An Holistic Study of Structural Issues in Heine's *Romanzero*

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Abstract

An holistic approach to *Romanzero* explores both the interconnectedness of individual parts and the significance of arrangement at the level of the single poem. Working primarily with the grain of this dialectic structure, it acknowledges the potential integrity of the collection as a whole, yet recognises the interdependence of its parts.

Chapter One posits an overall structure of continuity, innovation and enigma. Within these parameters the suitability of structural approaches adopted by recent Heine scholars is debated, ranging from *Zyklen, Tryptichon* and *Sequenzen.* Cultural crisis, artistic and historical rootlessness are seen as a continuum in 'Historien'. In 'Lamentazionen' these are traced as a personal Jewish lament, having formal and thematic roots in Heine's past poetry. 'Hebräische Melodien' is considered as a potential resolution to be weighed against its ambivalent conclusion and the fragmentary status of 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.

Chapter Two considers the way in which the *Ballade*, *Romanze* and *Zeitgedicht* feed into the structure of *Romanzero.* Although it is necessary to account for Heine's exploration of these sub-genres before their absorption into *Romanzero*, the focus is on the innovative generic structures which evolved as he confronted formal and thematic issues generated by the post 1848 context. Particular issues are the emergence of generic hybrids and the importance of the *Romanzenton.*

Chapter Three grapples with abstract structure posed by 'Jehuda ben Halevy': structure of Jewish memory, coalescence into collective identity, and the restructuring of the poetic persona. Heine's presentation of Halevy is discussed against the background of his Jewish project and the importance of canonical texts to the nineteenth century Jewish writer of *Gedächtniskunst*. A potential agenda within Heine's sources also receives attention. Of importance to the overarching structural debate is the weight to be given to the rediscovery of *Poesie* in the context of disparities emerging in Section Four of 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.

Contents

Introduction

The ceaseless flow of Heine scholarship can be gauged by the 977 entries in Jeffrey Sammons *Selected Critical Bibliography 1956–1980*.[1] Although his supplementary selective list continuing up to 2005 had shrunk to a tenth of this size,[2] such profusion has sometimes resulted in contradictory outcomes. Heine's rise to quasi canonical status has to be weighed against this critical polarisation. Manfred Windfuhr in his essay 'Friedrich Sengles Heinebild und der Stand der Heinediskussion' refers to Sengle's efforts to counteract this trend: 'Das Heinebild soll, so sein Anliegen, nicht in der einen oder der anderen Richtung verflacht werden'.[3] A feature is the imposition of ideological constructs: a tendency which was pronounced during the post war separation of the two Germanies, but which postmodernism has not resolved. A subordination of textual criticism, Heine's world view, and critical methodology runs in parallel with the critic's own particular preoccupations. Jeffrey Sammons summarises these phenomena in his essay 'The Exhaustion of Current Heine Studies'. However, he also reminds us of an irony underlying the relationship between texts by Heine and their critical treatment.: 'It is in his [Heine's] elaborate, ironic, contradictory, in the last analysis, conscientious expression of these stresses that the interest of a Heine seen whole would be located, not in some intact message he is alleged to provide for our time.'[4] This is the challenge. The outcomes of recent years of Heine scholarship catalogued in the two Sammons' bibliographies are its starting point. The adoption of a middle way centred on textual analysis does not imply that the insights of former more polarised debate are any less valid or noteworthy. 'A Heine seen whole' might suggest an holistic approach which I will try to achieve in this study.

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[1] See Jeffrey Sammons, *Heinrich Heine. A Selected Critical Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1982).
[2] See Jeffrey Sammons, *Heinrich Heine. Alternative Perspectives 1985-2005* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2006), pp.277-88.
[3] Manfred Windfuhr, *Rätsel Heine* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997), p.75.
[4] Sammons, 2006, p.64

The further challenge of selecting *Romanzero* as the focus of the dissertation is apparent when considering the paradoxical extremes criticism has followed. As a counter strategy to Marxist criticism within the GDR, a political debate was joined in BRD as to whether or not *Romanzero* argued a case for Heine's retention of his liberal and emancipatory political ideals post 1848. Paradoxical lines of interpretation emerge from the poetic discourse: the *Romantikwendung* or *Abwendung* of Romanticism, the claims of Post-Romanticism and Modernity. A similar critical pattern is to be found in an Hegelian reading of the philosophical discourse[5] or a contrary deconstruction.[6] It is replicated in the treatment of historical and formal issues, in rival claims for the identification of cyclical and non-cyclical structures. It divides those who can trace a thread of poetic integrity within Heine's poetic output,[7] and those who prefer to see an impasse post 1848.[8]

Common to some of these contrary angles of exploration in *Romanzero* is the issue of structure: structure the central core of this study. Structure is the glue which knits together intermeshing discourses, whether poetical, philosophical, historical or religious. Structure has been delineated by metaphorical analogy, determined by philosophical readings, or related to historiographical patterns. Closed structural approaches have yielded challenging insights, but have also been particularly susceptible to the 'Antinomien' identified by Sengle.[9]

Since the structural dynamic cuts across the many different axes of the work identified above, it has been chosen as the preferred line of exploration in this dissertation. As such it will be explored within three different contexts within each separate chapter.

Chapter One focuses on the general structural orientation of the work. Two particular issues emerge from the research relating to the structure debate: the relevance of triadic structure, and the usefulness of cyclical structure as a descriptor. Both will be tested in this study. The

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[5] See Jean-Pierre Lefebvre, 'Nachwort', in *Heinrich Heine Romanzero,* ed. by Berndt Kortländer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997), pp. 286-87.
[6] See Ortwin Lämke, 'Küsse – Dichter – Helden – Schüsse: Über Motivketten und Chiffren in Heines *Romanzero*', *HJb,* 43 (2004), 31-44 (p.36).
[7] See Roger Cook, *By the Rivers of Babylon* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1998), p.35.
[8] See Wolfgang Preisendanz, *Heinrich Heine. Werkstrukturen und Epochenbezüge* (München: Fink, 1983), p.114.
[9] See footnote 3.

triadic structure of *Romanzero* has been a controversial subject throughout the twentieth century since Oskar Walzel's Heine edition of 1915.[10] It received further attention when research into Heine's later poetry gained a fresh impetus from the 1970s onwards. Helmut Koopmann's structural observations introduced the 'Triptychon' metaphor into the debate.[11] Also in the seventies scholars led by Dolf Sternberger[12] and Markus Windfuhr[13] questioned Heine's apparent renunciation of Hegel post 1848. This became a divisive issue when the Hegelian triad was tested as a working model for the ordering of segments within *Romanzero*. Symptomatic of the Hegelian position are Jean-Pierre Lefebve's 'Anti-Struktur' model: built on three Hegelian moments.[14] Ortwin Lämke's Hegelian reading is less extreme, and restricted to the historical pattern of 'Historien' which he describes as a deconstruction of Hegelian *Weltgeschichte*.[15]

An holistic approach will extrapolate the useful metaphor of the 'Triptychon' whilst moving forward from the entanglement of the Hegelian controversy. More open metaphorical, non-ideological patterns are to be found in Markus Hallensleben's 'Zeit-Triptychon' or 'Zeit-Gewebe'[16] and Roger Cook's 'wall tapestry'.[17] The non-cyclical, temporal perspective introduced by Hallensleben meshes well with Heine's acute awareness of the historical moment, a sense of the significance of the past in relation to living out the present and the future.[18] That the temporal metaphor has proved a tractable one is borne out by more recent research which focuses on Heine's constellation of past / present / future.

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[10] See *Heinrich Heines Sämtliche Werke,* ed. by Oskar Walzel, 10 vols. (Leipzig: Insel, 1910-15), vol.1, p.xlii.
[11] See Helmut Koopmann, 'Heines *Romanzero*: Thematik und Struktur', *ZfdPh,* 97 (1978), 51-70.
[12] See Dolf Sternberger, *Heinrich Heine und die Abschaffung der Sünde* (Hamburg: Classen, 1972).
[13] See Heinrich Heine, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke,* ed. by Manfred Windfuhr im Auftrag der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, vols. 1-14 (Hamburg: 1975-97), DHA, vol. 3.2, p. 973.
[14] See Lefebvre, 1997, pp. 286-7.
[15] See Lämke, 2004, p.36.
[16] See Markus Hallensleben, 'Heines *Romanzero* als Zeit-Triptychon: Jüdische Memorliteratur als intertextuelle Gedächtniskunst', *HJb,* 40 (2001), 79-93 (p.80).
[17] See Cook, p.187.
[18] See DHA, vol.10, p.14: 'indem man die Gegenwart durch die Vergangenheit zu klären sucht, zu gleicher Zeit offenbar wird, wie diese, die Vergangenheit, erst durch jene, die Gegenwart, ihr eigentlichstes Verständniß findet'.

Willi Goetschel discusses Heine as 'Zeitenschriftsteller',[19] whereas Anthony Phelan in his work on *Romanzero* refers to 'archetypes of modernity'.[20] Temporal metaphors arising within recent research are useful descriptors with which to work within an holistic approach when contending with Heine's concept of *Zeit* and his changed historical perspective.

The relevance of cyclical structure is interconnected. If the argument within research has moved on to the perception of *Romanzero* as a poetic structure more open to both the influences of the past,[21] and the uncertainties of the future, then one of the questions to be answered here concerns the relevance of the current cyclical terminology. Both the arrangement of the material within 'Hebräische Melodien', and the historical associations of 'cyclical' need unravelling in this context. Chapter One will examine its relevance to *Romanzero*. This will connect with Dirk Jurgen's 'Sequenzen' model which he developed to describe an emergent non-cyclical structure within Heine's 'Die Nordsee'.[22]

Rather than starting from a given critical angle, the holistic approach works from the present state of Heine scholarship towards a detailed textual analysis of individual poems, their arrangement within a portion of text, their relation to the segment in which they are placed, and its place within an intermeshing poetic discourse, be it an individual collection, or the structure of Heine's work as a whole. To differentiate from the cyclical approach in this discussion *Romanzero* will not be referred to as a cycle, but as the 'collection'; the three components as 'segments' or 'sections'.

Karl-Josef Kuschel's contribution to the way Heine approached sacred Jewish texts is a useful recent insight in the context of structural analysis.[23] The link he makes between 'Lamentazionen' and Jeremiah's *Klagelieder* cuts across the Job / Jeremiah distinction raised

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[19] See Willi Goetschel, 'Nightingales instead of Owls: Heine's Joyous Philosophy', in *'A Companion to the Works of Heinrich Heine',* ed. by Roger Cook (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2002; repr. 2010), pp. 139-168.

[20] See Anthony Phelan, *Reading Heinrich Heine* (Cambridge: University Press, 2007), pp.209-41.

[21] See Cook*, 1998, p.35.

[22] See Dirk Jürgens. '"Im unbefriedeten Ganzen". Zyklen und Sequenzen in der Restorationszeit', in *Naturlyrik. Über Zyklen und Sequenzen im Werk von Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Lenau und Heine,* ed. by Gert Vonhoff (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 9-18.

[23] See Karl-Josef Kuschel, *Gottes grausamer Spaß? Heinrich Heines Leben mit der Katastrophe* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2003), pp.153-4.

by Windfuhr.[24] The consequent enhancement of the Jeremiah motif, for which Kuschel's

reading argues, will be taken forward into Chapter Three in the context of 'Jehuda ben

Halevy' and the historical Jewish *Klageton.* Kuschel also highlights the musical structure of

'Hebräische Melodien'. Part of the structural analysis of Chapter One will explore the role of

Jewish song.

Chapter Two continues to work on the structural plane, but focuses on formal issues arising

from Heine's development of the sub-genres: *Ballade, Romanze, Zeitgedicht.* Owing to its

density it is only possible to engage with research concerning the general characteristics of

these genres specific to Heine's development and their re-appropriation in *Romanzero.* It is

noticeable that Heine research related to generic structure is largely restricted to the decades

of rapid expansion of Heine studies in the BRD: the 1970s and 1980s. Although the *Heine*

Kolloquium of 2002 initiated a fresh wave of research into *Romanzero,* generic issues were

not prominent on the agenda. Chapter One considers *Romanzero* as a more loosely structured

work, open to the flow of the past and the future. Equally there is an argument in this chapter

for opening up further consideration of a parallel, contingent flow in the loosening and

reconfiguration of generic structure within the collection. As its focus will principally be on a

close reading of strategic poems, it is also in line with the overall theme of an holistic

treatment.

Michael Perraudin's study of *Buch der Lieder* is useful in foreshadowing the direction of

Heine's engagement with the *Ballade.* Perraudin contextualises Heine's inheritance of the

Volksballade and the conflicting currents of imitation, conformity, dissonance and

experimentation shaping his treatment of the *Kunstballade.*[25] Walter Hinck's wide ranging

comparative study of the *Ballade* in which he differentiates between 'nordische' and

'legendenhafte' *Balladen* proves a double-edged sword.[26] It appears to be helpful in

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[24] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.723.

[25] See Michael Perraudin, *Heinrich Heine. Poetry in Context. A Study of Buch der Lieder* (Oxford: Berg, 1999).

[26] See Walter Hinck, *Die deutsche Ballade von Bürger bis Brecht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968).

identifying tendencies such as the *Gespensterballade* and *Ritterballade* associated with the
Nordic tradition with which selected Heine poems converge, or from which they ironically
diverge. The application of 'legendenhaft' within the context of Heine's historical pessimism
in *Romanzero* may not be such a clear-cut issue. Attempts to further define the remit of the
Ballade form are more difficult to reconcile with the spirit of the collection. Despite its
historical context, Georg Kayser's history of the German *Ballade* pinpointed perennial issues
which arise in Heine's development of the sub-genre.[27] His observations concerning the
precedence to be given to the author's fashioning of material over generic structures, the
closed nature of narrative structure and the dynamics of presentation: all proved to be areas
for exploration within this chapter. Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer's consideration of the *Politische
Ballade* brings together aesthetic and political concerns, concerns which are taken forward in
the dissertation in the discussion of 'hybrid' poems. Although Bayerdörfer's analysis of Carl
1[28] is exhaustive, further instances of the political remit of restructured balladesque material
need to be introduced.

The extent to which the *Romanze* is treated as a discrete genre appears to have suffered from
interchangeable terminology placing it alongside the *Ballade* in the nineteenth century.
Reference is made to Hanne Reck's detailed account of Heine's development of the
Spanische Romanze in which she highlights its formal intricacies and evocative precision.[29]
Fewer references have been discovered in the research which trace the way the *Romanze*
tendency moves alongside the *Spanische Romanze* into wider, looser channels of the
Romanzenton. In this chapter consideration will be given to instances in which this
Romanzenton permeates and works within remnants of the *Ballade.*

The *Vormärz / Nachmärz* axis cuts across much of the discussion of the *Zeitgedicht.* Peter
Hasubek's differentiation of the *Zeitgedicht* from *Tendenzdichtung* is a starting point. His

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[27] See Georg Kayser, *Geschichte der deutschen Ballade* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1943).
[28] See Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer, 'Politische Balladen. Zu den "Historien" in Heines *Romanzero*', *DVjS*,
46 (1972), 435-68.
[29] See Hanne Reck, *Die spanische Romanze im Werke Heinrich Heines* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang,
1987).

emphasis in the article 'Heinrich Heines Zeitgedichte' on the 'zeitbedingt' nature of the

material: that is its relationship to Heine's time, holds good for the cluster of poems written

pre 1848.[30] However, there is an argument for reconsidering the relevance of this term within

the wider historical perspective of *Romanzero* and in the 'Historien' in particular. The last

section of the chapter will present a comparative argument for a pattern of restructuring

between *Vor-* and *Nachmärz Zeitgedichte*. The significance of interconnection is stressed in

an article by Christian Liedtke.[31] Rather than being *zeitbedingt*, it is argued in this study that

the perspective of time and generic interaction moves forward within *Romanzero* into a

broader generically hybrid, historical spectrum of *Zeitengedichte.* These poems open up an

enormous gamut of historical and cultural diversity and are again indicative of Heine's

historical perspective post 1848: a re-emphasis on reading the present with reference to the

past.[32]

 In Chapter Three the theme of *Zeit* and the process of restructuring are significant in a

different context. Heine's changed historical perspective post 1848 is examined with

reference to the Jewish concept of collective memory. Following on from his 'Zeit-

Tryptichon' pattern, Hallensleben draws an analogy between 'Hebräische Melodien' and

'Erinnerungsschriften' in the context of Jewish 'Gedächtniskunst'.[33] Heine's Jewish texts

function in their configuration of past, present and future time like *Selichot.* This idea is

enlarged upon in the chapter where it is related to canonical text as a trigger for collective

memory within 'Jehuda ben Halevy'. Both Wolfgang Preisendanz[34] and Ruth Wolf[35]

comment on the nature of Heine's evocation of Halevy from collective memory.

Preisendanz's emphasis on a mnemonic process is taken as a starting point in the chapter for

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[30] See Peter Hasubek, 'Heinrich Heine's Zeitgedichte', *ZfdPh,* 91 (1997), 23-46.
[31] Christian Liedtke, '"Ich kann ertragen kaum den Duft der Sieger". Zur politischen Dichtung Heinrich Heines nach 1848', in *Heinrich Heine. Neue Wege der Forschung,* ed. by Christian Liedtke (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), pp.216-37.
[32] See footnote 18.
[33] See Hallensleben, 2001, p.86.
[34] See Wolfgang Preisendanz, 'Memoria als Dimension lyrischer Selbstrepräsentation in Heines *Jehuda ben Halevy',* in *Memoria, Vergessen und Erinnern,* ed. by Anselm Haverkamp and others (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1993), pp.338-58.
[35] See Ruth Wolf, 'Versuch über Heines "Jehuda ben Halevy"', *HJb,* 18 (1979), 84-98.

an analysis of the overall structure of the sonic effect of the remnants of psalmodic text.

However, Wolf's interpretation is psychological: focussing on potential tension between

Halevy and the poetic persona.

The dynamic of the re-appropriation of Jewish tradition by modern Jewish writers is treated in

detail by Bernd Witte.[36] Karlheinz Fingerhut's particular treatment of this theme focusses

more specifically on the Spanish / Jewish nexus where he speaks of a process of 'translatio'.[37]

Textual examples of the process of cultural translation from the world of Halevy into a

nineteenth-century literary medium will be selected and developed.

Two particular issues will receive further scrutiny: firstly, Wolf's suggestion that *Romanzero*

marked the resumption of an abandoned Jewish project; secondly, the rationale behind

Heine's selective treatment of the Sach's source will be placed in the context of the poet's

highly complex relationship to his figure of Halevy.

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[36] See Bernd Witte, *Jüdische Tradition und literarische Moderne* (München: Hanser, 2007).
[37] See Karlheinz Fingerhut, 'Spanische Spiegel. Heinrich Heines Verwendung spanischer Geschichte und Literatur zur Selbstreflexion des Juden und des Dichters', *HJb*, 31 (1992), 106-36 (p.128).

Romanzero, an enigmatic structure of continuity and innovation

An evaluation of structure is crucial to an holistic appreciation of *Romanzero* and will primarily focus on the strategic configuration of the work's three principle segments: 'Historien'*,* 'Lamentazionen' and 'Hebräische Melodien'. As stated in the Introduction, it inevitably includes in its terms of reference thematic and formal arrangements within the text.[38] Also bearing in mind Heine's reference to *Romanzero* as his 'dritte Säule',[39] a further point of orientation is the work's relationship to the structure of Heine's earlier lyrical output. 1789, 1830 and 1848 are three revolutionary milestones spanning the trajectory of Heine's historical, and artistic perspective. In 1829 the writer's awareness of the *Zeitgeist* was direct and programmatic: 'Was ist aber diese große Aufgabe unserer Zeit? Es ist die Emancipation',[40] at other times it was less precise, and enigmatic. The poetry of *Romanzero* and its manner of construction almost certainly fall within the latter category. 1848 was a crisis point in the historical trajectory. It is to *Romanzero* that one must turn to gauge its impact on the way Heine structured his world historically, philosophically and artistically. The hegemonic fragmentation marked by the *Wiener Kongress* in 1815 was reflected in the thirty nine competing sovereign states loosely integrated into the Austro-centred *Deutscher Bund*. In the wake of the Restoration this political fragmentation favoured a 'Refeudalisierung' which ran counter to the aspirations for *Bildung* and emancipation of the middle class.[41] The Restoration offered no inducement towards innovation in literary content or structure, therefore well established cyclical narrative and poetic structures tended to

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[38] See p.7.

[39] Heinrich Heine, *Säkularausgabe der Werke – Briefwechsel - Lebenserzeugnisse,* ed. by Den Nationalen Forschungs-Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur in Weimar und dem Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, vol. 20-8 (Berlin-Paris: 1972-6), HSA, vol.23, letter no.1304, p.52.

[40] DHA, vol.7.1, p.69.

[41] See Brummack, *Heinrich Heine. Epoche – Werk – Wirkung* (Beck: München, 1980), p.32.

remain the norm.[42] Texts with a framework, less likely to disorientate the reader, were to prove more palatable than those breaching formal conventions. Censorship set up as a result of the *Karlsbader Beschlüsse* of 1819 throughout the *Deutscher Bund*, made artistic deviation even less attractive. At the end of the eighteenth-century, Novalis, artist and aristocrat had heralded a new direction: 'nach innen geht der geheiminsvolle Weg'.[43] Yet in his cycle of six poems and prose texts *Hymnen an die Nacht* (1800), initial polarities are reconciled and different elements of private and Christian mythology resolved. At the beginning of the nineteenth-century and coinciding with the *Wiener Kongress*, in his poetic cycle, the *West-Östlicher Divan* (1815), Goethe had explored new geographical and artistic horizons: 'Nord und West und Süd zersplittern, | Throne bersten, Reiche zittern',[44] however, his recently discovered Orient appeared to replace one hierarchical structure with another. Instead of concluding with the expected structural departure, it finished in cohesion and reconciliation of the opposites posited at the beginning: 'Orient und Okzident sind nicht mehr zu trennen'.[45] These and other instances of cyclical structure in works of this period still reflected the observations made by A.W. Schlegel in *Athenaeum*: 'daß in der cyklischen Form Auftritte vorkommen dürfen, die erst durch vorhergehende oder folgende ihre volle Deutung erhalten. Da, wo nicht unabhängige und ausgeführte Werke aufgestellt werden sollen, sondern wo eine Kunst nur einen Theil ihrer Mittel gebraucht, um sich mit einer andern zu verbrüdern, erstreckt sich die Befugniß natürlich noch weiter'.[46] The structure of Heine's collections of poetry, and *Romanzero* in particular, marked a movement away from this prescriptive cyclical norm. 1848 proved to be a point where political, personal and philosophical issues impacted acutely on the already evolving structural pattern of Heine's work.[47]

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[42] See Jürgens, 1998, p.13.

[43] Novalis, 'Blütenstaub Fragment 16', in *Werke in zwei Bänden* (Köln: Könemann, 1996), vol. 2, p.103.

[44] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Der West- östliche Divan', in *Werke,* ed. by E. Trunz, 14 vols. (Hamburg: Wegner, 1962), vol. 2, p.7, ll.1-2.

[45] Goethe, 1962, vol.2, p.121, l.3

[46] August Wilhelm Schlegel, 'Über Zeichnungen zu Gedichten und John Flaxman's Umrisse', *Athenaeum* 2, part 2. (1799), p.202.

[47] See HSA, vol.23, letter no.1402, p.175: 'In demselben Maße wie die Revolution Rückschritte, macht meine Krankheit die ernstlichsten Fortschritte'.

Romanzero as a cyclical, tripartite structure and the argument for 'Sequenzen'

Critical evaluation of the formal characteristics of Heine's three collections of poetry tends to mirror a more traditional terminology which does not always do justice to its transitional structural pattern. In his 'Nachwort' to the Reclam edition of *Neue Gedichte*, Gerhardt Höhn refers to 'Zyklen': 'Die für seine Editionspraxis typische zyklische Komposition fällt bereits an den ersten Einzelveröffentlichungen auf und hält sich bis in die fünfziger Jahre'.[48] He goes on to add that this tendency is best exemplified in both *Buch der Lieder* and *Romanzero*. Similarly Helmut Koopmann rejects any reference to a 'Sammlung': 'Nun scheint allein schon der Begriff der Sammlung hier fehl am Platze, denn wir haben es offenbar mit einer zyklischen Konstruktion zu tun'.[49] Höhn's observation stresses Heine's mastery of editorial arrangement in the assembly of his collections. The question is whether his use of the term *Zyklen*, bearing in mind its past associations with cyclical structure outlined above, is equally apt. Similarly in the *Heine Handbuch* he mentions 'zyklische[r] Arrangements' and 'kompositorische[r] Geschlossenheit'.[50] Taken in isolation this could suggest a rounded, rather than an open or fragmented structure. However, Höhn's other reference to the 'streng rationaler Aufbau des Werkes'[51] is closer to Heine's allusion to *Romanzero* as his 'dritte Säule', an architectonic structure, hewn out of 'gutem Marmor'.[52] If *Romanzero* develops any aspect of the *Zyklen* tradition, it is more likely to be seen in its crafted structure as a complex discursive, yet poetic work. Its progress, not infrequently contradictory, is often enigmatic, but not necessarily cyclical. Writing to Campe in 1852 about his painstaking editorial processes, Heine stresses the artistic unity of the work which he perceived as 'ein harmonisches Ganze'.[53]

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[48] Gerhard Höhn, 'Nachwort', in *Heinrich Heine Neue Gedichte*, ed. by Bernd Kortländer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996), pp.306-10, (p.306).
[49] Koopmann, 1978, p.55.
[50] Gerhard Höhn, *Heine Handbuch*, 3rd edn. (Weimar: Metzler, 2004), p.139.
[51] Höhn, 2004, p.140.
[52] HSA, vol.23, letter no.1304, p.52.
[53] HSA, vol.23, letter no.1444, p.220.

The arrangement of individual poems within a segment or collection was always a punctilious and strategic process. Heine was particularly proud of this aspect of *Romanzero*: 'Sie wissen, ich bin ein grosser Meister in der Anordnung'.[54] It was a uniquely structured collection, unlike *Buch der Lieder* and *Neue Gedichte*, in that it contained as yet unpublished material. Fifty one of the sixty four poems within the work were composed within the short period of 1848-1851; the others having been previously published were reworked into the final collection.[55] Heine's editorial task was even more comprehensive than usual as the new poetry of *Romanzero* had to be assembled piece by piece. A clue as to what Heine might have meant by the harmonious quality of the work appears in a reference in the 'Nachwort' to 'die Einheit der Stimmung'.[56] Although open to interpretation, this is reflected in the historical pessimism and the consistently elegiac tone of all three segments. More dramatic, but indicative of *Romanzero* as a living out of 'Dichterschicksal' (p.153, l.121) is Heine's reference to 'versifizirtes Lebensblut'.[57] It vividly flows throughout the work: in the murders and tyranny of 'Historien'; the martyrdom of the Jewish poets of 'Hebräische Melodien', culminating in the poetic outpourings and sufferings of the narrator in 'Lamentazionen'. His other two references to constituents of unity are more debatable. The predominance of a 'Romanzenton' mentioned in the 'Nachwort' is a matter of judgement (p.177, l.1). This issue will be explored in Chapter Two of the dissertation which focuses on the progression of sub-genres within the work.[58] Amongst other unifying structural factors Heine also alludes to 'Colorit' (p.177, l.20). The relevance of this observation will be examined in the more detailed analysis of the structure of each individual segment.

Arguments for or against a cyclical structure in *Romanzero* should not be drawn exclusively from general statements concerning its macrocosmic structure. Firstly, specific evidence of a discursive and formal kind drawn from within *Romanzero* needs to be taken into account

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[54] HSA, vol.23, letter no.1444, p.221.
[55] See Höhn, 2004, p.134.
[56] DHA, vol.3.1, p.177, l.19. This source will be referred to in the dissertation by page, and at times verse numbers after a quotation.
[57] HSA, vol.22, letter no.1278, p.322.
[58] See p.58.

before attending to anti-cyclical trends in earlier collections. The following two examples are taken from the poetic and religious structural framework of *Romanzero*.

Neither the global historical chaos of 'Historien', nor the more subjective, artistic crisis of 'Lamentazionen' achieve a lasting resolution in 'Hebräische Melodien'. Although the negative verdict of 'Disputationen' ends the collection on a divisive note, 'Jehuda ben Halevy' may momentarily intimate a potential lyrical synthesis. However, the way ahead for the transmission of the vision of this revitalised poetic tradition in the context of modernity is shrouded in ambivalence.The pattern of cultural transmission traced throughout history and symbolised by the cyclical metaphor of the Darius casket can no longer be taken for granted:

> Meine Frau ist nicht zufrieden
> Mit dem vorigen Capitel,
> Ganz besonders in Bezug
> Auf das Kästchen des Darius (p.149, ll.1-4).

The second example juxtaposes two other areas of the work. The 'Nachwort', a further structural complication, works even more strongly against the concept of a rounded cycle. Claims made in this prose text for a reconciliation with God clash with contradictory statements about the narrator's relationship with the divine within the main body of the work. 'Ja, ich bin zurückgekehrt zu Gott, wie der verlorene Sohn, nachdem ich lange Zeit bey den Hegelianern die Schweine gehütet' (p.179, ll.18-20). A textual play with the concept *Umwandlung*,[59] this statement in the 'Nachwort'has a nonchalance which many contemporaries found at best confusing, and at worst unconvincing: 'Er foppt und scherzt, […] rechnet mit Freund und Feind ab und ist in diesem ›Glaubensbekenntnisse‹ doch nur der Heine, den wir bereits kennen, nur ist er potenzirt'.[60] The figure of the Prodigal Son with whom the narrator in the 'Nachwort' seems to indentify, suggests reconciliation for the penitent, but it is at odds with the alienation between God and the 'sinner' in the poetry. 'Rückschau' concludes with the narrator taunting the orthodoxy of resurrection. It appears as an ironic and casual reformulation of a liturgical *dimittis*: 'Lebt wohl! Dort oben, ihr

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[59] See p.86.
[60] DHA, vol.3.2, p.951.

christlichen Brüder, | Ja, das versteht sich, dort sehn wir uns wieder' (p.106, ll.35-6). The 'das versteht sich' is delivered with an ironical dogmatism accompanied by the deviant metrical clumsiness of the above two concluding lines. A long succession of flowing quatrains and rhyming couplets is broken by the ineptitude of the end rhyme of 'Brüder' and 'wieder'. 'Auferstehung', placed in immediate juxtaposition to 'Rückschau', further undermines the assertive 'das versteht sich'. Instead of the divine compassion implied in the 'Nachwort', the God of 'Auferstehung' meets out an indiscriminate rough justice, not unlike that operating in 'Historien': 'Das Böcklein zur Linken, zur rechten das Schaf, | Geschieden sind sie schnelle; | […] | Dem geilen Bock die Hölle!' (p.107, ll.21-2, 24). Both structural and thematic arrangement work against a resolution when an attempt to rhyme 'schnelle' with 'Hölle' echoes the harsh, mechanistic process of judgment. These examples spanning different segments of the work are symptomatic of the overall absence of a rounded, closed cyclical structure. We are left with a structure which is anything but *selbstverständlich*.

