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FROM MAIDENS TO MEPHISTOPHELA: THE TRANSFORMATION OF HEINRICH HEINE'S FEMALE FIGURES

By

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ABSTRACT

FROM MAIDENS TO MEPHISTOPHELA:
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This dissertation explores how Heinrich Heine's female figures develop from objects of desire in his early writing into sensually expressive active characters in his later works. Heine creates figures who are rooted in literary tradition but evolve into something new. Upon initial reading, Heine's female figures, drawn from Romanticism, Greek mythology, the Bible, and the works of Shakespeare, appear to be stereotypes. Upon closer examination they resist and transcend these labels.

I use a gender studies approach to examine how Heine portrays women. In his early works the women are predominately defined by the gaze of the male. Still, in subtle ways, these figures find means of self expression – they sing and dance, or even scratch and hurt the male protagonist. Over time Heine creates more self-assertive female characters. Contrary to contemporary scholarship, which largely dismisses Heine's female figures as destructive, I argue that they are sensual, multi-dimensional creations.

I credit the transformation of his female portrayals throughout his works in part to the strong, liberal women in his life. Heine developed substantial friendships with four intellectual women: Rahel Varnhagen, Cristina Belgiojoso, George Sand, and Fanny Lewald. As evidenced in their surviving correspondence, Heine exchanged ideas with them on politics, literature, philosophy and even their own writings.

To my Grandparents, Joseph and Mary Burk, in loving memory

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the text.

B	Heine, Heinrich. Sämtliche Schriften. Ed. Klaus Briegleb.
DHA	Windfuhr, Manfred, ed. Heinrich Heine: Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke.
HHP	Das Heinrich-Heine-Portal. Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Düsseldorf and Kompentenzzentrum Universität Trier.
HSA	Nationalen Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur in Weimar and Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, eds. Heinrich Heine Säkularausgabe: Werke, Briefwechsel, Lebenszeugnisse.

INTRODUCTION

It is easy to find evidence of destructive and dangerous female figures in the works of Heinrich Heine; one needs only to think of the Loreley, or the seductive women of the "Verschiedene" poems, or even the devil, herself - Mephistophela. There is no shortage of references to death, coldness, or women being corpse-like in *Buch der Lieder.* The figures in his epic poems, *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum* and *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* appear at first glance to be either prostitutes or predictable femmes fatales. Heine's non-fictional, often degrading remarks about women in *Lutezia* could further be used to justify reading his fictional representations negatively. Such was the focus in this area of Heine scholarship prior to the onset of feminist and gender studies.[1] However, a much more interesting reading of these figures unfolds when they are not so quickly dismissed. The female figures in *Buch der Lieder, Florentinische Nächte,* and even in his later *Die Göttin Diana* are frequently associated with marble. While this may represent hardness and coldness in his early works, it later becomes associated with the statues of Greek antiquity as a symbol of sensuality. Upon closer examination the seemingly dangerous characters in the epic poems as well as the figure Mephistophela are revealed as instrumental in the narrator's or male protagonist's transformation and change rather than his annihilation. Considering gender in Heine's works allows us to ask new questions: How is the embodiment of the feminine tied to Heine's political and social critique? What does the portrayal of the female look like in Heine's utopian visions? And finally, perhaps the most interesting question, how did his representation of women, fictional and non-fictional, change throughout his life?

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[1] While many studies could be mentioned here, Jeffrey Sammons' *The Elusive Poet* (1969) is one example of insightful interpretations of Heine's major works that pre-dates the onset of feminist and gender studies.

This study seeks to address the first of these questions by specifically examining how the women function within a text. To what degree are they relegated to be the object of the narrator's gaze/desire or permitted to express themselves as subjects? While feminist theory helps us to see how these figures express autonomy, this study does not aim to prove that Heine was at some unconscious level a feminist. If feminist theory has taught us anything it is that binaries – feminist/misogynist, masculine/feminine – only hinder our access to meaning. Judith Butler has been one of the seminal voices in abolishing the binary and thus hierarchical structure in the perception of gender. She argues for gender to be understood as a performance that is subject to change. Thus the focus on Heine's portrayals will be on how they change within each text and also throughout his career. Since he frequently revisits motifs and themes from his past, it is necessary to begin this study with his early representations and follow their development.

To claim that Heine was a product of his times – coming into his own as a writer after the Classicism of Goethe and Schiller, and upon the heels of Romanticism, not to mention the changing political environment fueled by the infiltration of liberal ideas from the French Revolution, and the industrial revolution with all its progress in transportation and communication – would be both accurate and an underestimation of the unique talents of Heine as a writer. While all these factors had a definite impact on him as a writer, Heine developed a means of expression that differentiated his work from that of his contemporaries, including those with whom he is most closely identified, the writers of the Young Germany group. Heine's female figures are constructed with complex layers of imagery and generally do not follow literary expectations. He appropriated different traditions with such clever wit and irony that scholars today are still debating

how to read him. It is surprising, then, that Heine's female representations have not received more scholarly attention.

Until 2005 with the emergence of two monographs, one by Koon-Ho Lee and the other by Edda Ziegler, there existed only article-length studies of Heine's female figures.[2] While it is promising that these studies are beginning to open up Heine's writing to new means of interpretation, neither Lee nor Ziegler consider the interconnections or evolutions of Heine's fictional portrayals, something also missing in studies that are textually limited. One seminal work that did impact the perception of sexuality in Heine's works, although without regard to gender designations, was Dolf Sternberger's *Heinrich Heine und die Abschaffung der Sünde* (1972). The goal of my study is to provide a new reading of Heine's female figures which reaffirms the originality of his writing, offers a different perspective on the philosophical messages imbedded within his texts, and exposes how his close relationships with intellectual women find expression in his works.

To recognize Heine's portrayals as unique it is necessary to understand how the previous tradition, Romanticism, constructed gender. Martha B. Helfer reminds us that Romanticism tended to repeat "traditional philosophy's inscription of the male as the desiring subject and the female as the object of desire" (236). While her study highlights the exceptions to this rule, both from male authors with the incorporation of the male muse and by female writers whose presence as writers has been overlooked in the construction of a Romantic theory, it nevertheless helps us understand the general delineation of masculine and feminine for this literary period.

[2] See for example Yoko Nagura (1990) and Fernanda Mota Alves (1998).

How do Heine's figures develop beyond Romantic representations? Consider, for example, the virtuous maiden from the second poem of the "Traumbilder":

Inmitten in dem Blumenland
Ein klarer Marmorbrunnen stand;
Da schaut ich eine schöne Maid,
Die emsig wusch ein weiβes Kleid.

Die Wänglein süβ, die Äuglein mild,
Ein blondgelocktes Heilgenbild;
Und wie ich schau, die Maid ich fand
So fremd und doch so wohlbekannt. (B 1: 21)

At this point in the poem she seems to fulfill Romantic expectations as a chaste figure positioned exactly in the middle of nature. Yet, even the narrator himself recognizes that there is something different about her. The poem continues with her singing a rhyme.

Die schöne Maid, die sputet sich,
Sie summt ein Lied gar wunderlich:
"Rinne, rinne, Wässerlein,
Wasche mir das Linnen rein." (B 1: 21)

This rhyme takes on a foreboding tone when she says it is his "Totenkleid" she is washing. The maiden appears twice more in the poem within a Romantic setting and each time she is preparing for the narrator's death by making his tomb and digging his grave. How shall we then interpret this dichotomous portrayal, who is both "fremd" and "wohlbekannt," both sweet-cheeked and a "Graun" (B 1: 22)? The key to this study will

be to allow her to be both of these things. She is a representation of Romanticism and she symbolizes death for the poet. Perhaps it is Heine's acknowledgment that following the literary tradition of the Romantics will only stifle him and that he needs to look beyond their formulas in order to find his poetic voice. Even in this simple poem, the narrator stands to learn from the female, who moves beyond her initial objectified role not only by singing and speaking, but also by washing, building, and digging.

While the other female figures in Heine's early writings may not express themselves as boldly as she, in chapter 1, Objects of Desire, I will examine the ways in which these figures break from stereotypes and begin to exert themselves, even if only subtly, as subjects. How do they surprise, frustrate, or as the maiden above, warn, the narrator with their unexpected behavior? Geertje Suhr's (1998) study *Venus und Loreley: Die Wandlungen des Frauenbildes in der Lyrik Heinrich Heines* was groundbreaking in its attempt to show that Heine was doing something different in his representations of women that did not adhere to Petrarchan or Romantic poetic traditions. In this first chapter of my study I will focus on the variety of portrayals present in Heine's *Buch der Lieder* (1827). I will highlight those images and themes that recur throughout Heine's writing, not just in his poetry.

Because this study draws on modern theoretical approaches, I must take care to observe Heine's female figures without imposing my twenty-first-century judgements onto the texts. It is important then to continually and consciously acknowledge the nineteenth-century framework, especially in terms of how the role of women in society was being contested. Women were caught within a paradox as they sought to champion their inclusion into society but often did so by reaffirming traditional gender roles. In

Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century German Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation (1998) Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres explains how German women, including Louise Otto, Hedwig Dohm, Bettine von Armin, Fanny Lewald, Louise Aston and others, used various strategies to lessen the radical label applied to them. In *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (1996) Joan Wallach Scott examines how French women during this time found themselves caught in a similar struggle as they sought to gain citizenship. In her preface Scott explains how the issues confronting the women of the nineteenth century are still plaguing feminist discourse today because the primary way we seek to gain our equality is by marking our difference from men (x). Considering that Heine was influenced by both cultures, German and French, after he moved to Paris in 1831, I do not expect his reflections upon women to be any more coherent or sympathetic than those of the women with whom he had the closest contact.

In chapter 2, Salons and Letters, I consider four women with whom Heine had the most significant relationships: Rahel Varnhagen, Cristina Belgiojoso, George Sand, and Fanny Lewald. He met Varnhagen through her Berlin salon in 1821 and remained in contact with her even after he moved from the city. She enthusiastically supported Heine as a young writer and introduced him to Berlin's intellectual circle. While Varnhagen has received substantial scholarly attention for her legacy of letters,[3] only a few shorter studies specifically examine the relationship between her and Heine.[4] Carola Stern's biography, *Der Text Meines Herzens: Das Leben der Rahel Varnhagen* (1994), also includes a brief section on the role Heine played in Varnhagen's life. Shortly after Heine

[3] See for example Sabine Becker, "Mein Leben" (2001); and Goodman, "Poesis" (1982).
[4] Elke Frederiksen (1990) and Joseph Kruse (2001) explore Heine's relationship with Rahel, while Christian Liedtke (2002) considers Heine's relationship with both Rahel and Karl August Varnhagen.

moved to Paris in 1831, he met Cristina Belgiojoso, an Italian princess who was actively involved in Italy's underground national movement, and the infamous George Sand. He attended each of their salons and became familiar with their written works. A substantial number of their remaining letters reveal not only Heine's personal admiration of these women but also the intellectual topics that they discussed. Ulrike Reuter's (1997) article is the only modern study devoted solely to the relationship between Heine and Belgiojoso. Belgiojoso, herself, despite her political and literary activity, has generally received little scholarly attention and the only two English monographs dedicated to her are from the 1970s.[5] Heine's relationship with France's most notorious nineteenth-century woman, George Sand, has likewise failed to inspire more interesting scholarship. Martha Kaarsberg Wallace's (1990) study considers both Sand and de Staël's impact on Heine's works and Peter von Matt's older study (1983) specifically considers Heine's writings on Sand. Heine met the German writer Fanny Lewald upon her visit to Paris in the spring of 1848 and they remained friends through correspondence and her subsequent visits. But again scholarship is scant; the only study on their relationship is by Gabriele Schneider (1994), who considers Heine's impact on Lewald more than hers upon him. As a nineteenth-century woman writer, Lewald, like Varnhagen, has become a popular subject for feminist scholars.[6]

Generally there has been little research upon the collective impact of women writers on Heine's fictional writing or on his general perception of them.[7] Rudolf Walter Leonhardt's (1975) book marks a beginning of this area of inquiry. Unfortunately the positivistic stance of his study, which mainly seeks biographical sources for Heine's

[5] See Charles Neilson Gattey (1971), and Beth Archer Brombert (1977).
[6] See especially Joeres (1998).
[7] See for example the shorter study by Neuhaus-Koch (1997).

fictional figures, appears outdated beside today's post-modern research. It is surprising to see that Ziegler's 2005 work tends toward a similar pattern with her chapter devoted to Heine's cousin Amalie. Lee's study, *Heinrich Heine und die Frauenemanzipation* (2005), does consider Rahel Varnhagen, and even the impact of the French revolutionary Olympe de Gouge, but Belgiojoso, Sand and Lewald are remarkably absent. It is interesting to note the scholarship that has been done on Heine and women. Why has there been a full-length study on *Heine und die Droste: eine literarische Zeitgenossenschaft* (1996) when they never even met? Perhaps Wilhelm Gössmann felt that a contemporary of Heine's who was considered part of the canon, such as Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, provided enough of a topic.[8] But even the literary presence of Madame de Staël's *de l'Allemagne* (1810), upon which Heine reflects in his *Die Romantische Schule* (1836), elicits only one full-length French study (1974).[9] And finally, Heine's close friendship in the last years of his life with Camille Selden, "Mouche," has no doubt appealed to scholars for its personal and erotic potential, but their relationship does little to illuminate the literary figures that Heine created earlier in his life.[10]

Written in the 1830s, the texts considered in chapter 3, Fantastical Figures, represent a period in Heine's writing in which his female portrayals assume a greater significance. In *Florentinische Nächte* (1836), the narrator Maximilian recalls past relationships with two imaginary women, thereby allowing these figures to develop in a space beyond reality. *Elementargeister* (1837) is Heine's interpretation of the spirits

[8] See Joeres (1998) for an enlightening perspective on Droste's position within the cannon.
[9] See Eve Sourian (1974) or the more recent smaller studies by Clarissa Klucklich (1990) and Renate Stauf (1998).
[10] See Menso Folkerts (1999).

found in German folktales, myths, and legends. He recognizes how their fantastical abilities are gender specific. Within *Elementargeister* Heine includes his first version of the poem "Tannhäuser," in which the male protagonist attempts to flee the decadence of the mountain of Venus. The fact that Heine altered the ending of this poem when it was republished in *Neue Gedichte* (1844), provides for an interesting point of comparison between the two versions. As in "Tannhäuser," the "Verschiedene" poems of *Neue Gedichte* express a saturation of sensuality and contrast with the unrequited love poems of *Buch der Lieder*. The female figures in all these texts express an expanded sense of autonomy as compared to those in his earlier writings, but they still occupy a secondary position in relation to the dominant role of the male figures; there would be no story without Maximilian or the poetic male voice. Among these works, it is primarily the sexual poems found in *Neue Gedichte* that have sparked scholarly interest.[11] Discussions of *Florentinische Nächte* and *Elementargeister* are often incorporated into studies addressing Heine's continual use of mythology and his tendency toward Hellenism.[12] What is generally lacking from such studies is an attention to gender. How is Heine's representation of sensuality, his appropriation of Greek antiquity, tied specifically to his representations of the feminine?

Since the goal of this study is to better understand Heine's female portrayals, it seems logical to believe that the intellectual women with whom he was in closest contact most likely influenced him. Yet, a man from another culture and era also significantly influenced Heine's portrayal of women. Chapter 4, The Influence of Shakespeare, examines how Heine's fascination with the English renaissance writer finds expression in

[11] For studies on the erotic elements of Heine's "Verschiedene" poems see Paul Peters (2002) and Jost Hermand (1991).
[12] See for example Ralph Martin (1999) or Jürgen Fohrmann's smaller study (1999/2000).

three particular texts. In 1838 Heine was commissioned to write commentary for forty-five copper etchings of Shakespeare's leading ladies. The resulting work, *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* (1839), provides a valuable glimpse into the Shakespearean portrayals which Heine finds most intriguing. It is then interesting to see how Heine's involvement with Shakespeare's works unfolds in *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (1844) and *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum* (1847). The most thorough analyses of *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* date from the 1970s and there has been no recent attempt to reread this text from a post-modern perspective.[13] And while *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* and *Atta Troll* have received substantial scholarly attention, the female figures in these texts have been primarily understood as destructive.[14]

The culmination of this study is chapter 5, The Goddess and the Devil. It examines Heine's two most fully developed female protagonists, the goddess Diana and the devil Mephistophela. These two figures are found in the ballet scenarios *Die Göttin Diana* (1854) and *Der Doktor Faust* (1851), both written toward the end of his career. Because *Die Göttin Diana* is based in part upon the mythological figure of Diana and *Der Doktor Faust* is based upon the German legend of Faust, these two works will be examined to determine how Heine transforms the female figures from the original stories. As might be expected, the critical scholarship on Heine's *Faust* has sought to compare it to Goethe's version.[15] Very little attention has been devoted to Heine's gender transformation of Mephistopheles into Mephistophela and even less to the figure of Diana.

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[13] For the most recent and thorough discussion of this text see Volkmar Hansen (1978).
[14] See for example Maximilian Bergengruen (1997) and Karlheinz Fingerhut (1992).
[15] See for example George F. Peters (1999).

When we examine the portrayal of women throughout Heine's works, it becomes clear that they evolve from objects of desire, to fantastical figures, and finally into multi-dimensional protagonists. Their increasing depth was undoubtedly a product of Heine's influential environment, which included an influx of French liberalism in opposition to the conservative Restoration of the German Confederation. I further believe that Heine's intellectual relationships with Rahel Varnhagen, Cristina Belgiojoso, George Sand, and Fanny Lewald contributed greatly to his perception of women and his views on the appropriateness of their participation in the public sphere. By reading Heine with a new attention to gender we are able to restore the significance of his female portrayals so that they can be understood as something other than destructive femmes fatales or dangerous seductresses.

CHAPTER 1
OBJECTS OF DESIRE

Heinrich Heine's *Buch der Lieder* (1827) remains an intriguing collection of poetry for scholars today, not because of its timeless depiction of unrequited love, nor because of the canonization of the Romantic siren, the Loreley. What brings scholars back to this work is always the hope of finding new meaning or insight into Heine's later works or his position on a particular controversial topic relating to religion, philosophy, or literature. In these poems the familiar themes and easy rhymes draw us in; however, it is the unexpected change, the break from tradition, and the irony that captivate us.

This study, which examines the development of Heine's female figures, necessarily begins with a discussion of *Buch der Lieder* as an example of his early writing. Even though this work is has generated an abundance of scholarship from Heine's time until today, there are surprisingly few recent studies.[16] Christian Liedtke's (2002) *Heinrich Heine: Neue Wege der Forschung* is a collection of essays, all of which have had a substantial impact on Heine studies or introduced new directions for research (9). The entry included on *Buch der Lieder* is by Norbert Altenhofer (1982): he considers the importance of the collective or cyclic aspect of these poems. While Liedtke's introduction suggests that Heine's "Frauenbild" is an area of research missing from this selection, it is astonishing that Altenhofer's dated study should take precedence over a feminist or gender-studies reading of some of Heine's most famous female figures. Roger F. Cook's similar anthology, *A Companion to the Works of Heinrich Heine* (2002)

[16] For an understanding of the scholarly attention this work has received see the following critical bibliographies: Gottfried Wilhelm (1822-1953); Siegfried Seifert (1954-1964); Siegfried Seifert and Albina A. Volgina (1965-1982); Erdmann von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Günther Mühlpfordt (1983-1995); and from 1996 on see the yearly bibliography in the Heine Jahrbuch. Gerhard Höhn's Heine Handbuch (2004) lists approximately 100 studies which have made substantial contributions to the understanding of this one work. However, there are only a few studies listed newer than 1990.

contains an attempt at such a study by Paul Peters, "A Walk on the Wild Side: Heine's Eroticism." While Peters focuses on the female figures in Heine's *Buch der Lieder* and also his later "Verschiedene" poems, he is unable to consistently conclude whether or not the female is a subject. Peters writes, "what it [*Buch der Lieder*] reveals above all are not simply the agonizings of a male protagonist, but some of the deepest mysteries of the female subject"; and then in the next sentence, "the female subject of *Buch der Lieder* is not, in the habitual sense, a subject at all" (58). And yet only a few pages later in his analysis of a female figure he writes, "In it, woman as pure body ... instantaneously undergoes an even more shocking metamorphosis: that from sexual object into sexual subject" (72). The difficulty Peters has in deciding whether the female in Heine's early poetry is a subject shows her to be more complex than she initially appears. While one may find a repetition of similar female portrayals in these poems, the many deviations from this pattern make generalizations about "her" role tempting but largely inaccurate.

To avoid the pitfalls of Peters' study, I will define how I will be using the terms 'subject' and 'object.' The subject is active, expresses a sense of self, and exhibits autonomous behavior. The object is defined by another's physical description, is the recipient of action, and participates only in behavior that confirms its existence as a characterized type. A common example of the object in poetry is the beautiful female who is introduced by the male narrator's gaze upon her body. If she speaks or moves those actions help define her as worthy of his affection. Even the traditional femme fatale, who is beautiful but behaves viciously, remains an object through her creation of mystery and danger. She does not behave in a way that challenges the narrator's perception of her, rather she reaffirms her negative position as an irresistible object. The

female figure becomes more interesting when she behaves unexpectedly. Judith Butler explains how small acts of defiance – such as the return of the gaze – predict trouble for the authoritative position of the masculine subject:

> For that masculine subject of desire, trouble became a scandal with the sudden intrusion, the unanticipated agency, of a female "object" who inexplicably returns the glance, reverses the gaze, and contests the place and authority of the masculine position. (xxvii-xxviii)

For Butler these small acts of agency do not constitute a full position of subjecthood, yet I view them as the first steps toward achieving that position. I see in Heine's early poetry such signs of "unanticipated agency" in which the female expresses herself beyond her typecast limitation as a maiden, princess, muse, or demon. What begin as recognizable signs of self-expression here are developed in his later works into fully realized female subjects.

The second step in understanding Heine's figures is to acknowledge the literary traditions in which they are based. Robert C. Holub critically examines Heine's early essay writing, including "Romantik" (1820), to better understand how Heine envisioned himself between Romantic and Classic tendencies. Holub concludes that:

> Heine chooses certain elements from the past and develops them further, retains others and utilizes them in a different context or fashion, and rejects others as unsuitable for modern times. Thus, to speak of Heine as simultaneously breaking with and continuing the traditions of Classicist aesthetics and as representing a turning point is only an apparent contradiction. (46)

Heine's appropriation of different elements from each of these schools of thought is exactly what makes his writing interesting. In order to recognize how Heine uses and alters these classical and Romantic structures, it is necessary to first understand the foundation of these literary movements.

"The essence" of Romanticism is defined by Gerhard Schulz as "the literary attempts toward the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century that try to invoke a Christian-European consciousness and depart from the traditions of forms and the mainly mythological imagery of classical antiquity" (33). The Christian influence is often visible in portrayals of chaste and virtuous maidens, depictions of nature that celebrate creation, such as the sun, flowers, and birds, and a common faith in poesy as the revelation of the spirit. There is comfort in the belief that love that is not fulfilled in this world (*Diesseits*) will be in an afterlife (*Jenseits*) (Windfuhr 214). Classicism, in contrast, is characterized by a greater attention to structure and form; it affirms life on earth, including all of its sensual pleasures, and celebrates the polytheistic nature of Greek mythology.

Since the role of the female in poetry has traditionally been defined in terms of her relation to the male, it is necessary to examine the history of this relationship. Manfred Windfuhr identifies three main literary representations of love: Goethe's *Erlebnislyrik* (individualized love), Romantic (spiritual love), and *Volkslieder* (universal love). The love represented in *Volkslieder* is based upon the assumption that love is experienced by all similarly. It follows that there are two main types – fulfilled, Anacreontic, and unfulfilled, Petrarchan, love. Windfuhr claims that of these traditions, Heine most closely identifies with the Petrarchan model (220). Petrarch's poems portray

a love for Laura that is not reciprocated due first to her status as a married woman and then her death (Windfuhr 215). Where Laura's refusal of Petrarch was based on moral integrity, Windfuhr sees Heine's female figures exhibiting, "Egoismus, Betrug, Verrat, Quälsucht oder Gleichgültigkeit" (231). For Windfuhr, especially in the poems dealing with unrequited love, there is little room for a positive interpretation of Heine's female figures.

Geertje Suhr's full-length study of the portrayal of women in Heine's poetry arrives at a slightly different conclusion than Windfuhr. Considering especially Heine's "Traumbilder," Suhr argues that with the exception of one instance of betrayal, the female figures here are more appropriately understood as oblivious objects of affection (27). Suhr removes the blame for the poet's unhappy situation from her and places it instead upon the circumstance, that of the unfulfilled love. She reads the role of the female in Heine's songs as two-fold: "Als Muse erfüllt sie im Leben des Dichters ihre Aufgabe, als Liebesobjekt versagt sie sich ihm und enttäuscht ihn" (34). By remaining unattainable, she inspires the poet to write. In "Lyrisches Intermezzo" Suhr finds evidence that the poet is able at times to celebrate the muse without criticizing her (46). Because Suhr more carefully considers the variations of female figures in each of the distinct sections of *Buch der Lieder,* she avoids the limitations of Windfuhr's more generalized study.

While both Windfuhr and Suhr have considered Heine's female portrayals as something more than traditional representations, their analyses focus on the effects of the relationship upon the male: How is he inspired by her? How does he suffer because of her? If we turn these questions around and ask instead – What does she do? What does

she refuse to do? – then we are able to see how she achieves moments of "unanticipated agency," as Butler describes. How do these figures break from tradition and behave unexpectedly? How do they surprise the poet?

The first section of *Buch der Lieder*, "Traumbilder," as the title implies, deals with dreams or imaginary scenes. In "IX" the poet dreams of "die allerschönste Maid" (B 1: 35). She is introduced by the gaze of the poet, who describes her physical features and defines her as the object of his desire. Once they embrace, the poet realizes that something is not right; she is cold. What is unexpected in this poem is that she confirms her lack of desire by speaking in her own words. It is not simply the poet who chastises her for not being/doing what he had hoped. She speaks in two of the last four stanzas:

Wie bebt und pocht vor Weh und Lust
Mein Herz, und brennet heiβ!
Nicht bebt, nicht pocht der Schönen Brust,
Die ist so kalt wie Eis.

"Nicht bebt, nicht pocht wohl meine Brust,
Die ist wie Eis so kalt;
Doch kenn auch ich der Liebe Lust,
Der Liebe Allgewalt.

Mir blüht kein Rot auf Mund und Wang,
Mein Herz durchströmt kein Blut;
Doch sträube dich nicht schaudernd bang,

Ich bin dir hold und gut."

Und wilder noch umschlang sie mich,
Und tat mir fast ein Leid;
Da kräht der Hahn – und stumm entwich
Die marmorblasse Maid. (B 1: 36)

She says that she will not hurt him but then she forcefully reaches for him. In a poem that is only seven stanzas long, she is compared to marble four times (*Marmelstein*, *marmorblasse*). This reference is so frequent that it loses its impact as an adjective and instead becomes a motif even within this poem. Considering the Romantic introduction of her character – she is a vision in a dream, she is "heimlich wunderbar," she has eyes like pearls and hair that blows in the breeze – her association with marble seems out of place. That she is not warm to the poet but rather cold and hard like marble is what makes her unique. Although we might expect Suhr to give the female credit here for admitting that she knows love but simply does not feel it for him, Suhr instead reads her as a symbol of death and ruin (23). Suhr further removes her from the discussion by claiming that it is the idea of love that is so threatening to the poet:

> Hier ist weniger der Gegensatz von männlicher Glut und weiblicher Kälte dargestellt, als ein Vorgang zwischen Mann und Frau, der auf symbolischer Ebene deutlich machen soll, daß der Dichter von der Macht seiner eigenen Liebesgefühle der Frau gegenüber, nicht aber eigentlich von einer 'wirklichen' Frau bedroht ist. (26)

The crow of the rooster wakes the poet from his dream, or according to Suhr rescues him (23). What she reads as threatening is really just a subtle expression of agency. The "allerschönste Maid" from the first stanza disappears in the last line as "die marmorblasse Maid." While her transformation here is fairly minor, it still represents a step beyond the expectations of a dreaming poet. As in this poem, throughout Heine's writing we find examples of how marble is used to indicate a change in character or a disruption of expectation. In Heine's later works the association with marble as a symbol of Greek antiquity and sensuality is further developed.

The "Prolog" to the second section of poems, *Lyrisches Intermezzo*, contains a similar dream sequence. Here an awkward knight, who is laughed at by women, receives a visit from a beautiful "Liebste," who arrives singing at his door (B 1: 74). She enters wearing a "Wellenschaumkleide," a jeweled veil, and she glows like a rose (B 1: 74). However, there is something foreboding about her that prevents a purely Romantic reading of her character and indicates that things are not exactly as they appear. The knight hears "Ein seltsames Singen" when she arrives at midnight, and there is a "süβe Gewalt" in her eyes (B 1: 74). He stands there stiff and pale as she teases him and then covers his head with her veil. Magically they arrive at her "Wasserpalast" where she has become a "Nixe" and he her groom (B 1: 75). There is a celebration with music, dancing and singing but when the knight attempts to cling to her too tightly the entire scene disappears.

> Sie spielen und singen, und singen so schön,
> Und heben zum Tanze die Füβe;
> Dem Ritter dem wollen die Sinne vergehn,

Und fester umschließt er die Süße –

Da löschen auf einmale die Lichter aus,

Der Ritter sitzt wieder ganz einsam zu Haus,

In dem düstern Poetenstübchen. (B 1: 75)

This poem is a further example of a female figure who is expressive. She sings, knocks on his door, teases him, and transports them both to a different place. As a female figure she moves from a predominantly Romantic portrayal of a woman adorned with jewelry and blond curls to a fantastical mermaid. Since both are variations of Romantic images and because Heine has so consciously played with Romantic convention, it is not surprising that the dream dissolves into a poet's dingy studio. Yet there is a difference between the knight's home and the mermaid's palace, namely, the fantastical realm provides a place for something to happen that otherwise could not. Suhr likewise sees the dream as an escape for the poet, making possible a union with the beloved despite the otherwise adverse circumstances (44). In this poem it is their happy union that is realized in the dream; in Heine's later works this realm provides an alternative to reality and a reprieve from constraining social rules. It is within the imaginative layers of his writing that glimpses of his utopian vision can be found.

Death can also function as an alternative reality. The *Schauerromantik* tradition of poetry focuses on representations of the grotesque, but here Heine infuses a liberating spirit into this association. The pairing of women with death, as in poem "IX" of "Traumbilder," seems to express a critique of her lack of emotion – she is cold as a corpse. Yet there is a way to read Heine's use of this dark imagery differently. In the poem "XXXII" of *Lyrisches Intermezzo*, the woman is most definitely an object, she is

dead. The narrator kisses, embraces, and holds her. Yet, something happens when he crawls into the grave.

Ich küsse, umschlinge und presse dich wild,

Du Stille, du Kalte, du Bleiche!

Ich jauchze, ich zittre, ich weine mild,

Ich werde selber zur Leiche. (B 1: 87)

Instead of the female undergoing a transformation, he does. He cheers, shakes, and cries as he becomes a corpse. Death offers them a space where they can be together away from a society that had prevented their union. It could even be argued that in some ways this poem resembles the Anacreontic tradition of poetry. Windfuhr describes the characteristics of Anacreontic poetry as a happy and fulfilled love, "Die Liebenden genießen das Glück der Sinnlichkeit und Herzenseinheit, einmal mehr bacchantisch, das andere Mal mehr gedämpft-innig" (215). As the other corpses wake and dance around them in a bacchanal fashion, they choose to remain lying together. The fact that he lies in *her* arms signifies both her ability to embrace him and fulfillment to a certain degree of their union. Furthermore there is an interesting linguistic change from the use of the pronoun "ich," at the beginning which implies an object (*dich*), to "wir," which allows for both to be at least grammatical subjects.

Die Toten stehn auf, die Mitternacht ruft,

Sie tanzen im luftigen Schwarme;

Wir beide bleiben in der Gruft,

Ich liege in deinem Arme.

Die Toten stehn auf, der Tag des Gerichts

Ruft sie zu Qual und Vergnügen;

Wir beide bekümmern uns um nichts,

Und bleiben umschlungen liegen. (B 1: 87)

In contrast to the female figures examined so far who have been either cold or disappeared just at the moment of their union, there are also those figures who are passionate. If we consider again Butler's claim that small acts of female autonomy contest the authoritative position of the male, then we begin to understand how Heine's most expressive females are also the most dangerous. While Heine's female figures participate in many different actions throughout his works – moving, speaking, singing, dancing, cooking, casting magic spells, and rescuing – in these poems she expresses emotion. One very simple example is the short poem, "LII" from *Lyrisches Intermezzo*. In three stanzas Heine conveys the image of a couple swearing their love for one another. The poem follows the Romantic formula of being a dream, in the month of May, as the couple sits under a linden tree. But the woman behaves in an unscripted way:

Das war ein Schwören und Schwören aufs neu

Ein Kichern, ein Kosen, ein Küssen;

Daβ ich gedenk des Schwures sei,

Hast du in die Hand mich gebissen. (B 1: 96)

She bites him and thereby challenges his idealization of her.

The two most common examples of this alluring yet dangerous female are the Loreley and the sphinx from the Preface to the third edition of *Buch der Lieder* (1839). While sitting atop the cliffs of the Rhein, the Loreley combs her blond hair and sings

"eine wundersame,/ Gewaltige Melodei" (B 1: 107) The sailors are distracted by her and steer their ships into the cliff: "Und das hat mit ihrem Singen/ Die Lore-Ley getan" (B 1: 107). Whether she intended this to happen remains unclear, yet it is still something she did "hat...getan."

In the Preface, the narrator is walking past a city gate when he sees a statue of a sphinx who is both horrible and pleasurable to look at.

> Dort vor dem Tor lag eine Sphinx,
> Ein Zwitter von Schrecken und Lüsten,
> Der Leib und die Tatzen wie ein Löw,
> Ein Weib an Haupt und Brüsten. (B 1: 14)

As the narrator approaches he cannot resist kissing the beautiful marble sphinx, as nightingales sing around him. She comes to life and kisses him back, drinking the breath and poetic soul from his lips while scratching him with her claws.

> Sie trank mir fast den Odem aus –
> Und endlich, wollustheischend,
> Umschlang sie mich, meinen armen Leib
> Mit den Löwentatzen zerfleischend.
>
> Entzückende Marter und wonniges Weh!
> Der Schmerz wie die Lust unermeβlich!
> Derweilen des Mundes Kuβ mich beglückt,
> Verwunden die Tatzen mich gräβlich. (B 1: 15)

The sphinx is half woman and half beast, allowing for her to be both seductive and destructive without that being a contradiction in her character. However, it is not the poet who questions the sphinx' character, rather it is the nightingale.

> Die Nachtigall sang: "O schöne Sphinx!
> O Liebe! was soll es bedeuten,
> Daβ du vermischest mit Todesqual
> All deine Seligkeiten?" (B 1: 15).

So 'what should it mean?' that both the Loreley and the sphinx are powerfully beautiful female figures? Suhr reads them both as a symbol of the power of love (52) and thereby removes the female herself almost completely from the analysis. Windfuhr similarly focuses his attention away from the representation of the Loreley and onto her connection with nature. He claims that the cliffs of the Rhein represent how nature can "wreck" a relationship (225).[17] While the depiction of nature and love are integral parts of these poems, they should not replace the female as an originator of action. It is the woman who surprises the narrator and thereby reveals his vulnerability. Although their behaviors are not substantial enough to grant them consideration as completely autonomous subjects, the fact that the Loreley sings, the sphinx scratches, and the girl bites are enough to agitate the narrator.

While other scholars have described those of Heine's female figures who are sensual and powerful as femmes fatales, I think that this perspective diminishes the importance of these interesting figures. Carola Hilmes explains how the position of the femme fatale is not a liberated one:

[17] "Aber in keiner der dichterischen Vorlagen [Brentano, Eichendorff, Grafen Loeben] ist der allegorisch verstandene Felsen die Ursache für den Schiffbruch der Liebhaber" (225). "Die Natur ist einbezogen in die Liebesklage" (226).

> Sieht man sich die Geschichten der Femme fatale in der nachromantischen Literatur an, muß man erkennen, daß der ihr zugestandene Handlungsspielraum nicht nur begrenzt ist, sondern auch ein geliehener. Nur unter der Herrschaft des männlichen Blicks vermag die Femme fatale ihre Macht zu entfalten. (xiv)

Although her description is of the femme fatale in the post-Romantic literature, a period during which I believe that writers like Heine were beginning to use this idea differently, I concur with Hilmes' understanding that the femme fatale does not derive her power from within, but rather through her objectification by the male.

Clemens Brentano's Romantic poem about the Loreley (1801/02) serves as a revealing example of how the male gaze traps the female. Brentano's Lore Lay is described as a "Zauberin" who is beautiful and breaks hearts (16: 535). After she is invited to speak by the Bishop, she asks that he put her to death. She is tired of people becoming tainted after looking into her eyes.

> "Herr Bischof, laßt mich sterben,
> Ich bin des Lebens müd,
> Weil jeder muß verderben,
> Der meine Augen sieht.
>
> Die Augen sind zwei Flammen,
> Mein Arm ein Zauberstab –
> O legt mich in die Flammen!
> O brechet mir den Stab!" (Brentano 16: 536)

But the Bishop cannot damn her since he too is taken by her spell.

"Ich kann dich nicht verdammen,

Bis du mir erst bekennt,

Warum in diesen Flammen

Mein eigen Herz schon brennt." (Brentano 16: 536)

When the Bishop asks how she became cursed, she tells him that her lover deceived her. Brentano's Lore Lay is thus defined either by those who desire or betray her. Only at the end of the poem does she leave the three knights who are escorting her to a cloister and climb up the cliff overlooking the Rhein. There, believing she sees her former lover in a boat below, she jumps to him and her death. Even in the act of suicide, her behavior has been inspired by another.

Thus far in Heine's female figures we have encountered a virtuous maiden, a fantastical nymph, a corpse-like partner, a seductive siren and a beastly statue. Within their imaginary realms of dream and fantasy, these figures have undergone a certain degree of liberation. They have progressed beyond their initial descriptions as representations of nature, depictions of death, and marble statues. One final aspect of their character, which begins to surface in the not-so-fatal femmes fatales, is their capacity for passion. This is one trait that Heine develops more extensively in his later writing, especially during his period of study on Shakespeare.

