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# PERIODICAL STUDIES TODAY

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*Multidisciplinary Analyses*



Edited by Jutta Ernst,  
Dagmar von Hoff,  
and Oliver Scheiding



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## Periodical Studies Today



# Studies in Periodical Cultures

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Jutta Ernst  
Dagmar von Hoff  
Oliver Scheiding



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*Periodical Studies Today* originates in part from an interdisciplinary conference held at Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany in December 2017, which brought together scholars from Europe and North America who focused on newspapers, magazines, and other forms of serialized mass communication circulating in global media environments. Some of the volume's contributions have emerged out of a series of workshops organized by the Mainz-based research group *Transnational Periodical Cultures* that sets into dialogue literary and cultural studies, book studies, material and visual/design studies as well as sociology, business, management, and economics studies, communication studies, linguistics, and translation studies (For the group's past and present activities, see <http://www.transnationalperiodicalcultures.net>). Given the transnationality and multilinguality of many of our research objects, plurality shall also be at the heart of this volume: it offers contributions in both English and German, the latter with English abstracts. Taken together, these essays will help readers to explore new tendencies in periodical research, to which, we hope, they themselves will add in the future.

The editors wish to thank those who made this volume possible: first of all, the contributors, who were willing to share their expertise and to engage in a multidisciplinary project, and, second, those who invested their invaluable energy and proficiency in translation, formatting, and proofreading, while preparing *Periodical Studies Today* for publication, notably, Claudia Buhl, BA, Johannes Damaschke, BA, Dr. Sabina Fazli, Yasamin Khalighi, BA, Lydia Kleinstück, MA, Michael Lörch, MA, Dr. Klaus H. Schmidt, and Dr. Lena Wetenkamp. Their enthusiasm for this volume made work on it a great pleasure. We are also indebted to Brill's acquisition editor Masja Horn for her encouragement and support in seeing this book into print. Finally, we are grateful to our anonymous external reviewers whose advice and constructive criticism helped us improve this volume.

*Jutta Ernst, Dagmar von Hoff, and Oliver Scheiding*  
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# Periodical Studies as a Transepistemic Field

*Jutta Ernst and Oliver Scheiding*

## Objectives, Scope, and Rationale

While periodical studies has increasingly become an interdisciplinary and collaborative enterprise, there are currently only first steps taken into what Ann Ardis calls a fuller understanding of “transnational print media ecologies.”<sup>1</sup> The term ‘media ecology’ demands, according to Ardis, a “scrupulous attention to both the materiality of print and its intermedial relationships with other communication technologies” closely related to modernity and to the role periodicals play in shaping and producing publics and subjectivities. Through such a lens, and as it is suggested by the contributions to this volume, to study periodical cultures requires a conceptualization of periodicals not so much as objects of print culture, but rather as participating in relational and dynamic webs – both on a local and translocal level – of socioeconomic conditions, legal and ideological frameworks, institutional organizations, action networks, and communicative environments. The latter might also be multilingual or rely on translation. In his monograph on *Material Modernism*, George Bornstein, for instance, asks why periodicals occupy complex positions in cultural networks. He draws our attention to what he calls “the politics of the page”<sup>2</sup> and how it mediates the history of modernity and mass society. Accordingly, current scholarship avoids any narrow typology or taxonomy of periodical genres and advocates an inclusive definition of periodicals as a serialized medium of (mass) communication, both in forms of nonnewspaper (magazines) and newspaper publications in off-line and/or online environments.

In this respect, periodical studies has certainly moved beyond Sean Latham and Robert Scholes’s insistence on the “autonomy and distinctiveness of periodicals as cultural objects,”<sup>3</sup> as they put it in their field-making essay “The Rise of Periodical Studies.” In practice, this volume suggests to study periodicals less as autonomous objects, but rather in terms of a sociomaterial textuality, that is, as net/networks that exist both inside and outside the medium – evolving

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1 Ardis, “Towards a Theory.”

2 Bornstein, *Material Modernism*, 5–31.

3 Latham and Scholes, “Rise of Periodical Studies,” 519.

from volatile interconnected webs that sustain them. *Periodical Studies Today* comprises close readings of both historical and contemporary periodicals. It invites the reader to discover key features of periodicals and, at the same time, offers exemplary analyses that highlight central epistemic categories. Given the broad spectrum of the contributors' periodical research, we have divided the volume's seventeen chapters into seven sections, suggesting an analytical focus that moves from constellations inside the periodical as a medium-specific material object based upon seriality, materiality, multimodality, and translation to connections outside its printed body in terms of infrastructure and agency, community as well as location and transfer. We are quite aware that *Periodical Studies Today* represents only a first step towards a more systematic theorization of periodicals as specific material, communicative, and social objects of analysis. Nevertheless, the volume's structure aims at a trans-epistemic practice<sup>4</sup> that sets into dialogue the historical archive of periodical imprints with recent observations emerging from magazine studies and the transformations of the media market. While each of the seven sections stands for itself, readings across the categorial boundaries are encouraged. Headnotes briefly illustrate how the section's theme and the chapters fit together; they also guide the reader to other contributions, allowing for relational readings, for instance, in terms of correspondent methodologies. We thus propose an analytical matrix that gives insight into what we call the sociomaterial textuality of periodicals. In what follows, we will not suggest a holistic theory to be applied to periodicals,<sup>5</sup> but rather reflect back and explain how we have come to where we are today.

### Currents in Periodical Studies

Not surprisingly, methodologies for the study of periodicals have been heavily influenced by general trends in literary and cultural theory.<sup>6</sup> So, early endeavors at analyzing periodicals were almost exclusively discourse-oriented. With New Criticism on the rise, researchers focused on single magazines, practicing close readings of the periodical's content, preferably its literary contributions. Magazines and newspapers were culled for the publications of individual authors, initially those who were already known and recognized, later, in an

4 Knorr Cetina, "Zur Unterkomplexität," 411.

5 Beetham speaks of "messy theory." Beetham, "Time," 323.

6 Hammill, Hjartarson, and McGregor, "Introducing"; Collier, "Modern Periodical Studies"; Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift"; Scheiding, "Toward a Media History."

attempt at reconfiguring the canon, for those who had been bypassed. In both cases, periodical content was decontextualized and read outside its original environment. Furthermore, a magazine's content was explained by the taste of the editor – a biographical approach which ignored the complex decision-making processes of multiple actors. With women and gender studies emerging as independent disciplines, the biographical approach received new impulses: subject constructions and power relations came into play, fostering insight in, for instance, female bonding and its influence on editorial issues. Advertisements, which might fill many pages in a magazine and might ultimately secure its existence, were more or less ignored until the 1980s, but have since become important objects of investigation, thus diversifying content-related analyses and linking them to questions of financing.<sup>7</sup>

A major step ahead were system-oriented approaches, which see a periodical as part of a larger whole, be it a nation's print culture or a particular media business. Typically, researchers who opt for a system-oriented approach acknowledge various actors and the dynamic processes individuals or institutions are involved in. In so doing, they hark back, for instance, to Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism, to reader-response criticism, or, more recently, to socio-cultural models of French origin. Among them, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the literary field looms large, which highlights concepts like 'economic capital,' 'social capital,' or 'symbolic capital,' thereby drawing attention to market mechanisms and combining internal and external analyses of art products.<sup>8</sup>

What has only lately begun to be tested for the analysis of periodicals, but seems, at least to a certain extent, a useful approach, is the actor-network theory of Bruno Latour. Latour bestows agency not only on people but also on "non-human, non-individual entities"; he is particularly interested in the multifarious weblike connections that develop over time between diverse constituents.<sup>9</sup> The network idea, which has seeped into periodical studies also from other disciplines, for example, science technology studies (STS), and which has given rise to projects relying on large digitized data and forms of 'distant reading,' seems to be one of the most promising new developments in the field.<sup>10</sup> Due to its intricate, borderless structure, with nodes at points of multiple intersections, the polycentric network may be linked with an older organic concept, the rhizome, introduced into philosophy by Gilles Deleuze

7 Easley, King, and Morton, eds., *Researching*; Igl and Menzel, eds., *Illustrierte*.

8 See, for instance, Parker and Philpotts, "*Sinn und Form*."

9 Latour, "On Actor-Network Theory," 2; for the periodical as a vehicle for network agency, see Stockinger, *An den Ursprüngen*, 17–24.

10 Drouin, "Close- and Distant-Reading Modernism"; DiCenzo, "Remediating the Past"; Liddle, "Distant Reading"; Strohschneider, "Konstellationen."

and Félix Guattari and later adopted by other disciplines.<sup>11</sup> Next to information technology and biology, mathematics has been proposed as a source for new analytical categories. Thus, Matthew Philpotts draws on “dimension” and “texture,” offering a “thick” description of periodicals, which combines quantitative and qualitative approaches.<sup>12</sup> A material turn, as it is visible in cultural studies, may also be noted for the study of periodicals. Increasingly, investigators take into account the format of a magazine, its paper, typography,<sup>13</sup> or binding, important aspects which cannot be ignored if, for example, one wants to assess the position of a magazine within the literary field vis-à-vis other publications or explain why periodicals become collectibles. In addition, performative aspects tend to be considered, trying, for instance, to solve the question how exactly readers engage with a particular periodical issue.<sup>14</sup>

A relational or transactional approach is also adopted by scholars who wish to explore transnational periodical cultures. This is apparent, for instance, from the few but innovative investigations that try to fuse mobility studies and periodical studies. Among them are Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith’s groundbreaking *Magazines, Travel and Middlebrow Culture: Canadian Periodicals in English and French, 1925–1960* (2015), which demonstrates that “magazines, by circulating fantasies of travel, were instrumental in forging a link between geographical mobility and upward mobility,”<sup>15</sup> as well as contributions to a special section on “Print Culture, Mobility and the Pacific, 1920–1950,” edited by Victoria Kuttainen and Susann Liebich, in the journal *Transfers* (Spring 2017). Kuttainen and Liebich underline, for instance, that not only was the content of the new mass magazines informed by travel and transportation, but movement was also fundamental for the distribution of these periodicals.<sup>16</sup> Mobility studies, it thus seems, could become a fruitful source of inspiration for periodical scholars, in particular those who show an interest in transcultural dynamics. Another discipline that might give a new impetus to periodical studies is translation studies, for, as María Constanza Guzmán notes, “periodicals are not only important sites of intellectual conversation, they are important *loci* of translation.”<sup>17</sup> But astonishingly, “translation studies has of yet not been seen as a natural ally to most periodical scholars.”<sup>18</sup> Especially as regards questions

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11 Deleuze and Guattari, *Rhizome*.

12 Philpotts, “Defining the Thick Journal.”

13 Grütter, *Unter der Hand*.

14 Mussell, “Repetition.”

15 Hammill and Smith, *Magazines, Travel and Middlebrow Culture*, 1.

16 Kuttainen and Liebich, introduction to “Print Culture, Mobility, and the Pacific,” 26.

17 Guzmán, introduction to “Translation and/in Periodical Publications,” 169.

18 Tahir Gürçağlar, “Periodical Codes and Translation,” 175.

of language choice, linguistic and cultural transformations, institutional and legal frameworks, or cultural and ideological position-takings, translation studies could serve as a rich reservoir for periodical projects which focus on cross-border communication and global knowledge circulation (see Freitag and Patrut in this volume).<sup>19</sup>

As mentioned above, Latham and Scholes laid the ground not only for a general understanding of periodicals as unique sources of analysis, but also drew attention to the field's theory gap – without closing it, however. Given digital humanities' new analytical devices to screen and tag the vast archive of periodicals, they left it as a task for future scholars to develop adequate methodologies to describe periodicals as specific media objects (see Frank and Podewski; Fröhlich in this volume).<sup>20</sup> So far, only few scholars have reflected upon the requirement of “new methodologies,” and, in doing so, they have frequently compared predigital reading methods to the newness of ‘distant reading’ triggered by large-scale digitization projects. Maria DiCenzo, for instance, argues that “reading” (as opposed to “not reading”) is still relevant as a method because periodicals published by marginalized communities and movements are not likely to be widely digitized and their recovery warrants recourse to “the discursive dimension of media.”<sup>21</sup> After all, digitization projects, she notes, rely on preselections that are based on historical valuations so that archival work remains important to prevent misrepresentations. This, she argues, also needs to be included in the teaching of periodical studies, as students today are liable to concentrate on digitized materials only.<sup>22</sup> “Reading” and “not reading,” according to DiCenzo, should be part of a methodological “diversity and pluralism” which she advocates as the future of periodical studies.<sup>23</sup> As she makes plain throughout her article, DiCenzo hopes to see previous, predigital scholarship included in the future development of periodical studies.

Currently, periodical research follows DiCenzo's proposition and has developed reading methods that combine both digitization and object-analysis

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19 See also Ernst, “From Chicago to Paris.”

20 In their summary article, Latham and Scholes conclude: “The rapid expansion of new media technologies over the last two decades, however, has begun to transform the way we view, handle, and gain access to these objects. This immediacy, in turn, reveals these objects to us anew, so that we have begun to see them not as resources to be disaggregated into their individual components but as texts requiring new methodologies and new types of collaborative investigation.” Latham and Scholes, “Rise of Periodical Studies,” 518.

21 DiCenzo, “Remediating the Past,” 27, 35.

22 DiCenzo also acknowledges that “Transatlantic and transnational periodical research is encouraging comparative work across linguistic as well as national lines,” without further elaborating on this proposition. DiCenzo, 31.

23 DiCenzo, 36.



to handle the messy archive of periodical prints.<sup>24</sup> In doing so, scholarship moves beyond a consideration of periodicals as containers of information and reassesses them as highly entangled textual-material artifacts (see Kaminski and Beck in this volume). Marianne Van Remoortel, for instance, situates her methodology within the research possibilities and limits of what digitized periodicals afford: while digitization theoretically allows to accommodate the “open-endedness, disruptiveness, ephemerality, heterogeneity,”<sup>25</sup> scholarship, Van Remoortel argues, now has to apply these insights to the concrete issue or periodical on local to transnational levels. She reiterates the point that digitization masks the material features of the periodical. Moreover, she holds, digitized periodicals also render invisible the work and ‘hands’ involved in their production. Ultimately, the macroscopic lens that digitized periodical archives offer provide researchers with a perspective that neither contemporary readers nor contributors and editors had access to. Van Remoortel’s own approach, based on the economic, social, and personal particulars of the press workers’ lives, then, may provide a glimpse of “the lived experience of the periodical-in-the-making.”<sup>26</sup> While Van Remoortel gives a host of specific historical detail, her study widens the scope of the aspects that research can focus on in a periodical: nontextual contributions like needlework patterns and the work of composers may be part of a holistic view of a periodical.

As this outline of past and current trends demonstrates, periodical studies has turned into an established field of international scholarship supported by specific associations (European Society for Periodical Research; The Research Society for American Periodicals; The Research Society for Victorian Periodicals; Réseau transnational pour l’étude de la presse en langues étrangères) and feeding into major academic journals (*American Periodicals*; *Journal of European Periodical Studies*; *Journal of Magazine Media* [formerly known as *Journal of Magazine & New Media Research*]; *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*; *Media History* [formerly known as *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History* and as *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*]; *Victorian Periodicals Review*). What most of these endeavors share is a heavy focus on nineteenth-century periodicals and modernist magazines, a preference for Anglophone press products, and an outlook on periodicals as historical objects<sup>27</sup> defined by

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24 Schelstraete and Van Remoortel, “Towards a Sustainable.”

25 Van Remoortel, *Women*, 136.

26 Van Remoortel, 137.

27 Hammill, Hjartarson, and McGregor, “Introducing,” 6. In their special issue on “The Aesthetics and Politics of Serial Form,” they also raise two field-defining analytical questions for periodical studies: “Is the periodical a serial system that produces social action through codified genres or is it a circulating media object capable of carrying materials

seriality and periodicity. Since much of periodical research comes out of the humanities, it is, however, frequently out of synch with practical and analytical approaches to periodical forms in journalism and design studies, communication and media studies, consumer and materiality research, sociology, and other social sciences.<sup>28</sup>

### The Expansion of the Field

While periodical studies scholars focus interchangeably on both newspapers and magazines, analyzing them as a “genre [that] functions as a socially symbolic and multilayered actor in particular historical moments,”<sup>29</sup> others try to establish magazine studies as a separate field of research. Thus, David Abrahamson calls for a “magazine exceptionalism,” defining the magazine as a distinct media form.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the Australian media scholar Megan Le Masurier maintains that unlike periodical studies,

teaching and researching in the space of magazines requires us to define our object of study; producing and reading magazines involves an understanding of what the media form is, and what it is not – not a book, not a newspaper, not a constantly updated website. And when our research is historical, to be able to talk about the history of this medium, it seems important to be able to conceive of magazines as a distinct media format.<sup>31</sup>

Another difference lies with magazine studies’ move towards the present and contemporary titles. As such, magazine studies is both expansive and reductive. On the one hand, it pays attention to twentieth- and twenty-first-century media-saturated cultures and thus takes a closer look at the dynamics

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across spaces both social and geographical? Is it a material instantiation of the multiple nodes in a social network or a paper product that taps into transatlantic circuits of colonial exploitation and commodity exchange?,” 10; for modernist journals and their analysis, see Latham, “Mess and Muddle” and Ernst, *Amerikanische Modernismen*, 13–59.

