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Heine's Serial Histories of the Revolution

Historical topics are a constant throughout Heinrich Heine's writings, and his articles on the July Monarchy are infused with one of the central concerns of his prose and poetic works alike, namely, the past, present, and future of the French Revolution. His article collections *Französische Zustände* (1833) and *Lutezia* (1854) engage in complex refractions of historical time, placing reports from one to two years prior (as with *Französische Zustände*) and up to thirteen in *Lutezia* into relation with events that have intervened since their initial publication, including in the latter case the collapse of the July Monarchy in 1848. These articles straddle the immediacy of journalistic reportage and the remove of historical reflection, engaging all the while with alternatives to the modes of history writing pursued by the idealist philosophy of history and by academic historiography.

In this essay, I explore how these Parisian writings create knowledge about time through the effects of serial print. Heine asks readers to understand historical time as an unruly mixture of old and new, to consider how different aspects of the past remain at work in the present and into the future. A particular feature of this temporal knowledge consists in anticipating the continuation of the revolution into the future. Heine calls Hegel "his great teacher," but he constantly relativizes and ironizes any systematic vision of linear, teleological progress. Heine's writings do not pursue the Hegelian pedagogical effect of reason coming to itself, instead modelling various uncertain, unpredictable futures, and favoring the juxtaposition of alternative models of history over any kind of philosophical resolution. Heine relies on various tropes of before and after, prediction and retrospection, and of sequential, serial continuation to place the present into shifting relationships to multiple pasts and futures.

Französische Zustände and *Lutezia* both emerged in tandem with Heine's interest in writing a larger work on the history of the French Revolution, a project that he never completed. In effect, these works represent alternatives to more conventional histories of the revolution by Heine's European contemporaries such Adolphe Thiers, Jules Michelet, and Thomas Carlyle. Positioning his writings as explicitly historical undertakings, Heine faced two key challenges. The first relates to form, for he eschewed conventional historical narrative and embraced the heterogeneous juxtapositions characteristic of periodicals, calling his articles

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"fleeting pages" (flüchtige[] Blätter).[1] Yet the book versions of these articles also lay claim to deliberate "artistic arrangement" (künstlerische Zusammenstellung).[2] The notion that history writing should synthesize disparate items into a philosophical whole (*Zusammenhang*) goes back to the idealist philosophy of history of Friedrich Schiller, Immanuel Kant, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, who relegate the task of collecting fragmentary particulars to mechanical memory and task aesthetic judgment and speculative thought with philosophical overview.[3] Heine taps into this vision when asserting that both his initial authorial vision and his retroactive activity organize these pieces into a unified whole, in book form, that will retain its value into the future.[4] Heine's first challenge was thus to maintain ostensible authorial control even while eschewing modes of historical narrative modeled on the generic dictates of the epic.[5]

Heine's second key challenge was that of writing at a time of tremendous uncertainty, many observers concluding that the revolution was still ongoing. After arriving in Paris in May 1831 and beginning work on the articles that he would compile as *Französische Zustände*, Heine called these writings "preliminary studies for the history of the present" (Vorstudien zur Geschichtschreibung der Gegenwart), emphasizing their preparatory nature. These are provisional sketches of the present, but a present that is always disappearing into the past before the full-fledged writing of its history can be attained. In multiple turbulent presents

1 Heinrich Heine, "Vorrede" to *Französische Zustände* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1833), vi. All translations of sources are mine unless otherwise noted.

2 As he puts it in the preface to *Lutezia*, the book is "a whole" (ein Ganzes) produced "through an artistic arrangement of all these monographs" (durch eine künstlerische Zusammenstellung aller dieser Monographien). Heinrich Heine, "Zueigungsbrief," in *Lutezia: Berichte über Politik, Kunst und Volksleben*, pt. 1, vol. 2 of *Vermischte Schriften* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1854), viii.

3 Laurence Dickey, "Philosophizing about History in the Nineteenth Century: *Zusammenhang* and the 'Progressive Method' in German Historical Scholarship," in *The Cambridge History of Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century (1790–1870)*, ed. Allen W. Wood and Songuk Susan Hahn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 793–816.

4 In a letter to his publisher, Heine states that *Lutezia* has a "closed unity" (geschlossene Einheit), "despite the rapid change in topics" (trotz der gaukelnden Abwechslung der Themata), and is "a history book that speaks to the present day and will live on in the future" (ein Geschichtsbuch, das den heutigen Tag anspricht und in der Zukunft fortleben wird). Letter to Julius Campe, 18 April 1854, in Heinrich Heine, *Säkularausgabe: Werke, Briefwechsel, Lebenszeugnisse* (HSA), ed. Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur in Weimar and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Paris, vol. 23, *Briefe 1850–1856*, ed. Fritz H. Eisner (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972), 320.

5 See Susanne Zantop, *Zeitbilder: Geschichte und Literatur bei Heinrich Heine und Mariano José de Larra* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1988), 107–108.

ranging from the early 1830s to the mid-1850s, Heine attempts to articulate the experience that every new moment can potentially recast our understanding of the past. Here Heine singles out institutionalized, academic historians for naïvely treating the revolution solely as a past event, for believing that

> die Akten der Revolutionsgeschichte seyen geschlossen, und sie hatten schon über Menschen und Dinge ihr letztes Urtheil gefällt: da brüllten plötzlich die Kanonen der großen Woche, und die Göttinger Fakultät merkte, daß von ihrem akademischen Spruchkollegium an eine höhere Instanz appellirt worden, und daß nicht blos die französische Spezialrevolution noch nicht vollendet sey, sondern daß erst die weit umfassendere Universalrevolution ihren Anfang genommen habe.
>
> the records of the history of the revolution were closed and that they had uttered their last judgment on people and things: all at once, though, the cannons of the great week [of the July Revolution] thundered, and the faculty of Göttingen observed that its academic senate had appealed to a higher authority and that not only was the French special revolution not finished but that the far more comprehensive universal revolution had just begun.[6]

Heine seeks a mode of writing that reveals the shifting status of both present and past, and he places anticipatory weight upon present and future moments when the past is valued anew. As Anthony Phelan puts it, Heine recognizes that "historical or cultural moments are not fixed functions in the representation of social or political formations. Rather, they are constantly appropriated, reappropriated, and revalued."[7] To this end, Heine mines the modern media landscape – ephemeral print, visual culture, popular theater, dance, etc. – rather than the more staid source material of state archives that would figure prominently in the self-legitimation of academic historiography in Prussia in particular.[8] Heine's history writing of the present places anticipatory weight upon future moments when the past will be taken up anew and attends to how transitory present constellations lend new meaning to the past, including to Heine's own historical interventions. Heine's second challenge was thus to write open-ended histories that can re-engage past, present, and future at various points of temporal remove.

Heine took up modes of serial writing and publication in response to both challenges, putting his own writings into proximity to momentous events of the past and situating them as eventful occasions in their own right. In *Lutezia*, Heine states his affinity with Scheherazade's serial storytelling in *A Thousand and One*

6 Heine, "Artikel VI," in *Französische Zustände*, 146.

7 Anthony Phelan, *Reading Heinrich Heine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 182–183.

8 See Cornelia Vismann, *Akten: Medientechnik und Recht* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2000), 226–266.

Nights, as he endlessly interrupts himself and defers any final conclusions. His articles bear the caveat that they are "to be continued," thereby adopting the conventions of serialized, periodical publications, while also reserving for himself the leeway of open-ended perpetuation. In addition to the original periodical publications, republication in book form likewise represents a kind of serial continuation, for it places the articles into new textual environments and creates a new site at which to exercise authorial control and artistic ambitions. Additionally, it doubles the previously published texts as historical artifacts that have participated in the past and adds new material originally published elsewhere or cut by censors. Republication in book form thereby makes it possible to place texts into a new constellation and to present them as a unified whole reflective of the author's aesthetic intentions. Intervening at the intersection of periodical and book publication as two complementary practices of serialized publishing, Heine uses republication to stage multiple positions from which to encounter time, "the times," multiple possible moments of provisional ending, continuation, anticipation, and delay. As Michael Gamper puts it, Heine's historical projects pursue the "overt, proleptically or analeptically oriented correspondence of different moments of historical eventfulness and literary creativity."[9] Heine writes himself into the past through republication, situating his own pieces – and the *Schreibszenen* of composing them and sending them off to the publisher – as part of historical events. Like the personalities or societal forces whose standing might have changed in the years since original publication, Heine's writings come into view both as relics of a bygone moment and as interventions that lend themselves to mediated reactualization.