In the midst of nature poems about unrequited love, there exists a socially critical poem that stands in stark contrast to the others. In "L" from *Lyrisches Intermezzo* Heine directly addresses the topic of passion and voices for the first time his dislike of social institutions that attempt to control and restrict sensual expression. It is a poem about an

afternoon tea where men and women are seated around a table discussing the topic of love. Heine specifically places the capacity for passion within his female and not his male figures. As they take turns speaking, the men express practical and rational views of love, while the women express varying degrees of emotion.

Sie saßen und tranken am Teetisch,
Und sprachen von Liebe viel.
Die Herren die waren ästhetisch,
Die Damen von zartem Gefühl. (B 1: 95)

Although this poem clings to gender stereotypes – men are rational and women emotional – there is something clever in Heine's portrayal of the situation. In the second stanza, the "Hofrat," a representative of elected authority, speaks first, saying that love is platonic. His wife smiles ironically and sighs in disagreement. In the second stanza the "Domherr," a representative of the Church, warns of the physical hazards of love while his wife lisps in protest. In the fourth stanza the "Gräfin," a woman of nobility, speaks first saying, "Die Liebe ist eine Passion!" but then graciously presents her husband with his cup of tea (B 1: 95). The ironic contrast of the Gräfin's words with her action is further reinforced by the blatantly sarcastic tone of the last stanza.

Am Tische war noch ein Plätzchen;
Mein Liebchen, da hast du gefehlt.
Du hättest so hübsch, mein Schätzchen,
Von deiner Liebe erzählt. (B 1: 96)

The narrator reduces his partner both by omitting her from the table and by the diminutives, "Liebchen" und "Schätzchen," making it clear that her answer would not

have deviated from the expected social convention. While the poem offers no solution to combat the exclusion of sensuality from society, it does mark the beginning of what later develops in Heine's work as an idealization of sensuality and a rejection of spirituality.

In the majority of these poems, Heine began with Romantic descriptions of women and nature but then altered the anticipated outcome. While there are Petrarchan elements in his writing, including the theme of unrequited love, this does not always result in a negative portrayal of the woman. Even in the antithesis of pleasure – death – we find a semi-Anacreontic portrayal of love. At the heart of these alterations of poetic forms is the female figure, who in small but important ways begins to define herself other than through the narrator's gaze. As Heine develops as a writer, he continues to contest the boundaries of literary forms especially within his female characters.

CHAPTER 2
SALONS AND LETTERS

Introduction

In order to understand Heine's literary representations of women, this study logically turns to his biography for some insight. While an immediate connection between the writer's life and his works may at first seem natural, there is always the danger that this association may lead to an oversimplification of a text or an exaggeration of a biographical fact. The goal here is to gain a more balanced perspective on the women with whom Heine was in close contact and to explore how they individually affected and collectively altered his perception of women in society. Each of these four women fashioned her own unique interpretation of what it meant to be a self-assertive woman in the nineteenth century; together they represent a challenge to socially imposed gender roles.

Before the lives of these women are explored for the ways in which they rejected traditional femininity, it is necessary to understand how women were expected to behave. Karin Hausen collected a list of the predominant character traits of the sexes from nineteenth-century encyclopedias, pedagogical texts, and literary works. She summarizes that men were seen as independent, brave, ambitious, intelligent and reasonable while women were described as dependent, modest, sympathetic, receptive, and religious (56). Thus normative masculinity included rational, intellectual, and public behavior whereas proper femininity was emotional. Since women required supervision, they were confined within the limits of the family and the home. While class would also have played a part in determining an individual's role in society, it can be assumed that the texts Hausen

selected were aimed at the literate middle to upper classes. Joeres uses these delineations with hesitation, since any definition that seeks to be definitive without considering possibilities for contestation is problematic (3-4). Yet gender stereotypes do provide a foundation for conceptualizing the behavior of the women I have selected for this study. Although Joeres focuses only on German women writers, while I also consider a French and an Italian woman, I agree with the argument at the heart of her study about how women internalized their prescribed roles in society:

> As the labels of appropriate gender characteristics were increasingly and more widely accepted, their activity as writers might well be seen as deviant, and that judgment would be absorbed, interiorized, and possibly believed by the writers themselves. ... And in most instances it is also apparent that the women themselves acknowledged their own deviance and waged ongoing struggles to have themselves accepted as respectable despite their activities. (5)

How the women of this study represented themselves in their writings is important, since Heine not only read their published works but also received their personal letters. If their own self-representations contained ambiguities or if there existed contradictions between their public and private writing, then it would follow that the impression these women made on Heine was complex. This might also provide one possible explanation of why his journalistic writings on women seem at times to contradict his more liberated fictional representations.

The following four sections explore Heine's intellectual relationships with Rahel Varnhagen (1771-1833), Cristina Belgiojoso (1808-1871), George Sand (1804-1876),

and Fanny Lewald (1811-1889). I do not believe it was coincidence that Heine chose to cultivate lasting relationships with women whose names, with the possible exception of Belgiojoso, are familiar to nineteenth-century feminist scholars. These women were interesting to Heine for many of the same reasons that they elicit study today. They sought to discover and express themselves through writing, political activity, salon organization, travel, and unconventional partnerships. They entered Heine's life at different formative stages. He met Varnhagen in Berlin in 1821 before he had gained a presence as a poet or writer. Heine met Belgiojoso and Sand shortly after his move to Paris and cultivated their friendship during the height of his social interaction with the Parisian intelligentsia. Lewald initiated and maintained visits to him after his health deteriorated and he was confined to his home. Heine's relationship with Elise Krinitz (Camille Selden) during the last nine months of his life has been omitted from this study although she, too, was a writer, since Heine composed little original writing after they met. Since the goal of this chapter is to seek sources of influence upon his perception of women, it may at first seem contradictory to omit consideration of his wife, Crescence Eugénie Mirat (Mathilde). However, Hauschild and Werner make a convincing argument in their biography that she shared few of his literary interests (311). Although Heine had a close relationship with his mother, Betty Heine, and his sister, Charlotte Embden, as evidenced by their letters, I have left them out of this study in order to focus instead on the women outside of his family who greatly altered his disposition toward women.

Through his friendships with the four women mentioned above, Heine was introduced to other intellectual women. Of importance are Varnhagen's sister-in-law,

Friederike Robert, and Belgiojoso's friend, Caroline Jaubert. Heine was introduced to both at salons and they became a topic of common interest within the exchange of letters. Fanny Lewald's traveling companion, Therese von Bacheracht, who was Karl Gutzkow's mistress, also became an acquaintance of Heine's. While Heine's relationships with these women were tangential and not developed as much as those with the four he knew well, they do provide additional examples of women in Heine's life who led unconventional lives.

Varnhagen, Belgiojoso, Sand, and Lewald will be discussed individually in order to reveal how their relationship with Heine developed over the years. An understanding of their friendship will be gleaned from remaining letters, both between Heine and these women, and from letters to acquaintances in which one or the other is mentioned. Jaubert's memoirs illuminate Heine's friendship with Belgiojoso, and Lewald's memoirs contain detailed information about her visits with Heine. Heine himself refers to the public personae of these women in *Lutezia* (1854), his collection of articles written for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* between 1840-1854. Visible in these texts is not only the mutual respect and companionship Heine shared with these woman, but also an intellectual dialogue on current events, each other's writing, literature, and travel. Since the remains of these relationships are reassembled through a variety of sources, including some secondary interpretations, it is continually important to acknowledge the original purpose of these texts. Joeres concludes that the women writers in her study consciously developed strategies in order to manipulate, but not annihilate, gender expectations. As we consider how women consciously highlighted their respectable traits in their letters and memoirs, we must also keep in mind that Heine's correspondence and essays are

likewise self-representations. This leads us to ask whether Heine portrays himself differently in his personal letters to these women than he does in his public writing. I believe that depending on the purpose of the text, Heine conveys both a deep-seated admiration for these women and an apparent dismissal of their work as writers.

Influence has traditionally been understood as a linear concept, in which one side provides the ideas that the other side passively receives (Joeres 26). What needs to be considered, instead, is a concept of intertextuality that allows for the interplay of ideas without hierarchal privilege. Intertextuality is important in feminist studies because it gives agency to nineteenth-century women writers who appropriated and utilized male literary traditions (Joeres 26-7). In Joeres' study on women writers she contends, "German women borrowed heavily from the male context of writing and philosophy and political thinking that surrounded them, but they also revised, reacted to, changed, or subverted the ideas they absorbed" (27). This study, one that aims to show how women, the perceived recipients of influence, provided stimuli for a male writer, also requires a similar understanding. Heine gained insight from the experiences of these women and he "reacted" to, "revised," and sometimes rejected their ideas. What this chapter seeks to prove is that through his relationships with them Heine was forced to consider women's changing position in society.

The presence of these women in Heine's life had a cumulative effect, one that is minimized by the structure of this chapter, which considers each friendship individually. It is important to consider how these women were interconnected. Heine became close friends with Varnhagen's husband, Karl August, his sister, Rosa Maria Assing, and her daughter, Ludmilla. Rosa Maria's husband was David Assing, Fanny Lewald's uncle.

While Lewald and Rahel Varnhagen never met, Lewald writes in her memoirs what an inspiration she found her letters to be (Goodman *Dis/Closures* 152-3). Lewald also sought Karl August Varnhagen's help in gathering information for her historical novel on Prince Louis Ferdinand, who had been a friend of Rahel's. At different times Sand and Belgiojoso shared intimate relationships with the French poet Alfred de Musset. Sand had a lasting partnership with Frédéric Chopin and a strong connection with Franz Liszt, both of whom were also friends of Belgiojoso. Since Belgiojoso and Sand both lived in Paris at the same time, there were many mutual acquaintances within their social circles and Heine's. Heine also facilitated the connections among these women by sharing their individual works with the others.[18]

No analysis of Heine's relationships with women would be complete without considering the role the Saint-Simonian movement played in shaping the perception of gender roles. The Saint-Simonian movement was centered in Paris and Lyons, but its socialist utopian message reached a widespread audience between 1826 and 1834. According to the movement's leader, Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin, society should be re-organized around female emotion rather than male reason that leads to military conflict (Moses 243). Enfantin thus encouraged female participation in the public sphere, and believed that women's emancipation required an acceptance of their sexuality, a "rehabilitation of the flesh" (Moses 244-5). As Claire Moses explains, it is important to realize that Enfantin's vision was based on the notion that women have a greater capacity for emotion and that men are more rational (244). Another leader within the movement, Joseph-Benjamin Buchez, proposed that the movement instead be based upon equal

[18] Heine writes in his letter to Belgiojoso on January 14, 1834, that he is sending her a novel of one of his friends. The HSA has referenced it to be an early version of George Sand's *Léone Léoni* (1834) (HHP, n 73, 26).

rights for all individuals. He believed that differences between men and women were not inherent to their gender but rather a result of socialization and education (Moses 244). However, he lost the debate to Enfantin. Thus, supporting this movement appeared on the one hand beneficial for women as it furthered their participation in public life. While on the other hand, the encouragement of women to be overtly sexual attracted attention to them as promiscuous or deviant, in a manner that Joeres might argue, and also threatened to dismantle the support structure of marriage without a viable alternative to replace it.

Rahel Varnhagen wrote to Heine in 1832 saying how she wished they had the opportunity to discuss the Saint-Simonian movement. Sand maintained a close relationship with Pierre Leroux, also a member of the movement.[19] While scholars such as Jost Hermand have tended to inflate Heine's association with this movement and rely on it as an explanation for his progressive attitudes toward women, especially with regards to his sexual "Verschiedene" poems (121), I agree with Koon-Ho Lee's more conservative assessment of Heine's involvement with this group. He claims that Heine had already been considering the question of women's emancipation before he was introduced to the Saint-Simonist ideas, and continued to deal with it after he had terminated his association with this group. For Lee this period served simply to challenge and strengthen his existing position on women's role in society (150).

Before we turn our attention to these women individually, there is a paragraph from Heine's fragmentary work, *Briefe über Deutschland* (written 1844), which serves as an excellent example of Heine's conflicted ideas about women. As we will see in his personal letters Heine, writes to each of these women with expressions of affection and

[19] Leroux was against Enfantin's proposal for a rehabilitation of the flesh, and he left the movement along with many others when the debated ended in Enfantin's favor (Lee 135).

admiration, yet here in this public forum he seems to degrade Sand, Belgiojoso and other women writers. Was Heine simply following the public protocol that women's writing is trivial, or was he using irony as a strategy to mask his appreciation of their work?

The opening and concluding sentences of this passage attempt to categorize women as dangerous, however, within the paragraph Heine gives examples of how powerless these women are. For Heine, it seems that a woman's beauty is inversely related to her ability to defend herself. Belgiojoso is portrayed as the most beautiful, but also the least likely to reject criticism. As he ends the paragraph by explaining ironically how deadly dangerous the Comtesse is, one can extrapolate what Heine must have thought of her appearance. There is an attempt in the text to view these women in terms of their sexuality and thus diminish their importance as writers:

> Ja, die Weiber sind gefährlich; aber ich muß doch die Bemerkung machen, daß die schönen lange nicht so gefährlich sind wie die häßlichen. Denn jene sind gewohnt, daß man ihnen die Cour mache, letztere aber machen jedem Manne die Cour und gewinnen dadurch einen mächtigen Anhang. Namentlich ist dies in der Literatur der Fall. Ich muß hier zugleich erwähnen, daß die französischen Schriftstellerinnen, die jetzt am meisten hervorragen, alle sehr hübsch sind. Da ist George Sand, der Autor des Essai sur le développement du dogme catholique, Delphine Girardin, Madame Merlin, Louise Collet [sic.] – lauter Damen, die alle Witzeleien über die Grazienlosigkeit der bas bleux zu schanden machen, und denen wir, wenn wir ihre Schriften des Abends im Bette lessen, gern persönlich die Beweise unseres Respekts darbringen möchten. Wie schön ist George

> Sand und wie wenig gefährlich, selbst für jene bösen Katzen, die mit der einen Pfote sie gestreichelt und mit der andern sie gekratzt, selbst für die Hunde, die sie am wütendsten anbellen; hoch und milde schaut sie auf diese herab, wie der Mond. Auch die Fürstin Belgiojoso, diese Schönheit die nach Wahrheit lechzt, kann man ungestraft verletzen; es steht jedem frei eine Madonna von Raffael mit Kot zu bewerfen, sie wird sich nicht wehren. Madame Merlin, die nicht bloβ von ihren Feinden, sondern sogar von ihren Freunden immer gut spricht, kann man ebenfalls ohne Gefahr beleidigen; gewohnt an Huldigungen, ist die Sprache der Roheit ihr fast fremd, und sie sieht dich an verwundert. Die schöne Muse Delphine, wenn du sie beleidigst, ergreift ihre Leier, und ihr Zorn ergieβt sich in einem glänzenden Strom von Alexandrinnern. Sagst du etwas Miβfälliges über Madame Collet, so ergreift sie ein Küchenmesser und will es dir in den Leib stoβen. Das ist auch nicht gefährlich. Aber beleidige nicht die Comtesse **! Du bist ein Kind des Todes. Vier Vermummte stürzen auf dich ein – vier souteneurs littéraires – Das ist die Tour de Nesle – du wirst erstochen, erwürgt, ersäuft – den andern Morgen findet man deine Leiche in den Entrefilets[20] der Presse. (B 5: 193)

Heine most likely had met the other women he cites in this paragraph through the salons. Delphine de Girardin (1804-1855) was a writer who contributed to *La Presse* and had her individual works published. The exact identity of Madame Merlin is not known, but I speculate that she may have been the wife of the French army general Antoine

[20] Klaus Briegleb explains that "Entrefilets" are smaller articles that deal with the dispensing of rumor or gossip (B 5: 926).

Françoise Eugène Merlin (1778-1854). Louise Colet was the longtime lover of the French novelist, Gustave Flaubert, as is documented by their correspondence. She later became the mistress of Alfred de Musset in 1850 (Gattey 62). The Comtesse was Marie Comtesse d'Agoult (1805-1876), a writer and companion to Franz Liszt (B 5: 925). Heine dismisses these women first by referring to their writing as petty (*Witzeleinen*) and then by remarking that he would like to pay his respects to them in bed. He further mocks them by claiming that they would be able to defend themselves only with a lyre or a blunt kitchen knife. By focusing on their physical weaknesses Heine reduces their presence as literary adversaries. Still, it is clear that he knows how and what these women write. He mentions specifically the title of Belgiojoso's essay on Catholicism and describes how Merlin's language lacks power.[21] What is interesting about this passage is that Heine has devoted so much energy to prove how unthreatening these women are that we might be tempted to conclude that they were threatening to him. The ambiguous nature of his judgements underscores how Heine had difficulty reconciling the literary abilities of these women with the conception of them as feminine.

A revealing way to read this paragraph from *Briefe über Deutschland* might be in connection with poem "XXXIV" from *Neue Gedichte* (1844). Here a woman's lengthy protest of love is interpreted as a sign of her affection:

> Der Brief, den du geschrieben,
> Er macht mich gar nicht bang;
> Du willst mich nicht mehr lieben,
> Aber dein Brief ist lang.

[21] Ulrike Reuter explains that Belgiojoso's essay, published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" had received negative criticism and Heine had planned to write an article in her defense in "Allegemeine Zeitung" (154, n13). Belgiojoso's essay was published in 1842 (Gattey 221).

Zwölf Seiten, eng und zierlich!

Ein kleines Manuskript!

Man schreibt nicht so ausführlich,

Wenn man den Abschied gibt. (B 4: 314)

In his wordy dismissal of the women in *Briefe aus Deutschland,* Heine, like the lady in this poem, "doth protest too much, methinks" (*Hamlet*).

Wir dummen Poeten, wir vergleichen die Frauen immer, wenn es hoch kommt, mit Engel; wir sollten wahrlich letztere mit ersteren vergleichen.

Heinrich Heine in a letter to
Karl August Varnhagen, July 29, 1826[22]

Rahel Levin Varnhagen

Four years after Rahel Varnhagen's death, and six years after Heine moved to Paris, German liberal Theodor Mundt wrote to Karl August Varnhagen about his visit with Heine:

> Er [Heine] hat etwas Feines, Elegantes in seinem Wesen, das ich nicht bei ihm suchte, das mir aber auch nicht miβfällt und das von vielem weiblichen Umgang zeugt. Er dreht es mir zum Kompliment, daβ er mich öfter sieht, da er sonst alle Deutschen durchaus meidet. Die Briefe von Rahel sind ihm leider mit mehreren andern Papieren verbrannt. (April 7, 1837; Werner 1: 342)

The fact that Mundt so readily attributes a change in Heine to his interactions with women, and not, as one might expect, to his new surroundings within France's more egalitarian society, indicates that Mundt must have had a reason to believe this. Mundt's subsequent comment on the misfortune of Rahel Varnhagen's lost letters connects Heine's history with her to the other influential women of his Paris years.

Mundt is correct that the majority of letters Rahel Varnhagen wrote to Heine perished in a fire at his mother's home in November, 1833 (Mende 110). Only five letters of their correspondence remain. However, many of the letters exchanged between Heine and Rahel's husband, Karl August Varnhagen, have survived.

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[22] This and all subsequent quotations of Heine's letters are taken from the Heinrich Heine-Portal website (HHP) which is the most current collection of Heine's correspondence.

Heine met the Varnhagens in 1821 while studying in Berlin. She was hosting her second salon at their residence on *Französische Straße*. It is here where Heine came in contact with many prominent members of Berlin's intelligentsia, including Achim and Bettine von Arnim, Michael Beer, Adelbert von Chamisso, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, G. W. F. Hegel, Elise von Hohenhausen, Alexander von Humboldt, Friedrich von Fouqué, Friederike and Ludwig Robert.[23] As is apparent from this list, Varnhagen's[24] salon included a variety of well-known philosophers and writers. She also had connections to Berlin's Jewish intellectual society through her childhood friend Henriette Herz, who also hosted a salon, and the Mendelssohns. Varnhagen's first salon (1790-1806), which she had conducted in her family's home before her marriage, included prominent Romantics Clemens Brentano and Ludwig Tieck, along with Caroline and Wilhelm von Humboldt, August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, Dorothea Veit-Schlegel, Friedrich Schleiermacher, and Jean Paul (Becker, "Gelebte," 20; Waldstein 97-8). While a number of these people moved in and out of Varnhagen's immediate circle of the salon, she maintained relationships with many through letters. Exceptional in both her salons and her correspondence was the value Varnhagen placed upon conversation. Sabine Becker understands Varnhagen's attention to personal dialogue as a product of Romantic thought. She explains:

> Aber im Unterschied zur Aufklärung möchte sie in Salon und Brief nicht das 'gelehrte Gespräch' über Wissenschaft und Philosophie führen;

[23] In *Harzreise* (1826) the narrator recommends to the women he meets at the Brockenhaus the German translations of Lord Byron by Elise von Hohenhausen (Heine 2: 145). For more complete lists of those who attended Varnhagen's salon see Mende 23; Stern 249; Tewarson 181; and Waldstein 98.

[24] From this point forward the name Varnhagen will refer to Rahel Varnhagen. While some scholarship, including Tewarson, has chosen to use Rahel, Sabine Becker reminds us that we no longer have the ability to establish such a familiar relationship with her and in keeping with standard scholarly convention, an author's surname should be used (*Studien* 14). Only in discussions involving both Rahel and Karl August Varnhagen will first names be used for clarity.

> vielmehr gilt es, persönliche, literarische und allgemeingesellschaftliche Themen zu diskutieren. (Becker, "Gelebte," 19)

Thus Varnhagen's salon emphasized interaction through discussion more than the dissemination of philosophical thought. She was also a life-long admirer of Goethe (Becker, "Gelebte," 20). It was an atmosphere that focused on literature and was characterized by a promotion of individual rights for Jews and the involvement of women in intellectual discussions to which Heine was introduced at age twenty-three. With the exception of a few visits in 1824 and 1829 (Frederiksen 17), Heine's direct involvement with her salon ended when he moved from Berlin in June 1823, although their friendship lasted until her death in 1833.

Shortly before Heine left Berlin he wrote a letter to Varnhagen in which he summarizes what her friendship has meant to him. Even though Heine exaggerates the role she has played in his life, it is clear that she made an impact upon him. He uses Romantic conventions – talk of an afterlife and the comparison of her to the most beautiful flower – to express his feelings.

> Ich reise nun bald ab, und ich bitte Sie werfen Sie mein Bild nicht ganz und gar in die Polterkammer der Vergessenheit. Ich könnte wahrhaftig keine Repressalien anwenden; und wenn ich mir auch hundertmal des Tags vorsagte: „Du willst Frau v. Varnhagen vergessen!" es ginge doch nicht. Vergessen Sie mich nicht! Sie dürfen sich nicht mit einem schlechten Gedächtnisse entschuldigen, Ihr Geist hat einen Contrakt geschlossen mit der Zeit; und wenn ich vielleicht nach einigen Jahrhunderten das Vergnügen habe Sie als die schönste und herrlichste

> aller Blumen, im schönsten und herrlichsten aller Himmelsthäler, wiederzusehen, so haben Sie wieder die Güte mich arme Stechpalme (oder werde ich noch was schlimmeres seyn?) mit Ihrem freundlichen Glanze und lieblichen Hauche, wie einen alten Bekannten, zu begrüßen. Sie thuen es gewiß; haben Sie ja schon anno 1822 u 1823 Aehnliches gethan, als Sie mich kranken, bittern, mürrischen, poetischen und unausstehlichen Menschen mit einer Artigkeit und Güte behandelt, die ich gewiß in diesem Leben nicht verdient, und nur wohlwollenden Errinnerungen[sic] einer frühern Connoissanz verdanken muß. (HHP, April 12, 1823)

From this letter, it is possible to conclude that Heine wished to encourage her attentions to him. Considering that she was the same age as his mother,[25] and supported his interest in writing in a way that Heine's mother did not, it is entirely possible that Heine found a maternal comfort in her friendship.

Heine wrote the "Heimkehr" cycle of poems between 1823-24. They were first published along with the poems from "Harzreise" and the "Nordsee" cycle in 1826 under the title *Reisebilder*.[26] Heine included a simple dedication before the "Heimkehr" poems to Varnhagen.[27] He then sent a copy of *Reisebilder* as it was published to Varnhagen enclosed in a letter addressed to her husband. In the letter, dated May 14, 1826, Heine explains how he arrived at this form of a dedication. He begins by first asking Karl August to give the enclosed book to Rahel in his name and then apologizes for not writing (to her), saying he will again soon. In these opening remarks Heine uses her

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[25] Joseph A. Kruse makes this observation ("Gewonnen" 181).
[26] In 1827 the "Heimkehr" poems were included in the first edition of *Buch der Lieder* (B 1: 674).
[27] "Der Frau Geh. Legationsrätin Friedrike Varnhagen v. Ense widmet die achtundachtzig Gedichte seiner 'Heimkehr' der Verfasser" (B 1: 717). This wording was only slightly altered for publication in the first edition of *Buch der Lieder* (1827).

Christian name, Friederike (and later in the letter addresses Karl August as Varnhagen). But despite Heine's initial claim to write a quick letter, it turns into a lengthy one in which he describes specifically to Karl August his reasoning for publishing the *Reisebilder* at this time. In the middle of the letter Heine strategically returns to the subject of Rahel's dedication.

> Und nun, nachdem ich es solange aufgeschoben, muß ich Ihnen plötzlich und ganz in der Hast schreiben. Doch ist dieses auch gar kein Brief, sondern bloß eine Bitte das beyfolgende Buch unserer lieben, guten, edlen Friedrike in meinem Namen zu überreichen und ihr recht viel Schönes dabey zu sagen. Der eigentliche Brief, den ich Ihnen zu schreiben habe, soll nächstens folgen, [...] Doch still davon, ich komme sonst ins Medisiren, und außerdem drängt mich der Abgang der Post und ich wollte nur wenige Zeilen schreiben. Aber ich und Fr v. Varnhagen können nun ein für alle mahl keine kurzen Briefe schreiben – und daher wird meine liebe Freundinn wohl wissen warum ich gar nicht schreibe. Anfangs dacht ich ihr einen Dedikazionsbrief vor das Buch drucken zu lassen, doch dieser wurde zu warm und zu lang, ein zweiter Brief wurde zu kurz und zu kühl, und nach dreymaligem Umgedrucktwerden erscheint endlich das gegenwärtige Meisterstück dedizirender Beredsamkeit. Anbey auch die verunglückten und verworfenen Blätter. – Eine andre, größere Noth war der beängstigende Gedanke daß das Buch im Grunde zu schlecht sey um der geistreichsten Frau des Universums dedizirt zu werden. Doch mich tröstete der Gedanke, daß Fr v. Varnhagen nicht an mir irre wird, ich mag

> schreiben was ich will, Gutes oder Schlechtes. Bey Ihnen, Varnhagen, ist es etwas anders, Ihnen ist es nicht hinreichend daß ich zeige wie viel Töne ich auf meiner Leyer habe, sondern Sie wollen auch die Verbindung aller dieser Töne zu einem großen Conzert – und das soll der Faust werden den ich für Sie schreibe. Denn wer hätte größeres Recht an meinen poetischen Erzeugnissen als derjenige der all mein poetisches Dichten u Trachten geordnet und zum Besten geleitet hat! (HHP, May 14, 1826)

It is interesting that Heine avoids writing to Rahel directly and instead interweaves the necessary explanation of her dedication into his business affairs. Perhaps in an effort to put her at ease for not specifically writing to her or to ensure that his dedication will be well received, he pays her grand compliments and compares his lengthy letter writing style to hers. Yet Heine is also careful not to offend Karl August and indicates that he wants to write a version of Faust for him. Heine's suspicion that Varnhagen might not be entirely flattered by his dedication was in fact correct.

While no direct correspondence from either Karl August or Rahel to Heine remains from the time following this incident, Rahel does express her dislike for the dedication years later in a letter to Friedrich von Gentz (Oct. 9, 1830). Responding to comments that Gentz had written about Heine, she agrees that he has talent for writing, but complains that he also has a tendency to hear only good things about himself. She then reflects on her friendship with Heine in Berlin:

> - Heine wurde uns vor mehreren Jahren zugeführt, wie so Viele, und immer zu Viele; da er fein und absonderlich ist, verstand ich ihn oft, und er mich, wo ihn Andre nicht vernahmen, das gewann ihn mir; und er nahm

> mich als Patronin. Ich lobte ihn wie Alle, gern; und lieβ ihm nichts durch, sah ich's vor dem Druck: doch das geschah kaum; und ich tadelte dann scharf. Mit einemmale bekam ich sein fertiges, eingebundenes Buch von Hamburg, wo er war, die Zueignung an mich drin. Der Schlag war geschehn: und nur darin konnte ich mich fassen, daβ ich schon damals wuβte, daβ alles Geistige vergeht (nicht so ein zerschlagenes Bein); und sogar bald von Neuem der Art verschlungen wird, ja, das Meiste fast unbeachtet bleibt; tun konnte ich nach vollbrachtem Attentat nichts, als ihm schreiben: nun sähe ich es völlig ein, weβhalb man bei Fürstinnen erst die Erlaubnis erbittet, ihnen ein Buch zueignen zu dürfen etc. Wir blieben uns aber hold nach wie vor: und Sie haben mir jetzt durch ihn ein groβes Kompliment gemacht. (Werner 2: 489)

This letter reveals Varnhagen's relationship with Heine to have been complex. She recognizes his strengths and weaknesses, and readily names herself his patroness. Her description of the dedication as a "Schlag" that damaged the intellectual connection she shared with Heine is especially telling. Her subsequent acknowledgment that one normally asks permission before writing a dedication to a woman of nobility, indicates that she may have felt more disrespect than honor from Heine's presumptuous action.

It is not apparent, however, that she expressed any of her discontent to Heine. In fact, Heine wrote back to Karl August just a few months after sending the copy of *Reisebilder* and expressed his joy in receiving a letter in which Rahel graciously accepted his collection of poetry:

> Meine Nordseebilder sind con amore geschrieben, u ich freu mich daß sie Ihnen gefallen. Ueberhaupt, wie freu ich mich daß meine Reisebilder eine gute Aufnahme bey Ihnen gefunden! Entzückt, wahrhaft entzückt, fast berauscht hat mich Frau v. Varnhagens Brief. In der That, ich hab sie nie verkannt. Ich kenne sie ein bischen. Dabey gestehe ich daß mich niemand so tief versteht u kennt wie Fr v. V Als ich ihren Brief las wars mir als wär ich traumhaft im Schlafe aufgestanden und hätte mich vor den Spiegel gestellt u mit mir selbst gesprochen, und mit unter etwas gepralt. Das Beste ist, ich brauch Fr v. Varnhagen keine lange Briefe zu schreiben. Wenn sie nur weiß daß ich lebe, so weiß sie auch was ich fühle u denke. Die Gründe meiner Dedikazion hat sie, glaub ich, besser errathen als ich selbst. Mir schien es als wollte ich dadurch ausspreche daß ich jemanden zugehöre. Ich lauf so wild in der Welt herum, manchmal kommen Leute die mich wohl gern zu ihrem Eigenthum machen möchten, aber das sind immer solche gewesen die mir nicht sonderlich gefielen, und solange dergl der Fall ist, soll immer auf meinem Halsbande stehen: j'appartiens à Madame Varnhagen. (HHP, July 29, 1826)

As in Heine's other letter, he overemphasizes his connection to Varnhagen. Here he envisions her as his mirror image, able to see more than he himself can. In case there were still any question about Heine's need to attach himself to her, it is answered when he concludes this section of the letter by stating that on his collar it will say that he belongs to her. The letter clearly reveals Heine's need to feel understood by her.

The overt sentimentality of Heine's letters should not overshadow the substance to their friendship. As Varnhagen admits in her letter to Gentz, she chastised him for not sharing his manuscripts with her before they were published. While it is clear from the May 14, 1826 letter above that Heine turned to Karl August for counsel on his publications, I believe that Rahel made equally valuable intellectual suggestions about his work. In one of only three remaining letters of hers to Heine, she asks not only for a letter from him but also for his work:

> Sie aber, schreiben Sie! lassen Sie mich Ihre Handschrift sehen: und wenn Sie drucken lassen, vergessen Sie nie dabey, daß ich es lese; geflissentlich. Das schützt Sie vor Manchem und hilft Ihnen in Vieles. Sie haben keinen passioniertern, keinen erwägerndern Leser, keinen größern aplaudeur. (HHP, June 5, 1832)

She believes that her comments could help him. As the letter continues, she laments that they do not have the opportunity to discuss the Saint-Simonian movement which she says has occupied her time:

> Schade! daß uns nicht eine halbe Stunde mündlichen Gesprächs über den St. Simonism geschenkt ist. Mich dünkt, wir sind über manches davon nicht einer Meinung. Er ist das neue, großerfundene Instrument, welches die große alte Wunde, die Geschichte der Menschen auf der Erde, endlich berührt. Er operiert und sähet; und unumstößliche Wahrheiten hat er ans Licht gefördert. Die wahren Fragen in Reihe und Glied gestellt: viele, wichtige beantwortet: die Religionsfrage mir nicht zur Gnüge, und hierüber müßten wir streiten, sprechen. Den ganzen Winter waren diese

> Schriften, besonders der Globe meine Nahrung, Unterhaltung Beschäftigung: sein Ankommen meine ganze Erwartung. Die Erde verschönern. Mein altes Thema. Freyheit zu jeder menschlichen Entwickelung: ebenso. Wenn wir lügen, muß der gehaßt werden, dem wir vorlügen müssen. Und das tun wir auch. Hieraus kann jedes Verhältniß deduziert werden, also auch Ehe. (HHP, June 5, 1832)

She acknowledges that they would have a difference of opinion, but wishes for the opportunity to have that discussion with Heine. She interprets the goals of the Saint-Simonian movement positively and welcomes its message of freedom for all and the utopian concept that relationships, including marriages, should be based on truth and not lies. Her engagement with this topic reflects her knowledge of current social topics. She ends the letter by encouraging Heine to write, saying that his work there (in France) is important for Germany and that every word matters. Unfortunately, Heine and Varnhagen never had the chance to have that conversation; she died less than a year later on March 7, 1833.

Karl August wrote to Heine a month after her death, still deeply grieving the loss of her. He thanks Heine for his expression of sympathy in his letter (March 28, 1833), but questions whether he will be able to comment on the books Heine has sent him without the help of his wife.[28] This letter further proves that Rahel actively participated in the assessment of Heine's works:

> Ihre Sendungen, die französische und die deutsche, sind mir zugekommen. Ich danke Ihnen, danke Ihnen in jeder Beziehung. Ich

[28] Heine sent him newly published German and French versions of "Geschichte der neueren schönen Literatur in Deutschland" (HHP, April 17, 1833, HSA n51, 11).

> werde künftig diese Gaben genießen, davon sprechen. Das Beste wird aber auch dabei fehlen, die Gemeinschaft mit Rahel! Sie war der fruchtbare Boden, auf dem alle Reize und Bezüge mir herrlich wuchsen und gediehen, wo mein eigner Antheil in wärmender Sonnengluth reifte und wucherte. Nun ist das alles verdorrt und geknickt; ich muß erst sehen, ob das zerrüttete Erdreich neue, von ihr nicht gepflegte und nicht gesehene, junge Pflanzen wird gedeihen lassen! Les Dieux s'en vont! Schrecklich wahr! (HHP, April 17, 1833)

In this letter, Karl August also states that his only consolation at the moment is in organizing her letters and papers for publication. The manuscript for *Rahel. Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde* (1834) was completed a few months after her death. He asks Heine for any letters he may have of hers. Heine responds by telling him that he only took one of her letters with him to Paris, one that touched him deeply:

> Die verlangten Briefe hatte ich nicht schicken können, weil sie in Deutschland geblieben. Nur einen Brief hatte ich mitgenommen, weil er eins der schmerzhaftesten Gefühle, die mich eben bewegten, am tiefsten aussprach. (HHP, July 16, 1833)

The one that Heine took with him was dated Sept. 21, 1830. In it Rahel expresses how much she misses her niece's three children who had been staying with them for eight weeks but had recently left. Toward the end of the letter she asks that Heine write to her, implying that his words would be a source of comfort. She describes her sadness honestly and poignantly, but her open expression of needing something from Heine undoubtedly reassured him of his place in her life. She writes: "Ich mußte mich mit

Ihrem Buche gestern freuen, umsomehr, als ich dachte, das Paket enthielt auch einen Brief. Schicken Sie mir einen recht argen, aus tiefstem Herzen, ganz nachlässig" (HHP, Sept. 21, 1830). The package that Heine sent her was the second edition of *Reisebilder* (1830).[29]

While Varnhagen's desire for comfort from Heine might have been reason enough for Heine to especially value this letter, Joseph A. Kruse points to another. He focuses on the middle part of the letter where she voices her frustration about the disadvantaged position of Jews in Germany as evidenced by the recent "Hepp" conflicts.[30] She writes:

> Hepp ist mir so wenig unvermuthet als alle andere Unzucht. [...] Unversehens habe ich Sie hier gegrüßt mit Allem, was ich jetzt über jetzt zu sagen weiß. Sie werden dies herrlich, elegisch, phantastisch, einschneidend, äußerst scherzhaft immer, gesangvoll, anreizend, oft hinreißend sagen; nächstens sagen. Aber der Text aus meinem alten beleidigten Herzen wird doch dabei der Ihrige bleiben müssen. (HHP, Sept. 21, 1830)

Kruse reads this as a charge to Heine to write about the injustice to Jews and their history, in a way that she is not able to (172). In the letter she voices her frustrations over the ineffectiveness of the current government, thereby offering further proof that their relationship also included discussions of political matters.

Yet something more than a shared Jewish identity, maternal support, or the introduction to diverse intellectual discourse which Heine shared with Varnhagen comes

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[29] See HSA n61,19 to this letter on HHP.
[30] See HSA n60,36 to this letter on HHP about the Hepp uprisings.

through in his literary portrayals of women at this time. Heine saw modeled in her presence as a salon hostess and in the crafting of ideas in her letters a fluid nature which captivated him. Sabine Becker believes that Varnhagen preferred open discussions to readings and describes her understanding of Varnhagen's salon:

> Ihr ging es in erster Linie um das aktiv-dialogische Moment der Salongeselligkeit; dieses ließ sich durch das Vorlesen kaum einlösen, bedeuteten Lesungen doch letztlich Monologe und erforderten von der Mehrheit der Salonteilnehmer eine passiv-rezeptive und consumptive Haltung. ("Mein" 111)

Thus according to Becker, Varnhagen wanted to promote an active participation of her guests at the salon. In a similar manner, Katherine Goodman explains how Varnhagen's letters engaged her readers, "They [the letters] move quickly in stretch-like fashion from daily experience, to literary and philosophical reflections, to self-explorations, to personal news, to cultural and political phenomena, to dreams" ("Poesis" 133). In a letter to her husband, Varnhagen herself compares her thought process to a river: "ich habe keine fertigen Gedankenpläne zur Ausarbeitung in mir vorliegen: sondern Einfall, Anregung, Gedanke, Ausdruck, ist alles eine dieselbe Explosion und ein Fluß" (qtd. in Becker, "Mein," 113).[31] It is the absence of an authoritative voice in her salon, coupled with the stream of conscience character of her letters, that closely mirrors Heine's prose style.