28 Fröhlich and Ruchatz, “Komplexität und Vielfalt,” 163–69.

29 Dillane, “Researching a Periodical,” 81.

30 Abrahamson, “Magazine Exceptionalism.”

31 Le Masurier, “What Is a Magazine?,” 4; cf. Le Masurier and Johnke, who underline: “The content of many magazines is the stuff of the private sphere, of leisure, everyday life, consumerism and popular culture, not the journalism of the Fourth Estate watchdogs or the more highbrow content and style of arts and literary magazines or journals.” Le Masurier and Johnke, “Magazine Studies,” 4.

of magazines as media organizations;<sup>32</sup> on the other hand, it very exclusively deals with mainstream magazines as commodified and branded objects frequently privileging the economic and journalistic dimension of magazine production and the revenue streams behind it.

Despite diverging disciplinary approaches, scholars share three basic assumptions when talking about contemporary magazines. They refer to community, authenticity, and leisure. Targeting a defined audience, magazines, just like newspapers, afford group-like interactions between themselves and their readers (see Zwierlein and Spahr in this volume). As such, they foster a community of interests and consumption. Given the trust gap of digital and other social media formats, many a print magazine strives to provide original content and strong journalism, trying to develop a bond of confidence with its audience. As a result, some readers consider magazines as archives to be mined in terms of knowledge and memory, or simply collect them for nostalgic purposes. Compared to dailies, magazines often have a luxury appeal that makes them linger at home. Their consumption thus differs from newspapers. As curated object and premium print product, this type of magazine offers refined content, allowing, but also requiring, leisure time for contemplation and desire. These magazines can be considered as taste regimes that “orchestrate visual and material order in many aesthetic domains of consumption, including cooking and eating, fashion, travel, and home decoration.”<sup>33</sup> Other, often neglected types of magazines, which stand in stark contrast to the polished high-priced glossy, are the yellow-press magazine, the professional and consumer magazine, and the scholarly journal. Assumptions that may hold true for one type, such as that contemporary magazine function as agents of prestige and social difference, must not necessarily apply to other variants. Thus, although there is a lot of overlap between different types of magazines and one might wish to forego classification altogether, it is at times necessary to specify in order to produce solid research results. However, it is, no doubt, fair to say that for many people print matters. Interestingly, over the last decade, there has been a boom of independent magazines rooted in collaborative print projects that emerge from the convergence of creative talent and a globalized culture as well as from mobility and diversity (see Fazli and Hohenstatt in this volume). There are numerous explanations to account for the rise of

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32 Tim Holmes develops a new taxonomy for studying the current magazine market. He distinguishes between conventional magazines with their focus on print; megazines, for which the print element is only one ingredient among other audiovisual and digital tools; and metazines, a kind of specialist magazine on Instagram, for instance, based on the idea of cocreation and interaction as key elements; see Holmes, “Magazines.”

33 Arsel and Bean, “Taste Regimes,” 902.

independent magazines and why they have become a source of inspiration for both readers and the mainstream magazine business today. Media scholars refer to a digital fatigue and the desire for slow media.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the new wave of print magazines not only has a long prehistory absorbing modernist ventures as well as self-publication and subculture since the 1960s, but it also mirrors a major shift in late modern societies, moving away from duty and acceptance values to self-realization values. In the context of these societal changes, DIY punk zines early on embodied creativity and moved readers alike.<sup>35</sup> Text production and publication were considered collaborative projects depending on individuals fusing expressive strategies, print, and social action. Alfred Schütz defines such projects as “phantasying,” that is “an imagining of the impact that one’s action will make in the social world.”<sup>36</sup> In the decades to follow and in conjunction with technological advancements like desktop publishing and personal computers, independent or ‘indie’ publications cultivated the idea of not-for-profit print projects as imagined possibilities to motivate social action. In the 1980s and 1990s, the progressive and polemic lens of titles such as *The Face* (1980–2004) or *Dazed* (1991–) offered bold new perspectives on familiar subjects and gave a voice to those neglected by the mainstream. The move toward the singular in late modern societies also helped to boost the ‘indie’ revolution, with niche magazines geared towards ethnic or queer communities, suggesting diverse affiliations. Presently, readers will quickly find a publication that speaks directly to them. The availability and distribution of titles demonstrate that ‘indies’ today have turned print into an inventive art form for expressing a wide range of different and singular lifestyles. So, rather than being solely “a catalyst for social change,” as Abrahamson claims, magazines also manifest the dynamics of human differentiation in late modern societies.<sup>37</sup> Thus, while periodical studies has become an established field, preferably analyzing historical print artifacts, magazine studies is still a nascent field, but one that is increasingly impossible to ignore.

Periodical studies’ expansion towards the inclusion of contemporary magazine cultures and ‘indie’ publications goes hand in hand with both a sociological and a material turn. Present investigations are frequently ruled by 1) field

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34 See Köhler, David, and Blumtritt, “The Slow Media Manifesto.”

35 See Piepmeier, “Why Zines Matter.” In the context of the analog revival, Rauch notes that the proponents of zines and self-publishers of slow media “see little contradiction in using digital and print media, recognizing their complementary aspects.” Rauch, *Slow Media*, 27.

36 Quoted in Kelderman, *Authorized Agents*, 11.

37 Abrahamson, “Magazine Exceptionalism,” 146; see Fazli and Scheiding, “Spiel mit Unterscheidungen.”

theory approaches (Bourdieu), 2) relational sociology understanding periodicals as assemblages and actor networks, and 3) functionalist perspectives explaining periodicals as an interdependent system of codes, such as temporal, material, compositional, economic, and social codes. This does not imply a rejection of aesthetic, discursive, or formal properties, but rather encourages an analysis of the periodical's position in relation to the possibilities in a cultural field of a given period or society – for instance, the expansive field of mass communication in the nineteenth-century transatlantic world or, in more contemporary terms, the indie's "rejuvenation of print" in the context of late modern societies and their singular lifestyle options.<sup>38</sup>

In their investigation of the East German, post-Second World War literary magazine *Sinn und Form*, Stephen Parker and Matthew Philpotts not only analyze aspects of material production, but also illustrate the symbolic capital of the journal, that is, the production of its value. This includes recognition of the functions of mediators (publishers, critics, literary agents, editors, institutions, business relationships, readers, and so forth) as producers of the periodical's significance. In doing so, the periodical itself is considered an actor in the cultural field, engendering a habitus understood as a shared realization of a set of dispositions that generate practices and perceptions. In her astute analysis of religious periodicals as modernizing forces in the context of Protestant American faiths in the nineteenth century, sociologist Heather Haveman highlights periodicals as a medium fostering social cohesion. Haveman holds that "magazines' varied contents, relative permanence, broad geographic reach, interpretive mission, and serial nature endow them with the power to influence many aspects of social life: formal politics, commerce, religion, reform, science, work, industry, and education. In short, magazines are a key medium through which people pay attention to and understand the things that affect their everyday lives."<sup>39</sup>

Haveman's reference to the periodical as a means of connectivity echoes what environmental psychologist James Gibson calls "affordance."<sup>40</sup> This term refers to the invitation a specific object embodies; a chair, for instance, invites you to sit down. Acknowledging the affordances of an object, we enter the object's social world and become ourselves a member of that world. Likewise, the affordances of a periodical invite the reader not only to interact with it as a recognizable object of words and images across multiple issues, but also to

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38 Le Masurier, "Independent Magazines"; Reckwitz, *Society*, 199–267; Seit, *Provisional Avant-Gardes*; Scheiding, "Indie Magazines as Brands."

39 Haveman, *Magazines*, 5.

40 Gibson, *Ecological Approach*, 127–37; cf. Rietveld and Kiverstein, "Rich Landscape."

follow its multiple paths that together form the periodical's lifeworld through which people and things move. We would add that one could also assess periodicals in terms of what Gibson designates a "value-rich [media] ecological object."<sup>41</sup> As such, periodicals are essential for both socialization and ethnic or aesthetic boundary making,<sup>42</sup> nurturing distinct local groups and facilitating translocal, that is, regional, national, or transnational printscapes (see Noonan, Nagel, and Lüsebrink in this volume). This is achieved by establishing and structuring ties provided by both the periodical's texture – that is, its circulatory flow of texts, images, and people – and its agency as a web of relations. While symmetrical approaches in sociology focus on "mixed agencies" in "human-technology-relation," we borrow from their findings and consider periodicals as "multi-agent systems,"<sup>43</sup> involving distributed agencies between human actors (for instance, editors, staff workers, journalists, translators, printers, layout designers, readers, etc.) and nonhuman agents (for instance, newsroom, foundry, typeface specimens, paper, newsstand, printing machines, desktop programs, etc.). Periodicals have frequently been interpreted in terms of specific human actions or interactions with other people – for instance, with a focus on a charismatic editor and her manifold human relationships. Using *The Economist* as an example, Christian List and Philip Pettit conclude that "even a coherently edited newspaper can count as a group agent if it forms collective judgments and preferences, promotes certain goals, holds itself accountable across time and announces revisions of its views explicitly."<sup>44</sup> However, as Werner Rammert points out, "action includes more than human bodies in interaction."<sup>45</sup> Likewise, Bruno Latour proposes that agency does not result from a coherent rational group operation, but rather emerges from a set of alliances and a bundling of agencies including "human group members symmetrically with 'non-human' texts and material artefacts."<sup>46</sup> Periodicals can be regarded as "inscriptions"<sup>47</sup> turning things into paper. The periodical's material form emerges from an array of interactions tied to a heterogenous network of skills, practices, artifacts, institutional arrangements, texts and contracts and ultimately establishing a medium-specific periodical agency. Therefore, if we raise the question of who is running a journal and what does agency have to do with it, we need to follow a series of actors, from the people in the editorial

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41 Gibson, 140.

42 Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 1–15.

43 Rammert, "Where the Action Is," 2–3.

44 List and Pettit, *Group Agency*, 40–41.

45 Rammert, "Where the Action Is," 1–2.

46 Sawyer, "Call-and-Response," 551.

47 Latour, "Visualization and Cognition," 3–6.

office down to the grid layout of a spread or the size of the paper used for a specific magazine publication. Periodical agency is a distributed form of collective action that consists of personal acts and impersonal delegations. Not only do we encounter hybrid constellations between human actors and non-human agents when we analyze the production, distribution, and consumption of periodicals (see for instance the many journal flip-through videos on YouTube), but we also learn to recognize the different scales of periodical agency. They range from being a group agent (see Kutzner in this volume), an embodiment of a “social textuality evolving from multiple webs of human and nonhuman relations that sustain them” (see Scheiding and Bassimir in this volume),<sup>48</sup> to the present online social media strategies privileging forms of paperless agency.

Consequently, also established approaches within periodical studies such as network analyses may be developed further. Future studies could advocate, for instance, a method that does not rely on mapping relationships between nodes and calculating such metrics as betweenness and centrality or clustering coefficients – as currently practiced by distant reading and visualization methods in the digital humanities.<sup>49</sup> By contrast, Harrison C. White suggests that networks are constituted and reconstituted through communication.<sup>50</sup> In this respect, one could study periodicals as symbolic nodes of networks embodying processes of communication and expectations. Together these examples make clear that periodicals not only provide models of social interaction, but also rely on networks both inside and outside the periodical. To study (trans)national periodical cultures – as the chapters by Freitag, Patrut, Noonan, Nagel, and Lüsebrink will show – requires us to investigate overlapping multiple open webs such as networks of mediators active in print circulation, reprinting, or translation as well as professional cooperations among editors, authors, illustrators, and, not to forget, business relationships. An editor is, for instance, not foremost a particular person, but a position in a kinship network with links to nodes near and far. In her study *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (2015), Caroline Levine rightfully holds that “networks are the forms that rupture or defy enclosed totalities and allow us to understand border-crossing circulations and transmissions.”<sup>51</sup>

However, the somehow inflationary use of network analysis in current scholarship should also make us aware of the limitations to a network's

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48 Scheiding and Bassimir, “Under the Cover,” 363.

49 Cordell and Smith, *Viral Texts*; Podewski, “Kleine Archive.”

50 White, *Markets from Networks*, 1–26.

51 Levine, *Forms*, 117.

extensiveness.<sup>52</sup> Professional networks are controlled by the state, the market, institutions, and so forth that set constraints on how particular nodes may link to other nodes. Individual constituents are also replaceable. Replaceability and temporality demonstrate, though, that networks do not rely on fixed chains, but are perpetually in process; they require making and remaking. The linking can be voluntary or coercive, hierarchical or egalitarian; characters can act as nodes in more than one network; there are different distributed networks at a time. In light of what has been said so far, this volume explores periodicals as dynamic assemblages of sociomaterial and multimodal interconnections in order to understand periodical media infrastructures in specific cultural constellations. In what follows, we would therefore like to propose a combination of infrastructural, multimodal, and affect-oriented approaches to periodical studies, which reminds us that materiality and human agency operate together. In short, future scholars might want to consider periodicals as entangled assemblages, embedding human and nonhuman entities.

### Transepistemic Practice

Although he never referred to the term ‘infrastructure,’ Marshall McLuhan advocated the analysis of media infrastructures by affirming the materiality of the medium over its content.<sup>53</sup> In the past, the term ‘infrastructure’ frequently meant (tele)communication networks. Thus, scholars investigated systems like broadcast, telephone, cable, or the Internet as special material arrangements for producing, circulating, and receiving information around the world. Likewise, periodical studies scholars have examined publication and communication networks, and, in doing so, highlighted how newspapers and magazines function as specific mediators distributing content across time and space. Extending periodical network studies, we propose to deploy an infrastructural optic to explore the contingent and relational nature of periodicals. Such a perspective helps to lay bare the material and ideological foundation in producing communities of interest and “taste”<sup>54</sup> as well as the periodicals’ aesthetic and affective power to shape public culture. An infrastructural analysis discusses “the basic, the boring, the mundane, and all the mischievous work done behind the scenes.”<sup>55</sup> It focuses on both the logistics of periodicals

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52 See Hodder, *Entangled*, 91–112.

53 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*.

54 See Holmes and Bentley, “Specialist Magazines.”

55 Peters, *Marvelous Clouds*, 33.



as (technical) things and the cultural practices that organize and structure the production and circulation of content, knowledge, and people. As such, it inquires into the world-making dimensions of periodicals (see Kutzner; Scheiding and Bassimir in this volume).

As other recent studies show, when talking about media infrastructures we should also consider the different scales at operation in media and communication networks, ranging from undersea cables to serialized imprints, for instance. In her study on undersea networks, Nicole Starosielski unfolds a media infrastructure as a complex assemblage of humans and things:

The link between two locations in a network, such as the connection between Hawai'i and Tahiti, is termed an "edge" in network theory, an appropriate term given that we rarely see beyond its horizon. Edges are often drawn as a simple line between two nodes, a vector that stands independent of time and place. Rather than take such connections for granted, this book moves through the environments of our undersea network, into the routing arrangements, cable stations, landing points, and subaquatic spaces in which links have been constructed. It focuses our attention on the geography of cable construction, operation, and contestation, and on the companies that are themselves caught in a tug-of-war between the need to insulate currents from their environments – via walls, beaches, or other protective measures – and to connect them with preexisting circulations of meaning and value. Exploring the materiality of such edges reveals how our undersea network, as well as the connections it enables, has been made possible only by the deliberate manipulation of technology, cultures, politics, and environments, all of which remain invisibly enfolded in the lines between nodes.<sup>56</sup>

While Starosielski refers to the ways in which relations, institutions, objects, and agents come to be concealed from view, her approach also discloses the thingness of infrastructures as a "massive mobilization of resources, humans, dependencies" evolving out of "distributive agency."<sup>57</sup> In his archaeology of the relationships between humans and things, Ian Hodder proposes an "entanglement theory" that foregrounds the "material 'stuff', not just as material meanings and social processes but also as matter that affects us."<sup>58</sup> Periodical media

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56 Starosielski, *Undersea*, xiii–xiv.