In this essay I first explore Heine's more general approach to history in the early 1830s and his dual critique of academic historians and of the philosophy of history. I then turn to two specific episodes in his serial writing. The first episode deals with Heine's juxtaposition of significantly different modes of journalism and history writing and his placement of them into varying relations of before and after. Heine profits from the sense that his pieces function both as journalistic responses to specific moments and as historical reflections that place different presents into relation. Through the format of collected, republished articles as well as through tropes of life and death, Heine models complex historical temporalities in an era of ongoing revolution. The practices of serialization introduce

9 Michael Gamper, "Gegenwärtige Politik des Vergangenen: Politische Nachträglichkeit bei Heinrich Heine," in *Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen: Formen und Funktionen von Pluralität in der ästhetischen Moderne*, ed. Sabine Schneider and Heinz Brüggemann (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2010), 89.

complex temporalities, which themselves can exceed the rigid order of a series and established modes of history writing.

Heine's critical take on historical portraiture is a second aspect to his engagement with serial forms. The conceit of the literary image, sketch, and caricature are a key part of his histories of the present, which he undertakes at a time of proliferating imagery in print, popular theater, and more. The portraiture of past and present figures is a popular mode of nineteenth-century history writing and nineteenth-century literary entertainment more broadly, itself an inherently serial mode.[10] Heine's statement that *Lutezia* is a "daguerreotypic history book" (daguerreotypisches Geschichtsbuch)[11] in part references this tradition, since early photography was commonly associated with portraiture. He sketches a range of figures in culture and politics across his writings on the July Monarchy, and these become a crucial part of Heine's different modes of writing. I am particularly interested in his serialized accounts of academic historians, which stand out because he uses the ironic characterization of these scholars and their historical method – in particular their valorization of historical personalities – to articulate his own alternative historiographical vision. In effect, Heine sets his own historical character descriptions off from other modes of history writing through a kind of ironic mirroring and mimicry, through a kind of antiportraiture. In contrast to the conventional emphasis on historical personalities – in Thomas Carlyle's 1841 *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* or Karl Gutzkow's 1835 *Öffentliche Charaktere*, to name just two contemporary examples – Heine uses caricature-like portraits to create knowledge about time rather than to reify and glorify historical personalities. The integrity of the individual as a historical subject disintegrates and depersonalized historical forces shine through; temporal refraction trumps the rhetoric of presence.

Reconsidering Heine's history writing through the question of seriality is productive not only because it sheds new light on the ways in which Heine adapts features of journalistic publication.[12] It also shows how Heine construes an awareness of historical time on the basis of textual and medial format rather than philosophical-historical telos. The idealist philosophy of history is notorious for its elision of the textual work that is necessary to narrate the movement of the concept through

10 See Rüdiger Campe, "To Be Continued: Einige Beobachtungen zu Goethes *Unterhaltungen*," in *Noch einmal anders: Zu einer Poetik des Seriellen*, ed. Elisabeth Bronfen, Christiane Frey, and David Martyn (Zurich: Diaphanes, 2016), 119–136.

11 Heine, "Zueigungsbrief," in *Lutezia*, xiii–xiv.

12 See Wolfgang Preisendanz's classic article "Der Funktionsübergang von Dichtung und Publizistik bei Heine," in *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste: Grenzphänomene des Ästhetischen*, ed. Hans Robert Jauß (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1968), 343–374.

history.[13] In contrast, Heine actively draws readers' attention to his writings as a series of specifically timed textual interventions in a broader medial landscape. In a medialized modernity characterized by "the ever-reconfigured constellation of the present at the interface of past and future," as Willi Goetschel puts it, the afterlives of journalistic endeavors model how the past can reemerge and be revalued in the future.[14]

Different conceptions of history

Scholars have repeatedly noted how Heine's mode of writing and his concept of history are intimately intertwined.[15] Heine's "performative" approach to history writing generates a "plurality of narratives"[16] and constellates multiple competing conceptions of history, favoring ironic juxtaposition over unambiguous resolution.[17] Rather than developing a single unified historiographical narrative, he pursues a variety of inroads to historical representation, constantly interrupting himself and redirecting readers. The French Revolution is a particularly salient subject for this form of history writing because of the event's multivalent temporal filiations across the past, present, and future. Writers of history seek to understand the past event's effects on the present, but they also seek to understand how both the concerns of the present and the anticipation of the future shape views of the past. Heine dramatizes these kinds of temporal vectors in "Artikel VI" in *Französische Zustände*. At first, Heine demonstratively turns his sights to the past, construing the noise and chatter of the present as a potential distraction but also a riddle to be deciphered: "I wish to contribute as much as possible impartially to understanding the present and

13 See Friedrich Kittler, *Die Nacht der Substanz* (Bern: Benteli, 1989), 15–24.

14 Willi Goetschel, *Heine and Critical Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 21.

15 See, for example, Walter Erhart, "Heinrich Heine: Das Ende der Geschichte und 'verschiedenartige' Theorien zur Literatur," in *Aufklärung und Skepsis: Internationaler Heine-Kongreß 1997 zum 200. Geburtstag*, ed. Joseph A. Kruse, Bernd Witte, and Karin Füllner (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1999), 490; and Gerhard Höhn, "Eternal Return or Indiscernable Progress? Heine's Conception of History after 1848," in *A Companion to the Works of Heinrich Heine*, ed. Roger Cook (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), 169–200.

16 Goetschel, *Heine and Critical Theory*, 160.

17 As Erhart puts it, "Heine's oeuvre showcases in detail almost all the possible and contradictory conceptions of history in the nineteenth century, but at the same time it contains an immanent reflection on the forms of presentation with which history is imagined." Erhart, "Heinrich Heine," 490. See also Wolfgang Preisendanz, "Der Sinn der Schreibart in den Berichten aus Paris 1840–1843 *Lutezia*," in *Heinrich Heine: Werkstrukturen und Epochenbezüge*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1983), 69–98, here 79.

to look for the key to the noisy enigma of today in the past. The salons lie, the graves are true" (Ich will so viel als möglich parteilos das Verständniß der Gegenwart befördern, und den Schlüssel der lärmenden Tagesräthsel zunächst in der Vergangenheit suchen. Die Salons lügen, die Gräber sind wahr).[18] This is one of several pithy, protodialectical formulations that Heine uses to parse the ambiguous status of the past in the present.[19] In stating that the salons lie and the graves are true, Heine asks how the 1789 Revolution continues to influence events forty years later. However, Heine then goes on to state his desire to reveal "how the past first becomes understandable through the present, and how every new day sheds new light upon the past, something of which our previous writers of historical handbooks had no idea" (Wie diese, die Vergangenheit, erst durch jene, die Gegenwart, ihr eigentliches Verständniß findet, und jeder neue Tag ein neues Licht auf sie wirft, wovon unsere bisherigen Handbuchschreiber keine Ahnung hatten).[20] This second statement shifts attention to how present concerns alter our understanding of the past, a feature of historical understanding that historians commonly seek to neutralize.

Here Heine straddles two models of engaging with the past. Reinhart Koselleck has shown how the late eighteenth-century understanding of history breaks with the traditional topos of history as the teacher of life (*historia magistra vitae*), a topos that assumes that past events repeat themselves and serve as normative models for understanding the present and future.[21] Traditional history writing is a mimetic mode based in the classical concept of imitating great men and their deeds.[22] It is above all the French Revolution that undermines the idea that the past instructs the present, for the revolution is perceived to be unprecedentedly new and to break with previous experience.[23] As Koselleck argues, postrevolutionary historical consciousness comes to assume a teleological notion of progress, justifying past and present actions from the perspective of a future goal rather than a repeatable past.

18 Heine, "Artikel VI," in *Französische Zustände*, 139.

19 On Heine's manipulation of Hegelian categories and his "clinical description" of the "decomposition" of the philosophy of history, see Stathis Kouvelakis, *Philosophy and Revolution: From Kant to Marx*, trans. G. M. Goshgarian (London: Verso, 2003), 46–47, 53.

20 Heine, "Artikel VI," in *Französische Zustände*, 145–146.

21 Reinhart Koselleck, "Historia Magistra Vitae: The Dissolution of the Topos into the Perspective of a Modernized Historical Process," in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 26–42.

22 See Julia Hell, *The Conquest of Ruins: The Third Reich and the Fall of Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 112.