The movement of these two lines of argument, the poetic and the religious do not converge. A synthesis constructed within the work unravels at the end; an important prose statement in the 'Nachwort' to which Heine not invariably gives a programmatic function, turns back on itself. This contradictory flow of prose statements vis a vis lyrical expression is a structural feature found elsewhere in Heine.[61] However, a potential resolution remains only in the form of a fragmentary aspiration exemplified by 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.

If the *zyklisch* descriptor proves unsatisfactory, an analysis of the tripartite nature of *Romanzero* might elucidate the overall structure. Heine's own reference to *Romanzero* as his 'dritte Säule' focuses on the potential interconnectedness of his poetic work. As an isolated comment it may or may not suggest progression. However, the threefold allusion has led commentators to postulate other configurations, leading to an exclusive focus on the abstract significance of the number three, or more specifically fuelling extravagant interpretations of the triadic structure. As a result some areas of Heine scholarship have imposed structure from

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[61] Heine is aware of this in 'Vorrede zur dritten Auflage' of *Buch der Lieder*. DHA, vol.1.1, p.15.

without.[62] Such a development has occasionally worked counter to the spirit of the writer's

own ironic comments as in 'Symbolik des Unsinns':

> Da war ein Schneider, der lächelnd sprach,
> Daß gar nicht existire
> Die Nummer Drey, daß sie sich nur
> Befinde auf dem Papiere. [63]

Irrespective of the significance of any ambivalent signals within the body of Heine's work,

the triadic line of investigation has been a preoccupation since Oskar Walzel's observations in

his Heine edition of 1910-1915.[64] More radical projections of this pattern have lead to an

extreme interpretation of the work as an Hegelian triad. This development has tended to

polarise debate over structure into the broader issue of the relevance of Hegelian theory to

Heine's later work as a whole. Amongst these Hegelian commentators, Jean-Pierre Lefebvre,

emphasising the importance of 'Anordnung', uses it to impose an ideological structure: 'Die

Wichtigkeit der Anordnung wächst mit der Überzeugung, daß diesem Buch eine komplexere

ideologische und politische Bedeutung zukommt, die der angebliche Klartext in der Prosa des

erstaunlich langen Nachwortes explizit liefern soll'. [65] He goes on to interpret the three

segments in terms of Hegelian moments: 'Historien' is seen as 'das Allgemeine',

'Lamentazionen' as 'die Besonderheit' negating the former; 'Hebräische Melodien' represent

'die Einzelheit': the whole becomes 'Anti-Struktur' offering no Hegelian synthesis.[66] Still

referring to an Hegelian matrix, Ortwin Lämke sees the work as a deconstruction of Hegel's

Weltgeschichte.[67]

An immediate objection to the above elaborate Hegelian approach is its imposition of

schematic ideology when poetic and thematic content does not necessarily run in that

direction.

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[62] See Jeffrey Sammons, 'Observations on the Gutzkow Revival from the Periphery', in *Karl Gutzkow und seine Zeitgenossen-Beiträge zur Internationalen Konferenz des Editionsprojektes Karl Gutzkow von 7. bis 9. September 2010 in Exeter,* ed. by Gert Vonhoff (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2011) pp.19-51: 'He [Heine] has not been permitted to hold any opinion contrary to our own' (p.22).
[63] DHA, vol.2, p.102, ll.37-40.
[64] See Walzel, 1910-15, vol.i, p.xlii.
[65] Lefebvre, 1997, p.282.
[66] See Lefebvre, 1997, p.286.
[67] See Lämke, 2004, p.36.

 Other scholars have worked more objectively with a tripartite structure. Koopmann is the first to mention the *Triptychon* analogy. He goes on to link the three segments in terms of overall thematic structure, but emphasises the centrality of 'Lamentazionen'. He justifies this on a more literal reading of 'Lamentazionen' in which the central segment 'enthält immer direkte Aussagen Heines und schon das signalisiert seine Bedeutsamkeit'.[68] Such an unqualified identification of the poetic persona in 'Lamentazionen' is not a majority position. Markus Hallensleben posits the triadic structure as a three-layered time tapestry: a 'Zeit-Triptychon', a poetological play with narrative time and historic periods.[69] Scholars, he argues, have largely acknowledged that neither Hegelian nor cyclical historical perspectives are relevant to the late Heine. Hallenslebens's particular contribution is to project *Romanzero* as 'Gedächtniskunst',[70] indicating a new historical perspective enriched by Jewish collective memory. This insightful suggestion will be examined in detail in Chapter Three in the context of Jewish collective memory.

Not altogether unrelated to Hallensleben's time tapestry is Roger Cook's wall tapestry analogy. It offers a more open framework, incorporating an interesting argument for a line of continuity in Heine's poetics from his two earlier collections into *Romanzero*.[71] This is best seen as an interwoven pattern of continuity and innovation, a complex process of restructuring which will be examined in detail in Chapter Two with reference to the evolution of sub-genres, and in Chapter Three in the context of historical memory. Evidence for an ongoing poetical discourse will be weighed when discussing the reworking of material within 'Lamentazionen' later in this chapter.

Ortwin Lämke and Olaf Briese offer complex and ingenious patterns of interpretation when they identify a motivic link between each segment. Lämke focuses on three separate portraits of the artist in each segment: 'Der Apollogott' in 'Historien'*;* the self-portrait in 'Lamentazionen', and 'Jehuda ben Halevy' in the final segment. He analyses the subtle

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[68] Koopmann, 1978, p.56.
[69] See Hallensleben, 2001, p.80
[70] See Hallensleben, 2001, p.82.
[71] See Cook, 1998, p.363.

interchange, and the reflections cast by each of the peripheral figures on the poet in the centre.
By integrating it with the others on each side, the reader receives the complete image as a
reflection of the reflected image seen in a further reflection, viewed through different
geographical and historical layers.[72] Briese, on the other hand, whilst moving beyond the
triadic structure to accommodate his focus on different stations of exile, insists on seeing the
work as a five part structure including the 'Nachwort' and 'Noten'. His rationale is a reading
of the 'Nachwort' as paratext in which his theory of exile is completed. He sees it as no mere
appendage, but an essential part of the overall strategy: the preceding segments present an
earthly exile whilst the 'Nachwort' takes the theme into the realms of an afterlife.[73]

Although many of these conclusions may be confusing and contradictory, whether the work is
read as an Hegelian triad as such, as Lefebvre's 'Anti-Struktur',[74] or seen as a more open
structure as in the case of both Hallensleben [75] and Cook,[76] there is substantial support for
seeing it as a radical departure from established early nineteenth-century cyclical structure.

As early as *Buch der Lieder* there is evidence of a gradual loosening of cyclical patterns. The
individual segments of the collection were re-ordered out of smaller more tightly co-ordinated
groups of poems with an earlier publication date. Whilst in 'Junge Leiden' the original
cyclical order of poems remained largely undisturbed, subsequent segments have fewer
subdivisions and individual poems are designated by number instead of title. In the case of
'Heimkehr' the original large body taken from 'Dreiunddreissig Gedichte' formed two thirds
of the newly ordered text. It is noticeable that the two thematic blocks, treating the sea,
'Heimkehr VII-XIV' and 'Stadt der verlorenen Liebe' ('Heimkehr XV-XXXII') respectively,
are broken up by newly inserted poems, disturbing the progression and gradually toning down
the dramatic effect.[77] These qualities are eclipsed by a more distanced and reflective

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[72] See Lämke, 2004, p.33.
[73] See Olaf Briese, 'Exil auf Erden. Facetten einer Zumutung in Heines Spätwerk', *HJb*, 42 (2003), 14-37 (p.29).
[74] See Lefebvre, 1997, p.286.
[75] See Hallensleben, 2001, p.89.
[76] See Cook, 1998, p.187.
[77] See Kortländer 1996, pp.386-7.

approach, symptomatic of an increasingly ambivalent and uncertain narrative voice: a disenchantment with established social patterns and traditional poetic forms which sought to re-establish the status quo.[78]

Moving on from this early stage of transition, Jürgens (1998) sees 'Die Nordsee' as a more radical departure. Wishing to reformulate the traditional terminology of the cycle, he suggests the model of 'Sequenzen' in which co-relation ('Nebeneinander') is more relevant than subordination ('Unterordnung') and linear form ('Reihe') is more applicable than cyclical structure ('Kreis').[79] This paradigm appears more appropriate to Heine's skilful juxtaposition of material already perceptible in *Buch der Lieder* and its culmination in the interweaving of concurrent discourses to be found in *Romanzero.* Applying his paradigm of 'Sequenzen', Jürgens' analysis of 'Die Nordsee' segment examines the way in which individual poems are integrated. He reveals a complex web of inter-relationship, in which individual poems gain in significance from their contingent constellation ('Nebeneinander'), whilst their individual function is vital to the global narrative ('Reihe'): 'Insofern, nähert sich 'Die Nordsee' einer sequentiellen Struktur, in der das einzelne Gedicht nicht einem in sich geschlossenen, kreisförmig angelegten tektonischen Gebilde untergeordnet ist, sondern durchaus seine eigene Bedeutung hat, die jeweils durch die es umgebenden anderen Einzeltexte erweitert und variiert wird'.[80]

This structural dynamic of 'Sequenzen' enables Jürgens to place 'Die Nordsee' into its context within *Buch der Lieder*. He reads it as a series of ongoing sequences in which the poet engages with the changing role of the *Bürgertum* in an evolving industrial age. The poet is seen as questioning the validity of Romantic poetry in the struggle between an anachronistic social order and new ideologies seeking to redefine the role of authority and the individual.[81] These observations, combined with the contradictory findings of Heine scholarship relating to

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[78] See 'Die Nordsee', Erster Cyklus, DHA, vol.1.1, pp.357-93.
[79] See Jürgens, 1998, p.14.
[80] Jürgens, 1998, 'Der Schiff bruch des Ichs. Heines Nordsee-Cyklen als Teil des *Buchs der Lieder'*, p.127.
[81] See Jürgens, 1998, p.159.

the structure of *Romanzero*, suggest a case for a radically divergent structure in terms of the mainstream cyclic pattern referred to in the introduction. As a line of interpretation it sits comfortably with the overall innovative pattern of Heine's work, his ambiguous position vis-à- vis established literary movements, his claim to be the pioneer of the modern period[82] and his sceptical attitude to any imposed scheme of thought or artistic form.

Jürgens' sequential model, as adumbrated in his analysis of 'Die Nordsee', proved an effective paradigm for mapping the structure of Heine's earlier poetic and historical discourses. It remains to be seen how useful a tool is it for analysing structure in *Romanzero*. Rather than taking the triadic structure as a starting point, and imposing subjective associations and configurations on the individual segments, the structure of each individual segment will be considered in isolation and subsequently related to the whole.

The structure of 'Historien'

Most commentators of 'Historien' are unanimous in identifying the ongoing theme of historical pessimism. However, when it comes to detailed analysis of the configuration of individual poems, groups of poems, themes, geographical and historical settings and stylistic features, discussion tends to be much more subjective. The process of trying to perceive an underlying thematic structure in such diverse historical and geographical material may prove more instructive than the resulting configurations. In the particular context of 'Historien', Lefebvre's descriptor of 'Anti-Struktur', although originally used to define the dissolution of the Hegelian triad, begins to assume a significance beyond its initial remit. The kaleidoscopic 'Weltlauf' (p.105) depicted in 'Historien' shatters the progressive schematic concept of *Weltgeschichte* which appeared to direct Heine's historical perspective before 1848.[83] The resulting global and historical disorientation is acknowledged by Windfuhr: 'Der

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[82] See DHA, vol.15, p.121.
[83] Compare DHA, vol.5, p.770 with HSA, vol.22, letter no.1234, p.287.

Gesamteindruck ist der der Unüberschaubarkeit'.[84] Despite an overall impression of chaotic

fragmentation, the segment is held together by more than abstract historical pessimism. An

anti-heroic, epic dynamic, the unconventional 'Heldenlied' obliquely intimated in the opening

motto, pervades the diverse structure (p.10, l.5). A strategic momentum builds between the

introductory and concluding poems. In 'Rhampsenit' the frivolous treatment of injustice is

apparently no more than a laughing matter in the context of exotic Memphis in Ancient Egypt

(p.11). Whereas, in 'Vitzliputzli', the final poem any sound of laughter has been finally

eclipsed by the barbarous world of Mexico. Here it morphs into the visitation of the grotesque

Vitzliputzli, threatening to spread his barbaric code of blood vengeance from the New World

throughout Europe (p.75, ll.129-33). The symbolic spread of this contamination into the fibre

of 'Lamentazionen' will be discussed in the analysis of that section.[85] As indicated in the

motto poem, betrayal is often the harbinger of injustice: 'Wenn man an dir Verrath geübt,'

(p.10). It is noticeable in the earlier poems that momentary whims of a single despotic ruler,

whether pharaoh or king, are sufficient to initiate a vicious circle of autocratic injustice as

shown by Rhampsenit's (p.13, ll.69-72), the Rhineland Herzog's (p.20, ll.41-4) and König

David's (p.41, ll.17-20) unjust protection of their dynastic interests. However, as the historical

narrative unfolds, tyrannies become more endemic, collective or institutionalised. Corruption

afflicts a whole community in the form of greed and idolatry in 'Das goldene Kalb' (p.40).

In 'Marie Antoinette' the royal *lever*, originally introduced by the *Ancien Regime*, is

satirically portrayed as an empty, anachronistic ritual trotted out to preserve absolute power. It

need only be reinstated at a later date for history to repeat itself (p.28, ll.29-33). In 'Pomare'

the would-be queen dancer is violated as a prostitute by the Parisian mob and finally becomes

a specimen for modern science: 'Und der Carabin mit schmierig | Plumper Hand und

lernbegierig | Deinen schönen Leib zerfezt, | Anatomisch ihn zersetzt –' (p.31, ll.15-18). The

bloodlust commanded by Vitzliputzli is embedded in a communal liturgy (p.73, ll.65-8).

Essentially there is no logical link between these isolated atrocities perpetrated at random in

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[84] DHA, vol.3.1, p.551.
[85] See p.28.

sporadic global locations at different historical periods with ramifications mysteriously

reaching into the mid-nineteenth-century world. Pomare's dance is suddenly subsumed into

Salome's (p.30, ll.9-10); the *lever* of the *Ancien Regime* is still re-enacted by ghosts. Couched

as it is in direct speech and the present tense, König David's order to his son to murder Joab

has a chilling immediacy: 'Und es wird dir leicht gelingen, | Jenen Joab umzubringen' (p.41,

ll.19-20). Although artistic figures suggestive of the poetic persona play a central role in 'Der

Apollogott' and 'Der Dichter Firdusi', first person authorial voice,[86] explanation and

intervention seldom appear in what is largely objective narrative within the 'Historien'. They

are primarilyconcerned with motive, situation and outcome. However, a poignant, and for

'Historien' uncharacteristic intervention, occurs in the second section of 'Pomare' when the

narrator becomes aware of her sensual power as a latter-day Salome: 'Sie tanzt mich rasend –

ich werde toll – ' (p.30, l.13). The apparent withdrawal of the first person voice elsewhere,

together with the aforementioned absence of system and logic in historical, geographical or

philosophical terms, enhances the overall impression of *Unüberschaubarkeit.* However, these

semi-isolated, but collectively contrapuntal historical episodes lay incremental accretions on

the overall mass of global, historical chaos and fit within Jürgens' sequential 'Nebeneinder'

pattern. The strategically placed 'Valkyren' is the archetypal myth around which the whole

historical conglomerate revolves:

> Lorbeerkränze, Siegesbogen!
> Morgen kommt er eingezogen,
> Der den Bessern überwand
> Und gewonnen Leut' und Land (p.21, ll.13-16).

It crystallises the unjust *verkehrte Welt* of heroism central to 'Historien'. The heroic

metaphors in the first line are later unmasked in the more reflective 'Rückschau' in

'Lamentazionen' as 'Visionen, Seifenblasen –' (p.106, l.21), and ironically subsumed into a

lament (p.106, ll.13-36), whilst recourse to mythological and collective memory is later seen

in 'Jehuda ben Halevy' as a way of coming to terms with the present.

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[86] When discussing the role of the poetic persona reference will be made to categories used within
narrative literature.

Lebebvre suggests that individual poems interrelate as pairs.[87] This can be organised on a thematic basis as in 'Rhampsenit'/ 'Schelm von Bergen'. In both instances an established hierarchy is exploited or violated by an imposter who goes onto usurp power in the interests of self-preservation. 'König David' can be linked with 'Marie Antoinette': the smiling complacent face of the corrupt absolute monarch, König David, 'Lächelnd scheidet der Despot' (p.40, l.1), parallels the grotesque smiling aspect of the spectral posterior of Marie Antoinette: 'Lächelt sie mit dem Steiße' (p.29, l.56). There is an implication that the tyranny of biblical Israel, so vividly narrated in the present tense, has continued unabated into the 1850s, when the ghostly action of the latter poem also unfolds as a haunting in present day Paris. The apparent reasons for the re-emergence of a tyrannical regime even in phantom form are also ironically illogical because they stem from the very event which was supposed to reverse the autocratic monarchy: 'Das sind die Folgen der Revoluzion | Und ihrer fatalen Doktrine' (p.28, ll.29-30). A duplication of this interrelation of pairs suggests multiplicity as with the pairing of 'Carl 1' / 'Marie Antoinette' which portray the *Vorgeschichte* and *Nachgeschichte* of executed monarchy overthrown by a revolution. Geographical links can be established between 'Rhampsenit' and 'Der weiße Elefant', both located in the East. 'Der Apollogott' and 'Der Dichter Firdusi' together treat artistic issues: the former focussing on the artist as exile, and the latter discussing the relationship between the artist and authority. Interspersed within the segment are three poems which have a triadic, or in two instances, a quadruple structure: 'Der Appollogott', 'Pomare', 'Der Dichter Firdusi' and 'Vitzliputzli'. The first three poems portray initial ambition, leading to good fortune which results in a fall, followed by reversion to original type. For example 'Pomare' claims to be a queen (p.29, l.4); her skill as a cancan dancer leads her to exercise the same power over men as the legendary Salome (p.30, l.10). Deluded by the power she derives from her quasi royal status, she is finally reduced to the gutter as a courtesan and treated by the Parisians as a commodity (p.31, ll.15-20). The metrical and rhythmic structure of these three poems resembles more closely

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[87] See Lefebvre, 1997, p.288.

the descending spiral of their narrative content than is the case elsewhere when trochaic lines

are arranged into quatrains. 'Der Dichter Firdusi' for example starts in the grand flowing

trochaic manner of the Romantic laureate:

> Lieblingshelden seines Volkes,
> Ritterthaten, Aventüren,
> Zauberwesen und Dämonen,
> Keck umrankt von Mährchenblumen – (p.50, ll.29-32).

Subsequently, the poet becomes another victim of betrayal and dies in penury. In the third

section with his miserable demise in exile, the metrical pattern declines into iambic couplets

resembling *Knittelvers*: 'Zur Stadt hinaus der Leichenzug, | Der den todten Firdusi zu Grabe

trug' (p.55, ll.1-2). The structural rise and fall of these three poems, associated as they are

with the fate of the artist, anticipates the heroic laments of the poet in 'Lamentazionen'.

Although 'Historien' can be read as a poetic statement about incoherence, this does not imply

that it is poetically incoherent; the role of poetry consists as much in disrupting the literary

and social status quo as it does in affirming it. However, if it is to be true to its raison d'être, it

will always prove resistant to specific, schematic structural configurations such as those

postulated above. At best their outcomes are tenuous and slightly unsatisfactory. Yet, this

exercise raises awareness of an underlying contrapuntal structure linking diverse and exotic

material. Such an open structure is in line with Jürgens' findings in his formulation of the

'Sequenzen' matrix already identified in his analysis of 'Die Nordsee'. A common thread or

'Einheit der Stimmung' binding these diverse episodic narratives is their 'Romanzenton'

(p.177): their exotic content, trochaic metre, quatrains and assonantal rhyme scheme which

mask satirical and political undertones. A restrained anti-heroic lament is shot through with

exotic 'Colorit' (p.177, l.20). This is not merely a feature of the historical and geographical

landscape, it is the binding medium. Whilst in *Buch der Lieder* the exotic world had been a

temporary bolt-hole for the poetic imagination in its tussle with the conventional *chiffres* of

early German Romanticism: 'Die alten, bösen Lieder, | Die Träume schlimm und arg',[88] in

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[88] DHA, vol.1.1, p.201, ll.1-2.

'Historien' it is something other than a Romantic *Kulisse*. The remoteness of Ancient Egypt and the grotesquely humorous atmosphere of 'Rhampsenit', 'es lachten / Selbst die Mumien, selbst die Sphynxe' (p.11, ll.6-7), is closely followed by a rich inventory of exotica showered in vain upon Der weiße Elefant (p.14, l.30, p.15, l.65). The separation of Oriental Siam from nineteenth- century Europe is apparent in the final verse when the narrator apologises for the inconclusiveness of his tale: 'das kann ich erzählen | Erst später' (p.19, ll.1-2). Yet this is not the mysterious hidden world of the *Wüsten- und Löwenrittpoesie* of a would-be guru like Freiligrath. Only ostensibly remote, the satirical depths of 'Historien' reach menacingly into the 1850s. The New World of 'Vitzliputzli'is initially deceptive as it appears to offer the poetic persona a temporary respite from the constraints of domesticated German Romanticism:

> Ist kein Kirchhof der Romantik,
> Ist kein alter Scherbenberg
> Von verschimmelten Symbolen
> Und versteinerten Perucken (p.57, ll.13-16).

At the same time its exotic vibrancy conceals intimations and reflections of modernity to be found in a 'Waffelbude' in Rotterdamm or on Regentstreet (p.58, ll.45-9). Finally, the unfamiliar and mysterious merge with the grotesque and in the person of Vitzliputzli return to the reality of Europe in the abrupt transition from Reconquesta Mexico to the *Matrazengruft* of 'Lamentazionen'. Heine's flights of poetic imagination still depended on the interplay of the Romantic tradition and the reality of the modern world.

The structure of 'Lamentazionen'

 In his discussion of the structure and themes in *Romanzero*, Koopmann identifies 'Lamentazionen' as the principle focal point of the work.[89] Without endorsing this prioritisation, it cannot be denied that the physical centrality of 'Lamentazionen' is strategic in forging links between the other two sections. The dramatic foreboding marked by the

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[89] See Koopmann, 1978, p.56.

historical and political pessimism of 'Historien' heralds the immanent visitation of the

grotesque Vitzliputzli from the 'healthy' New World on its 'sick' European oppressors. It is a

haunting legacy which does not seem totally unrelated to the poet's own subsequent

sufferings in 'Lamentazionen'.[90] He becomes another victim in the out-of-joint *Weltlauf* he

has just presented, and is about to lament in the second section of the work. Although in terms

of the broad historical sweep of 'Historien' he is just one more victim of universal

disjointedness, in terms of the more confined, subjective 'Lamentazionen' his role is

essentially that of the poet who is a particular victim. Later in 'Jehuda ben Halevy', this

experience is to be placed in the wider poetic context of 'Dichterschicksal' (p.153, l.121).

This intimation of a causal chain, albeit a suitably tenuous and random one in such a

capricious universe, is not, however, mirrored by the formal structures and characteristics of

the two segments. Whilst the swiftly moving, objective narrative of events in 'Historien' is

highly coloured and its predominant 'Romanzenton' exotically embellished, there is a

transition in 'Lamentazionen' to more muted elegiac sparseness and self-reflection or

Klageton. The balanced poetic sequences of interlocking paired poems and longer epic

narratives of the former, contrast with a more hybrid composition of the second segment.

'Spanische Atriden', for example, would seem to fit more logically into the *Romanzen* of

'Historien' (p.84). However, its theme connecting retribution and physical suffering, as

exemplified by the ongoing torture of the imprisoned nephews, has more rapport with the

physical situation of the poet in 'Lamentazionen'. The family feud within the poem also

reverberates with a parallel nephew-uncle dynamic in Heine's own *Erbschaftsstreit* (p.91,

ll.245-9):[91] a worsening situation during the evolution of *Romanzero* which sporadically rises

to the surface within the more subjective 'Lamentazionen'.

The pattern of hybrid composition persists throughout. 'Waldeinsamkeit' can be read as a

prologue, a reappraisal of, and a potential swansong for the poet's own earlier Romantic

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[90] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.718.

[91] See DHA, vol.3.2, pp.749-50. The *Erbschaftsstreit* was a dispute in 1844-6 between Heine and his
cousin Carl over the settlement of Heine's inheritance under the will of Salomon Heine.

poetry (p.57). It is followed by four poems reflecting political and artistic allegiances more
akin to *Zeitgedichte*. The majority of the subsequent eleven poems inserted after the
disentanglement of *Romanzero* from the *Faustus* material, precede 1849-51, the main period
of composition. Their inclusion enables older material to be reworked. A self-contained cycle
of the twenty 'Lazarus' poems concludes the segment.

Although this *mélange* might initially suggest a lack of cohesion, it is not necessarily so. The
dynamic of 'Lamentazionen' is anchored in the centrifugal position of the disorientated poet
in a wasteland as he reflects on the past, laments the present, and seeks future direction.

> Hat im güldnen Labyrinth
> Sich vielleicht verirrt am Himmel,
> Wie ich selber mich verirrt
> In dem irdischen Getümmel. – (p.102, ll.33-6).

This disruption is also mirrored in the unmasking of the poet Apollo / Faibisch in the 'Der
Apollogott' (p.35, ll.36-40). Two contradictory titles, 'Rückschau' (p.106) and 'Jetzt Wohin?'
(p.101), are emblematic of the past-future dynamic. The predominant hybrid pattern
suggested above is possible within 'Lamentazionen' because the subjective narrator provides
a fixed point within this dynamic flow. This is immediately evident in 'Waldeinsamkeit'
(p.79), a reflective poem which probes the nature of an artistic crisis already adumbrated in
epic form in 'Der Apollogott' and 'Der Dichter Firdusi' in 'Historien'. If read as a prologue,
it reflects the pattern of reflection and revaluation found in the introductions to other
collections. For example in the 'Vorrede zur dritten Auflage' to *Buch der Lieder*, Heine had
reflected on that earlier collection of poetry in the context of his later transition to prose
writing.[92] However, the analogy should not be pressed too far: in this *Vorrede* of 1839, he
could afford to be much more programmatic: a luxury which would have eluded the
disorientated poet at the date of composition in 1849-52. The poetic discourse now turns on
the juxtaposition of the search for what formerly appeared in 'Waldeinsamkeit' to be
desirable Romantic alternatives, and a realistic appraisal of the present. 'Doch seit der schöne

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[92] See DHA, vol.1.1, p.15.

Kranz mir fehlt, | Ist meine Seele wie entseelt' (p.83, ll.131-2). However, inclusion of the

satirical *Zeitgedichte*, 'Der Ex-Lebendige' (p.93), 'Der Ex-Nachtwächter' (p.93) and 'Im

Oktober 1849' (p.117), suggests that the poet's plight is a complex amalgam of poetic issues

inherited from the past, and political issues arising out of the more recent 1848 situation.

Reaching out beyond the past and the present is an aspiration of the poems which introduce

the motif of an afterlife: 'Auferstehung' (p.107) and 'Gedächtnißfeier' (p.114); although the

narrator's humorous and witty secularisation of judgement and resurrection do not entirely

connect with his alleged view on the afterlife as formulated in the 'Nachwort' (p.182, l.34).

However, 'Enfant perdü' does offer a vision of hope in an otherwise bleak canvas. The artistic

project of emancipation is larger than the individual poet: 'Der Eine fällt, die Andern rücken

nach –' (p.122, l.22*)*, yet apart from the vision there is little practical guidance as to how this

will come about. A more promising avenue of exploration of meaning beyond the present is

to be seen in the poet's identification with the biblical archetype Lazarus. In the 'Lazarus'

poems the poet exists within the newly revived context of Jewish archetypes. This new

structural thread is to culminate in 'Hebräische Melodien' where it proves to be a source of

fresh direction for both the narrator's historical crisis in 'Historien' and his lack of artistic

direction in both 'Historien' and 'Lamentazionen'.

Whilst it is not difficult to integrate the relinquishing of Romantic *Poesie* in 'Waldeinsamkeit'

with the mood of lament and poetic despair of the twenty 'Lazarus' poems, it has often

proved more difficult to rationalise their inclusion within the overall structure of some of the

intervening poems dating from an earlier period. Sammons tends to be dismissive of the

quality of the poetry between 'Jetzt wohin' and 'Autodafé ': '*Romanzero* is a little weak at the

centre'.[93] However, Cook sees them as a significant element in the overall structure, and of

the poetic discourse in particular: 'The four poems following 'Jetzt wohin?' refer, each in its

own way, to the earlier poetry that has now lost its resonance in the desolate landscape of his

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[93] Jeffrey Sammons, *Heinrich Heine, the Elusive Poet* (London: Yale University Press, 1969), p.378.

wayward poetic imagination'.[94] 'Autodafé' is prominent as it records the incineration of

archetypal Romantic symbols:

> Welke Veilchen, stäub'ge Locken,
> Ein verblichen blaues Band,
> Halb zerissene Billette,
> Längst vergessner Herzensstand – (p.104, ll.1-4).

The link with earlier poetry is compounded by a sense of déjà-vu when the parallel between

the burial of 'Klagelieder' in 'Altes Lied' (p.103, l.7) is compared with 'Lyrisches Intermezzo

LXV':

> Die alten, bösen Lieder,
> Die Träume schlimm und arg,
> Die laßt uns jetzt begraben,
> Holt einen großen Sarg.[95]

The destruction of these reworked metaphors is also paralleled within the 'Lazarus' poems

where the past Romantic images once associated by the poet with happiness and success are

immediately negated as 'Visionen, Seifenblasen' (p.106, l.21).