57 Hodder, *Entangled*, 209, 215; Bennett refers to "a swarm of vitalities at play." Bennett, *Vibrant Matters*, 32.

58 Hodder, *Entangled*, 211.

infrastructures thus not only depend on a relational order, or a logistics in and through connections, but they also materialize affective practices (see Beck and Fazli in this volume). According to Margaret Wetherell, “an affective practice is a figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations. It is an organic complex in which all the parts relationally constitute each other.”<sup>59</sup> The periodical functions as an “organic complex” whose “affective practice” depends upon the “smell of the ink, the sound of the page crinkling, the texture of the paper on [our] fingers,”<sup>60</sup> for instance, engaging our senses. In *The Revenge of Analog*, David Sax bluntly remarks: “Read on an iPad, every article looks and feels the same. The haptic variation from one printed page to another helps stem the feeling of information overload.”<sup>61</sup> Given the periodical’s “presence dimension,”<sup>62</sup> it stands up against us and can be described as an object. Referring to Heidegger, Ian Hodder defines an object as “something we contemplate as distant from us and set up against us.” Given their nature of being “present-at-hand,” periodicals serve as “object[s] of study, something distanced and particular.”<sup>63</sup> Current scholarship in the field of periodical studies seems to privilege analyzing newspapers or magazines as “particular” and “distanced” objects. However, in light of what has been said above about defining periodicals as entangled assemblages, one may argue that it is these very assemblages that make periodical objects appear as things – “vivid entities not entirely reducible to contexts in which (human) subjects set them, never entirely exhausted by their semiotics.”<sup>64</sup> Summarizing Merleau-Ponty’s *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962), Hodder concludes: “Thus in handling a thing, moving it around, feeling it, looking at it, we come to understand how our body works, how the different parts interrelate, how we can be coordinated. There is thus a two-way dependence of human bodies and things.”<sup>65</sup> Consequently, in his introduction to “materiality,” anthropologist Daniel Miller

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59 Wetherell, *Affect and Emotion*, 19.

60 Sax, *Revenge*, 111.

61 Sax, 111; cf. Schulz, *Poetiken des Blätterns*, 54–56.

62 Gumbrecht, *Production*, 109. The “presence dimension” highlights “the ... physical presence of things (of a text, of a voice, of a canvas with colors ...).” Gumbrecht distinguishes the “presence-component” from the “meaning-component,” because – in reading a text – it brings into play “the presence-dimension of typography, of the rhythm of language, and even of the smell of the paper.” Gumbrecht, *Production*, 108–9.

63 Hodder, *Entangled*, 8.

64 Bennett, *Vibrant*, 5.

65 Hodder, *Entangled*, 30.

suggests that what is needed is “to show how the things that people make, make people.”<sup>66</sup>

As distinct material assemblages, periodicals can be classified into what sociologists call semiotic-imaginary artifacts, or “things produced primarily with the intention of transporting signs and imaginations calculated to affect people.”<sup>67</sup> These include texts, images, and acoustic signals (see Weber and Rall in this volume). Such multimodal things “aim to arouse feelings of identification or to change peoples’ lives,” and their visual components produce “affects of fascination for certain forms of subjectivity or compassion for discriminated social groups.” Serving as “affect generators,”<sup>68</sup> periodicals are ontogenetic, meaning that their assembling and recruiting constitutes subjects (individuals, groups) and objects (new titles). As multimodal emotive bodies, periodicals afford their readers potentials and constraints. A shopping cart, as Jenny L. Davis illustrates, for instance, “has politics, affects behavior, and shapes the flow of daily life. These dynamics are built into the cart’s material form, with results that are subtle, powerful, and far reaching.”<sup>69</sup> Hence, affordances do not refer to what things (for example, periodicals) do, but rather how things shape action for socially situated subjects.

Especially with regard to slow media as an antidote to speed in late modern societies, print magazine titles – especially indies – appear to be more agentic and affective in their capacity to move their readers than online resources that are mostly ubiquitous, free, and impersonal (see Hohenstatt in this volume). Instead of swipeable screens and anonymous clickbaits, print publications offer their readers not only physicality and permanence, but also highly personal microsocial networks. “The act of buying,” as David Sax comments, is frequently “costly and exclusive enough that you might feel an affinity with a stranger who pulls out the same one you own.”<sup>70</sup> The biannual interiors

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66 Miller, *Stuff*, 38.

67 Reckwitz, “Practices,” 124.

68 Reckwitz, 116. As Van Leeuwen argues, visual competency embodies an integrated multimodal approach that focuses on the “analysis of visual resources such as composition, movement and colour, which are common to a range of semiotic modes including images, graphics, typography ... and architecture.” Van Leeuwen, “New Forms,” 130; Le Masurier states that each magazine has its own editorial philosophy which makes it unique. Editorial philosophy is thus “connected to a vision about subject matter, voice, style, readers, market niche, format and design.” Le Masurier, “What Is a Magazine?,” 5. In a piece on “Layout/Grid,” J. Errea holds: “Every periodical aims to create a visual language and attitude that are so distinctive that its readers would recognize them instantly from any random layout”; quoted in Le Masurier, “What Is a Magazine?,” 7.

69 Davis, *How Artifacts Afford*, 6.

70 Sax, *Revenge*, 39.

magazine *Apartmento* (2008–) presents itself as a “walk-in magazine”<sup>71</sup> that establishes connections by exhibiting humans and things. One advertisement announces:

Reading this mag feels like you are walking through the house of a friend of a friend, conversing casually while drinking a cup of tea. *Apartmento* sums itself up perfectly as “an everyday life interiors magazine.” Small but chunky, with matt pages that flop as you flick through, this mag is a wonderful read and a beautiful addition to your bookshelf when you’re done.<sup>72</sup>

The ad not only addresses the magazine’s affective potential; in phenomenological terms, the magazine’s physicality rather demonstrates how “humans are situated in a world of things, become oriented among things and take stands in relation to them.”<sup>73</sup> Likewise, the quarterly photography magazine *Ordinary* (2016–) looks at mundane things around us. Each issue focuses solely on one ordinary thing, assessing straws, plastic cutlery, toilet paper, and tampons as aesthetic objects. The ad’s final reference to the “bookshelf” also marks a difference between analog and digital media. Contrary to the fluidity of the Internet, print magazines are finite, fixed in size, and localizable in space. Like vinyl records they are worth collecting; they also offer more perceptual and sensual processing considering the “texture [and scent] of the paper, the tangible feeling of turning a page and the time spent away from blue-light technology.”<sup>74</sup> The used paper’s smell, its size and haptic feel is something that should not be underestimated in the context of the magazine’s material vibrancy and affective thingness. The scent of paper, whether of books or magazines, for instance, is related to three factors: “the paper itself (it smells good because of the chemicals used to manufacture it), the ink used to print the book, and the adhesives used in the process of book-binding.”<sup>75</sup> Chemical inventions like the aerosol e-book enhancer, called Smell of Books,<sup>76</sup> seek to remediate the olfactory affect paper has on the user’s reading experience

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71 Hebdige, *Hiding*, 162.

72 Pics & Ink, email newsletter.

73 Hodder, *Entangled*, 30.

74 Pickett, “Love Affair,” 84.

75 Ashish, “Why Do Books.”

76 The advertisement states that “book lovers everywhere have resisted digital books because they still don’t compare to the experience of reading a good old fashioned paper book ... with *Smell of Books*™ you can have the best of both worlds, the convenience of an e-book and the smell of your favorite paper book.” DuroSport Electronics, “Smell of E-Books.”

(see Fazli in this volume). In addition to how humans perceive paper and become tied to it, the magazine's semantic-semiotic frame differs from digital media's hyperattention, affording an experience of deep attention "concentrating on a single object for a longer period."<sup>77</sup> Moreover, reading a printed title is often connected to mood management, that is, creating a specific atmosphere which ties together humans and things. Lifestyle magazines like *FLOW* (2008–) or *Oh Comely* (2010–) offer, for instance, music playlists as a mood boost fitting the magazine's physicality to the reader's affective state. Brita Ytre-Arne explored the affective practices of magazines in specific pre-digital settings, noting that "magazines were saved for evenings, weekends or holidays, and the act of sitting down with a magazine seemed to mark that the busy pace of everyday life was slowing down."<sup>78</sup> But what was true then, applies even more today, when niche-focused magazines manifest the internal state and the structure of feeling attached to late modern lifestyles.

### Conclusion

As the individual chapters show, periodicals play a key role in addressing diverse audiences and their hunger for life-/mindstyles, news, and information. Taking their cue from specific examples, the volume's contributors raise questions about how to analyze periodicals in different contexts of the past and present. Next to more traditional approaches applied to cross-border realms, the volume ties together two current modes of analysis in periodical studies: the infrastructural and the relational. While the former explores interactions between institutions and people, the latter emphasizes the magazine's affect-oriented agency as multimodal artifact, or, in sociological terms, practices with things. In doing so, the volume proposes to examine the "*evental character*" (original italics)<sup>79</sup> of different types of periodicals and their performances in specific media environments. *Periodical Studies Today* also discusses the current resurgence of independent magazines designed by global creative communities and their return to paper and print. The volume's diachronic and synchronic approach to periodicals seeks to demonstrate that newspapers and magazines are not only produced but lived. Regarding periodicals as sites of activity and collective practices, we raise a number of questions that pertain to the medium's multimodality, its transnational and multilingual dimensions,

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77 Shilhab, Balling, and Kuzmičová, "Decreasing Materiality."

78 Ytre-Arne, "Women's Magazines," 219.

79 Orlemanski, "Scales of Reading," 218.

and its institutional frameworks, all of which contribute to intersubjective and interobjective forms of agency. The volume's chapters intend to clarify associations between culture, symbolic forms and styles, and the particular orderings and negotiations of meanings and identities in the framework of periodical infrastructures. Ultimately, *Periodical Studies Today* bridges the gap between historical/archival approaches and methodologies used in contemporary magazine studies, highlighting the trajectories and legacies of serialization and periodicity from the seventeenth century to the present.

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I

*Seriality and Order*

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# Seriality and Order

*Oliver Scheiding*

Perhaps the two most central features of a periodical are its periodicity and a medium-specific order that results from seriality. Unlike the novel that is launched in a particular moment of time frequently conditioned by a publisher's production cycle or a literary market set up by book fairs and awards, the periodical follows a sequential and progressive publication format that tends towards an open future. Being issued as dailies, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, biannual or annual numbers, periodicals may appear regularly, but do not necessarily have to obey a strict timetable. Periodicals have different serial temporalities and timings. While daily events condition the newspaper's production process, regular advertising organizes major consumer magazines targeting clients on a biweekly or monthly basis. To set themselves apart from the mainstream publication industry, little and independent magazines or DIY zines cultivate an irregular appearance that is self-determined and relies on surprise. But even a nonuniform serial print run engenders a follow-up promise. In doing so, periodicals tailor their own seriality as persistent or ephemeral it may be.

Periodical seriality establishes different temporalities that are both object- and subject-related. For example, given its strict adherence to time and delivery conditions, a newspaper's seriality constitutes an infrastructural network that includes publication outlets, modern print technology, subscription management, a news industry with jobs, careers and professional standards making the daily a very specific media object that differs from non-serial publications that are complete in one volume like monographs, and mostly created by one author (see section v on Infrastructure and Agency). What is more, the newspaper's focus on practical information to be consumed on a daily basis generates various media objects ranging from quality daily newspapers to tabloids creating diverse editorial content and visual appeal. Seriality also shapes the periodical's internal infrastructure. As a specific material and media object, it works like a notation system collating graphic and visual content and translating it into serialized forms or genres like the lead article, press report, feature story, cover, photo reportage and gallery, flatlay, and horoscope, to name just a few examples. The periodical's seriality gives rise to imagined communities that depend on both modern communication technology to synchronize territories and people, and narratives printed in serialized media objects. Apart from the serial form, seriality thus calls forth the serial reader turning the

periodical into a social and collaborative network of followers, fans, subscribers, editors, contributors, and critics. Periodicals also encourage a serial effect that helps readers manage the flow of information available in modern societies. Seriality enables periodicals to assemble, organize, and display knowledge of all sorts on the page. Thus, it is not only an important external element that shapes the periodical's public appeal as a daily or monthly magazine, but seriality is also a key feature inside the periodical. It fashions a medium-specific order that becomes visible and tangible through the periodical's page design, layout, and physicality (see also section II on Materiality). As the name says, magazines are storehouses for all sorts of knowledge. Besides, the German 'Zeitschrift' means script of the times. The magazine's seriality draws things and people together and yields a profit for all of those who invest in it. It builds "little archives" or a repository of content that makes minimal demands on the reader to play with the perception, sensation, and observation of knowledge. Journals and magazines do so by combining an internal series of distinct graphic and visual orders (see also section III on Multimodality). Related to the section's theme 'Seriality and Order,' both chapters discuss unnerving questions about, on the one hand, what makes a periodical a periodical and how to theorize its medium-specific order (Frank and Podewski). On the other hand, serialization inside the periodical raises the question of how to distinguish serial narration from visual seriality (Fröhlich).

# The Object of Periodical Studies

*Gustav Frank and Madleen Podewski*

## Abstract

In response to a discussion in Anglo-American periodical studies aiming to consider periodicals as autonomous objects of study, we propose anchoring the periodical's autonomy within a history of knowledge. We thereby want to situate periodicals in a history concerned with the cultural functions they fulfill: Since when, and for what purpose, are periodicals needed? What indispensable services do they provide for the respective historical episteme and the shape of public knowledge? We suggest that since the scientific revolution around 1600 and even more so since sense perception, or *aisthesis*, established itself as the basis of knowledge during Enlightenment, periodicals have played a crucial role in the reevaluation of empiric perception and in generating knowledge. Periodicals promote a distinct mode of compiling, blending, and negotiating knowledge from different places, people, and sources. Blending and *negotiating* define their pivotal function as 'little archives.' Thus, they provide an intermediate space between the two other modes of knowledge preservation: the 'newspaper' mode of *notation* that collates occurrences and facts and the generalizing 'bookish' mode of *systematization*. Thus, journals and magazines foster the knowledge flow so specific to modern knowledge societies. To this end, periodicals create their own organizational forms which enable low-threshold contacts between components of heterogeneous origins. We call these forms *medium-specific orders* (*Druckordnungen*) consisting of *medium-specific elements and units*. Hence, periodicals are essentially shaped by relations that lie beyond the reach of analytical tools employed by the disciplines hitherto concerned with them: by visual, haptic, olfactory, tacit, and practical knowledge. To come to terms with periodicals as periodicals, that is, as material and medial artifacts, periodical studies has to break new ground.

## 1 About the (Non-)Existence of Periodicals in Periodical Studies

In line with recent debates in a 'family' of journals like *Victorian Periodicals Review*, *English Studies in Canada*, *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, or



*Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, we argue that it is periodicals<sup>1</sup> themselves that are the core object of periodical studies. Though it sounds self-evident, this assumption needs a robust theoretical framework. As long as there is no theoretical concept of the periodical as such, there will be no proper object of study. However, all disciplines currently involved in research on periodicals would claim to have such an object in their domestic area of study such as literary, media, and design studies or linguistics, history, and communication studies. Consequently, when it comes to periodicals, critics tend to decipher/discover only their own, preconceived theoretical objects within the issues and to follow their own methodological traditions. Hence, they have set agendas that mainly focus on the objects which they find in, and cut or tear out of, selected issues, or on the social and economic system of production, distribution, and reception of periodicals. But periodicals never come as a single article or other separable element, issue, volume, or even title. They always exist as a plethora of interconnected formats, titles, volumes, issues, pages, and other diverse elements.

Thus, we welcome the demand for theory articulated in the Fall 2015 issues of *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* and the *Victorian Periodicals Review*. As a robust framework, we want to suggest a concept of periodicals as periodicals, that is, acknowledging their formal and material entirety and frequency over time. We suggest identifying periodicals as 'new' objects, viewing them as something unfamiliar and resisting standard disciplinary protocols. Instead of beginning with a typology or a definition of the periodical's abstract and timeless 'essence' or 'kernel,' then, we are interested in the periodical's historical genesis and, moreover, in its historical legitimacy: Why do modern cultures invariably need periodicals? Why so many of them simultaneously and all over the place? What exactly are the needs they meet so convincingly? To answer these kinds of questions we must understand periodicals as central agents within a broadly conceived history of knowledge. They play a vital part within processes of efficiently organizing modern knowledge production and distribution following the scientific revolution that occurred around 1600

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1 Language and its impact on terminology are crucial here: Norwegian and German, for instance, have particular words for newspapers and nonnewspaper periodicals: 'avis' and 'tidsskrift'; 'Zeitung' and 'Zeitschrift.' English and French, for example, lack a specific word for the nonnewspaper periodical. The French use 'le magazine' and 'la revue,' the English both 'magazine' and 'review' but also 'journal.' Scholars in periodical studies close this language gap and use the term 'periodical' as a hyponym for all nonnewspaper periodicals. We will follow this practice and use the term 'periodicals' as a synonym for 'tidsskrifter'/'Zeitschriften' and exclude newspapers.

and intensified during Enlightenment.<sup>2</sup> The latter gives the fledgling sciences a much broader base beyond lay scholars and encourages and facilitates new modes of perception. This diffusion of Enlightenment ideas entails the general license to have empirical experiences and to collect occurrences of a nonhuman and human nature. The process is by far less elitist than science studies have suggested. The small-scale and step-by-step accumulation of bits and pieces of knowledge that arise somewhere, always threatened with immediately falling back into oblivion remains as underestimated as the process of negotiation as a whole. Temporarily archiving and negotiating these particles are crucial functions in dealing with knowledge.

