

Goethe, Heine and their Journey through Veneto

Describing journeys to and impressions in Venice are no rarity in German literature of the 18th-20th century, Venice being of the major attractions for poets like Goethe, Heine, Rilke, Thomas Mann and many others who adapted their experiences in the lagoon city in literary texts of different sort. One of the most famous classical German travel literature (*Reiseliteratur*) is Goethe's *Italian journey*, in which the German poet immortalized his long and adventurous travel from the north of Italy down to Palermo and back in 1786-1788. However, the focus of the paper will lie less on the whole *Italian Journey (Italienreise)*, but rather on Goethe's impressions in the region(s) of Veneto, including Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Venice and the surroundings (like the Lake Garda). By means of a close reading the questions will be examined, in what terms Goethe shows an intercultural perspective, respectively, what kind of relation between Italian nature of culture of the Venetian region his text reveals.

Secondly, the paper will ask, in its second part, in what terms a later German poet and traveller, Heinrich Heine, reflects or "revokes" Goethe's *Italian Journey*. It will be shown, for instance, that the description of the amphitheatre in Verona in the 24th chapter of Heine's *Journey from Munich to Genoa (Reise von München nach Genua, 1828)* can be regarded as a correction of Goethe's "real" Italian experience. When dealing with aspects of Goethe's image of Italy in general and Veneto in particular, Heine developed a typical ironic perspective that will also be examined in the paper.

Keywords: Goethe, Heine. travel literature, Veneto, Italian nature and culture, irony.

Travel literature (travel report, travelogue) can be understood as a diary, a letter, as part of an autobiography, etc. In terms of content, it is tied to the external phenomenon of travel. This reference to reality in this literature has several consequences:

1. The development of the travel report is closely linked to the cultural and social history of travel and the history of transport.
2. Travel literature is often associated with a claim to authenticity, i.e. the travel report must be credible. Rhetorical and literary strategies can be used to create the effect of authenticity.
3. The travel report can be characterized by different degrees of literariness. Since the end of the 18th century, the genre had been caught in the tension between the transmission of information and the claim to be art and/or entertainment.
4. By describing a foreign culture, a travel report shapes attitudes towards it: in the way the foreign culture is dealt with and demarcated, patterns of interpretation and dispositions from the history of mentality emerge, whereas the 'own' ("*das Eigene*") also comes to light.

Under the influence of Lawrence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768), travel literature underwent a radical subjectification and literarization. This also applies for the German literature of the period. Since the second half of the 18th century, trips to Italy have had a special status in German literature, based on which the educational ideal of the unity and perfection of the individual is developed. Famous German artists, poets and philosophers like Karl Philipp Moritz, Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottfried Seume, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe or Heinrich Heine considered travelling to Italy as a kind obligatory education path. In most cases their

journey had resulted in aesthetic-poetic products of different forms from travelogue to diary, from philosophical reflections to poetic works etc. The best known German example of travel literature is doubtlessly in Goethe's *Italian Journey* (published in 1813-1817, long after the journey itself), an aesthetic transformation of diary entries and letters, at the same time a document of a classicist idealization process. In his travel report Goethe recorded his long and adventurous travel from the north of Italy down to Palermo and back in 1786-1788, including his impressions in the region(s) of Veneto, such as Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Venice and the surroundings, also around the Lake Garda.

Goethe in Veneto

Goethe reached Veneto in September 1786, coming from Trento to the Lake Garda, starting from Torbole by boat, being soon forced to stop in the harbour of Malcesine by the elements of nature. Putting up with his not too disagreeable situation, he decided to make a sketch of the castle (the Castello Scaligero) – a decision that paradoxically proved to be more dangerous than travelling on the lake itself.

... we had already passed Malsesine when the wind suddenly changed, took the direction usual in the day-time, and blew towards the north. Rowing was of little use against this superior power, and, therefore, we were forced to land in the harbour of Malsesine. This is the first Venetian spot on the eastern side of the lake. When one has to do with water we cannot say, 'I will be at this or that particular place to-day.' I will make my stay here as useful as I can, especially by making a drawing of the castle, which lies close to the water, and is a beautiful object. As I passed along I took a sketch of it.