There is evidence for Heine's reappraisal of the Hebrew scriptures in the 'Vorrede' to the

second edition of *Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* of 1852.[96] Biblical motifs and

allusions are frequently woven into the structure of 'Lamentazionen'. 'Weltlauf' (p.105), the

title of a poem which succinctly epitomises the global pessimism pervading the whole

collection, serves as an introduction to the 'Lazarus' poems, where in conjunction with

'Lumpenthum' (p.108), a rationale for aggrieved cynicism finds its voice in the poet's

Klageton: 'Denn ein Recht zum Leben, Lump, | Haben nur die etwas haben' (p.105, ll.7-8).

The archetypal biblical figure of Lazarus generates two principle motifs permeating the

'Lazarus' poems: the injustice generated by ongoing deprivation of the poor leading to the

inevitable enrichment of the wealthy, and the questionable resolution of this situation in an

afterlife. The polarity between the rich and the poor implicit in the biblical Lazarus story is

also subtly subsumed into the structure of the poet's own *Lebensbilanz*. He has played both

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[94] Cook, 1998, p.299.
[95] DHA, vol.1.1, p.20l, ll.1-4.
[96] See DHA, vol.8.1, p.500.

the Dives and Lazarus roles. In the past his good fortune resembled more the fate of Dives: 'Mir flogen gebrat'ne Tauben in's Maul, | Und Englein kamen, und aus den Taschen | Sie zogen hervor Champagnerflaschen –' (p.106, ll.18-20). However, Heine's treatment of the Lazarus motif is selective and complex. The subtle intertwining of the two Lazaruses, both the Johannine and Lucan figures, introduces a further structural ambivalence.[97] In the biblical afterlife the injustice is reversed with a Lazarus languishing in Abraham's bosom,[98] while in the poems there are several sceptical glimpses of an afterlife in which earthly existence carries on very much as usual. In 'Fromme Warnung' there are 'weiche Pantoffeln und schöne Musik' (p.111, l.12), whereas in 'Gedächtnißfeyer' the bourgeois world impinges closely on the world beyond (p.114, l.12). In the 'Nachwort' sea lions are incorporated into heaven (p.182, l.34). Karl-Josef Kuschel's analysis is illuminating when he identifies Heine's manipulation of the Lazarus motif: 'Ist er nicht wie Lazarus, nur mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen: Lazarus ein lebendig Toter, er, Heine ein tot Lebendiger?'[99] The poet is able to exploit this ambiguity of role in 'Vermächtniß' (p.120), a counter biblical conceit with undertones of a potential reversal of the injustice in the *Erbschaftsstreit*. In 'Vermächtniß' the poetic persona has found it convenient to materialise as the Johannine Lazarus who biblically returns from the dead to this life.[100] However, in the parodied manifestation of the poetic persona in *Romanzero*, his return is designed to curse his enemies by bequeathing them his worst attributes: 'All mein Siechtum und Verderben, | Meine sämmtlichen Gebresten' (p.121, ll.7-8).

Two critics in particular place a different emphasis on the significance of the Lazarus motif and the way it is structured into 'Lamentazionen'. Manfred Windfuhr's suggestion that Heine's Lazarus figure has much in common with Job is supported by the predominantly

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[97] The beggar Lazarus in St. Luke only sees earthly injustice restored in the afterlife. Lazarus in St. John is resurrected to continue earthly life much as before. Heine's Lazarus persona depends on an interplay of both the 'diesseits' and 'jenseits'perspectives.

[98] See Luke 16.22.

[99] Kuschel, 2003, p.169.

[100] See John 11.

sceptical tone of the 'Lazarus' poems indicated above.[101] There is a powerful argument for

this thematic link because in each segment of the work the question arises as to why the

underdog is unjustly called upon to suffer. Job is a universal figure burdened by existential

grievances which he lays before God as in a trial, insisting on the right to protest.[102] Although

there is little sign of overt protest, 'Auferstehung' is set in such a court-room atmosphere:

'Als Freygraf sitzet Christus dort' (p.107, l.9). Writing an amendment to the fragment 'Zu

Ludwig Marcus' in 1854, Heine reiterates a fundamental question posed by *Romanzero* with

reference to the Book of Job: 'Aber warum muss der Gerechte so viel leiden auf Erden?

Warum muß Talent und Ehrlichkeit zu Grunde gehen? […] Das Buch Hiob […] ist das

Hohelied des Skepsis'.[103] On the other hand, Windfuhr tends to play down the structural and

motivic link with Jeremiah which the title 'Lamentazionen' would imply:

> Obwohl im Titel dieses Teils der Sammlung belegt,
> erweist sich der Jeremias-Bezug als nicht sehr
> tragfähig, denn er ist durch die viel massivere
> Präsenz von zwei weiteren Bezugsfiguren überlagert,
> die eine außerordentlich wichtige Rolle beim späten
> Heine spielen, Hiob und Lazarus. [104]

Although Windfuhr's identification of a Job-like voice can be justified in terms of the

universal existential Angst of 'Lamentazionen', his virtual dismissal of Jeremiah is more

questionable. Kuschel presents biblical evidence in support of Jeremiah as an identification

figure.[105] Moreover, his reference to Jeremiah's Klagelieder as 'öffentliche

Klageinszenierung' is of particular relevance to the structure of 'Lamentazionen'. Just as

Klagen performed a public function within Jewish liturgy in commemorating the destruction

of the Second Temple, the poet's *Klageton*, he suggests, functions in a similar way: 'Auch er

macht sein Leiden öffentlich durch sprachliche Verdichtung'.[106] This insight identifies a

thread to be developed in 'Hebräische Melodien'. Jehuda ben Halevy will be

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[101] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.723.
[102] See Job 6.8.
[103] DHA, vol.14.1, p.274.
[104] DHA, vol.3.2, p.723.
[105] See Kuschel, 2003, pp.153-4.
[106] Kuschel, 2003, p.154.

commemorated as the poet whose *Klagelied* is the culmination of poetic form. Significantly, as he utters it at the moment of death, it is accompanied by a vision of Jeremiah (p. 148, l.200).

The way in which Heine weaves archetypal figures into the structure of his work appears to be as complex and ambiguous as his identification with them. The relevance of Job, Jeremiah, and the two Lazaruses to *Romanzero* is not necessarily a question of either-or. Their labyrinthine superimposition upon, and inclusion within, the elusive poetic persona is evidently also part of the work's rich, enigmatic structure.

Koopmann is not alone in regarding 'Lamentazionen' as the salient component in *Romanzero*. Commenting on its prominent position at the end of the 'Lazarus' poems, Werner reads 'Enfant perdü' as Heine's conclusive poetic testament and therefore the culmination of the work as a whole.[107] He stresses the importance of the sequencing of the final three 'Lazarus' poems, arguing that in 'Sie erlischt' Heine draws a parallel between the extinguished light inside the theatre and the eclipse of poetic powers.[108] 'Vermächtniß', despite its ironic associations with the *Erbschaftsstreit*, is also seen by him as further evidence for reading 'Enfant perdü' as a poetic testament. However, his insistence on interpreting Heine's bequest that his enemies be struck by amnesia as a reprisal for the writer's enforced silence over family matters, is a severe limitation: 'In Vergessenheit versenken | Soll der Herr Eu'r Angedenken, | Er vertilge Eu'r Gedächtniß' (p.121, ll.18-20).

An alternative strategy to Werner's evaluation of 'Enfant perdü' is to see it in a wider context than its function within the structure of the 'Lazarus' poems or Heine's *Erbschaftsstreit.* The prologue poem, 'Waldeinsamkeit', expresses a nostalgia for Romantic *Poesie*, whereas the epilogue 'Enfant perdü' is not a final testament, but a poem counting the cost of the poet's thirty year pursuit of progressive emancipatory causes: causes which he espoused whilst remaining a poet moulded by a Romantic tradition from which he could never really escape:

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[107] See Michael Werner, 'Heines poetisch-politisches Vermächtnis', in *Interpretionen Gedichte von Heinrich Heine,* ed. by Berndt Kortländer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1995), pp.181-94 (p.183).
[108] See Werner, 1995, p.181.

'Verlor'ner Posten in dem Freyheitskriege' (p.121, l.1). Read in a broader structural context, it is the culmination of a series of poems tracing the utopian claims of poetry in their struggle to contain the mundane nature of reality, and vice versa.[109] If the light of Romantic creativity is extinguished in 'Sie erlischt': 'Verzweiflungsvoll und sie erlischt' (p.120, l.17), a similar scenario was acted out twenty eight years earlier in the 'Prolog' to 'Lyrisches Intermezzo' where the medieval knight and his water palace are suddenly plunged into darkness: 'Da löschen auf einmal die Kerzen aus, | Der Ritter sitzt wieder ganz einsam zu Haus, | In dem düstern Po e t e n stübchen'.[110] Reference will be made elsewhere to the ongoing pattern of poetic denial followed later by further poetic creativity in Heine's poetry.[111] Placed within this broader context of the erratic survival of *Poesie* almost against the odds, 'Lamentazionen' is not necessarily the salient component as Koopmann describes it; nor the poet's final poetic testament as Werner claims. It marks a reflective hiatus prior to the introduction of new poetic archetypes.

The inference drawn from these structural observations is that the poetic discourse of 'Lamentazionen' can be read as part of the pattern of rejection and subsequent reaffirmation of *Poesie*, a pattern which runs throughout Heine's poetry. When at the end of 'Lamentazionen' Heine ironically cursed his enemies with loss of memory, he would have known that this was the most dire of all afflictions for a Jew. The obliteration of memory for any Jew, but for a Jewish poet in particular, goes far beyond the ramifications of the *Erbschaftsstreit*, and lies right at the heart of a renewed exploration of *Poesie* within the Jewish context of 'Hebräische Melodien'.

The structure of 'Hebräische Melodien'

Despite the apparent diversification of its three separate parts, *Romanzero* moves towards a balanced structural unity. Many of the earlier stylistic and thematic elements, temporarily

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[109] See 'Der Apollogott', pp.32-6, 'Waldeinsamkeit', pp.79-83, 'Geoffrey Rudèl und Melisande von Tripoli', pp.47-9.
[110] DHA, vol.1.1, p.132, ll.40-2.
[111] See p.45.

muted by the cloistered reflection given to more domestic events in 'Lamentazionen', are reintroduced in 'Hebräische Melodien'. The epic structure, historical dimension and *Romanzenton* of 'Historien' return in the third segment in a more specifically Jewish context. This is not an unnatural structural development as Jewish archetypes, biblical allusions and the elegiac tone of 'Lamentazionen' have already played a significant role. The pessimistic, historical discourse adumbrated in 'Historien' receives a new dynamic from the significant role played by collective memory, the reconfiguration of myth, and the commemoration of archetypes generated by a new appraisal and Jewish perception of history. A colourful exoticism supercedes the sombre reflection and introspection of the central suffering poetic persona. If the exotic had earlier been drawn from a multiplicity of historical periods, and cultures within the diverse 'Historien', it is now primarily to be found in Jewish liturgy, sacred texts, the commemoration of historical events, family and folk festivals and Sephardic poetry. However, it also ranges far beyond this when Heine mysteriously sets his Halevy poem 'In der Dunkelheit der gothisch | Mittelalterlichen Nacht!' (p.156, ll.231-2) of the Golden Age of Sephardic Spain. All manner of historical exotica are conjured up from within the cultural melting pot of the Iberian Peninsula: its Moorish, Christian art forms, its Oriental leanings towards Arabia and Persia, the interweaving of the Provencale Troubadour cult, the 'Pomeranzenlande' (p.137, l.55) of the *langue d'oc* and the historical digression of the Darius casket which lyrically interconnects the narrative structure with the ebb and flow of world history. The poem is more richly endowed with the features Heine associated with Romantic poetry in *Die Romantische Schule*: the fantastic and elements of fairy tale and legend. Thematic continuity is also achieved. The universal roles of the outsider, the exile and the looser, already referred to in the first two sections, find their expression in the social isolation of the Jew in diaspora. Questions raised by the rootless and marginal roles of individual poets in 'Der Apollogott' and 'Der Dichter Firdusi' and the predicament of the Lazarus-Poet figure of 'Lamentazionen' are further explored in the 'Halevy' discourse on 'Dichterschicksal' (p.153, l.121). The isolated warrior poet of 'Enfant perdü' had felt vulnerable and acutely conscious of his wounds: 'Die Wunden klaffen –' (p.122, l.20). In 'Hebräische Melodien'

suffering is easier to endure as a shared experience: 'Und bist du sicher vor dem Schuß, | So laß sie nur schießen' (p.124). The reason for this apparent shift in attitude is to be found in a careful appraisal of the structure of 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.

Somewhat tentatively the Romantic, the exotic and unfamiliar begin to re-emerge in the allegorical form of 'Prinzessin Sabbath', 'die personifizirte | Ruhe' (p.127, ll.82-3), a romantic personification of the Jewish Sabbath, experienced in the context of the diaspora. The poem ostensibly describes a magical transformation comparable to that to be found in 'Arabiens Mährchenbuche' (p.125, l.1). It is, however, confined for six days of the week in the mundane European nineteenth-century gentile world where the Jew is mocked by street urchins. The reader is well prepared in the first twenty four lines for the eventual 'Hündische[r] Metamorphose' (p.129, l.140).The poem works structurally with opposing antitheses: the Sabbath prince and the Jewish dog mocked by street urchins; the aesthetic richness of the Sabbath liturgy and the filth of the Jewish ghetto; the magic of the Arabian Nights and the nostalgia for patriarchal scenes generated by the family meal contend with the inescapable sense of separation felt in Jewish exile. The moments of *Poesi*e generated by exotic and aesthetic experiences are rare and fragile. Firstly, the rich liturgy reaches a climax, intimated in the exotic 'Hochzeitkarmen' which celebrates the marriage of Prinzessin Sabbath with Israel:

> Lecho Daudi Likras Kalle –
> Komm', Geliebter, deiner harret
> Schon die Braut, die dir entschleyert
> Ihr verschämtes Angesicht! (p.127, ll.61-4).

This transient moment of union cannot, however, survive the narrator's partial disengagement and ironic pose. His failure fully to engage with the spirit of the 'Mährchen', which he is at pains to create is evident in Prinzessin Sabbath's physical resemblance to a dutiful nineteenth-century house wife, and her descent into mundane dialogue˙ ˙'››Liebster! Rauchen ist verboten‹‹' (p.128, l.95). The spell of *Poesie* is precariously revived once more in the poem's conclusion where, amidst the nostalgia of *Schalet*, biblical landscapes of ancient Israel are evoked: 'In dem Palmenthal von Beth-El' (p.129, l.127). This Romantic, nostalgic

atmosphere is constantly threatened by the sober reality which will arrive with the dawn of

yet another dog day, by the poet's ironic disengagement, and by the extinguishing of a wax

candle; a trope already familiar from 'Sie erlischt' signalling the disintegration of a poetic

performance (p.120, 1.15).

'Prinzessin Sabbath', a Romantic structure tottering on the edge of nineteenth-social reality,

highlights the precarious double life imposed on the Jew wishing to retain his / her cultural

heritage. However, when the 'Mährchen' works in reverse on a Friday evening new

possibilities of transformation are opened up once more: 'Wird aufs Neu' ein menschlich

Wesen' (p.125, l.24). Although the chronological and geographical settings of 'Prinzessin

Sabbath' and 'Jehuda ben Halevy' are sharply differentiated, the possibility of transformation

and renewal of the former poem provides a strong structural link with its epic counterpart.

Scholars are divided as to what 'Jehuda ben Halevy' adds to the structure of the poetic

discourse of *Romanzero* as a whole. Höhn, quoting Brummack, emphasises the importance of

the concept of 'Schlemihltum', the sense of the poet being different, as it is developed within

the poem and applied to all subsequent Jewish poets. This he sees as epitomising the late

Heine.[112] Cook considers that Heine refines 'certain notions of Romantic poetry', but 'returns

to conceptions of poetry he had harboured throughout his life'.[113] Koopmann is concerned

because the poet is seemingly unable to endorse the spirit of religious poetry symbolised by

Halevy: a position which appears to run counter to claims about religious belief made in the

'Nachwort'. 'Hier drängt sich vielmehr der Verdacht auf, daß die Poesie nicht leisten konnte,

was der zu Gott zurückgekehrte Poet offenbar von ihr verlangte. Die 'Hebräischen Melodien'

wirken wie ein Ausweg, der keiner war. Die Poesie ließ sich nicht theologisieren'.[114] In the

context of Heine's inconsistent poetic persona, Koopmann's expectations seem unrealistic.

The contradictory nature of the prose statement of the 'Nachwort' and the poetry of

Romanzero had already been emphasised above in a different context.[115] Heine's failure to

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[112] See Höhn, 2004, p.148.
[113] Cook, 1998, p.356.
[114] Koopmann, 1978, p.69.
[115] See p.17.

appreciate Halevy purely as a religious poet does not invalidate his admiration for his many-sided genius. It does not overshadow Halevy's ability to appropriate poetic forms from different cultures, his skill in combining abstract thought and *Poesie* (p.135, l.175), also an ongoing aspiration of Heine's, and his crucial role as an exemplar for the structure of the poetic myth which Heine carefully assembles within this poem.

Brummack's emphasis on the new concept of 'Schlemihltum' would seem to lie at the heart of Heine's investigations in 'Jehuda ben Halevy' into the true origin of the poet and poetry.[116] The contribution of this new concept to the overall poetic discourse of *Romanzero* can only be appreciated by linking it back to the earlier threads of the poetic structure associated with the poet's growing aesthetic crisis. Although of a complex nature, this crisis as outlined in 'Der Apollogott', 'Der Dichter Firdusi' and throughout 'Lamentazionen' had clear symptoms. An issue fundamental to them all is the poetic persona's need for self-identification. In the heady days of his youth the poet identified with Hellenic myths, and considered Apollo his muse. 'Meine Stirn' umkränzte Weinlaub, | Und es tönten die Fanfaren –' (p.145, ll.107-8). However, the tripartite structure of 'Der Apollogott' illustrates the progressive disintegration of the substance of the Greek myth. The self-mocking, exiled 'Gott der Musika' (p.33, l.1), once unmasked as the dissolute Jewish vagabond, Faibisch, ekes out a miserable existence trying to keep Jewish tradition alive (p.35, l.37-8). 'Der Dichter Firdusi' adds to the dilemma surrounding the poet's role within society, but focuses particularly on the exploitative relationship between the poet and the establishment. The poetic persona's identification with various biblical suffering archetypes, already discussed in relation to 'Lamentazionen', exposes even more poignantly the hollowness of the Greek Apollo myth and the poet's pressing need for re-orientation towards a new form of self-defining mythical structure: one akin to the 'Mährchen' of 'Prinzessin Sabbath' which would encompass a link between the poet's autonomy and his suffering humanity.

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[116] See Brummack, 1980, p.285: 'In der wechselseitigen Spiegelung von Dichtertum, Judentum und Schlemihltum erhält das Gedicht seine Einheit'.

The lyrical materialisation of the Jewish archetypal poet Halevy and his inclusion together with all subsequent Jewish poets into the *Schlemihl* myth are the two most remarkable achievements of the poem, if not of *Romanzero* as a whole. A structure able to encompass the evocation of Halevy, the complex construction of the origin of the *Schlemihl* myth, and the extensive allegorical tropes of the 'Perlenthränen'and the Darius casket, is of epic proportions. By appropriating the original, now untenable Greek Apollo myth into the hidden narrative of the unjust fate of *Schlemihl*, the poet reconfigures Apollo into 'der göttliche Schlemihl!' (p.153, l.128). The original significance of the laurel crown from the Greek Daphne myth is deconstructed, whilst in its place the spear of Phineas looms over the poet's head. Martyrdom, injustice and exile are therefore the expected lot of all Jewish poets who are now seen as 'Söhne des Apollo' (p.153, l.122). The three Sephardic poets, Halevy, Moses Iben Esra and Gabirol, and the poetic persona all share this 'Dichterschicksal' (p.153, l.121).

 Essential to the re-appropriation of the Apollo myth into Jewish mythology is the poet's appreciation of its exemplar, Halevy himself. It is precisely by emulating the genius of Halevy that Heine is able to bring this about. Halevy, the master of syncretism, is able to draw upon poetic forms from different cultures 'Madrigalen und Terzinen, | Cazonetten und Ghaselen' (p.137, ll.46-7). However, more significantly, he is the ultimate practitioner of 'Dichtkunst' (p.134, l.151), harmonising the disparate elements of *Halacha* (law or philosophical argument) and *Hagada* (*Poesie*) as 'Unverantwortlicher König | Des Gedankenreichs' (p.135, l.175). Heine's recognition of this achievement is reflected in the synthesis of these elements within the structure of his own poetry:

> Und des Knaben edles Herze
> Ward ergriffen von der wilden,
> Abentheuerlichen Süße,
> Von der wundersamen Schmerzlust
> Und den fabelhaften Schauern
> Jener seligen Geheimwelt
> Jener großen Offenbarung,
> Die wir nennen Poesie (p.134, ll.137-44).

It is not insignificant that the Geffroy Rudèl motif is woven back again into the structure of 'Jehuda ben Halevy': 'Wunderbare Aehnlichkeit | In dem Schicksal beider Dichter!' (p.141,

ll.181-2). The similarity lies in the moment of synthesis achieved in each narrative between

reality and poetic form. Halevy's love for Jerusalem expressed in his tears is woven into the

'Perlenthränenlied' (p.147, l.176). Rudèl's and Melissande's tears of love are woven into the

'Tapete' or 'das seidene Bildwerk' of Schloss Blay (p.47, l.1). The trope of the poet as a

weaver at his loom first appears in 'Der Dichter Firdusi':[117]

> Unterdessen saß der Dichter
> An dem Webstuhl des Gedankens,
> Tag und Nacht, und webte emsig
> Seines Liedes Riesenteppich –
>
> Riesenteppich, wo der Dichter
> Wunderbar hineingewebt
> Seiner Heimath Fabelchronik
> Faristans uralte Könige (p.50, ll.21-8).

The discrete threads: 'Gedanken, Lieder' and 'Chronik' are referred to as separate elements at

this stage in 'Historien', where they reflect the philosophical, artistic and historical discourses

evolving within the the structure of the work. *Romanzero* traces the way in which

'Dichterschicksal' is woven into a poetic tapestry throughout the course of history : 'Jahre

kommen und vergehen – | In dem Webstuhl läuft geschäftig | Schnurrend hin und her die

Spule –' (p.136, ll.16-20). Halevy's poetry, briefly emulated by the narrator, is the point

where these threads come together within the structure of the whole poetic tapestry.

> Perlenthränen, die verbunden
> Durch des Reimes goldnen Faden,
> Aus der Dichtkunst güldnen Schmiede
> Als ein Lied hervorgegangen (p.147, ll.173-6).

A further ironic similarity is the ephemeral nature of both the moment when *Poesie* finally re-

emerges in the poetic tapestry of *Romanzero* and the final embrace of Melisande and Rudèl as

depicted in the tapestry (p.49, ll. 60-4).

Cook's identification of Romantic continuity as the catalyst of re-invigoration at certain

critical stages within the structure of Heine's total lyrical output is justified.[118] Heine's

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[117] Weaving as a metaphor appears in 'Die schlesischen Weber'. DHA, vol.2, p.150, where in the
context of *Vormärz* the political ills are collectively woven.
[118] See Cook, 1998, p.358.

Pegasus, a familiar topos from earlier collections, is instrumental in shaking off the

'Nachtalp' of 'Lamentazionen': 'Auch mein Flügelrößlein wiehert | Wieder heiter, scheint

den bösen | Nachtalp von sich abzuschütteln' (p.136, ll.33-5). This 'Flügelrößlein', now a

modification of the original Romantic topos, Pegasus, carries the poetic imagination not only

to past ages and exotic lands, but also allows the poet to glimpse the present and the future.[119]

The present and the future are the focus of the fourth section of the poem. Its integration into

the predominantly Romantic structure of the poem as a whole can be problematic. It revolves

around the central irony that the same poet who is ingenious enough to construct a myth

supporting his 'Stammbaum' over a period of three thousand years (p.156, l.209), can only

speculate about the process of the transmission of Jewish poetry into modernity. There is no

evidence apart from the existence of the 'Halevy' poem itself that it will become a reality. In

this context what significance are we to attach to Heine's description of his poem as

'Fragment' (p.130)? It is surely not a fragment like the incomplete and unstable *Bimini*? Does

this seemingly fictitious status merely suggest Romantic leanings? Is it a fragment by analogy

with his other Jewish text *Der Rabbi von Bacherrach?* Or taking on board the concerns

expressed in the poem about transmission of cultural heritage, is it a realisation that

'Dichtkunst' (p.134, l.147), as exemplified by Halevy, can be nothing more than fragmentary

when confronted with modernity? This is a problem which will be given further consideration

in Chapter Three in the context of Jewish memory.[120]

The influence of power structures over the fate of the Darius casket and the tentative way in

which the poet treats the issue of the future preservation of Halevy's poetry intimates his

profound concern for the future of the poetic tradition he represents. It also anticipates, well

ahead of its time, more modern, discursive and theoretical issues. These refer to questions

concerning the pervasiveness of power and its role in predetermining our conceptual poetic

framework, and the extent to which our perception of literary tradition is an historical

construct. All of these themes contribute further to the work's innovative structure. It is

[119] See DHA, vol.2, p.151, l.20; DHA, vol.4.1, p.17, l.8; DHA, vol.8.1, p.230.
[120] See p.107.

difficult to know what significance we should attach to the fact that although biblical archetypes like Lazarus and Job appear in subsequent works, there appears to be no further specific literary development of the theme of Jewish poetry as exemplified in 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.

The title 'Hebräische Melodien' is itself an important acknowledgement of the segment's musical structure. The climactic moment of transformation in 'Prinzessin Sabbath' is marked by the 'Hochzeitcarmen' (p.127, l.65). The seminal exilic Psalm 137, describing the Babylonian exile, reverberates throughout 'Jehuda ben Halevy' : 'die alte Weise, / […] | Greint und sumset, wie ein Kessel' (p.136, ll.5,7). The poet hears ancient Hebrew voices 'psalmodirend' (p.130, l.8); Jehuda, the apprentice poet gurgles and declaims texts 'In der uralt hergebrachten | Singsang-Weise, Tropp geheißen –' (p.131, ll.47-8). In multi-cultural Granada psalms have been absorbed into Christian liturgy: 'Clerici mit Rosenkränzen | Auf der Glatze, sangen Psalmen' (p.137, ll.65-6). In 'Disputationen' a discordant note is struck when the monk's materialistic heaven echoes with the strains of an assimilated 'Halleluja' and a solemn Christian 'Kyrie Eleyson' (p.165, ll.219, 220), whilst Jehovah, according to the Jew, prefers Jewish music (p.167. l.289). Contrasting moods are however, harmonised within the latitude of Halevy's own poetry with its 'Festgesänge, Klagelieder' (p.145, l.126). The climax of 'Jehuda ben Halevy' is marked by the 'Zionslied' sung by Halevy when he enters the desolate Jerusalem. Finally, the martyr is welcomed into heaven by choirs who sing his own song: 'in den weiten | Himmelsräumen widerhallt es: | Lecho Daudi Likras Kalle' (p.149, ll.242-4). His memory is commemorated in the 'Perlenthränenlied' sung throughout the Jewish world long after his death 'in allen | Weltzerstreuten Zelten Jakobs' (p.147, ll.179-80). Heine's two *Romanzen* and the presentation of his hero Halevy in particular, 'der Held, den wir besingen', are a poetic orchestration of the tradition of Jewish melody (p.138, l.77).

 Whilst Siebert Prawer had likened the intricate intermeshing of themes in *Romanzero* as a whole to sonata form,[121] Kuschel refers to the musical structure of 'Hebräische Melodien' as a

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[121] See Siebert Prawer, *Heine the Tragic Satirist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1961), p.208.

'Terzett', a term in keeping with the 'Romanzenton'. He reads the first poem as a 'Liebeslied', 'Jehuda ben Halevy' as a 'Heldenlied' and the third poem as a 'Spottlied'.[122] The musical analogy does not occur for the first time in *Romanzero* but arises at significant stages in the structure of Heine's work. In *Deutschland ein Wintermärchen*, rejecting the 'Entsagunglied' sung by the Hamburg *Harfenmädchen*, the poet had promised a new kind of poetry: 'Ein neues Lied, ein besseres Lied'[123] which would be 'ein Hochzeitkarmen'.[124] Was he aware at the date of composition that he would later draw upon the enrichment of the Jewish tradition?

The discordant note on which 'Disputationen' is brought to a close is conclusive evidence that *Romanzero* does not function as a cyclical structure. The sharply antithetical structure of the religious dispute exposes, albeit ironically, cultural differences and an ugly anti-aestheticism. It works completely counter to the structural grain of 'Jehuda ben Halevy' where there is an intimation of cultural and artistic fusion. This dissonance arises wherever strident ideology and rationalism are to be found. The outcome of the trial turns on poetically inappropriate criteria: 'Durch die Macht der Argumente, | Durch der Logik Kettenschlüsse' (p.159, ll.25-6). The poet has learnt by bitter experience that such ideological fanaticism does not lead to truth, nor is it conducive to the creation of *Poesie*.

Wolfgang Preisendanz refers to an 'erratischer Block' separating the pre 1848 poetry from the work written in the *Matrazengruft*: 'Aber eine solche Verbindungslinie [poetischer Evolution] bleibt abstrakt, das erweist sich schon durch die Schwierigkeit, die Lyrik vor und nach 1848 unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Rekurrenz und der Innovation zu betrachten'.[125] Findings generated by this chapter of the dissertation concerning the structure of *Romanzero* run counter to this theory. Jürgens' structural analysis of 'Die Nordsee' in terms of his 'Sequenzen' strongly suggest that Heine was moving away from a normative cyclical pattern long before *Romanzero*. The obsequies for Romantic metaphors and *chiffres* referred to above

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[122] See Kuschel, 2003, p.113.
[123] DHA, vol.4, p.92, l.34.
[124] DHA, vol.4, p.93, l.65.
[125] Preisendanz, 1983, p.114.

and to be found in 'Lamentazionen' had been foreshadowed earlier in 'Lyrisches Intermezzo'. Whilst mythical identification with Apollo is modified rather than discarded in *Romanzero*, flights of poetic imagination enabled by the muse Pegasus still recur, although challenged by the uncertainties over the sustainability of poetic tradition rather than the abrupt destruction of illusion which characterised the earlier poetry. These observations strongly support the perception of *Romanzero* as an evolutionary canvas, working with the warp and weft of continuity and innovation, and in tune with Heine's ongoing pattern of rejection and reaffirmation of *Poesie*.

