him'.¹⁰⁹ Most members of the board agreed that Barth's reply should not be printed and that the publication of a short apology by Fischer would suffice. The only disagreeing member of the board was Nöldeke. He argued that Barth was denied his right to reply to Fischer's allegations and suggested Fischer should resign from his position as editor-in-chief.¹¹⁰ One day after stating his opinion to the board, Nöldeke told De Goeje that 'no matter how the struggle between Fischer and Barth may turn out, it is certain that Fischer will surrender his editorship. And that is good!'¹¹¹

¹⁰³ UBL: BPL 2389, August Fischer to Michael Jan de Goeje, 19 July 1905.

¹⁰⁴ UBL: BPL 2389, August Fischer to Michael Jan de Goeje, 18 September 1905.

¹⁰⁵ 'Protokollarischer Bericht über die am 2. und 3. Oktober 1905 zu Hamburg abgehaltene allgemeine Versammlung der D.M.G.', *ZDMG*, 1905, LXXI–LXXIII. LXXII.

¹⁰⁶ Barth, Jakob, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*, J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1907. 30.

¹⁰⁷ Fischer, August, 'Allerlei von J. Barth „verbesserte“ arabische Dichterstellen,' *ZDMG*, 61, 1907, 926–938. 938.

¹⁰⁸ UAHW: Rep. 90:70, Franz Praetorius to the full board of the *DMG*, no date [spring 1908].

¹⁰⁹ UAHW: Rep. 90:70, August Fischer to the full board of the *DMG*, 4 April 1908.

¹¹⁰ UAHW: Rep. 90:70, Theodor Nöldeke to the full board of the *DMG*, 10 April 1908.

¹¹¹ UBL: BPL 2389, Theodor Nöldeke to Michael Jan de Goeje, 11 April 1908.

Nöldeke did not get his way. Barth's reply was not printed. Fischer published something close to an apology, in which he stated that if people thought he should apologise, he would be willing to express his regrets about the harshness of his words.¹¹² Nöldeke disappointedly announced that he would no longer contribute to the *Zeitschrift* as long as Fischer would remain its editor.¹¹³ Barth revoked his membership of the *DMG*.¹¹⁴ Other members of the *DMG* also took offense with the settlement. At the general assembly, Carl Heinrich Becker presented an open letter in which he objected to the bad manners that Fischer and the board had promoted through their treatment of Barth. The letter was co-signed by twenty-five colleagues, among whom we find influential scholars like Nöldeke, Goldziher, Carl Bezold and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.¹¹⁵ Although the signatories did not accomplish more than the inclusion of their open letter in the report of the 1908 general assembly, Fischer's days at the *Zeitschrift* were numbered. In the aftermath of the first Barth affair, he had already considered resigning.¹¹⁶ When Praetorius, his most staunch defender, left the board in 1910, Fischer announced his departure as well.¹¹⁷ That same year Barth rejoined the *DMG* and Nöldeke contributed to the *Zeitschrift* again.¹¹⁸

If we compare the extent to which the editors of the *Zeitschrift* could shape their journal to the influence that Wundt had on his *Studien*, we find similarities as well as differences. Two remarkable similarities are that both periodicals did not have to worry about their financial viability and that the editors of both journals had an aversion to prolonged disputes.

The most striking difference is rooted in the relationship with their contributors and intended audiences. Wundt's journal aimed to provide a platform for people who were intellectually close to him — often his own students or co-workers — without having to worry about appealing to a diverse readership. This explains two characteristic of editorial policies of the *Studien*. In the first place there was often hardly any need for the critical evaluation of submitted papers, because they had been written either under Wundt's supervision or by long-time associates. Secondly, it was easy to keep prolonged debate and controversy off the journal's pages; almost all contributors were dedicated to the same Wundtian approach to experimental psychology.

¹¹² Fischer, August, 'Erklärung,' *ZDMG*, 62, 1908, 203.

¹¹³ UBL: BPL 2389, Theodor Nöldeke to Michael Jan de Goeje, 10 May 1908.

¹¹⁴ 'Personalnachrichten,' *ZDMG*, 62, 1908, XL.

¹¹⁵ 'Protokollarischer Bericht über die Mittwoch den 14. Okt. 1908 zu Leipzig abgehaltene Allgemeine Versammlung der D.M.G.,' *ZDMG*, 62, 1908, XLV–XLIX. XLVI–XLVII.

¹¹⁶ UAHW: Rep. 90:70, August Fischer to the full board of the *DMG*, 4 April 1908.

¹¹⁷ 'Redaktionswechsel,' *ZDMG*, 64, 1910, XXXVII.

¹¹⁸ 'Mitgliedernachrichten,' *ZDMG*, 64, 1910, XLV; MTAK: GIL/32/01/241, Theodor Nöldeke to Ignaz Goldziher, 12 May 1910; Nöldeke, Theodor, 'Zum „Buch der Gesetze der Länder,' *ZDMG*, 64, 1910, 555–560.

Unlike the *Studien*, the *Zeitschrift* was published by a society that claimed to represent a broad group of scholars. Although this society did not want to offend any member of its constituency, this could not be accomplished by keeping all disagreement out of its journal. Such censorship would have been more offensive than the printing of politely worded scholarly criticism. When Fleischer, the well-respected *eminence grise* of the Arabic studies in Germany, was in charge, he exerted a strong influence on potentially explosive disagreements. When he was succeeded by Fischer, a less widely respected scholar, it became increasingly clear how hard it was to strike a balance between admissible criticism and polite disagreement. His decisions were contested and became major points of discussion both on the board of the *DMG* and at the meetings of its general assembly. These issues did not, however, figure prominently in the *Zeitschrift*, but were mostly limited to private correspondence and the reports of the general assembly.