Knowledge production and circulation changes as dramatically as the sciences do. Face-to-face communication or personal exchange by letters is substituted by circulation through media, a completely new and different organization. The encounters of readers, contributors, and the textual record of their unique experiences in periodicals involve a sense of undirected expectancy. Rapid, anonymous, and widespread recirculation in a series of periodicals is the counterpart to what science studies calls “rapid-discovery science” on the basis of “cross-breeding networks.”<sup>3</sup> This process is increasingly based on a growing spectrum of periodical formats that broadly address anonymous readers and multipliers who (probably) transform and rearrange the received fragments of information and inject them into new contexts and, eventually, publications.

Periodicals, then, do not only popularize the brilliant scientist’s specialized theories, but also temporarily archive progress and repeatedly circulate compilations from different people, places, and sources. Like in a chemical laboratory, they bring together different substances by printing them in conjunction within the same issue or even on the same page – waiting to see what will happen, or persistently doubting that such an arrangement is good practice at all.<sup>4</sup> Hence, periodicals are not driven by progress towards a certain telos, per se, but are always agents involved in knowledge negotiations and claims of validity. The advancement of knowledge, which is not necessarily equivalent to progress, rests on the medium-specific processing and reprocessing of knowledge. This knowledge expansion – which is not identical with the advance of technology-induced science – is not primarily triggered by innovations in print technology. Even more vital than the social aspect of the medium

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2 Collins, *Sociology of Philosophies*, 523–69.

3 Collins, 523.

4 For the archival function of periodicals and their role as gatekeepers, see Frank and Scherer, “Zeitschriften.”

as a means of undirected and anonymous circulation is the epistemic effect of the medium as an artifact with specific qualities. These qualities are responsible for how knowledge is arranged, given shape, processed, and transformed, which then creates a certain mode of knowledge based in a medium-specific format and is, therefore, both unique and irreplaceable. The emerging public knowledge sphere can no longer be organized by individuals or their networks but only by more and more elaborative periodical media formats.<sup>5</sup>

Periodicals function as the adequate cultural means for mediating knowledge. Their coevolution with the knowledge society allows us to radically historicize our object of study. We can now depict when and explain why periodicals emerge. Furthermore, this sheds light on why and how the formats of these tangible objects differentiate, and what their unique contribution to culture looks like. This approach reconceptualizes periodicals within the larger field of (printed) media. It helps us to understand how the production, discussion, modification, transfer, and dissemination of various kinds of knowledge is organized step by step. It is this ability for intermediation that distinguishes periodicals from other media in the field of print – they utilize a medium-specific mode to establish networks and connections. To that end, all the periodicals running parallel and partly overlapping work as ‘weak ties.’ In this way, periodicals safeguard their function as ‘little archives’; they ensure that knowledge produced anywhere in society is stored for a median period and can be further processed or eventually forgotten.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, bits and pieces of knowledge from various areas, geographically as well as thematically or formally, are brought together simply because they are printed on the same page or in a single issue of a periodical. Such an approach also compels the application of methods from digital humanities with specific pattern recognition and distant-reading concepts that allow for an analysis of verbal and propositional as well as nonverbal and nonpropositional forms of knowledge.

## 2 Why Do Periodical Studies Need a Robust Theory?

Most researchers today agree that periodicals are “complex media artefacts” that require us “to start theorizing periodicals.”<sup>7</sup> Theorizing, then, is only interpreted as a clarification of characteristics of periodicals. But Patrick Collier’s question regarding the ‘Object of Periodical Studies’ has shown that we have

<sup>5</sup> For how to rethink periodicals’ agency within (actor) network theory, see Frank, “Die *Kreatur*.”

<sup>6</sup> For the little archive see Frank, “Was der Fall ist,” 39–56; Podewski, “Kleine Archive.”

<sup>7</sup> Hammill, Hjartarson, and McGregor, “Magazines and/as Media,” viii, xii.

not yet faced the problem with the necessary consequence. Collier emphasizes that “periodicals have emerged as objects of study but not, it would be seen, as autonomous.”<sup>8</sup> This lapse occurs, we believe, because periodical studies looks at periodicals with received approaches and downcast eyes. As a result, periodical studies treats the periodical as a familiar object, asks questions (which have always been feasible), and analyzes the medium with methods that have been developed for and practiced on other objects. Periodicals are considered accessible by common procedures of analysis. Nonetheless, an entire series of indicators make it quite clear that such approaches are based on serious exclusions and restrictions that imply diverse adjustments and normalizations.

In the first instance, this critique applies to the central importance given to the text paradigm – itself an inextricable conglomerate of language and script, reading and meaning. Although this typically happens only backhandedly and remains implicit, any review of periodical research could easily identify the words reading, writing, lecture, dialog, discourse, and the like as key concepts. There is hardly any contribution that forgoes terms derived from concepts of communication and semiotics because they guarantee that periodicals are meaningful objects worth studying. This alignment with language and communication seems so natural that one feels no need for an explicit explanation. Although periodicals can be ‘seen,’ and ‘heard’ (when pages are turned), and even sometimes ‘smelled,’ but always ‘touched’ and ‘browsed,’ there is a strong convention that they are quite naturally ‘read,’ expanding this reading paradigm also to the merely visible parts. This convention’s limitation has been felt for almost thirty years now, if we take Kevin Barnhurst’s *Seeing the Newspaper* as a first indicator.<sup>9</sup> However, even the groundbreaking follow-up study by Barnhurst and Nerone on *The Form of News* has hitherto neither inspired comparative research nor spread to research on periodicals.<sup>10</sup>

With the rise of cultural studies as an approach to periodical studies not much has changed. Critical inspection of the cultural turn by science studies, new materialism, and actor-network-theory has proven that the long-standing text paradigm is still intact, with only a few modifications and adjustments. While the object range has been extended to include nontextual phenomena, the paradigm’s central premises dominate the methodological protocols. From a culturalist perspective of this constructivist humanism, only the ‘individual’ and his/her ‘symbolic systems’ can be pivotal. Social action in general, and

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8 Collier, “Modern Periodical Studies,” 100.

9 Barnhurst, *Seeing the Newspaper*.

10 Barnhurst and Nerone, *Form of News*.

knowledge production in particular, are “reduced to intersubjective interactions between subjects or to actions which make use of or are products of symbolic orders; social orderliness is understood as an exclusive result of individual-transcending symbolic orders (language, discourse etc.), social change in history is identical with a change of cultural codes.”<sup>11</sup> When dealing with print media, this perception becomes overtly obvious through the ways in which “physical, material, and conceptual properties” are taken into account<sup>12</sup> and in the way history is written about them. The new attention that emerges, for example, in book studies concerning the “bibliographical code” and encompassing all sorts of “typefaces, bindings, book prices, page format” is not devoted to these aspects as relevant on their own.<sup>13</sup> Instead, they are shelved in a comprehensive cultural, communication, or social history of print media. They figure only as added elements and proof that the “material text has ‘meanings’ additional to, and perhaps complimentary to, the linguistic text.”<sup>14</sup> Scholarship interested in material textuality wants nothing but to develop procedures for “how to *read* a page” (emphasis added)<sup>15</sup> and procedures for how to incorporate it in the familiar histories of cultural symbols and human actions.

The majority of periodical scholars take these premises for granted, too. Even if key concepts – ‘text,’ ‘meaning,’ and ‘communication’ – are used in analogy only, their mere use, even as metaphors, determines not only what we consider important and unimportant, but the methods we practice and how we conceive the objects of interest. Though digital humanities promises to solve this problem, as scholars open up fresh perspectives on objects that have mainly been studied through qualitative hermeneutic research, their approaches significantly center on key terms of the traditional fields: units of text, individual pictures, authors, or artworks. Even if they initiate a major change in perspective and deal with quantity, a strong fixation on both linguistic levels and semantic dimensions prevails. Particularly neurolinguistic programming and text mining are conceptually and structurally restricted to language and the textual level, even more than the heuristic approaches to texts, imagery, and advertisements had been before. Much of the progress made in such areas as visual studies, in getting beyond the single artistic or artisan image towards a cultural visual, is lost again by reducing images to entries in the semantic web.

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11 Reckwitz, “Status of the ‘Material,’” 207.

12 Latham, “Affordance and Emergence.”

13 McGann, *Textual Condition*, 12–13.

14 Shillingsburg, *Resisting Texts*, 101.

15 Bornstein, *Material Modernism*, 5–31.

Embedded in these grids, periodical studies permanently – and strikingly – displays its own restrictions: conducted like literary and cultural studies, it conspicuously concentrates on individual cases and isolated cutouts. It repeatedly and exclusively identifies and classifies seemingly familiar elements; it tears out single components of the periodicals, isolating single authors, genres of texts and images, and principles of composition or topics. It still is devoted to a small selection of canonized titles, authors, and texts. When dealing with complete periodicals, the approach remains highly selective and ignores its elements by favoring journal titles (*avant-garde*), types (little magazines) or periods, with a fixation on “primary topoi of the ‘new modernist studies.’”<sup>16</sup> The currently popular suggestion that we should understand periodicals as creators of networks accounts proves this tendency. Though periodicals are granted a central, even active role, it is no more than lip service. A closer look reveals that it is not periodicals that are of interest here, but the elements that interlink inside them or the players connected beyond them. Most of the familiar categories – author, editor, and publisher as producers, and the received topics such as contents, communication, and genre – remain in place. The main accomplishment of the periodical, then, consists merely in providing the site and establishing the connections.<sup>17</sup>

The lesson is clear: Periodical studies fosters a secret timidity towards the periodical as a whole, its entire history, and its complete corpus. It resists the complexity, abundance, meaninglessness, contingency, the independence from authorship, and the negation of the autonomy of the arts. Or, as Mussell puts it in a nutshell: “We want an object of study, not a kaleidoscopic range of forms. We want a single originary source, not plural accounts of writers, editors, illustrators, engravers, publishers, printers, and readers. We want a neat set of objects, accessible and delimited, not the fragmented remains of a publishing process.”<sup>18</sup> Behind that timidity lurk prejudices about the value of research objects: Their study is not justified until it is reduced to units or deduced from processes which have always secured the humanities’ prestige and distinction. Periodicals alone, it seems, are not worthwhile of elaborate research efforts; nobilitating them as respectable research objects worth receiving funding depends on approaches that secure the evocative interaction of human subjects. At best, periodicals remain obscure and vague; at worst, they are seen

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16 Collier, “Modern Periodical Studies,” 101. That seems also to be true for the research on Spanish and South American journals, see Ehrlicher, “El estudio de revistas culturales,” 26–45.

17 For alternative models to combine (actor) network theory with periodicals as artifacts see Frank “Die *Kreatur*” and “Reihung und Verbindung.”

18 Mussell, “Repetition,” 345.

as ‘containers,’ ‘vessels,’ or ‘quarries’ of information; or they are imagined as a mere ‘meeting place’ of already finalized and self-contained units or for quantifiable linguistic units, a ‘venue’ for other stories to take place, a mere passage that gives access to “larger cultural fields.”<sup>19</sup> However emphatically these approaches claim that the periodical is highly relevant for cultural processes, all their models still maintain the idea of the periodical as a container or a stage for something else. We should make – emphatically – clear that periodical studies as literary and/or cultural studies and/or distant reading does not dismantle the concept of the periodical as ‘container’ and ‘stage’ because it cannot do so within its boundaries; instead, it secretly stabilizes and reinforces them.

### 3 Interdisciplinarity and Its Discontents: Periodicals as a New Object

For all these reasons, periodical studies is unable to reduce the plethora of periodicals – the “vast and often bewildering empirical material” – to a regular object of study that is methodologically manageable.<sup>20</sup> Periodicals obviously overstrain the traditional models and methods. Ultimately, the problems of periodical studies do not result from difficult objects, but from the “pre-existing critical theories” outlined above that render the object difficult and bewildering, and which themselves “require active resistance” in periodical studies.<sup>21</sup> We cannot overstate that these theoretical models are inadequate because they are too selective, make too many tacit presuppositions, allow for too many exceptions and inconsistencies, and result in a complete loss of all the aspects of the nonintentional, nonlinguistic, and nonmeaningful in a blind spot of scholarly attention. They may still be suited for what they have been developed for, that is the analysis and interpretation of works of literature and art, for mass media, for text and meaning, and for close or distant readings. But their analogical or metaphorical use travesties the characteristics and functions of periodicals.

Consequently, periodicals’ specificity cannot be judged by further accumulating case studies of single titles or issues. The often-positing interdisciplinary coordination of different competences falls short in the case of periodicals simply because standard disciplinary protocols of dealing with familiar objects are still operating in the background. For this reason, it does not

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19 Mussell, 101.

20 Philpotts, “A Return to Theory,” 311.

21 Collier, “Modern Periodical Studies,” 97.

suffice to consolidate the knowledge of literary and book studies, art, culture, and social histories. Also, all attempts to somehow integrate them on a higher level according to Hegel's threefold notion of synthesis seem misleading. Both approaches leave the objects of the individual disciplines intact and take them as the point of departure. It is the disciplines themselves that define how these objects correlate in the periodicals. All of this obstructs the encounter with a 'new' object that the 'old' disciplines involved do not know yet. Therefore, the focus on the periodical as periodical can be fruitful because it prevents retreating to the comfortable and more external explanations within a social, cultural, or technological history which only obscures the view on the artifact.

To put it another way: Instead of taking an interest in what periodicals contribute to enriching one's own field of research – how they form certain identities, stabilize a certain discourse, how they contextualize the literary or philosophical text, or how they network certain groups of people and selected parts of texts with one another (or how they do this altogether) –, one could take a step back and ask from a more fundamental perspective that takes the entire field of periodicals into consideration: Why do cultures need so many periodicals simultaneously? Answering such a question means taking periodicals seriously as distinct cultural phenomena and as autonomous artifacts. Periodicals therefore require a disciplinary home of their own. Periodical studies venturing outside the disciplinary comfort zone has to begin with transdisciplinary research that is not merely a "synonym for the interdisciplinary combination that has become de rigueur. It is related to a second concept: research as *encounter*" (original emphasis).<sup>22</sup> 'Research as encounter' is the prerequisite to ensure that periodicals take center stage and that critics conceive them as monuments with a genuine logic instead of finding documents of something else inside them. This could open the field for a research program designed for the study of periodicals, for developing new procedures of description and analysis that focus on the specific functioning and the genuine regimes of periodicals, the periodicals' own history. Periodical research as curious encounter with the periodical as periodical renounces the application of the familiar key concepts in favor of a new sort of transdisciplinary enterprise that "must seek its heuristic and methodological basis in *concepts* rather than *methods*" (original emphasis).<sup>23</sup> To fulfill its purpose, the analysis of periodicals can definitely borrow and modify methods from existing disciplines, but only after establishing a robust concept of these artifacts. We are therefore "compelled to conceive, first, a hypothetical model of description," particularly

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22 Pollock, "New Encounters," xiii.

23 Bal, *Travelling*, 5.



because periodicals confront us with an infinite number of specimens with millions of pages and even more items on them.<sup>24</sup> But it is precisely this “abundance” that represents the periodical’s historical autonomy. Abundance is not to be lamented as the practical limitation of research, but it is the crucial point of departure; it is what has to be opened up and explained by periodical studies.

#### 4 Periodicals as ‘Little Archives’

Such a concept, hypothetical model, or theory must accomplish at least the following four objectives: First, it has to take into account *the periodical as a whole* “from cover to cover”<sup>25</sup> – not as the sum of single elements, but as a compact print artifact that not only ‘means’ and ‘communicates,’ but also has a specific cultural agency by employing a bundle of materials, forms, and topics. Periodical studies must find and establish appropriate terms of description both for the functioning of this artifact and for the characteristic features that enable and support that functioning.

Second, periodical studies has to consider the large number of diverse *periodical formats*, a plentiful variety with often only small differences. Therefore, it is necessary to provide a framework for understanding the periodicals without privileging a specific type or singling out a historical specimen. It must be open to every format of every period: “popular or elite, mass circulation or specialized, long-lasting or brief. Daily newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and irregularly published little magazines are all part of the field,”<sup>26</sup> including annuals,<sup>27</sup> at the other end of the spectrum.

Periodical studies should, then, *radically historicize* its object, that is, explain when and why periodicals emerge, to what purpose cultures generate periodicals, how periodicals function to achieve this purpose, and which dynamics govern the differentiation of formats. This history will not necessarily add more detail to, or confirm, the major lines of the histories written in other fields, such as literature or art and familiar periodization such as Enlightenment, Romanticism, realism, or modernism. On the contrary, it will probably call for revisions.