23 See Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Heine approaches this tension between differing approaches to the past in an unpublished fragment titled "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung," which was written around the same time as his 1831–1832 articles for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. For Heine, the first approach, the idea of history as a stable repository for lessons from the past, amounts to an "indifferent" approach that sees history as a realm of bleak cyclical repetition ("trostlosen Kreislauf").[24] Ranke and other conservative Prussian historians exemplify this model as they remain indifferent to the future because they see it as in no way diverging from the past and present.[25] The second, "providential" model is expressed most fully by the "philosophical school" (philosophische Schule), that is, Hegel and his followers, which sees a future of rational progress and the betterment of the human condition. Heine views this model more positively, but he remains skeptical of the "fanaticism of those promising future happiness" (Schwärmerei der Zukunftbeglücker), for the progressive philosophy of history justifies the present as a means to the end of realizing the future: "we also demand that the living present be valued as it deserves, and not serve merely as a means to an end in the service of the future" (wir [wollen] auch, daß die Gegenwart ihren Wert behalte und daß sie nicht bloß als Mittel gelte und die Zukunft ihr Zweck sei).[26]

This fragment is an often-cited example of Heine's particular combination of rejecting teleological views of history while remaining committed to the ideals of the revolution.[27] For Heine, the present is justified in its own right via the principle of life rather than that of a progressive, rational future:

> Das Leben ist weder Zweck noch Mittel; das Leben ist ein Recht. Das Leben will dieses Recht geltend machen gegen den erstarrenden Tod, gegen die Vergangenheit, und dieses Geltendmachen

24 Heine, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung, 1833," in *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke* (DHA), ed. Manfred Windfuhr, vol. 10, *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen und kleinere literaturkritische Schriften*, ed. Jan-Christoph Hauschild (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1993), 301–302, here 301. On the question of indifferentism, see Fritz Mende, "'Indifferentismus': Bemerkungen zu Heines ästhetischer Terminologie," in *Heinrich Heine: Studien zu seinem Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983), 208–218.

25 On Heine's engagement with Ranke, see Susanne Zantop, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsschreibung: Heine und Ranke," *Heine Jahrbuch* 23 (1984): 42–68. For a recent discussion, see Azade Seyhan, *Heinrich Heine and the World Literary Map: Redressing the Canon* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 41–43.

26 Heine, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung," 302.

27 "Heine expelled from his thinking not the hope for liberation but the goddess 'Necessity,' the thought of *necessary* progress in history." Ortwin Lämke, *Heines Begriff der Geschichte: Der Journalist Heinrich Heine und die Julimonarchie* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1997), 139. See also Höhn, "Eternal Return or Indiscernible Progress?," 172; Jeffrey Grossman, "Fractured Histories: Heinrich Heine's Responses to Violence and Revolution," in *Contemplating Violence: Critical Studies in*

> ist die Revolution. [. . .] "Le pain est le droit du peuple," sagte Saint-Just, und das ist das größte Wort, das in der ganzen Revolution gesprochen worden.
>
> Life is neither means nor end. Life is a right. Life desires to validate this right against the claims of petrifying death, against the past, and this act of validating life is the Revolution. [. . .] 'Le pain est le droit du peuple,' said Saint-Just, and this is the greatest word spoken in the entire Revolution.[28]

In being equated with "petrifying death," the past seems as far removed from instructing life as possible, yet Heine does not bestow this pedagogical function upon the future either. He attempts to do justice to the suffering and struggles of the present on its own terms; indeed, linking life and the present in this way was common in the liberal writings of the *Vormärz*.[29] It would almost seem that here Heine reverses his own pithy statement that "the salons lie, the graves are true": truth as well as moral and historical "greatness" are on the side of life's self-assertion over and against the past.

In "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung," Heine uses life as a conceptual lever to open up the problem of treating historical situations, constellations, or actors as autonomous entities in their own right. He writes with polemical, almost activist conviction from the perspective of "our most lively feelings of life" (unseren lebendigsten Lebensgefühlen),[30] and yet in this fragment he never returns to the problem of an overarching historical *Zusammenhang*, to the problem of identifying connections between different self-standing historical entities: what links the self-assertion of life at one historical moment to that of a previous or future moment? Indeed, we might conjecture that the difficulty of placing different actions into historically coherent relationships to one another – an epistemological as well as historiographical difficulty – prevented Heine from finishing these reflections or led him to attempt to solve the difficulty through other conceptual or

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Modern German Culture, ed. Carl Niekerk and Stefani Engelstein (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 67–87.

28 Heine, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung," 302.

29 "For Young Germany, the concept of the present is bound up with the concept of life. [. . .] Life appears as the basis for a progressive process in whose course conservative political and social forces are overcome." Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Literary Criticism in the Epoch of Liberalism," in *A History of German Literary Criticism, 1730–1980*, ed. Hohendahl (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 202. On the semantics of life, see also Wulf Wülfing, *Schlagworte des Jungen Deutschland: Mit einer Einführung in die Schlagwortforschung* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1982), 159–167.

30 Heine, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung," 302.

textual means.[31] In *Französische Zustände*, Heine comes to a somewhat different conclusion as to the specifically historical manifestations of the present. There Heine shifts questions of life and death, and of before and after, onto the publication conditions of print. Both in topic and format, Heine explores notions of before and after that go beyond a simple equation of the present with life.

Interrupting the history of the revolution: *Französische Zustände*

Heine's 1833 *Französische Zustände* is one of many contemporaneous texts reporting back to German readers about the aftermath of the July Revolution, which include Ludwig Börne's well-received *Briefe aus Paris* (1832–1834).[32] Heine and Börne both seek to explain events in France to German audiences, both employ short forms associated with travel writing, journalism, and urban reportage, and both thematize the difficulty of writing in and through the present moment while knowing that what they write would reach readers at various sorts of temporal and spatial remove. How might the pacing and serial unfolding of letters or articles in response to current events of the recent past reveal something essential about the time of the revolution and about historical time more generally?

Heine wrote for Cotta's *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* in the 1820s and began working in 1831 as a Parisian correspondent for Cotta's more news-oriented Augsburg-based *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which was the most important daily newspaper in the period. Almost every issue of the *AZ* in the early 1830s contained reports from Paris, and Cotta had six correspondents there at the time.[33] Heine's articles from the early 1830s and early 1840s mix commentary on current events with historical reflection and presume readers' acquaintance with important news items, parliamentary

31 Sigrid Weigel compellingly pursues an answer to this unanswered question in a different way than I am trying to do here, suggesting that Heine approaches individual historical constellations as monads that reflect the whole of history and being. See Sigrid Weigel, "'Das Wort wird Fleisch, und das Fleisch blutet': Heines Reflexion der Menschenrechte im Buch Gottes und in der Weltgeschichte," in Kruse, Witte, and Füllner, *Aufklärung und Skepsis*, 514.

32 On this body of literature and its broader literary implications, see Ingrid Oesterle, "Der 'Führungswechsel der Zeithorizonte' in der deutschen Literatur: Korrespondenzen aus Paris, der Hauptstadt der Menschheitsgeschichte, und die Ausbildung der geschichtlichen Zeit 'Gegenwart,'" in *Studien zur Ästhetik und Literatur der Kunstperiode*, ed. Dirk Grathoff (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985), 11–76; and Rutger Booß, *Ansichten der Revolution: Paris-Berichte deutscher Schriftsteller nach der Juli-Revolution 1830; Heine, Börne, u.a.* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1977).

33 Booß, *Ansichten der Revolution*, 80.

speeches, etc. from elsewhere in the paper or other sources.[34] This dynamic is reflected in the articles' placement in the "Außerordentliche Beylage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung," a section of the paper that was an additional special supplement to the regular supplement. Though the *AZ* did not have a feuilleton section per se, these supplements served a similar function to the feuilleton, combining cultural commentary and theater and literary reviews and operating as a counterpart to more factual journalistic reporting through both content and format.[35]

The book version of *Französische Zustände* contains nine longer numbered and dated articles first published from December 1831 to June 1832, then "Tagesberichte" about the failed June Rebellion of 1832 (the first major public insurrection that Heine witnessed firsthand and an event immortalized in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*), then a short series of pieces titled "Aus der Normandie" Heine's longer articles titled "Französische Zustände" each appeared in serialized installments over several issues of the *AZ* and were signed, while the shorter articles were often published anonymously.[36] The book version is organized by the formal conceit of collecting varied articles by a familiar author. Heine describes the project in the following manner:

> Ich gebe hier eine Reihe Artikel und Tagesberichte, die ich, nach dem Begehr des Augenblicks, in stürmischen Verhältnissen aller Art [. . .], für die Augsberger Allgemeine Zeitung geschrieben habe. Diese anonymen, flüchtigen Blätter soll ich nun unter meinem Namen als festes Buch herausgeben, damit kein Anderer sie nach eigener Laune zusammenstellt.
>
> I am offering here a series of articles and daily reports that I wrote for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* according to the desires of the moment, in stormy relations of all different sorts [. . .]. I will now publish these anonymous, fleeting pages under my name as a solid book, so that no one else will arrange them according to their own whims.[37]

Republication preempts unauthorized reprinting and rearrangement, and it also allows Heine to reintegrate material cut by the censors; books longer than twenty "Bogen" (about 320 pages) were not subject to the same prepublication censorship as newspapers and journals, though this didn't stop Heine's preface – a text with

34 On the importance of intensively reading newspapers for Heine as he was composing these articles, see Lämke, *Heines Begriff der Geschichte*, 9; and Volkmar Hansen, *Heinrich Heines politische Journalistik in der Augsburger "Allgemeinen Zeitung"* (Augsburg: Stadt Augsburg, 1994), 10.