The birth of a review journal

Even if their journals were published by commercial publishers, Wundt, Fleischer and Fischer could neglect financial considerations. However, unlike Wundt, most editors could not rely on of the publication of profitable books, or, like the *DMG*, fall back on a co-editor with family ties to a publishing house. The *Literarische Centralblatt für Deutschland* was one of the many scholarly journals that had to turn a profit to survive. It was founded as a weekly review journal in 1850 in the wake of the closedown of similar journals — like the *Literarische Zeitung*, discontinued in 1849, and the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, shut down in 1848.¹¹⁹ The new journal was created by the publisher Georg Wigand and classical scholar Otto Jahn and legal scholar and historian Theodor Mommsen, both associated with Leipzig University.¹²⁰ The people most commonly associated with the journal, however, would be its subsequent publisher Eduard Avenarius, the father of Richard Avenarius, and its long-time editor, Friedrich Zarncke. Zarncke had been involved with the *Centralblatt* from the beginning and he was already mentioned as its editor in the first issue. Jahn and Mommsen left Leipzig after they were fired from their university positions in the aftermath of the revolts of 1848 and 1849.¹²¹ From now on the responsibility for the journal would be Zarncke's alone. The departure of Jahn and Mommsen is probably one of the reasons why Wigand, who moved in the same liberal circles, decided to get rid of the *Centralblatt*. From 1852 onwards it was

¹¹⁹ Kirchner, Joachim, *Das deutsche Zeitschriftenwesen*, 70–71, 242.

¹²⁰ Lick, Thomas, *Friedrich Zarncke und das „Literarische Centralblatt für Deutschland“: Eine buchgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden, 1993. 13–14.

¹²¹ Rebenich, Stefan, *Theodor Mommsen: Eine Biographie*, C.H. Beck, München, 2002. 70–71.

published by the firm Avenarius & Mendelssohn. From 1855 onwards Eduard Avenarius would be its sole publisher.¹²²

Avenarius' son Ludwig later described his father as a publisher with little regard for the journal's profitability: '[...] for him it was less about lavish monetary profit than about serving the public good'.¹²³ But even if Avenarius may not have been the most calculating entrepreneur, he still wanted his publishing house to be profitable. His letters to Zarncke show how both men tried to meet the demands of the marketplace. They repeatedly discussed ideas for new sections that could attract a larger readership. In 1862 they discussed the pros and cons of including overviews of the courses offered at various German universities. An increase in the number of subscriptions could not realistically be expected because a large part of the target audience for such announcements already read the journal. However, because Avenarius thought that the inclusion of such overviews could potentially increase their income from advertisements, they decided in favour of it.¹²⁴

To cement the relationship between the *Centralblatt* and the German universities, Avenarius also repeatedly suggested to add a section on academic news. Initially he proposed to simply report 'promotions and deaths'.¹²⁵ Two years later he suggested to print reports on what 'from certain sides could be interpreted as gossip', arguing that sometimes throwing 'a pike in the carp pool' — stirring things up a little — might not hurt.¹²⁶ Two weeks later Zarncke added the first *Personalmeldungen* to the *Centralblatt*. Their matter-of-fact tone was more in line with Avenarius 1862 proposal than with his more sensationalist later suggestion.¹²⁷ Not all of Avenarius' suggestions were implemented, though. His idea to add a section called 'Questions to the scholarly world' never materialised, nor did his desire to also publish reviews of 'the most outstanding publications in the belletristic literature'.¹²⁸

Until the early 1870s, Avenarius and Zarncke did not have to worry about the viability of their journal. In 1874, however, a new journal that largely covered the same ground and aimed for the same audience was established, the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*. The *Literaturzeitung*, as it was known, was founded as the successor to the similarly named *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* and was edited by the Jena university librarian Anton Klette. Working in Bonn in the 1860s, Klette had earlier co-

¹²² Lick, Thomas, *Friedrich Zarncke*, 48–51.

¹²³ Avenarius, Ludwig, *Avenarianische Chronik: Blätter aus drei Jahrhunderten einer deutschen Bürgerfamilie*, O.R. Reisland, Leipzig, 1912. 86.

¹²⁴ Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (hereafter UBLE), NL 249/1/A/570, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 20 March 1862.

¹²⁵ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/569, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 15 May 1862.

¹²⁶ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/565, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 28 May 1864.

¹²⁷ See also: Lick, Thomas, *Friedrich Zarncke*, 70–71.

¹²⁸ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/565, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 28 May 1864.

edited the *Rheinische Museum für Philologie* and he enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to edit a more ambitious journal as part of his new job.¹²⁹ Like the *Centralblatt*, the *Literaturzeitung* appeared on a weekly basis, and Avenarius was quick to point out the threat that it posed to his journal. In March 1874, he explicitly called the *Literaturzeitung* ‘our rival’ and underlined the importance of keeping track of ‘the competition from Jena’.

With some complacency, Avenarius pointed out that, in the first eleven issues of 1874, the *Centralblatt* had reviewed 235 books, while the *Literaturzeitung* had only covered 166 works. He realised, though, that it would be risky to advertise with this feat. Their competitors could then argue that they indeed reviewed ‘fewer books, but of course all the important ones, and these more extensively’.¹³⁰ Although Avenarius and Zarncke decided against openly advertising the larger number of works reviewed in their journal, they kept a close eye on these numbers. Two years later, Avenarius pointed out that the *Centralblatt* had reviewed 1131 works in 1874 and 1199 works in 1875. For the *Literaturzeitung*, this was 789 and 815, respectively.¹³¹ The fact that the *Centralblatt* published so many reviews was in itself a good thing, but Avenarius did not show too much enthusiasm; the increased number of reviews was partly caused by a decrease in the number of advertisements. All in all, a comparison between the numbers of works reviewed by the two journals did not provide the *Literaturzeitung* any straightforward clues for dealing with their rival.