24 Barthes, “Structural Analysis of Narrative,” 239.

25 Latham and Scholes, “Rise of Periodical Studies,” 522.

26 Latham and Morrisson, introduction to *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, iii.

27 Harris, *Forget Me Not*.

Lastly, radically historicizing periodical research beyond typological or essentialist approaches requires attention to processes of migration in the *media field*. Therefore, “suggesting that the periodical itself, and/or the entire field of periodicals in the period, is the object” of study<sup>28</sup> includes an awareness of the tectonics of the larger environment of (printed) media. Periodicals gain their specific profile first and foremost when they interact and intersect with equally dynamic forms, participants, and media, thus forging relations of collaboration, complementarity, or competition. Hence, changes are often mutual and balance each other out, insofar as functions can be fulfilled by different formats in different ways, more or less appropriately and effectively.

Such a robust general theory is the only way to reach beyond the levels of positivist collection of single examples and of mere description that characterize most case studies. Instead of yet again dealing with its contents alone, such a theory would contribute to our understanding of the periodical as an artifact *sui generis* with a very complex texture in addition to its textuality. Thus, periodicals are no longer part of a mono-directional history that interprets them as a passive product of socioeconomic circumstances or technological progress. Instead, periodical studies can reconstruct the genuine contribution of periodicals in shaping the conditions under which the social appears.

Against this background we assume that periodicals emerge because they deliver irreplaceable services in specific historical constellations. Therefore, they shape the historical moment because of their accomplishments – their very function within these constellations. Our hypothetical model understands periodicals as major players in a history of thinking and knowledge, virulent only since the modern era when knowledge production and distribution became fully differentiated and a necessity for establishing stable protocols and emerging paths arose. In doing so, we prioritize a perspective that perceives periodicals as fulfilling their primary function within the domain of public knowledge. That primary function can be realized by different artifacts and implemented in various entities of these artifacts. Hence, the much-contested difference between newspapers on the one hand and journals and magazines on the other is not an ontological but a gradual one insofar as both can serve the same function in somewhat similar ways. Newspapers that appear only three times a week can not only provide notations of new occurrences but also some reflections on whatever has happened since the last issue was published. This can be done within a separate insert, or as a supplement printed below a line at the bottom of the front page and may finally become a regular column. Conversely, journals published four times a week or even

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28 Collier, “Modern Periodical Studies,” 100.

daily tend to enclose short news-like items. Newspapers regularly commenting and reflecting more generally on the meaning of the news they provide entitle magazines to further forms of negotiating knowledge that signal expertise – like the lengthy essay. Hefty-illustrated newspapers that are dominated by the visual create space for bookish, thick journals dominated by grey letterpress.

The periodicals' functioning produces a specific mode of knowledge and specific procedures to negotiate cultural 'states of emergency,' mainly via the role of periodicals as 'little archives.'<sup>29</sup> Hence, periodicals followed an individualized path to become a vital agent for the secular knowledge society with its omnidirectional and unlimited 'will to knowledge' about the contemporary empirical world – about nature, humankind, and history. Their advent, establishment, and assertion indicate a new mode of self-understanding and self-regulation in the process of social modernization since the late seventeenth century. Within this framework, they have a history apart from that of a single periodical as well as from the arcane history of the people 'behind' it and 'responsible' for its emergence, success, and growth:

- (i) Periodicals as a group of media, a hierarchically organized field, and a mode of *aisthesis*, that is, sense perception and its rendition, appropriately satisfy specific social needs. Their emergence and differentiation therefore correspond with the period episteme and the 'period eye.'
- (ii) In the comprehensive field of print media, journals, magazines, and reviews (our main focus here) occupy an intermediate position, traditionally located between 'book' and 'newspaper.' *Aufond*, periodicals keep the knowledge flow between daily ephemera and the durable archive alive, and vice versa. Periodicals perform this task by printing and binding together more or less heterogeneous elements, by using medium-specific materials to construe medium-specific elements and units, and by following medium-specific protocols of selection, ordering, blending, and rhythm. Their major task consists of establishing *low-threshold contact zones* that facilitate a variety of different relations between its elements and units, mainly on a nonverbal, visual-material tier.
- (iii) The vague and manifold contacts that are created in this way instigate negotiations and keep them running, eventually resulting in a dynamics of knowledge production and distribution. Thus, periodicals contribute to the emergence and the disappearance of what Foucault calls 'discourse.'<sup>30</sup> The focus on periodicals helps us to understand in detail

29 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift," 1–45.

30 Here "discourse" is broadly conceived not only as a verbal and verbose speech act but as a set of practices beyond textual phenomena.

how discourses concretely function in their specific environment. Understanding periodicals as 'little archives,' then, enables us to historicize Foucault's abstract concept of the archive and to investigate the tangible phenomena in their specific cultural environment.

i) *The Birth of Periodicals from the Aisthesis Paradigm*

Although their roots are inextricably intertwined with that of the newspaper in the seventeenth century,<sup>31</sup> periodicals did not gain cultural legitimization until the eighteenth century. Due to a specific constellation of Enlightenment thought, earlier protoperiodical formats assumed pivotal cultural functions allowing the new medium to gradually gain social prestige and acceptance. In the middle third of the century, scientific curiosity began to concentrate on this world instead of the hereafter, with an emphasis on sense perception instead of the rational explanation of the laws of nature that dominated the sciences from Bacon and Descartes to Newton. Authorized by philosophy, the multiplicity of realia obtained the status of significant objects of knowledge, while sense perception – named *aisthesis* or *aesthetica* since A. G. Baumgarten – overruled abstract terms and concepts as the adequate means of understanding. This emancipation of 'manifoldness' needed sites and institutions for storage, public acceptance, and distribution.

Since the eighteenth century, periodicals have emerged in an intermediary position between the 'newspaper' and the 'book.' They fulfilled a need for a mediating zone after the early modern taxonomical and topological orders of knowledge lost cogency. In the context of revalued empiricism and aisthesis, the old book form lost credit as the only appropriate site of knowledge production. A demand for new print formats arose, offering novel genuine forms of organizing, processing, and even producing knowledge, able to deal with new empirical evidence in a timely manner. The emerging print formats primarily touched upon three aspects: the exploitation of the whole continuum of periodicity with a (semi-) daily (or more) to yearly frequency; thereby, different grades of longevity from the latest to the quickly fading or long-standing were made productive for the organization and flow of knowledge. They also regulated the allocation, division, and clustering of the manifold. The abundance of empirical data was processed by the spectrum of new formats in different degrees of diversity. Since the eighteenth century, these degrees have ranged from the dense accumulation of short and diverse news in the newspapers to the almost homogeneous and coherent form of the book. Finally,

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31 Würigler, *Medien*; Scholz Williams and Layher, "Consuming News," 3–10; Meierhofer, *Alles neu unter der Sonne*; Pompe, *Famas Medium*.

they developed medium-specific forms of sorting, arrangement of the material presented, and binding of issues. Periodicals mainly generated varying and differentiated indexes and tables of contents for issues and volumes, thus restructuring their elements in order to keep them available for frequent and permanent use.

Rhythms of release, degrees of blending, principles of arrangement, the genres of elements, and visual regimes constituted the basis for the differentiation of formats which gradually diverged into distinctive shapes or grew more similar in tune with changes in the knowledge ecology of the respective epoch. Within this frame, we can identify more or less medium-specific modes of knowledge: 'notation,' that is, the latest news appearing at a high frequency without elucidating contextualization published in a compartmentalized smorgasbord; 'negotiation,' that is, low-threshold cooperation of different preliminary and extendable forms; and 'systematics,' that is, closed, whole, hierarchically organized, homogenous, coherent, and durable schemes of insight and science. Historical print media only gradually adapted their formats to these options of the field, but that is how they gained specific profiles and vice versa further stimulated the diversification of modes of cultural knowledge. By way of this process, periodicals were finally recognizable as distinct formats with a clear spectrum of functions by the end of the eighteenth century. They provide a platform for thinking and arguing through unfinished, extendable, and coexisting plural forms. Per definition of their functioning, they sometimes hardly seem to differ from their neighbors in the field. Some titles appeared annually, lacked discrete sections, and used single-columned text, they looked like and functioned almost like books – almost. Some newspapers that began to develop contact zones of reflection and negotiation, like the *feuilleton*, took over similar functions. Thus, any typological or ontological concept of the periodical falls short of depicting their historical variability and the tectonic movements within the media field.

## ii) *The Periodicals' Distinct Elements and Regulations*

Periodicals bridge modes of knowledge that could not be more different. While newspapers present ephemeral, heterogeneous, and compartmentalized information, books deliver durable (that is, temporarily exempted from periodical reprocessing), and homogeneous units. To appropriately account for and depict the periodicals' intermediality, we need to contemplate them as compactly merged artifacts. We need to be aware of the construction materials, the bridge's specific architecture and statics, and the various possible designs. These materials, components, and overall architecture are produced by and for the periodical, and they are intimately intertwined in a medium-specific

way. A theory of periodicals, then, has to elaborate on metaphors like that of the bridge and find precise terms for its elements and principles of construction that simultaneously stabilize it as form and keep it flexible for different requirements, thus enabling its functionality. However, a proper theory also has to leave the metaphor behind, because crossing the periodical bridge means that the elements involved as well as the medium that is assimilated to them mutually modify each other. If periodicals are no longer perceived as mere sites where leading articles, serialized novels, reproductions of pictures, and advertisements assemble, then the question should be answered what they actually are composed of and how these elements interact.

Many elements of periodicals look familiar at first glance, but that should not lead us to false conclusions about them. These are not the poems, essays, novels, photographs, graphics, or advertisements that we encounter outside of the periodical because there are no stable units that transcend all forms of media. All elements are constituted by the sites at which they appear: they all are medium-specific, that is, periodical-poems, periodical-novels, periodical-photographs, and periodical-advertisements. The reproduction of paintings strikingly demonstrates which transformations external objects undergo before they become medium-specific elements of periodicals: the canvas is transmuted into paper, colors diluted into grey tones, analogue brushstrokes fade into the screen of xylography, the format downscaled; its vertical and solitary arrangement on the wall is converted, for example, onto a standardized front page in-between a masthead, some text columns, and diverse graphic elements, eliciting a perception of horizontality; the wooden frame is replaced by a thin line of white space. The painting is transformed simultaneously on several levels: it is given a new materiality, shape, size, and gamut that allow it to become a constitutive element of the periodical's own order and appearance, its identity and recognizability. Thus, the periodical generates a medium-specific element by applying an array of medium-specific protocols to what was formerly a painting.

This perspective on periodicals asks how periodicals produce such entities. This entails reversing the typical approach that has asked for new relations between self-identical entities. Thus, we could reformulate Murphy's thoughts about the network structure of periodicals in this sense: we need to capture not just the interconnectedness of the periodical's heterogeneous data but first the data itself.<sup>32</sup> What we want to emphasize thereby is that periodicals

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32 Murphy claims that "we need to capture not just that data but its linked-ness if we are to understand the modernist magazine." Murphy, "Visualizing Periodical Networks," xi.

create their own elements and entities, and these are products of their medium-specific logic.

After this clarification, we can begin to understand their cohesion within the periodical. The medium-specific order has regulations that put its elements into place: blocks of texts, straight and ornamented lines and frames, pictures, graphic and notational material, diagrams, and image-text composites are arranged, blended, or separated by differently sized gutters and margins on pages, spreads, and successions of pages within one issue and successive issues. Once arranged, these elements obtain a certain status and the decision is made on how compact or dispersed they are presented, in which way and on what levels they relate to each other (or not). Such orders function within their own parameters and regimes. If it is 'literature' that is fed in, then it is certainly not the generic type of literature currently discussed in literary studies. On the contrary, periodicals create highly unlikely genres in regard to content or form, offering abruptly discontinued parts of serialized novels interspersed with incongruous and inappropriate texts, images, or advertisement. Moreover, this 'periodical-literature' is juxtaposed immediately with diverse nonliterary elements piled up by the magazine's page arrangements. This significantly changes the idea of how we generally understand 'context.' While context is to be replaced by co-text(s) and text supplemented by nontextual devices, the periodical's medium-specific order makes this 'co-nontextual' dimension visible and instrumental for its functioning. It also replaces assumptions about an external context with an awareness of the immediate internal environment that surrounds each (non-)textual item throughout the magazine's pages.

This is how periodicals work: all materials are rendered medium-specific in order to create genuine periodical elements and construe an order of their own. To that end, they make use of all the features of their materials and elements which then operate on various levels at once – the visual, haptic, and olfactory levels, with periodically rhythmized time, numeric and alpha-numeric structures, and elementary and complex meaning relations. This enables manifold relations between the elements. Here we are at the core of medium-specific knowledge production: protocols and patterns of perception are generated and established outside of, and are independent of, verbal and rationalizable forms that go hand in hand with protonotational, pretheoretical, and practical knowledge forms. Beside the tentative and controversial negotiation of propositional 'knowledge that' periodicals put on display forms of 'knowledge how.' Thus, for example, they show instead of tell how well-formed textual or visual elements should look, how different elements are to be printed together on one page or the double-page spread, or how they are to

be distributed over the space of an issue. It addresses the senses – particularly sight but olfaction and tactility as well – which correspond to the look and feel of the periodical as a tangible material object. It is neither regulated systematically nor understood completely or immediately reflected by those involved in the production process. It is exactly all that which lies beyond the typical semiotic and cultural studies approaches, all that is not attributable to human sense/significance, which makes periodicals key agents of knowledge processing in modern societies. They ‘do’ more than editors and publishers *intend* and readers immediately and consciously *understand* and both groups *verbalize*. They fulfill their proper function, and therefore, we have to go beyond the restrictions of humanities departments in order to promote research on periodicals.<sup>33</sup>

### iii) *Positioning the Periodical in the Field of Knowledge*

We claim that how periodicals function can neither be clarified in relation to the individual actions and plans of producers and audiences, printers, editors, paper manufacturers, typographers, graphic artists, etc. – or small-scale attempts to reconstruct these practices – nor can it be reduced linguistically or semiotically to the production of networks of meaning. Though this may apply to some of the periodical’s components, it does not explain their overall system. Periodicals are not the appropriate place for such highly specialized forms of relationships. Instead, they are a place to controversially negotiate such orders while considering for the first time whether, how, and out of which elements it could be worthwhile and rewarding to structure them. Something so dedicated, specialized, homogenous, and composite is at the utmost proposed in the periodicals but finalized elsewhere.

Thus, periodicals initiate incremental, dense, and serial negotiations instead of implementing them tightly in a closed system, discourse, or supercode. It is a vital part of the periodicals’ task to remain in an inexplicit, prediscursive, preliminary, and unfinished state. What periodicals achieve, then, is to offer a low-threshold mode of bringing cultural elements from different levels of theory and practice together after they have given them their own medium-specific form. They do not carry the burden of having to be coherent in terms of form, logic, or discourse; they do not aspire to eternity. They are entitled to difference of elements, forms, and content, to trial and error in composition, and to new suggestions, notwithstanding that they are commodities, recognizable by a continuous look and feel.

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33 See also Liddle, “Genre,” 383–402.



This depiction captures the basic framework of the many different periodical formats and lays bare the reasons for the medium's flexibility. Nowhere else in the realm of print are there so many extraordinary options for what and how things can be printed together. In realizing their bridging function, periodicals draw on a broad spectrum of tools and forms: spanning the bookish typography of moral weeklies in the early eighteenth century and the colorfully illustrated magazine of the present day, their broad formal spectrum allows periodicals to be open to all sorts of specializations and differentiations, even in areas with many competitors.

The history of periodicals can therefore be written as that of a multifaceted contact zone. Periodicals select fragments of the compartmentalized and ephemeral facts compiled by newspapers (or other media later on) and enrich them for a limited time span with other elements, both textual and nontextual. They elaborate on these fragments and build treatises, narrations, essays, or new graphics and successions of images. Thus, they tentatively sort the contingent details and incorporate them into current debates. While they may be blended with other fragments, they are nonetheless granted a specific place in the order of the issue. This is consistent with the 'little archive' form which periodically circulates and temporarily stores details. This special degree of storage and transience keeps the details until they are forgotten again or crystallize as knowledge in a more systematic mode. The latter then enables their incorporation into durable books and other reference sources.

But periodicals also process knowledge the other way around, by selecting elements from the secured mode of knowledge that has already crystallized in book form. They erase parts of the systems of thought and sciences, of the 'great narratives,' of the framed and closed units; they downsize and transform them in order to arrange other elements around them. Thus, periodicals demonstrate that there is relevant new evidence beyond the systematic frame, beyond what specialists know, opening up this knowledge to renewed negotiations and resubjecting it to historical dynamics.