35 Hansen, *Heinrich Heines politische Journalistik*, 44.

36 See Hansen, 67–68. See also Michael Werner, "Der Journalist Heine," in *Heine: Ästhetisch-politische Profile*, ed. Gerhard Höhn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), 300.

37 Heine, "Vorrede" to *Französische Zustände*, v–vi.

its own complex publication and reception history – from being heavily censored.[38] Heine would have been quite familiar with conventions of republication, for many of his articles were excerpted in other German papers and journals soon after appearing in the *AZ*; in such cases, book republication would have been the third or fourth printing of a given article.[39] Of course, there were financial advantages to republication, since Heine was paid by both Cotta and Campe for journal and book versions respectively.[40] One might also conclude that Heine included the additional material over and above the main nine articles simply to reach the page threshold necessary to avoid precensorship, though as we will see, Heine uses the juxtaposition of longer and shorter articles in the book version as an important compositional effect.[41] Through a series of supplements, notes, and addenda, Heine performatively opens his editorial workshop to readers, signaling where he has reintegrated censored passages or unpublished or incomplete material.[42] In the process, the book version presents readers with a complex series of texts, which in their temporal pacing and documentary conceit both correspond to and diverge from the pacing of the newspaper in which they first appeared.

"Artikel VI" of *Französische Zustände* is a key testing ground for Heine's "preliminary studies for the history of the present." He begins both the newspaper and the book versions with the promise of an extended series of articles about the relationship between the past and the present and states the general historical remarks sketched above ("the salons lie . . ."). His initial goal is to define the time of the revolution and its status as ongoing as a way to ascertain the continuity of historical events, actions, and agents (again a question not positively addressed by "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung"). In the midst of these historiographical, indeed philosophical-historical remarks, Heine performatively interrupts himself with an extended report of the cholera outbreak. Heine thereby relegates these historical

38 On the publication history of the articles, see the extensive "Apparat" to *Französische Zustände* compiled by Jean-René Derré and Christiane Giesen in DHA, 12.2:621–1071. On censorship in this period, see Katy Heady, *Literature and Censorship in Restoration Germany: Repression and Rhetoric* (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 11.

39 See Derré and Giesen, "Apparat" to *Französische Zustände*, DHA, 12.2:669.

40 "For Heine, the combination of Campe and Cotta represented an attractive business model. Cotta would pay him for his periodical contributions, and Campe again for the book editions." Rolf Hosfeld, *Heinrich Heine: Die Erfindung des europäischen Intellektuellen* (Munich: Siedler, 2014), 187.

41 In a different context, Spoerhase speaks of the "Poetik des Druckbogens." Carlos Spoerhase, *Das Format der Literatur: Praktiken materieller Textualität zwischen 1740 und 1830* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018), 569–604.

42 Scholars speak in this context of the "censorship style," or *Zensurstil*, of Heine and his contemporaries; see Heady, *Literature and Censorship in Restoration Germany*, 19.

reflections to the status of an all-too preliminary preview ("Bevorwortung") of a future article: this is a "preview of an article that seeks to deal with reflections on the past. But in this moment, the present is the more important, and the topic that it presents to me for discussion is of a sort that all continued writing depends upon it" (Bevorwortung eines Artikels, der sich mit vergangenheitlichen Beleuchtungen beschäftigen mag. Die Gegenwart ist in diesem Augenblicke das Wichtigere, und das Thema, das sie mir zur Besprechung darbietet, ist von der Art, daß überhaupt jedes Weiterschreiben davon abhängt).[43] Heine highlights his own inability to continue to write anything at all (including reflective history), but he does in fact present readers with writing of a different kind. Heine positions reflection about the past, what came "before," in advance of his intervening subarticle about the cholera outbreak, yet, in its entirety, this reflection is deferred to a later point in time. In effect, Heine enacts his own historiographical dictum that the present alters our awareness of the past, that any continued historical reflection remains dependent upon the shifting present.

By inserting the account of the cholera outbreak, Heine stages a scene in which the temporality of rapid-response reportage on the present breaks into the temporal unfolding of a historical metanarrative. "The following communication has perhaps the benefit of being something of a bulletin written on the battlefield itself and during battle, and thus bears the color of the moment in an undistorted way" (Die folgende Mittheilung hat vielleicht das Verdienst, daß sie gleichsam ein Bülletin ist, welches auf dem Schlachtfelde selbst, und zwar während der Schlacht geschrieben worden, und daher unverfälscht die Farbe des Augenblicks trägt).[44] To the extent that interruption shapes the awareness and representation of time and history, it is a central feature of the revolution and the newspaper alike, which both break in on the old and bring the new.[45] The advent of the latest news is also a feature of military reporting, a realm with which Heine clearly associates

43 Heine, "Artikel VI," in *Französische Zustände*, 147.

44 Heine, 149–50.

45 This conjunction of serial print and revolution is something that Heine dramatizes to great effect when relating how his historical and biblical studies are interrupted by the arrival of a packet of newspapers detailing the events of the July Revolution: "I was reading just this story [. . .] when the thick packet of newspapers arrived with the warm, glowing hot news from the mainland. They were rays of sunshine wrapped in newsprint, and they inflamed my soul into the wildest blaze" (Eben diese Geschichte las ich [. . .], als das dicke Zeitungspaquet mit den warmen, glühend heißen Neuigkeiten vom festen Lande ankam. Es waren Sonnenstrahlen, eingewickelt in Druckpapier, und sie entflammten meine Seele, bis zum wildesten Brand). Heine, *Ludwig Börne: Eine Denkschrift*, in DHA, 11:48.

his articles as "bulletins" written "during battle." As a textual effect, interruption can be disorienting,[46] but such juxtaposition also is one of the basic format conditions of newspapers and other serial print products, a condition that facilitates a more general kind of reader orientation to the present, and Heine asks readers to recreate the experience of orientating themselves to a rapidly shifting state of affairs. He treats the cholera outbreak as an echo of the street-level violence and uncertainty of the revolutionary break with the past, a less directly political echo, perhaps, yet one equally disruptive of the status quo.[47]

Readers expecting a continuation of Heine's historical retrospective in the subsequent article will be disappointed, as Heine postpones it yet again: "The historical retrospectives announced by the previous article have to be postponed. The present made itself so harshly relevant that one is hardly able to contemplate the past" (Die geschichtlichen Rückblicke, die der vorige Artikel angekündigt, müssen vertagt werden. Die Gegenwart hat sich unterdessen so herbe geltend gemacht, daß man sich wenig mit der Vergangenheit beschäftigen konnte).[48] At first glance, Heine's history writing seems to stage the inability to write history, making the idea that it is historically necessary to consider the present in light of the past a literal afterthought. But perhaps republication allowed Heine to attain the proper historical distance? The book version of *Französische Zustände* does in fact include the more extensive historical remarks promised in the articles, situating these remarks as supplemental material near the end of the book, in effect migrating his historical reflections from the "Außerordentliche Beylage" of the paper to the appendix of the book. However, despite finding a home for this material in the format of collected articles, he is obliged to put off a full exploration of these historical questions to a hypothetical next book: "I want to present in the supplement a fragment of the article announced here. In a subsequent book, the added material that I wrote later will follow. I was frequently disturbed during this work, mostly through the gruesome cries of my neighbor who died of cholera" (Ich will ein Fragment des Artikels, der hier angekündigt worden, in der Beylage mittheilen. In einem nächsten Buch mag dann die später geschriebene Ergänzung nachfolgen. Ich wurde in dieser Arbeit viel gestört, zumeist durch das grauenhafte Schreien meines Nachbars, welcher

46 See Ortwin Lämke, "Heines 'Geschichtsschreibung der Gegenwart': Zu Artikel VI der 'Französischen Zustände,'" in Kruse, Witte, and Füllner, *Aufklärung und Skepsis*, 616. See also Zantop, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsschreibung," 53.

47 On Heine's treatment of the cholera outbreak, see Olaf Briese, "'Schutzmittel *für* die Cholera': Geschichtsphilosophische und politische Cholera-Kompensation bei Heine und seinen Zeitgenossen," *Heine Jahrbuch* 32 (1993): 9–26.

48 Heine, "Artikel VII," in *Französische Zustände*, 176.

an der Cholera starb).[49] The cries of his neighbor serve as a figure for the transitory present, for the ever-present possibility that life (and death) in the moment might disrupt more general historical retrospection. The documentation of these cries of a dying man is perhaps also a tragic echo of the passage in "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsauffassung" where Heine justifies the present moment through life's self-assertion.

Postponing the piece to the next article, then to the next book: in both cases Heine works with a serial logic of before and after, of preview and postscript. This format relies on performative gestures of self-interruptions and continuations and on the (re)arrangement of various kinds of texts into different sequences. As Suzanne Zantop has observed, Heine thereby subverts any notion that historical narrative develops in an organic, cyclical, or progressive fashion.[50] If there is a homology between the continuation of historical time – the continuation of the revolution – and writing about it, it must be in terms of structures of stops and starts, interruptions and disturbances. Seriality promises that more is to come, but what if more comes in a different way than initially promised?