Heine's conversational-style prose is especially noticeable in *Harzreise* (1826) as the narrator moves from one topic to the next. The work contains his reflections from a journey taken through the Harz mountains in September, 1824 (B 2: 716). Toward the

[31] Unfortunately Becker misquotes both the date of the letter as June 1833, which would have been a month after her death, and the original citation, making it difficult to find the origin of these words.

beginning of the work a dream sequence occurs in the Göttingen library and includes an unusual female portrayal. What makes this scene of particular interest is its close resemblance to a dream written by Varnhagen in 1812. *Rahel. Ein Buch des Andenkens* refers to five dreams, but only two, the first and third, are included for publication (Isselstein 648). Ursula Isselstein has located what is presumably the missing "Zweiter Traum" and published it in her 1987 study. While no direct evidence suggests Varnhagen ever shared this text with Heine, the similarity between her dream and his is uncanny.[32] Their shared experiences and mutual literary influences must have inspired them in remarkably similar ways.

Varnhagen's dream begins in a dimly lit room filled with works of art.

> In diesem befand ich mich in einem sehr hohen zimlich groβen in gotischen bogen ohne fenster gebautem Saal; der aber obgleich auch keine Lichter darin zu sehen waren wunder schön erleüchtet war: die[s] [*Licht*] Hellung schien aus den Panelen des Gemaches zu kommen, an denen alle je gamachen büsten u Statuen standen; über diesen, hingen all mögliche Gemählde, u bilder; besonders die Portraite aller bildhauer u Mahler die es je gegen hat u giebt; gemahlt u gehauen. die Mahler u bildhauer selbst aus allen Zeiten umgaben mich in groβem Gedränge, in allen nur erdenklichen Kostümen; um diese Kunstwerdke zu beurtheilen: eine Art letztes Gericht der Kunst! (Isselstein 650-51)

[32] All that is known about her sharing her these dream texts is that she included the fifth one in a letter to Alexander von der Marwitz, July 2, 1812 (Isselstein 648).

She goes on to describe the clothing and appearance of artists from different time periods who have gathered here to discuss the art. She finds the artists themselves the most interesting.

> ...Viele der Männer ihr Werkzeug in den Händen. der Lerm war fast übernatürlich; denn sie sprachen alle u beurtheilten ihre Werke; das Gedränge hinderte sie u mich, den Kunstwerken nah zu komen, u die Meisten wie ich [kam] blieben weit ab; für mich waren die Mahler u bildhauer die Kunstwerke; ich beschaute sie mit unendlicher beschäftigung .... (Isselstein 651)

Suddenly there is a loud clamor and as she wishes to escape to the periphery of the room she is pulled into an adjoining chamber. All are chanting "das Ideal!" and in the middle of the room sits a young artist.

> das Ideal sagen noch manche leise zischlend; u ein Erstaunen zukt gleichsam durch den Raum wo wir sind: ich aber sehe mitten auf demselben, einen Jungen Menschen von etwa 20 Jahren in gewöhlicher Kleidung ohne Huth, in einem blauen frak stehen; der die hände zusammen vor sich hin halt; die Augen mit Gewalt herunter schlagt; zimlich hübsch ist, rothe baken hat, u obgleich er wie verlegen steht, sich das Lachen verbeißt: die Andern sehen das nicht; ich rufe aber, es ist ja ein Mensch, er lebt; er kann sich ja das Lachen nicht enthalten .... (Isselstein 652)

The narrator then approaches the artist and comments on his inability to hide his smile. He embraces her and they begin to dance as the other artists in the room stare with astonishment.

Heine's dream begins in the Göttingen library, which is likewise dimly lit, where the narrator is browsing through the old dissertations.

> Im Traume kam ich wieder nach Göttingen zurück, und zwar nach der dortigen Bibliothek. Ich stand in einer Ecke des juristischen Saals, durchstöberte alte Dissertationen, vertiefte mich im Lesen, und als ich aufhörte, bemerkte ich zu meiner Verwunderung, daβ es Nacht war, und herabhängende Kristall-Leuchter den Saal erhellten. (B 2: 108-9)

As the church bells ring midnight, the doors to the hall open and in walks the female representation of justice as if she had just stepped out of a painting. Heine describes her clothing and the objects she is carrying in much the same way as Varnhagen describes the artists and their tools.

> Die nahe Kirchenglocke schlug eben zwölf, die Saaltüre öffnete sich langsam, und herein trat eine stolze, gigantische Frau, ehrfurchtsvoll begleitet von den Mitgliedern und Anhängern der juristischen Fakultät. Das Riesenweib, obgleich schon bejahrt, trug dennoch im Antlitz die Züge einer strengen Schönheit, jeder ihrer Blicke verriet die hohe Titanin, die gewaltige Themis. Schwert und Waage hielt sie nachlässig zusammen in der einen Hand, in der andern hielt sie eine Pergamentrolle, zwei junge Doctores juris trugen die Schleppe ihres grau verblichenen Gewandes... (B 2: 109)

Heine, like Varnhagen, includes in the dream a group of men from past centuries.

> Und immer kamen noch neue Gestalten herein, alte Rechtsgelehrten, in verschollenen Trachten, mit weißen Allongeperucken und längst vergessenen Gesichtern, und sehr erstaunt, daß man sie, die Hochberühmten des verflossenen Jahrhunderts, nicht sonderlich regardierte; und diese stimmten nun ein, auf ihre Weise, in das allgemeine Schwatzen und Schrillen und Schreien, das, wie Meeresbrandung, immer verwirrter und lauter, die hohe Göttin umrauschte, bis diese die Geduld verlor, und in einem Tone des entsetzlichsten Riesenschmerzes plötzlich aufschrie: "Schweigt! schweigt! ich höre die Stimme des teuren Prometheus, die höhnende Kraft und die stumme Gewalt schmieden den Schuldlosen an den Marterfelsen, und all Euer Geschwätz und Gezänke kann nicht seine Wunden kühlen und seine Fesseln zerbrechen!" (B 2: 109-10)

Also as in Varnhagen's dream, the scene is interrupted by a loud scream. The goddess demands silence in order that they may hear Prometheus' cries. She is frustrated with the lack of respect that the men of past centuries are showing toward the Greek gods. This scene symbolizes how Christian ideology has replaced Greek sensitivity in Enlightened thought:

> So rief die Göttin, und Tränenbäche stürzten aus ihren Augen, die ganze Versammlung heulte wie von Todesangst ergriffen, die Decke des Saales krachte, die Bücher taumelten herab von ihren Brettern, [...] es tobte und kreischte immer wilder, - und fort aus diesem drängenden Tollhauslärm

> rettete ich mich in den historischen Saal, nach jener Gnadenstelle, wo die heiligen Bilder des belvederischen Apolls und der mediceischen Venus neben einander stehen, und ich stürzte zu den Füβen der Schönheitsgöttin, in ihrem Anblick vergaβ ich all das wüste Treiben, dem ich entronnen, meine Augen tranken entzückt das Ebenmaβ und die ewige Lieblichkeit ihres hochgebenedeiten Leibes, griechische Ruhe zog durch meine Seele, und über mein Haupt, wie himmlischen Segen, goβ seine süβesten Lyraklänge Phöbus Apollo. (B 2: 110)

The ideal in Varnhagen's dream is a young man, not a god, who resembles Goethe's Werther with his blue coat. This coincides with her real admiration of Goethe and belief in the revolutionary power of literature. Heine's narrator runs away from law and seeks refuge in a neighboring room where he falls to the floor beneath a painting of Venus and Apollo. The resolution of the tension in Heine's dream into an idyllic scene from Greek classicism likewise mirrors Heine's artistic beliefs. Heine had studied law in Berlin but turned away from that profession in order to become a writer. Although this work by Heine does not include a reference to dance, in many of his other works including *Florentinische Nächte* and his two ballet scenarios, he does use dance in a similar manner to Varnhagen, to symbolically represent the union or discord between two ideas.

One final passage in Heine's work illuminates the role Varnhagen played as a literary influence on him. It is actually a portrayal of Rahel Varnhagen herself in the first book of Heine's *Ludwig Börne. Eine Denkschrift* (1840). Heine started writing this work months after Börne's death in 1837 (Höhn 415). In it he recalls how Karl August gave

him some essays by Ludwig Börne (~1829), but it was Rahel's subtle smile that convinced him to read them:

> Der Ton, womit er mir diese Lektüre empfahl, war bedeutsam dringend, und das Lächeln, welches um die Lippen der anwesenden Rahel schwebte, jenes wohlbekannte, rätselhaft wehmütige, vernunftvoll mystische Lächeln, gab der Empfehlung ein noch größeres Gewicht. Rahel schien nicht bloß auf literarischem Wege über Börne unterrichtet zu sein, und wie ich mich erinnere, versicherte sie bei dieser Gelegenheit: es existierten Briefe, die Börne einst an eine geliebte Person gerichtet habe, und worin sein leidenschaftlicher hoher Geist sich noch glänzender als in seinen gedruckten Aufsätzen ausspräche. (B 4: 11)

Heine gives Rahel credit not only for understanding the literary merits of Börne's works, but also for possessing an intimate knowledge about him. Rahel knew of Börne's ability to express himself more passionately in his letters because his "Geliebte" was Henriette Herz, a friend of Rahel's (B 4: 766). Rahel's insight into Börne intrigued Heine and inspired him to cite her opinion of Börne years after this exchange took place:

> Auch über seinen Stil äußerte sich Rahel, und zwar mit Worten, die jeder, der mit ihrer Sprache nicht vertraut ist, sehr mißverstehen möchte; sie sagte: Börne kann nicht schreiben, eben so wenig wie ich [Heine] oder Jean Paul. Unter schreiben verstand sie nämlich die ruhige Anordnung, so zu sagen die Redaktion der Gedanken, die logische Zusammensetzung der Redeteile, kurz jene Kunst des Periodenbaues, den sie sowohl bei Goethe, wie bei ihrem Gemahl so enthusiastisch bewunderte, und worüber wir

> damals fast täglich die fruchtbarsten Debatten führten. Die heutige Prosa, was ich hier beiläufig bermerken will, ist nicht ohne viel Versuch, Beratung, Widerspruch und Mühe geschaffen worden. Rahel liebte vielleicht Börne um so mehr, da sie ebenfalls zu jenen Autoren gehörte, die, wenn sie gut schreiben sollten, sich immer in einer leidenschaftlichen Anregung, in einem gewissen Geistesrausch befinden müssen: Bachanten des Gedankens, die dem Gotte mit heiliger Trunkenheit nachtaumeln. (B 4: 11)

According to Heine, Rahel believed that good writing was organized in a structured manner as found in Goethe's. However, she "loved" Börne because he wrote in a passionate style that resembled the intoxication of the Bacchantes. The aspects of Börne's works that excited Rahel involve the same sensual qualities that Heine more thoroughly developed in his subsequent writing. That Rahel and Heine engaged in lively debates about the position of modern prose, proves once again that Heine gave her literary perspectives serious consideration.

A study of how Rahel Varnhagen, along with her husband Karl August, influenced Heine would not be complete without recognizing one more letter of Heine's:

> Als ich Ihr u Frau v. Varnhagens Brief erhielt war ich entzückt – doch, das wissen Sie auswendig – ich las die lieben Briefe drey, vier, dreyzig, vierzig mahl, so daß mir das Herz sehr heiter und der Kopf ganz klar wurde, und, wie ein Stern in der Nacht, der lichte Gedanken in mir aufstieg: ich will nach Paris reisen, Ja! Ja! (HHP, to Karl August Varnhagen, October 24, 1826)

Although this passage was written four and a half years before Heine's move to Paris, we can conclude that the Varnhagens must have foreseen that Heine would benefit artistically and personally from the more liberal environment of Paris.

Princess Cristina di Belgiojoso

The often quoted phrase by Heine, "Ich bin verdammt, nur das niedrigste und thörichste zu lieben..." has been used by many scholars to show the inequalities in Heine's relationship with his future wife Mathilde.[33] However, if one looks at this entire passage found in Heine's letter to Heinrich Laube, something much more interesting than self-pity becomes apparent:

> ...da ich mich auf dem Lande befand, bey Saint-Germain, auf dem Schlosse des schönsten und edelsten und geistreichsten Weibes ... in welches ich aber nicht verliebt bin. Ich bin verdammt nur das niedrigste und thörichtste zu lieben .... begreifen Sie wie das einen Menschen quälen muß, der sehr stolz und sehr geistreich ist? (HHP, Sept. 27, 1835)

The most beautiful, noble, and witty woman to whom Heine is referring, is the Princess Cristina di Belgiojoso (1808-1871).

Heine arrived in Paris May 1831 and according to Fritz Mende's chronicle of Heine's life, he had already met the Princess by June (89). But it was not until Heine was invited to her salon by a mutual friend in March, 1833 that their friendship began (Mende 103). By the middle of June, 1835 Heine accepted an invitation to stay at her estate in Jonchère. It is this visit that he describes months later in the above letter to Laube. The melancholy tone expressed there, and which is so prevalent in much of Heine's correspondence, is notably absent in the letter to his publisher, Julius Campe, written while he was staying with Belgiojoso in July. Here Heine cheerfully acknowledges the positive effect that Belgiojoso's company has on his disposition:

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[33] For example see Kortländer (48).

> Ich, Thor, glaubte die Zeit der Leidenschaft sey für mich vorüber, ich könnte niemals wieder in den Strudel rasender Menschlichkeit hineingerissen werden, ich sey den ewigen Göttern gleichgestellt in Ruhe, Besonnenheit und Mäßigung – und siehe! ich tobte wieder wie ein Mensch, und zwar wie ein junger Mensch. Jetzt, Dank meiner unverwüstlichen Gemüthskraft ist die Seele wieder beschwichtigt, die aufgeregten Sinne sind wieder gezähmt, und ich lebe heiter und gelassen auf dem Schlosse einer schönen Freundinn in der Nähe von Saint-Germain, im lieblichen Kreise vornehmer Personen und vornehmer Persönlichkeiten.
>
> Ich glaube mein Geist ist von aller Schlacke jetzt endlich gereinigt; meine Verse werden schöner werden, meine Bücher harmonischer. Das weiß ich, vor allem Unklaren und Unedlen, vor allem, was gemein und müffig ist, habe ich in diesem Augenblick einen wahren Abscheu. (HHP, July 2, 1835)

Not only does Heine credit his stay at Jonchère with a change in his soul, but he also credits the company of the people there for adding a new harmonious spirit to his writing. Who was this woman whom Heine did not love, but who had the capacity to ease his tormented soul and affect his writing with a new sense of clarity?

Cristina di Belgiojoso was born to a noble family in the Italian region of Lombardy. When this region was returned to Austria under Prince Metternich's rule in 1815, her stepfather, Marchese Alessandro Visconti d'Aragona, became a leader of the liberal party working to free Italy (Gattey 2). Belgiojoso was then aligned with the cause

at a young age and shared his passion by devoting much of her life to the same goal. At seventeen she married Prince Emilio di Belgiojoso d'Este in 1825 (Gattey 4). While they separated only three years later, he continued to receive financial assistance from her and may even have fathered her daughter, Maria, in 1838.[34] Between 1829 and 1831 Cristina Belgiojoso traveled extensively within Italy and became very involved with the revolutionary forces of the *Carbonari*. She knew many dignitaries, including Prince Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-1870).[35] In order to escape arrest for her political involvement, she fled to Marseilles in 1831 (Gattey 11). One of the first people she met was Augustin Thierry, historian and co-founder of Saint-Simonism. They became very close friends and years later, in 1847, she built a home for the two of them. Through Thierry, she was introduced to another life-long friend, François Mignet. Mignet was then the editor of a radical paper, *Le National*, for which Belgiojoso also later wrote. Mignet introduced her to Adolphe Thiers and the politically powerful Marquis de Lafayette, who had helped the Citizen King Louis-Philippe attain the throne in 1830 (Gattey 16). Lafayette and Belgiojoso developed a strong friendship and when his health began to fail she nursed him until his death in May, 1834 (Gattey 36). Belgiojoso's newly made French political connections allowed her numerous opportunities to summon support for Italy's independence. Her knowledge on the subject also led to her first job as a journalist writing for *Le Constitutionel* about Italian politics and providing French translations of English newspapers (Gattey 18).

Her first small apartment in Paris became a meeting place for Italian immigrants and by 1835 she began hosting her own salon. As many as 600 guests attended her

[34] Reuter speculates that François Mignet was most likely the father (148).
[35] Later known as Napoleon III, he became president of the second republic in France (1852-1870). Belgiojoso had hoped that their friendship would influence his position toward Italy (Gattey 208).

salons and parties, including Mignet, as well as Vincenzo Bellini, Frédéric Chopin, Eugène Delacroix, Caroline Jaubert, Franz Liszt, Alfred de Musset, and Heine (Gattey 38; Reuter 147). Belgiojoso and Musset met at her salon shortly after he had returned from a tumultuous trip to Italy with George Sand. Belgiojoso listened sympathetically to Musset but when he in turn professed his love for her she kept her distance. Only through the help of Belgiojoso's close friend, Caroline Jaubert, were they able to maintain a friendship (Gattey 56-7). Belgiojoso met Franz Liszt when he was living with the Countess Marie d'Agoult and often invited him to play at her salon (Gattey 48). Despite Belgiojoso's connections to Liszt and Musset, both close acquaintances of George Sand, it is not clear that a relationship between Belgiojoso and Sand existed.[36]

In 1840 Belgiojoso returned to Italy to help further social change by helping farmers improve their living conditions and helping women find work in a glove factory and a hospital (Reuter 153-4). Belgiojoso describes how her work in the military hospital helped change the lives of the women volunteers:

> After having selected my staff, I had constantly to play the role of a strict duenna, armed with spectacles, going on my rounds of the wards with a stick in my hand to put a sudden end to conversations which might become too intimate. These girls and women from the streets of Rome had no morals and in peacetime led disorderly selfish lives, but now redeeming qualities in their characters became apparent. No longer did they think of themselves or their personal well-being. I have seen the most depraved, the most corrupt among them keeping watch at a dying

[36] Marrone's study offers speculative evidence for the existence of a friendship between them, but strongly suggests that their influence can be seen in each other's writing.

> man's bedside, never leaving him either to eat or to sleep for three or four days and nights. I have seen them undertaking the most unpleasant and distressing tasks, [...] and doing it all without showing disgust or impatience. [...]
>
> In nearly all the women I engaged to work in the hospital I have seen this contrast between what they were and what they became. All changed in the same way. Once pity entered their hearts, it drove away at least temporarily all the vices which up till then had possessed them. It makes my own heart bleed to see women capable of such nobility and self-sacrifice forced to lead lives no better than beasts through lack of education and equality of opportunity. (trans. and qtd. in Gattey 133-4)

Although not specifically stated in this excerpt from her *Souvenir dans l'exil*, much of the social work she was involved it at this time was connected to Christian organizations. This is clearly stated in the letter she writes to Heine requesting a donation (Jan. 21, 1840). When she returned to Paris in 1842 she published her four-volume theological work entitled *Un essai sur la formation dogme catholique* (Reuter 154). Most definitely inspired by her volunteer experience, it also marks her turn from Saint-Simonism toward Catholicism. In 1848 she participated in the uprisings in Milan and later wrote about them in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Reuter 154). Fearing her arrest for her political participation, she fled to Greece in 1849 and spent the next six years traveling. Throughout her travels she sent letters to Jaubert in Paris which were published in *Le National* as a means to supplement her income (Gattey 145, 149). Later these letters, which also included recollections of her salon in Paris and social work in Italy, were

published collectively as *Souvenirs dans l'exil* (1852).[37] From Greece she went to Constantinople where she purchased a small territory and established a community of Italian immigrants. With her determination and medical knowledge she established a successful, self-sustaining farming community, Ciaq-Maq-Oglou (Gattey 151-3). In January, 1852 she embarked on a tour of Asia Minor including Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem. She returned to Ciaq-Maq-Oglou the following January and due to the political situation in Italy, the assets from her Italian estate were frozen. In order to support herself, she sent articles describing her Asian trip and short stories based on Eastern folk tales to Thierry for publication in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Gattey 183, 194). In June of 1853, an attempt was made on her life and she was repeatedly stabbed. She survived the incident, eventually returning to Italy and Paris in 1855. She was able to visit Heine once more before he died. In her later years she became more involved with the women's movement and wrote an essay, "On the Present Condition of Women and Their Future," which was published in the first edition of *Nuova Antologia* in January 1866 (Gattey 215). She believed that society needed to change in order to view women as intellectually equal to men, and she specifically supported women's admission to the medical profession (Gattey 215). Belgiojoso died July 5, 1871, and is buried at her estate in Milan.

Through her political involvement with the Italian freedom movement, her journalistic publications, her social connections in Paris, and her independent travels, Belgiojoso led a very unconventional life for a woman of the nobility. How then did Heine react to her endeavors and her unique lifestyle, after he was so initially charmed by her as a salon hostess? It might be safe to assume that he felt a certain sense of

[37] Brombert mentions an 1850 publication (171) while Gattey lists the publication date as Paris, 1852 (221).

connection to her, since they both desired to free their home countries of Austria's oppressive rule and had chosen to live their self-imposed exile among the liberal-minded intellectuals and artists in Paris. The thirty-seven letters that remain of their correspondence provide a glimpse into the evolution of their friendship. By studying these letters, which were written in French and date from January 1834 to September 1850, it becomes readily apparent that Heine's initial coquettish praise and Belgiojoso's brief responses soon give way to warm and honest expressions of friendship. Their letters include many references to literature and politics and an openness toward the other's differences of opinion.

In Heine's first known letter to her, he writes about being tormented for the last three days with the desire to know her preference between two literary characters, one written by Victor Hugo and the other by Alexandre Dumas (HHP, January 14, 1834). He also included in his letter a copy of George Sand's novel, *Léone Léoni* (1834), hoping that she would enjoy the depictions of Italy. By March Heine found the courage to share with her his own work, the first volume of the *Salon* (1833). Yet he was not able to do this without taking a modest position toward the work, saying that it is "médiocre" and thereby guarding himself, at least initially, against any criticism she might have (HHP, March 1, 1834). It is in this letter that he also gives the first indication that she has an effect upon his writing:

> Je n'avais alors pas encore l'avantage de vous connaître, Madame. Depuis cette bienheureuse époque j'écris mieux. Du moins je le crois. Ne riez pas de cette phantaisie. C'est ma superstition à moi. (HHP, March 1, 1834)

It is Heine's slightly longer letter from April 18, 1834, that more clearly reveals how he viewed their budding friendship. He writes that in a few weeks the French version of his *Reisebilder* (1834), which contains reflections of his trip to Italy, will be published and asks whether she would like to read it. He sends it to her on the condition that she not show it to anyone else. However, the most interesting aspect of this letter is the indication, albeit in a flirtatious manner, that her passionate stance concerning the needs of society when they last met had intimidated him:

> Soyez sûr, Madame, que j'ai beaucoup pensé à vous depuis la soirée d'avant-hier, que je voudrais plutot nommer une journée. En effet vous avez livré une bataille, qui vallait bien celle du juste-milieu; vous avez mitraillé le peuple, c'était un feu terrible, et peu s'en fallut que mon coeur, qui est une republique, ne soit devenue une monarchie. Cependant aujourd'hui je commence de reprendre courage; le bon sens, ce poltron qui avait prit la fuite à 11½ heures lorseque le voile noire tomba, revient tout doucement, et j'ai déjà l'audace de penser à vous sans trembler. Seulement je n'oserais pas encore vous regarder en face. (HHP, April 18, 1834)[38]

While his tone here almost mocks her strong convictions, his subsequent sharing with her of his own work as well as other literary articles indicates that he has grown to value her opinions.[39] Belgiojoso even comes to expect that he will share his work with her and chastises him for not doing so when the French publication of *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* is released. She writes to him using a familiar tone:

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[38] The misspellings in this and all subsequent letters have been preserved from the original.

[39] He sends her a copy of *l'Allemagne* (1835) in his April 17, 1835 letter. He sends her a critique of this work which was published in the Quarterly Review (Dec. 1835) in his April 30, 1836 letter. On April 1, 1838, Heine sends her some articles on the French theater (HHP).

> J'ai de graves reproches à vous faire que j'ai oublié l'autre jour de vous addresser[.] Vous publiez des poésies et vous ne me les donnez pas? à moi qui vous ai lu avant de savoir l'allemand, et qui l'ai appris en grande partie pour vous lire mieux? [...] Mais voyez Il y a huit jours je n'aurais eu que des remerciments à vous adresser pour vos poésies; aujourd'hui les poesies ne me suffisent plus et il me faut un dédommagement pour mes huit jours de perdus Vous viendrez diner avec moi Dimanche prochain; ou si Dimanche ne vous va pas, Mardi. Quand je vous verrai assiz à ma table et que j'aurai vos poésies dans ma poche, ma clémence se fera jour et je vous pardonnerai. [...] Mon pauvre Thierry a bien envie de vous connaitre – Il m'a demandé d'arranger cela et je l'ai assuré que je n'y manquerais pas, ayant une querelle à vous faire, ce qui est un moyen infaillible d'obtenir ce qu'on veut – (HHP, April 23, 1845).

Belgiojoso likewise sends Heine a copy of the beginning manuscript for a novel and asks that he dictate his comments to his secretary without using her name and send them to her through Jaubert's messenger (HHP, September 18, 1850). Unfortunately neither her manuscript nor Heine's comments, if they ever existed, remain.

While Heine's exaggerated expressions of affection become milder during their friendship, in the beginning there is a familiar need for female affection and understanding that is reminiscent of the flattering tone used in his letters to Rahel Varnhagen. Where he compared Varnhagen to the Romantic ideal of the flower, here he compares Belgiojoso to classic Italian poetry and painting:

> Mais je pense demain ou après-demain j'aurais regagné tout mon sangfroid tudesque et je pourrai vous entretenir avec une assez judicieuse analyse de la coëffure, que je vous ai vue pendant cette memorable journèe du 16 avril. Je n'ai jamais rien vu de si fabuleux, de si poetique, de si féerique que cette noire chevelure qui se dessinait en sauvages ondulations sur la transparente paleur de votre figure. Et cette figure vous l'avez volé à quelque tableau du VI^{icm} [XVI^{icm}] siecle, à qu*[Textverlust]* vieux fresque de l'ecole lombarde, peut- être de votre Luini, ou même aux poesies de l'Arioste, que sais-je moi! Mais cette figure me poursuit, jour et nuit, comme une enigme que je voudrais resoudre. (HHP, April 18, 1834)

Heine was captivated by Belgiojoso's beauty and in June he writes, "Adieux, la plus belle, la plus bonne, la plus admirable personne que j'ai rencontrée sur cette terre. Votre souvenir embeaumera toute mon existence" (HHP, June 28, 1834). In another letter to Belgiojoso Heine expresses sentiments similar to those in his letters to Varnhagen and even uses the same metaphor of the mirror. Searching for emotional support, Heine likewise claims to belong to Belgiojoso and begs her not to forget him:

> Je sais qu'écrire des lettres ne vous amuse guerre; c'est pour cette raison que je ne vous donne pas mon addresse. Ne m'ecrivez pas, mais pensez à moi. N'oubliez jamais qu'au bout du compte, je vous appartiens, et que je vaux quelque chose. Vous ne retrouverez pas si vite un miroir comme moi, si vrai, si intelligent, miroir parlant qui, tout en vous disant combien vous êtes belle, pourra aussi vous donner l'explication philosophique de la nature merveilleuse de votre beauté. (HHP, Aug. 26, 1835)

Heine flatters Belgiojoso with a classically inspired vocabulary that reflects his increasing interest in Greek antiquity. In this same letter from August 26, 1835, he thanks Belgiojoso for her compassion by saying:

> Que les Dieux immortels vous recompensent de votre compassion bienfaisante! Je vous recommande à leur protection particulière; quoique je ne suis plus un Dieu moi-même, j'ai encore assez de crédit dans l'Olympe, je suis encore assez bien avec le grand Jupiter, mon père, pour le rendre favorable à ceux que j'aime. – J'embrasse vos pieds. (HHP)

That Heine more than once[40] ends his letters to her with this symbolic act of Greek supplication – I kiss your feet – is a further indication of his tendency to use classical imagery. In contrast, Belgiojoso's Catholic beliefs can be seen in her letters through her closing references to God and prayers for Heine.[41]

In addition to their diverging political viewpoints, Heine's overstated admiration of her, the exchange of their writings, and differing religious references, there exists in these letters an honest expression of friendship. Belgiojoso arranges a meeting with Mignet and Thiers for Heine to discuss his pension opportunities with the French government.[42] She further suggests that her connections could help him become nominated to the French Academy, a very prestigious honor (July 17,1842). After he writes of his failing health, she responds by recommending an apartment near hers so that she would be closer to him and could offer his wife assistance with his health care (Sept. 1847). She arranges for a doctor who specializes in maladies such as Heine's to visit him (Nov. 5, 1848). Heine, likewise makes attempts to assist her when the assets from her

[40] See also his April 1, 1838 letter (HHP).
[41] See especially her April 23, 1845 and Sept. 1847 letters (HHP).
[42] See Heine's reply to her arrangement in his April 11, 1835 letter (HHP).

Italian estate are frozen by the Austrian government (Gattey 195). He makes donations to the charitable organizations she was working with (January 26, 1840).

To more fully comprehend Belgiojoso's and Heine's relationship it is necessary to include perspectives other than their letters to each other. In a letter to Franz Liszt, Jan. 19, 1838, Belgiojoso describes the volatility of her friendship with Heine, but does not deny their mutual respect:

> En revanche je vois plus souvent Heine qui a, dit-il, repris sa liberté. Vous savez que j'ai toujours soutenu que le satanique Heine était bon diable. Je persiste -, et je lui sais gré d'avoir été de tout temps à peu près le meme pour moi, malgré certains petits manèges au moyen desquels on a tenté de m'en faire un ennemi. L'on a fait *fiasco*, et sauf quelques quodlibets je suis persuadée qu'Heine ne me ferait aucun mal pour beaucoup. (Werner 1: 370)

Belgiojoso's honest words indicate the sincerity of her friendship with Heine.

Caroline Jaubert also played an important role in Heine's and Belgiojoso's friendship, facilitating as the contact person when Belgiojoso was traveling. After Heine is introduced to Jaubert he writes to Belgiojoso about his first impression:

> La petite femme [Jaubert] que j'ai vue hier chez vous a un attrait dans sa personnalité, un je ne sais quoi, qui agit sur moi d'une singuliére maniére. Habitué à me rendre compte de tout ce que je sens, je cherche en vain de m'expliquer cette sensation. Je crois que c'est une nature très confusement agitée dont l'agitation est contagieuse pour des allemands aux grands yeux bleux, elle me fait mal dans l'âme, elle y eveille des regrets endormis, elle

est douloureusement bonne, elle est gaiement mechante; je n'en veux pas et cependant j'en voudrais; c'est un charme ... (HHP, April 5, 1835).

As with Belgiojoso, Heine is both surprised and intrigued by Jaubert's self-confidence and beauty. I believe that Heine's contemporaneous friendship with Jaubert reinforced the messages of female autonomous behavior he was receiving from Belgiojoso. Heine's initial gesture of affection toward Jaubert was to send her the novel *André* (1834) by George Sand.[43] In addition to the thirty letters that still exist of the correspondence between Jaubert and Heine, dating from April 1835 to July 1855, her interpretation of their relationship is recorded in her memoirs, *Souvenirs, letters et correspondances* (1879). In the following passage she recalls the summer of 1835 and describes how Heine and Belgiojoso were of contrasting nature and intellectually sparred with each other:

> La campagne de Marly [...], était habitée par la princesse de Belgiojoso, chez qui aussi nous nous retrouvions souvent. Henri Heine admirait beaucoup son genre de beauté à la fois étrange et classique, son intelligence vive et sérieuse, son esprit passionné et piquant. Cette riche nature, fortement contrastée préoccupait l'observateur. Prompt à l'enthousiasme, l'esprit de la princesse était trop pénétrant pour ne pas l'obliger souvent à revenir sur ses pas. A ce sujet, le poète allemande avait essayé quelques plaisanteries, en traitant d'engouement les opinions de la belle Milanaise. Mais la réplique, dardée sans ménagement, le guérit bien vite de cette velléité. Désormais il préféra discuter ou ferrailler avec ceux que le hasard amenait tour à tour, littérateurs, académicians ou philosophes, dans le cercle de Mme de Belgiojoso. (Werner 1: 304)

[43] See Heine's reference to this in his April 5, 1835 letter to Belgiojoso (HHP).

According to Jaubert's depiction, Heine and Belgiojoso not only discussed topics ranging from literature to philosophy, but also freely disagreed with each other. Jaubert's words further substantiate Heine's overly dramatic claim that Belgiojoso provided him with an intellectual challenge.[44] This alone must have made a substantial impact on Heine's general perception of learned women.

In fact, Belgiojoso does make a lasting impression upon Heine. In his own overstated manner, he describes how her presence has affected him:

> Vous êtes la personne la plus complète que j'ai trouvé sur la terre. Oui, avant de vous connaitre je me suis imaginé que des personnes comme vous, douées de toutes les perfections corporelles et spirituelles, n'existaient que dans les contes de fées, dans les rêves du poëte. Apresent je sais que l'ideale n'est pas une vaine chimère, qu'une realité correspond à nos idées les plus sublimes, et en pensant à vous, Princesse, je cesse quelque fois de douter d'une autre divinité que j'avais aussi l'habitude de releguer dans l'empire des rêves. (HHP, October 30, 1836)

Because Heine sees in her what he previously had thought existed only in literature, it stands to reason that she could have helped inspire a new portrayal of women in his writing.

Heine compares his later encounters with intellectual women to that with Belgiojoso. In Fanny Lewald's memoirs, she recalls a visit with Heine in September 1850 during which he expresses surprise that she is both beautiful and can think. Lewald quotes what Heine said about her:

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[44] See again his letter from April 18, 1834 as discussed on page 68.

> "Es ist sehr merkwürdig, Sie haben viel gedacht, Sie denken überhaupt viel, und Sie haben doch das Herz einer Frau! Das überrascht mich! Ich habe das nur an *einer* Frau erlebt: an der Fürstin Belgiojoso, und ich glaubte, sie wäre die einzige. Im Allgemeinen ist Denken nicht der Frauen Sache!" (Werner 2: 204)

Heine pays this backhanded compliment to Lewald after she has explained the tension that occurred when she dedicated her novel to Karl August Varnhagen for his assistance with the research. Perhaps her story reminded Heine too much of his own dedication that was not so favorably received by Rahel Varnhagen. Heine might have also felt threatened by Lewald's statements which clearly established her as a writer, and thus felt the need to respond with sarcasm. While the motivation and intent of these words directed at Lewald is uncertain, what is clear is the high regard Heine continued to hold for Belgiojoso. It is certainly true that Heine found in no other woman the combination of beauty and intelligence that he found in Belgiojoso.

There was something unexpected, something powerful in the ardent and audaciously outspoken passion, with which France's foremost living author, George Sand, presented women characters to us, figures whose great hearts men were unable to treasure, and who were unable to find peace or happiness, because no man was in a position to cherish or merit such a heart. – Fanny Lewald[45]

George Sand

According to German writer Fanny Lewald, George Sand was notorious at least in part for her passionate portrayals of women. From her unconventional depictions of marriage and relationships in her writing to her own promiscuous lifestyle, George Sand became a symbol for women's emancipation in Germany and in France. Gisela Schlientz contends that Sand was used strategically by liberals, including authors of the Young Germany, because of her message of equality. They tried to minimize her sexual reputation since it was used by the conservative opposition to combat women's rights (155). Heine's attitude toward this pivotal figure, whom Schlientz labels as either "monstrous or sublime," is critical to understanding how his portrayals of women evolved (153). Heine developed a friendship with her that lasted more than twelve years; it seems impossible to conclude that Sand did not in some way affect his perception and representations of women. By briefly examining her life and works, the sentiments and information shared in their letters, and Heine's essays about her in *Lutezia* (1854), we can begin to evaluate her influence.

Through the encouragement of Franz Liszt, Heine met Sand over dinner at her Paris residence in November 1834 (Mende 118). A month later Heine sent her a copy of the French version of his *Reisebilder* (1834) with the inscription, "A ma jolie et grande cousine George Sand comme témoignage d'admiration" (HHP, End 1834). By this time

[45] This passage was taken from her autobiography, but here translated by Margaret E. Ward and quoted in Ward and Storz (264).

Sand had already become famous through her novels *Indiana* (1832) and *Lélia* (1833). She was in the midst of a tumultuous relationship with Alfred de Musset after they returned separately from their trip to Italy. That trip was recorded in her *Lettres d'un voyageur*, which were published in the leading French literary journal, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, beginning in May 1834 (Jack 231). Heine's own work, "Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland" was translated and published in successive articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* at about the same time, between the fall of 1833 and the fall of 1834 (Höhn 340).[46]

From the beginning of their friendship through 1840, the correspondence between Heine and Sand focuses on invitations to dinner with friends Franz Liszt (Spring 1835), Frédéric Chopin (Dec. 13, 1836) and Balzac (Jan. 9, 1843) (HHP). After Sand's relationship with Musset, she became involved with Chopin. The two had adjoining apartments in the Rue Pigalle in Paris where they entertained many guests including the musicians Hector Berlioz and Giacomo Meyerbeer, the painter Eugène Delacroix, the Saint-Simonist Pierre Leroux, the priest Félicien Lamennais, and the patrons of the arts James and Betty Rothschild, along with Liszt and his partner Marie d'Agoult (Jordan 195).

During her friendship with Heine, Sand published numerous works, the first of which was a novella, *Léone Léoni* (1834), about a love triangle in Venice that resembled her relationship with Musset and his doctor Pietro Pagello (Cate 301). *André* (1834) deals with marriage between classes (Cate 301-2). *Spiridion* (1838) was inspired by her relationships with Lamennais and Leroux (Cate 445). It is about Spiridion, a Jew who

[46] Other contributors to the magazine included Alfred de Vigny, Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, Théophile Gautier, Musset, Prosper Mérimée and Gustave Planche (Jordan 73, 82).

engages on a spiritual quest that leads him to found a Benedictine monastery and write his own religious doctrine (Jordan 201). The novel marks a turn away from Sand's tales of romantic relationships. *Les Sept Cordes de la Lyre* (1838) was Sand's version of the Faust legend. It includes the figures of Mephistopheles, a philosopher, and a beautiful young woman, Helen, and her magical lyre. George A. Kennedy describes this work as "a reaction against eighteenth-century rationalism ... and an assertion of the existence of some higher truth to be found in music, poetry, and a sympathetic response to nature" (1). Heine's later *Der Doktor Faust* (1851) also celebrates the sensual. Unfortunately, there is no mention of Sand's work in Heine's correspondence with her or elsewhere, so his familiarity with it remains uncertain.