Goethe, who was a talented drawer, had made several (feather) drawings during his journey in Italy, especially in Rome and surroundings, he himself being at the same time depicted repeatedly by fellow German artists. His drawing of the old castle next morning attracted more and more attention, until it turned into a "perilous adventure": A rigorous man addressed him "in the common Venetian dialect", which Goethe could not understand, whereupon he took hold of his paper "with true Italian coolness", tearing it, but letting it on the pasteboard. However, the impulsive gesture is not approved by the by-standers who urge to call the local podestà. The following dialogue with the representative of the local authorities becomes more and more an intercultural discourse used by Goethe to demonstrate his knowledge and appreciation of the Italian culture and (architectural) tradition, which helps him disperse the suspicion that he would be a spy of the Austrian emperor Joseph II. The conflict and fear are finally eliminated when a man called Gregorio appears, he himself possessing a certain 'intercultural competence' with respect to Frankfurt ("Frankfort-on-the-Main" in the English translation), Goethe's native town. Also, the traveller's introducing himself as "a citizen of a republic, which also governs itself, but which is not, indeed, to be compared for power and greatness to the illustrious state of Venice, although in commercial activity, in wealth, and in the wisdom of its rulers", diminishes the tension between the foreigner and the locals. The common, resp. shared knowledge reaching beyond borders prevents any further escalation of the conflict, misunderstanding turns into a reciprocal understanding, so that Gregorio can finally remark: "Podestà, I am convinced that this is a good, accomplished, and well-educated gentleman (*ein braver, kunstreicher Mann*), who is travelling about to acquire instruction." Thus, Goethe was permitted to continue his visit to

Malcesine and admire its beauties, being even accompanied by “Master Gregorio” and a local landlord.

Passing Gargnano, Boiacco (Bogliaco), Cecina, Toscolano, Maderno, Verdom (?) and Salò, he then crossed the lake by boat from western to the eastern shore before landing at Bartolino, a place that totally enchanted him: “No words can express the beauty of this richly inhabited spot.” Goethe the poet repeatedly emphasizes that he cannot find the words to describe the magnificence of the area with the lake, the mountains or the valley of the river Adige (Etsch), a natural beauty that “surpasses description”. His impressions are also increased by the fine, shiny weather he encountered, also the air having “quite another quality”, the landscape showing “a tint more or less blue.” He compares the area with the mountains and impressions in (South)-Tirol around Bolzano (Botzen) and Colmano (Kollmann).

Goethe arrived in Verona in the night from 9th to 10th of September, where he noted his experiences several days later in his diary, starting immediately with his impressions of the famous amphitheatre as “the first important monument of the old times that [he had] seen”. Being astonished by the well-preserved shape of the ancient building he recommends his readers to visit it when it is full of people, not empty, the scenery of the full amphitheatre having a much more intense effect, also on the public impressed and delighted by its own presence *en masse*:

Besides, I do not like to see it empty, I should like to see it full of people, just as, in modern times, it was filled up in honour of Joseph I.¹ and Pius VI. The Emperor, although his eye was accustomed to human masses, must have been astonished. But it was only in the earliest times that it produced its full effect, when the people was more a people than it is now. For, properly speaking, such an amphitheatre is constructed to give the people an imposing view of itself – to cajole itself (*mit sich selbst zum besten zu haben*).

Goethe compares the populated arena with its benches, planks, barrels and scaffolds with a crater, in which the “many-headed, many-minded, wandering animal (!) now see itself combined into a noble body.” Repeatedly drawing parallel between the old and modern times, he praises the Veronese architects and craftsmen for keeping the old monument with its reddish marble in an almost new-like shape, thus achieving a kind of synthesis between old and new, an ideal of Goethe, the poet of the Weimar classicism, himself. The double look at the old and the contemporary (which he elsewhere calls ‘modern’) often results in idealizing the “antique” and being at the same time critical to the present.

Goethe, equally fascinated with the antiquity and the renaissance (e.g. he translated Cellini’s *Vita*), was himself a renaissance man, a kind of *uomo universale* of his time, showing vivid interest for all kinds of art, beside poetry also for drawing, painting, music or architecture. In certain cases, he even displays a remarkable comprehension of architectural or urban planning, as with regard to Porta Stupa or Porta Palio in Verona, which stirred his admiration even though it was closed at the time he visited it.