It is instructive here to take a closer look at the specific location of this mere "Fragment" in the book version, for its placement raises as many questions as it answers. Curiously, Heine does not place it in the chronologically arranged nine articles that comprise the bulk of the book and instead nestles it into the "Tagesberichte" section following them, which is comprised of shorter reports dealing with the failed June Rebellion of 1832 published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Heine introduces them in the following manner:

> Die folgenden Tagesberichte, geschrieben Angesichts der Begebenheiten, im Geräusch des Partheikampfs und zwar immer kurz vor Abgang der Post, so schleunig als möglich, damit die Correspondenten des siegenden Juste-Milieu nicht den Vorsprung gewönnen – diese flüchtigen Blätter theile ich hier mit, unverändert, in so weit sie auf die Insurrektion vom 5. Junius Bezug haben. Der Geschichtsschreiber mag sie vielleicht einst um so gewissenhafter benutzen können, da er wenigstens sicher ist, daß sie nicht nach späteren Interessen verfertigt worden.
>
> The following daily reports, written in light of the events, in the din of the partisan battle and always right before the departure of the mail, as quickly as possible so that the correspondents of the victorious Juste-Milieu would not gain the advantage – these fleeting pages I am communicating here, unaltered, to the extent that they have any bearing on the

49 Heine, "Artikel VI," in *Französische Zustände*, 147.

50 "The principle of the cut, of interruption, becomes predominant for a historiography that exposes concepts like *organic development* or *causal relation* as artistic devices." Zantop, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsschreibung," 64.

> insurrection of June fifth. The history writer may all the more conscientiously be able to make use of them for he is at least able to be certain that they were not composed on the basis of later interests.[51]

These are "fleeting pages," passed on "unaltered," except that the fragmentary "Beylage" is inserted after this editorial introduction and before the first "Tagesbericht." Again the auditory realm and the accelerated pace of these pieces are figures for the fleeting present and its revolutionary potential; these "Tagesberichte" are intended for future historians (a prediction borne out, by the way, by the fact that historians of the period continue to rely on them[52]). And yet these reports are the textual environment for the historiographical supplement, which is far removed from the article that it ostensibly continues.[53] Furthermore, the placement of this "Fragment" in the original book version runs counter to his own editorial assertion that what follows is entirely characterized by the media time of journalistic snapshots of the present. Heine's introductory remarks thematize his lack of time for extended historical reflection, yet he curiously goes on to insert precisely such reflections in advance of the daily reports, reversing the order of what kind of text does the interrupting familiar from the cholera episode.

The anthology format of *Französische Zustände* underlines Heine's point that the present and historical awareness are always breaking into and recasting one another. Heine's framing work foregrounds the external factors that force him into certain editorial decisions and that limit the potential for deliberate authorial composition. In a way, Heine performatively affirms the proposition that an understanding of the present must pass through the understanding of the past, yet he stages this proposition through a stance of coming after, coming after as a stance both toward the historical past and toward a set of texts written at different present moments.[54] One might be well inspired to deconstruct Heine's various dichotomies – past versus present, fleeting versus permanent, journalistic versus philosophical, impartial versus partisan, etc. – but it seems clear that Heine himself uses the anthology format to destabilize these categories. That said, in subsequent twentieth-century critical editions of *Französische Zustände*, we can find a

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51 Heine, "Tagesberichte," in *Französische Zustände*, 288–289.

52 "It should be noted that in this case Heine was one of the best-informed eyewitnesses. No French account can do without him." Klaus Deinet, "Heinrich Heine und Frankreich – eine Neueinordnung," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 32.1 (2007): 141.

53 "The theoretical-philosophical excursus announced in the preliminary remark [Vorbemerkung] is therefore entirely unorthodoxly delivered after the fact in the 'Beylage zu Artikel VI.'" Zantop, *Zeitbilder*, 101.

54 On Heine's modeling of retrospection, or "Nachträglichkeit," see Michael Gamper, *Der große Mann: Geschichte eines politischen Phantasmas* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016), 217–218.

countervailing impulse to impose narrative continuity onto these articles and to soften the compositional effects of self-interruption and delay. In a perhaps minor yet nonetheless remarkable editorial overreach, the editors of the authoritative *Düsseldorfer Heine-Ausgabe* put the fragmentary "Beylage" in between "Artikel VI" and "Artikel VII," stating that it was "senselessly" placed amid the "Tagesberichte."[55] The editor of the 1961 Aufbau edition places it directly after "Artikel IX" rather than after the prefatory remarks introducing the "Tagesberichte," doing so "in the interest of the clearness and readability of the texts."[56] While seemingly benign at first glance, such interventions distort the problem of coming after and of the afterlife of given articles, and introduce ideals of "clearness" and "readability" that Heine performatively undermines.

Heine writes the history of the revolution and its aftermath through an ensemble of more and less dissimilar texts. This constructive approach to the writing of historical time is based primarily on medial effects rather than on the work of the philosophical concept or on the sense that history has an organic logic akin to biological life cycles or imitable great actors. Heine models the time of the revolution on the basis of serialized textual operations that depart from the narrative logic of a cohesive, linear epic plot. Heine's serial histories proceed fitfully, in stops and starts, promising all the while that more is to come, both more disruption of the status quo and more opportunity for fragmented critical reflection.

Heine's antiportraiture

I'd like to turn to a second feature of Heine's engagement with serial forms, namely, his representation of historical figures, an important side of his more general presentation of his writings as a series of images. He made a name for himself as a prose author with his four-volume *Reisebilder* anthology (1826–1831), which contains texts originally published in periodicals; his four-volume anthology titled *Der Salon* (1834–1840) similarly gathers disparate writings from journals. In both anthology series, Heine uses the conceit of a collection of multiple images to play different representational media off one another, including academic painting (as in his reviews of the Paris academy exhibitions for the *Morgenblatt für gebildete*

55 "In the book version, this addition senselessly[!] ended up between the *Tagesberichte* and the accompanying *Vorbemerkung*. It was therefore drawn into the article itself." Derré and Giesen, "Apparat" to *Französische Zustände*, DHA, 12.2:860.

56 Gotthard Erler, "Anmerkungen" to *Französische Zustände*, in Heinrich Heine, *Werke und Briefe*, ed. Hans Kaufmann, vol. 4 (Berlin: Aufbau, 1961), 638–639.

Stände collected in *Der Salon*), caricature, public oratory and scholarly lecturing, and early photography.[57] Along with building on the conventions of travel writing and the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century urban tableau tradition (the title of the French translation of *Reisebilder* was *Tableaux de voyage*), Heine likewise engages with the multiple genres tasked with representing specific historical persons. It was quite common to present histories of the present and recent past as portrait galleries, physiognomies, character sketches. *Französische Zustände* and *Lutezia* are organized in part around what Gerhard Höhn calls "portraits of the most important political personalities from the governing camp as well as characterizations of the oppositional parties,"[58] and Heine himself promised his editor that "many portraits" would be mixed into *Lutezia*.[59] Taken as a whole, Heine's writings take on a certain recursive quality, as he returns to previous personalities (Napoleon, La Fayette, Robespierre), artists, or even specific caricatures or paintings such as Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* across multiple texts. The layering of these references generates a cumulative archive of images, metaphors, and scenes that readers come to associate with Heine's body of work and authorial voice.

In the hands of a perennially ironic writer such as Heine, though, the more serious, official side of portraiture quickly comes under scrutiny. Even though his writings feature detailed descriptions of embodied personalities, he casts doubt on the value of writing history solely through the representation of individual actors. As he states in *Französische Zustände*: "In these pages, as in the whole book, one may find many contradictory assertions, but they never concern things, only persons. Our judgment must stand firm on the first, while it may change daily on the latter" (Man wird in diesen Blättern, wie im ganzen Buche, vielen widersprechenden Aeußerungen begegnen, aber sie betreffen nie die Dinge, sondern immer die Personen. Ueber erster muß unser Urtheil feststehen, über letztere darf es täglich wechseln).[60] Heine argues that history is shaped by "things" – "Dinge," "les choses" – rather than people, things here understood as structures, forces, institutions, transnational processes

57 On Heine's representation of historical figures as a kind of medial competition, see Petra McGillen, "Andauernder Effekt: Medienkonkurrenz und Rhetorik in Heinrich Heines Napoleon-Schriften," in *Zwischen Gattungsdisziplin und Gesamtkunstwerk: Literarische Intermedialität 1815–1848*, ed. Stefan Keppler-Tasaki and Wolf Gerhard Schmidt (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 203–221.