Another way of responding to the competition was that Avenarius and Zarncke personally addressed the people who contributed to both journals. Avenarius calculated that ninety-five contributors to the *Centralblatt* had also contributed to the *Literaturzeitung*. He wrote Zarncke that he worried that if they had already reviewed a work in the *Literaturzeitung*, they might refuse to also review it in the *Centralblatt*.¹³² A letter to Wundt shows that Zarncke indeed raised the issue in his correspondence with regular contributors. Before he founded the *Studien*, Wundt frequently contributed to the *Centralblatt*. In 1874, he had answered positively to a request from Jena to one day contribute to their journal. Not until in the winter of 1875, however, he was asked to review a large number of books. These reviews were immediately noticed by Zarncke. Wundt was able to reassure him; he told Zarncke that he had indeed received the same books from Leipzig and Jena, recently, and had chosen to only review these books for the *Centralblatt*.¹³³ Wundt would prove his loyalty to the *Centralblatt* in the following years. In 1876 and 1877, he would write a total of 38 book

¹²⁹ Stössel, Waldemar, ‘Anton Klette: 1870–1878,’ in: [Arbeitsgemeinschaft wissenschaftlicher Bibliothekare der Universitätsbibliothek Jena], *Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek Jena*, Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar, 1958, 485–515. 490, 492.

¹³⁰ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/559, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 22 March 1874.

¹³¹ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/537, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 11 February 1876.

¹³² UBLE: NL 249/1/A/535, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 1 March 1875.

¹³³ UAL: NA Wundt/III/966, Wilhelm Wundt to Friedrich Zarncke, 3 January 1876.

reviews for Zarncke, while his rival from Jena would only receive five contributions. After 1877 he stopped contributing to the *Literaturzeitung* altogether.¹³⁴

Another way of dealing with the new competition discussed between Avenarius and Zarncke concerned the anonymity of their reviews. During the first twenty-five years of its existence, the *Centralblatt* either published its reviews anonymously or had them signed with a short cipher. During the 1860s, for example, Nöldeke often signed with a cross resembling the letter 'X'.¹³⁵ This was in line with common practices abroad. In Britain reviews were usually published anonymously as well, thus creating 'a sense of the author as a neutral, all-seeing guide, free from human subjectivity'.¹³⁶ Zarncke's justification of the practice emphasised similar considerations. In a retrospective he pointed out that anonymous reviews encouraged substantive scholarly debate instead of personal recriminations and quarrels. He added that mentioning all the big names writing for the *Centralblatt* could have come across as distasteful self-advertisement.¹³⁷

The *Literaturzeitung* broke with this tradition of anonymity and only published reviews that were signed with the reviewer's full name. This was also in line with the latest British developments, where the 'first completely signed periodical of the century [...] with the names of the famous writers printed right on the cover' was founded in 1877.¹³⁸ Avenarius was shocked to learn that the *Literaturzeitung* was widely praised for this decision.¹³⁹ He could have foreseen this reception, however, because some authors who had been reviewed in the *Centralblatt* had already complained about the anonymisation earlier. In 1851, Nöldeke's teacher Ewald had privately criticised Zarncke's policy: 'If only the judging reviewer makes himself known, everyone can know how much credit he wants to give to his judgement'.¹⁴⁰ In the light of the *Literaturzeitung*'s early successes, Zarncke could not ignore such complaints anymore. He agreed with Zarncke's proposal to encourage their reviewers to sign with a cipher that would be easily recognisable for all insiders.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ These numbers are based on the overview made by Wundt's daughter: Wundt, Eleonore, *Wilhelm Wundts Werk: Ein Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen Schriften*, C.H. Beck, München, 1927. 12–15.

¹³⁵ UBL: BPL 2389, Theodor Nöldeke to Michael Jan de Goeje, 30 November 1867.

¹³⁶ Secord, James A., *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago (IL), 2000. 367.

¹³⁷ Zarncke, Friedrich, 'An unsere Leser,' *Literarische Centralblatt für Deutschland* (hereafter *LC*), 1874, 52, 1721–1726. 1722–1723.

¹³⁸ Hiller, Mary Ruth, 'The Identification of Authors: The Great Victorian Enigma,' in: Vann, J. Don and Rosemary T. van Arsdel (eds.), *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, The Modern Language Association of America, New York (NY), 1978, 123–148. 126.

¹³⁹ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/556, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 24 September 1874.

¹⁴⁰ UBLE: NL 249/1/E/1051, Heinrich Ewald to Friedrich Zarncke, 3 September 1851. It should also be mentioned that Ewald himself was not at all opposed to personal attacks. He did not hide in anonymity when he attacked his peers in public or private. See: Engberts, Christiaan, 'Gossiping about the Buddha of Göttingen,' 374.

¹⁴¹ UBLE: NL 249/A/555, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 1 October 1874.

During the following years, Nöldeke would sign almost all his reviews with 'Th.N.' and Wundt would temporarily sign his previously anonymous contributions with an easily recognisable 'W.W.'.