Sand also wrote on more political topics including equality, emancipation, and socialism in her contributions to *La République* (Jordan 251). Schlientz, however, explains how Sand's revolutionary message differed from that of the Young German authors:

> Her thinking was not in terms of bourgeois reforms; her thought was more utopian. She was not interested merely in improving bourgeois marriage; rather, she looked for a far-reaching change in the concept of the relationship between husband and wife, with the ultimate goal of a greater equality and justice among all human beings. (157)

Feminists have had a difficult time reconciling her refusal of the nomination to petition for a seat in the National Assembly in 1848 with her expressed beliefs in social

equality.[47] She likewise rejected her proposed consideration in 1863 for membership into the exclusively male Académie Française (Jordan 319-20).

Heine's correspondence with Sand is different from that with either Varnhagen or Belgiojoso. While there is definitely an expression of affection – they address each other as cousins – he does not ask Sand to be his patroness or his confidant. What remains of their twenty-two letters indicates more of a collegial friendship. While Heine seemed to be continually requesting the opportunity to visit Belgiojoso, he often writes to Sand declining invitations to dinner due to ill health or other commitments.[48] This does not mean that Heine did not desire her company. He very much did, as can be seen in this excerpt from his August 17, 1838 letter:

> La veille de mon depart j'ai reçu par Choppin [sic] votre aimable billet et je vous remercie de l'interet que vous me temoignez. Mille merci! J'aurais bien voulu vous voir! Les rayons de vos yeux m'auraient fait du bien. Le son de votre voix m'aurait fait du bien. Je suis très triste. [...]
>
> Vous m'effrayez en disant que vous quittez bientôt le pays; j'espère que je vous trouverai encore à Paris au mois d'octobre; si vous pouvez me donner cet espoir, ecrivez moi deux lignes, [...]
>
> Je vous aime beaucoup, de tout mon coeur, de tous les lambeaux de mon coeur. (HHP)

Heine's willingness to cancel dinner or not to recognize they had made plans (March 17, 1840) simply indicates a lesser degree of emotional connection to her. There is almost a businesslike quality in two of Heine's letters, which are responses to her requests for

[47] See for example Elizabeth Harlan's biography on George Sand (2004).
[48] See for example the letters (HHP, Jan. 8, 1835, ~March 1836, March 17, 1840).

information. In his letter dated January 1840, he sends her an article from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (HHP), and in another he sends a translation of his descriptions of Potsdam and Sanssouci for use in her novel (HHP, May 13, 1843).[49] In addition to his initial gift of *Reisebilder,* Heine also sends her a copy of the French translation of *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (HHP, Dec. 28, 1844). Unlike in the correspondence with Belgiojoso and Varnhagen, there is no direct request by either Heine or Sand to comment on each other's works. Sand also does not initiate in her letters a discussion of her works. The only invitation for a directed reading comes from Heine, who asks that Sand read the humorous lines seriously in *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* in order to understand why people talk about her (HHP, Dec. 28, 1844). In Caput VI of this work there is a reference to Musset's "schändliche Spötterzunge" which is then followed by this stanza:

> Und trommelt er dir einen schlechten Witz,
> So pfeifen wir ihm einen schlimmern,
> Wir pfeifen ihm vor, was ihm passiert
> Bei schönen Frauenzimmern. (B 4: 589)

After Sand and Musset ended their relationship, Musset published a chapter of his forthcoming novel, *La Confession d'un enfant du siècle*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Jordan 121). The entire novel, published in 1836, was a romanticized version of their Venetian affair. After Belgiojoso refused his advances, he wrote a poem about her lack of affection, "Sur une morte," which was published in the summer of 1842 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Brombert 286-7). Heine's stanza no doubt refers to these instances as well as to Sand's public exposure of her relationships.

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[49] It was most likely a passage from the manuscript for the French translation of Heine's *Briefe über die französische Bühne* (1838) to be used in her novel *Consuelo* (1842) (HHP, 60,9).

Sand recognized Heine's sharp tongue even before he sent her that letter. In a diary entry dated January 7, 1841, she writes:

> Heine dit des choses très mordantes et ses saillies emportent le morceau. On le croit foncièrement méchant, mais rien n'est plus faux; son cœur est aussi bon que sa langue est mauvaise. Il est tender, affectueux, dévoué, romanesque en amour, faible même et capable de subir la domination illimitée d'une femme. Avec cela, il est cynique, railleur, sceptique, positif, matérialiste en paroles, à effrayer et à scandaliser quiconque ne sait pas sa vie intérieure et les secrets de son ménage. Il est comme ses poesies, un mélange de sentimentalité des plus élevées et de moquerie la plus bouffonne. (Werner 2: 493-4)

This entry indicates that Sand understood Heine and his writing very well. Her description of his work as a mixture of "sentimentalité" and "moquerie" rings true.

To broaden our perspective on their relationship, it is necessary to consider the impressions they made on mutual friends. In a letter to Sand, Emmanuel Arago writes how he had just visited Heine:

> Doch ich habe Dir tausend Dinge zu sagen von Heine, der in Paris zurück ist und den ich vorgestern traf; er ist so munter, so dick, so fröhlich wie eh und je. Ein lieber Kerl, der Dich sehr gern hat und den auch ich recht schätze. Er hat mir zwei Stunden lang von seiner *Cousine* erzählt und von den wundervollen Büchern seiner *lieben Cousine* .... (Jan. 1836; Werner 1: 316)

Arago's letter is not surprising. It simply confirms that Heine spoke fondly of her to others and was adequately familiar with her works. Slightly more informative is the letter of January 31, 1848, from Felix Bamberg to Friedrich Hebbel written a few years after Heine and Sand's last exchange of letters:

> Vor einigen Wochen stand von Heine ebenfalls unter falschem Zeichen ein Artikel in der A[ugsburger] A[llgemeinen] Z[eitung] der so anfing: "Die Sand die bekanntlich 10 Jahre lang mit Chopin gelebt hat, hat sich jetzt von ihm getrennt!" u.s.w Heine und die Sand waren früher intim befreundet [...]
>
> Heine ist dieser Tage sehr krank auf's Land gebracht worden. (Werner 2: 102)

This news alone did not cause Heine's illness, but Bamberg seems to infer that it did increase his suffering. Heine's interest in Sand's life and works did not end when their correspondence did. Recalling the week before his death, Heine's companion Elise Krinitz (Camille Selden), known as "Mouche," writes to Alfred Meißner:

> Ce fut le Mardi avant sa mort, que pour la dernière fois, j'entendis le son de sa voix. Bien qu'indisposée, jétais allée chercher un journal dans lequel se trouvait un article que notre ami désirait connaître. C'était une critique, déjà ancienne, de Jules Janin, sur Favilla – pièce de George Sand, sur le mérite de laquelle les jugements avaient été très différents. D'abord impatienté de ne pas me voir chez lui à l'heure habituelle, il me reçut d'une façon touchante lorsqu'il apprit pourquoi j'étais en retard. Je lui lus aussitôt l'article désiré – (Werner 2: 481-2).

Even until his death, Heine was interested in knowing how Sand's works were being received.

Before we examine Heine's essay on Sand, it is necessary to consider Heinrich Laube's article, "Ein Besuch bei George Sand" published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (December 1840). Laube begins the article as a dialogue in which he asks Heine about his friendship with Sand. When Heine states that he has not seen Sand in two years, Laube questions whether she takes offense at this. Heine replies, "Ich denke nicht; sie lebt ja auch in Paris, und ihre Bücher les' ich doch alle. Der französische Autor ist nicht so ehemännisch empfindlich wie der deutsche" (qtd. in Werner 1: 427). Heine does not appear bothered by his lack of immediate contact with Sand and still is quick to mention her works. The remainder of the article is Laube's description of their visit with Sand and others over coffee. Laube writes that Sand greets Heine warmly and describes how Sand attentively listens to the conversation before expressing her own opinions in a direct but unassuming manner. Other scholars have also commented on Sand's tendency to observe and listen rather than engage in lively dialogue. In this sense she stands in contrast to the vocal partner Heine found in Belgiojoso. Laube captures the mood of their visit by detailing how Sand offers everyone cigarettes and welcomes a new, not yet identified guest:

> Die Sand hieß ihn freundlich und vertraut willkommen. [...] Dann kam er neben mich zu sitzen, bewaffnete sich mit einer großen und solid gefaßten Brille, und hörte eine Zeitlang schweigend dem Gespräche zu, das Heine in diesem Augenblicke auf sein Lieblingsthema, den Sensualismus, zu werfen wußte. Die Sand, dieß bemerkend, sah lächelnd mit halbem Blicke

> auf den neuen Ankömmling und dann auf Heine, und nannte diesen einen Wildfang. (Werner 1: 429-30)

The new arrival was Sand's friend, the priest Lamennais, and Laube captures the irony in the timing of his arrival coinciding with Heine's attempt to turn the conversation toward his favorite topic of sensuality. According to Laube's account Heine was quite animated in the discussion with Lamennais and even Sand was not able to tame his remarks. Although Laube's article is less directly enlightening about Heine's and Sand's relationship, it provides insight into how Sand's social circle stimulated Heine.

What Laube's article fails to tell us is how the discussion between Lamennais, Heine and Sand unfolded and what sentiments were expressed. A few months after this article was published, Sand wrote a letter to Lamennais, who had since been imprisoned for political reasons. Her opinions stated here about women's place in society and their treatment by the Church challenge Lamennais' position as a priest. Even if Sand had refrained from sharing these ideas during the conversation described by Laube, we might safely assume that the core of these beliefs was in some form also shared with Heine. Sand proclaims:

> Cela posé, j'oserai vous dire que je ne suis pas convaincue encore de l'infériorité des femmes à cet égard-là. [...]
>
> [...] Mais j'attribue cette infériorité de fait qui est réelle en général, à l'infériorité qu'on veut consacrer perpétuellement en principe pour abuser de la faiblesse, de l'ignorance, de la vanité, en un mot de tous les travers que l'éducation nous donne. Réhabilitées à demi par la philosophie chrétienne, nous avons besoin de l'être encore plus, et comme nous vous

comptons parmi nos saints, comme vous êtes pour nous le père d'une Église nouvelle, nous voilà toutes et désolées et découragées quand au lieu de nous bènir et d'attirer en haut notre intelligence incomplète, vous nous dites un peu franchement, dans un moment d'ennui: Arrière, mes bonnes filles, vous êtes toutes de vraies sottes.

- C'est la vérité, maître: mais enseignez-nous à ne plus l'être et le moyen, ce n'est peut-être pas de nous dire que le mal tient à notre nature, mais de nous démontrer que c'est à la manière don't votre sexe nous a gouvernées jusqu'ici. (Feb. 1841; Sand 5: 303-4)

The articles that Heine wrote for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* between March 1840 and July 1843 were published collectively as *Lutezia. Berichte über Politik, Kunst und Volksleben* as a part of his *Vermischte Schriften* (1854). Article V, originally titled, "George Sands Cosima" was written on April 30, 1840, just following the opening of her play (B 5: 990). Like other works by Sand, this play addresses marriage and love. Ruth Jordan explains the plot in her biography:

> Cosima was a young middle-class wife from Florence who fell in love with a seductive Venetian nobleman. The understanding husband was prepared to step aside and relinquish his place to the lover, but the Venetian turned out to be no better than Casanova. In the end the dishonoured Cosima committed suicide in order to save her kind and loyal husband from a duel with the fickle lover. (204)

According to Jordan, the play failed. The hostile behavior of the audience caused the actors to miss their lines and the play was cancelled after only seven performances (205).

Upon an initial reading of Heine's review one might falsely conclude, as Jordan does, that Heine has nothing positive to say (Jordan 205). This is not the case. His review deals less directly with the play and more about the position of Sand within the literary tradition in France and women's role in society. Heine begins by characterizing the anticipation and intrigue that preceded opening night. Since the play did not produce the expected scandal, Schlientz understands Heine's embellishment of it as a strategy to entice his German audience (153). I disagree. Heine appropriately describes how this play had the potential to be shocking, but instead criticizes Sand for not remaining true to her ideas and instead producing a work that upheld the status quo in order to ensure her debut into theater. He writes using the masculine pronoun for Sand:

> Der Autor hatte sehr gut seine miβliche Stellung begriffen, und in seinem Stück alles vermieden, was die adeligen Ritter der Religion und die bürgerlichen Schildknappen der Moral, die Legitimisten der Politik und der Ehe, in Harnisch bringen konnte; und der Vorfechter der sozialen Revolution, der in seinen Schriften das Wildeste wagte, hatte sich auf der Bühne die zahmsten Schranken gesetzt, und sein nächster Zweck war, nicht auf dem Theater seine Prinzipien zu proklamieren, sondern vom Theater Besitz zu nehmen. (B 5: 256)

Heine is disappointed that Sand did not bring more of her message of women's emancipation to the stage. He clearly champions her attack on social standards of morality and traditional views of marriage expressed in other works.

This specific article uses Sand and her play as a framework for comparing the role of the theater and the value of the dramatist in both countries. Heine contends that there

is a significant difference between literature and drama. He is critical of what is produced on stage as being superficial and is at the same time envious of the success that playwrights achieve. Quoting the voice of the theater Heine writes:

> "Für euch [poets] der Rausch der Poesie, für uns [playwrights] der Schaum des Champagners, den wir vergnüglich schlürfen in Gesellschaft des Chef der Claqueure und der anständigsten Damen. Wir essen, trinken, werden applaudiert, ausgepfiffen und vergessen, während ihr in den Revüen "beider Welten" gefeiert werdet und der erhabensten Unsterblichkeit entgegenhungert!" (B 5: 256)

His remark about being immortalized by the critics in the "Review of two worlds" is an ironically self-deprecating play on words, since both Sand and Heine wrote for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. While it appears that Heine in some ways would enjoy the lush life of sipping champagne and becoming rich from his writing, the falsity of high-society does not entice him. Heine is also critical of the standard use of the claque, in which audience members were paid to applaud and laugh on cue. Sand specifically prohibited its use for her play (B 5: 257; Jordan 204).

In this article Heine also describes the social status of the actresses. This is where his essay reflects not only Sand's politics, but also Belgiojoso's. Heine writes how men receive unfair advantages over women, which contributes to the inferior social status of women:

> ...da die Frauen durch eine ungerechte Gesetzgebung, durch die Ursurpation der Männer, von allen politischen Ämtern und Würden ausgeschlossen sind und ihre Fähigkeiten nicht auf den Brettern des Palais

> Bourbon und des Luxembourg geltend machen können. Ihrem Drang nach Öffentlichkeit stehen nur die öffentlichen Häuser der Kunst und der Galanterie offen, und sie werden entweder Aktricen oder Loretten, oder auch beides zugleich, denn hier in Frankreich sind diese zwei Gewerbe nicht so streng geschieden [...] Hier in Frankreich im Gegenteil, wo so viele Vorurteile ausgerottet sind, ist das Anathema der Kirche noch immer wirksam in bezug auf die Schauspieler; sie werden noch immer als Verworfene betrachtet, und da die Menschen immer schlecht werden, wenn man sie schlecht behandelt, so bleiben mit wenigen Ausnahmen die Schauspieler hier im verjährten Zustande des glänzend schmutzigen Zigeunertums. (B 5: 258-9)

While Belgiojoso might not have agreed with Heine's position that the Church's stigmatization of these women perpetuates the cycle, since much of her charitable work was tied to Christian organizations, she would have most definitely concurred with his comments about women being unjustly excluded from politics. Even though Sand refuses to petition years later to run for public office, her letter to Lamennais indicates that she likewise believed that the Church needed to do more to improve the position of women. She would have also sided with Heine's defense of actresses because for this play the only person she would consider for the female lead was her close friend, Marie Dorval (204).[50]

[50] Jordan hints that Sand and Dorval's sixteen year friendship might have also included an intimate relationship (67). Rumors about them added to the intrigue that surrounded the opening of the play (204).

Heine goes on to explain how women who draw attention to their bodies become addicted to this type of appraisal. He chastises them less but warns of the seductive power that they develop. He further describes these women:

> Die Weiber, von welchen hier die Rede, sind nicht böse oder falsch, sie sind sogar gewöhnlich von außerordentliche Herzengüte, sie sind nicht so betrüglich und so habsüchtig wie man glaubt, sie sind mitunter vielmehr die treuherzigsten und großmütigsten Kreaturen.... (B 5: 260)

For Heine such highly sexual women are not false or bad. Neither are they greedy or deceptive. However, they can be dangerous because they may possess the desire to destroy the men they love (B 5: 260). Heine likens this type of woman to someone who chops down a tree in order to enjoy the fruit or to Shakespeare's Cleopatra, whose passionate love for Antony caused their demise (B 5: 260). Thus it is not the women of high society who inspire Heine as a writer; rather he wishes to write about women, like these actresses, who are sensual and expressive. Heine contrasts portrayals such as Shakespeare's with that of Balzac's depictions of women, which lack emotion. Of Balzac Heine writes:

> Er beschreibt sie, wie ein Naturforscher irgendeine Tierart oder ein Pathologe eine Krankheit beschreibt, ohne moralisierenden Zweck, ohne Vorliebe noch Abscheu. Es ist ihm gewiß nie eingefallen, solche Phänomena zu verschönern oder gar zu rehabilitieren, was die Kunst ebensosehr verböte als die Sittlichkeit. (B 5: 260-1)

Heine clearly does not like Balzac's realistic representation of women. We can expect that Heine's portrayals of women will follow more Shakespeare's creative model than Balzac's scientific one.

Heine added an additional article entitled simply "Spätere Notiz" written in 1854 specifically for the *Lutezia* publication (B 5: 1053). This article also addresses Sand, but it is less about a specific work than about her life and his general impression of her accomplishments as an author. Similarly to his use of Balzac in the preceding article, here Heine degrades the work of Victor Hugo as cold and unimaginative. It is not until the last paragraph that the reader understands his digression to the works of Hugo. Heine writes:

> Wir erleichtern uns die Beurteilung der Werke George Sands, indem wir sagen, daβ sie den bestimmtesten Gegensatz zu denen des Victor Hugo bilden. Jener Autor hat alles, was diesem fehlt: George Sand hat Wahrheit, Natur, Geschmack, Schönheit und Begeisterung, und alle diese Eigenschaften verbindet die strengste Harmonie. [...] und alles was sie fühlt und denkt, haucht Tiefsinn und Anmut. Ihr Stil ist eine Offenbarung von Wohllaut und Reinheit der Form. (B 5: 267)

Heine sincerely compliments both the style and content of her work. Few instances in Heine's writing express such a level of admiration without an ironic twist.

Fanny Lewald

In March 1848 Fanny Lewald and her travel companion, Therese von Bacheracht, visited Heine in Paris. In a letter to Heine written shortly after they first met, Lewald expresses her lifelong admiration of him:

> Mein Leben lang habe ich mir gewünscht, Sie kennen zu lernen; endlich komme ich nach Paris, überwinde die Scheu zudringlich zu scheinen, habe die Freude Sie zu sehen – da knallen die Deutschen ihre unreifen Revolutionen auf, mein Bruder schreibt, ich solle gleich zurückkommen und ich muß so schnell von Paris abreisen, daß ich Ihnen nicht einmal Lebewohl sagen kann. (HHP, Aug. 6, 1848)

This short passage reveals the two most defining aspects of her relationship with Heine. Before they even met, Lewald had formed an association with Heine through reading his works. When they finally did meet in the spring of 1848, political protests were taking place in the streets of France, which affected not only the possibility for their friendship to develop, but also became the background for their discussions.

Because their relationship began late in Heine's career as a writer, it is difficult to ascertain how her friendship might have directly influenced his thinking. Yet the very fact that Lewald met Heine as his health was declining makes their interactions unique. Despite his physical dependence on Lewald for visits, he retained his presence as Heinrich Heine the poet, whom she had admired since her youth. This adds a dimension to their friendship, that did not exist in any of the other relationships Heine shared with intellectual women. Varnhagen could not have been so familiar with Heine's works when they met, since many of his early writings had not yet been published, let alone

written. Belgiojoso likewise, could not have had the same extensive knowledge of Heine's writing before they met, since few of his works had been translated into French. While Sand was more involved in the literary circles in Paris and wrote for the same journal Heine did, she also did not possess the same familiarity with his work that Lewald professed to have.

No correspondence from Heine to Lewald has survived. We cannot know how he responded to her flattering comments here or in her other letters. Through the five remaining letters that she wrote to him, plus one written by Heine but addressed to her husband, Adolf Stahr, we can assemble the characteristics of their friendship. A more detailed account of their visits has been preserved in Lewald's and Stahr's memoirs. Through these we are able to gain insight as to how Heine conversed about topics relating to women and his own writing process, a perspective missing from the other discussions of Heine's relationships. While we have approximated guest lists and proceedings of Varnhagen's, Belgiojoso's and Sand's salons, we have yet to discover a first-hand account of how Heine intellectually interacted with them in person. Lewald and Stahr document their conversations and visits with Heine between 1848-1855. Lewald's *Zwölf Bilder nach dem Leben* (1888) contains a section devoted to Heine, *Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine*. Adolf Stahr's memoirs *Zwei Monate in Paris* (1851) and *Nach fünf Jahren. Pariser Studien aus dem Jahre 1855* (1857) augment Lewald's recollections. It is important to remember that their memoirs were written and re-written after their visits, sometimes even years later, thus we need to consider their words as subjective, albeit informative, impressions. By studying these memoirs and what remains of their correspondence we learn about Heine's personal interaction with another intellectually

assertive woman and his general position on women's emancipation in light of the political changes after 1848.

Fanny Lewald was born in 1811 to a Jewish family. Like Varnhagen and Heine, she was also later baptized. She attended school until 1824 and then watched as her brothers were allowed to attend the Gymnasium and later the university. In 1832 her father invited her to join him on a business trip which included an extended stay with her uncle, Friedrich Lewald. While staying with him, she participated in social gatherings where politics, literature, and society were discussed among many influential people, including composer Giacomo Meyerbeer, writers Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, and Ludwig Robert, Rahel Varnhagen's brother (Rheinberg 90; Schneider *Lewald* 29). Through her uncle's extensive library, Lewald had access to German authors including Goethe, Ludwig Tieck, Karl Gutzkow, Heinrich Laube, Theodor Mundt and Heine. She also was introduced to French literature through her access to the foreign journal *La Revue des Deux Mondes* and the works of Balzac, George Sand, Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas (Rheinberg 90).

She began writing anonymously in 1841 and her first two novels, *Jenny* and *Clementine,* were published in 1843. Both these novels, as well as her short story *Der dritte Stand* (1844), were socially critical works addressing class divisions, religious boundaries, and marriage. By 1844 she had generally given up writing under a pseudonym. *Der dritte Stand* as well as *Diogena* (1847) were reactions to works by George Sand and Ida Hahn-Hahn respectively (Schneider *Lewald* 45, 136). Her connections to literary society strengthened when she traveled to Italy and gathered impressions for her *Italienisches Bilderbuch* (1847). In Rome she shared the company of

the writers Adele Schopenhauer and Ottilie von Goethe. She also attended the salons hosted by the baronesses Emma von Schwanenfeld and Sibylle Mertens-Schaffhausen (Schneider *Lewald* 57).

Her unconventional public life as a woman who wrote and traveled was paralleled by her private life. While in Rome in 1845 she met Adolf Stahr (1805-1876), and they soon developed a lasting love relationship despite his existing marriage and five children. In 1847 Lewald and Stahr both resided in Berlin where they regularly hosted their own small salon. Visitors included Theodor Fontane, Gottfried Keller, Friedrich Spielhagen, George Eliot, Levin Schücking, Paul Heyse, Franz Liszt, Ferdinand Lassalle, Johann Jacoby, Heinrich Simon, and other liberal-minded intellectuals (Schneider *Lewald* 93-4).

In March of 1848 Lewald traveled to Paris with Therese von Bacheracht.[51] By collecting the letters she had written to friends during this period, Lewald documents the fourteen-day trip and the political uprisings in *Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1848* (1848). In 1849 Lewald's historical novel *Prinz Louis Ferdinand* was published. It includes a fictionalized account of Ferdinand's friendship with Rahel Varnhagen. Although Lewald and Varnhagen never met, Lewald writes in her autobiography, *Meine Lebensgeschichte* (1861/2), how profound an impact Varnhagen's letters had on her as a young writer. She writes:

> [Die Briefe] waren eine Offenbarung und eine Erlösung ... Was mir auch begegnet war, was ich Unbequemes, Peinliches, Schmerzliches zu ertragen und zu erleiden gehabt hatte, Rahel Levin hatte das Alles gekannt, hatte das Alles durchgemacht, hatte über Alles mit der

[51] Therese von Bacheracht and Karl Gutzkow had a relationship between 1841-1849. Bacheracht and Lewald shared the similar fate of being in relationships with married men (Schneider *Lewald* 52-3).

> innewohnenden Kraft den Sieg davon getragen, und sich endlich an den Platz hinzustellen gewußt, an dem sie gefunden, was sie ersehnt: die Möglichkeit zu genießen und zu leisten nach dem eingebornen Bedürfnis ihrer Natur. (qtd. in Goodman *Dis/Closures* 152-53)

Searching for a way to reconcile her desire to write, Lewald finds in Varnhagen a role model and source of inspiration. To research her novel on Ferdinand, Lewald requested the help of Karl August Varnhagen when she was living in Berlin. Establishing contact with him was not difficult since another uncle, David Assing, was married to Karl August's sister, Rosa Maria.[52] Lewald dedicated the work to Karl August and in her memoirs explains to Heine his mixed reaction (Werner 2: 201-4).[53]

In September 1850, Lewald returned to Paris with Stahr and they stayed through October. Together they visited Heine, who was now bedridden due to his degenerative illness. After their marriage in February 1855, Lewald and Stahr returned to Paris in the fall. Heine cherished their visits not only for their companionship but also for the additional reading materials they brought him. In his October 7, 1855 letter to Adolf Stahr Heine writes, "Ich schmachte nach ihrem Kommen um so mehr, da ich nichts mehr zu lesen habe" (HHP). Apparently, they visited Heine often during this trip, as Heine writes to his publisher Julius Campe on November 1, 1855, "Hier ist Stahr neben Fanny Lewald, die ich oft sehe" (HHP).

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[52] For a more complete look at her biography and also her relationship to Heine, see the chapter on Rosa Maria Assing in Hundt, 91-110.

[53] This and all subsequent references to Lewald's and Stahr's memoirs are cited from Michael Werner's (1973) anthology. Since this work combines passages from their respective memoirs, organizes them by date, and indicates sections which were added in Lewald's later revisions, it provides a more comprehensive approach to their study. For these reasons I will cite from him rather than from Lewald directly.

Since Bacheracht had known Heine from Hamburg, she and Lewald decided to visit him unannounced on Lewald's first trip to Paris. In the 1886 revision of her memoirs Lewald further defends their presumptuous behavior by explaining why they did not write to him, "Was man in solchem Anmeldungsbriefe sagt, ist eigentlich immer ein thörichtes Gemisch von Schmeichelei und erlogener Bescheidenheit" (Werner 2: 108). In her later years Lewald had apparently forgotten the flattery her early letters contained. In her very first letter to Heine after their visit she begins:

> Bester Herr Doktor! eigentlich kam ich neulich mit einem rechten Herzensinterresse zu Ihnen, um Ihnen für alle die guten Stunden zu danken, die ich von früher Jugend an, Ihnen schuldig geworden bin. Sie sind ein ganz entschiedenes, für sich gesondertes Element meiner, in stiller Prosa dürftigen Jugend gewesen und ihr Buch der Lieder hat mir die sonnigsten Mährchen an den sehr engen Horizont jener Tage gemalt. Das und noch Vieles hatte ich Ihnen sagen wollen und gewußt, es würde Sie freuen .... (HHP, ~ 10. March 1848)

She had not been able to tell Heine how much she had enjoyed his poetry over the years because of the other people in his room at the time of her visit. A small fragment of their initial dialogue is preserved in Lewald's memoirs. In an attempt to be optimistic about his physical condition, she says, "Herr Heine hat den Frühling so schön gefeiert, daβ der Frühling wohl etwas für ihn thun müβte." To which he responds, " 'Ich habe das Meer auch sehr schön besungen und bin immer seekrank gewesen. Und die Frauen erst! quel mal elles m'ont fait!' He laughed heartily" (Werner 2: 110). Although Heine's words should definitely be read in jest, his suggestion that he has celebrated women in his

writing coincides with the central theme of this study. Heine's friendship with Lewald provided the stimulation for him to consider once again his position toward women in society and their role in literature. In her first letter following this visit, Lewald notes his poor vision and offers to come in the mornings to read to him, "Ich möchte Ihnen kleine Zinsen rückzahlen von dem Kapital, das Sie mir gegeben haben" (HHP, ~March 10, 1848). Her gracious offer highlights her position as a recipient of literature – she is familiar with German and French authors – and a producer of it – she is not only a writer but also here a reader. Due to the political circumstances, she and Bacheracht left Paris early and were not able to visit him again.

Years later a shared literary interest resurfaces in their letters. In October 1855, Heine sends Lewald and Stahr not only copies of his own works, *L'Allemagne*, *Lutezia*, part one of his *Salon,* and a collection of poems, but also a copy of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (HHP, Oct. 7, 1855). In response to this, Lewald shared her work with him despite her fear that he would mock her. In her letter accompanying a copy of *Wandlungen* (1853) she writes, "Ihnen, vor dessen vernichtendem Spotte so Weniges besteht, den Roman zu senden, ist mir aber, ich gestehe Ihnen das ganz ehrlich, ein wahrer Act der Selbstverleugnung" (HHP, October 10, 1855). According to her memoirs, Heine did not mock her work, but rather discussed it with her.

In Lewald's and Stahr's combined memoirs there are many passages which provide insight into Heine's thoughts on specific people, including Rahel Varnhagen, George Sand and Cristina Belgiojoso. Also included in their recorded discussions with Heine are his reflections on cities visited, religion, literature and the changing political environment. Four passages in particular help clarify Heine's position toward women's

equality, his willingness to discuss his own writing with a female contemporary, and his reaction to Lewald's writing. The conversations replicated in Lewald's memoirs are in the spirit of Heine's writing in which topics change quickly, taking new directions. Lewald herself acknowledges this in recalling her first visit with him in 1848, "So plauderten wir lange; Heine war sehr angeregt, sehr heiter, kam aber immer auf den Ernst der Zeitfragen zurück [...] Sein Wesen und seine Werke sind vollkommen identisch, und die Originalität seines mündlichen Ausdrucks ganz seiner Schreibweise gleich" (Werner 2: 113-4). Lewald's keen description of Heine and his writing style lend credibility to her portrayal of him in the remainder of her memoirs.

It is hardly surprising that the topic of marriage is addressed during Lewald's visits with Heine. When she and Bacheracht first visited Heine, Bacheracht was involved in a relationship with Karl Gutzkow who was married. On her second trip to Paris Lewald was accompanied by Stahr, who was also at the time married to another woman. Considering this context, Heine's words during her September 1850 visit seem to reflect a moderate position:

> Das Geschlechtsverhältniß ist dadurch unheilbar korrumpirt. Wir haben bis jetzt nur auf der einen Seite den ganz unerträglichen Zwang der Polizeiehe des Christenthums, und auf der andern die Depravation, der das Konkubinat anheimfällt, weil es außer dem Gesetz ist und unnatürlich genug für eine Schande gilt. Das Alles muß geändert werden. Es ist nur schlimm, daß wir bis jetzt nach allen Seiten hin nur lauter vereinzelte Aenderungen erlebt haben, die dann zum Unglück ausschlugen, weil sie zusammenhanglos waren. (Werner 2: 210)

Heine's insistence on the need to change the perception of sexual relationships is progressive. He is clearly against the oppressive influence of the Christian Church. Yet he is not convinced that relationships such as Bacheracht's or Lewald's provide the appropriate alternative. During a visit in October they return to the discussion of marriage. After considering Theodor Gottlieb Hippel's text "Über die Ehe" (1774) Heine comments on known liaisons involving famous writers including Goethe, Charlotte von Kalb,[54] Karl Immerman, as well as Therese Bacheracht and Karl Gutzkow. He states, "Haben Sie wohl darüber nachgedacht, Welch eine geheime Macht den Dichtern die Liebe bedeutender Frauen zu wendet? jene Liebe, welche der Sanktion von außen, von Kirche und Staat nicht bedarf, weil sie ja an sich von Gottes Gnaden ist?" (Werner 2: 215). Heine's suggestion that the secret to these relationships, which are sanctified by a spirit beyond that of church or state, lies in the power of the (male) poet misses half of the equation. These relationships are unique in part because the women are "bedeutend." They have achieved either financial or social independence and therefore do not require the same degree of public approval that women of a lower class might.

The subject of women's emancipation arises in a slightly more generalized context also in the fall of 1850. Lewald and Stahr had recently given Heine Georg Jung's *Geschichte der Frauen* (1850). They recall his reaction to it:

> Er sprach heute davon mit großem Lobe, meinte aber doch, daß ihm der Verfasser zu enthusiastisch für die Frauen Partei zu nehmen scheine. [...] "Wir vertrauen ja den Frauen die ganze Zukunft, die künftige Generation an, da können wir sie doch nicht so ohne Weiteres auf der Gasse

[54] Kalb had relationships with Friedrich Schiller and Jean Paul. See Söhn for his chapter on Charlotte Marschalk von Ostheim (Kalb) (123-30).

> umherlaufen lassen. Vor sozialen Ungerechtigkeiten müssen wir sie sicher stellen durch vernünftige Institutionen, – im Uebrigen für sie sorgen. Das ist die Sache." (Werner 2: 242-3)

This divided stance on women follows Heine's position on marriage. On the one hand he can relate to the liberalism expressed by Jung, yet on the other he wants social institutions to protect women.

Had Lewald also documented conversations with Heine about his fictional portrayals of women, then we might better understand how his viewpoints on marriage and women's emancipation were translated into his artistic expressions. Alas, no such easy answer exists. While Lewald and Heine do discuss his *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (1844) and *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum* (1847), their conversation does not include his representations of women (Werner 2: 244-5).

The only discussion about the creative process of writing occurs during one of their last visits in 1855. With reservations, Lewald had just sent him a copy of her *Wandlungen* (HHP, October 10, 1855). Linda Rogols-Siegel explains how this work marked a different period in Lewald's writing:

> ...*Wandlungen* is the first of Fanny's large works of fiction to move away from the political *Tendenzroman*, although now and then the plot does allude to the struggle between conservatism and liberalism; the setting of the novel is also international in scope (the action takes place in Germany, France and Italy), as opposed to her earlier Prussian novels. (77)

The novel explores how class can be a greater determining force in relationships than love as two commoners are rejected in favor of more wealthy suitors. The work also

contains "a highly realistic portrayal of the hardships of the lower class" (Rogols-Siegel 76-7). As we read in Heine's comments about Balzac's works, Heine was not fond of realistic portrayals. Nor was he an admirer of *Tendenzliteratur*, as we will see in chapter 4. Thus we might expect Heine to judge this work unfavorably.

His conversation with Lewald about *Wandlungen* has been recorded in her memoirs. It is one of the few sources that captures Heine engaged in a serious discussion about the production of literature by a female author. His remarks indicate that he has given her work careful consideration, but that he has his reservations:

> "Hören Sie!" begann er, "Ihr Roman hat mich heute die ganze Nacht beschäftigt. Deutschland kommt mir ordentlich fremd vor, daß man ihm wieder so ernsthafte Bücher bieten kann und über *Sie* wundere ich mich auch."
>
> *Fanny Lewald:* Ueber mich? weßhalb?
>
> *Heine:* Daß Sie so mit der Sprache herausgehen, so Alles sagen!
>
> *F.L.:* Ja, wie kann man denn anders?
>
> *Heine:* Und obenein Ihre Ansichten über Ethik und Religion, Alles so nackt und blank, nirgends ein Ausweg gelassen! Es hat mir etwas Unheimliches! Dieses unverblümte Hinstellen der eigenen Tendenz, dieses offene Preisgeben der innersten Meinung kann Ihnen einmal theuer zu stehen kommen. Sie müßten durchaus vorsichter sein; ich sage Ihnen das, weil ich es gut meine.

For Heine, who masked his intended meaning from censorship and others through layers of conflicting imagery, sarcasm, irony, and ambiguity, which will be explored in the

coming chapters, the idea of stating things openly and plainly was not only risky, but also simply not his style. He courteously conveys his preference for masking one's ideals within the text rather than stating them so forcefully. Lewald responds to his hesitant remarks about her style by claiming that the only control she has over her writing is to not write at all:

> *F.L.:* Lieber Heine, Willkür habe ich nur über meine Gestalten, und auch das nur halb unbewußt, im Momente des Schaffens; denn wenn sie da sind, bekommen und üben sie selbst die zwingende Kraft ihrer inneren und nothwendigen Folgerichtigkeit. Ueber meine Tendenzen und Ueberzeugungen aber habe ich vollends nur *die* Gewalt, sie etwa ganz zu verschweigen, und wenn ich das müßte oder wollte, so würde ich überhaupt nicht mehr schreiben. (Werner 2: 429)

Heine, who so meticulously edited and reworked his writing, searches for a different way to voice his concern:

> *Heine* (nachdem er längere Zeit geschwiegen): Ja, aber wie wird es sein, wenn sich Ihre Ansichten einmal ändern? und ändern *können* sie doch! Wenn dann Einer kommen wird und wird Ihnen sagen: "damals hast du so gedacht, und jetzt denkst du so" und Sie haben sich alsdann *gar keinen Rückzug freigelassen*? Haben Sie daran nie gedacht? Er hat mich in diesen Tagen, und zumal gestern beim Vorlesen, förmlich verfolgt, der Gedanke: ob Sie denn wirklich gar keine Besorgniß hegen?"
>
> *F.L.:* Gar keine, bester Heine. Sie sehen ja schon an dem Titel, den ich meinem Buche gegeben, daß ich den Menschen, und aus dem Buche

> selbst, in welchem Sinne ich ihn für wandelbar halte. Also kann ich mir wohl vorstellen, daβ auch meine Ansichten sich noch ändern können. Aber da ich eine im Grundprincipe feste Lebens-Ueberzeugung habe, so können alle meine etwaigen Wandlungen doch immer nur aus dem Einen Kerne hervorgehen und eben nur Berichtigungen und Erweiterungen meiner Erkenntniβ sein. Und wenn mir Jemand einmal dies nachweisen will, so sorgt mich das eben so wenig, als wenn er den Leuten erzählte, daβ ich erst klein gewesen, dann gewachsen bin und schlieβlich werde alt werden. Gewiβ, das hat mich nie gehindert; darüber bin ich stets ruhig gewesen. (Werner 2: 429-30)

For Lewald the prospect of someone attacking a difference in perspective within her writing is less threatening than it appears to be for Heine. She tries to convince him that she embraces change, as the title of her novel suggests, and that it is a welcome sign of growth. Perhaps recognizing that Lewald will not be persuaded, Heine changes his tone, "...(hier lächelte er wieder in seiner Weise und fiel aus dem ernsten in den scherzenden Ton)" as he jokingly recalls his past mistakes (Werner 2: 430).