58 Gerhard Höhn, *Heine-Handbuch: Zeit, Person, Werk*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler 2004), 287. See also Karlheinz Stierle, *Der Mythos von Paris: Zeichen und Bewusstsein der Stadt* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1993), 309–312. On more general trends at the intersection of history writing and visual culture in Germany, see Katrin Maurer, *Visualizing the Past: The Power of the Image in German Historicism* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013).

59 Heine to Julius Campe, 7 March 1854, HSA, 23:307.

60 Heine, "Tagesberichte," in *Französische Zustände*, 290.

and constellations: "conditions" as in the title. As Peter Uwe Hohendahl puts it, "Heine's publicistic and literary achievement consists of restructuring the function of aspects of the feuilleton – the portrait, the anecdote, the description of milieu – so that the structural processes shine through."[61] This is part of Heine's broader conviction that he writes history after the demise the heroic age and that – rather than individual persons – parties, the people, and the masses are the heroes of the modern age.[62] Here we might add a third challenge for Heine to the two with which I began this essay (the challenge of writing history in fragmentary serial forms, and the challenge of depicting ongoing events such as the revolution): he set out to write the history of impersonal transnational political and cultural structures in part through personal portraits.[63] Portraiture allows him to envision the cumulative effect of multiple, conflicting, heterogeneous images of historical actors. Furthermore, portraits of the same figures allow him to track the ongoing unfolding of time through compositional effects of before and after rather than those of absorption in a single image.

Heine's *Lutezia* is a key place where he develops this kind of history writing. The book's full title reads *Lutezia: Berichte über Politik, Kunst und Volksleben*, and it anthologizes a series of articles he wrote for the *AZ* in the 1840s. Similarly to *Französische Zustände*, the book version of *Lutezia* (published in 1854 in German and in 1855 in French translation) contains a group of numbered main articles varying in length followed by an appendix containing other tangential articles written at around the same time and published in various other papers. At first glance, there is something Hegelian about Heine's project, as he tracks conflicts between different societal and ideological forces, including between the conservative aristocracy,

61 Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Art Evaluation and Reportage: The Aesthetic Theory of the Later Heine," in *The Institution of Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 83–125, 92. See also Höhn, *Heine-Handbuch*, 287–288.

62 On Heine's relativization of greatness, see Ethel Matala de Mazza, "Die fehlende Hauptsache: Exekutionen der Julimonarchie in Heines *Lutezia*," in *Heinrich Heine: Ein Wegbereiter der Moderne*, ed. Paolo Chiarini and Walter Hinderer (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009), 309–328; and Gamper, *Der große Mann*.

63 Even in the case of his 1840 book on Börne, with Börne's name in the title and the many explicitly portrait-like sketches throughout, Heine states that the book is "not actually about Börne [. . .] but instead about the temporal circle in which he first moved" (nicht eigentlich eine Schrift über Börne [. . .], sondern über den Zeitkreis worinn er sich zunächst bewegte). Heine to Julius Campe, 24 July 1840, HSA, 21:371. As Zantop puts it, "In Heine, [. . . historical persons] become representations of specific ideas and condense finally into symbolic figures, into mythological beings lifted out of history." Zantop, "Verschiedenartige Geschichtsschreibung," 53. See also Jacques Voisine, "Heine als Porträtist in der *Lutezia*," in *Internationaler Heine-Kongreß Düsseldorf 1972*, ed. Manfred Windfuhr (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1973), 220–221.

the liberal elites, and the more radical socialist and communist movement, a conflict that Heine describes as the central topic of *Lutezia* in his 1854 introduction.[64] That said, Heine is also interested in the interplay – the "artistic arrangement" as he puts it in the preface – of different textual units as a compositional and conceptual matrix that moves in tandem with historical developments, as well as with the ebb and flow of the medial landscape. As in *Französische Zustände*, Heine wants to represent the revolution's persistence and potential for repetition but this time in the tumultuous era of the 1840s and refracted through the remove of the 1850s. In the process, Heine revised and reorganized more pieces than in *Französische Zustände*, tending to make his reports more satirical and critical.

Heine positively associates his articles in *Lutezia* with modern media, in particular with caricature and early photography. Caricature is a subversive alternative to historical portraiture.[65] Caricatures often distort the appearance of important contemporaries (in *Französische Zustände*, for example, Heine discusses the famous satirical images of the French king as a pear), but they also shed light on broader social and political trends by not accepting self-serious representation at face value. Heine's work with caricature is part of his broader engagement with small forms such as physiognomies, urban sketches, and political chansons[66] that engage in the partisan skirmishes of the day and that are closely linked to the rhythms of serial formats, including the illustrated press, which rose to prominence in the 1830s.[67] Caricature depends on a witty, disjointed succession of images, favors recursive mutation over iconic representation, and was permanently banished to the base of the hierarchy of academic art forms, atop which historical portraiture continued to

64 Heine, "Zueigungsbrief," in *Lutezia*, pt. 1, x–xi.

65 On Heine's engagement with history panting, see Zantop, *Zeitbilder*, 63. On caricature, see Günter Oesterle and Ingrid Oesterle, "'Gegenfüßler des Ideals' – Prozeßgestalt der Kunst – 'Mémoire processive' der Geschichte: Zur ästhetischen Fragwürdigkeit von Karikatur seit dem 18. Jahrhundert," in *"Nervöse Auffangsorgane des inneren und äußeren Lebens": Karikaturen*, ed. Klaus Herding and Günter Otto (Gießen: Anabas, 1980), 87–130; see also, more recently, Angela Borchert, "Zeichnungs-, Schreib- und Druckszenen in französischen und deutschen illustrierten Satire-Journalen (1830–1848)," in "Periodical Literature in the Nineteenth Century," ed. Vance Byrd and Sean Franzel, thematic issue, *Colloquia Germanica* 49.2–3 (2016): 201–234.

66 On the significance of the small form in the nineteenth century (and for Heine in particular), see Ethel Matala de Mazza, *Der populäre Pakt: Verhandlungen der Moderne zwischen Operette und Feuilleton* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2018); see also Martina Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century: European Journalism and Its Physiologies, 1830–50* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

67 See Patricia Mainardi, *Another World: Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Print Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

stand tall.[68] Heine's commitment to caricature as a serial form is on display in what is perhaps the most well-known and enigmatic section of the German preface to *Lutezia*, where Heine casts the 1854 publication as a gallery of photographic images, taking up once more the tension between people and things:

> Um die betrübsamen Berichterstattungen zu erheitern, verwob ich sie mit Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Kunst und der Wissenschaft, aus den Tanzsälen der guten und der schlechten Societät, und wenn ich [. . .] manche allzunärrische Virtuosenfratze gezeichnet, so geschah es [. . .] um das Bild der Zeit selbst in seinen kleinsten Nüancen zu liefern. Ein ehrliches Daguerreotyp muß eine Fliege eben so gut wie das stolzeste Pferd treu wiedergeben, und meine Berichte sind ein daguerreotypisches Geschichtsbuch, worin jeder Tag sich selber abconterfeite, und durch die Zusammenstellung solcher Bilder hat der ordnende Geist des Künstlers ein Werk geliefert, worin das Dargestellte seine Treue authentisch durch sich selbst documentirt.
>
> To lighten up the doleful reports I wove in sketches from the realm of art and science, from the dance halls of good and bad society, and if I [. . .] sometimes drew all-too-foolish caricatures of *virtuosi*, it was done [. . .] to give a picture of the time in its most minute nuances. A truthful daguerreotype must truly reproduce a fly as accurately as the proudest horse, and my reports are a daguerreotypic history book, in which every day depicts itself, and through the arrangement of such pictures together, the order-giving spirit of the artist has contributed a work in which what is represented authentically documents its fidelity through itself.[69]

On the one hand, Heine suggests that his caricature-like sketches of figures from the arts and sciences are to provide a diversion from his more serious political prognoses, yet these "all-too-foolish caricatures" have a serious core, delivering "a picture of the time in its most minute nuances." If in *Französische Zustände* the auditory realm – "the din of the partisan battle," the cries of his dying neighbor – serves as a figure for the present moment in all its transience, then here Heine invokes the newly invented daguerreotype to authenticate the snapshots of the present that he seeks to capture. Human portraiture was one of early photography's most important and lucrative functions,[70] but Heine states here that his own articles depict individual "days" rather than individual persons: it is each day that depicts itself, copies itself: "sich abconterfeit." As a noun, *Konterfei* means a portrait and has retained this meaning in contemporary usage, but, as in the English, the

68 "The lithographically reproduced sequence of images visualizes, step by step, the poetic process of metamorphosis that ultimately lies at the root of caricature." Helmut Schanze, "Heines Medien," in *Zwischen Gattungsdisziplin und Gesamtkunstwerk: Literarische Intermedialität 1815–1848*, ed. Stefan Keppler-Tasaki and Wolf Gerhard Schmidt (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 387.