In 1874, the *Centralblatt* celebrated its twenty-five-year existence. Zarncke opened the last issue of that year with an essay looking back at these years. Because this essay was shaped by the perceived necessity to relate to the competition in Jena, it was informed by forward looking considerations at least as much as by past experiences. Commenting on Zarncke's first draft Avenarius warned him that the proposed retrospective offered their rival a justification for 'open or covert attacks'.¹⁴² He therefore sent him a long list with suggestions to make it more suitable for publication. Zarncke had, for example, included harsh words in his closing remarks that could easily be interpreted as jabs at the *Literaturzeitung*. These remarks, which included the words 'detrimental ambition' were deleted in the final version.¹⁴³ Avenarius was also able to convince Zarncke to be somewhat less combative. His reference to 'hack writers of the lowest rank' was replaced by the slightly less provocative 'hack writers'.¹⁴⁴ His premise that authors who had not produced anything 'virtuous' did not deserve the right to reply to criticism in his journal was replaced with a somewhat less offensive remark about works that were not 'solid' enough to merit a defence.¹⁴⁵ After Zarncke's draft had thus been sanitised, Avenarius printed extra copies of the issue in which it was published. These review copies were sent to 'the most important newspapers' in Germany in the hope that this well-mannered anniversary edition of the *Centralblatt* could generate some free publicity.¹⁴⁶

In the end the *Centralblatt* won the competition with the *Literaturzeitung*. It is, however, not self-evident that this was achieved by the initiatives of Avenarius and Zarncke. The unfortunate career of Anton Klette may have been the main reason for the *Literaturzeitung*'s eventual demise. By the end of the 1870s Klette had severely neglected his responsibilities as a librarian in Jena. The senate of the university forced him to resign in June 1878.¹⁴⁷ He then moved to Magdeburg, from where he continued to work on the *Literaturzeitung* for one more year. In 1879, however, his publishers printed a notice in what would be the last issue of the *Literaturzeitung*, in which they informed their readers that the journal could not be continued because its editor had suddenly disappeared.¹⁴⁸ Later recaps of Klette's career hardly mention anything about his life after the *Literaturzeitung*. He

¹⁴² UBLE: NL 249/A/553, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 10 December 1874.

¹⁴³ UBLE: NL 249/A/557, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, not dated, probably 10 December 1874; Zarncke, Friedrich, 'An unsere Leser,' 1726.

¹⁴⁴ The words used by Avenarius and Zarncke were 'Lohnschreiber untersten Ranges' and 'Lohnschreiber'.

¹⁴⁵ The words used by Avenarius and Zarncke were 'Rechtschaffenes' and 'Gediegenes'.

¹⁴⁶ UBLE: NL 249/A/545, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 18 December 1874.

¹⁴⁷ Stössel, Waldemar, 'Anton Klette: 1870–1878,' 514.

¹⁴⁸ Veit & Comp., 'Zur Nachricht,' *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1879, 39, 536–537.

is reported to have disappeared without a trace in the United States after 1879 or 1896.¹⁴⁹ Regardless of the extent to which their own initiatives were responsible for the continued success of the *Centralblatt*, Zarncke and Avenarius confidently faced the founding of a new review journal in 1880, the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, stating: ‘we hold on to the belief that we are completely at ease with this new competitor’.¹⁵⁰

Zarncke’s continuous balancing act

His publisher was not the only stakeholder whose interest in the *Centralblatt* shaped Zarncke’s editorial decisions. The publishers of the reviewed books also had a well-defined interest in favourable reviews as advertisements for their wares. In the 1860s, Avenarius already warned Zarncke that some publishers might be less likely to send review copies to the *Centralblatt* if they expected to receive only negative reviews.¹⁵¹ Zarncke’s correspondence with F.A. Brockhaus, shows that it was not uncommon for the publisher to contact him when his books were criticised in the *Centralblatt*. Sometimes Zarncke would give in to such pressure, for example when he allowed Camillo Kellner a reply to a critical treatment of his *Kurze Elementargrammatik der Sanskrit-Sprache*.¹⁵² At other times, however, Zarncke stood his ground and refused a reply or retraction. When Brockhaus, for instance, stood up for the work of the recently deceased C.E. Hergt, Zarncke contacted its highly critical reviewer. The reviewer sent Zarncke an elaboration on his unfavourable opinion, which Zarncke then forwarded to Brockhaus. In the light of this explanation Brockhaus admitted that they had to ‘acquiesce to what had been said about his publication in the *Centralblatt*’.¹⁵³

The balance of power between the *Centralblatt* and book publishers was delicate. On the one hand, the business model of the *Centralblatt* assumed the cooperation of the publishers. If they would not

¹⁴⁹ The year 1879 is mentioned in: Mehl, Ernst, ‘Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte,’ in: Stammeler, Wolfgang (ed.), *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, Band I, Erich Schmitt, Berlin/Bielefeld, 1952, 315–378. 358. The year 1896 is mentioned in: Storost, Jürgen, ‘Zu einigen germanistischen Zeitschriften in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,’ *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*, Neue Folge II, 1992, 341–354. 351.

¹⁵⁰ UBLE: NL 249/A/543, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 24 September 1880.

¹⁵¹ UBLE: NL 249/A/571, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 10 March 1862.

¹⁵² UBLE: NL 249/1/B/2070, F.A. Brockhaus to Friedrich Zarncke, 22 August 1868. (The references to ‘F.A. Brockhaus’ in this chapter are to the firm F.A. Brockhaus, not to the publisher Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus himself, since he passed away in 1823. However, representatives of the firm that carried his name continued to sign their correspondence with ‘F.A. Brockhaus’.) The critical review was: D.lbr.ck. [Berthold Delbrück], Kellner, Dr. Camillo, ‘kurze Elementargrammatik der Sanskrit-Sprache,’ *LC*, 1868, 30, 814–815. The reply was: Kellner, Camillo, ‘Entgegnung,’ *LC*, 1868, 42, 1147–1148.