It is usually unwise to rely on Heine's own evaluation of his work, but it is nevertheless interesting that he drew attention to third party opinions about innovation and continuity within his work, without necessarily agreeing or disagreeing with them. The following statement appeared in a note to the French edition of *Geständnisse*. : 'L'ancienne école lyrique allemande a pris fin avec moi, tandis que j'inaugurai en même temps la nouvelle école, la poésie lyrique moderne de l'Allemagne. Cette double mission (de destructeur initiateur) m'est attibuée par les historiens de notre littérature'.[126]

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[126] DHA, vol.15.1, p.21: 'The old German school of lyricism finishes with me, as at that time I inaugurated the new school of modern German lyric poetry. This dual mission (of destroyer and innovator) is attributed to me by our literary historians'.

The restructuring of the *Ballade*, *Romanze* and *Zeitgedicht* and their absorption into *Romanzero*

Given the density of research focussing on the *Ballade, Romanze* and *Zeitgedicht*, only a brief selection specific to Heine's development of these sub-genres as they are taken into *Romanzero* can be considered within the remit of this chapter.[127] The principle research issue to be taken forward is an exploration of generic deviation and continuity to be found within the restructured models of the collection.

The creative restructuring of the three sub-genres can be traced in parallel with Heine's sensitivity to the effectiveness and relevance of poetic models appropriate to the material generated by changing historical contexts. The early poetic categories referred to in 'Junges Leiden': 'Traumbilder', 'Lieder', 'Minnelieder', 'Romanzen' and 'Sonnetten', are broad and genre-specific. They are well documented and reflect the influence of folk poetry to be found in Herder's translations of *Volksromanzen*, his collection of *Volksballaden* and later Romantic collections, like *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.[128] As Michael Perraudin suggests, Heine's success lay not so much in not imitating pre-existent poetic models and conventions, but rather in subtly and at times programmatically, exposing their dissonance within the context of a changing world.[129]

The balladesque material of folk poetry was the raw material Heine inherited from the already mentioned source collections, or from their adaptation by his contempories: Uhland, Eichendorff, Arnim and Müller. In the context of the Restoration Heine became increasingly aware of the strengths and weaknesses of a model which in the *Heldenballade* had drawn upon a feudal ethos and invoked a Nordic idiom adapted to the nationalistic and patriotic tones of the *Befreiungskriege.*

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[127] See p.8.
[128] See Perraudin, 1999, pp.143-86.
[129] See Perraudin, 1999, p.185.

Jeffrey Sammons differentiates between Heine's critique of such romanticised medievalism and his admiration for the aforementioned poets to be found in *Die Romantische Schule*.[130] In that essay Heine disparages 'Ritterfeste, Schäferspiele, Zweykämpfe, alte Trachten, alles recht hübsch neben einander; […] bunte Oberflächlichkeit'.[131] Similarly Rüdiger Safranski filters out the political naivety and historical irrelevance of much of the inherited balladesque *Volkston* of the Romantics when he specifies the perennial qualities identified by Heine: 'Die Romantik der Nachtigallen […], die er [Heine] liebte, war anders. […] Den lyrischen Zauber, die Entrückung, die phantastischen Ekzesse, den Sinn für das Unheimliche, etwa bei Archim von Arnim und E.T.A. Hoffmann, das ironische Spiel, die Lust des Fabulierens – das alles rechnete Heine zu einer Tradition, auf die er nicht verzichten wollte'.[132] This again is commensurate with Heine's solidarity with Uhland's sensitivity to the poetic *Zeitgeist*: 'Aber eben weil er [Uhland] es mit der neuen Zeit so ehrlich meinte, konnte er das alte Lied von der alten Zeit nicht mehr mit der vorigen Begeisterung weiter singen'.[133] By contrast Heine's own scorn for the clichéd reproduction of an irrelevant balladesque model perpetuated by poets of the *Schwäbische Dichterschule* appeared in the *Schwabenspiegel*, an appendage to *Buch der Lieder*.[134] This early ambivalent attitude to the *Ballade* is commensurate with changing historical perspectives and foreshadows his selective and creative approach to models of balladesque folk-poetry in the *Romanzen* of *Neue Gedichte* and in *Romanzero* itself.

Walter Hinck differentiates between '*nordische*' and '*legendenhafte Ballade*'.[135] The former rooted in pre-christian sagas and myths, is populated by ghosts, daemonic natural forces and *Elementarwesen*. Whilst its pose is aggressively heroic, its emergence within the German *Kunstballade* emphasised associations with *ritterlich*, aristocratic themes. The '*legendenhafte*

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[130] Sammons, 2006, pp.23-4: 'Vor allem liegt meiner Meinung nach ein großes Mißverständnis vor, nämlich als ob Heine die romantische Dichtung, vor allem die Lyrik, hinter sich gelassen und durch eine neue, moderne Lyrik ersetzt hätte. Das scheint mir, trotz seiner Versprechung im *Wintermärchen*, ein "neues Lied" dichten zu wollen, vom Blickpunkt der Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik her kaum der Fall zu sein'.
[131] DHA, vol.8.1, p.226.
[132] Rüdiger Safranski, *Romantik. Eine deutsche Affäre* (München: Hanser, 2007), p.253.
[133] DHA, vol.8.1, p.234.
[134] See DHA, vol.10, p.266.
[135] See Hinck, 1968, p.10.

Ballade' presents a more tolerant, contemplative attitude, implying the possibility of suffering, and martyrdom. Examples discussed below show that this differentiation is useful when applied to Heine's earlier development of the genre, but it will be argued that it looses tractability with reference to complex models within *Romanzero*. Otto Knörrich, on the other hand, emphasises the fluidity of generic terminology in the nineteenth-century.[136] This principally refers to the duplicity of the terms *Romanze* and *Ballade*: an ambivalent pattern arising in the categorisation of Heine's first two collections. However, Georg Kayser in his exhaustive historical survey, identifies a significant factor which will feature in subsequent discussion of generic structure: the overriding relationship of the poet to his material: 'die Zusammenfassung von Unterarten ergab sich dann notwendig aus dem Material, nicht aus vorheriger Besinnung'.[137] Consideration of the impact of changing poetic material and its presentation is crucial to an analysis of the interaction of sub-genres and generic restructure. Fluidity and the combination of epic and lyrical qualities seem to have appealed to an eclectic experimenter like Heine. Similarly, his early engagement with the *Lied* and *Ballade* appears to have been in an exploratory role rather than that of the 'destructeur',[138] as he sought to strike a balance between absorption and experimentation: 'Es kömmt darauf an, den Geist der Volkslied-Formen zu erfassen, und mit der Kenntniß desselben nach unserem Bedürfniß gemodelte, neue Formen zu bilden'.[139]

The reception of the Ballade, experimental models, and restructuring within *Romanzero*

The degree to which Heine was able to mould the *Ballade* form into the complex model to be found in his later poetry can best be demonstrated by a brief, comparative treatment of selected examples from earlier periods and more detailed analysis of restructured models within *Romanzero*.

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[136] See Otto Knörrich, *Lexikon lyrischer Formen* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1992), p.23.
[137] Kayser, 1943, p.140.
[138] DHA, vol.15, p.121.
[139] DHA, vol.10, p.221.

The *Kunstballade*, 'Die Grenadiere'[140] is a trail-blazer in the art of restructuring, closing the gap between received models and innovation. Formally, it retains some of the metrical conventions of the Nordic *Heldenballade* with alternating three and four feet, and four line verses with cross rhyme, but introduces variations worked out in the *Chevy Chase Strophe*: an unusual pattern for the time,[141] later to reappear in the early *Romanzen*.[142] There is a subtle blend of archaism and colloquialism alongside a refrain, a distinct use of *Lautmalerei* and echoes of motifs foreshadowed in the Scottish ballad 'Edward' and Bürger's 'Lenore'.[143] Whilst ostensibly retaining the balladesque narrative of *Treue*, the principle departure from the heroic pose is its foregrounding of the ordinary soldier. However, a particular tour de force is Heine's deliberate play on the ambiguity of the persona of the '*Kaiser*'. It could be read as a *nordische Ballade* in the spirit of the *Befreiungskriege*, perpetuating the return of the *Kyffhäuser Legende*; alternately the more politically initiated might associate it with the return of Napoleon.[144] A poem with a potentially controversial imperial theme could therefore appeal to a broad spectrum of the reading public. The Judaic content of 'Belsatzar' is subsumed into a dark feudal atmosphere, characteristic according to Hinck of the *nordische Ballade*.[145] Heine's unconventional treatment of the original Jewish biblical story in which a tyrant is assassinated by his entourage was similarly successful in disguising a potentially subversive political message. Both poems work within the traditional mould with astute adjustment both formally and thematically to the historical setting.

From the 1820s this balladesque material was a source of experimentation in which an increasingly delicate line was to be trodden between aesthetic, political and historical factors, complicated by increasing censorship. However, Heine appears conscious of a conflict

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[140] DHA, vol.1.1, p.77.

[141] See Michael Perraudin, '"Der schöne Heros, der früh dahinsinkt…." Poesie, Mythos und Politik in Heines "Die Grenadiere"', in *Interpretationen. Gedichte von Heinrich Heine,* ed. by Bernd Kortländer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1995), pp.32-50: 'Es ist auch eine Form, die bei Heines Vorgängern und allgemeinen Vorbildern äußerst selten in reiner Form vorkommt' (p.38).

[142] In *Buch der Lieder*, 'Romanzen IV', 'V', 'VII', 'XI', 'XV'; In *Neue Gedichte*, 'Romanzen X', 'XI', 'XXI', 'XXIII'.

[143] See DHA, vol.1.2, p.700. See Perraudin, 1995, p.40.

[144] This precursor of generic ambiguity is developed in *Balladen* referred to in *Romanzero*. See pp.51-4.

[145] See Hinck, 1968, p.49.

between mere reception, imaginative innovation, and public if not official disapproval when speaking of: 'Kampf gegen Convenienzpoesie und Streben nach Originalität'.[146] The early *Kunstballaden* were to set the agenda for a gradual escape from the poetic stasis of the Restoration into the more politically charged material which emerged firstly in *Neue Gedichte*, and finally in the parody and satire of *Romanzero*.

If there were a degree of fluidity between definitions of *Ballade* and *Romanze*,[147] differentiation becomes an even more unscientific issue for an innovative writer such as Heine. His compartmentalisation of *Neue Gedichte*, at a stage when subjective, political and social issues were entering more significantly into the equation, is illustrative of such fluidity. *Zeitgedichte* are segregated for the first time, whereas the section entitled *Romanzen* encompasses a more disparate group of poems.

Consequently, in *Neue Gedichte* within poems ostensibly placed under the rubric *Romanze*, many still bear the characteristics and the darker Nordic, dramatic and heroic qualities of the *Ballade* described by Hinck,[148] whereas others have features readily identified with the exotic, musical, episodic trochaic pattern of the *Romanze*.[149] Emphasis will initially be on selected poems which predominantly work within the *Ballade* tradition.

Although designated a *Romanze* in *Neue Gedichte*, 'Ritter Olaf'[150] is illustrative of transitional features and appears initially both from its title, feudal setting and extended dramatic narrative to emulate the '*nordische Ballade*' referred to by Hinck. In this particular instance Hinck's differentiation is helpful in uncovering the poem's subtlety. Balladesque motifs already present in Heine's early poetry: betrayal, the wedding feast, love and death; all these run concurrently with the thematic departure of Olaf's final Saint Simonistic panegyric.[151] Heine's treatment, less monochrome than Schelling's original *Liebestod*

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[146] HSA, vol. 20, letter no. 24, p.47.
[147] See *Reallexikon der deutschen Literatur*, 5 vols. ed. by Paul Merker und Wolfgang Stammler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1925-31), vol.3: The *Ballade* and *Romanze* are 'nur nominell unterscheidbare Zwillingsschwestern' (p.123).
[148] 'Romanzen IV', 'X', 'XVIII', 'XXIII'.
[149] 'Romanzen XI', 'XII', 'XIV', 'XXI'.
[150] See DHA, vol.2, p.82.
[151] See DHA, vol.2, p.84, ll.65-76.

tragedy,[152] probes broader social implications of individual rights, equality and the role of church and state. The empathetic suffering heroism of Olaf: 'Keck und heiter […] | Und sein rother Mund, der lächelt,'[153] is closer to the martyr figures of the *Romanze* than the aggressive heroes of the *Heldenballade* or the *Ritterballade* implied by the title. Hinck mentions this dual aspect: 'Im Falle des "Ritter Olaf" läßt sich geradezu von einer Überformung der *nordischen* durch die *legendenhafte* Ballade sprechen'.[154] Formal traces of the *Romanze* creep in through assonance and the trochaic metre, the acoustic effects,[155] the repetitions of part one,[156] and the refrain of part two: 'Der Henker steht vor der Thüre'.[157] However, in part two alternating iambs and anapaests reassert the macabre atmosphere of the dance,[158] whilst in the final section the *Chevy Chase Strophe* frames Olaf's speech. The variable pace of the tripartite structure with its thematic and rhythmic deviations also tends to vitiate against the customary 'Sprünge' and 'Würfe' of the *Volksballade*.[159] Significant innovations at this comparatively early stage are indications of subjective social engagement in the final section[160] and the fluidity of generic characteristics.

In the wake of early experimentation the *Kunstballade* has an even more ephemeral role as a lyrical tendency within *Romanzero*, where its justification seems to be as a structure from which to deviate into irony, satire and pastiche. The reasons for Heine's ambivalent treatment of the genre were not purely external: a distaste for pseudo-medievalism,[161] or the gulf between the German *Kunstballade* and its original social roots in *Volksdichtung*. In its purest form the ballad depicted a performance by a *Sänger* of events which were closed and historically complete: an element of performance stressed by Goethe.[162] The aspect of closure

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[152] See DHA, vol.2, p.581.
[153] DHA, vol.2, p.82, ll.15-16.
[154] Hinck, 1968, p.68.
[155] DHA, vol.2, pp.82-3, l.9, ll.43-4.
[156] DHA, vol.2, p.83, ll.25-9.
[157] DHA, vol.2, p.83, ll.37-57.
[158] DHA, vol.2, p.83, ll.38-42.
[159] Johann Herder, 'Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker', in *Sämmtliche Werke*, 32 vols. ed. by B. Suphan (Berlin: Olms, 1891), vol.5, pp.189-96, (p.185).
[160] It is narrated entirely in the present tense unlike 'Die Zwei Grenadiere' and 'Belsatzar'.
[161] See p.47.
[162] See Goethe, 1962, vol.1, pp.400-2: '"Ballade", Betrachtung und Auslegung': 'Das Geheimnnisvolle der Ballade entspringt aus der Vortragsweise' (p.400).

is also usefully isolated by Kayser.[163] The *Vortragsweise* becomes a more prominent factor within *Romanzero* where self-awareness increasingly features as an issue in relation to subject matter and presentation. A significant number of Heine's poems depict *Sänger*, the songs they sing, and the manner in which they sing them.[164] In the context of the *Volkslied* in the 1820s the poetic persona entering the lists as *Sänger* is sensitive to his vulnerability to love. Given that the love metaphor often denoted a fraught relationship to literary heritage, the question arises as to whether even at this stage the poet as *Sänger* was questioning the effectiveness of his role.

> Andre Leute, die da springen
> In die Schranken, sind gesund;
> Aber Minnesänger bringen
> Dort schon mit die Todeswund.[165]

There is also a related historical question. Heine's historical perspective post 1848 runs counter to the presentation of narrative or events which are historically complete in themselves. In 'Historien' the essence of the present is embedded in moments of the past: perspectives on the past are open to perspectives on the present and vice versa. Both move against the grain of the fixed narrative role of the *Sänger* in the *Ballade.* This counter-chronological perspective and the problematic dynamic of performance will be discussed with relation to the selected examples below.

Both of these concerns are particularly prominent in the adjoining poems 'Marie Antoinette' and 'Carl 1'. In 'Marie Antoinette', Heine was to expose the *Gespensterballade* to the withering light of day: 'dort am hellen Tag | Gehn um die alten Gespenster' (p.27, ll.3-4). The fossilised royal *lever* is played out behind a façade of 'Spiegelfenster', within a vacuum of recycled, reflected light. Ghosts encountered in the traditional Romantic *Gespensterballade* were the substance of historical legend. Essentially *unheimlich* they originated from elsewhere, from the secret irrational and hidden realms of experience which should not

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[163] See Kayser, 1943, p.297: 'Die Ballade gestaltet als Gedicht eine Begegnung des Menschen mit dem Draußen in der Art, daß die Begegnung in sich sinnvoll und geschlossen ist'.
[164] See DHA, vol.1.1, p.208, l.14; DHA, vol.2, pp.92-3; DHA, vol.3.1, pp.32-6, 49-55.
[165] DHA, vol.1.1, p.96, ll.13-16. See DHA, vol.1.2, p.713, l.4 where l.15 has the variant: 'Doch wir […]'.

normally come to light.[166] By contrast these earthbound, systemic Bourbon ghosts, sustained

by their own reflected light are: 'Possirlich […] und schauderhaft' (p.28, l.39). Their

irrationality is not mysterious, but merely the factual irrationality of the historical continuum:

a revolution removed their heads in the name of equality, but they return in spirit to

perpetuate the hierarchical order the imperfect Revolution sought to remove. This accounts

for the deep ambivalence felt by the unnerved and amazed poetic persona: 'Doch sonderbar!

Es dünkt mich schier, | Als hätten die armen Geschöpfe | Gar nicht bemerkt wie todt sie sind'

(p.28, ll.33-6). The present moment is seen as a grotesque reversal; history is running against

the grain of what had once promised to be a revolutionary era.[167] In verse nine the poetic

persona seems momentarily to weigh up the cost of revolutionary violence against its

historical outcome: 'Das sind die Folgen der Revoluzion | Und ihrer fatalen Doktrine' (p.28,

ll.29-30). However, whilst mocking ghosts which are merely anachronistic replicas of an

outmoded social order, he resorts to impure Gallic rhymes: 'manquiret / frisiret' (p.27, ll.18-

20). In the final stanza the sun, a symbol of revolutionary enlightenment withdraws its beams

from this spectral scene.[168] Within such a context the traditional *Gespensterballad*e is no

longer viable. The resulting pastiche confronts the grotesque, dysfunctional ghosts which will

haunt the modern age: those dependent upon ideology and social systems. The

Gespesterballade may have addressed the ghosts of history, but the ghosts of the present and

future demanded a different poetic idiom.

 'Marie Antoinette' and 'Carl 1.' are complementary. Both are overshadowed by a royal

execution; both work against the grain of history, although in opposite directions. If the

narrator's scornful and laconic presence is relatively obtrusive in 'Marie Antoinette' in the

aftermath of the Revolution, it is virtually absent in 'Carl 1'. The king's uncanny premonition

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[166] See Freud 1964, vol.17, pp.217-256, 'The Uncanny': Freud refers to Schelling's definition. (p.223).

[167] See Winfried Freund, *Die deutsche Ballade. Theorie, Analysen, Didaktik* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1978), p.14: He identifies both narrative intervention and an historical perspective running against the grain as significant features in Heine's treatment of the *Ballade*. 'In Ablehnung des erleidenden restaurativen Geschichtsverständnisses verficht er eine Geschichtsauffassung in deren Mittelpunkt das konkret handelnde Subjekt steht'.

[168] See DHA, vol.7.1, p.74.

of his executioner casts an ominous shadow over a poem more closely akin to the spirit of the *Schauerballade*. However, a naïve treatment of this form is complicated by its counteraction with the underlying *Wiegenlied*. As the poem unfolds, the soporific effects of the original *Wiegenlied* are undermined: 'Eyapopeya, was raschelt im Stroh?' (p.27, l.33). Divorced from the context of the traditional *Köhlerglaube*, the *Wiegenlied* narrative is ineffectual. Both in this poem and 'Marie Antoinette' traditional balladesque motifs present in Romantic folk poetry prove to be a problematic refuge post 1848. Together with irony, parody, pastiche and satire, they now work in the shaping of a new poetic model.

The historical problem already identified also vitiated against uncritical absorption of the *Heldenballade*, despite its popularity with near contemporaries like Fontane in his *Preußenlieder*. The Germanic-Saxon associations of 'Schlachtfeld bei Hastings' might nominally suggest a reversion to the *nordische Ballade* as in 'Die Grenadiere'. Even its historical authenticity is confirmed by reference to Thierry in the 'Noten' (p.175). The poem's thematic and formal balladic credentials also seem to be endorsed by the battlefield atmosphere of mist and gloom, encapsulated in the changing rhythmic currents and tones of the alternating three and four stressed iambic-dactylic lines of the *Chevy Chase Strophe*.

> Viel tausend Leichen lagen dort
> Erbärmlich auf blutiger Erde,
> Nackt ausgesplündert, verstümmelt, zerfleischt,
> Daneben die Aeser der Pferde (p.24, ll.85-8).

However, its ethos is blatantly counter heroic: 'Gefallen ist der bessre Mann' (p.22, l.13); it sympathises with the betrayed and enslaved Saxons (p.22, ll.21-4). It is tempting to read this poem exclusively in the context of the themes of *Treue*, love and death, to be found in Heine's early poetry. Implications beyond the morbid battlefield can be underplayed, as in Joachim Müller's résumé: 'Trostlosigkeit menschlichen Schmerzes, der schon ganz ins konventionelle Gewand sich geflüchtet, und – vielleicht unbewußte – seelische Rücksicht lassen die Ballade ausklingen, die das Elend menschlichen Sterbens auf dem Schlachtfeld

zum Gegenstand hatte'.[169] of 'Historien'.[170] However, the depiction of the Church should alert

the reader to mockery and satire. The monks, deeply in thrall to heathen superstition (p.22,

ll.25-9), are unable to perceive the pattern of events as a confirmation of the paradox of their

gospel rather than a challenge to its veracity: a good man met an unjust death and the spoils of

his kingdom were divided amongst thieves. Their continual wailing, emphasised by the

resounding assonance in verses six and ten, mimics the cackling ravens of the battlefield

(p.25, ll.93-6). The *Treue* motif is also treated with a distant cynicism. King Harold's wooing

and betrayal of Edith during his lifetime are swiftly passed over, yet the repercussions linger

painfully in the decelerating rhythm of verse thirteen: 'Er hat sie geliebt, geküßt und geherzt |

[…] | Die Zeit verfließt; wohl sechzehn Jahr' | Verflossen unterdessen' (p.23, ll.49-52). The

physically ungainly Edith Schwanenhals – 'Weil wie der Hals der Schwäne | Ihr Nacken war'

(p.23, l.46-7) – has long since suffered this betrayal and grows visibly more haggard as the

narrative progresses: 'das arme Weib' (p.24, l.77). Her unusual physical appearance is

intimated in the dissonance of the clashing impure rhymes of 'Schwäne' and 'Schöne' in

verse twelve (p.23, ll.45-9). Her passionate and erotic devotion to the martyred corpse

projects the theme of *Treue* into realms of the grotesque. Earlier intertextual associations in

Heine's poetry between corpses and eros[171] make it difficult to reconcile this reunion between

Edith and the corpse of the dead king with the naïve, monotonous tones of the litany in the

final verse: 'Sie sang die Todtenlitaney'n | In kindisch frommer Weise' (p.25, ll.121-2). The

resulting alliterative cocktail of 'Liebe ∕ 'Leiche' und 'Litanei' is an unpalatable one: 'Der

Leiche ihrer Liebe' (p.25, l.120).

'Der Apollogott', one of the most complex and multi-layered poems within the collection,

was to expose not only issues around performance of the *Ballade*, but also its reception. The

impossibly high and rarefied ideal of the poet implicit in the title 'Apollogott' is matched by

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[169] Joachim Müller, 'Romanze und Ballade', in *Balladenforschung*, ed. by Walter Müller-Seidel (Meisenheim: Hain, 1980), pp.216-32, (p.232).

[170] See Jan-Christoph Hauschild, *Heinrich Heine* (München: dtv, 2002), p.125: 'Schimmernde zeitlos aktuelle politische Brisanz […] wurde nicht erkannt'.

[171] See DHA, vol.1.1, p.163, ll.1-4, 'Lyrisches Intermezzo XXXII'

the equally elevated and enclosed location of the nun, the poem's recipient: 'Der Kloster ist

hoch auf Felsen gebaut' (p.32, l.1). The two principle persona are elevated in different ways,

but they are not sufficiently on the same wavelength to integrate performance and reception.

Both command lofty positions offering a potential for deviation, or falling away. Prawer reads

the poem mythologically as a representation of The Fall.[172] Other readings place it within the

context of a broader debate reflecting different facets of the poetic persona as found in

'Jehuda ben Halevy', 'Der Dichter Firdusi' and 'Enfant perdü'.[173] However, from the generic

perspective it appears as a model for the poetic deviation intimated in the above examples. It

is concerned as much with issues of performance and reception of poetry as with the image of

the poet. The relationship of the poet to his material and its mode of presentation are as

problematic as the revelation of his identity. Just as there is an instability of poetic persona

between the Romantic Apollo of part one and the dissolute Faibisch of part three, the

instability and inconsistency of genre is a source of formal tension. The poem starts with

potentially balladesque material, and even has classical pretensions before suddenly changing

gear. The Romantic Rhineland setting and the window motif[174] of part one, set within the

Chevy Chase Strophe, periodically used in the *Romanzen* of *Neue Gedichte*,[175] raise

expectations of Romantic folk poetry. The prominent enjambement of 'mährchenhaft',

enhanced mid-line by an unusually active comma, calls this into question: 'Da fährt ein

Schifflein, mährchenhaft | Vom Abendroth beglänzet' (p.32, ll.5-6). This self-conscious

deviation moves balladesque pretensions into the realms of pastiche. Section two is also a

deceptive formal tour de force. The lofty Hellenic Apollogott ideal is supposed to be revealed

in all its glory: 'Es war von einer Gloria | Die ganze Welt umflossen' (p.34, ll.27-8). Instead it

betrays a mismatch between a poetic persona initially claiming to be 'Verehrt in allen

Landen' (p.33, l.2), but later admitting to having been banished – 'Wohl tausend Jahr aus

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[172] See Prawer, 1961, p.167.
[173] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.625.
[174] See J.A. Schmoll, 'Fensterbilder', in *Katalog Einblicke-Ausblicke* (Recklinghausen, 1976)
http://www.brunnenrand.de/projekte/Fenster09/Schmoll_Fensterbilder.pdf (accessed 11 February
2013) ll.150.
[175] See p.49.

Gräzia | Bin ich verbannt, vertrieben –' (p.34, ll.29 -30), and ultimately in section three

appearing as a miserable deviant ex Jewish rabbi. There is a gulf between quality of

performance and aspiration. This would-be panegyric to the 'Gott der Musika' (p.33, l.1) falls

away from its initial classical remit. The superficial pretensions of the classical poet barely

mask the underlying shabbiness of Faibisch and the descent into the idiom of a *Bänkellied*.[176]

The vowel 'a' is embedded repeatedly in the cobbled classical allusions 'Musika, Kastalia,

Artemisia' and 'Ambrosia' (p.33, ll.1-25, p.34, l.25), only eventually to be inappropriately

trivialised: 'vokalisierend' in the '[…] la-la, la-la! | […] | tra-ra, tra-ra!' (p.33, l.9, 11) of his

muses. In the overall context of the poem this is not a surprising development as it matches

the role of Faibish, the would-be Apollo of section three: 'In den Buden, auf den Märkten, |

Spielte er den Pickelhäring' (p.36, ll.61-2). The *Jahrmarktsänger* or *Marktsänger* of section

three is already perceptible in the problematic performance of section two. In section three a

rhymeless Spanish four line trochaic tetrameter is introduced: a metrical pattern which

features in the lighter, dancelike *Romanzen*. Its introduction at a nadir for both the nun, as

disillusioned recipient, and the performer poet as Fabius, is yet another example of generic

deviation.

'Der Apollogott' manifests the problems of performance, reception and historical perspective

gradually emerging in the examples above. They represent a dilemma for the modern poet

within the context of the *Kunstballade*. A genre which had its roots in anonymity was now

accommodating the intrusion of a complex poetic persona. The *Ballade* model, originally

associated with the rehearsal of a complete, concentrated event, was compromised by an

innovative model where the poet transcends a simple narrative,[177] and events have no

historical cohesion. In 'Der Apollogott' the historical situation straddles Antiquity, The

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[176] See Walter Hinck, 'Volksballade-Kunstballade-Bänkelsang', in *Balladenforschung,* ed. by Walter Müller-Seidel (Meisenheim: Hain, 1980), pp.61-75: Hinck refers to 'Fiktionssignale' embedded within the *Bänkellied* form: 'Die Überbietung der Wirklichkeit weist die bildlich und sprachlich vergegenwärtigten Szenen gerade nicht als verbürgt aus, sondern als gestellt; sie zeigt die Ebene des fiktionalen Als-ob an' (p.66).

[177] See Kayser, 1943, p.161: 'Heine bleibt nicht in der poetischen Welt des Gedichtes, er erhebt sich darüber, er vernichtet ihren Ernst, indem er seinen Zynismus durchbrechen läßt'.

Middle Ages, and Modernity. Issues of presentation are compounded by problems of reception experienced by the nun. Sammons argues that a potential reason for her misinterpretation of the song is the literary tradition within which she construes the outside world.[178]

Given the inability of the contemporary historical *Ballade* to encompass more complex issues of historical perspective and narrative voice, it is relevant to question why Heine continued the model in *Romanzero*. However, the restructured model in 'Historien' exploits the ephemeral, historical shell hitherto tied to period, setting and social ethos. The unconvincing historical ghosts in 'Marie Antoinette', the ineffectual *Wiegenlied* of 'Carl 1' are exposed within the temporal kaleidoscope of 'Historien'. In a deviant, parodied form in which Hinck's earlier categories dissolve, the *Ballade* is restructured against the historical kaleidoscope of 'Historien' as a *Zeitengedicht* where it straddles a line between aesthetic and political considerations imposed by censorship.