69 Heine, "Zueigungsbrief," in *Lutezia*, pt. 1, xiii.

70 Siegbert S. Prawer, "Heine and the Photographers," in *Paintings on the Move: Heine and the Visual Arts*, ed. Susanne Zantop (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 75–90.

verb *konterfeien* suggests the creation of both an authentic or false ("counterfeit") image, both portrait and caricature passing as portraiture. Heine's articles collect images of the times, of "days" into a gallery of sorts, an "arrangement of such pictures" – in effect a gallery of distorted portraits where the day and the times shine through.

Heine has conflicting things to say about photography. He criticizes early photography for deficient, overly mimetic realism along the lines of early nineteenth-century critiques of naturalism, for example, yet he also associates photography more positively with artful caricature.[71] If we grant Heine a commitment to truthful representation and caricature alike, one initial takeaway from this passage might be that the caricature of a person reveals the truth of the time, even of time itself. Paradoxically, these images attain their documentary "fidelity" and force by being placed into relation with other images. What lends individual images their authenticity is the effect of snapshots of the day following on each other – and of the "order-giving spirit of the artist" – and not their stand-alone simulation (or distortion) of presence, of the presence of the present moment. Time, the times, cannot be adequately depicted through a stand-alone image.

The best friseurs: *Lutezia*

Heine's accounts of the lectures of leading French historians serve as a foil for his own mode of history writing. He characterizes these figures through scenes of them engaged in historical characterization and pits his writings for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and other journals against the scene of oral speech and its privileging of embodied presence. This is still an early phase in the development of the discipline of history, and Heine's interest in these figures is also tied up in his concern with the proper mode of historical representation at a transitional moment (an interest he shares with Marx, who likewise addresses French liberal historians in his reckoning with the 1848 Revolution in *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*). In a sense, Heine's accounts of lecturing historians are a form of second-order observation, as he writes about historical actors discussing revolution-era historical actors.

Heine was all too aware that lectures were a key site where the cultural politics of the day were made. Reporting on political and scholarly speeches was a standard feature of the newspapers and literary magazines of the time, and it

71 See Sander L. Gilman, "Heine's Photographs," in Zantop, *Paintings on the Move*, 92–116.

was a staple of Heine's writings from the start of his career.[72] In a way, Heine's commentary on lecturers taps into the all-too standard mode of history writing through the portraiture of great orators (e.g., Thucydides on Pericles). His Parisian writings discuss parliamentary and academic addresses by leading politicians such as Adolphe Thiers and François Guizot; both wrote and lectured on the history of the revolution, as did other historians and philosophers such as Jules Michelet, François Mignet, and Victor Cousin. These figures represented a liberal power block between the aristocracy and clergy and the social movement. For Heine, they were all more or less kindred spirits who embodied the commitment to liberal ideals: he admired and corresponded with them; he drew on their work (especially Thiers and Mignet); for a while, Thiers and Heine both overlapped as correspondents for the *AZ*.[73] However, even people to whom Heine was well disposed had trouble evading his satirical gaze. Heine's spoofing of the scene of the lecture hall in particular contains a salient historiographical takeaway, for his use of multiple print formats produces different kinds of textual and temporal effects than those available to public oratory.

Over the course of *Lutezia*, Heine attends three different festive speeches at the Académie française by Mignet, the head of the academy at the time, the secretary for life, or "*secrétaire perpetuel*"; Heine knew Mignet well, corresponded with him, and even sent him first versions of the articles on his addresses. Like Thiers, Mignet was both a statesman and a historian, and he rose to public prominence as a writer and journalist and wrote an important history of the revolution.[74] Heine reports positively on these meetings in various articles and drafts in the 1840s: in Mignet's voice one hears "the voice of the history writer, of the true head of Clio's archives" (die Stimme des Geschichtschreibers, des wirklichen Chefs von Klio's Archiven),[75] and he has command of the topic of the revolution,[76]

72 See Helen Ferstenberg, "Heinrich Heine und George Canning," *Heine-Jahrbuch* 35 (1996): 113–127.

73 Deinet calls Thiers and Mignet Heine's "sources," and he refers to Thiers's work as the "great treasure trove for all friends of the revolution." Deinet, "Heinrich Heine und Frankreich," 131, 130, respectively.

74 In the final installment, Heine signals that this has been a recurring topic in his reports. "Every year I regularly attend the ceremonial session in the rotunda of the Palais Mazarin" (Alle Jahre besuche ich regelmäßig die feyerliche Sitzung in der Rotunde des Palais Mazarin). Heine, "Artikel LXI," in *Lutezia*, pt. 2, 197. On the convoluted genesis of this article, see the "Apparat" compiled by Volkmar Hansen in DHA, 14.2:932–933.

75 Heine, "Artikel XXXV," in *Lutezia*, pt. 1, 263.

76 "Here the history writer of the revolution was at home in his own field and could let the great fountain of his mind run free" (Der Geschichtsschreiber der Revolution [befand sich] hier auf seinem eigenthümlichen Felde und [konnte] gleichsam die großen Springbrunnen seines

but Heine also suggests that Mignet remains very much the academic.[77] The final main article in *Lutezia* is a reworked version of several of these earlier pieces, and it is a culminating moment, both of Heine's reports on the Académie française and of the main body of the book, and I will return to the piece's placement in the book version shortly.

As in Mignet's previous speeches reported on by Heine, the topic of his lecture is a recently deceased revolutionary-era statesman and historian, in this case a figure named Pierre Daunou.[78] In the reworked book version, Heine is quick to pounce on Mignet's title, suggesting parallels between Mignet's youthful appearance and the permanence of his position. Indeed, as Heine remarks in a passage added to the book version, Mignet shares the "eternity" of his office with King Louis Philippe.[79] Mignet's office is perhaps a relic of an earlier prerevolutionary epoch, but in contrast to the king, who is "unfortunately already very advanced in age" (leider schon hochbejahrt), Mignet

> [I]st noch jung, oder, was noch besser, er ist der Typus der Jugendlichkeit selbst, er bleibt verschont von der Hand der Zeit, die uns andern die Haare weiß färbt, wo nicht gar ausrauft, und die Stirne so häßlich fältelt: der schöne Mignet trägt noch seine goldlockichte Frisur wie vor zwölf Jahren, und sein Antlitz ist noch immer blühend wie das der Olympier. [. . .] Er kommt mir in solchen Momenten immer vor wie ein Hirt, der seine Heerde mustert. Sie gehören ihm ja alle, ihm, dem Perpetuellen, der sie alle überleben und sie früh oder spät in seinen *Précis historiques* seciren und einbalsamiren wird.

> is still young, or what is better, he is the epitome of youth itself; he has been spared by the hand of time, who paints the rest of our hair white if he does not pull it out altogether, and wrinkles up our brows in many a hateful fold; the beautiful Mignet still bears his gold-locked hairdo as he did twelve years ago, and his face is always as fresh as that of the Olympians. [. . .] In these moments he looks to me like a shepherd reviewing his sheep. They all belong to him, to him, the perpetual one – who will outlive them all and dissect and embalm them all in his *Précis historiques*.[80]

Geistes spielen lassen). Heinrich Heine, "Kampf und Kämpfer," *Zeitung für die Elegante Welt*, 6 September 1843, 876.

77 "Only in the choice of expressions and in the moderating intonation does the academic's traditional duty to praise manifest itself" (Nur in der Wahl der Ausdrücke und in der mildernden Betonung bekundet sich manchmal die traditionelle Lobpflicht des Akademikers). Heine, "Artikel XXXV," in *Lutezia*, pt. 1, 263. For background on this article, see Hansen, *Heinrich Heines politische Journalistik*, 75.

78 On Heine's engagement with the conventions of the eulogy, see McGillen, "Andauernder Effekt."

79 "[. . .] whose office is an eternal one like the kingdom" (dessen Amt ein ewiges ist, wie das Königthum). Heine, "Artikel LXI," in *Lutezia*, pt. 2, 198.

80 Heine, 198–199.

Mignet's hair seems to defy time, a sign that he will outlive and eulogize his contemporaries as he does Daunou, perhaps even that he will outlive the king, who would go on to die in 1850. Heine retroactively inserts the 1848 collapse of the July Monarchy – its eventual lack of "eternal" permanence – and the subsequent death of the king into the reworked account of this scene from 1843. The trope of eternal youthfulness is decidedly ambivalent, associated with the perpetuation of the ideals of the revolution as epitomized by Daunou and with the perpetuation of prerevolutionary institutions such as the academy. Heine uses the sketch of Mignet to juxtapose temporal tropes that access broader historical developments and that pertain to the "things" and conditions of French society more than to specific individuals.