¹⁵³ UBLE: NL 249/1/B/2077, F.A. Brockhaus to Friedrich Zarncke, 6 November 1871; UBLE: NL 249/1/B/2078, F.A. Brockhaus to Friedrich Zarncke, 9 December 1871. The critical review was: F., ‘Hergt, Dr. C.E., *Geographie des Gelobten Landes*,’ *LC*, 1871, 36, 907–908.

send their books for review, the costs of having to purchase more than a thousand new books every year would have threatened the financial viability of the journal. Zarncke, therefore, had good reason for not alienating the publishers by publishing too many unfavourable reviews. At the same time, he was not reduced to a powerless pawn of the publishers either. One reason for this is the fact that, although publishers may have feared unfavourable criticism, they also hoped to benefit from complimentary reviews. A second reason was that he was not fully dependent on their cooperation. Frequent contributors to the *Centralblatt* often offered Zarncke reviews of books that they had acquired without his mediation.¹⁵⁴ Spontaneous offers to review books were often followed by a favourable review because these books were usually either a gift from a friend or bought for good reason. However, such offers still limited the extent to which Zarncke depended on the cooperation of publishing houses.

Finally, as the editor of a general review journal Zarncke knew specialists in almost all disciplines. Publishers, such as Brockhaus, recognised the usefulness of good relationships with such well-connected people. In 1869, Brockhaus asked Zarncke if he could solicit an expert opinion on a manuscript they had recently received from August Knötel about the ‘Lycian Trojans’.¹⁵⁵ Two weeks later, Brockhaus wrote with some relief that they were happy that Zarncke had confirmed their doubts.¹⁵⁶ The book was never published. In the following years Brockhaus would also ask for Zarncke’s mediation to decide on the continuation of the publication of the second edition of Georg August Pritzel’s *Thesaurus literaturae botanicae* as well as for his advice on a possible contributor to the publisher’s famous *Konversationslexicon*.¹⁵⁷ Zarncke’s relationship with publishers was therefore complicated; they encouraged him to mainly publish favourable reviews, but because he could also be very helpful to them, in some ways, he retained the freedom to sometimes publish critical assessments, as well.

The authors of the books reviewed in the *Centralblatt* did, of course, have an interest in a favourable treatment of their work, too. Unlike their publishers, they did not have the financial clout to pressure Zarncke into refraining from harsh criticism. After all, the journal’s business model did not depend on the cooperation of reviewed authors. From the early 1850s onwards, however, Zarncke saw it as ‘a commandment of duty and honour’ to allow authors who considered

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, the correspondence between Zarncke and the Leipzig theologian Franz Delitzsch: UBLe: NL 249/1/D/279, Franz Delitzsch to Friedrich Zarncke, 1 February 1872. This letter accompanied the unsolicited review for: F[rantz] D[elitzsch], ‘Ebers, Dr. Georg, Prof., Durch Gosen zum Sinai,’ *LC*, 1873, 9, 257–260.

¹⁵⁵ UBLe: NL 249/1/B/2072, F.A. Brockhaus to Friedrich Zarncke, 2 March 1869.

¹⁵⁶ UBLe: NL 249/1/B/2075, F.A. Brockhaus to Friedrich Zarncke, 17 March 1869.

¹⁵⁷ UBLe: NL 249/1/B/2081, F.A. Brockhaus to Friedrich Zarncke, 30 November 1872; UBLe: NL 249/1/B/2082, F.A. Brockhaus to Friedrich Zarncke, 8 April 1880.

themselves to have been treated unfairly the right to reply.¹⁵⁸ At the same time, he was worried that the inclusion of such reactions could inspire a reaction from the reviewer. He feared that an extended discussion would be ‘of no use for scholarship’ and ‘could only be unpleasant for the reader’. He therefore announced an editorial policy that aimed to limit debate. This policy proved to be hard to enforce. Between 1850 and 1891 — the year of Zarncke’s death — 179 replies to reviews in the *Centralblatt* were published and 151 of these were published together with a reaction of the reviewer.¹⁵⁹ Although Zarncke could not prevent reviewers from responding to replies, he was able to limit the ensuing debate. The reviewers’ responses would always close the argument. The fact that the reviewers got the last word in discussions in the *Centralblatt* suggests that they did have more clout than the authors.

The reason for this clout is quite obvious. Zarncke needed the cooperation of many scholars to fill fifty-two issues of the *Centralblatt* every year. He could not allow himself to affront frequent contributors like Nöldeke and Wundt. Nöldeke, for example, contributed 96 reviews between 1871 and 1880.¹⁶⁰ During the same period Wundt published 123 reviews in the *Centralblatt*.¹⁶¹ Their high productivity earned them certain liberties. In his relationship with Nöldeke, he decided to ignore his personal antipathy. After a fall-out with Zarncke in 1865, Nöldeke told De Goeje that he would probably stop contributing to the *Centralblatt*.¹⁶² Half a year later, a letter from Nöldeke’s colleague, frequent *Centralblatt* contributor Alfred Gutschmid, confirmed Zarncke’s dislike of him: ‘Once you get to know him personally, you will notice that he can be rude and you will find him informal’. However, in the same letter, Gutschmid also praised Nöldeke’s lack of ‘scholarly obscurity’ (*Gelehrten Dunkel*) and expressed his relief about the fact that Zarncke had just made peace with Nöldeke.¹⁶³ The need for hardworking contributors to the *Centralblatt* outweighed personal dislikes.

The leeway Zarncke gave his contributors was not limited to who could publish in the *Centralblatt*; it also extended to what could be published. Regular contributors could sometimes convince him to publish anonymous reviews of their own work. Franz Delitzsch, for example, sent Zarncke a review of a text edition he had just published with his colleague Seligman Baer.¹⁶⁴ Zarncke not only accepted the review, he even invited Delitzsch to contribute another anonymous review of his own work two years later.¹⁶⁵ At other times Delitzsch did not write the review himself, but suggested an

¹⁵⁸ Die Redaktion des Literarischen Centralblattes [Friedrich Zarncke], ‘Literarische Anzeigen,’ *LC*, 1853, 5, 91–92.