This conversation reveals that Heine did give Lewald's work consideration and did not mock or dismiss it. Instead of diminishing Lewald's achievement, Heine holds her to the same standards by which he judges others. His protective tone and his loss for words indicate a respect for her and her work, even if he disagrees with her artistic approach.

CHAPTER 3
FANTASTICAL FIGURES

Introduction

"Was bedeutet dieses Weib? Welcher Sinn lauert unter der Symbolik dieser schönen Formen?" (B 1: 613). Standing in the bedroom, looking into the eyes of the woman he has longed for, Maximilian ponders these questions in *Florentinische Nächte* (1837). These are the same questions that this study seeks to address. The answers do not lie simply within the structure of the narrative nor are they to be found by looking only at literary convention; rather, an understanding of Heine's multifaceted female figures requires careful consideration of the changing social, political and literary context within which they were created.

Heine moved to Paris in 1831 to pursue his career as a writer in a political atmosphere that more closely matched his liberal values. Heine thrived in his new environment, as he himself notes in a letter to Ferdinand Hiller:

> Fragt Sie jemand wie ich mich hier befinde, so sagen Sie: wie ein Fisch im Wasser. Oder vielmehr, sagen Sie den Leuten; daβ, wenn im Meere ein Fisch den anderen nach seinem Befinden fragt, so antworte dieser: ich befinde mich wie Heine in Paris. (HHP, Oct. 24, 1831)

As described in chapter 2, Heine quickly found his way into the salons and was exposed to a variety of new ideas. Among the fictional texts written during his early years in Paris, there are two which illustrate most vividly how this progressive environment influenced his female portrayals: *Florentinische Nächte* and *Elementargeister*.

Heine's second collection of poetry, *Neue Gedichte*, also reflects a change in his representations of women. This work was first published as a complete text in 1844; however, many of the poems, including those from the provocative "Verschiedene" cycle were written as early as 1831 (B 4: 922). In contrast to the abundance of unrequited love poems of *Buch der Lieder* (1827), many of these poems portray a sensual, erotic love. Geertje Suhr explains:

> Der "Realist" und "Sensualist" Heine beschreibt nicht mehr die großen Leiden der unerwiderten Liebe, sondern die kleinen und größeren Freuden und Leiden der erwiderten sinnlichen Liebe, die jedoch nicht ohne Problematik für den Dichter ist. Die Gedichte umkreisen nicht mehr eine "Immergeliebte," wie im "Buch der Lieder," sondern sie richten sich ausdrücklich an verschiedene Frauengestalten – daher wohl auch der Titel "Verschiedene" (73).

The female figures in these poems are no longer objects of desire, but approximate subjects. In this position they are still a source of pain for the narrator. The poem "Angelique," originally published as the prologue to "Verschiedene" in 1833 (B 4: 895), serves as an excellent example of the new role these figures fulfill. The poem is divided into nine sections. The first section reminds us of the narrator's longing for the female that was so present in the *Buch der Lieder* poems. However, here the narrator recognizes, in a self-deprecating manner, that he has outgrown this model:

> Nun der Gott mir günstig nicket,
> Sol lich schweigen wie ein Stummer,
> Ich, der, als ich unbeglücket,

So viel sang von meinem Kummer,

Daß mir tausend arme Jungen
Gar verzweifelt nachgedichtet,
Und das Leid, das ich besungen,
Noch viel Schlimmres angerichtet! (B 4: 330)

A new relationship needs to be portrayed between the narrator and the female. A different position for the female begins in section II of "Angelique." Here she becomes actively present and not a far away object as she returns the gaze, "Noch einmal schautest du zurück" (B 4: 330). The narrator responds to her change with despair equal to that of his former longing. She has lost the "Wildheit" that she once possessed and the narrator now laments that she still loves him (B 4: 330). In section IV her emergence into a subject is most visible:

Ich halte ihr die Augen zu
Und küß sie auf den Mund;
Nun läßt sie mich nicht mehr in Ruh,
Sie fragt mich um den Grund. (B 4: 331)

In the remaining two verses, each time the narrator closes her eyes, she asks why. In the end he admits he does not know. In this part of the poem there is a grammatical switch to the third person pronoun "sie" whereas in all other sections he addresses her with "du." This change distances her slightly from the poem and lessens her strong expressions of self by allowing the narrator to speak for her. In section V the narrator requests that she not be so assertive:

Ich bitte dich, laβ mich mit Deutschland in Frieden!

Du muβt mich nicht plagen mit ewigen Fragen (B 4: 332).

By section VII, the narrator even claims to be too "beschäftigt" and tells her to come again tomorrow (B 4: 332). This is a very different narrative voice than the one that so longingly sought his beloved in *Buch der Lieder.* Their relationship dissolves into a friendship in section VIII and then they become bored with each other in IX. Geertje Suhr helps us interpret this new almost egalitarian position of the woman:

> Solange die Frau noch "fern Geliebte" ist, tauchen romantische Klischees – ironisch verwendet – auf; sobald sie aber seine Bettgefährtin geworden ist, beginnt die Problematik der sinnlichen Liebe, da der Mann die Nähe der Frau leicht als Belästigung empfindet. Das Extrem an Gefühlen des "Buchs der Lieder" ist einem Mittelmaβ gewichen; und die Frau wird nicht mehr idealisiert, aber auch nicht mehr verurteilt. Sie erlebt die Liebe ganz wie der Mann: als Sinnenrausch, der in Ernüchterung, aber nicht in Bitterkeit endet. (78)

For Suhr the woman is no longer idealized and both partners experience love in the same way. While I agree that the woman is defined here differently, I do not see that she experiences love in the same way as the man. Despite the increased presence of the female in these poems and in the other works composed by Heine during this time, the male still determines the direction of their relationship and of the narrative.

Heine's novella *Florentinische Nächte* contains examples of female figures who are subjects but do not participate equally within the story. The main character is Maximilian who is surrounded by female characters, each of whom expresses varying

degrees of self. The initial female figures introduced in the work are mixtures of fantasy and reality. Only the figure of Maria, Maximilian's sick friend, remains firmly situated in the present and therefore achieves the strongest expression of self. Mademoiselle Laurence is allotted an increasingly larger portion of the text as she develops from a traveling gypsy into a sophisticated woman of the salon. Her ability to exist in both fantastical and realistic environments allows Heine to envision a different role for women both in literature and society.

The female figures in this work have drawn scholarly attention. However, the majority of studies tend to reduce them to clichés or representations of death and coldness. Christine Mielke (2002) examines the link between sexuality and death and Jürgen Forhmann (1999/2000) views marble throughout Heine's works as a representation of the space between life and death. While both of these observations are initially true about the characters in *Florentinische Nächte*, they overlook how Heine's female representations evolve beyond this position. If we instead examine his figures for the ways in which they cross boundaries between fantasy and reality, then we can begin to see how marble also represents beauty and the poetic ideal.

Heine examines myth and the evolution of fairytales and German folklore in his *Elementargeister*. This work was published alongside *Florentinische Nächte* in the third volume of *Salon* (1837). In *Elementargeister* Heine retells stories recorded by others, including Paracelsus, the Brothers Grimm, and even Goethe. In his explanations and revisions of these tales, we see how Heine celebrates the sensual aspects of the stories and cherishes the representations that expose the flaws and weaknesses of spirituality. In this work Heine pays attention to gender as he relates the different supernatural

characteristics attributed to the male and female elemental spirits. The female figures in these stories are significant, sometimes even more so than their male counterparts. Because Heine incorporates so many references to spirits and mythology in his later works it is important to understand how he deals with this subject matter during the middle of his career.

While many of the female figures in these texts begin as objects such as marble statues, corpses, ghosts, or silenced women, they do not remain there. Most scholarship has overlooked how they evolve out of these positions in order to speak, dance, and react to or even alter the behavior of the male protagonist. Because these women tend to acquire their voice within the fantastical realm, it is necessary to consider how Heine creates this world by using literary models and mythological references. Once we can do this we will begin to understand how he recycles themes and figures from these traditions and reinvents them in new, interesting ways. By focusing on the complexity of Heine's female figures, we avoid reading them as simply categorical representations of the goddess, fairy, witch, or seductress. We begin to understand how these figures reflect Heine's unique abilities as a writer and his socially critical viewpoints.

Florentinische Nächte

"Und Sie liebten immer nur gemeißelte oder gemalte Frauen? kicherte Maria. Nein, ich habe auch tote Frauen geliebt, antwortete Maximilian, ..." (B 1:563). In the novella *Florentinische Nächte* (1837) the protagonist, Maximilian, reminisces about his past loves to Maria. The women he describes, a marble statute, the painting of the Virgin Mary, and the memory of a long ago acquaintance, Very, are not that different from the marble statues, corpses, and visions that Heine created in the poems of *Buch der Lieder* (1827).[55] Indeed many of the images created in *Florentinische Nächte* draw upon the tradition of the *Schauerromantik*, as Ralph Martin has noted. However, Martin's description of the work as "irritierend" is a clear indication that he misunderstands how Heine appropriates this literary genre. Martin writes:

> Die 'Florentinischen Nächte' sind wohl für die meisten Leser, die mit den Werken Heines vertraut sind, eine irritierende Lektüre. Sie treffen auf Ungewohntes. Verantwortlich dafür ist weniger die Tatsache, daß Heine einen Ausflug in die Schauerromantik unternimmt – seine Sammlung unheimlicher Ereignisse und Gestalten umfaßt den morbiden Fall einer Statuenliebe, den Auftritt des Teufelgeigers Paganini samt höllischem Patron, die Lebensgeschichte eines 'Totenkinds' und ein kurzes Stimmungsbild der tödlich vergnügten Pariser Bohème –, die eigentliche Irritation ensteht vielmehr dadurch, daß der sonst übliche emanzipatorische Horizont in diesem Fall weitgehend zu fehlen scheint. (141)

[55] Heine's original name for the role of Maximilian was the Italian version of his own, Signor Enriko (DHA 5: 964).

What Martin fails to see is how Heine's message of emancipation is expressed within these seemingly macabre representations. I believe there is a new way to understand these figures that liberates them from Romantic convention and reflects the changing position of women during the nineteenth-century.

Florentinische Nächte is framed by the dialogue between Maximilian and Maria. Within this narrative are Maximilian's stories and recollections. In the beginning the imaginary world of Maximilian's dreams stands in strong contrast to his real conversation with Maria. In the second half of the work the space between fantasy and reality narrows, making it increasingly difficult to distinguish between these two realms. Where reality and fantasy intersect we find Heine's social and literary message. If we examine how Heine's characters behave unexpectedly we will begin to understand them as something other than clichés.

Maximilian is told by the doctor that the best thing he could do for his sick girlfriend, Maria, whose name appropriately invokes the image of the Virgin Mary, is to allow her to sleep, and when she awakes to keep her quiet by telling her stories. The doctor's orders belittle her and strip her of any form of self expression:

> Sie muß ruhig liegen, darf sich nicht rühren, nicht im mindesten bewegen, darf nicht reden, und nur geistige Bewegung ist ihr heilsam. Bitte, erzählen Sie ihr wieder allerlei närrische Geschichten, so daß sie ruhig zuhören muß. (B 1: 558)

The doctor does more to reduce her mobility than he does to heal her. However, what is interesting is that Maria actually does have a voice and actively exerts herself. She succeeds in passionately interrupting Maximilian to interject her ideas, which are often

marked by exclamation points, to prod him to continue the story, or to ask a question. In contrast to the other imaginary women in this work, and many of Heine's female figures in general, Maria's voice is one of reason, often vocalizing what the reader might be thinking. Just as Maximilian is about to become absorbed in a memory she demands to know what he is thinking. The narrator tries to diminish her by comparing her voice to a child's, the "Lallen eines Kindes," or a bird, "das Zwitschern eines Vogels," or even that of the dying, "das Geröchel eines Sterbenden" (B 1: 559). However, her actions resist this diminution as she quickly sits up and repeats her question so that Maximilian is jarred out of his dreamlike state. As the story unfolds, Maximilian delves deeper into his unconscious, and is tied to the present only by Maria's interjections.

Maximilian's first love was for a marble statue in the garden of his mother's vacation home, "das Schloβ meiner Mutter" (B 1: 559). The attention drawn to the mother and Maximilian's repeated references to her serve to intensify the pubescent excitement of the scene. He first sees the statue lying in the grass among other broken ones and is amazed that she was spared destruction:

> Nur eine Statue, Gott weiβ wie, von der Bosheit der Menschen und der Zeit verschont geblieben; von ihrem Postamente freilich hatte man sie herabgestürzt ins hohe Gras, aber da lag sie unverstümmelt, die marmorne Göttin, mit den reinschönen Gesichtszügen und mit dem straffgeteilten, edlen Busen, der, wie eine griechische Offenbarung, aus dem hohen Grase hervorglänzte. (B 1: 560)

She is eroticized through Maximilian's description of her body. She is not the depiction of death that Martin, Forhmann (285), and Mielke (65) suggest; rather, she evokes in the narrator "eine sonderbar schwüle Scheu" (B 1: 561).

Lying in bed, thinking about the statue, Maximilian is so aroused that he decides he must go out to the garden and kiss her. Maximilian sneaks out of the house, careful not to wake his mother, nor the statue who appears to be sleeping peacefully, "Im grünen Grase lag die schöne Göttin ebenfalls regungslos, aber kein steinerner Tod, sondern nur ein stiller Schlaf schien ihre lieblichen Glieder gefesselt zu halten..." (B 1: 562). Maximilian's heart is pounding with a "knabenhafte Lüsternheit" (B 1: 562) as he leans in to kiss her with "Zärtlichkeit" (B 1: 562). The feeling he receives from this kiss is not what he had expected. Instead of fulfillment he feels a "grauenhaft süβe Empfindung" and a "beseligende Kälte" that he will never forget (B 1: 562). Heine's statue is not simply a representation of another "romantisch-literarische Mustergestalten" as Bettina Knauer claims (835). Heine's portrayal has an additional erotic aspect.

Maximilian pauses in the story to tell Maria how much she resembles the statue, lying on the green couch in her white gown, and he admits to wanting to kiss her. Maria is not like his past loves and violently protests his confession, "Max! Max! schrie das Weib aus der Tiefe ihrer Seele – Entsetzlich! Sie wissen, daβ ein Kuβ von Ihrem Munde..." (B 1: 562). The consequences of this kiss even she cannot express in words. Presumably they cannot kiss due to her illness, but also because their kiss would involve a realistic portrayal of love. At this point in the novella such a representation of love is not possible. The only place for it to exist is in the fantastical realms of dreams and memory. Since Maria cannot be the object of his affection, she retains the power to

express herself and even influence the behavior of Maximilian. She pleads with him to finish telling his story. She even provides a way back into this memory by asking him, "Wie lange liebten Sie die marmorne Schöne, die Sie im Schloßgarten Ihrer Mutter geküßt?" (B 1: 652).

As a figure "die marmorne Schöne" receives no further mention, however Maximilian's love for her is transferred to marble statues in general. He briefly explains how he was captivated by one of Michelangelo's marble sculptures and then how he identified with a painting of the Madonna in the Cologne Cathedral. His infatuation with her as a symbol of Christianity was brief because he found a deeper connection with a painting of a Greek goddess. Each of these women remain works of art and do not evolve into anything more than objects. Maximilian's love for the painting of the goddess and the garden statue suggest that further references to Greek antiquity should be interpreted positively.

The third story Maximilian tells Maria is how he loved a woman only after she had been dead for seven years. They first met when she was alive. Everything she did then pleased him, but nothing especially excited him. Even her sudden death did not provoke much of a response. It is not until he recognizes her likeness in a statue in the garden of Sanssouci that she becomes interesting to him. He explains how the memory of her surprised him:

> Nichts ist quälender als solches Herumstöbern in alten Erinnerungen, und ich war deshalb wie freudig überrascht, als ich nach einigen Tagen mich auf einmal der kleinen Very erinnerte und jetzt merkte, daß es ihr liebes vergessenes Bild war, was mir so beunruhigend vorgeschwebt hatte. Ja,

> ich freute mich dieser Entdeckung wie einer, der seinen intimsten Freund ganz unerwartet wieder gefunden; die verblichenen Farben belebten sich allmählig, und endlich stand die süβe kleine Person wieder leibhaftig vor mir, lächelnd, schmollend, witzig, und schöner noch als jemals. Von nun an wollte mich dieses holde Bild nimmermehr verlassen, es füllte meine ganze Seele, wo ich ging und stand, stand und ging es an meiner Seite, sprach mit mir, lachte mit mir, jedoch harmlos und ohne groβe Zärtlichkeit. (B 1: 564)

As a figment of his imagination Very is more interesting than she was as a real person. The moment her image disturbs him is when she begins to express herself. In this imaginary realm she is more alive and active than she was before. Here she walks by his side, speaks, and laughs with him. The only thing missing from this ideal partner is tenderness. Just as the statue's frigid response stilled his love, Very's lack of compassion also signals that something is wrong. A further indication that this love will fail comes from Maximilian's statement that she is becoming more realistic: "Ich aber wurde täglich mehr und mehr bezaubert von diesem Bilde das täglich mehr und mehr Realität für mich gewann" (B 1: 564). For the same reason that Maximilian cannot kiss Maria, Very must remain within his imagination in order to continue to be a viable romantic partner. When Maximilian's brother visits him this interjection of reality is too powerful and the image of Very dissolves:

> Bei seinem Anblick und bei seinen Erzählungen von den letzten Vorfällen der Tagesgeschichte, erwachte ich wie aus einem tiefen Traume und

> zusammenschreckend fühlte ich plötzlich in welcher grauenhaften Einsamkeit ich so lange für mich hingelebt (B 1: 565).

After his relationships with marble statues, paintings, and an imaginary woman, Maximilian remarks about his interactions with real women:

> Lieber Himmel!... die lebendigen Weiber mit denen ich damals in unabweisliche Berührungen kam, wie haben sie mich gequält, zärtlich gequält, mit ihrem Schmollen, Eifersüchteln und beständigem in Atem halten! Auf wie vielen Bällen mußte ich mich mit ihnen herumtraben, in wie viele Klatschereien mußte ich mich mischen! Welche rastlose Eitelkeit, welche Freude an der Lüge, welche küssende Verräterei, welche giftige Blumen! (B 1: 565).

A false sensuality characterizes these superficial women. They annoy rather than entice Maximilian with their deceptive games and gossip. Thus Heine finds neither the depiction of women from contemporary society nor those borrowed from literary tradition inspirational. As a result, in the remainder of the text Heine creates new literary portrayals that are alternatives to these two options.

One of the characters that Heine develops is the figure of Maria. As already mentioned she stands as a voice of reason amidst Maximilian's fantastical stories. In contrast to her role as a dying woman, there is nothing weak about her character. In response to Maximilian's dismissive words about women, she poignantly corrects him, "Ich bitte Sie, rief Maria, schmähen Sie nicht die Weiber. Das sind abgedroschene Redensarten der Männer. Am Ende, um glücklich zu sein, bedürft Ihr dennoch der Weiber" (B 1: 566). In the first part of the story, "Erster Nacht," Maria is clearly defined

as the point of entrance and exit into and out of the imaginary world created through Maximilian's recollections. Maria either draws him back into a story with her leading questions or pulls him out of that realm through her interruptions. However, in the conclusion to this part of the story, at the end of Maximilian's description of the lullaby played by the violinist Paganini, Maria has fallen asleep. This event almost displaces her pivotal position and pushes her closer to the dream world. The doctor assists with this shift by comparing her face to that of a corpse, "Dieser Schlaf, fuhr der Doktor fort, verleiht ihrem Antlitz schon ganz den Charackter des Todes. Sieht es nicht schon aus wie jene weißen Masken, jene Gipsabgüsse, worin wir die Züge der Verstorbenen zu bewahren suchen?" (B 1: 584). His comments incite Maximilian to want to make a death mask of her, "Sie wird auch als Leiche noch sehr schön sein" (B 1: 584). In the end, the doctor advises Maximilian against this intrusion and leads him out of the room by his arm, thereby preserving Maria's position on the cusp of fantasy.

In the "Zweite Nacht" Maria's role is diminished. After she convinces Maximilian to tell his story of the one woman with whom he had a meaningful relationship, Maria has little to say. As a figure she has become less necessary and her absence allows the focus to be directed toward the development of Mademoiselle Laurence, who also exists within the ambiguous space between fantasy and reality. Maria speaks only twice in the remainder of the second section, both times to say, "Und das ist die ganze Geschichte?" in protest to Maximilian's threats to end the story (B 1: 596, 604). Her last words betray her fading role within the narrative. As Maximilian pauses in his story, there is the expectation that Maria will interject a response. When she remains silent, Maximilian asks whether she is sleeping, to which she replies, "Ich

schlafe" (B 1: 612). Even though Maria's character is less prominent in the second half of the story, it does not reduce the significance of her as a strong female portrayal. This has been overlooked by scholars like Christine Mielke who see her simply as a variation of the "Marmorstatue" portrayals (74). Likewise Slobodan Grubačić sees her only as fulfilling a structural function in the text, namely to heighten anticipation and assist in the narrative (98).

As Maximilian introduces Laurence he does not know how to describe her without comparing her to a dream: "Ich bin aber nicht im Stande Ihnen von dieser Geliebten einen richtigen Begriff zu geben. Sie war so ätherischer Natur, daβ sie sich mir nur im Traume offenbaren konnte" (B 1: 566). At the same time she is also intensely real:

> Ich denke, Maria, Sie hegen kein banales Vorurteil gegen Träume; diese nächtlichen Erscheinungen haben wahrlich eben so viel Realität, wie jene roheren Gebilde des Tages, die wir mit Händen antasten können und woran wir uns nicht selten beschmutzen. Ja, es war im Traume, wo ich sie sah, jenes holde Wesen, das mich am meisten auf dieser Welt beglückt hat. (B 1: 566)

Laurence is the woman who made him the happiest. Thus her character promises to be a positive literary portrayal of a woman. As we can guess from Maximilian's introduction, she will be composed of both idealized or Romantic imagery and also contain some realistic traits. She develops as a compilation of the previous female portrayals by physically resembling a Greek statue, her association with death, and her ties to the real woman, George Sand. Even Maria remarks about her multifaceted nature, "Aber sagen

Sie mir, war Mademoiselle Laurence eine Marmorstatue oder ein Gemälde? eine Tote oder ein Traum? Vielleicht alles dieses zusammen, antwortete Maximilian ernsthaft" (B 1: 567). She embodies all of the images thus far associated with female characters, but in contrast to them she resists these objectifying positions and exerts herself as a subject.

Before Heine fully develops Laurence's character he redefines Maximilian's engagement with the real world. At the end of the "Erste Nacht" Heine incorporates the topic of music and opera into Maximilian's conversation with Maria. Maria's comments about the lives and work of actual composers ground the scene in reality while still allowing Maximilian to describe his memories that include additional representations of women. Music serves as a medium to connect the realms of memory, vision, and reality.

In contrast to the balls Maximilian was forced to attend, which emphasized the "Klatschereien" nature of the women, the opera opens women to reveal their more alluring qualities. Maximilian claims:

> Aber wie schön sind sie erst diese Italienerinnen, wenn die Musik ihre Geschichter beleuchtet. Ich sage beleuchtet, denn die Wirkung der Musik, die ich, in der Oper, auf den Gesichtern der schönen Frauen bemerke, gleicht ganz jenen Licht- und Schatteneffekten, die uns in Erstaunen setzten, wenn wir Statuen in der Nacht bei Fackelschein betrachten. Diese Marmorbilder offenbaren uns dann, mit erschreckender Wahrheit, ihren innewohnenden Geist und ihre schauerlichen stummen Geheimnisse. (B 1: 569)

This experience invokes a familiar feeling in Maximilian, leading him to compare these women at the opera to the marble statues he once loved. Through the music Maximilian

is able to see into their souls and understand their feelings, memories, and desires (B 1: 569). He is also able to read novellas by Boccaccio and sonnets by Petrarch in their eyes (B 1: 569). For Heine, good art whether in the form of music, sculpture, or literature is sensual. The women that Maximilian has loved – the Greek statue and the spirit of Very – were mysterious yet appealing. The women in Maximilian's past that were not in any way beautiful, alluring, or enticing were the realistic women he entertained. In the remainder of the novella, Heine attempts to join the imaginary world of Maximilian's memories and dreams, which are full of sexual and sensual impressions, with a reality that is missing these qualities.

Heine succeeds in merging these two worlds in the character of Bellini. Maximilian initially describes Bellini as passionless, "Dieser Ausdruck von Schmerz ersetzte in Bellinis Gesicht den mangelnden Geist; aber es war ein Schmerz ohne Tiefe; er flimmerte poesielos in den Augen, er zuckte leidenschaftlos um die Lippen des Mannes" (B 1: 571). He is further characterized as insensitive due to his inability to speak French with any sense of eloquence. Maximilian finds his speech aesthetically offensive especially in the company of others, "Ja, wenn man mit ihm in Gesellschaft war, und er die armen französischen Worte wie ein Henker radebrach und unerschütterlich seine kolossalen Coq-à-l'âne auskramte, so meinte man manchmal die Welt müsse mit einem Donnergekrache untergehen..." (B 1: 572). However, shortly before his death – in the space between reality and an afterlife – Maximilian looks upon Bellini for the first time sympathetically. At a salon, presumably hosted by Caroline Jaubert, Bellini's image changes for Maximilian.[56] The impetus to his transformation is

[56] The reference to her in the text reads, "...nachdem wir im Hause einer groβen Dame, die den kleinsten Fuβ in Paris hat" and according to Briegleb, Jaubert was known in Paris for her dainty feet (B 1: 573, 872).

the affection he receives from a beautiful woman whose portrayal implies the Italian princess Cristina Belgiojoso. The depiction of her closely resembles Heine's flattering letter to Belgiojoso on April 18, 1834, where he also writes of her pale face that was taken from a Lombard painting. Here, Maximilian describes this woman:

> Es war eins jener Gesichter, die mehr dem Traumreich der Poesie als der rohen Wirklichkeit des Lebens zu gehören scheinen; Konturen die an Da Vinci erinnern, jenes edle Oval mit den naiven Wangengrübchen und dem sentimental spitzzulaufenden Kinn der lombardischen Schule. [...] Kurz es war ein Gesicht, wie es nur auf irgend einem altitaliensichen Porträte gefunden wird, das etwa eine von jenen groβen Damen vorstellt, worin die italienischen Künstler des sechzehten Jahrhunderts verliebt waren, wenn sie ihre Meisterwerke schufen, woran die Dichter jener Zeit dachten, wenn sie sich unsterblich sangen, [...] (B 1: 773-4).

In this scene Jaubert and Belgiojoso represent real women who provide inspiration through their poise, beauty, and intellect. They stand in contrast to the women Maximilian accompanied to social balls. As Maximilian watches this woman play with Bellini's hair, he empathizes with him:

> In diesem Augenblick erschien mir Bellini wie berührt von einem Zauberstäbchen, wie umgewandelt zu einer durchaus befreundeten Erscheinung, und er wurde meinem Herzen auf einmal verwandt. Sein Gesicht erglänzte im Widerschein jenes Lächelns, es war vielleicht der blühendste Moment seines Lebens.... (B 1: 574)

Within the setting of this salon, Maximilian discovers the sensual aspects of life he thought had been preserved only in selected works of art.

Paganini is a violinist, who, according to Maximilian, has sold his soul to the devil in order to be the best at his trade. What is significant about him as a character is the way in which Maximilian describes his music. Maximilian has the ability to visualize music, and the story that he sees when Paganini plays includes the major traditions from which Heine borrows many of his images. Maximilian describes the first piece that Paganini plays using vocabulary taken from Romanticism. As soon as he begins to play the curtains around the stage change as if in a dream. Maximilian envisions a room belonging to a prima donna who accompanies Paganini with her singing. Maximilian describes the music:

> O, das waren Melodieen, wie die Nachtigall sie flötet, in der Abenddämmerung, wenn der Duft der Rose ihr das ahnende Frühlingsherz mit Sehnsucht berauscht! [...] Ja, die Töne trieben ein heiteres Spiel, wie Schmetterlinge [...] (B 1: 579).

Only there is a foreboding tone which Maximilian recognizes in the music, "Aber eine Spinne, eine schwarze Spinne kann solchen verliebten Schmetterlingen mal plötzlich ein tragisches Schicksal bereiten" (B 1:579). Maximilian is correct and the piece ends violently as Paganini stabs his accompanist. Maximilian is the only one who perceives this and the applause of the audience restores a sense of reality. In the second movement Maximilian sees spirits from the underworld and Paganini appears more like a "Hexenmeister" than a violinist (B 1: 582). The final movement is one of spiritual tranquility in which Maximilian hears the sounds of a church organ, sees "ein erhabenes

Götterbild," and describes the harmony that poets try to capture (B 1: 583). The music dissolves into a lullaby and the last image that Maximilian describes is that of a Greek work of art. Through the images that Maximilian sees in Paganini's music, Heine is able to allude to the variety of places where he finds sensuality, many of which reappear in the story of Mademoiselle Laurence.

Besides the names of famous nineteenth-century musicians and the depiction of the salon, the majority of the "Erste Nacht," including the imagery created by Paganini's music, is not specific to a particular time or place. This changes in the "Zweite Nacht" as the descriptions of London and Paris become significant aspects of the narrative. They function to bring both depth and mystery into the real world that is no longer limited to a garden, a green sofa, or the opera. In Maximilian's description of London he expresses his dislike for the harsh sound of the English language, the tasteless food, and the unattractive facial features of the English (B 1: 586-7). This serves as a strong contrast to the artistic expression he sees when he first notices Laurence. Unlike the other women whom Maximilian desired, who were either alone or part of a collective group, Laurence is a young girl who has her own individual form of expression among a company of street musicians. The troupe consists of a mother figure dressed in black who plays a drum, a poodle who spells words with wooden letters, a dwarf named Monsieur Türlütü, who plays a triangle and crows like a rooster, and Laurence, who dances. The description of her emphasizes her sensual characteristics, from her blue silk jacket to her black hair and Greek facial features (B 1: 590). Her dance is not like the classical dances that are full of "Idealität und Lüge" (B 1: 592), rather "sie tanzte wie die Natur den Menschen zu tanzen gebietet" (B 1: 593). In the same way that Maximilian could see Paganini's music as a

flow of images, he can hear words in her dance: "Was aber sagte dieser Tanz?" (B 1: 593). Her dance is so "leidenschaftlich" (B 1: 593) that Maximilian is not able to fully understand it. He particularly contemplates the ending, "Sie warf dabei seitwärts einen Blick, der so bittend, so flehend, so seelenschmelzend ... und dieser Blick fiel zufällig auf mich" (B 1: 594). Maximilian follows them around the city watching their performances, and each time her dance ends with her gaze upon him. In this part of the novella Laurence's character is similar to the statue, Very, and many of the female figures in *Buch der Lieder*. She is able to create mystery and desire in the male by literally and figuratively returning the gaze, but she is not yet defined as an autonomous subject.

When Maximilian is no longer able to find the troupe he returns home. Five years later he travels to Paris just following the July Revolution. He finds Paris delightful. It is no coincidence that Heine, like Maximilian, dislikes England and is stimulated by Paris. Maximilian explains the effect the city has on him: "Paris ergötzte mich sehr, durch die Heiterkeit, die sich in allen Erscheinungen dort kund gibt und auch auf ganz verdüsterte Gemüter ihren Einfluβ ausübt" (B 1: 597). The biographical references to Heine continue as Maximilian explains how he arrives in Paris and participates in the salons:

> Die Wintersaison began bald nach meiner Ankunft in Paris, und ich nahm teil an dem Salonleben, worin sich jene Welt mehr oder minder lustig herumtreibt. Als das Interessanteste dieser Welt frappierte mich nicht sowohl die Gleichheit der feinen Sitten, die dort herrscht, sondern vielmehr die Verschiedenheit ihrer Bestandteile. (B 1: 598)

This sentence by Maximilian, could easily describe Heine, who soon after his arrival in Paris began working his way through the salon circles. What excites Maximilian in Paris is the variety of artistic expression. He reflects about the array of stimuli at the salons:

> Manchmal, wenn ich mir in einem groβen Salon die Menschen betrachtete, die sich dort friedlich versammelt, glaubte ich mich in jenen Raritätenbutiken zu befinden, wo die Reliquien aller Zeiten kunterbunt neben einander ruhen: ein griechischer Apollo neben einer chinesischen Pagode, ein mexikanischer Vitzliputzli neben einem gotischen Ecce-homo.... (B 1: 598-9)

In contrast to London, Paris is sensual and serves as a possible background for real and envisioned worlds to converge. It is in this place that Laurence's character is able to evolve beyond an object of desire.

Maximilian sees Laurence for the first time after his visit to London, during an evening party on the "Chaussée d'Antin." She notices him with the same sideways glance that she had given him before. This time her face is not so "marmorrein," an indication that her character is changing and she is becoming a person (B 1: 602). She is wearing pearls and a dress appropriate for a woman of society. The simple style of her outfit accentuates her beauty among the other overly primped women. Maximilian stands behind her chair, too afraid to speak to her. Without looking at him she pulls a flower from her bouquet and hands it to him over her shoulder. The realistic aspects of this scene are threatened by Maximilian's Romantic interpretation of this gesture:

> Sonderbar war der Duft dieser Blume und er übte auf mich eine eigentümliche Verzauberung. Ich fühlte mich entrückt aller

> gesellschaftlichen Förmlichkeit, und mir war wie in einem Traume, wo man allerlei tut und spricht, worüber man sich selber wundert und wo unsere Worte einen gar kindisch traulichen und einfachen Charackter tragen. (B 1: 603)

The scene is not lost into the abyss of the Romantic "blaue Blume." Instead Maximilian crosses the imaginary boundary which preserves her as a distant beloved, by asking her about the other members of the troupe. After giving brief answers to his questions, she disappears. Maximilian inquires about her from the other guests at the salon. He is told that Herr Casimir Périer might be able to help him.

The second meeting with Laurence clearly shows the transition of her character from the bohemian life of a street performer in London to an upper class lady of the salon in Paris. Not only does the scene not dissolve into fantasy, but Laurence becomes even more securely anchored in reality. The street name indicating the location of the party is given, and Franz Liszt is playing piano. Laurence's black curls resemble those of George Sand, whose estranged husband was also named Casimir Dudevant. The allusions to Sand should not indicate that Heine attempted to represent her in the figure of Laurence, but rather that these similarities serve to make Laurence more realistic and less idealistic. The development in Laurence's character is an aspect that has been largely overlooked by scholars. Grubačić views her as remaining the "schöne Unbekannte" (103). Even Rudolf Drux, who does differentiate Laurence from the "Traumfrauen" in the beginning due to her "lebendig" and "wirklich" characteristics, does not see Laurence but rather Maximilian as changing (55).

The shortcomings of Drux' and Grubačić's interpretations are most visible in the final meeting between Maximilian and Laurence. Maximilian is standing outside of the opera when Laurence pulls up in her carriage and offers him a ride. She is present and no longer unattainable, just as Angelique was in the "Verschiedene" poem. In the carriage they do not speak. They simply arrive at her residence where they are told by the maids that the only heated room in the house is her bedroom. After the narrator's active pursuit of her, he is now passively following her lead. In contrast to their brief dialogue at the party, in her bedroom they engage in a lengthy conversation. Maximilian tells her what he has discovered about the fate of the other members of the group and she tells him what really happened among them. She describes the abuse she endured from them and her solemn childhood. She explains how she felt like a different person when she danced. Laurence does not remain unknown, but through this scene we understand how she became a street performer and the source of the sorrow she was expressing through her dancing. The more Laurence is built up as a character, the more Maximilian is reduced in stature. At the conclusion of her story, Maximilian is able to respond only by imitating the voice of a military general and thereby pretending to be like her husband, who is away on duty.

After the mystery of Laurence has been solved and she is established as a real figure, the only way for the bedroom scene to progress to the physical union of Maximilian and Laurence is for the fantastical realm to be re-introduced. This time it is Maximilian who imagines himself differently:

> Die Vorhänge des Bettes waren von roter Seide, und da die Flammen des Kamines sehr stark hindurchschienen, so befand ich mich mit Laurence in

> einer ganz feuerroten Beleuchtung, und ich kam mir vor wie der Gott Pluto, der, von Höllengluten umlodert, die schlafende Proserphine in seinen Armen halt. (B 1: 612-613)

Without entirely dissolving into fantasy, Maximilian returns to the present and asks the rhetorical question about the meaning of Laurence and the symbolism of her beauty. His answer addresses how inseparable dream is from reality for him:

> Aber ist es nicht Torheit, den inneren Sinn einer fremden Erscheinung ergründen zu wollen, während wir nicht einmal das Rätsel unserer eigenen Seele zu lösen vermögen! Wissen wir doch nicht einmal genau, ob die fremden Erscheinungen wirklich existieren! Können wir doch manchmal die Realität nicht von bloßen Traumgesichten unterscheiden! War es ein Gebilde meiner Phantasie, oder war es entsetzliche Wirklichkeit, was ich in jener Nacht hörte und sah? Ich weiß es nicht. (B 1: 613)

For Heine to express sensuality – to describe art, music, a beautiful woman, or sexual behavior – an element of fantasy must be retained. While the female figure is the most prominent vehicle for representations of sensuality – the statue, Very, and Laurence – this text also includes male figures – Paganini, Bellini, and in the last scene Maximilian – who are empathetically portrayed. What is different for the female figures especially in this text, is that the more they approach realistic portrayals and assume a greater sense of self, such as Maria or Laurence at the end, the more their sensual characteristics are compromised.