Hereby they organize dissent in contested areas of public opinion, but they also create consensus by means of finely graduated differences. To fulfill that purpose, periodicals lay a network of numerous and somewhat overlapping little journals, reviews, and magazines over the community of their writers and readers, ensuring that all regions and areas of knowledge are covered and nothing of provisional relevance is left out or forgotten. Instead of forming a unified mass media audience, periodicals revel in complexity compared to the big dailies, but are more specific, empirical, and mundane in comparison to handbooks.

Hence, at the end of the eighteenth century, the number of titles climbed to over one thousand (just in German-speaking regions) with an average circulation of seven hundred to one thousand copies, mostly with a life cycle of only a couple of years. Around '1789' – from our point of view – that is not a sign of a period of experimentation and failure, but of the successful involvement and activation of a huge number of contributors, a wide-spread circulation of ideas and practices, and the negotiation of a variety of conflicting interests and perceptions. The manifold formats, as well as the multitude of simultaneously existing similar titles, ensure a lively dynamic: the contingency and failure of a specific title do not endanger continuity, diversity, and a smooth operation in the field as a whole. The field's medium-specific organization compensates the decrease in personal, intentional, and immediate communication on local or regional levels. Periodicals are the organizational form of knowledge production and distribution after the conversion from immediate personal communication to interaction through media.

With the emergence of periodicals, modern cultures have made a medium-specific mode of knowledge widely available. This mode is constituted by the elements, forms, and relations periodicals create, and not shaped and determined by a history of discourses, epochs, technology, society, or culture. This history includes all the optional levels on which relations can be established – the material, the nonpropositional, and semantic levels – and all the optional ways of intertwining the elements, from simple to complex, loose to tight, cyclic or not linked at all, stable, returning periodically or permanent, or flexible and unique in a single issue or a run of issues. According to Ludwik Fleck, there are two different states of sciences: the science in periodicals and the science in handbooks and textbooks.<sup>34</sup> What is true for the specialized environment of the scientific disciplines and the world of the scholarly journals can be generalized – particularly because the scholarly journals are a format option that arose from the periodical's successful history in general. 'Periodical science,' as well as periodical knowledge in general, allows for genuine modes of knowledge production, distribution, transformation, and reception. Periodical knowledge is pivotal because of its special mode that makes it knowledge *in statu nascendi*.

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34 Fleck, *Genesis and Development*.

## 5 Complications and Challenges to Periodical Studies

Drawing on Collier's intervention, we emphatically want to stress that the advancement of periodicals in academic attention is not due to an estimation of the artifact itself. Instead, periodicals still are used – mostly without the slightest qualm and hesitation – for other research agendas that can be better served with the help of the periodical as a document or a source. Though this is a legitimate way of using the abundance of digitized periodicals available from many institutions around the globe, for the sake of gender studies, intellectual, literary, or visual history, we contest that this is periodical studies. What is new is the contribution of periodicals to the solution of familiar research problems in history, art, or modern languages departments. If we intend to do periodical studies instead and begin writing the history of periodicals, we have to opt for different methods. Thus, we suggest conceiving periodicals as a vital part of the history of knowledge and to understand them as a specific *modus operandi* – an intermediary form of knowledge that works as a kind of tie, probably a weak tie,<sup>35</sup> as a sort of bridge between the ephemeral mode of knowledge of the 'newspaper' and the durable mode of the 'book' to keep the knowledge flow alive. We assume that knowledge production never occurs in the singular, in a single issue, but periodically, plentifully, and multivariantly. Periodicals then emerge as compact artifacts due to the creation of their own elements and the arrangement of these medium-specific elements. Their history stems from these different forms (elements and arrangements) and interaction with other (print-)media.

To reconstruct that history, we have to abandon the metaphor of the 'bridge' we invented above for the sake of a tangible research practice and face at least the following challenges: First and foremost, periodical studies must find and establish appropriate terms of description for the characteristic features of the artifact. For that purpose, we have to give up the common categories with their entire conceptual framework ('text,' 'context,' 'picture,' 'illustration,' 'serialization,' etc.). Instead, we should learn to begin with the irreducible 'printedness' of the periodical's coherence. What precisely characterizes these regimens of print? Which, and how many, elements and entities are created and how are they arranged? Which historical spectrum of elements and orders evolve? How do they interact and operate? What are their respective accomplishments? What kinds of consolidation emerge with periodical publication frequency, what sorts of variability remain possible, how does transformation

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35 Granovetter, "Strength of Weak Ties," 1360–80.

take place and what types of transformation occur to give shape to the history of the periodicals? Questions like these could enable us to leave behind established abstract patterns that link content and media presentation, meaning and (material) appearance, single element and context, parts and the whole, in order to begin working historically.

For that purpose, the variety of relationships between medium-specific elements should be conceived with more sophistication. Alongside the ‘strong ties’ so familiar to us, we also have to identify different types of relationships that are ‘weaker’ but nonetheless responsible for low-threshold contacts. Some promising proposals already exist, for example, the periodical as “genre”<sup>36</sup> defined by frequency and materiality, deliberations about medium-specific network structures defined by family resemblances,<sup>37</sup> or the idea of “periodical textures” as “fractal forms.”<sup>38</sup> They rejuvenate procedures in the digital humanities and periodical studies that can complement the still dominant focus on *all the periodicals* with a new focus on *the whole periodical*. Other stimuli come from semiotics, which depicts different levels of communication and grades of understanding, encompassing protopositional dimensions.<sup>39</sup> Seriality research has put on display different levels of relationships between text and image.<sup>40</sup> Network research offers the concept of the weak ties.<sup>41</sup> But first and foremost, we have to understand the visual organization of periodicals, that is, the historical variety of forms they apply on various levels to realize their knowledge-building function. The development of such a ‘period eye’ (sensu Michael Baxandall) for periodicals is still in its infancy.

We also need to reconsider medium-specific elements and entities: What, for example, constitutes the medium-specificity of a poem in a periodical? What does it mean for a poem to be a constitutive, inseparable element of the print order? This question opens different dimensions within our theoretical framework than the search for the poem’s materiality or for the context that surrounds the poem in the periodical. It more strongly considers the productive force of the periodical. From our point of view, this poem is both made by and for the periodical; it is an agent within a flexible multidimensional order

36 See, for instance, Mussell, “Repetition,” 343–58.

37 Murphy and Gaipa, “You Might Also Like,” 27–68.

38 Philpotts, “Dimension,” 403–27.

39 Posner, “Ebenen der Bildkompetenz,” 17–24.

40 For a more detailed account of the systematics and history of sequential forms of presentation, see, for instance, Lund, *Angriff auf die erzählerische Ordnung*.

41 See Murphy, “Visualizing Periodical Networks.”

in which periodical-specific knowledge is produced.<sup>42</sup> We must look for ways to properly capture this state of an agent.

Moreover, periodical studies must identify ways to adequately model knowledge flows in the larger field of periodicals and print media and to grasp the dynamics that rule within its abundance of forms. The field consists of a huge number of similar, partly overlapping, formats with sometimes brief periods of appearance. How exactly can periodicals fulfill their archival function in such a packed field of competing titles? What forms of connectivity are applied to accomplish that task? What is the role of the already studied scissors-and-paste practices?<sup>43</sup> How precisely can immediate face-to-face communication between individuals in small-scale communities be transformed into larger-scale anonymous publics and finally popular audiences?

The biggest challenge currently facing periodical studies emerges from the agency of the organizational patterns within the periodicals themselves that can no longer be 'understood' or 'decoded' text by text, image by image, issue by issue in the traditional manner of the humanities. Periodicals are expected to deliver the noteworthy item scattered amongst the less important material. Thus, procedures of structuring and outlining are perfected as key elements of the organization of knowledge. We need automated ways of gauging, measuring, and counting element size and distribution on the periodical's page, over one issue, and over one volume to reconstruct the developments and changes in these procedures. In the exploration of such complex structures and dynamics, digitized periodicals and computer-based procedures could be helpful if we do critically embrace digital *humanities* protocols. Periodical studies should try to promote in *digital* humanities precisely what alarms *nondigital* humanities: random browsing which looks like a lucky guess and fosters serendipity with which we anticipate the genuine relationships that periodicals promote/enable in their own way. Let's try to discover those patterns that are neither language-like nor image-like and which can only be identified with the help of an overarching corpus. For this purpose, we have to develop adequate queries, queries for a new object: the periodical as periodical.

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42 See Frank and Podewski, "Was aber schön ist."; for a comprehensive survey of an established nineteenth-century family magazine see Podewski, *Akkumulieren – Mischen – Abwechseln*.

43 Beals, "Scissors and Paste Database."

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## Viewing Illustrated Magazines with Wittgenstein: Methodological Approaches to the Visual Seriality of Illustrated Magazines (1880–1910)

*Vincent Fröhlich*

### Abstract

In an attempt to expand the increasing attention to the many different serial components of journals beyond serial narration, and to reinforce the perception of the journal as a serially designed medium, this essay aims to show how strongly illustrated nineteenth-century journals also, if not primarily, operate in a visually serial way.

In a first step, opportunities, challenges, and pitfalls of seriality-focused periodical studies are shown. In this chapter, seriality is defined and used as an open concept to reveal all relationships encompassed by visual series. In a second step, Ludwig Wittgenstein's idea of family resemblances is applied to periodical studies in order to illustrate the network of distant and close references and relationships that belong to appearances of visual seriality in illustrated journals. In addition, understanding the serial networks is supplemented with the specific consideration of serialities at the different levels of the illustrated journal. In a third step, a first approach to the enormous range of visual seriality in illustrated journals is carried out using a few significant examples from *Illustrierte Zeitung*, the *Wide World Magazine*, the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, and *die neue linie*. The main goal is to approach the specifics of visual seriality in illustrated journals, and thus show how visual seriality differs fundamentally from serial narration in periodicals in the way it operates.

The cover of the July 1933 issue of the illustrated magazine *die neue linie* (The New Line) shows a color drawing of a woman looking through binoculars and wearing a red jacket; the red color is resumed by a passenger ship in the left half of the picture, which is visible from the long side and relatively small, cruising in the background on a lake somewhere in a Nordic landscape. The cover contains no further written explanation or a title other than the name of the magazine, the date of the issue, and the price (fig 2.1). Page forty of the same issue shows the photography of a ship that is similar in size and perspective to the drawing on the cover. Directly below it is an advertisement that features another similarly photographed ship (fig 2.2).



FIGURE 2.1  
*die neue linie*, no. 11 (July 1933):  
 1 (size: 36.5 × 27 cm)

These three pictures are only loosely related to each other: The cover picture visually refers, without text, to the issue's theme and editorial – “Liebe zum Norden” (Love for the North, p. 11) – journeys to the North, and, though not exclusively, with ships like the one on the cover. The photo on page forty (fig. 2.2) and the loosely linked advertising for ship journeys visually connect to the title page without referring to it in the text. In the article itself, there are no illustrations of ships, only the view from a ship. This essay questions how such visual serial relationships in illustrated journals can be described and understood and shows how illustrated journals operate with regard to linked images.

## 1 “Many Kinds of Serials”

Seriality in journals is by no means a topic that has thus far received little scientific consideration. In her influential 1989 essay, “Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre,” Margaret Beetham develops her theory primarily on the basis of narrative series and the temporal effects entailed by the seriality of periodicals.<sup>1</sup> However, as seen in Beetham’s essay and still commonly believed today, seriality of and in magazines is mainly associated with serial text-bound narration. The field of periodical studies owes numerous

<sup>1</sup> Beetham, “Open and Closed,” 96–100.



the resulting serial character of the medium itself, which is one of the crucial structuring and form-determining backgrounds of the narrative.<sup>4</sup> Whereas serial narration is analyzed without taking the medium into consideration, the basic condition that influenced the serial structure of the respective narration is disregarded.<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, and most importantly for this essay, the predominant focus on serial narratives also leads to an overestimation of script-bound forms of seriality. Matthieu Letourneux, in a monograph which has been widely neglected in German- and English-speaking countries, deciphers the cover illustration and other images of serial narratives in their highly coded visual conventions; he shows that they support the cohesion of the transmedial imaginary invoked by the serial medium. But once again images receive attention mainly as support of serial narration.<sup>6</sup> Other forms of seriality almost completely recede into the background, thus concealing the diversity of the journals' serial composition. Of course, the way different elements of seriality are combined varies from journal to journal, from time span to time span, and from country to country, but it remains a defining feature of journals. Since Beetham's essay, little has been written in regard to other forms of seriality in journals.

A greater awareness for the serial constitution of the journal as a medium is indeed apparent in some recent publications; the most prominent essays in English are by Tom Gretton, James Mussell, Mark W. Turner, and Matthew Philpotts.<sup>7</sup> Seriality is increasingly seen as a principal characteristic of journals in general. Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to the visual seriality of nineteenth-century illustrated journals in particular.<sup>8</sup> Mark Turner also claims:

"We have too often conflated the complexities of 'serialization' with 'serial fiction,' forgetting all that other material also published in parts that makes up the sprawling content of nineteenth-century serial print culture."<sup>9</sup> He concludes

4 Fröhlich and Ruchatz, "Komplexität und Vielfalt," 157–73.

5 See Hammill, Hjartarson, and McGregor, "Introducing," 1–18.

6 Letourneux, *Fictions à la chaîne*, 135–40. Elisabeth Anderman elaborates on the contexts of images to serial narratives: "I argue that it is important not only to examine intersections between text and image in individual serials but also to explore how fiction illustrations connect to other content, such as political articles, biographical profiles, and the images accompanying other fiction serials." Anderman, "Serialization, Illustration, and the Art of Sensation," 28.

7 Gretton, "Difference and Competition"; Mussell, "Repetition"; Turner, "Unruliness of Serials."

8 Gretton and Philpotts transfer above all the seriality of magazines into pictograms, again very serially designed. Gretton, "Pragmatics of Page Design," 680–709; Philpotts, "Dimension," 403–27.

9 Turner, "Unruliness of Serials," 20.

his essay with various proposals, one of which is that “a cursory glance at the serials of July 1841 suggests that there were many kinds of serials.... We need to become more familiar with the full range of non-narrative serials.”<sup>10</sup>

This essay seeks to follow Turner’s suggestion by focusing on visual seriality and serial text-image relationships in nineteenth-century illustrated journals. In an attempt to expand the increasing attention to the many different serial components of journals beyond serial narration and to reinforce the sensitization for the journal as a serially constituted medium, this essay shows how strongly illustrated nineteenth-century journals also, if not primarily, operated in a visually serial way. The essay aims to offer systematic insights and methods with regard to the subject area and thus follows a desideratum that Gustav Frank phrased as follows: “Neither are the possibilities systematically developed for illustrated journals to present textual forms for their profile vis-à-vis and together with images on various levels, nor are sufficient terminologies of description provided.”<sup>11</sup>

In the case of visual seriality of illustrated journals, there is a significant archival problem: images in journals have a weak status in libraries and in the digitization process. The primary concern is that the text is legible; the picture is classified as secondary. A prime example of this can be found at the Marburg University Library, for instance. The library stamp is almost always placed on an image;<sup>12</sup> in addition, if pages are torn, the image page is repaired with nontransparent tape, so that the back, the page with the text, is easy to read (fig. 2.3).

Digital reproductions predominantly show a similar prioritization. The primary concern is that the text is legible; accordingly, the quality of the scans is usually only measured by the text’s legibility. There is no indication of the size of the images, and sometimes color images are only scanned in black and white. Consequently, the scan cannot be used by the researcher to determine beyond doubt which reproduction technique is used. In addition, the provenance of the issue, and hence of the scanned pictures, cannot be traced either.<sup>13</sup> Research on visual seriality is thus faced with particular challenges: individual images are repeatedly taped over, lost or difficult to identify,

10 Turner, 28.

11 Frank, “Prolegomena,” 121.

12 Of course, this is also done because the illustrations from illustrated magazines are often torn out and partly sold as single pictures – a strong contradiction between the meaning of the picture for the archivist and the value of the picture for the reader and collector.

13 For general information on this problem see Fyfe, “Archaeology of Victorian Newspapers,” 546–77.

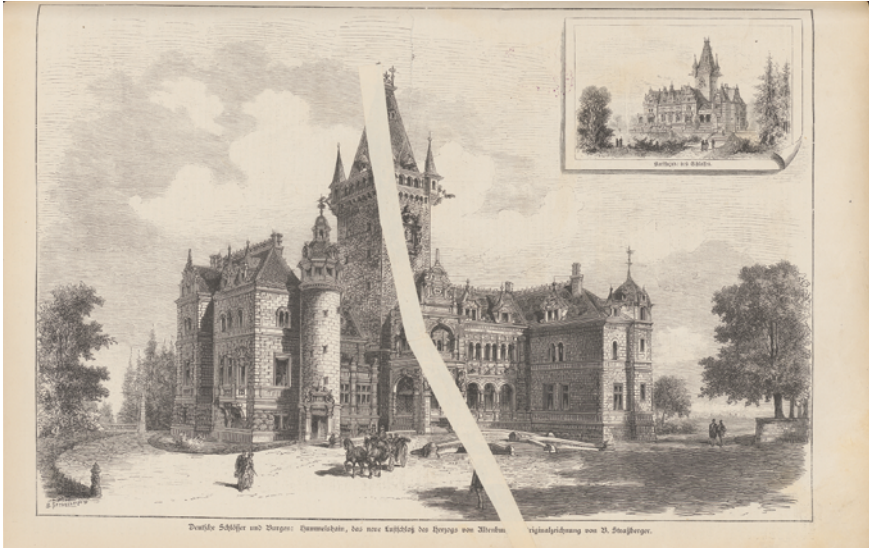


FIGURE 2.3 *Illustrirte Zeitung*, no. 2157 (01.11.1884): 434 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)

making it even more difficult to reconstruct pictorial constellations, structures, and series.