Heine's early *Romanzen*, the *Romanzenton* and its development within *Romanzero*

Heine spoke of the *Romanzenton* and not a *Balladenton*. The *Romanze* in its original pure form offered a differentiated lyrical tendency. What was it which attracted Heine initially to the *Romanze*, and how did its absorption into *Romanzero* compare with that of the *Ballade*? The *Romanze*, originally a Spanish form, translated by Herder and Schlegel and popularised by the Romantics, was subject to the same early phase of experimentation as the *Lied* and *Ballade* before forming a staple component in all three collections of poetry. As with the *Ballade*, Heine's use of the term and his treatment of the form were relatively diverse. Even in the experimental phase of *Junge Leiden* more traditional Spanish *Romanzen*, such as 'Don Ramiro' (1816) and 'Donna Clara' (1823), are to be found in the same section as poems which have as much in common with the *Lied* and *Ballade*.

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[178] See Sammons, 1969, p.365.

Some early examples will be selected to determine the features of the *Romanze* which initially attracted Heine. The formal characteristics of the pure Spanish *Romanze* are technically demanding. Metrically it is written in four line trochaic tetrameters, usually rhymeless but with assonance. 'Don Ramiro', an early example, is a metrical compromise, consisting of rhyming trochees with intermittent use of assonance. The rhymeless Spanish trochees of 'Donna Clara' and 'Almansor' (1825)[179] show a much greater mastery of assonance. Heine was to mould this feature to further effect in the alternation of light and dark tones. Assonance of 'a' often suggest a lighter mood, as in the ballroom scene in 'Almansor'.[180] A more sombre note is struck when Don Ramiro's ghost appears at the wedding feast where it is marked by the recurrence of 'u', 'o' and 'au' and the total absence of 'a': 'Mit durchbohrend stieren Augen | Schaut Ramiro auf die Holde'.[181] However, poetry outstandingly visual in quality, lighter and brighter in tone and treatment, differentiates the *Romanze* from the *Ballade* tendency discussed above. In 'Don Ramiro' and other *Romanzen*, light and colour, strikingly energised by verbal forms, evoke an exotic southern atmosphere.

> Prachtgebäude und Paläste
> Schimmern hell im Glanz der Sonne;
> Und der Kirchen hohe Kuppeln
> Leuchten stattlich wie vergoldet.[182]

Of equal importance are the frequent acoustic effects: 'Tanz [...] Pauke [...], Trommeln [...], Glocken, Orgel',[183] 'Drommeten',[184] 'Krachen':[185] all reinforced through the effect of assonance. This musical quality is an essential element in Heine's treatment of the sub-genre which was to culminate in the musical forms permeating 'Hebräische Melodien'.[186] The poet's creative use of composita results in a plasticity of style and concision of expression: 'Händedrückend, liebeflüsternd | [...] Mährchenartig'.[187] Heine's wit was well served by this

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[179] DHA, vol.1.1, p.312, p.318.
[180] See DHA, vol.1.1, p.322, ll.61-4.
[181] DHA, vol.1.1, p.89, ll.96-100.
[182] DHA, vol.1.1, p.83, ll.37-40.
[183] DHA, vol.1.1, pp.84-5.
[184] DHA, vol.1.1, p.316, l.73.
[185] DHA 1.1, p.326, l.115.
[186] See p.43.
[187] DHA, vol.1.1, p.314, ll.21, 24.

succinctness. The culminating *Pointe* with which the knight's true identity is revealed in 'Donna Clara' is an early manifestation of his poetic rapier.[188] Repetition of individual words within a verse, and the refrain-like recurrence of lines add to the dramatic tension: a particular feature of 'Don Ramiro'. The earlier *Romanzen* take up the theme of thwarted love often in the context of a troubled marriage feast. However, both 'Donna Clara' and 'Almansor' are the products of Heine's engagement with the Jewish, Islamic and Christian dynamics of Spanish history, referred to later in Chapter Three.[189] The subjective issue of the Jewish outsider and relations between the Abrahamic faiths are now projected into the distant context of Medieval Spain. In contrast to the often melancholic *Ritter* of the *Ballade*,[190] the laconic figure of the Jewish *Ritter* in 'Donna Clara' introduces a 'freundlich kosend; […] heiter lächelnd' pose.[191] This Marrano motif,[192] another ironic projection of the poetic persona,[193] is suggested by the theme of baptism in 'Almansor'. Heine's early treatment of the *Romanze* was already proving to be an effective means of masking the impact of either sensitive subjective material, or uncomfortable, controversial issues of the day.

In *Neue Gedichte* the transitional Parisian *Romanze* wanders from its historical, Spanish remit, driven by two other factors: firstly by a nostalgic fascination with figures from German folklore, and secondly by a sensitivity to the relevance of the *Sänger's* role and his engagement 'In dem großen Kampf der Zeit', as Heine describes it in the 'Prolog' to that collection.[194]

Amongst the *Romanzen* of *Neue Gedichte*, 'König Harald Harfager' is the counterpart to 'Ritter Olaf'. Both are pulled between the *Romanze / Ballade* tendencies; in the latter the feudal world of the *Ballade* remains intact; in the former the title's Nordic ring and the distant

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[188] See DHA, vol.1.1, p.318, ll.85-9.
[189] See p.105.
[190] See DHA, 1.1, p.99.
[191] DHA, vol.1.1, p.316, ll.58, 81.
[192] See Philip Veit, 'Heine; The Marrano Pose', *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht, deutsche Sprache und deutsche Literatur*, 66, no.1 (Spring 1974), 145-56.
[193] HSA, vol.20, letter no.82, p.122: 'Das ganze der Romanze ist eine Scene aus meinem eignen Leben'.
[194] DHA, vol.2, p.11, l.12.

strains of the 'Heldenlied' are drowned out by the 'Liebestraum'.[195] The treatment of

historical subject matter in 'Ali Bey', with its unrhymed trochaic tetrameters and the

depiction of an Islamic-Christian conflict, shares formal and thematic characteristics with the

original Spanish model without replicating an Andulasian setting. However, the dominance of

thinly disguised poetic issues, signals a departure from the original location of the *Romanze*

towards a more hybrid world into which contemporary themes are projected.[196]

The lightness, succinctness and abundance of visual and acoustic detail offered by the

Romanze model were to supply the colourful, exotic seams which run through 'Historien' and

'Hebräische Melodien'. This 'Colorit'[197] and potential for irony and humour were to become

an essential foil for the pessimistic political themes preoccupying Heine in the drab confines

of the *Matrazengruft.*

Representative of poems which are permeated by the *Romanzenton*, although not a Spanish

Romanze in the strictest sense, is the amusingly deceptive 'Der weiße Elefant'. It was

generally greeted with approval by contemporary critics.[198] A review in the Breslauer Zeitung

mentioned: '››Die herrlichste Malerei <von den Historien> ist in dem Gedichte Der weiße

Elefant‹‹'.[199] However, the poem plumbs greater depths than the '››Verspottung der

romantischen Liebessehnsucht‹‹' which another reviewer was to emphasise.[200]

Familiar characteristics of the *Romanze* abound in the *Schatzkammer* of exotica with which

Mahawasant surrounds the white elephant. The colourful location is a feast for both eye and

ear: 'Im ››Purpursaale‹‹ sieht man verwundert | Korallenbäume dreyzehnhundert' (p.14, ll.25-

6). The poem's metrical arrangement is also suitably luxuriant and goes beyond that of the

Romanze by combining trochaic tetrameters, assonance, and an aa bb rhyme scheme.

However, the situation addressed by the 'Der weiße Elefant' is dire and global: 'Doch

niemand auf Erden ist zufrieden' (p.15, l.66). The poem has an undercurrent of complex

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[195] See DHA, vol.2, p.95, l.17, p.96, l.29.
[196] See DHA, vol.2, p.87, ll.16-20.
[197] DHA, 3.1, p.177, l.20.
[198] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.564, l.12.
[199] *Breslauer Zeitung*, first supplement to no. 301, 30 October 1851.
[200] Rudolf Gottschall, in *Der Freischütz* no. 133, 6 November 1851, p.530.

polarities: materialism and spirituality; polytheism (p.14, ll.21-4) and monotheism (p.15,

ll.45-90), sound and sight; and a suggestion that the irrationality of the 'Mährchen' of Siam

could be counteracted by the reality of civilised Paris:

> Wenn ihn alldort in der Wirklichkeit
> Der Anblick der schönen Frau erfreut,
> Die seiner Träume Urbild gewesen,
> Dann wird er von seinem Trübsinn genesen (p.18, ll.141-4).

The 'weißer Elefant', an object of religious veneration and 'sein Seelenergötzen' (p.15, l.46),

is seen by the King as a source of spiritual succour. By contrast the distant object of the

elephant's longing has both pagan and religious associations: 'Das ist Gott Amors kolossale |

Domkirche, der Liebe Kathedrale' (p.16, ll.101-2). In a penetrating analysis of this poem,

René Anglade establishes intricate intertextual connections.[201] The elephant's sacerdotal

status is interpreted as a satirical depiction of a papacy in cahoots with the absolute power of

the state.[202] The reading of verse twenty eight as a parody of Gautier's 'Symphonie en blanc'

is very reasonable (p.16, ll.108-11). However, the contention that the *Gräfin Bianka* of the

poem is to be indentified as Delacroix's *Freiheitsgöttin* depicted by Heine in *Französische*

Maler, is a step too far for Windfuhr. He argues that generally Heine's allusions, although

veiled, are not as elusive as this ingenious interpretation.[203]

The fact that the poem was considered harmless and escaped censorship may largely be

attributed to the expectations which had previously built up around the *Romanze* form.

Beneath its exotic surface this *Romanze* has allegorical depths and is more *zeitkritisch* than it

appears. Posing as a harmless animal fable, it depicts a state of profound spiritual malaise

exposed by the gap between political, religious or philosophical ideology: '››kannst du mir

nicht sagen | Was meinem Elephanten fehle, | Warum so verdüstert seine Seele?‹‹' (p.16,

ll.82-4). A reader can easily glide over Heine's initial warning: 'Hier überflügelt der

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[201] See René Anglade, 'Eine Begegnung, die nicht stattfand. Heines "Der weiße Elephant". Eine Interpretation', *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, 20 (1976), 464-91. Anglade emphasises the tissue of referential material intimated in this poem: 'Anspielungen, Zitate, Selbstzitate, Witz, Ironie, ureigene Chiffren, Bilder und Metaphern in so mannigfacher und feinsinniger Kombination in den Dienst der politischen Reflexion im weitesten Sinne gestellt' (p.487).
[202] See Anglade, 1976, p.474.
[203] See DHA, vol. 3.2, p.569.

Wirklichkeit Pracht / Die Mährchen von Tausend und Eine Nacht' (p.14, ll.15-16): only in the context of the poem as a whole does a secondary meaning suggest itself: ultimately the power of reality outstrips even that of the 'Mährchen'. If that is the case then the poem not only connects with the general tenor of the other pessimistic 'Historien', but also proves to be deceptively self-referential. The potential for the exotic represented by the *Romanze* was not achieved by escapism as the intervention of a narrator makes clear. He intervenes as 'Ich' for the first time in a *Romanze*, albeit in the form of a tenuous distancing mechanism in the last stanza: 'Was er beschlossen, das kann ich erzählen | Erst später' (p.19, ll.173-4).

This innovation was to be exploited in 'Spanische Atriden': a poem claiming the credentials of a pure *Spanische Romanze*. Events appear to be located with historical accuracy: 'Am Hubertustag des Jahres | Dreyzehnhundert drey und achtzig, | […] | Zu Segovia im Schlosse' (p.84, ll.1-4). However, the chronology is unreliable as Enrico died in 1379. The trochaic tetrameters with assonance frame the courtly setting of a banquet rich in colour and detail: 'Prunkgeschirr von Gold und Silber' (p.84, ll.8-11). The narrative structure develops an intricate *Rahmengeschichte* in which two historically superimposed banquets are contrasted. A first person narrator features prominently in the *Rahmen* which unfolds sometime in the late fourteenth century (p.84, ll.1-32, pp.90-3). The core historical narrative is placed in the mouth of *Don Diego*, a courtier and minister of *König Pedro*. As an eye witness he links the *Rahmen* to the gruesome 'Atriden' (pp. 85-90). The antithetical structure of the two banquets is indicative of the disengagement of the *Rahmen* with its 'Souveraine Langeweile' (p.84, l.7) from the 'Jammerbilder' (p.91, l.225) of the core narrative. Divergent elements already noticeable within the banquet of 'Don Ramiro', are now much more prominent and foreshadowed in the double-edged title: 'Spanisch' suggests the lightness and brightness associated with this genre, whilst 'Atriden' prepares the reader for its darker elements. The narrator is intent on pursuing the historical truth: 'Als ich frug warum Don Pedro' (p.85, l.29); 'Wer sind diese Jammerbilder?' (p.91, l.225). However, the *Rahmengeschichte* is complicated by Don Diego's reservations about the veracity of its sources.

> Auf den schlottrigen Guitarren
> Bänkelsänger, Maulthiertreiber,
> In Posaden, Kneipen, Schenken.
>
> Glaubet nimmer, was sie faseln
> Von der Liebe Don Fredregos
> Und Don Pedros schöner Gattin (p.85, ll.34-9).

Don Diego's narrative is a reinterpretation, distancing the production of the *Romanze* from oral tradition. He alleges that Don Pedro's motivation for the murder of Don Fredrego had originally been spun for political reasons. This alternative version from 'den klugen Lippen' (p.84, l.24) of a courtier suggests to the attentive reader that issues of motivation might not be as straight forward as they appear. The poet's considerable engagement in the *Rahmen*, firstly as a participant in the banquet, then as a listener to Don Diego's account, and finally as a witness to the torture of the nephews, is a marked departure from the *Romanze* format so far encountered. A first person presence in addition to the former title 'Familiengeschichte' and the elimination of potentially self-referential verses from the original text have led some scholars to read the poem primarily in the context of the *Erbschaftsstreit*.[204] Also of possible significance to this argument is the veiled suggestion that *Don Fredrego* died as a suffering Romantic aesthete: 'Heldenblume; | […] dieses schöne | Träumerische Jünglingsantlitz. || Sprach aus allen diesen Zügen' (p.85, ll.54-6, 60). Furthermore, the inclusion of this *Romanze* in the otherwise subjective, yet bleaker 'Lamentazionen' and not 'Historien' is enigmatic. Taking the textual emendations into consideration, Windfuhr argues that any allusion to the *Erbschaftsstreit* is at best 'verdeckt' or 'verschlüsselt'.[205]

Irrespective of these textual issues, 'Spanische Atriden' marks a clear line of development towards a more subjective and ambivalent framework: a more complex *Romanze* type structure. Although integrated by an investigative narrator, its sources and message remain ambivalent. By accommodating subjective political comment it also demonstrates a similar self-consciousness in performance to that highlighted in the development of the *Ballade*.

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[204] See p.28.
[205] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.750.

Strategically positioned at the end of 'Historien', 'Vitzliputzli' marks a turning point in the

development of the *Romanze*. The focus on the Spanish *Conquesta* of the New World and the

style of its 'Präludium' are a foretaste of *Bimini*, whilst its epic breadth anticipates 'Jehuda

ben Halevy' and 'Disputationen'. Mexican exotica, whether gold, flora and fauna, animal life

or heathen ritual abound amidst simultaneous visual, acoustic and aromatic effects (p.57,

ll.25-45). A balance between description, reportage and comment is maintained within a

largely antithetical structure (p.60, ll.21-4):

> Auf dem Haupt trug er den Lorbeer,
> Und an seinen Stiefeln glänzten
> Goldne Sporen – dennoch war er
> Nicht ein Held und auch kein Ritter (p.59, ll.1-4).

The New World is compared with Western civilisation (pp.5-9), heathen sacrifice with

Christian liturgy (p.69, ll.85-112); the hypocritical Spanish with the bloodthirsty Mexicans;

Cortez, the 'Räuberhauptmann' with the heroic Columbus (p.59, ll.12-16); the healthy,

pristine environment of the 'Präludium' with the gruesome final section.

These stylistic developments are counterbalanced by innovations in thematic content. The

'Präludium' is dominated by subjective, poetical and political issues. Within both of these

domains the poem swings on its antithetical axis between hope and pessimism. Poetically the

New World offers vital sensations, but the poet is unable to remain objective: 'Wo hab' ich

denn | Je dergleichen schon gerochen? || War's vielleicht auf Regentstreet?' (p.58, ll.43-5). He

is initially tempted to believe that this is the realm of a new Romanticism: an escape from the

'Katakomben der Romantik' (p.58, l.72). Nevertheless, the monkey in the poem (p.58, l.61)

shies away like the 'Nixe' in 'Waldeinsamkeit' (p.83, ll.153-6). Yet, there is a contrast with

the former poem where the poet pessimistically resigns to being perceived as a 'ghost' of

Romanticism. Here he reasserts the potential for poetic engagement by escaping into irony:

'ich bin kein Spuk; | Leben kocht in meinen Adern' (p.58, ll.63-4). The concluding stanza of

the 'Präludium' (p.59, ll.77-80) brings the *Romanze* into the realm of the *Zeitgedicht*.

Ironically, the 'Schwarz-roth-goldgelb' on the monkey's posterior appears to carry a positive

message: 'Theure Farben!' (p.59, l.77). Charles Andler sees this as an expression of Heine's

desire for a greater Germany: 'La cocarde noir-rouge-or est celle que L'Allemagne (sic) entièrement unifiée, d'un Großdeutschland'.[206] A desire for a greater Germany it may be, but it also reflects the reality of the disaster of the German liberal movement represented by 1848, compounded by a lingering anxiety about the nature of a further German revolution. Yet, 'Vitzliputzli' goes far beyond the context of domestic politics. It continues the depiction in 'Historien' of volatile historical turning points. The New World offered the potential to revive a culture which is 'Europamüde' (p.60, l.38), but its resources were cynically plundered. It had the potential to release healing properties, but instead savage primitivism was stirred into bloody, divisive vengeance.

The *Romanze* had travelled far from the confines of the chivalrous world of 'Don Ramiro', via the *Conquesta*, towards an innovatory post colonial discourse. Kuschel is prepared to go even further: 'So nimmt dieser Autor die Befreiungshermeneutik heutiger Geschichtsschreibung vorweg'.[207] In the early poems of 'Historien', the *Kunstballade*, dressed as parody and pastiche, offered a medium for veiled attacks on the Restoration. Irrespective of this, the roots of the *Ballade* had been closely associated with medievalism and the Nordic hero. One possible explanation for Heine's choice of the *Romanze* over the *Ballade* form in the latter part of *Romanzero* has already been suggested: a rounded narrative delivered by a *Sänger* proved too restrictive a medium for the subjective discourse of a modern poet. Apart from a more successful incorporation of subjective elements, 'Vitzliputli' and 'Spanische Atriden' reveal two further significant characteristics of the *Romanze* already adumbrated in *Atta Troll* and *Deutschland ein Wintermärchen*: its capacity for detail within epic length,[208] and its accommodation of the grotesque within a light framework. As he became confined to the gloom of the *Matrazengruft* and the political horizon darkened post 1848, the colour and

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[206] Charles Andler, *La poésie de Henri Heine* (Lyons: Bibliothèque de la Societe des Études Germaniques, 1948), p.159: 'The black, red and gold cockade are those of a completely unified Germany, a greater Germany'.

[207] Kuschel, 2003, p.151.

[208] See Reck, 1987: 'Auch wenn Heine die Romanzenform beliebig auszuweiten scheint, verlangt die kurze Strophenform eine gewisse Disziplin, die zur Straffung und Verdichtung führt' (p.97).

rapier thrust of the *Romanze* must have appeared an attractive option.[209] Its exotic cultural

origins also introduced a wide historical, geographical canvas in the spirit of 'Historien',

surpassing the constricted horizons which had incited the parodied restructuring of the

Ballade. Most significantly, the *Romanze* was to provide a medium for the exploration of the

Hispanic-Islamic culture of the Sephardic Jews, tapping into a vast range of poetic, cultural

and imaginative dimensions fully to be exploited in 'Hebräische Melodien'.

The restructuring of the *Zeitgedicht* and the interplay between *Vor-* and

Nachmärzpoesie

In the area of the *Zeitgedicht* the interconnection between *Vor-* and *Nachmärz* models is more

apparent. Therefore, rather than focussing in detail on individual poems as above, the analysis

will be a comparative one. It will highlight the way in which themes, narrative structure and

metaphor are reconfigured in poems of different periods, and cross generic boundaries.

The term *Zeitgedicht* was well known when Heine chose to use it in 1840.[210] Before tracing

its absorption into *Romanzero* it is necessary to consider its function vis a vis the *Ballade* and

Romanze, and also to outline Heine's use of the term before 1848. Specific lyrical, rhythmical

and metrical forms are less frequently associated with *Zeitgedichte* than is the case with the

other two sub-genres. A *Zeitgedicht* may encapsulate features of the *Ballade, Romanze* or

Lied. Its definitive quality lies in its *zeitbedingt* content and *zeitkritisch* status. Peter Hasubek

neatly differentiates Heine's use of the term from the wider implications of the *politisches*

Gedicht: 'Nicht jedes von Heines Zeitgedichten ist ein politisches Gedicht, aber jedes seiner

Zeitgedichte läßt sich als politisches Gedicht verstehen'.[211] The implications of this lapidary

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[209] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.703: 'Letzteres Motiv [die Grausamkeit] scheint die vorherrschende Stimmung in Heines letzten Lebensjahren wiederzugeben. Das Sichergehen in üppigen Phantasiespielen, in bunten, oft überreizten Vorstellungen, in Bildern einer weiten, beweglichen Welt, das sich zum Leben in der Matrazengruft kompensatorisch ausnimmt, braucht nicht besonders betont und belegt zu werden'.
[210] See Jürgen Wilke, *Das Zeitgedicht. Seine Herkunft und frühe Ausbildung* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974), p.60. The *Zeitgedicht* could be referred to 'als ei[n] damals epochetypische[s] literarische[s] Phänomen'.
[211] Hasubek, 1997, p.24.

statement will be examined in the following comparative analysis of restructuring. Firstly, it is particularly relevant to the dynamic between narrator and recipient: an area also highlighted by Hinck.[212] Secondly, it anticipates the interrelation of sub-genres: a crucial aspect of *Romanzero*. Most importantly, it implies that Heine's understanding of *Zeit* in the context of a *Zeitgedicht* is not just a reaction to events which constitute actuality, but rather a critical, comparative stance in which reference to the past delineates the present moment: 'Was wir gestern bewundert, hassen wir heute, und morgen vielleicht verspotten wir es mit Gleichgültigkeit'.[213] This mode of thinking separates Heine's *Zeitgedichte* from the *Zweckliteratur* of many of the contemporary *Vormärz Dichter*.[214] A reading of the present in terms of both an historical and creative past is a defining characteristic of the structure of the *Zeitgedichte* within *Romanzero* which refer back to, and complement, their counterparts within *Neue Gedichte.*

Hasubek also sees Heine's differentiation of *Zeitgedichte* within *Neue Gedichte* as evidence for 'die Umrisse eines bestimmten literarischen Programms'.[215] Gestures towards a programmatic approach were made in 1831 when Heine had identified the task of modern literature as the expression of 'was die Zeit fühlt und denkt und bedarf und will'.[216] In 1839 in the'Vorrede zur dritten Auflage' of *Buch der Lieder* he had discussed the suitability of poetry and prose in the presentation of issues of the day.[217] Hasubek's observation is useful in its emphasis on 'Umrisse' and 'literarisch', and the priority these poems place on the function of political poetry in general rather than specific, schematic social and political comment. *Tendenzpoesie*, on the other hand revolved around the bold statement of the writer's *Programm*, whereas Heine's ironic *Zeitgedichte* are largely directed towards a redefinition of

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[212] See p.71.
[213] DHA, vol.6, p.143.
[214] See Brummack, 1980, p.207: 'Die lyrische Gestaltung war dabei Mittel zum Zweck, sie diente allein der Vermittlung politischer Parolen und Programme'.
[215] See Hasubek, 1997, p.23.
[216] DHA, vol.8, p.45.
[217] See DHA, vol.1, p.15.

the function and purpose of political poetry in general.[218] This means that the formal means of

presentation is oblique and the onus is placed on the engagement of subtle mechanisms of

reception.[219] Hinck also comments on the narrator / reader nexus in his reference to the

receptive skills implicit in the educative and emancipatory function of Heine's ironic

Zeitgedichte: 'hier wird ein Leseverhalten eingübt, das zu politischem Verhalten erzieht'.[220]

This was an 'educative' process demanding 'kritische Wachheit'. That the hidden 'politische

Brillanz' was not always appreciated is borne out by the mixed reception to *Romanzero*

already referred to.[221] Reasons for this could possibly range from false expectations arising

from the title *Romanzero* to the considerable demands made by the type of comparative

reading implicit in this analysis.

Even outlines of a programme referred to by Hasubek are far more difficult to discern in the

content of the *Zeitgedichte* within *Neue Gedichte* where they engage with a largely sporadic

pattern of *Zeitverhandlungen* and personalities. A scatter-gun approach to the presentation of

contemporary events is often linked to ad hominem comment. For example, the completion of

the *Kölner Dom*,[222] the absence of a constitution,[223] and the dispute over the Rhineland are

presented within the framework of a satirical poem about Dingelstedt.[224] Ambivalent attitudes

to the Napoleonic annexation are buried in a panegyric to Le Grand;[225] satirical treatment of

Catholicism and artistic dilettantism are sandwiched within the debunking of Ludwig von

Baierland.[226] Comments on Jewish assimilation and the Prussianisation of cultural life are

linked to Friedrich Wilhelm IV.[227]

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[218] It is significant that the two poems which exemplify this method: 'Doktrin' and 'Tendenz' are placed strategically at the beginning and in the centre of the *Zeitgedichte* in *Neue Gedichte.*

[219] See DHA vol.14.1, p.48: 'dieses Selbstbewußtseyn der Freyheit in der Kunst offenbart sich ganz besonders durch die Behandlung, durch die Form, in keinem Falle durch den Stoff'.

[220] Walter Hinck, 'Ironie im Zeitgedicht Heines', in *Heine Studien. Internationaler Heine-Kongress 1972,* ed. by Manfred Windfuhr (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973), pp.81-104, (p.102).

[221] See p.55.

[222] See DHA, vol.2, p.112, l.13.

[223] See DHA, vol.2, p.112, l.17.

[224] See DHA, vol.2, p.113, l.1.

[225] See DHA, vol.2, p.113, 'Zeitgedichte VII'.

[226] See DHA, vol.2, p.145, l.5.

[227] See DHA, vol.2, p.123, ll.27-8.

The oblique projection of political targets via the satirical treatment of contemporary or historical personalities is also evident in *Romanzero* and particularly within the hybrid poems which Heine refers to as 'Historien'. A careful reader will not dismiss 'König David' merely as a remote scene from Jewish history. Use of the present tense, the internal dialogue between father and son, and the alternation of generic and particular terminology are notable. 'Der Despot […] Armes Volk […] dieser tapfre General […] mein Sohn' run in parallel with 'König David', 'Joab' and 'Salomo' (pp.40-1). The treacherous chain of events did not just happen in a particular context, but by implication it becomes the default model of a dynastic survival mechanism valid now and for all time. That this process carries on unabated is aptly conveyed in the flow of the *Volksliedstrophe*. The opening verse is a vignette of just such a process in which the receptive reader could insert his / her particular designations:

> Lächelnd scheidet der Despot,
> Denn er weiß, nach seinem Tod
> Wechselt Willkür nur die Hände,
> Und die Knechtschaft hat kein Ende.
> Armes Volk! (p.40, ll.1-5).

In 'Carl 1', there is a similar pattern of ambivalent generic terminology. Carl remains just 'Der König' apart from the title, whereas the other characters are 'Köhlerkinder, das Kätzchen, die Mäuschen' and 'die Schafe' (pp.26-7): designations applicable in any century. From this seemingly impersonal context, the King's claim to divine absolutism would alarm large swathes of mid-nineteenth-century readers: 'im Himmel der Gott | Und ich der König auf Erden' (p.26, ll.19-20). However, on this particular occasion the poetic structure does not come to the rescue of a status quo. Unlike 'König David', the disintegration in the flow of the intermittent *Wiegenlied* would suggest an undercurrent of change. 'Eyapopeya, was raschelt im Stroh – | Du hast das Reich erworben' (p. 27, ll.29-30). The balladesque function of the *Wiegenlied* is dissipated into a context where roles and historical relevance become ambiguous and multi-layered.

The satirical implications of 'Marie Antoinette' have already been discussed in the context of the *Ballade*. Its *zeitkritisch* potential also crosses generic boundaries. The irregular emphasis placed on 'dennoch' in the first verse alerts the reader to the possibility that the past is

inevitably encapsulated in the present moment. The poet is visibly caught up in the vortex of

the *Zerrissenheit* of time.[228]

> Wie heiter im Tuilerienschloß
> Blinken die Spiegelfenster,
> Und dennoch dort am hellen Tag
> Gehn um die alten Gespenster (p.27, ll.1-4).

These ghosts are all the more terrifying because they are able to defy the normal strictures of

Zeit: they haunt 'am hellen Tag'.