¹⁵⁹ Lick, Thomas, *Friedrich Zarncke*, 313.

¹⁶⁰ Based on the listing in: Maier, Bernhard, *Gründerzeit der Orientalistik*, 430–438.

¹⁶¹ Based on the listing in: Wundt, Eleonore, *Wilhelm Wundts Werke*, 7–16.

¹⁶² UBL: BPL 2389, Theodor Nöldeke to Michael Jan de Goeje, 29 October 1865.

¹⁶³ UBLE: NL 249/1/G/1379, Alfred Gutschmid to Friedrich Zarncke, 4 April 1866.

¹⁶⁴ UBLE: NL 249/1/D/280, Franz Delitzsch to Friedrich Zarncke, 16 June 1872.

¹⁶⁵ UBLE: NL 249/1/D/282, Franz Delitzsch to Friedrich Zarncke, 16 February 1874.

appropriate reviewer instead. When he published another text edition with Baer in 1882, he contacted Nöldeke to discuss the most suitable reviewer. They seriously considered Nöldeke's Strasbourg colleague Samuel Landauer, but in the end the review was written by Nöldeke himself.¹⁶⁶ If we are to believe Wundt, this practice was very common. In reaction to a favourable review in the *Centralblatt* he noted that this was clearly a 'literary token of friendship, as they occur so frequently in the field of criticism'.¹⁶⁷ However, even if such friendly favours were common, not all favourable reviews by reviewers who took the initiative to write the review themselves should be judged as tokens of friendship. Some reviewers used this as a means to obtain books of interest for free. Richard Avenarius, who was a regular contributor to the *Centralblatt* before founding the *Vierteljahrsschrift*, submitted a long list of books he hoped to receive for review.¹⁶⁸ The notes above this list show that Zarncke willingly agreed with his requests. All in all, regular contributors had a strong influence on who would review which books, both in regard to their own and other authors' works.

Authors also had a strong influence on the shape of their contributions. Zarncke preferred to publish short reviews. Most were not much longer than one page and many were even shorter than that. Eduard Avenarius pointed out that this allowed them to review a larger number of books.¹⁶⁹ He assumed that the shorter reviews of the *Centralblatt* would be appreciated as much as the longer ones in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*.¹⁷⁰ It was not always easy, however, to convince all contributors to submit such short contributions. When a frequent contributor submitted a long review, Zarncke often set aside his preferred policy and published the lengthy essay anyway. Richard Avenarius' four-page essay about Steinthal's *Einleitung in die Psychologie der Sprachwissenschaft* was almost immediately printed.¹⁷¹ Nöldeke's former student Georg Hoffmann also saw his four-page review of the new Syriac grammar of his one-time teacher published within a month.¹⁷² All in all, it was not uncommon for reviews to end up being much longer than Zarncke preferred.

The correspondence between Zarncke and another close acquaintance of Nöldeke, the aforementioned Gutschmid, shows that Zarncke not only allowed his contributors liberties in the length of their review but also in its contents. In 1873, Zarncke sent him Hermann Vámbéry's

¹⁶⁶ UBLE: NL 249/1/D/297, Franz Delitzsch to Friedrich Zarncke, 21 June 1882; Th. N. [Theodor Nöldeke], 'Libri Danielis Ezrae et Nehemine,' *LC*, 1882, 34, 1137–1140.

¹⁶⁷ UAL: NA Wundt/III/956, Wilhelm Wundt to Friedrich Zarncke, 26 June 1872.

¹⁶⁸ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/602, Richard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 26 May 1871.

¹⁶⁹ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/559, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 22 March 1874.

¹⁷⁰ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/537, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 11 February 1876.

¹⁷¹ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/606, Richard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 23 May 1872; [Richard Avenarius], 'Steinthal, Dr. H., Prof., Einleitung in die Psychologie der Sprachwissenschaft,' *LC*, 1872, 23, 599–603.

¹⁷² ULBE: NL 249/1/H/2161, Georg Hoffmann to Friedrich Zarncke, 15 February 1882; G.H. [Georg Hoffmann], 'Nöldeke, Theod., kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik,' *LC*, 1882, 10, 318–322.

Geschichte Bochara's oder Transoxanien for review. Vámbéry taught at the University of Budapest and his work was not taken very seriously by his German colleagues.¹⁷³ His most successful student, Goldziher, remembered his teaching as full of 'self-praise, bragging, presumptuous appraisal of his own achievements' and 'harmful dilettantism'.¹⁷⁴ Because his new book had received favourable reviews in what he called 'half-scholarly journals', Gutschmid argued that it was important that Vámbéry would be put into his place.¹⁷⁵ Gutschmid's letter to Zarncke not only criticised Vámbéry's scholarship, it was also filled with anti-Semitic insinuations. He referred to him as 'Hirsch Bamberger' — an easily recognisable Jewish name. He added some very explicit slurs as well: 'From all sides, it is perceived as an urgent need to shut the Jew boy's mouth'. 'At 24 broadsides is outlined,' Gutschmid continued, 'what could have been summarised with the words 'puffery of an impertinent Jew boy''. Although he realised that the *Zeitschrift* of the DMG would be the most appropriate place for such a long review, Gutschmid argued — probably correctly — that this was not an option. He referred to the 'idyllic still life that Fleischer has established among German orientalists'. The polite manners that Fleischer had imposed on the *Zeitschrift* made it impossible for Gutschmid to publish his harsh review of Vámbéry's book there.