It was manifestly the intention of the artist to cause a new *Corso*² to be laid out from this gate, for the situation, or the present street, is completely wrong. On the left side there is nothing but barracks; and the line at right angles from the middle of the gate leads to a convent of nuns³, which must

¹ Joseph I.: Holy Roman Emperor and ruler of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1705 to his death in 1711. Goethe might refer to the appearance of the emperor in Italy during the War of the Spanish Succession.

² The Corso (or Stradone) Porta Palio follows the Roman route of Via Postumia leads to Porta Palio.

³ The convent was demolished in 1806.

certainly have come down. This was presently perceived, and besides the rich and higher classes might not have liked to settle in the remote quarter. The artist perhaps died,⁴ and therefore the door was closed, and so an end was put to the affair.

Addressing his German readers, Goethe conveys a precise image of the – as we would call today – sightseeings of Verona, its major attractions, cultural (mainly architectural) treasures, with special regard to the antique and renaissance traces in the city. The same happens when he describes the theatre⁵ with its six large Ionic columns, the bust of Marchese di Maffei⁶ in the niche supported by two Corinthian columns. At times he even slips into the role of a cultural critic, so for instance when he remarks that the bust should have been “proportionate to the magnitude and solidity of the columns”, and therefore “colossal”. He also finds the gallery too small and the juxtaposition of the Doric dwarfs and the Ionic giants disproportionate. On the other hand, he shows his admiration for the Etruscan, Greek, and Roman antiquities but also for more modern pieces and fragments dug up in the area and exposed in the theatre, at a time when archaeology was only at its beginnings. As a child of the Enlightenment, even as a kind of trailblazer of cultural criticism, Goethe did not restrain from critical (even slightly ironical) comments, thus, for instance, after visiting the then unfinished Palazzo del Provveditore: “Generally speaking, the *nobili (der edle Erhaltunggeist)* build a great deal, but unfortunately everyone builds on the site of his former residence, and often, therefore, in narrow lanes.”

Goethe has always been interested in art, especially for that of ancient (i.e. antique) times, which he considered, along with and influenced by Johann Winckelmann, as an ideal model for the present. His decision to visit the ancient graves in Verona could hardly be explained with any kind of necrophilia that Goethe had always been far from; so much more with his artistic interest and openness for diverse artistic forms, whether paintings, statues, buildings or reliefs. Being 37 years old during his Italian journey, the melancholic atmosphere of his late poem *Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh'* is far away; he is so much more overwhelmed by the graved reliefs on the tombs, e.g. by the image of a father seemingly “amused by his family”, a piece of relief that he attributes to a “later school of art.” Such minute description near his text to an ekphrasis, which is an often-used stylistic means in his *Journey to Italy*, but also in some of his essays. His technique of the ekphrasis becomes most evident when he describes the paintings he encountered in the Galleries of Verona, San Giorgio and Gherardini (not existing today), in the dome or in the Bevilacqua Palace (built in the 16th century), from anonymous painters to famous ones like Titian, Tintoretto or Veronese.

Along with his architectural and archaeological experience it is also typical for the *Journey to Italy* – as well as for Heine later on – to convey impressions of the people that Goethe observed for instance on the Piazza Brà. From the bird’s-eye view at the margins of the amphitheatre Italians of all classes appear as a jostling, colourful mass of people, whose attires, especially the Zendela and the Veste attracted his attention. He observes the Veronese people closely, who enjoy the

⁴ The architect Michele Sanmicheli designed the Porta Palio in 1550, before dying in 1559. However, the gate was not officially opened before 1561. For the architectural history, style and structure of the Porta Palio see Concina (1995).

⁵ The *Teatro Filarmonico di Verona* was built in 1716-1729 and reconstructed with some changes within five years after a fire in the theatre itself in 1749 (the year when Goethe was born).

⁶ Scipione Maffei (1675-1755) was the initiator of the Teatro Filarmonico in Verona. In 1732 he published his *Verona illustrata* (also known to Goethe), in which he depicted the history and monuments of Verona, including its major personalities.

“*felicissima notte*” every night, or pray the “*Ave Maria della sera*” – an atmosphere of bliss and piety that even inspire Goethe to rethink time and design on paper a new kind of time-measurement differing from that in his homeland, thus attempting to overbridge the differences between the two cultures.