Not the least for the latter reason, the enormous spectrum of serial visual manifestations of illustrated weeklies from 1880 to 1910 can at best be roughly cartographed here. The period from 1880 to 1910 has been chosen because it is particularly well suited to observe the codependency of visual seriality and reproduction processes. With the introduction of Meisenbach's halftone technique in 1882 and the freer commercialization by Levy in 1893, the illustrated journal was no longer dependent on wood engravings, but increasingly illustrated by cheaper line blocks and halftones.<sup>14</sup> This essay's focus on visual serial manifestations will also take the technologies used into account.

Given that this is a new approach to the field of periodical studies, I would like to address a few specific problems and offer some terminology for phenomena that I encountered. As far as the material is concerned, I am concentrating on the *Illustrirte Zeitung* (*LIZ*), as it was characteristic and stylistically formative for nineteenth-century German-language journals<sup>15</sup> and because I have discovered some particularly interesting serial phenomena in it. However, I sometimes include other examples, which also offer interesting or

14 Gretton, "Signs of Labour-Value," 376.

15 Gebhardt, "Illustrierte Zeitschriften," B42.

even more significant seriality phenomena than the *LIZ* (as my example at the beginning of this essay already shows). Thus, my aim is not to present the journals of a clearly defined period in a relatively exhaustive manner, but to show different manifestations of visual seriality. This is a fruitful first approach to the field – to examine the abundance and diversity of the material, that is, to determine its amazing range, before turning to individual, more specific selection criteria. In the following, I would like to outline the opportunities, challenges, and pitfalls of seriality-focused periodical studies in order to arrive at an approach I find useful.

## 2 An Approach to the Serialities of Illustrated Journals

### 2.1 *Serial Technology/Serial Medium*

Serial production has been perfected via industrialization, which made it possible to produce a large, if not infinite, number of similar objects.<sup>16</sup> The invention of industrial image reproduction techniques was crucial for the creation of the illustrated journal. For what might be called the first visual mass medium, cheaper and faster technologies were needed than those generally used for book printing at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The illustrated journal only emerged as the result of numerous serial, machine-supported production mechanisms. Paper could be produced faster and cheaper, and, in the second half of the nineteenth century, images no longer required wood engraving but could be reproduced through photomechanical processes.<sup>18</sup>

Journals, however, were not only technically distinguished by their serial production; their technical seriality also favored various kinds of formal and content-related seriality – production was faster and cheaper so parts of a series could be published in close succession. Finally, illustrated magazines are extremely serial media. This can be seen in the media-specific heterogeneous content which receives coherence and ‘a language’ through the journal – a phenomenon that can be described as heteroglossia.<sup>19</sup>

16 Eco, “Die Innovation im Seriellen,” 155–80; Beil et.al., eds., *Die Serie*.

17 “The beginning of the mass distribution and consumption of the press in Germany is not marked by newspapers, but by illustrated magazines” (my translation). Gebhardt, “Illustrierte Zeitschriften,” B41.

18 See Reed, *Popular Magazine*, 80.

19 Instead of presenting the concept of heteroglossia in detail, it will suffice to simply compare it to polyphony, combining several voices to a single unit. For more on this approach, see Mussell, *Science*, 85; Bandish, “Bakhtin’s Dialogism,” 239–62.

But how do these elements, these voices, relate to each other and in how many different ways? In a journal, each element enters into numerous relationships with the elements that accompany or frame it and to which the element itself refers or is referred to. This applies to both the double-page spread of the journal and the single page as a designed surface upon which the individual element interacts with the elements surrounding it; it applies to where it is referred to within the journal issue and beyond to other issues; in addition, these elements can refer to events, phenomena, and circumstances outside the journal.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, there are numerous closer or more distant relationships in journals that come to bear on surfaces and have different types of structural connections. Seriality can be a helpful thought pattern in the analysis of these relationships, as approaching this network of voices and affiliations via seriality means above all considering that an analysis of individual detached elements hardly makes sense, precisely because each element is part of a serial structure and a heteroglot setting, and because series function differently from closed works. This of course also applies to the images in the illustrated magazines.<sup>21</sup>

Tom Gretton points to this from the perspective of art history.<sup>22</sup> His essays are so groundbreaking because he takes the illustrations seriously, above all the wood engravings in their specific quality, but also in their media-specific context, that is, their function within a journal. He very clearly and energetically goes against the common practice by other art historians of focusing on individual and primarily 'expensive' works of art: "One such difference is that between the single work of art and the serial structure of the periodical. It is both possible and necessary to make the individual work of art a primary focus of art-historical study, but it is hard to imagine what the focal point might be when one studies a journal. Neither the article, the picture nor the page is an adequate representation of the journal; even the single issue is still not in any real sense 'the journal.'"<sup>23</sup>

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20 In addition, Belknap considers photography in magazines to be a particularly serial technique: "Seriality in this perspective is about movement across time – not just movement located in the referent, but movement of the photographic object across space. And the periodical – with its own type of seriality – is an inextricable component of the seriality of photography." Belknap, *From a Photograph*, 12.

21 See also Kelleter, "Populäre Serialität," 15.

22 See for example Gretton, "Pragmatics of Page Design."

23 Gretton, "Difference and Competition," 145–46.



## 2.2 *Serial Relationships and Degrees of Relationship*

On the one hand, there are disciplines, such as art history, which often deal with individual works while too often neglecting their serial context. On the other hand, there is the danger on the part of serial narration research that the focus will be primarily on factors of interruption and continuation, that is, on the joining of the individual elements into a whole. As a consequence, 'intermediate voices' (to stay with the metaphor of heteroglossia) remain obscured. That neglect concerns basically all elements not directly related to the narrative series: elements grouped around the individual episodes (for example news or advertisement), layout elements framing, preceding and following them, texts situated between the episodes (for example, peritexts) and other serial relationships within the respective journal – all of them form the environment for the individual series. These elements are at most treated as serial contexts, not as integral parts or at least the essential environment of a certain series and are therefore typically ignored by seriality research. However, it is precisely the serial constitution of illustrated journals in their entirety, that is, their consisting of series and serial relationships, also in visual forms, that must be the focus here. Luisa Calè writes about the serial publications of Dickens:

Reading Dickens in parts means hearing allusions to the 'voices' of other texts, for the boundaries between individual titles are more porous than those of a bound book.... A cover-to-cover reading fails to supplement Dickens's 'people in parts' with the world of other books, pictures, galleries, and commodities that make up the synchronous attractions of the monthly parts.<sup>24</sup>

To adopt Calè's metaphor of porosity, not only the boundaries between the parts are porous, but also the ones between the episode of a narration and other elements of the journal. Periodical research that really concentrates on seriality and not just on serial narration must take into account both kinds of porous boundaries, or rather the entire network of porous boundaries – because this approach reveals the complexity of the journal as a medium. However, it should be noted that the 'porosity' metaphor is primarily helpful as a means to highlight differences to the book. Journals have an enormous range of possibilities for positioning an individual element in relation to the rest of the issue: they can emphasize boundaries, create clear divisions, and draw conspicuous demarcation lines with thick frames, rubrics, and page units. The journal can use many nuances, opening up dotted degrees of relationship – 'dotted'

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<sup>24</sup> Calè, "Dickens Extra-Illustrated," 30–31.

to be taken metaphorically or even literally with, for example, fragile and only partially drawn frames, overlaps of images, dispersion of a picture and its text without clear indications or even only associations, etc. The contextually porous relationship can be anything but visually porous. Seriality and Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblance seem particularly productive for a presentation and clarification of the network of relationships because it is about serial relationships, similarities and degrees of relationship, distance and proximity.

### 2.3 *Seriality as an Open Concept*

In order to apply seriality and Wittgenstein's concept to illustrated journals, a heuristic definition is essential: What is seriality? Christine Blättler distinguishes between an understanding of the term 'series' in the arts, where 'series' denotes a mode of production, presentation, and reception and a mathematical understanding, where 'series' is a form of relationship between several entities.<sup>25</sup> I consider both definitions to be productive, especially in their combination and conjunction with Blättler's conclusion: "All in all, the series can be understood as both a determined and a determining pattern of order" (my translation).<sup>26</sup> For our object of investigation, the illustrated journal, this means that the journal determines the series and that the series and the aforementioned serial production method of journals determine the journal as a medium.

What role do visual series or the visual components of series play in this reciprocal relationship? How do they operate as determining parts of an ordering scheme in relation to the medium which determines them? An expanded and open concept of seriality is used here: not a focus on serial narration or a too narrow view on marked series, but seriality as a generic term for connections and ordering schemes. Seriality is so important and revealing as a research lens with regard to journals because journals consist of relationships, offer and establish partnerships, suggest connections or consciously cut them off due to the proximity of elements on the surface, and even establish relationships through conscious denial of relationships.

### 2.4 *Wittgenstein's Journals*

Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblance is suitable for understanding seriality as an open concept, which distances itself as far as possible from ideas of wholeness, interruption, and continuation, which are typical for the

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25 Blättler, "Wider die Tragödie der Kultur," 137.

26 Blättler, 140.

analysis of serial narration. Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblance can easily be applied to series and serial structures in journals. He himself uses the term 'game' as an example: a wide variety of games from football to chess are interconnected not by a single feature, but by several features which do not all have to be shared simultaneously by all games. In this vein, it can also be said that the manifold manifestations of seriality are connected by features that do not all have to be shared simultaneously by all series. Three general features of Wittgenstein's theory are relevant for journals:<sup>27</sup>

- (i) **Visuality:** Wittgenstein is repeatedly concerned with different types of images, that is, how tangible images (including illustrations) can be,<sup>28</sup> to what extent the understanding of words and concepts is linked to images.<sup>29</sup> His term 'family resemblances' is rooted in a visual way of thinking; the term 'resemblances' already contains a visual component that plays a fundamental role in the various serial visual elements of illustrated journals. Serialities are affiliations, caused by similarities that intersect each other in the journal with its manifold serial structures. The reader is often made to realize (for example, by the same framing) that different pictures belong to one and the same essay or to other serial structures like the section; in the same vein, serial associations and relations to the essay can stand next to it, on the page before, or after it, etc.: "I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than 'family resemblances'; for the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way."<sup>30</sup>
- (ii) **Network:** The complex degrees of relationship outlined so far make Wittgenstein's theory seem particularly suitable, as the concept offers access to that "complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities

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27 I follow the basic features of family resemblances identified by Gabriel, but extend them for the present object, see Gabriel, "Familienähnlichkeiten," 631–32.

28 "What really comes before our mind when we understand a word? – Isn't it something like a picture? Can't it be a picture?," Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 54e.

29 Wittgenstein even says that his book is a kind of series, a kind of album in which similar things are presented over and over again from different perspectives: "The same or almost the same points were always being approached afresh from different directions, and new sketches made. Very many of these were badly drawn or uncharacteristic, marked by all the defects of a weak draughtsman. And when they were rejected a number of tolerable ones were left, which now had to be arranged and sometimes cut down, so that if you looked at them you could get a picture of the landscape. Thus this book is really only an album." Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 1e.

30 Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 32e.

of detail.”<sup>31</sup> Overall, ‘family resemblance’ allows us to describe the network within which serial elements relate to each other. The concept is especially useful for series or serial relationships, where there is no basic type or origin, but where fluid and variable series unfold and develop in a network of degrees of relationships, while similarity and inherited connections continually evolve. In contrast to the perspectives on serial narration, which attempts to define basic forms such as ‘series’ and ‘serial’ as clearly as possible, a Wittgensteinian approach expressly distances itself from the demand for a strict separation and definition of terms. Wittgenstein’s point is that terms do not have any clear-cut meaning, but rather contain and evoke various connotations and denote a pool of elements. What is a series? Everything we perceive, recognize, read as serial – above all, everything we attribute to seriality. Family resemblance is thus a question of variable, but not random, consideration and attribution: “[The] meaning of a word is its use in the language.”<sup>32</sup> Therefore, one could say that in the mind of Wittgenstein, the meaning of a text, an illustration, or a design element in a journal is its use in the serial construction of the journal.

- (iii) *Temporality*: Family resemblance develops linearly in the course of a ‘before’ and ‘after,’ so that each family member occupies a fixed, quasi datable place on this line of development. This is applicable, for example, to journal issues and the linear arrangement of pages. There need not be a correspondence between the first and the third element as long as a second, middle, or transitional element has similarities with its ‘precursor’ and ‘successor.’ In extreme cases, if they are far enough apart, they may not share a single property with each other. Yet they may be said to belong to the same family as long as there is a mediating sequence between them.

Lorenz Engell has already transferred Wittgenstein’s concept to television series.<sup>33</sup> Albeit quite different, the illustrated magazine is comparable to television with regard to its serial constitution.<sup>34</sup> A particularly distinctive feature, however, is the materiality of the journal, the pages: Unlike television, the object consists of several interconnected print areas – the arrangement itself of these print areas shows a serial relationship through page numbers and sections. These surfaces enable or create relationships by arranging elements

31 Wittgenstein, 32e.

32 Wittgenstein, 20e.

33 Engell, “Die Kunst des Fernsehens,” 19–37.

34 Fröhlich and Ruchatz, “Teil 2: Die Zeitschrift als Fernsehen,” 111–34.

on the same page or double page next to each other, above or below each other. On the one hand, there are temporal-serial, on the other hand, serial graphic and textual relationships; these two types of relationships are not isolated from each other, but in turn interact with each other. Madleen Podewski summarizes:

Magazines are complex constructions in which relationships exist between the individual elements that are rich in variation and always take place simultaneously on several levels.... Journals are places of negotiation in which serial and small-scale condensed proposals are made, modified, or rejected ... This negotiation work, however, is not only carried out discursively, for example in poetological or literary or other texts. Rather, it takes place mainly practically, in the concrete material design of the magazine order (my translation).<sup>35</sup>

In sum, the journal as a medium is a place of negotiation for many different elements; it is both a medium determined by serial contexts and, at the same time, a medium determining serial relations. Due to its serial constitution, it is enormously flexible and allows for both distant and close or loose and tight relationships. Seriality as an open term offers an opportunity to consider the numerous family resemblances as a whole, that is, to make it clear that there are porous and less porous connections of various kinds between the elements in illustrated journals.

For an analysis of individual phenomena, I suggest considering seriality in journals on several levels. It is fruitful to work with an open definition of seriality in illustrated journals because it can illuminate the whole spectrum of relationships. At the same time, however, when working with an open definition of seriality, it makes sense to consciously distinguish between levels and to explore the journal as a place of negotiation of relationships. Ultimately, the journal issue is more than its part, that is, 'over summative,' if one takes into account the principles of Gestalt psychology. Moreover, as we have learned from Christian von Ehrenfels's second criterion of Gestalt psychology,<sup>36</sup> the journal as a whole is completely *different* from the sum of its parts. Both concepts are necessary because the addition is more and different than the sum of the individual elements on each level.<sup>37</sup>

35 Podewski, "Blätter und Blüten und Bilder," 156–57.

36 Ehrenfels, "Über Gestaltqualitäten," 261.

37 For a more detailed explanation, see Fröhlich, "A/Symmetry and Dis/order," 87–119.

### 3 Series across Issues

The most common form associated with seriality is a series across issues. This form of seriality is the best-known and most researched; again, primarily because it is typical of serial, script-bound narration, typical of Victorian serial and feature-length novels, for example. However, how do illustrated magazines deal with this classic form of serial relationship? Certainly, on the one hand, quite conventionally with written stories. Part of Thierry Gervais's insights is that although the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* (*BIZ*) is famous for high standard photojournalism, he discovered in the center of these journals a serial novel mostly without illustrations.<sup>38</sup> This is of course an indication of how heavily journals relied on serial narrations; they supported subscriptions and were considerable buying arguments for the reader who was eager to see the next issue. In short, serial narration supported loyalty.<sup>39</sup> This can be very clearly shown from a historical perspective, especially in regard to the introduction of new media and distribution channels. Serial narration and serial mechanisms are still often used to build up the familiarization with and subsequent loyalty to a new medium.<sup>40</sup>

But how were these mechanisms transferred, continued, and varied on a visual level? Here I would like to consider less researched forms. As an example, I present a series from the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (*ISDN*), which, in the first episode, reports how bulls are selected for Spanish bullfighting, and in the last, how they are killed in the arena. This story is spread over six issues in seven weeks, with a one-week break, following the life and death of a bull. The major difference to other narrative series is first of all a much stronger emphasis on illustration, which is not only larger here, but is also positioned in a more dominant fashion. In addition, the relationship between text and image is almost reversed: instead of the text being illustrated, the image is explained, described, and supplemented with additional information. This can be seen in the following example in which the image, the artist, and its serial appearance are highlighted: "The above drawing is the first of a series to be published in our pages depicting various stages of the Spanish bull fight painted by our artist, Mr. Lionel Edwards, A.R.C.A., who has lately returned from Spain."<sup>41</sup> Later in the text, one repeatedly finds image descriptions and explicit references to the image: "The incident depicted above shows such a

38 Gervais, *'Public' Life of Photographs*, 35.

39 Hagedorn, "Doubtless to Be Continued," 27–48.

40 Fröhlich, *Der Clifffhanger*.

41 *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (*ISDN*), (1910), 103.