Two weeks after Zarncke had received Gutschmid's letter and review, the whole essay, which took up thirteen full pages in the *Centralblatt*, was published.¹⁷⁶ It was a diatribe full of harsh reproaches. Gutschmid scolded Vámbéry's 'total lack of knowledge', argued that he wrote 'like a blind man about colour', criticised his 'circular reasoning and other offences against logic', scolded his work as 'abysmal fibbing' and wondered 'what forced the author to undertake something for which he lacked no less than both the intellectual and external conditions'. He also criticised his writing style, which he characterised as bombastic and 'making the fateful step from the lofty to the ridiculous'. The last half page hinted, if not at his Jewishness, at least at the fact that Vámbéry was not German by criticising the crudeness of his language and pointing out incorrect grammatical constructions.

Of course Vámbéry sent Zarncke a reply, in which he vehemently protested Gutschmid's reproaches, though he admitted that as a Hungarian speaking a large number of western and eastern languages it was hard to avoid making some mistakes in German.¹⁷⁷ In his answer to Vámbéry Gutschmid used this discussion about language proficiency to subtly mention his Jewish name: 'the only thing I knew thus far about the author of *Bochara*, is that he is actually called Bamberger [...]

¹⁷³ Marchand, Suzanne L., *German Orientalism*, 148.

¹⁷⁴ Scheiber, Alexander (ed.), *Ignaz Goldziher: Tagebuch*, Leiden, Brill, 1978. 26.

¹⁷⁵ UBLE: NL 249/1/G/1413, Alfred von Gutschmid to Friedrich Zarncke, 23 April 1873.

¹⁷⁶ A. v. G. [Alfred von Gutschmid], 'Vámbéry, Herm., *Geschichte Bochara's oder Transoxanien*,' *LC*, 1873, 19, 577–590.

¹⁷⁷ Vámbéry, Hemann and Alfred von Gutschmid, 'Erwiderungen,' *LC*, 1873, 24, 763–768.

no wonder that I could hereafter not believe anything else, but that German, or at least not Hungarian, was his mother tongue'. However, even if Zarncke's publication of both Gutschmid's overlong offensive review and his dog-whistle reply illustrate how far he went to please his regular contributors, the incident also shows that he did not give in to all their pressure. Gutschmid had asked him not to correct some misspellings in the manuscript of Vámbéry's reply, so that his lack of German roots would even be more clearly exposed.¹⁷⁸ However, Zarncke made sure that misspelled words like 'Erwiderung', 'pracktischen' and 'Kritick' were correctly printed as 'Erwiderung', 'praktischen' and 'Kritik'.

Editors, publishers, authors and audiences

This chapter looks at various considerations that shaped the editorial decisions made at scholarly journals. Even if the common modern-day characterisation of editors as guardians of good scholarship is not completely inappropriate for late 19th-century German editors, their private correspondence mostly underlines other concerns. Very different scholarly journals were decisively shaped by how editors related to three groups of stakeholders: publishers, audiences and contributors. From the point of view of the journal editor, the continuous effort to balance loyal collaboration and independent criticism was not entirely — or even primarily — an attempt to relate to the findings that his peers asked him to publish. Instead, it was an ongoing struggle to balance the expectations of all these stakeholders. The different strategies that editors developed to maintain this precious balance explain the differences between journals more convincingly than references to the very different disciplines that they covered.

Publishers had good reason to be involved in the shaping of journals because they carried the financial risk of the endeavour. For some publishers this was an incentive to get involved in discussions about the content of their journals, while others left this to the editors. Eduard Avenarius continuously pitched ideas to Zarncke with varying degrees of success. Engelmann tried to influence the character of Wundt's *Studien* with very little success. F.A. Brockhaus, finally, did not try to shape the *Zeitschrift* of the *DMG*. These differences in pressure from publishers can be related to the extent to which they had an economic incentive to push the sales of their titles. Since the *Zeitschrift* was the house organ of Germany's largest professional organisation for orientalists, almost every potential reader was a subscriber already. In combination with the personal relationship between F.A. Brockhaus and the *DMG*, there was no strong inducement for the

¹⁷⁸ ULBE: NL 249/1/G/1414, Alfred von Gutschmid to Friedrich Zarncke, 2 June 1873.

publisher to aim for even more subscribers. For Engelmann, it was also easy to accept Wundt's editorial independence in an early stadium. The publisher's revenue model was not to sell a large number of copies of the *Studien*, but to accommodate one of his best-selling authors.

Avenarius had more reason to be constantly worried about the profitability of his journal. The *Centralblatt* did not have a readership as reliable as the membership of the DMG and Avenarius did not have any special reason to accommodate Zarncke. When the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* started to compete for the same readership Avenarius felt justified to push for changes, such as the introduction of the *Personalmeldungen* and the restriction of anonymous reviewing. The profitability of the *Centralblatt* also depended on the willingness of book publishers to provide free review copies. Though Zarncke could allow himself some liberties towards them, both Avenarius and F.A. Brockhaus remembered him from time to time of the importance of the maintenance of a friendly relationship.