'Marie Antoinette' and 'Carl 1' are initially referred to by Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer as

'politische Balladen'. In his detailed analysis of 'Carl 1' he goes on to concede that it breaks

generic boundaries: an implication already raised by Hasubek's earlier observation.[229]

According to Bayerdörfer, the fictitious elements of the *Ballade* and the stylistic directness of

the *Romanze* are overridden and 'durch formengeschichtliche Traditionen der politischen

Lyrik belastet', thereby encouraging political reflection.[230]

Reference has already been made to the problematic narrative dynamics which emerged in

Heine's development of the *Kunstballade* and *Romanze*. In comparison, the formal flexibility

afforded by the *Zeitgedicht* was skilfully exploited by the ironic and satirical poet. The

projection of roles and their incorporation into the intricacies of the *Rollengedicht* were

techniques which enabled Heine to encode unpalatable messages. Also under cover he was

able to launch critical and ironic attacks on the narrative style and the 'daily thundering' of

contemporary poets, running parallel with, and masking more significant attacks on the

establishment.[231] The complexity of this narrator / reader dialogue has already been raised by

Hinck.[232]

This is evident in a cluster of poems addressed to contemporary writers in *Neue Gedichte*:

'Warnung', 'An einen ehemaligen Goetheaner', 'Bey des Nachtwächters Ankunft zu Paris'

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[228] See DHA, vol.6, p.143: In *Die Nordsee. Dritte Abtheilung* Heine refers to the 'Zerrissenheit der Denkweise unserer Zeit'.
[229] See p.67.
[230] Bayerdörfer, 1972, p.445.
[231] See DHA, vol.2, p.120, ll.6-20.
[232] See p.69.

and 'Georg Herwegh'[233] link into a parallel literary cluster in *Romanzero*: 'Der Ex-Lebendige', 'Der Ex-Nachtwächter' (p.93) and 'Plateniden' (p.98). Their significance is cumulative. The internal dialogue technique is at its simplest in the 'ich-du' relationship to be found in 'Warnung'. The poet dissimulates about the dangers of censorship with a supposed colleague, 'Theurer Freund'.[234] In effect he is conducting an oblique attack on censorship in a mock debate with a poetic alter-ego. Internal dialogue is often more convoluted in poems addressed to renegade poets: those who have changed either literary or political allegiance. These poems are not primarily polemical, as in the Platen or Börne context,[235] but subtle ironic critiques of individual alliances. However, more importantly, they are manifestations of broader political concerns which underpin the '*Verkehrte Welt*' of the Restoration.[236] The framework of 'Bey des Nachtwächters Ankunft zu Paris' and its companion 'An den Nachtwächter'[237] is addressed in the 'du' register to the '»Nachwächter mit langen Fortschrittsbeinen«', but encompasses a wider debate in which the narrator plays with the concepts of 'Freiheit', 'Fortschrittsbeine' and 'Rückschrittsbeine'.[238] In the former poem the distant narrator takes advantage of the exile situation and questions Dingelstedt: '»Wie geht es daheim den lieben Meinen, | Ist schon befreyt das Vaterland? «'[239] As a result subsequent attitudes to spurious instances of 'Fortschritt' and 'Freiheitsgesetze' could be those of either Dingelstedt or Heine. When he returns to the 'Ex-Nachtwächter' theme in *Romanzero* it is in the form of a more complex *Rollengedicht*. The renegade Dingelstedt is referred to in the third person. This is followed by a catalogue of satirical instances of literary, ecclesiastical and political realignment away from Munich towards the Prussian cause (p.95, ll.36-69), distinctly in opposition to the humanist traditions which formerly flourished in that city. The poignancy of the central satire directed against the establishment is again relativised by the

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[233] See DHA, vol.2, pp.110-13, 118.
[234] DHA, vol.2, p.110, l.2.
[235] Heine had engaged in literary feuds with Platen in 1828 and Börne in 1837.
[236] See DHA, vol.2, p.126, l.1.
[237] See DHA, vol.2, p.124.
[238] DHA, vol.2, p.125, ll.9-10.
[239] DHA, vol.2, p.112, ll.3-4.

ad-hominem approach in the final dialogue between a masked narrator and the 'Ex-

Nachtwächter'.

> Ex-Nachtwächter, Stundenrufer,
> Fühlst du nicht dein Herz erglühn? (p.97, ll.113-4).
> […]
> Jener aber seufzt, und seine
> Hände ringend er versetzt (p.97, ll.121-2).

A similar narrative structure is to be found in 'Der Ex-Lebendige', however, further

dissemblance is introduced by adopting a Brutus-Cassius parallel for Herwegh and

Dingelstedt.[240] This proves an effective ploy to engage all three poets in virtual dialogue.

Brutus, alias Herwegh, is made answerable for the foibles of Cassius, alias Dingelstedt, whilst

the narrator remains involved as an unidentified 'du':

> Brutus, wo ist dein Cassius? (p.93, l.9).
> […]
> Doch Brutus erwiedert: du bist ein Thor,
> Kurzsichtig wie alle Poeten –
> Mein Cassius liest dem Tyrannen vor,
> Jedoch um ihn zu tödten (p.93, ll.13-16).

An alternative to the hidden narrator, or the 'ich-du' dynamic, is the use of 'wir'. In

Zeitgedichte of the 1840s it features as an ambiguous distancing technique in the discussion

of controversial German affairs. 'Wir' could pose as a collective for the German people,

poets, the poet as *Praeceptor Germaniae*, or the poet himself. This ambivalence had arisen in

'Der Tambourmajor'[241] where in verse five the poet is initially content to allow the poem to

unfold under the broad umbrella of 'wir': an intimation of the whole German nation, which

collectively, the poet ironically suggests, had to suffer the indignity of the Napoleonic

Empire: 'Wir haben lange getragen das Leid, | Geduldig wie deutsche Eichen'.[242] Yet,

towards the end of the poem a dialogue is introduced between the narrator and 'Fritz'

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[240] See also DHA, vol.2, p.125, ll.1-4.This motif is adumbrated in *Neue Gedichte* and woven into the fabric of *Romanzero* as in the motto to 'Historien': 'Wenn man an dir Verrath geübt, | Sey du um so treuer' (p.10).
[241] DHA, vol.2, p.113.
[242] DHA, vol.2, p.114, ll. 21-2.

(Friedrich Wilhelm IV) in which the initial critique of the French annexation is mocked directly by the narrator.[243]

Whilst the ploy of alternating pronouns functions within a contentious political context in *Neue Gedichte*, in *Romanzero* in 'Plateniden' a similar technique is replicated in a literary context. However, both are attacks on Restoration culture. In a flashback familiar reference is made to Platen whom it is assumed all ('wir') consider a great man: 'Und wir sollen in dir sehen | Deutscher Zukunft größten Mann' (p.98, ll.3-4). The narrator initially remains at a distance, but when the second half switches to the present context of Platen's poetic followers, he becomes personally engaged: 'Das sind Platens echte Kinder, | […] | Oh, ich kenn' Euch gar zu gut!' (p.98, ll.25, 29). The dichotomy between the collective opening and the highly charged personal conclusion is not a reopening of the Platen polemic, but a much more subtle critique of established epigones and their literary attitudes which work in favour of the Restoration.

Heine's critique of his *Vormärz* colleagues in 'Der Ex-Lebendige' and 'Der Ex-Nachtwächter' ironically focuses on the discrepancy between their literary message and their subsequent political affiliations. Similarly, a familiarity with the earlier *Zeitgedichte*, particularly the cluster of poems in which the exiled poet had contemplated Germany, 'Anno 1829', 'Anno 1839', 'Deutschland', 'Das Kind' and 'Nachtgedanken',[244] is illuminating when considering the more overtly political 'Im Oktober 1849' (p.117) and 'Zwey Ritter' (p.38). Metaphors occurring in the last two have been restructured from their counterparts in *Neue Gedichte*. Despite Heine's ironic and satirical treatment of the nationalistic and Romantic tendencies detracting from the effective presentation of the liberal cause, not everything is to be read in this vein, even in the early *Zeitgedichte*. The 'wilder Sturm' of 'Wartet nur' written in 1844 is a specific instance.[245] Hinck argues strongly from the context for a straight reading

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[243] DHA, vol.2, p.115, ll.53-60.
[244] DHA, vol. 2, pp.79-80, 120-1, 129, 141-2
[245] DHA, vol.2, p.128, 1.10.

of the text: 'Der Text hebt sich von der Mehrzahl der Zeitgedichte dadurch ab, daß er nicht

satirisch ist […]. 'Wartet nur' [ist] völlig ernst gemeint'.[246]

> Gar manche Eiche wird zersplittern
> An jenem Tag der wilde Sturm,
> Gar mancher Palast wird erzittern
> Und stürzen mancher Kirchenthurm![247]

When the 'Sturm' image is taken up again in 'Im Oktober 1849', the historical context has

fundamentally altered: 'Gelegt hat sich der starke Wind' (p.117, l.1). The defeated Revolution

in Germany and throughout Europe is of a piece with the historical pessimism of the

'Historien'. 'Die Letzten wurden die Ersten, das Unterste kam zu oberst, sowohl die Dinge

wie die Gedanken waren umgestürzt, es war wirklich die verkehrte Welt'.[248] The humorously

projected 'Verkehrte Welt' of 1844 has become a grim reality.[249] However, the *Zeitgedicht*

'Im Oktober 1849', placed in the mouth of 'Lazarus', is the first public expression of this

reality. In 'Anno 1839' the poet had envisaged an idyll 'Aus Veilchenduft und

Mondenschein'.[250] Initially, 'Im Oktober 1849' appears to be a reconstruction of the

Vormärzidylle: 'Gemüthlich ruhen Wald und Fluß, | Von sanftem Mondlicht übergossen'

(p.117, ll.9-10). The idyll is undermined from within by the anachronism of Christmas trees

and swallows in October. It is also difficult to take 'Germania, das große Kind' seriously after

the satirical allegory of her birth in 'Das Kind' and her ungainly infancy in 'Deutschland!'[251]

Michael Werner highlights the arrangement of 'Im Oktober 1849'. When published in the

French edition it appeared as 'strophes supplementaires' in juxtaposition to *Deutschland ein

Wintermärchen.*[252] 'Dieser deutsche Zukunftsduft',[253] the vision of revolution in Germany

which haunted the poet in that epic and the *Vormärz*, is woven back into *Romanzero* as 'de[r]

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[246] Hinck, 1973, p.88.

[247] DHA, vol.2, p.128, ll.9-12.

[248] DHA, vol.15, p.36.

[249] DHA, vol.2, pp.126-7.

[250] DHA, vol.2, p.81, l.29.

[251] DHA, vol.2, p.141.

[252] See Michael Werner, 'Politische Lazarus-Rede: Heines Gedicht "Im Oktober 1849"', in *Gedichte und Interpretationen. Vom Biedermeier zum Bürgerlichen Realismus*, ed. by Günther Häntzchel (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1984), pp.288-99. 'So erscheint es als Epilog zu Heines Versepos, gewissermaßen als Probe aufs Exempel der dort in Caput XXV1 als Deutschlands Zukunft vom Dichter im Nachtstuhl Karls des Grossen geschauten und in „Gerüche" übersetzten deutschen Revolution' (p.289).

[253] DHA, vol.4, p.153, l.17.

Duft der Sieger', the reek of a defeated revolution. The metaphor is reworked into the last biting stanza of the poem: 'Das heult und bellt und grunzt – ich kann | Ertragen kaum den Duft der Sieger' (p.119, ll.57-8). Christian Liedtke comments on its significance for Heine's viewpoint post 1848: 'Der kaum zu ertragende "Duft der Siege" wird zur zentralen Metapher für die Situation nach der gescheiterten Revolution'.[254]

Another structural characteristic of the *Zeitgedicht* within *Romanzero* is its chain-like development of references, themes and personalities, forged by association and comparison. The opening *Idylle* of 'Im Oktober 1849' has echoes of the 'Goethefeyer', a reference to the centenary and the Goethe cult of the Restoration (p.117, l.17).These Weimar associations easily converge with reminiscences of Liszt, and in turn give rise to the essence of the '*Tagesgedicht*',[255] the final defeat of the Hungarian Revolution. This is both linked to the mythological grandeur of the 'Heldenepos' of the *Nibelungen* and the bestial forces of contemporary dynastic power. Such a chain-like structure, often antithetically linked, is an earlier stylistic feature of *Die Reisebilder*: 'Ich arbeite wie der Goldschmied, wenn er eine Kette anfertigt, – ein Ringelchen nach dem anderen – eines in das andere'.[256] Mention has already been made of Heine's reading of the present with reference to the past.[257] Höhn draws attention to this *Zeitkontraste* in the context of what he sees as Heine's overarching *Kontrastästhetik.*[258] A humorous juxtaposition of contrasts is to be found in 'Zwey Ritter'. The *ritterlich* pretensions of two Polish soldiers who have defected are set against their straitened circumstances as Parisian exiles. Heine mocks the allusions of 'Crapulinski und Waschlapski' by juxtaposing them with:

> ››Helden, wie der Held Sobieski,
> Wie Schelmufski und Uminski,
> Eskrokewitsch, Schubiaski,

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[254] Liedtke, 2000, pp.216-237, (p.220).
[255] HSA, vol.22, letter no.1278, p.322.
[256] *Gespräche mit Heine,* ed. by H. Houben (Frankfurt a. M: Loening, 1926), p.208.
[257] See pp.70-1.
[258] See Gerhard Höhn, '"Sauerkraut mit Ambrosia". Heines Kontrastästhetik', *HJb*, 48 (2009), 1-27 (p.12).

Und der große Eselinski‹‹ (p.39, ll.57-60).

Kortländer aptly summarises the effect: 'Diese[r] Gegensatz zwischen heroischem Ereignis und lächerlichem Auftreten seiner Protagonisten'.[259] However, the political significance goes once more beyond ad hominem mockery. The context suggests Heine's critique of the misplaced fervour of the Parisian circle of republican émigrés. These émigrés are indulging in a quietistic idyll comparable to that which appears to prevail in 'Im Oktober 1849': 'Polen aus der Polackey. || Sitzen heute am Kamine, | Wo die Flammen traulich flackern' (p.39, ll.32-4).

Consideration of the structure of the *Ballade* and *Romanze* has inevitably touched on the role of the lyrical 'Ich'. It was suggested earlier that the incorporation of the poet as narrator into the *Zeitgedicht* might have proved to be less problematic, and that this was particularly exemplified in the *Rollengedicht*.[260] However, this assertion needs some qualification. Even within the *Vormärz Zeitgedichte*, there is a tension over the nature of this engagement. In 'Die Tendenz' the narrator parodies the role of the over fervent patriot: 'Blase, schmettre, donn're täglich, | Bis der letzte Dränger flieht –'.[261] As Hinck observes: 'Das Ironiesignal hat zugleich die Aufgabe des Dementis'.[262] On the other hand, it has already been argued that in 'Wartet nur' the narrator also asserts his right to subjective engagement: 'Ihr irrt Euch sehr, denn ich besitze | Gleichfalls fürs Donnern ein Talent'.[263] The inclusion of 'Geheimniß'[264], described by Windfuhr as a former love poem[265], within the cluster of *Vormärz Zeitgedichte* introduces another narrative option in the face of *Zeitverhandlungen*. It is not that of the ironic mask, nor of the political activist, but the option to remain silent: 'Krampfhaft verschlossen bleibt der Mund'.[266]

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[259] Bernd Kortländer, '"Der beste der Humoristen". Zu Heines Humorbegriff am Beispiel seines Gedichtes "Zwey Ritter"', *Wirkendes Wort*, 42 (1992), 55-66, (p.62).
[260] See p.72.
[261] DHA, vol.2, p.120, ll.16-17.
[262] Hinck, 1973, p. 85.
[263] DHA, vol.2, p.128, ll.3-4.
[264] DHA, vol.2, p.111.
[265] DHA, vol.2, p.697.
[266] DHA, vol.2, p.112, l.9.

In extremis the political situation post 1848 and the crisis of the poet's health, his difficulty in writing and his finances imposed severe problems: 'Über die Zeitereignisse sage ich nichts'.[267] Nevertheless, the historical perspective of 'Historien' and the other-worldly Lazarus persona provide a potential resolution to the tension surrounding the role of the lyrical 'Ich'. This possibility is placed under severe strain in the last stanza of 'Im Oktober 1849':

> Doch still, Poet, das greift dich an –
> Du bist so krank und schweigen wäre klüger (p.119, ll.59-60).

However, the final poem in the 'Lazarus poems', 'Enfant perdü', moves towards a more satisfactory conclusion. As 'Lazarus', the poet has a vision in which the individual perspective is submerged within an historical collective: 'Der Eine fällt, die Andern rücken nach –' (p.122, l.22). The lyrical 'Ich' and the ambivalent 'wir' of earlier *Zeitgedichte* finally merge.

Such is the ironic restructuring of sub-genres from *Vormärz* poetry within *Romanzero*, that it is difficult to consider the collection in isolation. This awareness of the relevance of the past is not just a thematic one, as manifested in *Geschichtpessimismus*, but it is also a formal one. A pattern of generic deviation and continuity is implicit in the *Romanzenton*. Remnants of the *Ballade* in parodied form, the discovery of exotic and epic qualities of the *Romanze,* the ironical restructuring of dialogue, motifs and metaphors of *Vormärz Zeitgedichte* are reconfigured into a new model of *Zeitengedicht.* This poetic model is a synthesis of the tendencies of all three genres, just as individual *Historie* merge into the historical sweep of 'Historien', 'Lamentazionen' echo all poetic lament, and 'Hebräische Melodien' flow into the collective of Hebrew melody.

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[267] HSA, vol.22. letter no.1234, p.287.

'Jehuda ben Halevy' as *Gedächtniskunst*: the restructuring of memory within poetic discourse

In their thought-provoking analyses of Jewish history, the two eminent Jewish historians Yosef Yerushalmi and Amos Funkenstein are divided over the relative roles of 'collective memory', 'historical consciousness' and 'historiography' within Jewish cultural history. For Yerushalmi the comparatively late emergence of a comprehensive Jewish historiography in the nineteenth-century can be seen in the context of the existing provision of archetypal structures in the Hebrew scriptures. These had been the principle reference point of historical meaning throughout the centuries. He regards the arrival of historical consciousness within the nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft der Juden* as a definitive moment. Collective memory, originally the preserve of liturgical practices, was now subject to historical-critical interrogation. Referring to the new '*Wissenschaft*' he writes:

> It should be manifest by now that it did not derive from prior
> Jewish historical writing or historical thought. Nor was it the
> fruit of a gradual and organic evolution […]. Modern Jewish
> historiography began precipitously out of that assimilation
> from without and collapse from within which characterized
> the sudden emergence of Jews out of the ghetto. It originated,
> not as scholarly curiosity, but as ideology.[268]

Funkenstein, on the other hand, refutes the idea of sudden polarisation. He suggests that Jewish culture had been moulded by a combination of contact with other cultures and 'creative thinking about history' at different periods in the past. It is unlikely in his opinion that historical thinking in the context of the *Wissenschaft der Juden* evolved at a remove from the framework of collective memory.[269] Whilst this is a debate which primarily concerns the cultural historian, it focuses on one of the creative tensions which generated the closely linked historical and poetic discourses within *Romanzero*: the interplay between German and Jewish

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[268] Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor. Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), p.85.
[269] See Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1993), p.11.

nineteenth-century historicism and Jewish collective memory.

The first half of this chapter will be concerned with the role of memory in the emergence of

Jewish identity. Initially it will focus on the importance of collective memory and its

relationship to canonical texts before assessing how this is reflected in the historical

perspective within the poem 'Jehuda ben Halevy' and the poet's search for origin.

The commands to remember (*zakhor*), or not to forget, resound throughout the Hebrew

scriptures, whether from the mouths of prophet, psalmist or God. Jewish collective memory is

expressed in signs, symbols and text recording people, places and events, and continually

renewed through re-interpretation of scripture, ritual or oral tradition. From the Jewish

perspective historical progression is neither linear nor cyclical; historical meaning is

generated by a covenant in which the present moment of recall becomes of significance in its

relation to the past and its impact on the future.[270]

This concept of an *Erinnerungskultur* embedded in, and emanating from written and oral

tradition was particularly formative for Judaism. Although on a primary level the text of the

Tora remained unchanged, its interpretation and recall in specific situations was ongoing.

Jews handed on a reservoir of textual and oral sources flowing in the course of time into the

conduit of collective memory. The reinterpretation of this cultural heritage was to become one

of the principle challenges of the Jewish writer in the modern age:

> Zum Medium des kulturellen Gedächtnisses wird die [die Schrift]
> erst in Verbindung mit einer entsprechenden Erinnerungskultur,
> und das heißt in diesem Fall: eine Auslegungskultur, die in die
> gespeicherten Zeichen wieder in Sinn rückzuübersetzen vermag.
> Solche Auslegung wird aber nur Texten zuteil, die nicht nur
> verschriftet, sondern darüberhinaus auch noch < kanonisiert >,
> d.h. in den Rang überhistorischer Verbindlichkeit und
> Maßgeblichkeit versetzt wurden.[271]

That the historical issue for the Jewish writer is also an artistic one is already intimated in

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[270] See Walter Kasper, 'Theology of History', in *Encyclopedia of Theology*, ed. by Karl Rahner (London: Burnes and Oates, 1975), pp.627-35 (p.630); Psalms 26. 5-9.
[271] Aleida und Jan Assmann, 'Exkurs: Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation', in *Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. by Miltos Pechlivanos and others (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1995), pp.200-6, (p.203).

both 'Historien' and 'Lamentazionen'. Firstly, random historical events in 'Historien' outside any ideological pattern denote a marked shift in Heine's historical perspective. The progressive scheme of Hegel's *Weltgeschichte* makes way for an illogical, unpredictable 'Weltlauf' (p.105), a cacophony of unrelated historical moments. Neither the past nor the future relate meaningfully to the present. Secondly, an equally fragmented image of the poet's role emerges. In 'Der Apollogott', posing as the exiled Apollo of Antiquity, the Jewish poet is unrecognised and misinterpreted by German Christian and Jew alike (pp.32-6). Insecure within any particular cultural tradition, he is in danger of becoming a parody of himself. In 'Waldeinsamkeit' a ghost of the former celebrated Romantic poet has no affiliation with past tradition or future poetic direction: 'Doch seit der schöne Kranz mir fehlt, | Ist meine Seele wie entseelt' (p.83, ll.131-2). Already in 'Lamentazionen' the poet's sufferings assume an archetypal significance through the poetic persona's identification with either a Jeremiah, Job or Lazarus figure: all Jewish figures of suffering, protest and lament.

The poet's lamentation for his own sufferings is a reverberation of the Klagelieder of Jeremiah, who in turn had requested that his sufferings be recalled by future generations of Jews: 'Gedenke doch, wie ich so elend und verlassen, mit Wermut und Galle getränkt bin! Du wirst ja daran gedenken; denn meine Seele sagt mir's'.[272] A pattern of re-appropriation of topoi from Jewish collective memory is carried forward into the fragment 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.

Retrospection as a means of coming to terms with the present has a distinguished Jewish literary provenance. The act of recollection played a particularly important role in the Middle Ages at the time of the Jewish pogroms. This is vividly recalled by Heine in the first chapter of *Der Rabbi von Bacherach*.[273] Martyr legends fed into the ritual practice of *selichot* or the compilation of *Märtyrbücher* by individual communities such as the renowned *Augsburger Märtyrbuch*. The *selichot* was a literary response to catastrophes

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[272] Die Bibel, trans. by Martin Luther (Stuttgart: Württemb. Bibelanstalt, 1912); Klagelieder Jeremia's 3.19-20.
[273] DHA, vol.5, p.110.

similar to those recorded by Heine in *Der Rabi von Bacherach.* A poet would compose

suitable penitential prayers which were inserted in the liturgy to express the feelings of

community and to intercede for present sufferings.[274] In the case of *Märtyrbücher* the names

of venerated martyrs would be added to the Sabbath liturgy and commemorated after morning

prayers and the reading of the *Tora*: 'Und dann gedenken wir der Verstorbenen, welche die

Tora in Israel und die Rechtssatzungen vermehrt und die etwas für die Gemeinde gespendet

haben'.[275] This act of recall mirrored the purpose of all acts of Jewish recollection: to

perpetuate the experiences and gifts of past protagonists, thereby empowering the

community to endure suffering and face the uncertainties of the future.

Over time this ritualistic practice was to feed into the wider tradition of secularised text or

Gedächtniskunst. References to the memory of Jehuda ben Halevy as a martyr figure

appeared in the early Middle Ages. In 1141 Nathan ben Samuel, the secretary to the Nagid of

Egypt wrote a letter to Abraham ben Mazlur, a distinguished religious scholar in Damascus: 'I

assure your Excellency is aware of the Master Judah Halevi, that righteous and saintly man

(the memory of the saintly is a blessing) about whom the prophets prophesied truly'.[276]

This reference to the sacred memory of Halevy is a strong theme with Michael Sachs writing

in 1845, Heine's only recorded source of the text of Halevy's poems. Speaking of the divan

assembled by the Italian scholar Luzatto, he refers to 'ein unverwüstliches Denkmal'.[277] The

justification and origin of commemorating people by name can be sourced in the *Tora*: 'Aber

die Gottesfürchtigen trösten sich untereinander also: Der Herr merkt und hört es, und vor ihm

ist ein Denkzettel geschrieben für die, so den Herrn fürchten, und an seinen Namen

gedenken'.[278] It is not fortuitous that the Hebrew word *zikhri* (memorial) is also synonymous

with 'name'.

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[274] See Yerushalmi, 1996, p.45.

[275] Simtrah von Vitry, 'Enstehung und Funktion des '*Nürnberger* Memorbuchs', in *Medieval Ashkenaz, Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in der Spätmittelalterlichen Zeit'*.< http://www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen/nuernberger-memorbuch.html> (accessed 11 July 2012).

[276] Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove-Jehudah Halevi's Pilgrimage* (Oxford: University Press, 2008), p.252.

[277] Michael Sachs, *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien* (Berlin: Veit, 1845), p.290.

[278] Maleachi 3. 16.

In the context of *Romanzero* an evaluation of the complex interplay between collective memory, nineteenth-century historical consciousness, and Heine's poetic discourse must start with his insights into the Spanish Sephardic poets gleaned during his membership of *Der Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden* in the early 1820s. The overall objective of the *Verein* had been to distil the historical essence of Judaism. In the context of modern historicism this meant carrying out an analysis of the Jewish contribution to philosophy, literature and history.[279] Through knowledge and education a *Wissenschaft des Judentums* would seek to integrate historic Judaism and the increasingly scientific and philosophical approaches of the society in which Jews were living.[280] To a qualified extent the aims ran in parallel with the perameters of Heine's growing concern with universal emancipation.[281] They also ran alongside his openness to Hegel's *Weltgeschichte* in which Jewish culture was a valued manifestation of *Weltgeist*.[282] Although increasingly retrogressive social policies under the Restoration were to prove a growing threat to the achievement of the ideals envisaged by the *Verein*,[283] it was a creative forum within which Heine was to become familiar with the dilemmas of Jewish history. The particular nineteenth-century '*Judenschmerz*' lay in the practicalities of building bridges between the historical essence of Judaism and movement towards an emancipated society. The manner in which Jewish collective memory was to be translated into a new idiom was not only problematic for an embryonic Jewish writer like Heine,[284] but also a potential source of theological dissention within the *Verein*. That this did become an issue is intimated by Michael Sachs in his introduction to *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*.[285]

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[279] See Siebert Prawer, *Heine's Jewish Comedy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), p.12.

[280] See Ludwig Rosenthal, *Heinrich Heine als Jude* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1973), p.122: In 1821 the inaugural statutes of the *Verein* specified: 'die Juden durch einen von innen heraus sich entwickelnden Bildungsgang mit dem Zeitalter und den Staaten, in denen sie leben, in Harmonie zu setzen'

[281] See Brummack, 1980, p.55.

[282] See DHA, vol.5, p.1016, ll.6-10.

[283] See Rosenthal, 1973, pp.102-4.

[284] See HSA, vol.20, letter no.66, p.97: 'Es ist sehr unartig von unserem Herr Gott, daß er mich jetzt mit diesen Schmerzen plagt […] und hat seine Nazionalität abgelegt und giebt seine Ansprüche und seine Anhänger auf, zum Besten einiger vagen, kosmopolitischen Ideen'.

[285] See Sachs, 1845, p.viii.

Academic scholarship in the field of German / Jewish studies was in its infancy in the early

nineteenth-century[286] and was to receive a considerable impetus from *Verein* scholars like

Gans and Zunz. Twenty two years later in 1844, Heine recorded his appreciation of Zunz's

guidance in his early studies of the Sephardic Jews: 'worunter namentlich die Abhandlungen

des *Dr.* Zunz über die spanischen Juden im Mittelalter zu den Merkwürdigkeiten der höheren

Critik gezählt werden müssen'.[287] Works by foreign academics were also ingested by the

Verein. Chief amongst these was Jacques Basnage's *Histoire des juifs depuis Jesus Christ*.[288]

From its fifteen volumes both Heine and the *Verein* had access to a scholarly source. It

presented an overview of Jewish history within which the period of the Sephardic Jewish

poets, living amongst Christians and Moslems in medieval Spain, could have been seen to

parallel to some extent their own situation.

A few days after attending his last meeting of the *Culturverein* in May 1823, Heine whose

interests had always been primarily literary, was already speculating about a 'neu-jüdische

Literatur'.[289] By this he understood not only a literature in touch with its own Jewish roots,

from the Hebrew Bible and Sephardic Spain, but a literature able to contribute to a larger

concept spanning the Jewish / German context:[290] 'und eine neu-jüdische Literatur empor

blüht dann werde unsere jetzigen merkantilischen Börsenausdrücke zur poetischen Sprache

gehören'.[291] This remark to Moser, which in its context is not without irony, parallels his

'Selbstpersiflage' as a 'jüdischer Dichter'.[292] However, any dismissal of this as comradely

badinage is counterbalanced by a reference to the 'die schmerzliche Lektüre des Basnage'.[293]

His analysis of the impact of this study is ironically prescient:

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[286] See DHA, vol.5, p.509: 'daß die deutsche Judaistik damals am Anfang stand und auf fremde Hilfe angewiesen war'.
[287] DHA, vol.14.1, p.268.
[288] See DHA, vol.5, p.509.
[289] HSA, vol.20, letter no.59, p.87.
[290] See DHA, vol.5, p.507.
[291] HSA, vol.20, letter no.59, p.87.
[292] Heine's ironic reference to Jewish influence on business language is paralleled by his 'Selbstpersiflage'.
[293] HSA, vol.20, letter no.118, p.177.