After a week in Verona, Goethe’s next stop was Vicenza, where he visited the Basilica of Palladio, which he, somewhat surprisingly, does not really describe or praise, as he is overcome by a strange, ambivalent feeling: “besides I must now, by a strange effort, compress my own feelings, for, I too, alas! find here side by side both what I seek and what I fly from.” He was apparently more attracted by the Teatro Olimpico and the two opera performances there – *The three Sultaneses* and the *Rape of the Seraglio* (i.e. Mozart’s *Abduction from the Seraglio*) –, praising the magnificence of the building, pleased with the agreeable music, although composed “probably by an amateur” (*Liebhaber*) (!), and charmed by the performance of ballet. On the other hand, he was rather repelled by the way the public applauded and celebrated the singers.

Before arriving to Padua, Goethe does not omit to describe the impressive natural surrounding of the town. In Padua itself he first chooses to enter a bookshop in order to acquire a facsimile of Palladios’s works. After a short visit to the university, of which building rather repels him, whereas the botanic garden offers him pleasant impressions. So much more the Prato della Valle, a piazza in oval form decorated with statues of famous people, such as the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus – “...because it is said he once heard a lecture in Padua” –, as well as Italian popes, doges and poets. Goethe seems to have omitted the famous Church of San Antonio, constraining himself to a consistory of a fraternity dedicated to the saint, discovering some pictures of Titian and Giovanni Battista Piazzetta there, as well as the Church of the Eremitani and the pictures of Mantegna, at which he was admittedly “astonished”. He finally paid a visit to the townhall of Padua with its large *Salone*, which he interprets as an over-arched market-place.

Venice

Now it stood written on my page in the Book of Fate, that on the evening of the 28th of September, by 5 o’clock, German time, I should see Venice for the first time, as I passed from the Brenta into the lagunes, and that, soon afterwards, I should actually enter: and visit this strange island-city, this heaven-like republic. So now, Heaven be praised, Venice is no longer to me a bare and a hollow name, which has so long tormented me, – *me*, the mental enemy of mere verbal sounds.

This is how Goethe’s chapter in the *Journey to Italy* overtitled “Venice” begins, suggesting that he was very much aware of the cultural importance of the “heaven-like republic” for the generations of (German) artists, and eager to learn more about it beyond “mere verbal sounds”. Accordingly, he spent 16 days in the city (September 28-October 14, 1786), lodging in the *Queen of England*, near the St. Mark’s Square, a hotel with windows looking upon a narrow canal – probably identical with or part of today’s Hotel Europa e Regina (or St. Regis). The first typical Venetian object he mentions is a gondola, which reminds him of a toy, a gondola-model brought by his father, he himself a traveller to and enthusiast of Italy.

During his relatively long stay, Goethe visited the most famous buildings of the city, palazzi and piazze, churches and theatres, canals and islands, the bridge Rialto and the shores of Lido and practically all the well-known attractions of the Lagoon City. In the churches he admires the masterpieces of the Venetian artists, also realizing that not everything is gold that shines, cheap material sometimes hiding behind the golden surface. He meets people (e.g. artists, pilgrims) from

different cultures, including Germans, listens to the locals, their dialect and their songs, relates on conversations, notes his reflections upon the history of Venice. Being also aware of the great tradition of the Venetian music, Goethe listens to an oratorio in the Church Mendicanti (*Chiesa di San Lazzaro e Mendicanti*), which hosted a conservatorium at that time, and also to an opera in Teatro di San Moisè⁷, named after the Church in its vicinity. Content with the music, Goethe is more critical against the actresses and the ballet-performance, which he now dismisses as “wretchedly conceived”, despite “some excellent dancers and *danseuses*” (*Springer und Springerinnen*).

Another “comedy” that he relates on seemingly amused, proved to be the discussion of a law case in the ducal palace with the participation of judges, lawyers etc., an episode used by Goethe to briefly introduce his readers into the traditional legal and political system of Venice. Last but not least Goethe takes part in an annual ceremony having the doge in the focus, a celebration of a victory over the Turks⁸ including a commemoration in the Church St. Justina (Santa Giustina). His fascination with the Venetian culture is permanent, although it is visible that he tries to keep the objectivity of a rapporteur, despite the subjectivity of his experiences. Being more than a fashionable travelogue of his time, it is a compendium of aesthetic descriptions and reflections that in more than one respect anticipates Rainer Maria Rilke’s aesthetic diaries (mainly the *Diaries of a Young Poet* written in Florence 1898).