Relatedly, Heine finds traces of rhetorical conventions from the prerevolutionary era in Mignet's historical discourse:

> Obgleich Mignet seine Reden *Précis historiques* nennt, so sind sie doch noch immer die alten *Eloges*, und es sind noch dieselben Complimente aus der Zeit Ludwigs XIV., nur daß sie jetzt nicht mehr im gepuderten Allongeperrücken stecken, sondern sehr modern frisirt sind.
>
> Even though Mignet calls his speeches *Précis historiques*, they are still just the same old *éloges*, and they are still the same compliments from the time of Louis XIV, except that now they are not set in powdered allonge wigs but instead have modern haircuts.[81]

Mignet's historical method creates the effect of the past becoming present through the evocation of past personalities, drawing on an earlier genre of scholarly commemoration based in the mimetic ideal of history as the teacher of life.[82] The continuity of scholarly self-valorization across historical epochs – a continuity bordering on the timelessness aspired to by the humanistic ideal of the eloquent scholar – almost becomes a limitation, for it neutralizes the disruptive power of the revolution, despite its being the very topic of the lecture.

Heine continues his riff on wigs and hairstyles, on youth and age, as he construes the eulogy as a mode of preserving influential historical persons for posterity, both by figurally bringing them back to life and embalming them:

> Und der jetztige Secretaire perpetuel der Academie ist einer der größten Friseure unserer Zeit, und besitzt den rechten Schick für dieses edle Gewerbe. Selbst wenn an einem Menschen kein einzigs gutes Haar ist, weiß er ihm doch einige Löckchen des Lobes anzukräuseln und den Kahlkopf unter dem Toupet der Phrase zu verbergen. Wie glücklich sind doch

81 Heine, 201–202.

82 On the eighteenth century eloge as a model of scholarly commemoration that does not separate the "scholar" and "man," see Georges Canguilhem, "Fontenelle, philosophe et historien des sciences," in *Études d'histoire et de philosophie des sciences* (Paris: Libraire philosophique J. Vrin, 1968), 51–58.

> diese französischen Akademiker! Da sitzen sie in süßesten Seelenfrieden auf ihren sichern Bänken, und sie können ruhig sterben, denn sie wissen, wie bedenklich auch ihre Handlungen gewesen, so wird sie doch der gute Mignet nach ihrem Tode rühmen und preisen. Unter den Palmen seines Wortes, die ewig grün wie die seiner Uniform, eingelullt vom dem Geplätscher der oratorischen Antithesen, lagern sie hier in der Academie wie in einer kühlen Oase. Die Karawane der Menschheit aber schreitet ihnen zuweilen vorüber, ohne daß sie es merkten, oder etwas anders vernahmen als das Geklingel der Kameele.
>
> And the present *secrétaire perpetuel* of the Academy is one of the greatest *friseurs* of our time, and has the right *chicque* for this noble trade. Even when there is not a good hair on a man, he knows how to curl for him a few locks of laudation, and hide his bald head under a wig of praise. How happy are these French Academicians! There they sit in the sweetest peace of soul on their safe benches, and they can die in peace, for they know that however doubtful their deeds may have been in life, the good Mignet will laud and praise them after death. Under the palm-trees of his word, which are evergreen as his uniform, lulled by the plashing of his oratorical antitheses, they rest in the Academy as in a cool oasis. The caravan of humanity passes by them ever and anon, without their noting it, or anything save the ringing of the camels' bells.[83]

Heine casts historical characterization as a kind of work on the appearance of the face and head: once more we are in striking distance of the portrait, the profile, the daguerreotype. But the metaphor then shifts from hairdresser to undertaker, as the historian prepares the bodies of the dead. Heine imagines the audience members (of which he is a part) almost dead, emerging back out of their graves through the historian's words. This passage encapsulates both Heine's slightly envious fascination with academic historians and his antipathy to them. The revival of the rhetoric of the ancien régime, the traditionalist timelessness of reliving the deeds of the past, becomes a strike against Mignet. These scholars' naïve preservation of the rhetorical tradition is set into relief by the contrast between the quiet halls of the academy and the world passing by on the outside. Whether they perceive it or not, the events outside on the boulevards explode the rhetoricians' self-satisfied self-embalming as a viable historical model. Perpetuity then flips over into its opposite: by seeking to be eternal, the scholarly eulogy takes on a fleeting quality; it is a historiographical activity with no real staying power, the sign of a particular historical constellation that will end in death, that will be *aufgehoben*, to speak with Hegel. Heine does the historical work of seeing the ephemerality of this scene, work that Mignet cannot do.

83 Heine, "Artikel LXI," in *Lutezia*, pt. 2, 202; Heine, "Letter LIV," in *Lutetia*, vol. 2 of *French Affairs: Letters from Paris*, vol. 8 of *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, trans. Charles Godfrey Leland (London: William Heinemann, 1893), 446–447.

Heine positions himself at the threshold between inside and outside, between timelessness and eventfulness. While Mignet's "orational antitheses" simply calm his listeners to sleep, even into a sweet, dreamlike death, the antitheses created by Heine's serial, temporal modes of writing are to have the opposite effect, creating an awareness of time that can help readers resist the temptation to reduce the present moment and world history alike to the repetitive, empty tinkling of bells. Heine's commentary on personal presence explores how multiple temporalities are refracted through given events rather than how such temporalities construct any notion of charismatic personality. And yet Heine faces the paradoxical challenge of telling history through individual persons who are not themselves the primary subjects of history. This is where his ironic critiques of historical portraiture and of the rhetorical model of the embodied speaker converge. Just as the rhetorical model of recurrent, repeatable historical topoi dissolved in the wake of the French Revolution, so too does Heine dissolve the rhetorical model of embodied personality, not least by investing certain tropes – life and death, dynamism and stasis – with contradictory meanings. Nonetheless, the scene of rhetorical performance remains instructive to him as a site both to register broader historical forces and to model different kinds of encounters with multiple historical temporalities.

This brings us back to the question of format and republication: this article's placement in *Lutezia* is significant, for it functions both as a conclusion and as a transition to a subsequent set of texts. In a collection so concerned with ends and beginnings, this is the final article in the main section. Following this passage that ends with "the ringing of the camels' bells" is an extensive appendix containing other articles not included in the main article series for the *AZ*. This appendix opens with a longer article titled "Communismus, Philosophie und Clerisei," which distills down the main political ideologies of the day – the radical social movement, the bourgeois liberalism of the academy, and the conservative, religious reaction. This article is largely based on a piece that was first published in installments in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, after having been turned down by the editors of the *AZ* as being too political, and in its original form, it included some of the material on Mignet's eulogy of Daunou that was incorporated into "Artikel LXI" of the book version. In the original article for the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* as well as in the book version, Heine considers communism as a central social force. As Heine notes in his prefaces to the German and French book versions, he was forced to remain oblique about the social movement in the original articles for the *AZ*, even though his conviction that the future belongs above all to the "socialists, or, to call the monster by its true name, the communists" (socialistes, ou, pour nomme le monster par son vrai nom, les communistes) runs as

a red thread through all the articles.[84] In effect, Heine's inclusion of this piece after the reworked account of Mignet, at this key moment of transition, is an implicit provocation: What are the academicians missing when they mistake the din outside the lecture hall for tinkling bells? The answer is given by the very first word of the supplemental article's title: "communism." The format of book publication allows Heine to stage the continuation of the article series that breaks off with the portrait of Mignet, as the very format constructs an outside to the lecture hall. Heine writes the after that Mignet cannot see; he writes a future of possible communist revolution in a mode of prophetic prediction, but also as a textual effect that conditions the medial logics of portraiture and of oral eulogy. In 1854, Heine offers readers a continuation of his sketch of the academy that departs from the medial and institutional logic of the lecture and that presents an altogether different historical takeaway regarding the past, present, and future of the revolution.

Seriality functions as a central formal condition of these pieces, both in their original article formats and under the new medial and historical circumstances of the book versions. The project of republishing these previous articles is in its own right a "historiographically ambitious undertaking," as Ethel Matala de Mazza has rightly put it,[85] and it is also an intervention with strong medial implications, as Heine embraces the constraints as well as the potential of serial formats to model how the revolution can break into and interrupt the present. Through serial form, Heine models the abstract truth and logic that unexpected things come "after," and he uses print media to model this coming after, rather than solely tracking the necessary movement of the concept or engaging in a materialist analysis of social conflict. Even if from a macroperspective, Heine might share a certain belief in the necessity of a coming revolution with the likes of Marx, he nonetheless writes the revolution's future through the media time of before and after. Engaging with competing models of memorializing the revolution and its ongoing relevance, Heine's histories of the revolution in the 1830s, 40s, and 50s stage the revolution as something that can come both before and after as part of an ever-shifting series of events, actors, and medial representations.

84 Heine, "Préface" [French version] to *Lutèce: Lettres sur la vie politique, artistique et sociale de la France*, in DHA, 13.1:166. See also Höhn, "Heine's Conception of History after 1848," 182.
85 Matala de Mazza, "Die fehlende Hauptsache," 310.

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