> Ganz eigene Gefühle bewegen mich wenn ich jene traurige Analen
> durchblättre; eine Fülle der Belehrung und des Schmerzes. Der Geist
> der jüdischen Geschichte offenbart sich mir immer mehr und mehr
> und diese geistige Rüstung wird mir gewiß in der Folge sehr zu
> statten kommen.[294]

The same letter to Moser contains the poem 'An Edom', an expression of the thousand year lament which Heine had traced throughout Jewish history and which was later to reverberate afresh in his poetic commemoration of Halevy: 'Brich aus in lauten Klagen, | Du düsteres Martyrerlied, | Das ich so lang getragen | In flammenstillen Gemüth''.[295]

The continuity of collective memory within a Jewish programme and its origins in canonical text

Tempting as it is to paint the absence of dominant Jewish themes in the hiatus which separates the early texts of *Almansor, Der Rabbi von Bacherach,* from *Romanzero* as an abandonment of a Jewish project, this need not necessarily be the case. It may be more enlightening to read Heine's presentation of Halevy many years later in the context of an interrupted programme which had been subject to considerable afterthought. It is true that Heine's subsequent exploration of historical progress and Saint Simonism was to move the focus away from his original Jewish programme. However, evidence for Heine's continuing consciousness as a Jewish writer is to be found not only in *Über Polen* 1822,[296] but also in *Die Bäder von Lucca* 1830,[297] and *Deutschland ein Wintermärchen* 1844.[298] In 1840 work on the fragment *Der Rabbi von Bacherach* was resumed. The role of Jewish tradition features in the philosophical argument of *Über die Geschichte der Philosophie und Religion in*

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[294] HSA, vol.20, letter no.113, p.167.
[295] HSA, vol.20, letter no.118, p.178, ll.1-4.
[296] See DHA, vol.6, p.59: Heine's sociological picture of the Polish Jew.
[297] See DHA, vol.7.1, p.94: Hyacinth and Gumpelino discuss money and education.
[298] See DHA, vol.4, p.126: Heine elaborates on the dilemma confronting the nineteenth-century German Jew. Also in that work he observes the effects of Jewish liturgical reforms in Hamburg. (DHA, vol.4, p.141).

Deutschland 1834.[299] Prawer's chronological presentation of Jewish characters in his '*Heine's Jewish Comedy'* testifies to the frequent recurrence of Jewish figures. Further references are to be found throughout his correspondence, particularly when writing to Moser, Lehmann and Wohlwill.[300]

Any interpretation of post 1848 events in terms of a religious *Umwandlung* [301] tends to overlook the fact that Heine's adherence to Jewish tradition had never been a matter of religious affiliation. One of the many issues to which Heine, with his interest in a Jewish literary language, might have been particularly sensitive during his years of membership of the *Culturverein* was the degree to which the desire for Jewish emancipation and the radical historicization of Judaism was threatening the perpetuity of the expression of collective memory.

Reference has already been made to Funkenstein's emphasis on continuity within the *Wissenschaft der Juden* characterised by a framework of reference to original texts. Both Heine and Sachs corroborate this viewpoint.[302] The ironic treatment of Don Isaak in *Der Rabbi von Bacherach* highlights an analogous issue in juxtaposition to the strictly orthodox Rabbi. Although descended from Sephardic rabbis, Don Isaak's Jewishness is now only defined by a tenuous preference for Jewish cuisine.[303] More precise evidence for the engagement of the *Culturverein* with seminal texts of Jewish collective memory can be found in an allusion in a letter to Moser to a moving recital of the post exilic Psalm 137 during a meeting: 'Ich erinnere mich, der Psalm "wir saßen an den Flüssen Babels" war damals Deine Force, und Du rezitirtest ihn so schön, so herrlich, so rührend'.[304] The issue of

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[299] See DHA, vol.8.1, p.58, where in the context of the *Nazarenertum / Hellenentum* polarity, he traces the scorn of the *Nazarener* for the flesh back to *Judentum*; also in vol.8.1, pp.71-2, the role of Moses Mendelsohn is compared to that of Luther.

[300] See letters to Moser: HSA, vol.20, letter no.150, p.215; HSA, vol.20, letter no.266, p.328; to Lehmann: HSA, vol.20, letter no.170, p.246; HSA, vol.20, letter no.205, p. 278; to Wohlwill: HSA, vol.20, letter no.47, pp.71-2.

[301] See Wilhelm Gössmann, 'Rückkehr zu einem persönlichen Gott. Der späte Heine', in *Heinrich Heine und die Religion ein kritischer Rückblick*, ed. by Manfred Windfuhr (Blech: Düsseldorf, 1998), p.217.

[302] See p.108: Sachs's critique of progressive Judaism.

[303] See DHA, vol.5, p.142.

[304] HSA, vol.20, letter no.167, p.240.

the future transmission of textually and ritualistically generated collective memory in the context of a developing Jewish historiography was exercising members of the *Culturverein* long before the gestation of *Romanzero*.

Psalm 137 is, both during the period of the *Verein* and its subsequent emergence in 'Jehuda ben Halevy', a focus of particular attention. Thematically and historically it spans the whole period of Jewish Diaspora from the Babylonian exile. It reappears within Heine's work[305] and forms a substratum to 'Jehuda ben Halevy', where from the outset its strains of lament are as irrepressible as a steaming cauldron (p.136, l.8): 'Wort und Weise, unaufhörlich' (p.130, l.5). The vast timescale also recalls the perpetual lament intimated in the poem 'An Edom'.[306]

In its function as a complete liturgical text within the Hebrew scriptures, Psalm 137 works through the energy of seemingly irreconcilable polarities. The first is an external geographical and temporal polarity: the recent sufferings of Babylonian exile are set against the past wonders of Jerusalem. The second is broadly cultural: the pressures of conformity to an alien environment machinate against the preservation and transmission of the Jewish cultural DNA, raising timeless issues of historical, religious, cultural and artistic survival: 'Wie sollten wir des Herrn Lied singen in fremden Landen?'[307] Paradoxically, the psalm, ostensibly a cry for help against the threat of cultural oblivion, encapsulates the act of ongoing memory which will prove the means of surviving the very problem it poses. The alternative is the silence of both a prophetic and artistic voice: '‹‹Lechzend klebe mir die Zunge | An dem Gaumen, und es welke | Meine rechte Hand, vergäß' ich | Jemals dein, Jerusalem – ‹‹' (p.130, ll.1-4): utter artistic oblivion, the '*horror vacui*' referred to by Heine in his 'Nachwort' to this poem (p.182, l.32). The pull of these polarities and the issue of their resolution is a defining strand within the Jewish historical perspective. They appear in both Halevy's and Heine's poetry: in Halevy's 'Sehnsucht nach Jerusalem' (p.140, l.152), where they form the leitmotif of his 'Sionlieder': 'My heart is in the east, and I in the uttermost west',[308] and ultimately emerge in

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[305] See DHA, vol.11, p.22.
[306] See HSA, vol.20, letter no.118, p.178.
[307] Psalm 137. 4.
[308] http://www.angelfire.com/ct/halevi/halevi-poem2.html (accessed 15 July 2012).

Heine's metaphor of the steaming cauldron and its seething brew. This melody bubbles away beneath the surface of his poem replicating the polarity of Psalm 137, reflected in turn in Halevy's poem: its reverberation evokes what the narrator refers to as his 'westöstlich dunkler Spleen –' (p.136, l.32): a mirror effect of Halevy's dilemma in 'Sionlied'.

It is significant that the narrator's vision of Halevy initially evolves against the melodic background of Psalm 137. Ironically, it is both one of the *Urtexte* which would have formed the basis of Halevy's Judaistic and poetic formation, just as it is a leitmotif in Heine's work from the early days of the *Verein*. Bridging the historical consciousness of different generations, it provides the initial link between the two poets. From within this ongoing psalmic melody, the narrator having drifted into a confused dream-like state, conjures from the depths of collective memory a vision of Halevy surrounded by a host of similar figures. So steeped was the Halevy of this poem in the melodic chanting of text: 'Psalmodirend' (p.130, l.8)*,* […] 'In der uralt hergebrachten | Singsang-Weise, Tropp geheißen –' (p.131, ll.47-8), it became his natural milieu. Preisendanz comments on the way the narrator juxtaposes the pronouns 'ihn' and 'ich' within a physical and metrical confrontation. He suggests that the poetic persona in this 'mnemonic evocation' of the voices of psalmists opens the poem with a 'von jeher zum Memoria-Konzept gehörenden Topos'.[309] The overall structure of the poem, already analysed in more detail in Chapter One,[310] supports this mnemonic inference. Its effect as a 'mnemonic' within the melodic continuum of the poetic discourse is similar to that of canonical texts working upon the memory in religious ritual. The semantic structure at the beginning of sections one and two is a triggering mechanism for memory. In the first three stanzas of the poem 'psalmodirend' opens the conduit of memory leading to the apparition of 'Traumgestalten' (p.130, l.11). Introducing the second section, the whining and humming of the recurring 'alte Weise' (p.135, ll.5-8) is encapsulated in the metaphor of a boiling cauldron: 'Greint und sumset, wie ein Kessel, | Welcher auf dem Herde kocht' (p.136, ll.7-8). The semantic field of 'Kessel' combined with 'kocht' suggests a

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[309] Preisendanz, 1993, p.340.
[310] See p.39.

recurrent, melodic quality. This is followed by the metaphoric signifier *Herd* which evokes a metonomically signified *Heim* or *Heimat*, Jerusalem, the place of origin. This event of memory is timeless: 'Jahre kommen und vergehen –' (p.136, l.17). As an event it forms part of a conduit of memory generating a pattern of narrative with a beginning, middle and an intimated future. It is subsumed into the poetic narrative of the epic poem 'Jehuda ben Halevy'. Its narrative origin coincides with the creation of the exilic psalm 137; it is centred in the creative life of Halevy and culminates in the nineteenth-century where the poet works at his 'Webstuhl' (p.136, l.18), a metaphoric signifier which in turn generates the metonomically signified *Faden* or narrative thread. The textual discourse evolves from an intermeshing thread of poetic imagination triggered by memory. However, the narrative ending is made ambiguous by the questions raised in section four about the future viability of collective memory as a conduit for the transmission of narrative (p.150, ll.14-18). Reference has been made to Halevy's martyrdom in the context of medieval legend.[311] Heine exploits the unhistorical version of the death of a man whose biography was still comparatively hazy at the date of composition. He treats it poetically and symbolically by linking the narrative of Halevy's death with Jeremiah's description in his Klagelieder[312] of the destruction of Jerusalem after the Babylonian conquest, and recalling a vision of Jeremiah at the height of Halevy's final lament (p.148, l.200). The tears form a poetic link. Tears shed in *Klagelieder* by Jerusalem are in turn subsumed into collective memory from the hearsay of a pilgrim's eyewitness account.

> Und es heißt, sie weinten wirklich
> Einmal im Jahr, an jenem
> Neunten Tag des Monats Ab –
> Und mit thränend eigenen Augen
> Schaute ich die dicken Tropfen
> An den großen Steinen sickern (p.140, ll.141-6).

These are then woven into the lament of Halevy's 'Zionslied' (p.147, l.185). Finally they re-

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[311] See p.40.
[312] Klagelieder Jeremia's 1.2-16.

emerge within collective memory in Halevy's own 'Perlenthränenlied' which is appended to the liturgical rite of the annual commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem on the ninth of the month *Ab*. It is implied that this celebratory act is analogous to the function of a *Memorbuch*, where the pattern of Halevy's sufferings become archetypal for that of the Jewish poet for all time.

> Dieses Perlenthränenlied
> Ist die vielberühmte Klage,
> Die gesungen wird in allen
> Weltzerstreuten Zelten Jakobs (p.147, ll.177-80).

Central to the rituals of Jewish memory suggested in the opening verses of the poem, are the ongoing incantation of the exilic psalm, the historic experience of exile, and the image of Jerusalem, as separation from the eternal Jewish homeland. These are all encapsulated in exile from Jerusalem, the icon of origin. This is a past, present, and possibly even a future separation. In the exilic Psalm 137 Jewish exiles in Babylon in the fifth century BC retain their Jewish identity by recalling the image of Jerusalem. The medieval pilgrim, Halevy reaffirms a sense of longing for the absent Jerusalem which becomes associated with the theme of martyrdom. The nineteenth-century narrator expresses his personal awareness of the consequences of this historical separation from Jerusalem. He creatively adapts the Lutheran text: 'Vergesse ich dein, Jerusalem, so werde meiner Rechten vergessen',[313] to the more self-referential: '[…] ››Und es welke | Meine rechte Hand, vergäß' ich | Jemals dein, Jerusalem – ‹‹' (p.130, ll.1-4).[314] A further textual emendation of the Lutheran text is the stress placed on the word 'Jerusalem' by its delayed position and metrical irregularity at the end of the first verse. This not only focuses attention on the iconic status of Jerusalem but also provides an alluring series of long vowels. It is repeated in this final position later in the poem where a remarkable parallel emerges between the narrator's and Halevy's fascination with the word: 'Sein Gemüthe machte beben / Schon das Wort Jerusalem' (p.138, ll.99-100). The auditory effect of the repetition of 'Jerusalem' and the evocative sound of its long vowels is similar to

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[313] Psalm 137.5.
[314] A possible reference to his incapacity.

the repetition of '*Bimini*' in that late poem (p.378, l.496). Both have similar poetic functions in postulating nostalgic expectations about a distant place or state. The significance of Jerusalem within a text spanning the Jewish cultural divide will be discussed later in this chapter.

The act of commemoration and the search for origin also work at the poetic level where they move within the perameters of 'Urtext' and *Hyroglyphen* ('Hieroglyphisch pittoreske, | Altcaldäische Quadratschrift') (p.131, ll.39-40). The very origins of poetry predate literary forms when primitive symbols began to represent images,[315] and the substrata of memory were channelled into myth. These were embedded deeply in the unconscious where their accretive layers can be accessed through the revelatory processes of dream.[316] The dream sequence which opens 'Jehuda ben Halevy' would not be the first or last instance of a poetic persona as *Grenzgänger* entering a dream world spanning different cultures, historical periods and geographical locations or even spiritual realms. There are other notable prefigurations of such sequences within Heine's works;[317] the poet Dante, in *The Divine Comedy*, before reaching limbo surrenders to an unconscious dream state, whilst in *The Iliad* Odysseus, in his descent into the underworld, conjures up figures from amongst the shades. In Heine's poem the narrator refers to his visions as 'Traumgestalten' (p.130, l.11) and 'Gespenster' (p.130, l.14).

The auditory quality of the narrator's dream in which incantation unravels text and stimulates memory: 'Wort und Weise, unaufhörlich | Schwirren sie mir heut' im Kopfe' (p.130, ll.5-6), is counterbalanced by the haunting visual images projected by bardic Jewish figures from the past (p.130, l.9). The interpretation of dreams in the process of the rediscovery of the unconscious, memory and origin is documented by Freud in his discourse on

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[315] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_poetry. Accessed 17 July 2013.

[316] Sigmund Freud, 'The Interpretation of Dreams', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by James Strachey, 24 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1964), vol. 5, pp.385-404: 'The relation of our typical dreams to fairy-tales and other fiction and poetry is neither sporadic nor accidental' (p.388).

[317] Dream sequences are to be found in 'Harzreise': DHA, vol.6, p.88; in 'Die Nordsee': DHA, vol.1.1, p.385; also in *Gedichte. 1853 und 1854* the poet is haunted by apparitions: 'Es mögen wohl Gespenster

psychoanalysis.[318] He draws an analogy between psychoanalytical discourse and archaeology,

seeing them as parallel quests, leading to the revelation of anterior states, whether in the life

of a civilisation or the creative mind.[319] This is a poignant insight when reading 'Jehuda ben

Halevy'. It is also a theme to which this analysis will return later in the chapter.

Commenting on the introductory dream sequence, Ruth Wolf focuses on what she infers to be

Heine's apparent abandonment of the earlier Jewish project. She highlights the psychological

confrontation of the two poets: particularly Halevy's reproachful glance. Assuming that the

poetic persona is identical with Heine, she suggests that Halevy is questioning what happened

to the narrator's earlier ambitions of being a Jewish poet.[320] The implication that Heine

temporarily shelved his engagement with the Jewish issue, only to rediscover it in a moment

of crisis, does not easily fit into the larger picture. It is at odds with the regular recurrence of

Jewish characters and issues in the *Reisebilder* and throughout his poetry, well documented

by Siegbert Prawer;[321] it is thematically at odds with his ongoing biblical awareness

particularly in *Ludwig Börne, eine Denkschrift*,[322] and also with his development of one of the

fundamental philosophical polarities of his middle years: that of *Nazarenertum* and

Hellenentum. Wolf's sensitivity to a psychological depth at this point should be taken

seriously, but not necessarily for the precise reasons she suggests.

Whilst Wolf's interpretation of this passage can be tested on the grounds of continuity, it is a

psychological line of interpretation which raises further issues. Roger Cook takes a more

extreme view: 'What the poet takes as his *Vor-bild* among the "Traumgestalten" is, of course,

a mirror image of himself'.[323] Regardless of whether such a subjective reading is justified or

not, it will not escape the reader sensitive to the ironic and the often self-referential quality of

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seyn. […] Sie wählen gern zum Tummelplatz | Den Schädel eines todten Dichters'. DHA, vol.3.1, p.199, l.13, ll. 15-16.
[318] See Freud, 1964, vol.4, pp.11-22.
[319] See Malcom Bowie, *Freud, Proust and Lacan: theory as fiction* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), p.18.
[320] See Wolf, 1979, p.92.
[321] See Prawer, 1983.
[322] See DHA, vol.11, p. 38.
[323] Cook, 1998, p.310.

Heine's writing, that the starring, troubled and palid countenance of the 'Traumgestalt' are shared with the poetic persona's *Doppelgänger* in the haunting poem 'Heimkehr XX'.[324] These issues will resurface in the second half of the chapter in the exploration of the relationship between the presentations of the two poets.

Evidence so far examined in this analysis would suggest that Heine attached great significance to the formative roles of canonical text and ritual in his desire to reconnect with the foundational elements of Jewish culture. However, the problem posed by the transmission of collective memory into an époque dominated by scientific historicism is still a significant axis in *Romanzero* which needs further exploration. The poetic re-appropriation of topoi from Jewish collective memory, hitherto largely dependent on a canonical and ritualistic framework, was no mean task. The skilful restructuring process and the issues around future transmission are the focus of the second part of this chapter. To evaluate Heine's achievement in creating a text which would reconnect with Jewish memory, but also be accessible to a nineteenth-century German- Jewish readership, it is necessary to examine three areas more closely: firstly, the narrator's translation of Jewish topoi into the discourse; secondly, his presentation of Halevy, and lastly the treatment of the Michael Sachs source.

The reconfiguration of Jewish topoi and Heine's presentation of Halevy

Whilst the poem vividly evokes the rich and exotic nature of the Golden Age of the Sephardic Jews as described in Chapter One,[325] Heine studiously reduced the specific use of Jewish terminology within the text from his earlier drafts.[326] Prawer stresses it would be a mistake to see this poem as a fulfilment of Eduard Gans's aspiration 'die jüdische Welt sich

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[324] See DHA, 1.1, p. 231, l.5.
[325] See p.36.
[326] See Wolf, 1979, p. 91.

selbst vorstellig zu machen'.[327] He finishes by stating there is as little reason for assuming that

Jews alone are to form its readership as there is for supposing that Heine returned in his final

years to the Jewish religion. In essence there is much poetic justification for Heine to

reconfigure his commemoration of Halevy for a wider readership. By analogy Halevy's own

historical situation made him a master of syncretism. Consequently, a number of cultural

bridges are built by the narrator which make Jehuda and his cultural context more accessible

and relevant to nineteenth-century German readers.

A specific instance of the narrator's accommodation of Jewish terminology to an assimilated

or German readership is the comparison he makes between an idiomatic form of Aramaic and

the language of the Prophets, when considered in parallel to the relationship of the Swabian

dialect and other German dialects: 'Wie das Schwäbische zum Deutschen – | Dieses

Gelbveiglein-Hebräisch' (p.131, ll.59-60). Another more extreme example is the translation

of the Jewish concept of divine revelation. Axiomatic to Orthodox Judaism is the idea of

divine revelation to the Jewish nation as recorded in the Torah.[328] Jehuda as the 'Feuersäule

des Gesanges' (p.135, l.157) is seen in biblical terms as a creative channel of this revelation: a

role which Heine was to modify further in *Geständnisse* where the poet compares the creative

autonomy of the artist to that of Moses or God.[329] This original, religious Jewish concept finds

a secularised parallel in the narrator's reference to Halevy as '*Genie*' (p.135, l.174). The

Aufkärung concept of the creative genius which evolved in the 1770s and 1780s encapsulates

the combination of innate creative talent formed by disciplined training which Halevy

reflects: 'Genie ist die angeborene Gemüthsanlage (ingenium), durch welche die Natur der

Kunst die Regel gibt'.[330] This gift of genius is seen by the narrator as god-given: a rare

reference to the divine in Heine's poem: 'Solchen Dichter von der Gnade | Gottes nennen wir

Genie' (p.135, ll.173-4). Without attaching too much theological significance to the narrator's

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[327] See Prawer, 1983, p.601.
[328] See Norbert Schiffers, 'Revelation', in *Encyclopedia of Theology,* ed. by Karl Rahner (London: Burnes and Oates, 1975, 1841 pp.), pp.1453-60 (p.1454); Psalms 147. 19-20.
[329] See DHA, vol.15, p.41.
[330] Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft,* ed. by Karl Vorländer, 5th edition (Leipzig: Meiner, 1922), book 2 sect. 46, p.160.

use of the word, 'Gnade' is another example of a cross-cultural translation. Although Grace

may be foreshadowed in a covenantal relationship found in the Torah,[331] it is not an explicit

theological concept within the Hebrew Scriptures, but largely a Pauline accretion of the New

Testament.[332] However, within this text it would reverberate particularly poignantly as part of

the cultural DNA in a geographical area where Martin Luther had made it the theological

cornerstone of his Protestant Reformation.[333]

Jerusalem is a prominent concept within the poem and raises different expectations for

different readers across the historical and cultural spectrum. Its primary role in the context of

ritualistic forms of traditional Judaism has already been mentioned. A reading of 'Jerusalem'

within the medieval culturally diverse world inhabited by Halevy would suggest a variety of

connotations. Jerusalem would have been perceived as the centre of the world by Christians

[334] and Moslems alike, whether living in the Iberian Peninsula or throughout Western Europe.

Interpretations of Christian apocalyptic texts projected it as the location of Christ's Second

Coming. The 'New Jerusalem' of the Book of Revelation and the Jerusalem of the fifth

century *Hora Novissima*, where it appears as '*Urbs Sion aurea*',[335] and its later reflection in a

ghazal in Jehuda's *Sionlieder* as 'Stadt der Welt',[336] suggest a similar image of the absent

spiritual home which is to be awaited with expectation. Such diverse connotations

surrounding Jerusalem are highly significant in the context of a German-Jewish writer

presenting this Jewish material to a nineteenth-century German-speaking readership

composed of Orthodox Jews, assimilated Jews and Christians. To each of these groups of

readers the concept of Jerusalem, although evoking different associations, is equally

accessible. It is also culturally foundational to Judaism and European Christendom as Heine

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[331] See Klaus Berger, 'Grace', in *Encyclopedia of Theology*, pp.584-87 (p.584): In the Old Testament 'grace' is seen as a duty of reciprocity between contracting parties: Deuteronomy 26. 5-9.
[332] Romans 5, 20.
[333] Crucial to the theological debate which fuelled the Protestant Reformation was Luther's Vorlesung zum Römerbrief of 1515/1516 in which he reinstated the significance of the Pauline doctrine of *sola gratia*: grace only received from God.
[334] It is reflected in the cartography of the thirteenth century *Mappa Mundi* as the centre of the world; sighted in Hereford Cathedral in August 1994. See Paul Iles, *Hereford Cathedral* (Much Wenlock: Smith, 1993), p.8.
[335] Bernard of Cluny, twelfth century.
[336] Sachs, 1845, p.291.

was aware in his reference in *Shakespears Mädchen und Frauen*[337] and the allusion to 'Mein westöstlich dunkler Spleen –' (p.136, l.32). However, its primary association as an icon of origin, as poignant in its impact as a latter-day Troy, was nowhere stronger than within Judaism.

The most ingenious and imaginative literary ploy engineered by Heine to span the cultural divide, whilst seeming to remain true to the most remote origins of collective memory and oral tradition, is his concept of *Schlemihltum*. It has already been discussed in Chapter One in the context of mythological reconfiguration and poetic identity.[338] However, the initial focus here is on the semantic implications of the word and concept. Heine's choice of the word *Schlemihl* and its nineteenth-century literary connotation foregrounds the controversial issue of Jewish assimilation. By virtue of its literary usage in the then popular *Novelle, Peter Schlemihls Wundersame Geschichte,* the word had allegedly been used by the writer Chamisso without any reference to its original Jewish meaning. According to the narrator in Heine's poem it had been emptied of its historical etymological significance and reduced to the duality of a universal synonym signifying a man dogged by misfortune, *Pechvogel*, and *Gottlieb*, beloved of God. This situation fuelled Heine's complicated satirical reconstruction of its true etymology. This he rescues from an historical, face-saving aberration in scripture by its reintegration into oral tradition and collective memory. Such zeal for the reconstruction of *Urtext*, bearing in mind its lack of philological validity, is highly ironical and audacious when written in the shadow of Halevy who was reputedly so scrupulous in his adherence to original sources. The narrator's exposure of the etymological fudge, although completely fictitious, vitiates against tendencies in the process of assimilation and the modern historiographical process. Such was the need to restructure the past that important linguistic roots and connotations could be obscured, particularly those associated with proper names. This has significant implications for a poet intent on voicing aspects of Jewish tradition in literary language.

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[337] See DHA, vol.10, p.125.
[338] See p.39.

Heine's textual *Schlemihl* subterfuge anticipated in ironical parallel Freud's later postulation of the true history of Moses.[339] Both are concerned with a reinterpretation of the origin of a key biblical figure and are dependent on speculation about the reliability of text which has been subject to alleged political contrivance.[340] Both instances also refer to the role exercised by power in the transference of oral tradition. Freud's reconstruction follows the psychoanalytical pathway to the unconscious but strays into the realm of speculation; Heine's travels purely along the pathway of imagination. Both are time travellers at different ends of the spectrum of the nineteenth-century quest for origin.

The *Schlemihl* motif, prominent as it is in the second half of the poem, can be seen as an important counter-balance to the other themes of re-appropriation. It is evidence of a two-way flow in the restructuring process: a current towards accessibility within a nineteenth-century cultural mix, as already specified, and a counter current of reconnection with collective memory and origin as a corrective to the pitfalls of over-assimilation.

Heine's etymological masterstroke based on an assimilated dual signification also re-mythologises for a nineteenth-century readership the duality of the paradoxical fate of exiled Jews throughout history. This amounted to a status both subject to the *Schmerz* Heine had identified in Basagne's historical account and the thousand year lament he had expressed in 'An Edom', but also essentially one still favoured by God.

The second aspect of textual reconfiguration focuses on the presentation of Halevy himself. It has been mentioned that Wolf refers to the complex figure of Halevy and records what she sees as a dramatic confrontation between him and the poetic persona.[341] Cook, however, argues for identification between the two figures.[342] Preisendanz's interpretation of the textual relationship of the two poets is more subtle. He refers to a 'lyrische Selbstrepräsentation'.[343] It implies the duality of a surface narrative drawing on memory which prioritises the figure of

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[339] See Freud, 1964, vol.23, pp.7-137: 'Moses and Monotheism, An Outline of Psycho-Analysis and Other Works'.
[340] See Bowie, 1987, p.24. Bowie discusses Freud's speculation without reference to Heine.
[341] See p.92.
[342] See Cook. 1998, p.310.
[343] Preisendanz, 1993, p.338.

Halevy. This is woven concurrently with a deeper more ambivalent narrative in which the image of Halevy ironically intimates aspects of the poetic persona. Such an effect corresponds to the metaphor described in Chapter One, of *Romanzero* as an intermeshing tapestry woven by the poet at his 'Webstuhl'.

Given significant points of identification between the presentations of the two poets, it is tempting to overplay a more speculative interpretation already triggered by Cook in his earlier reference to a 'mirror image'. This can be compounded by the no less speculative 'double' motif in which Halevy in the poem is likened to a former 'double' of the poetic persona. This line of interpretation could be further fuelled by a consideration of Freud's observations on the literary phenomenon of the 'double': 'so that the one possesses knowledge, feelings and experience in common with the other. Or it is marked by the fact that the subject identifies himself with someone else, so that he is in doubt as to which his self is, or substitutes the extraneous self for his own'. He goes on to add that the origin of doubling may be seen 'as an insurance against the destruction of the ego, an energetic denial of the power of death'.[344] As a counterbalance to an interesting but contentious subtext, this less authorial reading of the surface text will focus on the collective 'Dichterschicksal', the poetic 'Dreygestirn' (p.151, l.45) and the overarching question of cultural transmission.

Reference has already been made above to the cultural dilemma which assimilation poses to Jewish tradition. It is noticeable in Psalm 137 that the initial impetus for cultural survival came to some extent from the Babylonian side: 'Denn dort hießen uns singen, die uns gefangen hielten'.[345] Cultural adaptation as part of the process of survival was as vital a phenomenon in Ancient Babylon, as it was in Halevy's Spain or in nineteenth-century Europe. The narrator in Heine's poem ironically incorporates allusions to cultural exchange in his account of Halevy's poetic achievements. He even overemphasises the way in which Halevy's poetry reflected formal characteristics of the indigenous Moorish culture: 'Ein Poet

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[344] See Freud, 1964, vol.17, pp.219-52, (pp.234-5).
[345] Psalm 137.3.

[…] | Der in heiligen Sirventen, Madrigalen und Terzinen, | Canzonetten und Ghaselen |

Ausgegossen alle Flammen' (p.137, ll.45-8). In reality his poetry did not encompass all these

sub-genres.[346] Nevertheless, Jehuda did experiment with Arabic metrical patterns hitherto

unknown to Hebrew poetry.

In addition to the polysemantic images of Jerusalem reaching out into nineteenth-century

religious and cultural awareness already discussed,[347] the narrator also suggests that Halevy's

poetry portrays a more ambivalent presentation of Jerusalem than the traditional one found

within Hebrew scripture of a mother, bride or virgin. His allusion to Halevy's vision of

Jerusalem as 'Herzensdame' (p.138, l.79) is an intimation of the cultural tension experienced

by Halevy in preserving his vision in the context of the indigenous romantic convention of

Minnedienst. 'Schöne Nachtigallenwelt! | Wo man statt des wahren Gottes | Nur den falschen

Gott der Liebe | Und der Musen angebeten' (p.137, ll.61-4). However, in scornfully rejecting

the absurd epithets of 'Kußrechtscasuistin' and 'Doktrinärrin' (p.138, ll.89, 90), the narrator

playfully confirms that this was not a case of cultural surrender but an instance of artistic

syncretism necessary for cultural vitality.