Heine’s Verona

A high point of the above-mentioned tendency hallmarked by Sterne is also Heinrich Heine’s *Travel Pictures* (1826-1831),⁹ in which the travel narrative takes a back seat in favour of the integration of fictional elements and political and social satire. As a political and social context, the strategy of circumventing censorship in the *Vormärz* period plays thereby an eminent role.

Travelling and travel reports are an essential part of Heine’s writing. His travels and “travel pictures” (*Reisebilder*) published in four volumes¹⁰ occurred in a time of general optimism, which contrasted clearly with the stagnation of political conditions in Germany. During the *Vormärz*, travelling was considered ‘modern’, not travelling simply meant stagnation, a philistine lifestyle depreciated by artists like Goethe or Heine. The *Travel pictures* were created in a period the romantic era reached its peak, before it soon started to fade away.

The third volume of Heine’s *Travel Pictures* depicts his journey to Italy, coming from München via Trentino to Verona, before travelling on towards Milan to the west, and finally south to Florence. Heine was fully aware that he was following, more or less, Goethe’s route, and indeed he does not omit to mention his predecessor, who was a great example, if not also a rival for him. Narratologically speaking we come across an intertextual relation, including a famous Goethe-quotation¹¹ and a general comment on the “Goethian” way of thinking and writing. At the time of his travel to Italy, Heine was an established author, a master of German prose and poetry, who had long found his own writing style, varying from essayism to lyricism, from journalism to feuilletonism, from philosophy to poetry, from melancholy to irony. His comments on Goethe are

⁷ The theatre was closed in 1818.

⁸ Probably in the battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571, in which Venice took part as member of the Holy League.

⁹ For intertextual relations between Sterne and Heine see Lennartz (2005).

¹⁰ Vol. I: *Die Heimkehr, Die Harzreise, Die Nordsee*. Vol. II: *Das Buch Le Grand, Neuer Frühling*. Vol. III: *Reise von München nach Genua, Die Bäder von Lucca, Die Stadt Lucca*. Vol. IV: *Englische Fragmente*.

¹¹ “Knowest thou the land where the bright lemon blows?”. Originally: “*Kennst du das Land wo die Zitronen blühen*”, from Goethe’s poem *Mignon*, also included in his *Wilhelm Meister* novels.

no critical debates on his views of Italy, but rather on its relation to nature: what he considers specifically “Goethian”, is not Goethe’s views of and enthusiasm for the Italian culture, but rather the Italian nature, to nature in general:

Everywhere in it [i.e. Goethe’s *Italian Journey*] we find a practical comprehension and the calm repose of nature. Goethe holds the mirror up to – or to speak more accurately – is himself the mirror of nature. Nature wished to know how she looked, and therefore created Goethe. (Heine, 282)

In his typically ironic-sarcastic manner¹² he adds: “I even believe that in some particulars Goethe could have given the Lord a few valuable hints as to the improvement of certain articles.” The question, whether Goethe’s *Italian Journey* gave any hints to Heine himself when deciding to make his own journey to Italy, is rather difficult to answer. He most probably knew Goethe’s book, as well as other travelogues on Italy like *Corinne or Italy* by Madame de Staël (1807) or Lady Morgan’s *Italy* (1821) before crossing the Italian border in 1828. He may have found some ideas in Goethe as to what is worth seeing in Italy. But Heine seems to be less impressed by cultural sightseeings than by the Italian people (especially women) and their ways of life, their behaviour and temperament, their habits and traditional costumes, the local colours and sounds. In Verona he is “seized by a mighty feverish dream full of hot colors, accurately designed forms, ghostly trumpet clang, and the far away roar of weapons.” (276) At the same time, wandering along the streets and squares of Verona, he records “dark old” palaces and towers, sights the Piazza dei Signori, reads at a corner the words *Scala Mazzanti* (stairs leading to the Mazzanti Houses built in the 14th century, but also alluding to the then owners of the house, i.e. the Scala family), before shifting to an essayistic tone and briefly relating on the (cultural) history of “the ancient world-renowned city, situated on both sides of the Adige, [which] has been in all ages the first halting place for the great German emigrations of tribes who left their cold Northern forests and crossed the Alps, to rejoice in the golden sunshine of pleasant Italy.” (276) Heine is impressed by the traces of earlier and later times in Verona, by the Roman amphitheatre or the “ante-gothic” buildings that remind him of Theoderic the Great, in German texts known as Dietrich of Bern; by the “legendary monuments” like the cathedral on the gate of which the chiselled figures of paladins “speak of Carolus Magnus”, e.g. the Franconian Emperor known to the Germans as Karl der Große. He even discovers traces of handwriting with the names of old German visitors on the walls. Heine’s look seems to encompass in intercultural space at the crossroads between Italians and Germans.