After Maximilian envisions himself as a god, a humorous analogy for the physical act of love, Laurence slips through his arms and begins to dance. It is the same dance

that she did before, with all the same gestures, only now Maximilian does not find it alluring:

> Dieses Tanzen mit verschlossenen Augen im nächtlich stillen Zimmer gab diesem holden Wesen ein so gespenstisches Aussehen, daβ mir sehr unheimlich zu Mute wurde, daβ ich manchmal schauderte, und ich war herzlich froh als sie ihren Tanz beendigt hatte.
>
> Wahrhaftig, der Anblick dieser Tanz hatte für mich nichts Angenehmes. Aber der Mensch gewöhnt sich an alles. (B 1: 614)

It is clear that Maximilian's liaison with Laurence has now become a habit, and like the relationship described in the "Angelique" poem so, too, does Maximilian's and Laurence's dissolve into friendship. Laurence's husband becomes Maximilian's "intimster Freund" and Maximilian cries when Laurence and her husband leave for Sicily (B 1: 615).

Elementargeister

In *Elementargeister* (1837) Heine describes how one must read beyond the borrowed traditional names that Paracelsus uses in his study of old Germanic myths:

> Man muß seine Terminologie nicht immer in ihrem traditionellen Sinne verstehen. In seiner Lehre von den Elementargeistern gebraucht er die Namen Nymphen, Undinen, Silvanen, Salamander, aber nur deshalb weil diese Namen dem Publikum schon geläufig sind, nicht weil sie ganz dasjenige bezeichnen wovon er reden will. Anstatt neue Worte willkürlich zu schaffen, hat er es vorgezogen für seine Ideen alte Ausdrücke zu suchen, die bisher etwas Ähnliches bezeichneten. (B 3: 646)

Just as Paracelsus reinvented the meaning of these spirits so does Heine. He begins by explaining how the four elemental spirits have been portrayed differently in various ethnic traditions. For each spirit he cites particular examples, some of which he credits to original sources, while others he admits to modifying. In addition to drawing from Paracelsus, Heine also incorporates the stories retold by the Brothers Grimm, Prätorius, and Kornmann, and those created by Shakespeare, Dante, and Goethe. We must caution against reading Heine's images as cliché. If we can understand how Heine views the origins and traditional depictions of these spirits, we are better poised to interpret his appropriation of them. Because Heine refers to the elemental spirits throughout his writing, and devotes more attention to them in his later works, especially in his ballet scenarios, it is necessary to examine their representation in this expository text more carefully.

In *Elementargeister* the female figures appear as elemental spirits, marble statues, queens, and the goddess, Venus. In their relationships to the male figures they sometimes fulfill the role of the seductress, but there are also stories in which they resolve conflicts. Scholars like Dirk Möller have universally read the female figures negatively due to their association with the devil and because some of the love stories end tragically or suspiciously. Möller sees love as fundamentally damned in these tales: "Liebe tritt darin als elementares Ereignis in Erscheinung, in enger Nachbarschaft zu Tod und Verdamnis stehend" (Möller 140). As is the case in *Florentinische Nächte*, these figures are not all the same as Fohrmann proposes (285). Thus an entirely negative perception of the female figures, including reading them all as seductresses as Renate Francke does (395), diminishes the ways in which these women may indeed be heroic, strong, beautiful and loving. Since Heine selected these representations of women from a variety of sources, it is appropriate to analyze them individually and avoid generalizing conclusions. By focusing on one female figure at a time, it becomes easier to recognize how she develops into an assertive figure that may or may not please her male partner or, on the other hand, how she remains objectified.

Elementargeister begins with the Brothers Grimm story of a woman who wished not to be captured by enemy troops. To avoid this fate, she asked to be buried alive. According to legend, "Man sagt, daβ die alte Frau noch lebt. Nicht alles ist tot in Westfalen, was begraben ist" (B 3: 645). Although this story does involve the death of a woman, it was an act of self-determination that precipitated it. This is also Heine's way of reminding us that things are not always as they appear.

He then turns his attention to the definition of the elemental spirits, the ones born of earth, air, water and fire (B 3: 646). The "Zwergen" are of the earth. They are little people who live in the mountains. Because of their size they are able to mine gold, silver and diamonds easily. Under their caps they are invisible and secretly help farmers with their crops. Other than the legend that some *Zwerge* were turned to stone on their wedding day, providing an explanation for strange rock formations, there is little mention of gender in Heine's summary. In contrast, the "Elfen," or "Feen," the spirits of air, are predominantly female. In Germany these figures are considered the offspring of witches who courted evil. In Ireland and northern France they are less sinister and instead beautiful. These figures pledge themselves to men but make their husbands promise not boast about their good fortune. This is the story of the Count Lanval as Heine explains:

> Als aber König Arthus, bei einem Festgelage zu Karduel, seine Königin Genevra für die schönste Frau der Welt erklärte, da konnte Graf Lanval nicht länger schweigen; er sprach, und sein Glück war, wenigstens auf Erden, zu Ende. (Heine 3: 651-2)

The same is true for the Knight Grüelan, whose "geliebte Fee" disappears after he is unable to remain silent about her beauty. It is easy to see how the figure of the fairy was used by Romantic poets since the knight and the count do find happiness again in the afterworld of Avalon. "Es ist das Land der Poesie" as Heine explains, and there they are reunited with their wives and may boast about their beauty as much as they wish (B 3: 652).

Heine turns to the portrayal of fairy queens in literature and refers to Shakespeare's Titania from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as an example. He then asks,

"Ist es aber wahr, daß es ein Vorzeichen des Todes, wenn man diese Elfenkönigin mit leiblichen Augen erblickt und gar einen freundlichen Gruß von ihr empfängt?" (B 3: 652). He gives two examples from Danish folksongs. The first depicts a young boy who falls asleep near where the fairies reside. In his dream they tempt him by singing and dancing for him. When he refuses their advances, they threaten to kill him with a knife. He is spared this fate by a rooster crowing, which awakens him. In the second poem a knight rides off to invite guests to his wedding the next day. As he rides through the woods fairies stop him and try to tempt him with precious gifts. He refuses each, claiming that tomorrow is his wedding day. Finally they lose patience and strike him in the heart. Wounded, he rides home and dies before his bride arrives at his door the next morning. Both of these poems remind us of Heine's *Buch der Lieder.* In poem IX of "Lyrisches Intermezzo" the narrator is rescued from the embrace of the "marmorblasse Maid" by the crowing rooster and in the "Prolog" the scene dissolves from the "Wasserpalast" into the poet alone in his studio. In place of the fairy, a spirit of the air, Heine has substituted a marble maiden and a water nymph. We will see in his discussion of nymphs that they are very similar to fairies.

Fairies are also known for their dancing. According to Austrian legend, "die Willis" are brides who have died before their wedding day and thus never have the chance to fulfill their desire to dance. Thus at midnight they rise from their graves, find a willing soldier, and make him dance until he falls over dead. Heine describes their appearance, "Ihr Antlitz, obgleich schneeweiß, ist jugendlich schön, sie lachen so schauerlich heiter, so frevelhaft liebenswürdig, sie nicken so geheimnisvoll lüstern, so verheißend; diese toten Bacchantinnen sind unwiderstehlich" (B 3: 655). Although they

are dead, his description of them is full of life. Heine writes of these figures also in the "Lyrisches Intermezzo" in poem "XXXII." However, instead of getting up and dancing at midnight with the others, the narrator remains lying in the grave with his beloved. Heine also specifically refers to the "Willis" in *Florentinische Nächte*, where his description of them is the same as it is here. He compares the nature of the Willis to women in Paris who have a thirst for life:

> Dieser Durst das Leben zu genießen, als wenn in der nächsten Stunde der Tod sie schon abriefe von der sprudelnden Quelle des Genusses, oder als wenn diese Quelle in der nächsten Stunde schon versiegt sein würde, diese Hast, diese Wut, dieser Wahnsinn der Pariserinnen, wie er sich besonders auf Bällen zeigt, mahnt mich immer an die Sage von den toten Tänzerinnen, die man bei uns die Willis nennt. (B 1: 601)

Instead of using the comparison to the Willis to emphasize death, Heine uses it to show how superficial the Parisian women are. This description is reminiscent of Maximilian's account of the tedious women who forced him to attend balls in *Florentinische Nächte*.

Water nymphs are similar to fairies but more dangerous. Whereas fairies are predominantly female, nymphs can be both male and female as Heine explains:

> Die weiblichen Nixen erkennt man an dem Saum ihrer weißen Kleider, der immer feucht ist. Auch wohl an dem feinen Gespinste ihrer Schleier und an der vornehmen Zierlichkeit ihres geheimnisvollen Wesens. Den männlichen Nix erkennt man daran, daß er grüne Zähne hat, die fast wie Fischgräten gebildet sind. Auch empfindet man einen inneren Schauer,

> wenn man seine außerordentlich weiche, eiskalte Hand berührt. (B 3: 656).

Heine ascribes to the female the power of mystery and allure, while the male is depicted as more fearful in nature and appearance. However, both guard their true identity. As examples Heine retells a story by the Grimm brothers in which three female nymphs die due to the inquisitiveness of a young man. In another story, the male nymph disappears when the female asks too many questions. Yet despite the symmetry of these stories, Heine ironically reads the behavior of the women as a more serious offense.

> Aber es ist auch wirklich verdrießlich, wenn die Weiber zu viel fragen. Braucht Eure Lippen zum Küssen, nicht zum Fragen, Ihr Schönen. Schweigen ist die wesentlichste Bedingung des Glückes. Wenn der Mann die Gunstbezeugungen seines Glückes ausplaudert, oder wenn das Weib nach Geheimnissen ihres Glückes neugierig forscht, dann gehen sie beide ihres Glückes verlustig. (B 3: 659)

One of the characteristics of the fairies and nymphs is that they can change their form. Sometimes they can even be the recipient of a spell that transforms them into something hideous. The spell can be broken only by the power of love as Heine explains: "Keine Verwünschung widersteht der Liebe. Liebe ist ja selber der stärkste Zauber" (B 3: 659). Heine finds an example of a truly powerful love in an old Danish song that he describes:

> Dieses Lied ist so schauerlich, so grauenhaft, so duster, wie eine skandinavische Nacht, und doch glüht darin eine Liebe, die an wilder Süße und brennender Innigkeit nicht ihres Gleichen hat, eine Liebe, die, immer

> gewaltiger entlodernd, endlich wie ein Nordlicht emporschießt und mit ihren leidenschaftlichen Strahlen den ganzen Himmel überflammt. (B 3: 662)

Love can appear to be dark and grey as long as there is passion. This is what contemporary scholarship on Heine's female figures so often misses, as it is quick to decipher references to death and the devil as bleak and hopeless, when in fact they can be soulful expressions of deep emotion.

The Danish love poem, which Heine admits to have altered, is taken from the Grimms' "Altdänischen Heldenliedern" (B 3: 1028, n662). It contains three heroes, two of whom are female. The story tells of a king and queen at sea whose boat is held captive by the spirits. To free their ship and save herself and her husband, the queen offers the spirits what they demand – the keys from her waistband. As she tosses them into the water their ship is released. Five moon cycles later she gives birth to a son and realizes that her bargain was actually for her son. As he reaches the age to take a bride the mother worries about his fate. In order to meet his promised wife, he must don a feather suit, borrowed from his mother, and fly to a nearby island. On the way he is attacked by ravens who peck out his eye and drink the blood from his heart. He promises to return to the birds, if they will let him go long enough to meet his bride. When he arrives at his betrothed the other women stand and stare, but she jumps up to receive him and help him. She combs his hair and takes care of him. When he says he must leave, she begs him not to go and blames his mother. He defends her but says he must fulfill his pledge. She flies after him, staying close behind. Still she loses him in flight and the birds kill him. She avenges his death by cutting the ravens in half with her scissors. In comparison to

the other female figures Heine has described so far in this work, here both the queen and the bride derive their strength from love and their unselfish behavior.

Although Heine did not create this poem, it is still significant that he cites it as an example of love. *Elementargeister,* in its entirety, has received little scholarly attention.[57] This particular poem is not mentioned in the studies that do discuss this work since the women are not directly the cause of the male hero's death nor are they associated with marble. In this poem the female characters are more active. They make decisions and behave on their own free will. Even though Heine mentions that the feather suits are often worn by nymphs, neither the queen nor the bride-to-be occupy the usual objectified position, since neither seek to preserve or create mystery as the other nymphs do.

Heine further explains that flying used to be attributed to queens and women of nobility during the time of the heathen gods (B 3: 668). It was only later under the influence of Christianity that flying became an abomination associated with witchcraft (B 3: 668). Heine claims that even Shakespeare's witches in *Macbeth* are misrepresentations of the old fables where such figures were portrayed more nobly. The fact that Heine considers witches to often be misrepresentations of nymphs, or "Valkyren" as he refers to them here, will play a more significant role in the understanding of his later works, namely, *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* (1839) and *Der Doktor Faust* (1851), which directly address the role of witchcraft.

The elemental spirit of fire is the salamander, often associated with the devil. Like the nymphs who can change form, so can the devil. Heine explains his characteristics:

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[57] In the Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Mühlpfordt Bibliography there is no listing for a single analysis of this work that does not focus on the "Tannhäuser" poem. There is no mention of this work at all in the Hauschild biography and only referentially mentioned by Sammons in his biography.

> Der Teufel ist kalt, selbst als Liebhaber. Aber häßlich ist er nicht; denn er kann ja jede Gestalt annehmen. Nicht selten hat er sich ja auch mit weiblichem Liebreiz bekleidet, um irgend einen frommen Klosterbruder von seinen Bußübungen abzuhalten oder gar zur sinnlichen Freude zu verlocken. (B 3: 675)

Heine's *Der Doktor Faust* begins in this way as the devil takes on the form of a ballerina in order to capture Faust's attention. Since the portrayal of Mephistophela in that work is so central to the text as a whole it is important that we fully consider Heine's comments here about the history of the devil in legends and folktales. Heine writes that the devil can also take on the form of a black buck who presides over the witches' Sabbath. These images are also found in *Der Doktor Faust.* Even within this text, *Elementargeister,* Heine mentions how in the puppet play Faust sells his soul to the devil in exchange for "die Befriedigung aller irdischen Genüsse" (B 3: 677).

The devil's association with earthly pleasures and his ability to reason are his most prominent characteristics as Heine explains:

> Der Teufel ist ein Logiker. Er ist nicht bloß der Repräsentant der weltlichen Herrlichkeit, der Sinnenfreude, des Fleisches, er ist auch Repräsentant der menschlichen Vernunft, eben weil diese alle Rechte der Materie vindiziert; und er bildet somit den Gegensatz zu Christus, der nicht bloß den Geist, die asketische Entsinnlichung das himmlische Heil, sondern auch den Glauben repräsentiert. Der Teufel glaubt nicht, er stütz sich nicht blindlings auf fremde Autoritäten, er will vielmehr dem eignen Denken vertrauen, er macht Gebrauch von der Vernunft! (3:678)

Thus for Heine the devil has the power to reason and is a symbol for the material pleasures of life. Heine's positive interpretation of the devil as a figure contrasts with Christianity's depiction of physical pleasures as sinful and with the goal of spiritual salvation. Heine uses references to the devil and Greek mythology in his works to emphasize the sensual and challenge the authoritarian position of Christianity. For Heine sensuality and the devil are sometimes one and the same. In his explanation of how the first Christians refused to pray to the Greek statues, they are referred to as the "Teufel Jupiter," "Teufelin Diana," and the "Erzteufelin Venus" (B 3: 685). Gerhard Höhn appropriately identifies Heine's depiction of the elemental spirits and heathen gods as polemical:

> Zusammen gehören Elementargeister und Heidengötter ebenfalls zum dauerhaften Grundstamm von Heines politischer Symbolik: Die Wiederkehr der untergegangenen antiken und nordischen Götter signalisiert die Sehnsucht nach umfassender, erotischer und ästhetischer Befreiung. Ihre Präsenz im Werk versteht sich als Protest. (362)

To understand Heine's later works it is necessary to consider the devil as a positive symbol of protest and change.

According to legend, after the triumph of Christianity the old Greek gods lost their power and became "arge Teufel," who hide during the day but come out at night (B 3: 686). Heine claims this idea has been used as a model for many poems. The setting is typically Italy, but the hero is a naïve German knight. While out walking, he finds a garden with statues and falls in love with one of them. Heine then includes two variations on this story. In the first the marble statue appears to the narrator as a person

in a dream and the entire story is fantastical. In the second, which is adapted from Kornmann's "Mons Veneris," there is more of a mix between the real world and the narrator's dreams.

The story is of a knight who is playing ball with his friends and places his cumbersome ring on the finger of a nearby female marble statue for safe keeping. When he returns to retrieve his ring, she has bent her finger, making it impossible for the knight to remove it. On the knight's wedding night, the statue appears to him in his dreams and claims that she is his rightful bride, as he placed his ring on her finger. Unable to consummate his marriage, he asks for the Priest Palumnus to help him. The priest writes a series of symbols on parchment paper and tells the knight to wait for the spirit of this statue at the road crossing at midnight. When she appears and he shows her the paper the priest had written for him, she throws her hands up and with tears in her eyes exclaims, "grausamer Priester Palumnus! du bist noch immer nicht zufrieden mit dem Leid das du uns zugefügt hast! Doch deinen Verfolgungen wird bald ein Ziel gesetzt, grausamer Priester Palumnus!" (B 3: 690). The power of the priest to free the knight from his obligation to the statue symbolizes the victory of Christianity over the Greek gods. The statue is not pleased about being defeated once again, and three days later she carries out her threat and the priest dies. By focusing on Venus' self-defining behavior, we are able to see that she protests her banishment rather than passively accepting it. She is not, as Forhmann proposes, a variation of the Virgin Mary (284); rather she stands in opposition to her.

Heine's final representation of Venus is in the "Tannhäuser" poem. In order to capture the tender expression of love present between Venus and Tannhäuser, Heine

compares it to the Old Testament story of the Song of Salomon (B 3: 696). Although Heine may attack the conservative influence that Christianity has had on society, he values the poetic nature of the stories from the Bible. We will witness his engagement with Biblical figures again in the discussion of the female figures in *Atta Troll: Ein Sommernachtstraum* (1847). In the version by Prätorius that Heine includes, Venus is depicted as the sultry Goddess of Love. Her primary goal in the beginning is to convince Tannhäuser to stay with her on the mountain; she tempts him with bedroom play, "Nun laβt uns in die Kammer gehn, / Und spielen der heimlichen Minnen" (qtd. in B 3: 693). Tannhäuser refuses her and calls her as a "Teufelinne" (qtd. in B 3: 693). He seeks salvation in Christianity and asks the Pope for guidance. When Tannhäuser returns to the mountain, he plants a barren twig as the Pope suggested. The branch blooms as an indication that Tannhäuser has been absolved of his sins.

Heine's version begins where the legend does, but moves in a different direction. Venus is still portrayed as the Goddess of Love and is even more assertive in her attempts to lure Tannhäuser to stay. She demands that he kiss her, "Küβ mich geschwind, und sage mir: / Was du bei mir vermisset?" and offers her body, "Mein schöner liljenweiβer Leib / Erheitert deine Sinne"(B 3: 697). After Tannhäuser refuses her pleas to stay, Venus is insulted. She says:

> "Ich wollte lieber du schlügest mich,
> Als daβ du Beleidung sprächest;
> Und mir, undankbar kalter Christ,
> Den Stolz im Herzen brächest." (B 3: 698)

Recognizing that he has chosen to seek salvation in Christianity and thereby condemning her existence as a Greek goddess, she opens the door for him to leave:

"Weil ich dich geliebet gar zu sehr,
Nun hör ich solche Worte –
Leb wohl, ich gebe Urlaub dir,
Ich öffne dir selber die Pforte." (B 3: 698)

Tannhäuser goes to Rome to seek council from the Pope. Instead of repenting for his sins, Tannhäuser can only speak of how much he loves her:

Ich liebe sie mit Allgewalt,
Nichts kann die Liebe hemmen!
Das ist wie ein wilder Wasserfall;
Du kannst seine Fluten nicht dämmen; (B 3: 700).

The Pope cannot help Tannhäuser because he views her as a devil, "Der Teufel, den man Venus nennt, / Er ist der schlimmste von allen," (B 3: 701). Tannhäuser returns to the mountain where Venus lovingly welcomes him home. This is where a transformation takes place in Heine's portrayal of Venus. She is no longer the Goddess of Love, but rather a "Hausfrau."

Aus ihrer Nase rann das Blut,
Den Augen die Tränen entflossen;
Sie hat mit Tränen und Blut das Gesicht
Des geliebten Mannes begossen.

Der Ritter legte sich ins Bett,

Er hat kein Wort gesprochen.

Frau Venus in die Küche ging,

Um ihm eine Suppe zu kochen. (B 3: 701)

She is not able to contain her love for him, as it physically flows from her nose and eyes. Venus gives him soup and bread, washes his wounded feet, combs his hair, and laughs "so süβe" while doing these things (B 3: 702).

Geertje Suhr misinterprets Venus' bloody nose to be an indication that Tannhäuser has hit her (86). She further describes Venus in this part of the poem as a "erotische Hüterin des ehelichen Heims" (86). This reading coincides with the interpretation offered in the DHA which categorizes this scene as a "Genrebild einer bürgerlichen Ehegemeinschaft" and then more specifically describes Venus's role:

> Die Liebesgöttin, die die Materie in ihre Rechte einsetzt und die elementaren Bedürfnisse des Leibes befriedigt, vollzieht zugleich die christliche Demutshandlung der Fuβwaschung an ihrem 'Herrn.' Ihre Verfühungsmacht bleibt ungebrochen. Auf diese Weise scheinen amor und caritas, Liebe, Trost und Lust zu einer Einheit verschmolzen. (DHA 9: 531)

Both Suhr's interpretation and this one from the DHA fail to sufficiently recognize how Heine has transformed the figure of the erotic goddes, Venus, into a model bourgeois housewife. Just as Mademoiselle Laurence in *Florentinische Nächte* became less alluring to her lover once she was more realistically defined, so, too, does Venus; the more she is described as fulfilling subservient tasks, including washing Tannhäuser's feet, the less she retains of her goddess stature.

The poem ends as Tannhäuser describes his journey home through Italy and Germany. He then declares he will never leave "Venusberg" again:

"Zu Hamburg, in der guten Stadt,
Soll keiner mich wiederschauen!
Ich bleibe jetzt im Venusberg,
Bei meiner schönen Frauen." (B 3: 703)

It is not clear what happens to Venus. Is she restored to her position as a goddess or does she remain a housewife? The ambiguous ending allows Heine to avoid choosing either position. The only place where Heine can envision a realistic and sensual relationship is within the mythical space of the Venusberg. That Tannhäuser chooses to stay on the mountain rather than return to Germany has been interpreted as paralleling Heine's decision to remain in exile in Paris (DHA 9: 531).

The "Tannhäuser" poem was republished as part of the "Verschiedene" cycle in *Neue Gedichte* (1844). In this version Heine made only minor changes, namely the last stanza:

Zu Hamburg sah ich Altona,
Ist auch eine schöne Gegend;
Ein andermal erzähl ich dir
Was mir alldort begegent. (B 4: 355)

While Venusberg is still the only place where a sensual relationship can exist, this new ending foreshadows Heine's intent to focus on the changing social and political scene in Germany. The story that Tannhäuser wants to tell is about his trip through Germany and

specifically his experience in Hamburg, which becomes the premise for *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (DHA 9: 531).

CHAPTER 4
THE INFLUENCE OF SHAKESPEARE

Introduction

In the "Zweites Buch" of *Ludwig Börne: Eine Denkschrift* (1840) Heine writes the following description of Shakespeare:

> Nur bei einem einzigen Schrifsteller finde ich etwas, was an jenen unmittelbaren Stil der Bibel erinnert. Das ist Shakespeare. Auch bei ihm tritt das Wort manchmal in jener schauerlichen Nacktheit hervor, die uns erschreckt und erschüttert; in den Shakespeareschen Werken sehen wir manchmal die leibhaftige Wahrheit ohne Kunstgewand. Aber das geschieht nur in einzelnen Momenten; der Genius der Kunst, vielleicht seine Ohnmacht fühlend, überließ hier der Natur sein Amt auf einige Augenblicke, und behauptet hernach um so eifersüchtiger seine Herrschaft in der plastischen Gestaltung und in der witzigen Verknüpfung des Dramas. Shakespeare ist zu gleicher Zeit Jude und Grieche, oder vielmehr beide Elemente, der Spiritualismus und die Kunst, haben sich in ihm versöhnungsvoll durchdrungen, und zu einem höheren Ganzen entfaltet. (B 4: 46-7)

Shakespeare represents the reconciliation of spirituality and art, two concepts that are normally in opposition for Heine. In Shakespeare's work Heine sees the possibility for nature and truth to be captured in a beautiful way that reminds him of the stories of the Bible. As we witnessed in *Elementargeister,* Heine enjoys drawing on sources of inspiration and manipulating them for his own purposes. It therefore becomes an

interesting task to trace Heine's exposure to Shakespeare and then follow how it finds expression in Heine's works, especially in his female figures.

Between 1840 and 1848 there was an abundance of new political poetry written by authors such as Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Georg Herwegh and Georg Weerth (Hauschild, Werner 492-4). Heine found the majority of this *Tendenzpoesie* lacking in aesthetic value. Equally problematic for Heine was the overly sentimental poetry of the Swabian school of poets that included Gustav Schwab and Gustav Pfizer (Hauschild, Werner 351-2).[58] Thus Heine's writing during this period reflects his desire to express socially relevant ideas poetically. Heine turns to Shakespeare as a model of an author who succeeded in writing works with political themes, especially in his histories, without sacrificing his artistic integrity.

In *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* (1839) Heine comments on numerous leading ladies from Shakespeare's plays. We learn from this work the characters that inspire him, those he finds most creative, and those he would have written differently. After reading Heine's sympathetic interpretation of the spirits of the underworld in chapter 3, it is not surprising to find that Heine is intrigued with many of Shakespeare's characters who exhibit supernatural qualities or who appear as dark figures. Whether heroic or deplorable, the figures who are more deeply developed are those to whom Heine is most drawn.

Shakespeare's influence on Heine is most evident in his two epic poems *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum* (1847) and *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (1844). *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* was first published along with *Neue Gedichte* in 1844,

[58] Hauschild and Werner explain that Schwab wrote an unflattering review of Heine's *Buch der Lieder* in 1828 and Pfizer wrote a polemic essay on Heine in 1838 (351-52). Both of these incidences unmistakably contributed to Heine's wish to distance himself from them as authors.

situating it one year after the initial journal publication of *Atta Troll* at the beginning of 1843, but prior to its book publication in 1847. The fact that these two works were written at about the same time helps us understand their related messages and shared imagery. The apparitions encountered in the woods in *Atta Troll* recall the fairies in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The comparison of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* to Heine's *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* reveals a hidden structure in Heine's work and offers a more meaningful interpretation of the main female figure, Hammonia.

Heine's exposure to the works of Shakespeare dates back at least to his studies at the University of Bonn in 1819-1820 (Mende 17-21). There he studied with August Wilhelm Schlegel, whose Shakespeare translation Heine used in writing *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* (B 4: 881). Heine's first attempt at a dramatic work, *Almansor* (1821), followed his introduction to drama by Schlegel and contained elements of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* (Höhn 47). Between 1821 to 1823, when Heine lived in Berlin, he attended many Shakespeare performances including *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet* (Wadepuhl 117). According to Walter Wadepuhl Heine was introduced to Franz Horn's "Shakespeares Schauspiele erläutert" (1823) at Varnhagen's salon during this time (116). It is one of the sources Heine cites in the foreword to *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* as having contributed to his Shakespeare studies (B 4: 187), along with A.W. Schlegel (B 4: 184) and Ludwig Tieck (B 4: 186). Heine's personal exposure to Shakespeare's works intensified during his trip to London in 1827 when he was able to see the famous actor Edmund Kean perform in a number of Shakespeare plays (DHA 10: 351). Heine's

interest in Shakespeare did not cease with the writing of *Almansor, Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen, Atta Troll*, and *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen.* As late as 1854 he expressed the desire to revise "half" of his *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* (HHP, to Julius Campe, Feb. 1, 1854).

Heine first conceived of *Atta Troll* in 1841 during a trip with his wife Mathilde to the Pyrenees, and he wrote most of it between February and March of the following year, 1842. While the Cauterets region in France has been a popular romantic setting for French writers, including George Sand, Heine is credited with being the first German to write of this area (DHA 4: 358). Through the help of his editor and friend Heinrich Laube, *Atta Troll* was first published in his journal "Zeitung für die elegante Welt" between January and March 1843. Over the next four years Heine continued to revisit the text, preparing it for publication in book form and also for publication in the French journal *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, both in 1847. While some of the revisions may be attributed to his attempts to avoid the censors, they also indicate the difficulty Heine had in balancing the Romantic and socially critical elements in the text (DHA 4: 308). In a letter to Laube prior to its first publication, Heine explains how he views the second half of this work (which he promises to send in a few days) as much more poetic than the first:

> Sie werden sehen die zweite Sendung ist unendlich schöner und wichtiger, jedenfalls poetischer, als die heutige. Ich habe in dieser zweiten Hälfte versucht die alte Romantik, die man jetzt mit Knüppeln todtschlagen will, wieder geltend zu machen, aber nicht in der weichen Tonart der frühern Schule, sondern in der keksten Weise des modernen Humors, der alle

> Elemente der Vergangenheit in sich aufnehmen kann und aufnehmen soll. Aber das romantische Element ist vielleicht unserer Gegenwart allzusehr verhaβt, untergegangen bereits in unserer Literatur, und vielleicht in dem Gedichte, das ich Ihnen jetzt schicke, nimmt die Muse der Romantik auf immer Abschied von dem alten Deutschland! (HHP, Nov. 20, 1842).

The notion of using elements from Romanticism in a new way had been a hallmark of Heine's writing since *Buch der Lieder.* But here Heine acknowledges that the Romantic muse is no longer relevant. What replaces her?

In the fall of 1843 Heine returned to Germany for the first time in twelve years. The trip, which included visits to Cologne and Hamburg, became the backdrop for *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen.* Most of the text was written once Heine had returned to France between December 1843 and May 1844. In a letter to his editor, Julius Campe, Heine describes it with language similar in tone to that of his letter to Laube:

> Es ist ein gereimtes Gedicht, welches... die ganze Gährung unserer deutschen Gegenwart, in der keksten, persönlichsten Weise ausspricht. Es ist politisch romantisch und wird der prosaisch bombastischen Tendenzpoesie hoffentlich den Todesstoβ geben. (HHP, April 17, 1844)

Whereas *Atta Troll* was supposed to beat Romanticism to death with "Knüppeln" here he hopes to give *Tendenzpoesie* the "Todesstoβ."

To understand these works it is essential to recognize how Heine resolves the tension between highly stylized literature and blatant political commentary. Heine begins to create female figures who are not simply poetic objects. Following the examples set

by Shakespeare, Heine writes characters who are more complex, express emotion, and actively participate in the storylines.

Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen

Many reasons explain the lack of scholarly attention to Heine's *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* (1839): it was a commissioned piece by an unfamiliar publishing house hoping to capitalize on Heine's name; the project was not originally conceived by Heine; the copper etchings of Shakespeare's leading female figures selected to accompany Heine's remarks were considered trivial works of art at best;[59] Heine himself wrote to his primary publisher Julius Campe regarding this work, "unter uns gesagt, kein Meisterstück, aber immer gut genug für den Zweck" (HHP, July 23, 1838); and finally nearly half the portraits, specifically those designated as comedies, did not contain original commentary by Heine but rather a dialogue quoted from the corresponding play. However, none of these factors are strong enough to inhibit Heine's voice, which emerges clearly in this text. In the twenty-four entries addressing Shakespeare's tragedies and histories, Heine reveals to us why he finds certain portrayals more interesting than others. In the foreword and afterword to this text we gain a clearer perspective of how Heine viewed Shakespeare as an author, and which aspects of Shakespeare's ability to balance the political with the poetic he sought to emulate.

In the beginning of the foreword Heine compares Shakespeare's regrettable English heritage to that of Jesus' Jewish background. Heine's familiar denigration of England and its culture contrasts with his praise of Shakespeare. Heine begins his text in this way in order to create a bond between Shakespeare, as an underdog, and German

[59] The July 5/ 6/ 8, 1839 editions of the "Halleschen Jahrbüchern für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst" contained a series of reactions to Heine's "Shakespeare" text. Included was the following critique about the etchings, "...ich sehe keine Portraits Shakespeare'scher Frauen darin, und noch weniger sind es Kunstwerke. Aber es sind niedliche Schnupftabaks-Dosen-Deckel-Mädchen-Köpfe oder allerliebste Berliner-Porzellan-Fabrik-Pfeifenkopf-Frauen-Gesichter, welche ich dem Publikum nicht als Meisterstücke der Gravierkunst vorzulegen wage..." (qtd. in B 4: 882).

Jews. This strategy echos the connection he makes in *Ludwig Börne: Eine Denkschrift* where he refers to Shakespeare as a Jew and a Greek. Heine further strengthens his affinity to this literary forefather by claiming that the difficulties Shakespeare encountered with the Puritans are similar to Heine's own present protest of the German Restoration. Later in the foreword Heine writes, "Die Aufgabe Shakespeares war nicht bloβ die Poesie, sondern auch die Geschichte" (B 4: 178). By setting Shakespeare up as the model of a writer who successfully integrated historical topics into his works without sacrificing aesthetic expression, Heine hopes to lend credibility to his own writing in this same respect.

Within the individual portraits Heine takes notice of Shakespeare's ability to develop female characters who are not limited to their prescribed roles as wives, queens, daughters, or mothers. Many of these women move beyond their predestined familial relationships by actively pursuing, confronting, betraying, or persuading the male figures around them. Heine clearly states that his purpose with this work is to focus on the female figures, especially those in the historical plays where they carry as much of the plot as the men. He writes:

> Ich will ja überhaupt die dramatischen Gedichte, worin Shakespeare die groβen Begebenheiten der englischen Historie verherrlicht hat, nicht dogmatisch erläutern, sondern nur die Bildnisse der Frauen, die aus jenen Dichtungen hervorblühen, mit einigen Wortarabesken verzieren. Da in diesen englischen Geschichtsdramen die Frauen nichts weniger als die Hauptrollen spielen, und der Dichter sie nie auftreten läβt, wie in andern Stücken, weibliche Gestalten und Charaktere zu schildern, sondern

vielmehr, weil die darzustellende Historie ihre Einmischung erforderte: so werde ich auch desto kärglicher von ihnen reden. (B 4: 218)

Although Heine specifically expresses that his intention in this work is not to provide a critical analysis of the plays but to focus on Shakespeare's portrayal of women, Heine scholars have missed this point. Walter Wadepuhl sought to prove that Heine lacked the critical knowledge necessary to make a contribution to Shakespeare studies and therefore assesses *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* as, "eines der schwächsten Werke von Heine" (134). Siegbert Prawer understood Heine's intention much better when he wrote, "Above all, Heine never forgot that he was himself a poet, not a scholar, not a dispassionate critic, not merely a receptive reader; and that he therefore had the right and duty to 'use' Shakespeare for his own purposes" (40). Prawer is correct in his perception that Heine used Shakespeare, not only within *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen,* but in his later works as well. However, still missing from Prawer's study is a specific focus on what Heine has to say about these female figures. Volkmar Hansen does pay considerable attention to Heine's remarks about the individual portraits but draws some skeptical conclusions. Hansen reads Heine's reference in the "Desdemona" portrait to a "hohe Schöne" as an allusion to Princess Belgiojoso (235). Why Hansen believes this remains unclear. Scholarship that seeks only to find biographical explanations for Heine's female depictions provides little insight as to how those portrayals function within a text. Instead we need to focus on why Heine perceives Shakespeare's portrayal of Desdemona as beautiful. What imagery or literary tools might Heine be inclined to borrow from this figure for his own writing? By examining Heine's reaction to a variety of female characters – from virtuous maidens to villainous queens –

we can gain a better idea of how Heine understands representations of women who are not simply Romantic muses.

The first portrait Heine introduces is "Cressida" from *Troilus and Cressida*. She was not placed first because of her virtue or because she is a typical female character (B 4: 192). Those qualities do not interest Heine. The reason he has emphasized her is because this play is inspired by Greek mythology. Since we have already witnessed Heine's idealization of Greek antiquity, it is somewhat surprising that he values Shakespeare's interpretation over the mythological story:

> Im Gegensatz zu den antiken Tragikern, die, wie die antiken Bildhauer, nur nach Schönheit und Adel rangen, und auf Kosten des Gehaltes die Form verherrlichten, richtete Shakespeare sein Augenmerk zunächst auf Wahrheit und Inhalt; daher seine Meisterschaft der Charakteristik, womit er nicht selten, an die verdrießlichste Karikatur streifend, die Helden ihrer glänzenden Harnische entkleidet und in dem lächerlichsten Schlafrock erscheinen läßt. (B 4: 193)

Heine values Shakespeare's ability to strip characters of their outward appearances and expose their inner truths. However, in this play none of the female characters actually fit that description. Heine criticizes Shakespeare for portraying Cressida as simply "eine gewöhnliche Schürze," who lacks depth (B 4: 193). Cassandra, like her mythological namesake, is a visionary whose warning is disregarded. Heine likewise chastises Shakespeare for not giving her a more significant role: "Kärgliche und eben nicht sehr bedeutungsvolle Worte widmet Shakespeare der schönen Seherin; sie ist bei ihm nur eine gewöhnliche Unglücksprophetin, die mit Wehegeschrei in der verfemten Stadt

umherläuft" (B 4: 195). Since Heine recognizes her potential it is not surprising that in *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* he develops a similar female oracle in the figure of Hammonia. The last portrait from *Troilus and Cressida* is "Helena," whose abduction caused the Trojan war. Heine focuses less on what Shakespeare does with her but rather uses the opportunity to explain his own idealization of this figure. Heine remembers from his youth how Homer's version of Helen was the object of every German schoolboy's affection. Later, when they were old enough to make a pact with the devil, it was the beautiful Helen they would have asked for (B 4: 196). Heine further explains that a German Faust would ask for pleasures rather than knowledge. This interpretation becomes the foundation for Heine's own version of Faust eight years later.