Halevy with his syncretism, the mutual *west-östlich* perspective, worked as a writer within a

rich cultural mix of the Hebrew language, different Jewish traditions, Arabic metrical patterns

and poetic forms, Old Testament imagery and the Romance tradition of the troubadours. He

also benefited from an unprecedented revelation of Classical philosophical and literary works

which traveled via translation into Arabic and subsequently into Jewish culture. This would

have had an immediate appeal for Heine, the intermediary between French, German and

Jewish cultural traditions. Halevy was also writing from within a suddenly insecure Jewish

minority. Under the jurisdiction of the Moorish Caliphate, Jews in the Iberian Peninsula had

enjoyed unprecedented status within Islamic intellectual and cultural life. Later waves of

invasion under Christian and Islamic leaders were to expose the Jewish population to an

uncertain future of alternating periods of co-operation and persecution. Eventually the slow

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[346] See DHA, vol.3.2, p.912.
[347] See p.90.

ongoing process of *reconquesta* gnawed away region by region over the following centuries until the final catastrophe of the Inquisition.[348] Although on a considerably smaller scale, a similar regressive pattern in Jewish fortunes was to be replicated in Prussia within Heine's lifetime when in 1822 Jewish emancipation received a sharp setback as a result of the curtailment of the Hardenberg reforms.

Given the extent of mid-nineteenth-century historical knowledge, great care must be exercised when making assumptions about Heine's accurate factual understanding of Halevy's life story. Recent historical evidence shows that instead of the twelfth century figure which appeared in the sources used by Heine, Halevy was born in 1075 in Toledo.[349] At the age of ten he would have lived through considerable upheaval when Alfonso of Castile conquered that city. Yet, despite some limitations to Heine's historical knowledge of Halevy and his age, historical facts show that his depiction of the Sephardic poets as a group under threat was more than justified.

Although parallels can be drawn between their social and historical backgrounds, it is the narrator's interpretation of Halevy's role as a poet which is paramount. Halevy seen as the creative interpreter of *Urtext*, follows time-honoured processes to ensure that his own version is a reflection and extension of the original canonical text. The process of training is depicted in detail (p.131, ll.33-76). Familiarity with the original text is achieved through reading, study, repetition, recitation and performance according to the conventions of oral tradition: 'In der uralt hergebrachten | Singsang-Weise, Tropp geheissen –' (p.131, l.47-8). For the nineteenth-century poet a similarly exacting process is implied when working within the context of an *Erinnerungskultur* where there is a creative tension between original text and its appropriation within nineteenth-century cultural contexts (*Auslegungskultur*). The distinction the narrator is careful to emphasise between *halacha* and *hagada* also points to the interface of normative legalistic text and interpretive poetic writing. The contrast in the narrator's use

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[348] See Scheindlin, 2008, pp.11-2.
[349] See Scheindlin, 2008, p.6.

of language is significant. Whilst *halacha* is seen in terms of a 'Fechterschule' (p.132, l.69), exotic lyrical language and rich metaphor is reserved for *hagada* (p.132, l.85). The works of both poets are characterized by a dichotomy between dialectical prose and interpretive poetic writing. Halevy's highly esteemed philosophical work *Kusari* had features in common with Heine's work:[350] holding philosophical systems at arms length it presented an argument in the form of a dialectical disputation, not unlike a less ironical version of 'Disputationen'. Amongst other textual similarities shared by the two poets, some of which have already been mentioned, are their savouring of the enunciation of the word Jerusalem; their awareness of the *west-östlich* divide implicit in the diaspora and their absorption into Hebrew melody reflected in the title. The displacement of the Homer texts in the transmission of the Darius casket by Halevy's 'Thränenperlen' is paralleled by the narrator's renunciation of Hellenism and his desire to enshrine Halevy's texts; the final destination of their cultural progress is a Paris frequented by Heine (p.144, l.87). Halevy is described as 'Traumweltherrscher' (p.137, l.42): a realm in which the narrator's imagination also freely flows. However, there are ironic discrepancies between the two poetic figures which run alongside residual travesties in the depiction of Halevy. The narrator eulogises Halevy's poetic autonomy: 'Nur dem Gotte steht er Rede, | Nicht dem Volke –' (p.135, ll.177-8). This is set against an awareness of the nineteenth-century context of mass publication and censorship.[351] Heine transposes what appears to be a false secularization onto a martyr figure by associating Halevy's religious fervour for the divine and Jerusalem with the *Minne* cult (p.138, ll.76-80). Similarly, instead of a martyr's crown Halevy is greeted by a 'himmlische Sürprise' (p.148, l.228), a travesty reminiscent of the celestial slippers of the bourgeois heaven in 'Fromme Warnung' (p.111. l.12).

The third significant issue affecting Heine's restructuring of memory is his treatment of his principle source text: Michael Sach's *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien* of 1845. The

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[350] See Sachs, 1845, p.299.

[351] DHA, vol. 6, p.207: 'Wir leben in einer andern Zeit, unsere Mäcenaten haben ganz andere Prinzipien, sie glauben, Autoren und Mispeln gedeihen am besten, wenn sie einige Zeit auf dem Stroh liegen'.

historical survey of the Golden Age of Jewish medieval poetry compiled by Sachs, a scholar in classical and oriental languages, was intended to be a milestone in the historical self-awareness of German Jews. However, his initial scholarly objective: 'aus dem reichen ungekannten Schatze jüdischen Geisteslebens einige Proben mitzutheilen', would appear to have run concurrently with another strategy.[352] In his introduction, Sachs, a conservative Talmud scholar, angles his selection towards traditional 'Quellen der Erkenntnis und Weisheit, von denen sich ihre Philosophie [die der Fortgeschrittenen] nichts träumen läßt'.[353] This agenda is reflected in the selective nature of the Halevy texts. Whilst remaining faithful to his remit of 'religiöse Poesie', the selection inevitably excludes Halevy's secular poetry: a significant proportion of his output. Both Sachs and Heine present Halevy as an exiled poet consumed with a desire to return to Jerusalem. Sachs presents Halevy's death by the hand of a Saracen as a legend, supposing he died in a divine quest short of his destination. The pure legend is taken into Heine's poem. However, whilst both share a common aim in perpetuating Halevy's memory for the benefit of posterity, the presentation and interpretation of Halevy's motivation is different in each case. Sachs equates Halevy's passion for Jerusalem with a repentant search for God. His poetry is empowered by 'die Wahrheit und Innigkeit der religiösen Empfindung'.[354] This may well have been true of the religious poetry selected in his survey, but was it equally evident in Halevy's more secular poetry in celebration of wine and sensuality? If we see Heine's presentation of Halevy in the context of his earlier focus on Jewish themes and his ongoing awareness of the haunting presence of lament and suffering within Jewish history, it is not surprising that he presents a slightly different angle from Sachs. Both writers hold onto the idea of a martyr figure, but whilst this is painted by Sachs in religious terms, it is seen more by the narrator in Heine's poem as a shared 'Dichterschicksal' (p.153, l.121). In the context of his newly configured *Schlemihltum*, this is a more culturally relevant reading for modernity than the medieval connotations of a martyr cult.

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[352] Sachs, 1845, p.v.
[353] Sachs, 1845, p. viii.
[354] Sachs, 1845, p.303.

These ramifications elucidate a significant accretion in Heine's poem: the mode of Halevy's martyrdom. Unlike any conventional act of self-sacrificial death where the martyr's death witnesses to the divine, its motivation is shrouded in the ambiguity of legend. The perpetrator was a Saracen who may have been an angel in disguise (p.148, l.205). It is suggested that this was an arbitrary act of violence perpetrated by a cantankerous god who later caused the 'Todesspeer', the same instrument of execution, to hover over the heads of all subsequent innocent Jewish poets: 'Und die besten Herzen trifft er – | Wie Jehuda ben Halevy, | Traf er Moses Iben Esra | Und er traf auch den Gabirol –' (p.156, ll.221-4). This is a travesty of martyrdom. As a malevolent act of God rather than a death bearing witness to divine truth, Halevy's death could play no plausible role in a benevolent divine plan. It also reflects an ambiguity in the etymology of the word 'martyr'.[355] Similarly, the poem's reversal of any element of divine 'witness' in Halevy's death brings the significance of the event back within the conduit of collective 'memory': a function which historically it fulfilled within the *Märtyrbücher*. An ironic 'himmlische Sürprise' (p.148, l.228) awaits the 'martyred' Halevy: this in turn is not the anticipated beatific vision, but a rather mundane celebration of his own poetry (p.149, ll.231-2). As such it is not out of step with the unorthodox depiction of an afterlife in *Romanzero* as a whole.

 In contrast to the implied hagiology of Sach's presentation, Heine's Halevy is a poet first and foremost, sharing the fate of the 'Dreygestirn' (p.151, l.45): Halevy, Salomon Gabirol, Moses Iben Esra, and by implication Heine himself. Apart from the one reference to the 'Gnade Gottes' the divine is either absent in Heine's poem or seen in ironic terms (p.148, l.228). Halevy, and therefore Jewish poets in general, are being depicted as creative figures more in the mould of Moses than the divine.

Despite this disparity Sachs and Heine both focus upon Halevy's closeness to the *Talmud* and the original oral tradition. For Sachs the concentration on religious material and canonical text had also served a strategic agenda in the context of his contemporary polemic against more

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[355] See *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, ed. by F. Cross (London: Oxford University, 1957), p.866: Ironically the Greek *martur* translated as 'witness by death' into Christian culture, but originally

progressive elements of the *Wissenschaft der Juden.* In his introduction he is highly scornful

of their 'unbekannten Schriftentums'.[356] Despite its more secular orientation, Heine's

presentation of Halevy the poet also emphasizes from the outset Halevy's Talmudic training.

This starts with the *Urtext*, bringing together the collection of hieroglyphs, the system of signs

which formed the foundation of collective memory reaching back to primaeval times.

'Herstammt aus dem Kindesalter | Unsrer Welt' (p.131, l.41-2). His retention of canonical

text together with the biblical references within the poem itself are matched by Heine's own

increasing preoccupation with the Hebrew Scriptures immediately preceding and following

the poem's publication. References to the *Torah* as 'der wahre Tempelschatz', an

'Erziehungsbuch' and 'Hausapotheke der Menschheit' underline his understanding of the

scriptures as a cultural treasure which had been rescued for a purpose and passed down not

only as an archetypal expression of exile for the Jews, but as a formative influence in the

cultural history of mankind.[357]

The restructuring of memory and cultural transmission

The restructuring of memory which has been the principle focus of this chapter is to be seen

in a wider context of the 'translation' of Jewish culture from the East to the West. Karlheinz

Fingerhut describes the process in figurative terms: 'Überallhin in den Occident nehmen sie

[die Juden] ein Stück Jerusalem mit. Sie sind die eigentlichen Träger des Transfers. Die

Wanderung der Kultur vom Orient in den Occident ist bei Heine exemplarisch am

Schatzkästlein Darius und der Perlenkette der Königin Arossa beschrieben'.[358] It is true that a

'translated' presence of Jerusalem strategically occupies the focal points of 'Hebräische

Melodien'. Firstly, in the figurative marriage of *Prinzessin Sabbath* to her Prince in the

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was a cognate of 'to commemorate by bearing testimony'.

[356] Sachs, 1845, p.xxix.

[357] In 1852 in the 'Vorrede zur zweiten Auflage zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland', Heine refers to the canonical texts as being of greater importance than the Temple itself: 'Diese war der wahre Tempelschatz'(DHA, vol.8.1, p.499). Later in *Geständnisse* he refers to the Hebrew Scriptures as 'ein schönes heiliges Erziehungsbuch', and as 'Hausapotheke der Menschheit' (DHA, vol.9, p.190).

[358] Karlheinz, Fingerhut, 'Spanischer Spiegel', *HJb*, *31* (1992*)*, 106-29 (p.124).

Sabbath liturgy, and secondly in the tears which are poured into the *Sionlied* at Halevy's

martyrdom in Jerusalem. Metaphorically these become the 'Perlen' found in the Darius casket

which is the vehicle of cultural translation. They work as an extended metaphor for cultural

exchange in its broadest sense. In *Geständnisse* Heine elaborated on this *west-östlich* cultural

flow:

> Aber nicht bloß Deutschland trägt die Physiognomie Palestinas,
> sondern auch das übrige Europa erhebt sich zu den Juden.
> Ich sage erhebt sich, denn die Juden trugen schon im Beginne
> das moderne Prinzip in sich, welches sich heute erst bey den
> europäischen Völkern sichtbar entfaltet.[359]

His awareness of standing at a point of transition in this process of cultural translation is

evident in the last section of 'Jehuda ben Halevy'. A question mark hovers over the validity of

the power-orientated pattern of transmission initiated by Darius. The chain initiated by

Alexander and culminating in the Baronin Rothschild reflects a controversial symbiosis

between cultural heritage, the abuse of political power, and finally the monopoly of the

modern financial system. A highly significant, but grossly understated point in the chain is the

strangely inept reference to the persecution of the Sephardic Jews by the Spanish Inquisition

and their banishment from Catholic Spain. Heine would have been familiar with the impact of

the Inquisition on the Sephardic Jews from his acquaintance with the travel journals of Rabbi

Benjamin ben Jonah from Tudela in Navarra. An entry in the records of Göttingen University

dated March 22nd is evidence that he had access to this source of information about the state

of various Jewish communities in Europe, Asia and North Africa when he was writing *Der

Rabbi*.[360]

> So wie auch Autodafés,
> Wo sie auf Balkonen sitzend
> Sich erquickten am Geruche
> Von gebratnen alten Juden (p.144, ll.77-80).

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[359] DHA, vol.10, p.125.
360 See Rosenthal, 1973, p.169.

This veiled reference to a vicious Jewish progrom dissembles as grotesque humour and its impact is further muted by its absorption within the extended trope of the Darius casket. The reader could be forgiven for almost passing over the real significance of the event. That the narrator's grotesque depiction and semi-concealment of the persecution are signifiers of a more profound Angst is evident at the beginning of Section Four when it falls to Mathilde to raise the issue of repackaging:

> Der Jehuda ben Halevy,
> Meinte sie, der sey hinlänglich
> Ehrenvoll bewahrt in einem
> Schönen Futteral von Pappe (p.150, ll.13-16).

This leads to the narrator's tirade in which he laments his wife's 'holde Ignoranz' concerning the whole subject of Halevy and his cultural background (p.150, l.26). Was he suddenly really so surprised at the deficiencies of his wife's education? Or was he indirectly expressing his abhorrence of the temporary removal from Western European memory of the trauma which ended the Golden Age and cost the lives of countless Sephardic Jews under the Inquisition? The pretence to grotesque humour in the brief reference to the 'Autodafé' and the narrator's seemingly inept handling of his wife's request are not unconnected and need further explanation.

Disturbing associations from the past signified by the word *Autodafé* are inextricably bound up with concerns about the future of the heritage which miraculously survived that event. It is noticeable that Heine's use of *Autodafé* elsewhere within *Romanzero* and contemporary correspondence is broader and refers to the obliteration of literary metaphors or documents.[361]

The dialogue between the narrator and his wife moves onto the subject of the future survival of the Halevy poetry. She suggests that a 'Futteral von Pappe', a modish commodity available in 'Passage Panorama' (p.150, l.20), would be a most suitable form of repackaging. This link

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[361] The poem 'Auto-da-fe' describes the destruction of the symbols of Romanticism: DHA, vol.3.1, p.104, l.21. In a letter to Moser Heine refers to the incineration of some of his writings as an *Auto-da-Fe*: HSA, vol.23, letter no.1281, p.25. In *Almansor* a connection is made between the destruction of

between literary heritage and commodities in the marketplace moves the discourse about cultural transmission in a new direction. Again it is significant that the initiative lies with Mathilde. It is consistent with the fragmentary status of the poem and the symbolic implications of this fragmentation that the narrator's attitude to any future transmission of this sort remains ambiguous. The poem plays a double role in both raising awareness of the transmission issue whilst embodying the very process.

At this point it is illuminating to return to Wolf's observations on the psychological dynamics of the confrontation between the two poets in the dream-like state which opens the poem. Detecting a certain awkwardness between them, Wolf's explanation lay in a deferred Jewish project. However, the interpretation of this passage did not go on to consider the reactions between the poetic persona and the other 'Traumgestalten' in Halevy's entourage: 'Die Gespenster scheuen furchtsam | Der Lebend'gen plumpen Zuspruch – ' (p.130, ll.14-15). A tension is apparent not only between the surrounding host of Sephardic Jews and the narrator, but also between them and the living in general. This may simply indicate a difficulty in bridging historical perspectives. However, closer examination of the historical facts regarding the final tragedy to befall the Sephardic Jews in Spain suggests something more profound. The reaction is altogether psychologically more plausible in the context of the violent persecution which marked the final demise of the Golden Age of the Sephardic Jews in Spain: an event which had virtually disappeared from the collective memory of European Jews in the nineteenth-century. Noteworthy are awkwardness between the poet and the apparitions in the opening verses; the subsequent inept reference to the 'Autodafé' and the narrator's tirade against his wife for her lack of historical perspective. These betray hallmarks of the psychological hang-ups associated with the uncovering of past trauma, experienced by a generation of assimilated Jews, or Jews like Heine himself baptised into Christianity, however half-heartedly.

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cultural artefacts and human life: 'Dort wo man Bücher verbrennt | verbrennt man auch am Ende Menschen' (DHA, vol.5, p.16).

The aforementioned command embodied in the *Tora* not to forget takes on another layer of meaning in the dialectic of cultural exchange. The external historical consequences of underlying trauma implicit in the loss and gain of cultural exchange and survival are touched upon by more recent Jewish thinkers such as Benjamin.

> There is no document of civilisation which is not
> at the same time a document of barbarism.
> And just as such a document is not free of
> barbarism, barbarism taints also the manner in
> which it was transmitted from one owner to another.[362]

The inner psychological manifestations in the form of the suppression of trauma are equally well documented by Freud.[363] The opening verses of the poem quoting Psalm 137 had referred to the haunting physical consequences of suppressed memory: a withered right hand and a paralysed tongue: the complete disruption of creative and artistic expression. 'Jehuda ben Halevy' poses the dilemma of memory in its opening lines. It develops an historical and poetic discourse around the evolving process of commemoration and the repercussions resulting from a failure to remember as originally posited in Psalm 137. On an individual level the '*horror vacui*' which this raises is evident in the quest for artistic survival implicit in the sub-text. On the collective level of the surface text, repression of memory is implied by the concealment and travestied presentation of the Sephardic *Autodaf*é. The poem boldly confronts both issues. It speculates about the future means of cultural transmission, but only in purely theoretical terms as it shies away from a specific solution. The issue of its status as a *Fragment* has already been broached in Chapter One[364] where some structural observations were made. Although Brummack makes some general observations about Heine's use of the word *Fragment,*[365] Preisendenz is one of the few scholars to comment on its application to *Romanzero*: 'Das Poem ist, obwohl Fragment, insofern abgeschlossen, als

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[362] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968; repr. omitting pages 141-4, New York: Schocken, 1969), p.256.
[363] See Sigmund Freud, *Five lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (London: Penguin, 1995), pp.28-9.
[364] See p.21.
[365] See Brummack, 1980, p.131.

ein unabschliessbares Thema in einer ausreichenden Anzahl von Paradigmen entfaltet

wird'.[366] The poem in its fragmentary form working as *Gedächtniskunst* embodies the new

direction of transmission which was later to be followed by future generations of German

Jewish writers and thinkers. It is inseparable from an age in which a proliferation of

historiographic, scientific and philosophical narratives of origin vied for attention. Peter

Brooks refers to the focus on transmission in the nineteenth-century novel in its questioning

as to 'where an inheritable wisdom is to be found and how its transmission is to be acted

toward'.[367]

How are we to read Heine's commemoration of Halevy within this nineteenth-century

context, removed as it is historically, geographically and to a certain extent culturally, from

any liturgical or ritual setting? It can be read as a poetic secularisation of the act of collective

memory: a stage in the evolution of *Erinnerungsliteratur* in which Jewish text, and Jewish

culture were gradually appropriated into a German speaking literature for the modern age.

This theme is supported and traced in detail by Bernd Witte in the works of Heine, Buber,

Kafka and Benjamin: 'Von vornherein kommt die deutsch-judische Literatur so als

kommentierendes Neuschreiben vorgeschriebener Texte zu sich selbst'.[368] On the other hand,

Kathrin Wittler, focuses on the particular historical context of 'Jehuda ben Halevy' rather

than its literary significance in the broader evolution of the Jewish treatment of canonical text.

She identifies it with the historical moment when the translation of liturgical collective

memory fused into nineteenth-century Jewish historiography already identified by

Yerushalmi:

> Diesen Wandel hat Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi in seinem
> einflussreichen Buch '*Zachor*' mit dem Beginn der
> modernen jüdischen Geschichtsschreibung des Culturvereins
> in den 1820er Jahren verortet und als Wandel von einer
> Pflege der überlieferten rabbinischen Literatur hin zu einer
> historisch-kritischen Erforschung jüdischer, vor allem

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[366] Preisendanz, 1993, p 344. See also Ralf Schnell, *Die verkehrte Welt. Literarische Ironie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1989), p.92: He refers to its fragmentary nature as deliberate and 'inszeniert'.

[367] Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot. Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1984; repr. 2002), p.28.

[368] Witte, 2007, p.11.

nachbiblischer Quellen beschrieben.[369]

Wittler's identification of Heine's poem as an abrupt process of historical transformation implied by Yerushalmi's use of the word *Wandel* is not the only reading: just as *Umwandlung* is not the only description of Heine's alleged transformation in religious thinking. This is a complex transitional work and it is equally useful to bear Funkenstein's theory in mind that Jewish culture had always been moulded by a combination of contact with other cultures and 'creative thinking about history' at different times in the past. Jewish suffering in Ancient Babylon had not only nurtured creative expression of the exile experience, it had also prefigured the dark side of cultural exchange as recorded in the terrifying concluding verses of Psalm 137: 'Die verstörte Tochter Babel, wohl dem, der die vergilt, wie du uns getan hast! Wohl dem, der deine jungen Kinder nimmt und zerschmettert sie an dem Stein!' Although not reproduced within the text of the poem, the narrator must have been as aware of its implications as he was of the significance of the psalm's more frequently quoted opening verses.

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[369] Kathrin Wittler, "'Mein west-östlich dunkler Spleen" Deutsch-jüdische Orientimaginationen in Heinrich Heine's Gedicht *Jehuda ben Halevy*', *HJb*, 49 (2010), 30-49, (p.30).

Conclusion

Regardless of the angle from which *Romanzero* is approached, it is difficult to underestimate its paradoxical nature. Although a case has been argued in Chapter One for moving beyond a purely schematic analysis towards a conception of the work as a looser, more open structure, a strong impression of structural interconnectedness still emerges. *Romanzero* brings together historical, poetic and philosophical discourses, and a kaleidoscope of historical moments, intermeshed within the arrangement of individual segments. This diversity generates a corresponding range of structural issues. Their separation into the strands featured in the three chapters gives due weight to global structure, the generic framework and the historical and poetic axes of the work. Despite their separation for the purposes of this study, it has been impossible to disregard the points at which they intersect.

When seeking analogies to elucidate the overall structure of the collection in Chapter One, metaphors used by Heine himself within the poetry proved more useful than the imposition of external descriptors or models. Working with clues generated primarily from within the text is both more apt for 'an holistic treatment', and closer to the anti-schematic direction of the collection. Firstly, Heine's description of the work as the 'third pillar' of an evolving edifice suggested an orientation both towards past and present. This was found in practice to be a strong dynamic permeating the perspective of time within the work.[370] It is complemented by a second metaphor, that of the poet as a weaver working on a constantly evolving time tapestry, in which like his poetic persona, Der Dichter Firdusi, he weaves 'Gedanken' and 'Lieder' into a 'Fabelchronik', an historical narrative.[371] The creative process of weaving, reconfiguring and synthesising past and present poetic forms into a canvas, shot through with disparate historical moments, is closely analogous to the way this collection works. The priority given by Heine in his correspondence to the skilful arrangement of individual poems within clusters is clearly evident in the framework of *Romanzero*. If further evidence were

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[370] See pp.19, 30, 70, 71, 76, 78.
[371] See p.41.

required it is to be seen in the process of meticulous revision of *Handschriften* needed to achieve this: this was confirmed by a visit to the *Archiv* at the *Heine Institut*.[372] Working within the spirit of Heine's concept of arrangement is Jürgens 'Sequenzen' descriptor. Jürgens initially applied it to the arrangement of poems within 'Die Nordsee', stressing that the complex inter-relationship of contingent poems was the key to understanding the function of each individual poem within the global narrative. Chapter One of this study presents a number of examples where the inter-connection of single poems, clusters and segments is a vital factor in understanding their individual meaning and their function in the global narrative. Observations from a study of the global structure point to *Romanzero* as a poetic dialogue between components with potentially contradictory and ambivalent outcomes: a poetic framework which sharply diverged from contemporary literary consensus.

The overall pattern of structural outcomes emerging from Chapter One was reciprocated on a smaller scale in the detailed study of the development of sub-genres in Chapter Two. This proved to be particularly poignant with regard to the development of the *Ballade.* Although the *Ballade* was found to linger in deviant and parodied form within *Romanzero*, generic forms tended to coalesce. Examples were found where traditional narrative closure and poetic restraint of the *Ballade* are transformed by the colour and breadth of the *Romanzenton.*[373] Both a retrospective and innovative flow is particularly apparent in poems which appeared to be more in the mould of what Heine had referred to as 'Zeitgedichte' in earlier collections.[374] It is at its most palpable in the reconfiguration of metaphor and allusion from *Vormärz Zeitgedichte*, often ironically woven back into newly constituted hybrid poems. Poems

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[372] The *Handschriften* provide evidence of revision, showing how Heine produced meticulous final drafts for Campe from heavily modified and rearranged versions. They also interestingly point to an ongoing practice of retrospective thematic arrangement. For example, in the case of 'Enfant perdü', the extant version of 'Verlorener Posten in dem Freyheitskriege' (p.121, l.1) runs in parallel to the addition of the variant of '[…] der Menschheit', subsequently added by a scribe. This association with 'Befreyungskriege der Menschheit'(DHA, 7, p.74), mirrors the culminating phraseology of a highly political meditation on the Battle of Marengo written in 1828, drawing the poem by association into a wider historical and poetic trajectory than its location within *Romanzero*. The *Handschriften* were selected by Christian Liedtke during a visit on 11 March 2013.
[373] See p.15, 58, 61, 67.
[374] See p.67.

straddling generic boundaries are referred to in the study as *Zeitengedichte*. This is because of the universality of the 'Historien' which they encompass and their deviation from the 'zeitbedingt' constrictions of their prototypes. The term not only suggests a looser generic structure, but also reflects Heine's changed historical perspective post 1848.

The epic richness of the *Romanze* discussed in Chapter Three in the context of 'Jehuda ben Halevy' is a corollary of features of the *Romanze* already identified in Chapter Two. Restructuring continues to be an ongoing theme in a reading of 'Jehuda ben Halevy'. It is traceable in three different but inter-related contexts: myth, collective memory and 'Poesie'. Superceding an isolated poetic persona, the construction of the *Schlemihl* myth and its context of 'Dichterschicksal' appears as yet another example of Heine's innovative reconfiguration of past and present.[375] This runs in parallel with the creative source of collective memory. Instances of a 'translatio' of concepts from Jewish collective memory, accessed through the same sacred text in which Halevy was steeped into nineteenth-century Jewish / German literary idiom,[376] can be linked to Heine's aspirations in the early 1820s for a renewed Jewish literary language.[377] This gelled closely with other evidence presented in the study, strongly suggesting that Heine's Jewish Project had been ongoing:[378] yet another instance indicative of the fact that in *Romanzero* Heine is continually taking stock of the past. 'Poesie', moments of rare poetic synthesis to which Heine had looked back with longing in 'Lamentazionen', are precariously re-established from the past through the vision of Halevy:[379] only to be challenged by more prosaic issues of sustainability in the last section of that poem from the perspective of his Parisian location.

Notwithstanding, the hypothesis argued here that 'Hebräische Melodien' was not an unpremeditated diversion post 1848, ambiguities discovered in the text with regard to the fate

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[375] See p.96.
[376] See p.94.
[377] See p.84.
[378] See p.85.
[379] See p.41.

of the Sephardic Jews were sufficient to support further speculation about the psychology

behind Heine's ambivalent approach to this earlier holocaust.[380] Therefore, attention was

given in the study to details in Heine's presentation of Halevy suggestive of an hypothesis

that the text implied features of evasion and concealment often associated with trauma.

Another related discovery, also buried, was to be found amongst the minutiae of the complex

power / culture nexus in the Darius casket trope. It was the implication, later to be

interestingly elucidated in general terms in Benjamin's thoughts, concerning the inevitability

of barbarity in the course of cultural transmission.[381]

A further unexpected outcome with implications for structural development was the interplay

between the original Sachs source and Heine's compliance in presenting Halevy as a martyr

figure irrespective of historical fact. The additional revelation that Sachs's collection of

Sephardic religious poetry was not only driven by his particular religious agenda, but also

presented an unrepresentative cross-section of Halevy's poetry, is indicative of the structural

ambiguities to be encountered in this highly complex work.[382]

A pattern of ongoing links established between *Romanzero* and earlier collections leads to

speculation about further connections with Heine's later work. Jewish themes and archetypes

feature prominently in both the 'Lazarus' poems and 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.[383] In view of

Heine's reservations in *Romanzero* about their future viability, a wider picture could be built

up of their later role and significance. Another unresolved issue is the work's fragmentary

status.[384] Possible explanations arise within the work itself, but a fuller investigation would

have to take account of the implications of this description within the complete works. Given,

the musicality of Heine's poetry and frequent references to musical form, especially within

'Hebräische Melodien',[385] interplay between *Poesie* and melodic form could profitably be

read in relation to earlier and later occurrences.

Despite these further avenues of research, this study is holistic in as much as its own investigative structure gives due weight to the intricate contexts of individual and global components of *Romanzero*. It works from within the warp and weft of the poetic and historical discourses, relating them to antecedents where there is an appropriate intertextual elucidation. Such an approach is more than justified by the rich canvas of interconnectedness and subtle interplay which it ultimately reveals.

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