Although traveling meant for Heine rather a pretext to express his views on contemporary issues, personalities, political affairs and so on, and less a *Bildungsreise* in Goethe’s sense, Verona seems to have impressed him more deeply, despite the very short time (only one day) he spent there. Wandering through the town he kept on “marvelling at novelties, gazing at one time on the ancient buildings, at another on the human beings who thronged past in mysterious haste, and finally at the divinely blue heaven which limited the whole strange scene like a costly frame, and seemed to make of it painting.” (277) In the Piazza delle Erbe (Market Square) he admired the “delightful forms, women and girls” wearing their hair in chignons, men wearing “immense black beard”; observing them Heine concludes that people in Verona “in their features as well as in their whole being [show] the traces of a civilization” that differs from the German one and goes back to Roman times. It even appears to him that the locals have hardly changed ever since, except for their clothing. On the other hand, he admires the buildings in Venetian-Lombard style as witnesses of later times, the palaces with countless balconies, frescoes, columns and relief figures fulfil him

¹² For Heine’s irony and wit see Kupferberg (2011).

with a “romantic enchantment”, and remind him of poems by Ludovico Ariosto and Ludwig (again, “Ludovico”) Tieck. Without explicitly mentioning Shakespeare, he does not forget to mention the supposed palace of the Capulets, “now a dirty inn for wagoners and coachmen”, or the chapel “in which, according to the legend, the unfortunate lovers were married”, not without the self-ironic smirk of a poet who “laughs at the easy superstition of his heart.” (278) Next to the Piazza dei Signori, the tombs of the Scaligeri¹³ overwhelm him with their splendour, however he regrets their congestion in a narrow corner.¹⁴

Getting to the amphitheatre, Heine, much less interested in dramatic forms than Goethe, makes the experience of a comedy, an “Italian harlequinry”, naming it “only a play” and contrasting it with the grandiosity of the old Roman spectacles. The narrator, who calls himself a poet, strays away, not only from the spot, but also from the present, to immerse in Roman history, in the times of Tiberius and Brutus, to end his spiritual excursion ironically “in the Austrian Christian present age”. Irony and melancholy commingle in the fictitious dialogue with Cangrande¹⁵, who courteously descends from his horse offering to be the poet’s guide. But the poet refuses him: his best guide, he says, is his own heart that tells him “all that passes in the houses.” Passing the tombs, the Roman triumphal gate and ascending the Scala Mazzanti by night, Heine immerses in Verona’s past, evoking a gruesome story with Antonio Della Scala murdering his brother Bartolomeo as the latter was going to his lady-love Maria. Eros and Thanatos seem to show the poet in the streets of Verona before he gets back to his hotel *Due Torre* (in fact *Due Torri*) – also existing today as a luxury hotel – at dawn, before leaving the town next day in the direction of Brescia.

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¹³ The dynasty of the Scaligeri or Della Scala ruled over Verona from 1262 to 1387. Their tombs, originally erected in the 14th century, are now part of a group of five funerary monuments called Arte Scaligere, placed in the historic centre of Verona.

¹⁴ “They are as wonderfully splendid, and it is a pity that they should stand in a narrow corner, where they must crowd together to take up as little room as possible, and where there remains but little space for the visitor to behold them aright.” (Heine, 278)

¹⁵ Can Francesca della Scala, or Cangrande I della Scala (1291-1329) was a Veronese condottiere and nobleman, ruler of Verona from 1311 until his death.