The fourth portrait of "Virgilia" from *Coriolanus* illuminates for Heine a strategy in character portrayal, the power of opposites. Virgilia is Coriolanus' wife and she has nothing to say. She is "eine schüchterne Taube, die nicht einmal zu girren wagt in Gegenwart des überstolzen Gatten" (B 4: 197). Heine's description of her uses Romantic stereotypes to further reinforce her objectified role: "sie schweigt wie die errötende Rose, wie die keusche Perle, wie der sehnsüchtige Abendstern ... es ist ein volles, kostbares, glühendes Schweigen" (B 4: 197). She stands in direct contrast to the commandeering presence of her mother-in-law, Volumnia. She is the "Wölfin Volumnia, die den Wolf Cajus Marcius einst gesäugt mit ihrer eisernen Milch" (B 4: 197). Heine is intrigued by her strength as a matriarchal figure: "Ja, letztere ist die wahre Matrone, und aus ihren patrizischen Zitzen sog die junge Brut nichts als wilden Mut, ungestümen Trotz und Verachtung des Volkes" (B 4: 197-8). Whereas Heine used Romantic imagery to describe the delicate nature of Virgilia, he uses brutal, offensive words to convey the

dominance of Volumnia's character. For Heine one of the reasons that this play succeeds as a powerful tragedy is because of the figure of Volumnia.

Heine emulates Shakespeare's masculine focus in the play *Julius Ceasar* and does not even mention Portia until the last paragraph of this entry. There he describes her as the wife of Brutus and the daughter of Cato. Although Portia's desire to know of her husband's secret provides the potential for her character to be developed, she remains trapped in the limited role of the "Weib" (B 4: 203). Heine cites Shakespeare's words where Portia recognizes her limitations, "Ich habe Mannessinn, doch Weiberohnmacht./ Wie fällt doch ein Geheimnis Weibern schwer!" (B 4: 203). Portia, like Cressida and Virgilia, does not arouse Heine's interest since she remains a typical female representation.

Cleopatra, of *Antony and Cleopatra*, is altogether different. She is powerfully passionate, but dangerously self-serving. Heine describes her with a string of unflattering adjectives: "Dieses launische, lustsüchtige, wetterwendische, fieberhaft kokette Weib..." (B 4: 210). In the play she convinces her lover Antony to lead battle on sea, instead of on land where his strengths as a general lie. At the decisive moment she withdraws her ships. As Antony does the same, to follow her, he is defeated by Caesar. Cleopatra is surely the cause of Antony's downfall as Heine explains, "Die egyptische Zauberin halt nicht bloβ sein Herz, sondern auch sein Hirn gefangen, und verwirrt sogar sein Feldherrntalent" (B 4: 204). Despite her manipulative behavior, Antony continues to love her. Cleopatra's ability to love and betray at the same time is the characteristic Heine finds most fascinating. He warns that while such a combination may have no effect on a mediocre man, it can destroy a hero. This is exactly the outcome of the play –

both Cleopatra and Antony commit suicide. While Heine ignores Cleopatra's death and ends the portrait saying that she rules as queen, he is not far from the essence of the play. In a final act of good will, Caesar orders that Anthony and Cleopatra be buried together. Cleopatra's strong will may have been her downfall, but it also proved powerful enough to influence Caesar's opinion. Cleopatra, who is as beautiful as she is destructive, leaves a similar lasting impression on Heine. He returns to her in the afterword as a representative of one of his three types of love.

Titus Andronicus is Shakespeare's most gruesome play, yet Lavinia can be understood as a precursor to Lessing's Emilia Galotti as a protector of virtue. Heine writes of her, "sie scheut nicht den Tod, sondern die Entehrung" (B 4: 212). After having her hands and tongue cut off, she is spared further misery and put to rest by her father's hand, and thereby parallels Emilia's death by her father, Odoardo. As Heine observed of Virgilia and Volumnia from *Coriolanus*, contrasting figures are easier to develop. This principle is also apparent here with Lavinia, whose innocence contrasts with the vengefulness of Tamora. Of their oppositional natures, Heine writes:

> In dieser jungfräulichen Reinheit bildet Lavinia den vollendeten Gegensatz zu der ... Kaiserin Tamora; hier, wie in den meisten seiner Dramen, stellt Shakespeare zwei ganz gemütsverschiedene weibliche Gestalten neben einander, und veranschaulicht uns ihren Charakter durch den Kontrast. (B 4: 212)

Although there is no etching supplied for Tamora, Heine still specifically address her character. She is portrayed in the play as the villainous queen and Heine relishes her vivid depiction:

> Sie ist ein schönes majestätisches Weib, eine bezaubernd imperatorische Gestalt, auf der Stirne das Zeichen der gefallenen Göttlichkeit, in den Augen eine weltverzehrende Wollust, prachtvoll lasterhaft, lechzend nach rotem Blut. Weltblickend milde, wie unser Dichter sich immer zeigt, hat er schon in der ersten Szene, wo Tamora erscheint, alle die Greuel, die sie später gegen Titus Andronicus ausübt, im voraus justifiziert. (B 4: 212-3)

She is a dark and powerful figure, yet Heine identifies with her motives for revenge. Even though she is not easily likeable, Heine appreciates the depth which Shakespeare wrote into Tamora's character.

Under the portrait of "Constanze" Heine sidesteps the topic of Shakespeare entirely and instead includes his own parable. While supposedly attending an uninspiring theatrical performance, Heine falls asleep and overhears the mice of the theater talking. The older mouse reveals the secrets of the theater, stripping the stage of its magical façade by explaining the sound effects and unveiling the true character behind the actors. The hero is really a drunk and the virtuous princess is neither virtuous nor a princess. According to the mouse:

> Jene tugendhafte Prinzessin, die sich für ihre Tugend aufzuopfern schien, ist weder eine Prinzessin noch tugendhaft; ich habe gesehen, wie sie aus einem Porzellantöpfchen rote Farbe genommen, ihre Wangen damit angestrichen, und dieses galt nachher für Schamröte; am Ende sogar warf sie sich gähnend in die Arme eines Gardeleutnants... (B 4: 216)

The story indicates that Heine is not looking for feminine virtue or masculine heroism but rather wants the theater to be authentic. In the end the mouse proclaims, "... all das

Große und Edle, das uns hier voragiert wurde, ist Lug und Trug; Eigennutz und Selbstucht sind die geheimen Triebfedern aller Handlungen, und ein vernünftiges Wesen läßt sich nicht täuschen durch den Schein" (B 4: 216). This is not the direction Heine wishes for modern theater and thus this story stands in contrast to the truthful expressions he finds in Shakespeare's work.

Heine identifies with the historic figure of "Johanna d'Arc," a simple French maiden, who upon hearing voices of divine inspiration, leads French armies to defeat the English. However, Shakespeare's portrayal of her in *Henry VI, Part 1* deviates from historical accounts by turning her into a cowardly figure who is accused of witchcraft and executed (Boyce 318). Heine criticizes Shakespeare's portrayal:

> Ja, es war brittischer Nationalhaß oder mittelalterlicher Aberglaube, was seinen Geist umnebelte, unser Dichter hat das heldenmütige Mädchen als eine Hexe dargestellt, die mit den dunkeln Mächten der Hölle verbündet ist. Er läßt die Dämonen der Unterwelt von ihr beschwören, und gerechtfertigt wird durch solche Annahme ihre grauseame Hinrichtung. (B 4: 221)

The possibility that she might have been inspired by hellish forces bothers him less than Shakespeare's "unfreundlich" and "lieblos" portrayal (B 4: 222). Heine would have written her differently since she deserves "Ehrfurcht und Bewunderung" for liberating her country (B 4: 222). Heine hopes to excuse Shakespeare's representation of her by entertaining the idea that this was not an original work by him. As much as he would like to believe this, in the end Heine must admit that there is too much of Shakespeare's style within the play for it not to be his.

"Taken as a single role, running through four plays, Margaret is surely the greatest female part in Shakespeare" writes Boyce about the character Margaret in *Henry VI, Part 1, 2, 3* and *Richard III* (399). From what we have read so far of Heine's disinterest in flat, undeveloped figures and his desire to champion unsung heroines, we can expect Heine to examine Shakespeare's creation of her. She is in fact allotted two portraits, one for *Henry VI, Part 1*, and the other for *Part 2,* and *Part 3*. In her first portrait Heine comments on her ability as a prisoner to capture the heart of Suffolk. Heine credits Shakespeare with inventing Margaret's and Suffolk's relationship beyond what is historically accurate. In the second portrait Heine acknowledges a change in her character. She was a young daughter in the first play; here she is a grown queen. However, she has not simply matured. As Heine explains, "Die Knospe hat sich entfaltet, sie ist jetzt eine vollblühende Rose; aber ein widerlicher Wurm liegt darin verborgen. Sie ist ein hartes, frevelhaftes Weib geworden" (B 4: 224). Heine cites how heartless she is in offering York a handkerchief soaked in the blood of his own son. Heine further speculates that if her teeth were visible in the copper etching, they would be pointed like those of a predatory animal; he is clearly intrigued by her as a multifaceted character. Boyce describes how she undergoes a transformation among the plays: "She develops from an ingenuous young woman thrust into prominence, through a career as a scheming plotter and a courageous and persistent military leader, to a final appearance as a raging, Fury-like crier of curses against her triumphant enemies" (399). In Heine's final comment about her from *Richard III* he relates the scene where she is carrying Suffolk's head: "Wenn späterhin Margaretha, das blutige Haupt des Geliebten in der Hand tragend, ihre wildest Verzweiflung ausjammert, mahnt sie uns an die furchtbare Chrimhilde des

Nibelungenslieds" (B 4: 225). Heine's comparison of Margaret to Kriemhild from the *Nibelungenlied* confirms his opinion of her as a vicious figure. Just as Heine reacted favorably to the passionate portrayals of Cleopatra and Tamora, so too, does he react to Margaret. This image of a woman carrying the head of her lover resurfaces in Heine's portrayal of Herodias in *Atta Troll.*

Reminiscent of his positive explanation of the flying "Valkyren" in *Elementargeister*, Heine expresses a favorable disposition toward the three witches in *Macbeth.* He refers to them as "wundersame Frauen" and "schauerliche Luftgöttinnen" (B 4: 237) and is disappointed with Shakespeare's sinister transformation of them:

> Shakespeare verwandelte sie in unheilstiftende Hexen, entkleidete sie aller furchtbaren Grazie des nordischen Zaubertums, er machte sie zu zwitterhaften Miβweibern, die ungeheuerlichen Spuk zu treiben wissen, und Verderben brauen, aus hämischer Schadenfreude oder auf Geheiβ der Hölle: die sind Dienerinnen des Bösen... (B 4: 238).

Heine does not like Shakespeare's degradation of these figures because it simplifies their complex nature and minimizes the fall of the hero as simply succumbing to the power of Satan. Still Heine credits Shakespeare with doing a better job than his contemporaries at preserving the mystical qualities of these characters.

"Was bedeutet dieses Weib? Welcher Sinn lauert unter der Symbolik dieser schönen Formen?" (B 1: 613), asks the narrator in *Florentinische Nächte* in the presence of the alluring Mademoiselle Laurence. In Heine's portrait of "Ophelia" from *Hamlet* he fuses a personal encounter with a friend's daughter with the image of Ophelia. Spellbound by her smile, Heine poses a very similar question: "Was bedeutet jenes

Lächeln? Was bedeutet jene Stimme, jener geheimnisvoll schmachtende Flötenton?" (B 4: 240). By using rhetorical questions such as these Heine is able to add another dimension to the characters with his answer. In contrast to the use of this literary tool with Laurence, where it allowed her to be more deeply developed, here the comparison of Ophelia to a garden reiterates her status as an "armes Kind" (B 4: 240).

In the portrait to "Desdemona" from *Othello,* Heine compares her to Juliet from *Romeo and Juliet*:

> Vergleicht man Julie mit Desdemona, so wird ebenfalls in jener ein nordisches Element bemerkbar; bei aller Gewalt ihrer Leidenschaft bleibt sie doch immer ihrer selbst bewußt und im klarsten Selbstbewußtsein Herrin ihrer Tat. Julie liebt und denkt und handelt. Desdemona liebt und fühlt und gehorcht, nicht dem eignen Willen, sondern dem stärkern Antrieb. (B 4: 248)

Juliet is seen as a more determined figure since she thinks before acting on her desires, whereas Desdemona obeys her emotions. Heine gives the latter little credit for choosing Othello as her husband despite her father's reluctance toward the marriage. Boyce describes Desdemona as representative of "the spirit of self-sacrifice traditionally associated with the most intense and spiritual love" (155). Since Heine typically distanced himself from spiritual representations it is not surprising that he supports the objectification of her character, "Sie ist die Sonnenblume, die selber nicht weiß, das sie immer dem hohen Tagesgestirn ihr Haupt zuwendet." (B 4: 248).

Kenneth Hayens convincingly argues that Heine relied on Anna Jameson's book "Frauenbilder oder Charakteristik der vorzüglichsten Frauen in Shakespeares Dramen..."

(1834) more than he gives her credit for (42). One place where Heine does acknowledge her work is in the portrait to "Portia" from *Merchant of Venice*. There he quotes two complete paragraphs by her in which she describes Portia's unique qualities. Portia's "besondere Gaben" include a "hohe geistige Kraft," "begeisterte Stimmung," and an "entschiedene Festigkeit" (qtd. in B 4: 261). Heine agrees with Jameson saying that her words are "nicht bloβ schön sondern auch wahr" (B 4: 262). He continues to show appreciation for Portia as he compares her, in his own words, to Shylock:

> Wollen wir letzteren [Shylock], in üblicher Auffassung, als den Repräsentanten des starren, ernsten, kunstfeindlichen Judäas betrachten, so erscheint uns dagegen Portia als die Repräsentantin jener Nachblüte des griechischen Geistes, welche von Italien aus, im sechszehnten Jahrhundert, ihren holden Duft über die Welt verbreitete und welche wir noch heute unter dem namen 'die Renaissance' lieben und schätzen. Portia ist zugleich die Repräsentantin des heitern Glücks [...] Wie blühend, wie rosig, wie reinklingend ist all ihr Denken und Sprechen, wie freudewarm sind ihre Worte, wie schön alle ihre Bilder, die meistens der Mythologie entlehnt sind! (B 4: 262).

Heine expresses his admiration of Portia by associating her first with Greek mythology and then with the Renaissance. Heine recognizes her as a fully developed character who is both intelligent and passionate.

In the afterword Heine addresses Shakespeare's comedies. In a dream sequence he envisions a muse in a boat. She is similar to the poetic muse found in Heine's *Buch der Lieder* (1827), who assumes a partially active role by speaking, teasing, and steering

her own boat. She calls to the narrator, "Nicht wahr, mein Freund, du hättest gern eine Definition von der Shakespeareschen Komödie?" (B 4: 291). She then wakes him by splashing him in the face and laughing. What follows is Heine's familiar rhetorical question: "Wer war jene anmutige Frauengestalt, die mich solchermaßen im Traume neckte?" (B 4: 291). His answer allows him to describe her character with added detail. He begins with her physical features, including her clothing and horned cap (a reference to the devil), then her sexual body, and finally her spirit which he likens to that of a goddess:

> Es war vielleicht die Göttin der Kaprize, jene sonderbare Muse, die bei der Geburt Rosalindens, Beatrices, Titanias, Violas, und wie sie sonst heißen, die lieblichen Kinder der Shakespeareschen Komödie, zugegen war und ihnen die Stirne küßte. (B 4: 291-2)

Although Heine generally pays less attention to the figures in the comedies, those listed here – Rosalind, Beatrice, Titania, and Viola – represent very strong female leads. Still, for Heine there is a difference between the protagonists in the comedies and those in the tragedies. It lies in their capacity for passion. He explains:

> Wie bei den Männern, so auch bei den Weibern in der Shakespearschen Komödie, ist die Leidenschaft ganz ohne jenen furchtbaren Ernst, ganz ohne jene fatalistische Notwendigkeit, womit sie sich in den Tragödien offenbart. (B 4: 292)

Heine's preference for the tragically expressive figures is evident in his reactions to Volumnia, Cleopatra, Tamora, and Margaret.

Finally, Heine revisits the topic of love and compares the ways that Miranda from the *Tempest*, Juliet, and Cleopatra express this emotion. Miranda's love is as pure as "Blume eines unbefleckten Bodens, den nur Geisterfüße betreten durften" (B 4: 292). Juliet's love, "trägt, wie ihre Zeit und Umgebung, einen mehr romantisch mittelalterlichen, schon der Renaissance entgegenblühenden Charakter" (B 4: 292). As her love is more passionate, Heine equates it with Lombardi's painting. Although Cleopatra's love is not loyal it is still wild, "Diese Liebe ist ohne Glaube und ohne Treue, aber darum nicht minder wild und glühend" (B 4: 293). These three characters, as described by Heine, in fact reflect the development of his own female figures. Miranda represents the Romantic ideal, whose presence is infused into many of the portrayals in Heine's *Buch der Lieder*. Just as Portia from *Julius Caesar* attempted to challenge her prescribed gender roles but still remained a "Weib," so too, do these female characters by Heine exert themselves yet fail to become complete subjects. Juliet symbolizes the transitional figure who has not yet completely evolved out of previous conventions but stands on the edge of a new era. Like Portia from *The Merchant of Venice*, who also exhibited Renaissance qualities, these are the figures by Heine who retain a sense of literary tradition, yet become real as they embrace modern thought. Most indicative of these intermediary figures in Heine's works are Laurence from *Florentinische Nächte*, Venus from the "Tannhäuser" poem, and Hammonia from *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*. Finally, Heine describes Cleopatra's love as "erkrankte Zivilisation" (B 4: 293). However, this is not an entirely negative view, it is just extremely intense. In order to vividly describe this love, Heine turns to mythological imagery, "Im ärgerlichen Bewußtsein, daß diese Glut nicht zu dämpfen ist, gießt das ungelduldige Weib noch Öl

hinein, und stürtzt sich bachantisch in die lodernden Flammen" (B 4: 293). The dancing Bacchantes in Greek mythology are wildly passionate females who are also unpredictably ravenous (Hamilton 67-8). In chapter 5 we will encounter two female characters whose love and sexuality do not represent a Christian-based morality. However, unlike Cleopatra, who has very near-sighted goals, Diana and Mephistophela control their passion with insight and intelligence.

Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum

In the foreword to the 1847 publication of *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum,* Heine criticizes current literature that overtly addresses political issues by using this vivid analogy:

> Die Musen bekamen die strenge Weisung, sich hinfüro nicht mehr müβig und leichtfertig umherzutreiben, sondern in vaterländischen Dienst zu treten, etwas als Marketenderinnen der Freiheit oder als Wäscherinnen der christlich-germanischen Nationalität. (B 4: 494)

The poetic muse is stripped of all her mystery and allure and forced instead to serve a political cause. As a reaction against this trend, Heine intends to prove with this work that literature can retain its artistic qualities and still express critical ideas. He achieves this in part through the creation of interesting female figures who do not behave as expected. These characters surprise the male narrator as they exert a sense of self. While each of them alludes to their literary heritage – the Bible, Shakespeare, Greek mythology and Romanticism – they move beyond the limitations of those traditions. Where these figures break with literary stereotypes is where Heine inserts his social commentary.

The use of mythological and Romantic imagery is not new to Heine's female portrayals; rather a mixture of the two have been present in most of the figures discussed this far. Different in this work is Heine's intention not to rely on the Greek gods to help him. Acknowledging his indebtedness to them in the past, he writes:

> Bei den ewigen Göttern! damals galt es die unveräußerlichen Rechte des Geistes zu vertreten, zumal in der Poesie. Wie eine solche Vertretung das

> große Geschäfte meines Lebens war, so habe ich sie am allerwenigsten im vorliegenden Gedicht außer Augen gelassen, ... (B 4: 495)

Instead Heine writes a fable about dancing bears and only in the brief portrayal of the goddess Diana is Greek mythology directly mentioned.

Heine had a variety of German fables on dancing bears, including those by Christian Gellert, G.E. Lessing, and Gottliebe Konrad Pfeffel, to draw upon for the creation of his *Atta Troll* (DHA 4: 342-7). There was also a popular two-volume French publication entitled, "Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux. Vignettes par Grandville" (1842). This was a collection of fables commissioned from prominent French authors including: George Sand, Balzac, L. Baude, and Paul de Musset, brother to Alfred, written to accompany caricatures drawn by the illustrator Grandville (Woesler 159). Winfried Woesler argues that the similarities between Heine's work and the stories in this collection indicate that he was familiar with them (160). Of particular interest is the similarity of Heine's fable to an entry credited to George Sand called "Voyage d'un moineau de Paris."[60] There is a "Vogelcaput" from an early version of *Atta Troll* in which the narrator converses with the lark "Hut-hut" that bears a resemblance to this piece (DHA 4: 350). Whether Heine and Sand ever discussed the fable as a genre or engaged in a dialogue about these two works remains unknown. However, we can derive from this coincidence that the Parisian literary environment was finding expression in his writing. In this work Heine uses a mixture of literary models to create a new form for his political message.

Atta Troll is an epic poem about emancipation. The main figure, Atta Troll, is a dancing bear who one day escapes from his trainer and returns home to the cave in the

[60] Woesler speculates that her text was actually written by Balzac (163).

mountains where he and his wife Mumma had raised a family. He is restored as the patriarch of the family, which is underscored by his name, "Atta," a derivative of the Yiddish word for father, *Ätta* (Woesler 227). He teaches his children about the oppressive nature of mankind, but fails to see how his fond reminiscing about his success as a dancing bear, under the control of a trainer, contradicts his message. Despite Atta Troll's position as the leading protagonist, it is really within the representations of the female figures that Heine more directly challenges bourgeois morality. Mumma, Juliette, and Uraka are portrayed as realistic sexual figures, whereas Diana, Abunde, and Herodias are alluring apparitions that the narrator encounters in the woods.

In contrast to "der edle Atta Troll" who dances "Stief und ernsthaft, mit Grandezza," his wife Mumma is described as "zottgen" and she dances without "Würde" or "Anstand" (B 4: 497). The trainer also notes the "Immoralität" of her performance (B 4: 497). When Troll escapes, the trainer directs his anger toward her and she is beaten. As the story progresses and Atta Troll reminisces about their life together, it becomes clear that Mumma has not always been submissive, but rather quite assertive. Atta Troll and Mumma had four sons and two daughters who are described as virtuous:

> Wohlgeleckte Bärenjungfraun,
> Blond von Haar, wie Predgerstöcher;
> Braun die Buben, nur der Jüngste
> Mit dem einzigen Ohr ist schwarz. (B 4: 504)

Mumma, who is also black, shares a connection with the youngest son that differentiates them from the rest of the family:

> Dieser Jüngste war das Herzblatt

Seiner Mutter, die ihm spielend

Abgebissen einst ein Ohr;

Und sie fraβ es auf vor Liebe. (B 4: 504)

This very expressive display of motherly love does not correspond with the Christian portrayal of the family. Toward the end of the story this defiant aspect of Mumma's personality is restored. After the hunt for Atta Troll has ended, we learn of her fate. Contrary to the reintroduction of her character in Caput XXVI with the description of women as fragile as porcelain, she is not so:

Als des Schicksals Hand sie trennte

Von dem glorreich edlen Gatten

Starb sie nicht des Kummertodes,

Ging sie nicht in Trübsinn unter –

Nein, im Gegenteil, sie setzte

Lustig fort ihr Leben, tanzte

Nach wie vor, beim Publiko

Buhlend um den Tagesbeifall.

Eine feste Stellung, eine

Lebenslängliche Versorgung,

Hat sie endlich zu Paris

Im Jardin-des-Plantes gefunden. (B 4: 566)

Not only does she not succumb to despair, but she finds a new, more liberated position in Paris. She now dances with a renewed spirit and has even found a new lover:

> Ein gewaltger Wüstenbär
>
> Aus Sibirien, schneeweißhaarigt.
>
> Spielte dort ein überzartes
>
> Liebesspiel mit einer Bärin. (B 4: 567)

It is only after seeing the gleam in her eyes that the narrator recognizes her as Mumma. She has succeeded in finding love outside of the context of a Christian marriage. Woesler misses her autonomous expressions when he reads the above description of her as a sign of her sexual objectification. Despite his acknowledgment of her second relationship, Woesler still views her as a representation of the typical feminine:

> Wie Troll als typisch männliches Oberhaupt einer bürgerlichen Familie, so wird Mumma in der traditionellen weiblichen Rolle gezeichnet. Troll erwählte sie zur Gattin und zeugte mit ihr Kinder, die Mumma außerordentlich liebt, einen Sohn sogar bis zum Exzeß; sonst verhält sie sich passiv, sie reißt sich nicht von ihrer Kette los (Cap. II), sie wird geschlagen und erscheint als Sexualobjekt (Cap. XXVI). Nur eine einzige "Aktivität" wird außer dem Tanzen von ihr erwähnt: daß sie *heult* (Cap. I) und *Flehend, auf den Hintertatzen* (Cap. II) stehenbleibt. (230)

Woesler's interpretation also overlooks how Atta Troll is shot at the end of the story, whereas Mumma not only survives but breaks from her chains to find a better life.

Atta Troll's daughter, Liljen, falls in love with a human who has made his living by robbing soldiers. The reference to Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* underscores Atta Troll's position as a protector of his daughter's virtue:

> Gleich dem alten Odoardo,
> Der mit Bürgerstolz erdolchte
> Die Emilia Galotti,
> Würde auch der Atta Troll
>
> Seine Tochter lieber töten,
> Töten mit den eignen Tatzen,
> Als erlauben, daβ sie sänke
> In die Arme eines Prinzen! (B 4: 560)

Although Atta Troll neither kills her nor learns of her secret, her choice of an unworthy human contradicts her expected role as a "Predgerstochter."

Juliette is a minor figure in the story, whose sole purpose is as the narrator's companion. From her Shakespearean balcony, she watches Atta Troll break from his chains (B 4: 499), however she does not share her namesake's nature. Unlike the description of Juliet in *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, Juliette does not express this type of love or compassion. Instead of "Mitgefühl" she laughs as Atta Troll runs away (Heine 4: 499). Her change in character might be explained by the discovery that Heine and Mathilde were referred to by friends as Romeo and Juliette (DHA 4: 743). The text reads:

> Juliette hat im Busen

Kein Gemüt, sie ist Französin,
Lebt nach außen; doch ihr Äußres
Ist entzückend, ist bezaubernd.

Ihre Blicke sind ein süßes
Strahlennetz, in dessen Maschen
Unser Herz, gleich einem Fischlein,
Sich verfängt und zärtlich zappelt. (B 4: 499)

Juliette is not Italian, but French like Mathilde. The narrator is captivated by her powerful gaze. Her overt sexuality is reaffirmed by the narrator's comment on spending "die Hälfte / Jener Nacht" on her balcony (B 4: 501). However, there is no indication in the text that Juliette is the wife of the narrator as Ritchie Robertson concludes (73). Instead she represents a challenge to traditional gender roles as her promiscuous behavior is highlighted. When she reappears in Caput XXV, she has become the owner of Atta Troll's pelt, which she places in front of her bed (B 4: 565). The narrator often finds himself standing barefoot upon it:

O, wie oft, mit bloßen Füßen,
Stand ich Nachts auf dieser irdisch
Braunen Hülle meines Helden,
Auf der Haut des Atta Troll! (B 4: 565)

In this ironic image, the narrator stands upon the symbolic remains of bourgeois morality while he climbs into bed with his sexual partner.

The inspiration for the figure of Uraka, the witch who deals in herbs and lives in a cabin in the Pyrenees region of France, most likely came from folk tales of witches in that region (DHA 4: 765). While Heine recognizes her heritage, he resists labeling her as such:

> Ob die Alte, die Uraka,
> Wirklich eine ausgezeichnet
> Groβe Hexe, wie die Leute
> In den Pyrenän behaupten
>
> Will ich nimmernmehr entscheiden. (B 4: 535)

This ambiguity allows Heine to create her differently. The narrator only commits to describing her as "verdächtig" (B 4: 534). Her other attributes – being incredibly strong and mean – he has only heard from second-hand sources. Her characterization becomes more respectable when she is credited with running an honest business (B 4: 535). Uraka's portrayal does not match that of the flying nymphs described in *Elementargeister*, with the exception of her seductive nature. The narrator meets Uraka's dog, who explains that he was once a virtuous Swabian poet before Uraka cast a spell on him for rejecting her advances (B 4: 556). There is yet another aspect to her character besides her strong sexuality which is revealed in Caput XXI. Upon returning to Uraka's cabin, the narrator finds her preparing a red cream which she rubs on the chest of her son. The scene invokes the Christian image of the pietà:

> Wie ein Leichnam, gelb und knöchern,
> Lag der Sohn im Schoβ der Mutter;

Todestraurig, weit geöffnet

Starren seine bleichen Augen. (B 4: 550)

Whether she is as pure as the Virgin Mary or an active seductress as the dog describes, she is most definitely not the stereotypical representation of a witch. She is not an observer or foreseer of the action as are the witches in *Macbeth*, but an engaged participant. Together with her son she molds the bullets to be used in the hunt for Atta Troll (B 4: 536). She is the one who mimics the voice of Mumma in order to entice Atta Troll from his cave to be shot (B 4: 562).

From the window of Uraka's hut, the narrator observes the hunt for Atta Troll. First he sees apparitions of Goethe and Shakespeare and then "schöne Nymphen," who are reminiscent of the fairies from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Among these are three memorable figures, "Nie vergeβ ich / Diese holden Frauenbilder" (B 4: 540). The first is the goddess Diana, characterized by her white tunic and her marble skin. However, she is no longer the huntress but has been changed into a witch figure:

Wie verändert ist Diana,

Die, im Übermut der Keuschheit,

Einst den Aktäon verhirschte

Und den Hunden preisgegeben!

Büβt sie jetzt für diese Sünde

In galantester Gesellschaft?

Wie ein spukend armes Weltkind

Fährt sie nächtlich durch die Lüfte. (B 4:541)

Like the title figure from *Die Göttin Diana*, who is discussed in chapter 5, this Diana is also banished due to Christianity's triumph over the Greek gods.

Sagt, wohin seid Ihr entflohen?

Sagt, wo hauset Ihr am Tage?

Unter alten Tempeltrümmern,

Irgendwo in der Romagna,

(Also heiβt es) birgt Diana

Sich vor Christi Tagesherrschaft. (B 4: 545-6)

The second figure is the Celtic fairy, Abunde, who has a sweet smile and wears a blue nightgown that blows in the wind. In contrast to Abunde's origin as the good luck fairy (DHA 4: 770), here she does not bring good fortune. The narrator is tempted to kiss her but then realizes how such a mistake could cause his demise. As Diana is banished to the temple ruins, Abunde seeks refuge on the island of poetry, Avalun, away from the sound of church bells.

The last figure is not so easy to define, and the narrator is not sure at first whether to call her a devil or an angel (B 4: 542). She is Herodias, mistress of Herod, who desired the head of John the Baptist. Heine claims that the folk version of her story is different than the biblical one:

Denn sie liebte eins Johannem –

In der Bibel steht es nicht,

Doch im Volke lebt die Sage

Von Herodias' blutger Liebe –

Anders wär ja unerklärlich

Das Gelüste jener Dame –

Wird ein Weib das Haupt begehren

Eines Manns, den sie nicht liebt?

War vielleicht ein biβchen böse

Auf den Liebsten, lieβ ihn köpfen;

Aber als sie auf der Schüssel

Das geliebte Haupt erblickte,

Weinte sie und ward verrückt,

Und sie starb in Liebeswahnsinn. (B 4: 543)

In Heine's version she is driven to insanity out of her love for John. Herodias' behavior is reminiscent of Cleopatra's betrayal and Margaret's outrage.

Nächtlich auferstehen trägt sie,

Wie gesagt, das blutge Haupt

In der Hand, auf ihrer Jagdfahrt –

Doch mit toller Weiberlaune

Schleudert sie das Haupt zuweilen

Durch die Lüfte, kindisch lachend,

Und sie fängt es sehr behende

Wieder auf, wie einen Spielball. (B 4: 543-4)

While playing with John's head like a ball, she smiles and flirts with the narrator causing him to ponder, "Warum hast du mich so zärtlich/ Angesehen, Herodias?" (B 4: 544). Heine uses this question to further develop all three of the figures.

He returns to the portrayal of Herodias when he chooses her over the other two:

Denn ich liebe dich am meisten!
Mehr als jene Griechengöttin,
Mehr als jene Fee des Nordens,
Lieb ich dich, du tote Jüdin! (B 4: 547).

The scholarship dealing with this scene has failed to adequately answer why the narrator selects Herodias. Robertson (73) and Woesler (236-7) both see these three figures as femmes fatales. Maximilian Bergengruen even goes so far as to say that any one of them could have been given preference since they are equal: "Allerdings handelt es sich hierbei um keine hinreichende Bedingung für die Wahl der Herodias. Die eben angeführten Kriterien hätten die zwei anderen femmes fatales ebenso erfüllt" (78). While I agree in part with the assessment that these three figures are representatives of Greek antiquity, Romanticism, and Judaism, I believe that Heine is too direct about his preference for Herodias for his choice to be inconsequential. Given Heine's Jewish background, one might be tempted to interpret the narrator's preference for Herodias as a return to Judaism. However, the narrator warns that this is a false understanding.

Alte Juden, die vorbeigehn,
Glauben dann gewiß, ich traure
Ob dem Untergang des Tempels

Und der Stadt Jeroscholayim. (B 4: 548)

Like Diana and Abunde who live in exile, Herodias is permitted to rise only at night. The narrator is not bemoaning the loss of Jerusalem, but rather mourning Herodias' banishment.

I read these highly symbolic figures not as destructive females, but rather as challenges to traditional conceptions of sensuality. If we consider the overarching theme of Heine's work as an attempt to demonstrate that political messages can be poetic, then the choice of Herodias begins to make more sense. Although Heine has referenced the Greek gods in many of his works, he addresses in the foreword to *Atta Troll* his intention not to rely on them here. This may in part explain why Diana is not the chosen figure. While Heine has a tradition of appropriating Romantic elements into his works, he has continually evolved beyond the limitations of Romanticism. His letter to Laube substantiates that Romanticism had lost some of its power for him (HHP, Nov. 20, 1842). Instead, Heine turns to the poetic stories of the Bible which he radically manipulates. It is also fittingly ironic that the character Heine selects as his literary muse, the one who will help oppose the authoritarian force of Christianity, is the Jewish princess, Herodias. Carola Hilmes, likewise, argues that with Herodias Heine is not creating "den Prototyp einer Femme fatale" (123) but rather presenting a female figure who rejects "die Gebote der Keuschheit und der Passivität" (124).

In each of these female figures we have witnessed an expression of female sexuality that is not congruent with the origin of their character. Mumma and Liljen do not follow bourgeois expectations for female behavior and Juliette does not remain true to her Shakespearean model. The pietà image of Uraka does not coincide with her

seductive nature as a witch. Diana is not a Greek goddess, but resembles a witch who satiates her desire for men in quantity rather than quality (B 4: 541). Abunde is not a petite fairy but rather is "Streng gemessen" (B 4: 541). Within the passionate portrayal of Herodias, Heine has created a figure that most directly challenges Christian spirituality as the dominating social force. Even though these figures remain ancillary characters and are not developed into full protagonists, they do function as self-determining subjects. The sexual aspects of their character reflect Heine's attempt to redefine female sensuality in literature.

Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen

At first glance the similarity between Heine's *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* and Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* appears to end with the title. Because Heine's work lacks a strong, unifying narrative and instead contains a series of impressions about Heine's return trip to Germany, it seems to have little in common with its Shakespearean namesake. In contrast to *Atta Troll*, which remains more allegorical, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* contains direct political critique as Heine refers to specific people, places and events. Heine mentions in a letter to Caroline Jaubert that this work contains "de mille et une allusions insaisissables pour le lecteur français" (HHP, Dec. 16, 1844). Since French readers of the time would have been puzzled by his encrypted references it is not surprising that scholars today have focused on deciphering Heine's revolutionary message. Still, it is odd that the majority of studies on Heine's *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* barely mention Shakespeare, if at all, and that most overly simplify the very prominent female figure in this work, Hammonia.[61] If this work is examined with a greater attention to the female figures and in connection with Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, a new understanding of it unfolds, one that underscores Heine's belief in the power of literature to effect social change.

In *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen,* the narrator returns to Germany and tells about the places he visits, the food he has missed, and the people he encounters. Since the distinct events of the journey are in themselves complete stories, scholars like Jeffrey Sammons have tended to focus on the disjointed nature of this work: "One cannot claim [...] that *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* holds together as a whole; its composition is

[61] Fingerhut offers a book-length study on this work, but provides barely three pages of discussion on the figure Hammonia (73-5). There is also no apparent reference drawn to Shakespeare.

forced and awkward..." (299). While the individual vignettes stand separately from one another, a base structure unifies the entire work. Harold Bloom reminds us that "winter's tales by their very name render homage to repetition and to change" (639). If the narrator's recollections are instead considered as a winter's tale – a story that is told late in life and includes a sense of maturity and the possibility for transformation – then we have discovered not only a way to unify this work, but also a different way to interpret its ending.

Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* is about King Leontes, whose jealousy causes him to lose his family and drive his best friend into exile. For sixteen years Leontes repents the behavior that he believes has caused the death of his wife and daughter. In fact, his infant daughter Perdita was secretly taken to Bohemia and raised by a shepherd's family. She is reintroduced into the play as a young woman about to dance in a spring celebration when Florizel, a prince, professes his love for her. Heine quotes from this scene in his portrait of Perdita in *Shakespeare's Mädchen und Frauen.* Together Perdita and Florizel represent the pure, pastoral aspects of the play and contrast to the corrupt nature of the King. Unable to marry because she cannot prove her lineage, Perdita returns home. Her reunion with her father at the end of *The Winter's Tale* symbolizes the return of spring and the possibility for his rebirth. The discovery that Leontes' wife Hermione is still alive completes his redemption. Bloom describes the play in part as "a mythic celebration of resurrection and renewal" (639).

Heine's *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* similarly addresses the corruption of the government, the return from a politically imposed exile, and self revelation. As the narrator confronts the current state of Germany, he is forced to deal with his own past and

come to terms with the prospect of Germany's future. His tale begins, "im traurigen Monat November" (B 4: 577). The narrator hears "ein kleines Harfenmädchen" sing a lullaby about love, sorrow, and the hope for joy and fulfillment in heaven (B 4: 577). The narrator wishes to write a different song, "ein neues Lied, ein besseres Lied" (B 4: 578). He rejects the Christian ideology that she represents and instead desires to attain heaven on earth, "Wir wollen auf Erden glücklich sein" (B 4: 578). He expresses his new vision with the image of a wedding between "Die Jungfer Europa" and the "Geniusse der Freiheit" (B 4: 578). This marriage would be valid even if it were not sanctioned by the Church (B 4: 579). Heine's revolutionary message, therefore, clearly attacks both Christianity in general and the Church as a social institution.