Different audiences also presented different challenges. Wundt never seems to have bothered too much about the readership of the *Studien*. His journal's main *raison d'être* was to provide a publication platform for his friends, former students and co-workers. The editors of the *Zeitschrift*, on the other hand, had to take their audience into account at all times. Representing a majority of the German orientalist, its editors had to walk a fine line between doing justice to different points of view and preventing potentially offensive prolonged debate. Authors and readers allowed a widely respected senior editor like Fleischer to take quite some liberties. When Fischer, a younger and less widely admired scholar, took his place, however, disagreements about editorial choices soon reached the board of the DMG. When the board could not appease all complainants, the *Zeitschrift* could face the very undesirable withdrawal of some of its most valued contributors. The discussions about Fischer's functioning soon led to the discontinuation of his editorial glosses and ultimately contributed to his resignation. For Avenarius and Zarncke, finally, the perceived needs of their readership were guiding as well. The aforementioned *Personalmeldungen* and the limits to anonymous reviewing were inspired by the perceived preferences of their audience. Avenarius also successfully militated against the inclusion of overviews of technical and agricultural periodicals; because he couldn't imagine people to read such periodicals as well as the *Centralblatt*.¹⁷⁹

Finally, the relationship between the editor and the journal's contributors also decisively shaped these journals. The possibility to easily publish dissertations and other products from his Leipzig laboratory was Wundt's main reason for founding the *Studien*. This practice was quite common; in

¹⁷⁹ UBLE: NL 249/1/A/571, Eduard Avenarius to Friedrich Zarncke, 10 March 1862.

the late 19th century, the chemists August Wilhelm von Hofmann and Wilhelm Ostwald also used their editorial positions to ensure the publication of the work of their doctoral students.¹⁸⁰ This objective also explains two of the *Studien*'s most salient features. In the first place, it had a very narrow focus on one type of study, namely on the perception and reaction-time measurement, as pioneered in Wundt's laboratory. Secondly, the list of authors publishing in the *Studien* only provided a very limited overview of who's who in late 19th-century experimental psychology. Rather than publishing papers from influential scholars working on different yet related issues, Wundt published the work of often peripheral scholars who were personally and intellectually close to him. Sometimes, as the cases of Kiesow and Lipps suggest, this could contribute to their eventually successful academic careers. At other times, as the examples of Lange and Merkel show, the exposure in the *Studien* did very little for their academic advancement.

The relationship between the editor and the authors of the *Zeitschrift* of the DMG was different. It was characterised by the same considerations that shaped the relationship between the *Zeitschrift* and its readership. After all, its authors and readership were largely the same. The editor had to continuously guard the right of his authors to voice their disagreement with others while ensuring that this would not devolve into prolonged debate. Zarncke, however, was the editor who was most dependent on his authors, because he had to deliver a new issue of the *Centralblatt* every week. To ensure their cooperation, he had to allow his frequent contributors a large degree of liberty, which included the right to anonymously publish reviews of their own work, the opportunity to handpick their own reviewers, the possibility to write overlong reviews, and even the chance to publish the sort of venomous polemics from which he and Avenarius usually tried to refrain.

Notwithstanding the differences in their relationships with publishers, audiences and authors, the *Studien*, *Zeitschrift* and *Centralblatt* share one distinctive feature. For various reasons, they all actively limited the opportunities for debate. The uniformity of the *Studien* all but precluded the sort of disagreement that could be the starting point for a prolonged discussion. Each paper published in the journal was rooted in Wundt's ideas about experimental psychology and he could easily ensure that the contributions did not contain fundamental disagreements. Though the *Zeitschrift* could not exclude all disagreement from its pages, the editors and the executive board of the DMG realised that they had to limit prolonged debate in order to satisfy all their members. The fact that the Moabitica were largely discussed in a myriad of other periodicals and monographs as well as the fate of Fischer as an editor illustrate the success of this policy. Finally, Zarncke's policy of allowing

¹⁸⁰ Johnson, Jeffrey A., 'Hierarchy and Creativity in Chemistry, 1871–1914,' in: Olesko, Kathryn M., *Science in Germany, The Intersection of Institutional and Intellectual Issues*, Osiris, 2nd Series, 5, 1989. 214–240. 225–27.

only one reply by disgruntled reviewed authors and a final answer by the reviewer proved to be successful. Even if frequent contributors sometimes took the liberty to write overly harsh reviews, this never turned into a drawn-out debate on the pages of the *Centralblatt*.

The observation that there was a widely shared aversion of prolonged debate among the editors of scholarly periodicals in 19th-century Germany is in line with the findings of modern-day authors who analysed individual journals. One scholar has noticed that ‘address and reply’ were rare in the *Historische Zeitschrift*.¹⁸¹ Another likewise noticed that Carl Theodor von Siebold, the editor of *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Zoologie*, would not tolerate polemic, ‘which was to be shunned as an effort that did not contribute anything of substance to science and as conduct unbecoming a gentleman and a scientist’.¹⁸²

This widely shared similarity suggests that, in spite of their many differences, most German scholarly journals in the late 19th century saw themselves as platforms for the announcement of developments in scholarship, rather than as a gathering place for critical discussion. The *Studien* announced the outcomes of the latest experiments of Wundt and his co-workers; the *Zeitschrift* announced the advancement of Oriental studies in Germany, and the *Centralblatt* announced new publications in law, medicine, the natural sciences and the humanities. This attitude is perhaps best captured by Nyhart’s summary of Siebold’s conception of his *Zeitschrift*; he considered it to be ‘a public repository of scientific research — fact and theories, but especially facts’.¹⁸³ These conclusions also provide a better understanding of the role of journal editors. Their primary task was not to secure the correctness and excellence of each and every published paper. The editor’s main responsibility was rather to balance the needs and demands of contributors, publishers and audiences. A self-portret of an institution primarily interested in being a trustworthy repository of research was less likely to upset any of these stakeholders than presenting their journal as a platform for critical debate and potentially fruitful disagreement.

¹⁸¹ Fahrmeir, Andreas, ‘Ort des Konsenses oder Historische Streitschrift? Zur Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts in der Historischen Zeitschrift,’ *Historische Zeitschrift*, 289, 2009, 199–222. 201.

¹⁸² Nyhart, Lynn K., ‘Writing Zoologically,’ 54.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 45.