In contrast to the Romantic innocence of the girl from Caput 1, Heine creates a worldly figure in Caput XXIII in the character Hammonia. Of all Heine's female figures, Hammonia in *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* is the most political. She plays various roles including that of prostitute, goddess, mother, and oracle. Such a reading of her stands in contrast to the predominant scholarship, which consistently views Hammonia as simply a destructive figure. Ross Atkinson sees her as a representation of Germany's Restoration and thus as contrary to Heine's revolutionary aspirations (197). Karlheinz Fingerhut (84) and Wilhelm Gössmann (*Literatur* 179) are unable to comprehend Hammonia as anything more than a prostitute who causes the demise of the poet. Fingerhut (85) and Jürgen Walter (250) further suggest that the relationship between the narrator and Hammonia is the antithesis of Heine's utopian vision of marriage at the beginning of the work and thereby signifies a bleak outlook for Germany's future. I instead liken Hammonia to Shakespeare's Hermione. It is Hermione's kind words to a

friend that initiate the King's jealousy, yet it is her return that completes his redemption. While Hammonia may begin as a prostitute, she progresses beyond this role and becomes the agent for the narrator's transformation. She represents Germany, its past, present, and future, and through her he is able to deal with his German past and find some hope for the country's generally bleak political future.

Hammonia is introduced as the narrator is walking the streets of Hamburg, and she stands out among the other "Helenen" (B 4: 630). The narrator describes her voluptuous appearance as she retains the characteristics of a Greek goddess. Her calves resemble Doric columns, peeking out from beneath her white tunic (B 4: 630). This image is further reinforced in an unpublished French introduction to the text.[62] There Heine indicates that she is different than the Goddess of Germany:

> Cette dernière [Hammonia] est la divinité tutélaire de la cité de Hambourg, et nous voyons ici une belle femme dont la partie inférieure au delà des reins a cette ampleur magnifique qui fait le charme célèbre de Vénus Callipige. La carnation des chairs aussi dures que le marbre de la fameuse statue rappelle le pinceau flamand de Rubens... (DHA 4: 304)

She is a large, Rubenesque woman who has a dominating presence in the text.

She knows that the narrator is looking for the women of his past. She tells him times have changed and he will no longer find them:

> Du findest die holden Blumen nicht mehr,
> Die das junge Herz vergöttert;
> Hier blühten sie – jetzt sind sie verwelkt,

[62] The DHA speculates that this text originated around 1854 and was intended to be used with the second edition of *Germania. Conte d'Hiver* (DHA 4: 1216).

Und der Sturm hat sie entblättert. (B 4: 180)

This stanza parodies Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* (DHA 4: 1149-50). As a literary figure Emilia represents virtue and is similar to Shakespeare's Perdita, who avoided the corruption of the court. These figures stand in stark contrast to the prostitutes on the streets of Hamburg. Hammonia's omnipotent position causes the narrator to question who she is:

Wer bist du? – rief ich – du schaust mich an
Wie 'n Trauma aus alten Zeiten -
Wo wohnst du, groβes Frauenbild?
Und darf ich dich begleiten? (B 4: 631)

To which Hammonia responds:

"Du irrst dich, ich bin eine feine,
Anständige, moralische Person;
Du irrst dich, ich bin nicht so Eine.

Ich bin nicht so eine kleine Mamsell,
So eine welsche Lorettin –
Denn wisse: ich bin Hammonia,
Hamburgs beschützende Göttin!" (B 4: 631)

While Hammonia's appearance and position on the street make her character suspect, her intimate knowledge of the narrator's intentions gives her the authority to offer him guidance. She is not simply a moral person, she is in fact the patron saint of the City of Hamburg. In only three verses Heine transforms her character from prostitute to an all-

knowing goddess thereby creating his most multifaceted figure to date. She is also the first figure who really has the power to effect a change in the narrator.

In Caput XXV the narrator follows her home where she becomes a mother figure. Although Joseph Kruse focuses on the seemingly negative outcome of her portrayal, he too recognizes the "mütterlich-verliebte" aspect to her character (*Heines* 325). She worries about the narrator being corrupted in France and tries to convince him to stay in Germany:

> "Ich dachte manchmal mit Schrecken dran,
> Daβ du in dem sittenlosen
> Paris so ganz ohne Aufsicht lebst,
> Bei jenen frivolen Franzosen. (B 4: 635)

She explains to him the current state of Germany, pointing out how things have improved. She tries to show him that he also has changed and has the ability to see things differently:

> Du selber bist älter und milder jetzt,
> Wirst dich in manches schicken,
> Und wirst sogar die Vergangenheit
> In besserem Lichte erblicken. (B 4: 636)

She promises to reveal to him Germany's future if he swears to keep it a secret. His oath takes on a sexual form:

> Ich hob das Gewand der Göttin auf
> Und legte an ihre Hüften
> Die Hand, gelobend Verschwiegenheit

In Reden und in Schriften. (B 4: 638)

In Caput XXVI she becomes Germany's oracle. As Perdita did in Shakespeare's play, Hammonia must provide proof of her noble heritage. She does so by revealing herself as the daughter of the monarch Carolus Magnus. In a bitter twist of irony, Heine compares the emperor's coronation stool to his chamber pot, which Hammonia inherited. She tells the narrator to look inside the pot to see the future of Germany. Since this work in its entirety is a criticism of the Restoration and its attempts to restrict civil liberties, what the narrator sees is no surprise. His simple response, that "it stinks" is more than adequate to complete the imagery of the scene. But as he is consoled on Hammonia's breast the scene takes on an unexpected change, one that for the most part has been viewed negatively by scholars.

Mir schwanden die Sinne, und als ich aufschlug
Die Augen, saβ ich an der Seite
Der Göttin noch immer, es lehnte mein Haupt
An ihre Brust, die breite.

Es blitzte ihr Blick, es glühte ihr Mund,
Es zuckten die Nüstern der Nase,
Bacchantisch umschlang sie den Dichter und sang
Mit schauerlich wilder Ekstase: (B 4: 640)

Her sexuality is more prominent than before as we recognize by Heine's use of the adjective "Bacchantisch." Through her singing and dancing she begs him to stay and promises to love him as a German poet (B 4: 640). She then begins to hear wedding

music. In her own words she describes her vision of their wedding day. It ends tragically as diplomats, priests, and rabbis arrive with their censorship scissors and cut out his flesh (B 4: 641). This wedding scene can be understood as a realization of the metaphorical marriage from the beginning of the work. However, most scholars interpret the tragic end, the cutting into the narrator's flesh, to symbolize his castration and resulting impotence as a poet and the failure of his new European vision.[63] I view the end instead as his symbolic death allowing for his rebirth in the following Caput.

After spending the night with Hammonia, he is transformed. In contrast to the beginning of the tale, which took place in November, the story of his "Wundernacht" with Hammonia is a more fitting story to be told "In warmen Sommertagen" (B 4: 641). What develops from their union is his restored hope for Germany's future, which lies in its youth:

> Es wächst heran ein neues Geschlecht,
> Ganz ohne Schminke und Sünden,
> Mit freien Gedanken, mit freier Lust –
> Dem werde ich Alles verkünden. (B 4: 642)

The new generation is one without disguise or sin, which engages instead in free thought and freedom of passion. This is the realization that was hinted at in Caput I with the marriage between Europe and freedom. Contrary to what most scholars have claimed, the narrator here finds promise and hope for Germany. Optimism is reflected in the following stanzas:

> Schon knospet die Jugend, welche versteht

[63] (Atkinson 197; Fingerhut 84; Kruse, *Heines*, 325; Walter 250)

Des Dichters Stolz und Güte,

Und sich an seinem Herzen wärmt,

An seinem Sonnengemüte.

Mein Herz ist liebend wie das Licht

Und rein und keusch wie das Feuer;

Die edelsten Grazien haben gestimmt

Die Saiten meiner Leier (B 4: 642)

The narrator's strings have been tuned. He has been re-born in a similar manner to Leontes. He can now envision a positive direction for Germany. It lies not only in the youth but also in the poets. As the narrator reflects on his literary strategy, which contains elements borrowed from the past, he advises the king to honor past poets and forgive the present ones. The criticism of the Prussian Restoration throughout this work has now been simplified into this charge. Just as Leontes was absolved of his sins when he was reunited with his family, Heine appeals to the government to accept his restored loyalty.

In the figure of Hammonia, Heine has not only written a physically bold figure, but also one that is active. As she encourages the narrator to follow her, he is almost intimidated by her presence:

Du stutzest und erschreckst sogar,

Du sonst so mutiger Sänger!

Willst du mich noch begleiten jetzt?

Wohlan, so zögre nicht länger." (B 4: 631)

Not only does she lead him and offer him new information, but she also knows his past. She invites him home with her and in her own words shares her knowledge of Germany with him. She is a sexual subject who does not destroy her mate, but rather offers him the opportunity to grow. To view her simply as a prostitute overlooks the ways that this political text addresses the issue of women's emancipation.

CHAPTER 5
THE GODDESS AND THE DEVIL

In the two ballet scenarios, *Die Göttin Diana* (1854) and *Der Doktor Faust* (1851) Heine once again brings to life the elemental spirits and the Greek goddesses Diana, Helen, and Venus. In addition to the enhanced importance of these female figures within the narrative, Heine also envisions a female devil, Mephistophela. *Die Göttin Diana* was written early in 1846 and *Der Doktor Faust* later that year. When these works were eventually published, neither received much critical attention (DHA 9: 647, 736). The London theater director Benjamin Lumley, who had originally commissioned Heine to write these ballets, ultimately decided against producing them. Even today these works remain in the shadows of Heine scholarship.[64] This neglect is surprising considering that the interplay between spirituality and sensuality, an underlying theme in much of Heine's writing, is the central focus of them.

Der Doktor Faust: Ein Tanzpoem nebst kuriosen Berichten über Teufel, Hexen und Dichtkunst is the title of the manuscript which includes "Einleitende Bemerkung," a thirteen-page scenario, and Heine's additional "Erläuterungen" (DHA 9: 753).[65] *Die Göttin Diana* is approximately the same length as the scenario for *Der Doktor Faust* (DHA 9: 69-81). But despite the brevity of these works, they represent the apotheosis of Heine's development of female figures. In contrast to Heine's typical free-flowing prose style, here he is concise in his descriptions of the scenes, giving specific details about the dancing styles, costumes, lighting, and stage design necessary to convey his vision. As the subtitle "Tanzpoem" implies, these works are poetic in nature not only in Heine's

[64] The Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Mühlpfordt bibliography lists only four studies specifically on Heine's *Der Doktor Faust* newer than 1990 and only one German study on *Die Göttin Diana.*
[65] In the 1851 publication the scenario was ten pages, 5-14, in the DHA (9) it is on pages 85-97.

choice of words, but in his use of contrasting imagery to heighten the tension in both pieces. All of this affects his portrayals of the leading women in these scenarios, who are less ambiguous and more directly described and incorporated into the story. Although Heine could easily set aside supporting female figures in his other works, here he is required to resolve the actions of his more integral female characters.

Heine addresses the restrictions of this literary medium in his "Erläuterungen." The original purpose of this supplemental text was to provide Lumley with the necessary background information about the legend of Faust so that he could pass it on to the audience (DHA 9: 687). Today this text provides us with valuable information on how Heine viewed his version of the Faust legend within the literary tradition, especially his choice of a female devil. When *Die Göttin Diana* was finally published, Heine provided introductory comments, explaining its thematic connections to *Elementargeister* and *Die Götter im Exil* (1854). It is therefore necessary to remember the mystery, excitement, and wonder that he wrote into those stories as we seek to interpret the meaning of the Greek goddesses and elemental spirits in this context.

The two lead female figures, Diana and Mephistophela, are different from any other characters in Heine's works. They are the first female protagonists to drive the action of the story and determine the fate of their male partners. While there are numerous ancillary female figures who resemble those from Heine's other works, Diana and Mephistophela are as alluring as they are strong. Through dance these two figures express themselves with autonomy and exhibit their sexuality. Most importantly they transform from mythological and legendary clichés into multidimensional, active characters.

In spite of Lia Secci's desire to offer a "feministisch inspirierte Interpretation" of *Die Göttin Diana* and *Der Doktor Faust*, she fails to recognize the strength and power that Heine wrote into the female figures in these works. Citing the "Willis" from *Elementargeister*, Laurence from *Florentinische Nächte*, and Mephistophela from *Der Doktor Faust*, Secci concludes that all these female figures are negative portrayals due to their association with death (97). She writes, "Diese weiblichen Gestalten drücken auf die geeignetste Weise das Gefühl der Entfremdung von der historischen Wirklichkeit, der ästhetischen Dekadenz, der nekrophilen, vampirhaften Entartung des klassischen-romantischen Eros aus" (Secci 97). As I have argued previously, these are not macabre figures, but sensual ones. Secci further concludes that Heine follows a patriarchal ideology in his Dionysian portrayals:

> Man könnte also zu der Folgerung kommen, daβ auch Heine seinen Beitrag zur patriarchalischen Ideologie leistet, die der Frau den negativen Pol der Passivität, der sozialen und intellektuellen Machtlosigkeit, der erotischen Repression und Perversion zuweist – wobei dem Mann der positive Pol des Intellektes, der sozialpolitischen Tat, der sexuellen Initiative zugeschreiben wird. (98)

Again, I disagree with her reading and believe the reverse of her analysis to be true. Especially in the two ballet scenarios, it is the women who show their intelligence and take the sexual initiative, whereas the men follow behind.

Die Göttin Diana begins with a Greek statue coming to life. In the same spirit as the opening scene in *Florentinische Nächte* and the legend described in *Elementargeister,* here there is a young German knight who finds temple ruins and sees a marble statue.

But this time instead of the statue itself coming to life Diana is hiding behind it. She is dressed to reveal her huntress nature, and in the moment that the knight picks up a knife and contemplates offering himself to the gods, she grabs his arm, forcing him to release his grip. This is the first but not the last time that she saves his life. They then exchange glances, "beide schauen sich an" (B 6/1: 429). The look is reciprocal and neither person is objectified because they both participate equally. After this they begin a dance that reflects the progression of their courtship and ends in an embrace. Diana shares with the knight her knowledge that the old gods are not dead, but in hiding. At this point Apollo and his muses along with Bacchus and his Bacchantes enter the stage and everyone engages in a joyful, passionate dance. Max Niehaus rightly recognizes that to Heine dance means multiple things, "Der Tanz ist ihm bald Erlebnis sinnlicher Realität, bald Spiegel der Zeit oder des Seelischen, bald Gleichnis oder Symbol" (11). Here it is used to portray how mankind is reunited with the Greek gods.

Heine specifically chooses Apollo and Bacchus as the gods to come out of their exile. Secci reminds us that Heine often refers to the female Bacchantes who accompany Bacchus, and repeatedly uses the name as an adjective (91). The other text where Bacchus himself is portrayed is in *Die Götter im Exil* (1854). There Heine explains how Bacchus was the God of Celebration, who since his banishment has been allowed to partake in festivities only once a year. Apollo's exile in that work is also briefly noted. He lived as a shepherd in Austria until his beautiful singing raised suspicion among the people. In *Die Göttin Diana* Heine uses Apollo and Bacchus not only for their association with music and feasting, but more importantly for their inherent link between gods and humans. Edith Hamilton describes Apollo as "the most Greek of all the gods"

but also as the one who taught mankind the art of healing. He is the God of Light and of Truth (29). Bacchus (or Dionysus) is the only god whose parents were not both divine. Born in a valley he became the God of the Vine and therefore is associated with wine (Hamilton 65). As an adult he saved his mother from death and brought her to live at Olympus, where she was received by the gods (Hamilton 67). The way that the goddess Diana and the mortal German knight are surrounded by these two gods and their followers as they dance at the close of this act symbolizes the temporary restoration of Greek harmony. When this unity is compromised the healing powers of Apollo and Bacchus will be called upon to mend the situation.

The *Zweites Tableau* brings the banished gods back into society through the public sphere of the court. This is a scene of extreme opposition, pinning the unpredictability and emotion of the Greek world with that of the strict, precise nature of the court. In Heine's articulate description of the costumes and types of dances it is clear that he is trying to show that modern man is not ready to accept the unregulated freedom of the erotic world of the gods. This idea is presented visually as Diana "dances" or rather fights in a martial arts manner with the knight's wife. It is a "Pas-de-deux, wo griechisch heidnische Götterlust mit der germanisch spiritualistischen Haustugend einen Zweikampf tanzt" (B 6/1: 431). It seems as though there will be no reconciliation between these two opposing worlds.

In the *Drittes Tableau* the knight has escaped courtly society and is searching in the woods for Diana when he is held back by the elemental spirits who try to seduce him. Whereas in the *Zweites Tableau* Diana did not fit easily into the knight's environment, here he has difficulty navigating hers. The same fairies, nymphs and salamanders that

Heine so thoroughly explained in *Elementargeister* are re-created here. Only on hearing Diana's hunting horns is the knight able to tear himself away from them. He is once again saved by her. After recognizing that they cannot exist in either realm, Diana and the knight seek refuge on the *Venusberg*. However, the protector of Christian spirituality, "der treue Eckart," prevents them from entering (B 6/1: 433).[66] Eckart challenges the knight to a duel and slays him, believing that he has saved his soul from corruption.

Distraught, Diana brings the body of the knight to the *Venusberg* and asks the gods for help in the final act, *Viertes Tableau.* The period is the Renaissance, as reflected by the Corinthian columns, the paintings of Venus, and marble vases with exotic flowers that decorate the scene. It is populated by people who fostered artistic and poetic expression from different time periods: "sie selber sind eben die berühmten Männer und Frauen der antiken und mittelalterischen Welt, die der Volksglaube, wegen ihres sensualistischen Rufes oder wegen ihrer Fabelhaftigkeit in den Vensuberg versetzt hat" (B 6/1: 434). Among the inhabitants are some of Heine's most treasured female characters: Helen of Sparta, Cleopatra, and Herodias. Naturally Venus and Tannhäuser are also present, dancing passionately. The gaiety of the scene is interrupted when Diana arrives with the body of the knight. Apollo tries to revive him by using music, but he is able to awaken the knight only briefly. Bacchus then tries, and through his offer of music and wine the knight is revived. What Bacchus once did for his mother by bringing her to Olympus, he does for the knight by restoring his body so that he may reside on the *Venusberg*. Once the knight is brought back to life, he and Diana take their place as leaders of the mountain, receiving wreaths of roses from Venus and Tannhäuser. Although the gods and humans were unable to create a sustainable relationship on earth,

[66] This figure is most familiar from Ludwig Tieck's "Der getreue Eckart und Tannhäuser" (1799).

Diana and the knight are able to co-exist within the sanctuary of the mountain, where harmony and sensuality are allowed to prevail.

Diana's actions lead the narrative. She introduces the knight to the banished gods, protects him from the power of the elemental spirits, and brings him to the mountain to revive him after he has been slain. She is a sensual subject from the beginning of the ballet and remains so throughout. She does not undergo a transformation as do most of Heine's other female figures. Since she was never defined by the knight's idealization of her, she does not have to change or become more realistic for the story to unfold. The inherent conflict in their relationship – she is a goddess and he a human – is resolved not in a bitter reality, nor in a fantasy, but rather on the Venusberg, which is a combination of both worlds. Diana and the knight are appropriately welcomed onto the mountain by Venus and Tannhäuser. The fact that both couples reside in the mountain underscores it as the only place for a sensual, modern portrayal of love to exist.

Diana is similar to Mephistophela, Heine's other female protagonist. In *Der Doktor Faust*, Mephistophela leads Faust in and out of different time periods as he searches for his ideal mate. Considering the frame of the legend, there is no way for Mephistophela's and Faust's relationship to end in a compromise. The question, then, is where Faust finds temporary fulfillment and harmony and where he experiences harsh reality.

In a letter to Benjamin Lumley that has been preserved only in English

translation,[67] Heine offers a provisional title for his ballet and refers to the accompanying "Erläuterungen" as a "brochure":

> My brochure ought to be very interesting to those who only know the "Faust" of Goethe. I shall, therefore, at some future time, publish it in German, but in an amplified form, [...] Keep the name of my ballet a secret till the last, and in case of necessity, call it "Astaroth." I have shown in my letter that this name, as well as Mephistopheles, belonged to the demon invoked by Faust; and hence in your announcements you may fairly make use of it as a provisional title. (HHP, Feb. 27, 1847)

In Heine's "Erläuterungen" to *Der Doktor Faust* he explains how a particular version of the Faust legend interests him. It was published by Karl Simrock and titled, "Clavis Astarti de magica" (381). In this version Faust is tempted by the devil, Astaroth, who Heine explains is a female, "Astaroth ritt aber wirklich allerliebst und war ein schlankes, hübsches Mädchen mit den größten, schwarzen Augen der Hölle" (B 6/1 383). Astaroth offers Faust different women and Heine paraphrases the legend:

> Nachdem der Teufelsbund geschlossen, bringt Astaroth mehrer schöne Weiber in Vorschlag, die er dem Faust anpriest, z.B. die Judith. Ich will keine Kopfabschneiderin, antwortet jener. Willst du die Cleopatra? fragt alsdann der Geist. Auch diese nicht, erwidert Faust, sie ist zu verschwenderisch, zu kostspielig und hat sogar den reichen Antonius ruinieren können; sie säuft Perlen. So rekommandiere ich dir die schöne Helena von Sparta, spricht lächelnd der Geist und setzt ironish hinzu: mit dieser Person kannst du Griechisch sprechen. Der gelehrte Doktor ist

[67] The letter was originally in French.

entzückt über diese Proposition und fordert jetzt, daβ der Geist ihm körperliche Schönheit und ein prächtiges Kleid verleihe.... (B 6/1: 382)

While Judith and other Old Testament figures appear in various puppet plays, the inclusion of Cleopatra is most likely Heine's own addition (DHA 9: 828). Just as in Simrock's version, Heine's Faust also desires Helen of Sparta.

In 1824 Heine apparently told his student friend Eduard Wedekind how his Faust version would differ from Goethe's were he to write one. According to one of the comments Wedekind wrote in his journal, Heine's Mephistopheles would be a dominating power (DHA 9: 729). Wedekind wrote, "Bei Goethe handelt Faust immer, er ist es, welcher dem Mephisto befiehlt, dies und das zu tun. Bei Heine aber soll der Mephisto das handelnde Prinzip sein, der den Faust zu allen Teufeleien verführt" (qtd. in DHA 9: 729). This is exactly what Mephistophela does as she leads Faust to three potential female partners.

Although Heine did not express a desire in 1824 to write his devil as a female, he does allude to this possibility in *Elementargeister* where he admits that the devil can take on any form (Heine 3: 675). To dismiss this change in gender as purely structural – Faust needed a partner to dance with – as Günther Mahal (420) and George F. Peters (431-2) have suggested, undermines Mephistophela's role as a representation of sensuality. Heine also claims in the "Erläuterungen" to have chosen the female ballerina for the form of his devil because it is closer to the tradition of the Faust legend (B 6/1: 338).

Mephistophela first appears in the ballet scenario in the form of a Tiger, but Faust hardly notices (B 6/1: 357-8). When she appears as a snake, the biblical symbol for

knowledge, he is likewise uninterested. Only when she takes on the form of a ballerina with a graceful body does she gain Faust's attention:

> Faust ist anfänglich darob befremdet, daβ der beschworene Teufel Mephistopheles keine unheilvollere Gestalt annehment konnte als die einer Ballettänzerin, doch zuletzt gefällt ihm diese lächelnd anmutige Erscheinung und er mach ihr ein gravitätisches Kompliment. (B 6/1: 358)

She parodies his compliment by dancing around him in a "kokett" manner (B 6/1: 358). Mephistophela cannot lure him with intellectual rewards but she can entice him into making a pact with her by conjuring up the image of a possible mate.

Before Faust will sign a contract with her, he wants to see proof of her "höllischen Mächte" (B 6/1: 359). She is no longer a coquettish ballerina as she produces an array of "Ungetüme" for Faust's approval. He responds by conjuring up an equally unusual collection of creatures. Mephistophela's powers for the moment match Faust's. However, with the wave of her wand she changes the monstrous figures into ballet dancers and produces in the mirror the image of a beautiful duchess. This image arouses Faust's interest and he signs away an afterlife in heaven in exchange for the immediate rewards of "irdische Genüsse" (Heine 6/1: 360). This idea coincides with what Heine wrote about the devil in *Elementargeister*. There he claimed that in the original puppet plays of the legend Faust was likewise tempted by the "Befriedigung aller irdischen Genüsse" (B 3: 677).

After her initial display of magical powers, she further exerts her dominance over Faust by teaching him to dance. Along with her entourage of dancers, Mephistophela instructs him how to move his body. This scene is overtly sexual:

> Mephistophela gibt dem Faust jetzt Tanzunterricht, und zeigt ihm all Kunststücke und Handgriffe, oder vielmehr Fußgriffe des Metiers. Die Unbeholfenheit und Steifheit des Gelehrten, der die zierlich leichten Pas nachahmen will, bilden die ergötzlichsten Effekte und Kontraste. Die teuflischen Tänzerinnen wollen auch hier nachhelfen, jede sucht auf eigne Weise die Lehre durch Beispiel zu erklären, eine wirft den armen Doktor in die Arme der andern, die mit ihm herumwirbelt; er wird hin und her gezerrt, doch durch die Macht der Liebe und des Zauberstabs, der die unfolgsamen Glieder allmählich gelenkig schlägt, erreicht der Lehrling der Choreographie zuletzt die höchtse Fertigkeit: er tanzt ein brillantes Pas-de-deux mit Mephistophela, und zur Freude seiner Kunstgenossinnen fliegt er auch mit ihnen umher in den wunderlichsten Figuren. (B 6/1: 360)

Faust learns from Mephistophela what he needs to know in order to seduce his duchess. Robert E. Stiefel appropriately recognizes this scene as "lessons in the art of seduction" (190).

Faust's first encounter with the duchess is in the second act, where the scene is dominated by courtly order and Rococo ornamentation. Just as the *Zweites Tableau* in *Die Göttin Diana* stands in contrast with the bacchanal dancing in the previous scene, so does this scene stand in opposition to the dance of seduction between Faust and Mephistophela in act one. To further highlight their difference, Heine has Mephistophela and the duke parody the dance between Faust and the duchess. As a final indication that Faust's relationship with the duchess is false and overly stylized, Heine includes the detail of her golden left shoe, a sign that she is the bride of Satan. She represents the corruption of nobility and readily accepts Faust's invitation to a witches' Sabbath.

Act three is similar to the gaiety of the Greek celebrations in the *Erstes Tableau* of *Die Göttin Diana*, but here the fantastical world of Greek mythology has been replaced by a Baroque "Maskenball" (B 6/1: 364). Heine describes the surreal nature of the scene:

> Wie barock, bizarre und abenteuerlich auch manche dieser Gestalten, so dürfen sie dennoch den Schönheitssinn nicht verletzen, und der häβliche Eindruck des Fratzenwesens wird gemildert oder verwischt durch märchenhafte Pracht und positives Grauen. (Heine 6/1: 364)

Despite the positive qualities Heine attributes to this witches' Sabbath, there is a false pretense to the scene. Mephistophela's dance highlights this:

> ...doch während Faust und die Herzogin die ganze Stufenleiter einer wahren Leidenschaft, einer wilden Liebe, durchtanzen, ist der Zweitanz der Mephistophela und ihres Partners, als Gegensatz, nur der buhlerishe Ausdruck der Galanterie, der zärtlichen Lüge, der sich selbst persiflierenden Lüsternheit. (B 6/1: 364-5)

Mephistophela's dance once again mocks Faust and his chosen mate. The duchess willingly accepts Faust's physical advances and at the "Höhe ihres Liebestaumels" they exit the scene (B 6/1: 365). There is no lack of sensuality in their relationship, but the continual presence of her husband, the duke, marks her behavior as deceptive. Upon their return Faust refuses the duchess' caresses, "Er gibt ihr seinen Überdruβ und Widerwillen in unzweideutiger Weise zu erkennen" (B 6/1: 365), thereby proving what Mephistophela already knew. As the duchess is called to dance a minuet with her husband, Faust watches with "Widerwillen" and "Ekel" (B 6/1: 366). He expresses his dislike for the "Verhöhnung der kirchlichen Aszetik" that this gothic scene represents and

desires instead Greek harmony (B 6/1: 366). Mephistophela conjures up the image of Helen of Sparta and Faust immediately reacts with interest. Together they fly away and escape the duchess.

They arrive in act four on the Greek island of Sparta, which stands in direct contrast to the previous scene:

> Alles atmet hier griechische Heiterkeit, ambrosischen Götterfrieden, klassische Ruhe. Nichts erinnert an ein neblichtes Jenseits, an mystische Wollust- und Angstschauer, an überirdische Ekstase eines Geistes, der sich von der Körperlichkeit emanzipiert: hier ist alles reale plastische Seligkeit ohne retrospective Wehmut, ohne ahnende leere Sehnsucht. (B 6/1: 367)

Consistent with Heine's representation of Helen in *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, she is introduced here as "die schönste Frau der Poesie," dancing before the temple of Venus (B 6/1: 367). Helen and her followers dance for Faust and Mephistophela and offer them food and drink. They accept her offer by dancing and exchanging their "mittealterlich romantische Kleidung" for "einfach herrliche griechische Gewänder" (B 6/1: 367). Then the three of them, Faust, Helen, and Mephistophela engage together in a mythological dance. The inclusion of Mephistophela in this dance is not only a reminder of Faust's imminent doom, but also a validation of this scene, since she does not ridicule him by dancing in a contrasting style with another partner. Once Faust and Helen take their places on the throne, Mephistophela inspires Helen's nymphs to trade their crowns of rose and myrtle for ones made of vine. She then leads them in a bacchanal dance, which resembles a pantomimed war, the Trojan war. The entire scene is described as a

"heroische Pastorale" (B 6/1: 368). Just then the duchess in a jealous rage flies in on her bat and destroys the tranquility. Mephistophela continues to dance with the nymphs so that they stand in joyful contrast to the scorn of the duchess. Unable to control her temper, the duchess waves her magic wand and the island is immediately transformed as if by a powerful storm. Faust is angered that the duchess has destroyed his chance at happiness and attacks her, boring his sword into her chest. Contrary to Stiefel's reading that the demise of the scene is caused by Mephistophela (191), she simply observes it with "Schadenfreude" (B 6/1: 368), until she actually orchestrates his rescue: "Mephistophela hat die beiden Zauberrappen wieder herbeigeführt, sie treibt den Faust angstvoll an, sich schnell aufzuschwingen, und reitet mit ihm davon durch die Luft" (B 6/1369).

Even before the fifth and final act, there is no doubt that Faust is running out of possibilities. For Heine, who has continually envisioned Greek antiquity as his poetic goal, the destruction of Helen and the island of Sparta signals Faust's impending demise. The last scene is representative of the Reformation. Under the dominating presence of a cathedral, the townspeople participate in a folk festival, and the entire scene reinforces the values of virtue and purity. The mayor sits under a tree alongside his wife and blonde-haired daughter, who, as Peters points out, is reminiscent of Goethe's Gretchen (434). As Faust is mesmerized by the daughter's "reine Natürlichkeit, Zucht und Schöne" he asks for the father's permission to marry her (B 6/1: 370). Believing that he has found happiness in the "bescheiden süβen Stilleben" he and his bride proceed toward the church (B 6/1: 371). Mephistophela intervenes in the procession, demanding that Faust follow her. When he disobeys, she causes a great storm and all run for shelter to

the church. Faust also desires to flee there, but a black hand rises from below and holds him back. Mephistophela triumphantly presents him with the signed parchment roll. Despite Faust's attempts to delay his fate, Mephistophela insists on the fulfillment of his contract. She turns into a snake, strangles him, and together they sink into the earth as church bells ring in the background. By framing the scene within the dominating presence of the cathedral in the beginning and the ringing of the bells at the end, Heine parodies the Christian Faust legend that emphasizes the victory of spirituality over sensuality.

Mephistophela is portrayed in this text as intelligent, sexual, and powerful. Her magical abilities exceed Faust's. She is not a passive observer, but rather the one who participates in the action and orchestrates Faust's movement between scenes. It is through her help that Faust is able to experience both earthly pleasures and idyllic harmony, even if neither is sustainable.

Mephistophela may be a powerful devil, but she is not merely the stereotype of evil. Diana may be a strong goddess, but she does more to restore sensuality to human existence than deny it. As sensual subjects, Diana and Mephistophela have the ability to introduce their male partners to material realms they could never experience on their own. The fact that their existence in these sensual worlds cannot be maintained is not the fault of these women. Rather, it once again represents Heine's criticism of the socio-political and religious climate of the times.

CONCLUSION

In honor of Heine's 200th birthday, Joseph A. Kruse, director of the Heinrich-Heine-Institut in Düsseldorf, edited a commemorative volume of essays written in connection with Heine's international birthday exhibition. This weighty, illustrated book, *"Ich Narr des Glücks": Heinrich Heine 1797-1856: Bilder einer Ausstellung* (1997), includes not only the voices of many Heine scholars, but also of many recognizable names from outside the field. One entry is by German feminist Alice Schwarzer. She uses the form of a letter to write a provocative attack on Heine for his exclusion of women in his revolutionary vision. Frustrated by his lack of inspiring female figures, Schwarzer compares herself to Mumma from *Atta Troll.* She cannot completely disavow her love for Heine, in the same way that "die dumpfe Mumma" did not break from her chains but remained dancing for her "Sklaventreiber" (363). With respect to *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Schwarzer complains of having to choose between identifying with a nurturing mother or a "bedienende Hure" (363). Schwarzer broadly dismisses Heine's female portrayals as negative and stereotypical. Further, she contends that Heine did not address women's emancipation in his writing in general: "Doch bis auf die einmalige Erwähnung der 'groβen Frauenfrage' (als eine der Fragen des Jahrhunderts) hat die Begegnung mit dem Feminismus kaum Spuren bei dir hinterlassen..." (Schwarzer 364). While such a damning view of Heine's treatment of women in his creative writing has pervaded most contemporary Heine scholarship, it is truly surprising that Schwarzer misses the degree to which Heine *does* address the issue of women's emancipation in his writings. Once we stop reading false expectations into

Heine's works, we can recognize that Mumma breaks from her chains and Hammonia is not a whore but a source of inspiration and hope.

Beginning with Heine's *Buch der Lieder* this study focused on how the female figures in these poems behaved unexpectedly. The romantic muse did not solely provide inspiration to the poet, but also prepared his coffin and grave. The marble sphinx scratches the narrator in a way that both excites him and causes him pain. The fantastical nymph transports the knight to a castle and then disappears. The female corpse is not grotesque, but rather in her arms the narrator seeks refuge from the outside world. Heine creates these figures using Romantic imagery, but incorporates a challenge to those literary clichés.

In the 1830's Heine's portrayals of women began to change in his works as they evolved to take on a greater significance in the text. The figure of Laurence in *Florentinische Nächte* is developed throughout the last half of the novella. She is introduced at first as a mysterious street performer, but evolves into a sophistical woman of the salon, and finally a romantic partner for the narrator Maximilian. By the end of the novella Laurence is not only the most realistically defined character but also the most sensual. This merging of realism and sensuality is a deviation from Heine's more simplistic characters, who retain their allure by remaining within the fantastical realm. Venus in the Tannhäuser poem is another example of a female figure created by Heine who is socially relevant and also rich and expressive.

In *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* we see how Heine engaged with other literary portrayals of women. His preferences for Shakespeare's passionate characters, even ones who are vengeful or destructive, becomes apparent. In *Elementargeister* Heine

discusses folklore and myth with close attention to the way females have been represented in these stories. He is especially interested in portrayals of powerful women, who are determined, dangerously seductive, or motivated by love.

The two epic poems *Atta Troll* and *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* contain multiple female characters who are initially described as being a part of a literary, religious, or mythological tradition. However, Heine radically changes the way one might expect these characters to behave as they evolve beyond their roots. As these figures are transformed they become the site of his social critique as modern conceptualizations of the female in literature.

His female portrayals are most fully developed in the two ballet scenarios, *Die Göttin Diana* and *Der Doktor Faust*. In these two works, Heine created female figures who are independent, strong, intelligent, sexual, and alluring. They are the initiators of the story and are responsible for the fate of the male protagonists.

The transformation of Heine's female figures throughout his career reflects, in part, his consideration of the changing position of women in society. His close friendships with Rahel Varnhagen, Cristina Belgiojoso, George Sand, and Fanny Lewald brought him in contact with women who were defining themselves in new, liberated ways. Varnhagen, Belgiojoso, and Sand are all specifically referred to in his essays. Heine values Varnhagen's literary opinion of Börne in the first book of *Ludwig Börne. Eine Denkschrift*. Heine struggles to reconcile Belgiojoso's feminine beauty with her intelligence in his remarks about women writers in *Briefe über Deutschland*. Despite the initial critical tone in his article about the opening of Sand's play in *Lutezia*, Heine was actually disappointed that she did not write something more in alignment with her radical

views. His subsequent essay about her praises her abilities as a writer. Heine's conversations with Lewald, as preserved in her memoirs, indicate that he was aware of the need to re-define marriage. His careful reading and discussion of her *Wandlungen* show that he gave her work serious consideration. In subtle ways these women also left their impressions on his poetic works. The library scene in *Harzreise* bears remarkable resemblance to Varnhagen's "Zweiter Traum." The depiction of Bellini's companion at the salon in *Florentinische Nächte* matches almost verbatim a flattering description of Belgiojoso in one of Heine's letters to her. The character of Mademoiselle Laurence is composed of many different images, one of which is the association with George Sand.

In this study I have concentrated on Heine's fictional portrayals of women and less on his direct confrontation with issues of women's emancipation. For the latter topic, Koon-Ho Lee's study provides sufficient evidence that Heine does address this question in his essays and letters. Even though Lee examines different texts by Heine and asks a slightly different question than I, it is significant that he reaches a similar conclusion: the relationships Heine had with intelligent women affected his perception of women in general. Lee writes about Heine's relationship with Varnhagen:

> Die Qualität ihrer Beziehung und ihrer geistigen Verwandtschaft macht sinnfällig, daβ Heine sich über den geistigen und menschlichen Verkehr mit Rahel auch ihr frauenemanzipatorisches Gedankengut zur Kenntnis genommen und angeeignet hat. Im Grunde genommen wurden sein sozial reflektiertes Interesse an der Frau und seine für damalige Verhältnisse unkonventionelle Vorstellungen vom Geschlechterverhältnis durch seine Gönnerin geweckt. (194)

Although Schwarzer and others have insisted on Heine's neglect of women in his emancipation message, Lee's study and mine help restore Heine's recognition of them. Even if Heine's political views about women's emancipation remain ambiguous, he clearly envisions a larger, more developed role for women in his literary portrayals.

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