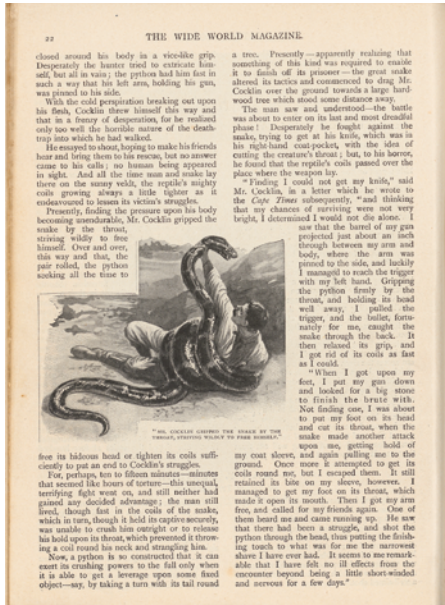


FIGURE 2.4  
*Wide World Magazine*, vol. 22  
 (October 1908): 22 (size: 23 × 17 cm)

'testing,' and was witnessed near the banks of the Guadalquivir. Twenty or thirty horsemen, armed with long lances are engaged, pairs of them taking it in turn to ride a bull together"<sup>42</sup>

In the illustrations to narratives by fiction authors in *The Strand* or the *Wide World Magazine*, etc., a phrase from the narration can usually be read below the picture, often even marked as a direct quotation. The picture is thus explicitly labelled as an illustration of the text (fig. 2.4).

In the visual series from the *ISDN*, it is the other way around; the text repeatedly refers to the image. Moreover, these visual series are less fictional – they refer to actual places, activities, or events, like the one about bullfighting in Spain. However, with regard to the similarities between narrative series and visual series, it should be mentioned that here, too, the last issue in particular takes on a special function. The special issue "Hunting Number," published on October 10, 1910, delayed the conclusion of the series by one issue; the reader had to wait. And the reference to the last issue is underlined by the headline: "concluded" (fig. 2.5).

Regarding the relationship between type and image in the *ISDN* and other journals such as the *BIZ*, it should also be mentioned briefly that with eight

42 *ISDN* (1910), 103.



FIGURE 2.5 *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, no. 1937 (29.10.1910): 373 (size: 41 × 28.5 cm)

the font size is exceedingly small, while the images on these very large pages<sup>43</sup> often take up a whole page or even a double page. How much of it was really read, we will never know. Nevertheless, the font size stands in stark contrast to the image size, and to actually read it, the *ISDN* must have been quite a strenuous pastime. *The Strand* or *L'Illustration*, with a font size of eleven in the text body, were much more reader-friendly.

I would also like to analyze the visual labeling, and placement of the bullfight series within the serial medium of the journal and the image technique used. This series is distinguished not only by its numbering as a series, but also by other parameters. As shown in the table below (see table 2.1), the episodes are always found in the middle of the issue (pp. 13, 15, or 17), except, remarkably, the first and last issues: here they both appear much later, on page 23. Whereas the middle episodes are incorporated into the flow of the magazine, the first and last episodes are given a prominent position within the respective issue, just before the advertising. Moreover, the episodes are always on the recto page, never verso, which means this position in the issue works as both a pictorial and a spatial imprinting. In addition, the episodes on the bullfight are placed within the respective issue as an intermediary between sports and

43 Size of pages of the *ISDN* is 41 cm, 28.5 cm; type area: 37 cm, 23.7 cm (e.g., 1906).



TABLE 2.1 Bullfight series in the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*

Part	Date	Page	Reading direction	Recto/verso	Topic on verso page	Topic next page	Special features
1.	17.9	23	Turned	Recto	Drama	Sport	On page 16 bulls
2.	24.9	15	Turned	Recto	Drama	Sport	
3.	1.10	13	<b>Normal</b>	Recto	<b>Sport</b>	<b>Drama</b>	
4.	8.10	17	<b>Normal</b>	Recto	Drama	<b>Drama</b>	On page 7 bulls
5.	15.10	15	Turned	Recto	Drama	Sport	
6.	29.10	23	Turned	Recto	Drama	Sport	

drama, thematically quite appropriate: the opposite verso page is dedicated to the theater five times, the pages afterwards mainly to sports.

Furthermore, in the issues of the first and fourth episodes, more bulls from the Birmingham Shorthorn Show<sup>44</sup> and a Dairy Show<sup>45</sup> are shown on two pages. Although such events are occasionally covered in the *ISDN*, this frequency is, overall, rather rare and extraordinary. Bulls thus remain a topic, and similarities and serial relationships are also evoked across the pages. Some of these findings may be coincidental, but the set of all combined attributes speaks for itself.

The illustrations of the bullfight are also designed as a series and stand out from the issues – the four outer episodes of the six are turned ninety degrees to the right. Numerous illustrated journals such as *LIZ*, *ISDN*, *L'illustration*, etc. used the rotated layout to display horizontal images horizontally. As a result, “viewers of maximum-width landscape pictures had to tilt their head to one side, or physically to rotate the magazine.”<sup>46</sup> But to use this rotation for almost all episodes of a series again brings a visual, here even a performative serial imprint, since the reader had to turn the journal or his head for almost every episode.

An essential part of the resemblance attribution and the visual-serial imprint in this series is owed to the image production techniques. First, the series does not change the image production technique (here: watercolors) or the image reproduction technique (here: halftone) from episode to episode.

44 *ISDN*, September 17, 1910, 96.

45 *ISDN*, October 8, 1910, 207.

46 Gretton, “Pragmatics of Page Design,” 699.

This means that the image techniques are part of the visual identity of the respective visual series. Second, in 1910, most of the *ISDN* images were taken from photographs that were then reproduced using the halftone technique. As Tom Gretton also observed in other journals such as *The Illustrated London News*, these images are handled differently – they have a lower status.<sup>47</sup> In the *ISDN*, too, the photos are much smaller, and more often several photos are combined to form one picture page. Drawings and paintings are also reproduced using the halftone process, that is, a photomechanical process, but in a much larger size:<sup>48</sup> “Screened photographs were printed much smaller than half-tone screen versions of hand-made ‘art-work.’”<sup>49</sup> In addition, in the series about the bullfight, the original is painted with watercolors, which is seldom the case elsewhere, and moving and action-packed pictorial contents are always shown, further distinguishing the series from the rest of the respective issue. The photographs of horse races etc. mainly capture stagnant or only slightly moving objects. If a photo is actually taken directly from a race, the image is usually very small and heavily retouched. The top right photograph of a horse race from the same issue as the second episode of the bullfight series is the best example: Just one twenty-fourth of the entire picture surface is occupied by this picture, as if it had to be hidden, and it is also very heavily retouched.

Such visual series in particular seem to have hardly been taken into account so far. In the period from 1880 to 1910, I found more than fifteen visual series in the *LIZ*, most of which had a title expressing their visual seriality: “Deutsche Schlösser und Burgen” (German Palaces and Castles) (see fig. 2.3; table 2.2), or even more clearly, “Wiener Bilder” (Pictures from Vienna), “Berliner Bilder” (Pictures from Berlin), “Bilder aus der Schweiz” (Pictures from Switzerland), “Bilder aus China” (Pictures from China), “Gröndländische Bilder” (Pictures from Greenland), etc. – often with very little text.

With these *LIZ* series, the challenge mentioned at the beginning of this essay becomes apparent: It is difficult to determine the exact duration and number of episodes, but not only because pictures are lost, taped over, etc. The visual series of the *LIZ* are also different from their narrative ‘relatives’ because they are usually not numbered. For determining how many episodes make up one of the visual series, all issues would have to be fully available and fully searched, a challenging task given how long these series sometimes lasted.

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47 Gretton, 706.

48 Gretton, “Le statut subaltern,” 34–49.

49 Gretton, “Pragmatics of Page Design,” 706.

TABLE 2.2 Visual series in *Illustrierte Zeitung*

Series title	Publication period	Parts	Numbered: Yes/No
<i>Bilder aus der Schweiz</i>	1881–1884 (?)	>3 (?)	No
<i>Berliner Bilder</i>	1881–1901 (?)	>14 (?)	No
<i>Deutsche Schlösser und Burgen</i>	1881–1885 (?)	>12 (?)	No
<i>Wiener Bilder</i>	1882–1901 (?)	>10 (?)	No
<i>Winterleben an der Riviera/Von der Riviera</i>	1900–1901	6	Yes
<i>Berliner Kunstausstellung</i>	1901	4	No
<i>Galerie schöner Frauenköpfe</i>	1881–1884 (?)	>38 (?)	No
<i>Amerikanische Skizzen</i>	1882–1886	>6	No
<i>Erkenne dich selbst!</i>	1891–1892 (?)	>7 (?)	Yes
<i>Porträts aus dem Deutschen Reichstag</i>	1881 (?)–1885 (?)	>23 (?)	Yes

I was able to trace the “Wiener Bilder” ([1882?]-1901) and the “Berliner Bilder” ([1881?]-1901) over the span of decades.

These *LIZ* picture series have numerous family resemblances among themselves: Most of them carry the title “Bilder” and have similar sizes, are located in similar positions within the issues, and are provided with little, mostly only descriptive text. Accordingly, serial references are not only found within the respective “Bilder” series, but also with regard to the other picture series, which in turn partly have further references to series or individual elements within the respective issues, etc.

The visual series of the *LIZ* thus have an interesting intermediate status. On the one hand, they appear to be quite important for their quantity alone, their number of episodes, and their prominence in the journal: the illustrations occupy mostly half a page or more and are usually to be found at the beginning of the respective issues (fig. 2.6).

On the other hand, the lack of numbers and the mostly barely existing temporal references to the publication date might indicate that they were basically used as fillers and actually appeared irregularly.

### 3.1 *Temporality*

Visual series across issues also share temporal effects with written narrative series.<sup>50</sup> Four issues of the *LIZ* begin with a seasonal reference and thus to the time of publication.

50 For further temporal effects of journals see Turner, “Periodical Time,” 183–96; Turner, “Time Periodicals,” 309–16.



FIGURE 2.6 *Illustrierte Zeitung*, no. 2550 (14.05.1892): 527 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)

Visual series, like visual novels, thus explicitly evoked synchronicity to express the passing of time and contemporaneity with the reader. And, of course, this is also repeatedly reflected in the image selection and design, as here on the *LIZ* covers (fig. 2.7). The journal presents itself as a visually serial medium that accompanies the reader over different seasons, that is, is bound to the same temporality, and expresses this in a visual way.

However, the classification as a series becomes more difficult with regard to numerous visual ‘family members’ within illustrated journals that are strongly linked to periodicity. From 1881 onwards, the *LIZ* repeatedly featured portraits of beautiful women on the cover. The subtitle follows this pattern: title of the series, “Galerie schöner Frauenköpfe,” then a number, like the number of the respective pin-up girl *avant la lettre*, and usually, not always, the alleged name of the woman or picture (fig. 2.8).

The series comes to a kind of conclusion – in the advertising section of the *LIZ*, attention is drawn to the volume by the Weber Verlag (publishing house) in which the collected pictures are published. However, this Weber Verlag publication is in itself serial. It also consists of different parts, which again share different family resemblances with each other and take advantage of the flexibility of serial structures – they can be published in different compositions, that is, in different family constellations (fig. 2.9).

However, apart from the aforementioned shared markers (subtitle, numbering, advertisement), by what criteria can this be called a series? How do these pictures differ from a whole series of cover pictures of beautiful women’s heads



FIGURE 2.7  
*Illustrirte Zeitung*, no. 2328 (11.02.1888):  
 123 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)



FIGURE 2.8  
*Illustrirte Zeitung*, no. 2035 (01.07.1882):  
 3 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)



FIGURE 2.9  
*Illustrierte Zeitung*, no. 2151  
 (20.09.1884): 271  
 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)

published in the *LIZ* afterwards but without a subtitle, numbering, and publishing in a volume (fig. 2.10)?

Basically, all that is missing are the markings, the exhibition of the series as a series. Here, even more so than in written narrative series, one can distinguish between marked and unmarked series. Consequently, there are many series in illustrated journals that have been marked as such. Nevertheless, there are also numerous others that appear to readers of several issues as a series, especially researchers, because they, unlike ordinary readers, usually read or leaf through several issues in a row. The concept of family resemblances allows all of these images to be understood as parts of a family that encompasses a broad spectrum of proximity and distance, of similarities and dissimilarities.

#### 4 Series in One Journal

Is there such a thing as inner seriality in the illustrated journals? And if so, what does this terminology do for us? Again, it makes a difference whether the





FIGURE 2.10  
*Illustrierte Zeitung*, no. 1931 (03.07.1880):  
 1 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)

journal itself encourages the creation of analogy, the comparison, the compilation, the serial referencing and partly marks it accordingly – does it show the similarities of the family members or does it simply create a corresponding effect due to certain family resemblances? So again, one could speak of a marked and an unmarked inner seriality.

The phenomenon found more often in nineteenth-century journals is that elements are strictly separated from each other in the issue but belong to the same article. The collaborative research group “Journal Literature” describes this phenomenon with Raymond Williams’s “flow”<sup>51</sup> concept. The serial structure and stitching together, a kind of rhapsodic tendency, is connected to the programming flow of television. In nineteenth-century illustrated magazines, the reader, albeit quite differently, has to deal with flow effects as well. One often comes across pages, texts, or pictures that clearly state where to find the corresponding serial element – sometimes the page numbers in brackets indicate the actual article that belongs to the picture shown. However, some texts and pictures are spread throughout an entire issue, requiring you to draw the connections for yourself. Important mechanisms of series, mainly loyalty,

51 Kaminski and Ruchatz, *Journalliteratur*.

structure, and memory, are also at work here: The seriality of the expanded essay structures the issue, guiding the reader through the issue and always leading back to the individual essay. Ultimately, this supports what I described in my dissertation as a threefold or sometimes fourfold loyalty functioning mode of serial narrations.<sup>52</sup> In serial narratives, the recipient not only develops loyalty to the respective series, but also to the respective producer and thus to the respective medium. In other words, this would mean that the recipient of the illustrated journal in the nineteenth century would ultimately remain loyal not only to this article, but also to the issue as such because the serial structures and effects build up curiosity, sometimes even joy of discovery, and thus loyalty.

Other nineteenth-century illustrated journals make the serial structure of the issue as such very clear, building on it from the outset and so consciously rendering it their distinguishing mark.<sup>53</sup> The *Wide World Magazine* (*wwm*) for example was a monthly adventure journal published from April 1898 to December 1965. From the fourth issue onwards, the individual elements were brought together at the end of the issues to form a whole.<sup>54</sup> The individual essays referenced different countries around the world, and they were followed by the “Odds and Ends” section. In this section, strange customs or happenings in the world were presented over three to five pages and connected by pictures and texts.

“Odds and Ends,” was always concluded by a map showing all countries where the individual articles had taken place (fig. 2.11): “The Map-Contents of the wide world magazine which shows at a glance the locality of each article and narrative of adventure in this number.” The issue was therefore explicitly concluded with a picture that combined the parts into a whole, almost exclusively visually emphasizing the family resemblance or the family affiliation between respective issue’s parts. The individual stories have basically nothing in common except that they all play in different parts of the world and are members of the *Wide World Magazine* family – Wittgenstein’s way of thinking about a question of attribution. Clearly, not only is the issue designated as a number, as part of a series, but the number itself is highlighted as a unit consisting of many microelements. Therefore, it could be said that seriality arranges the issue similar to how symmetry often organizes the page.<sup>55</sup> The headings and structures focus on recognizability and imprinting, with new content

52 Fröhlich, *Der Clifffhanger*, 608.

53 See Podewski, “Blätter und Blüten,” 156–57.

54 Cordell, “Edith Maturin,” 459.

55 Fröhlich, “A/Symmetry and Dis/order,” 114.



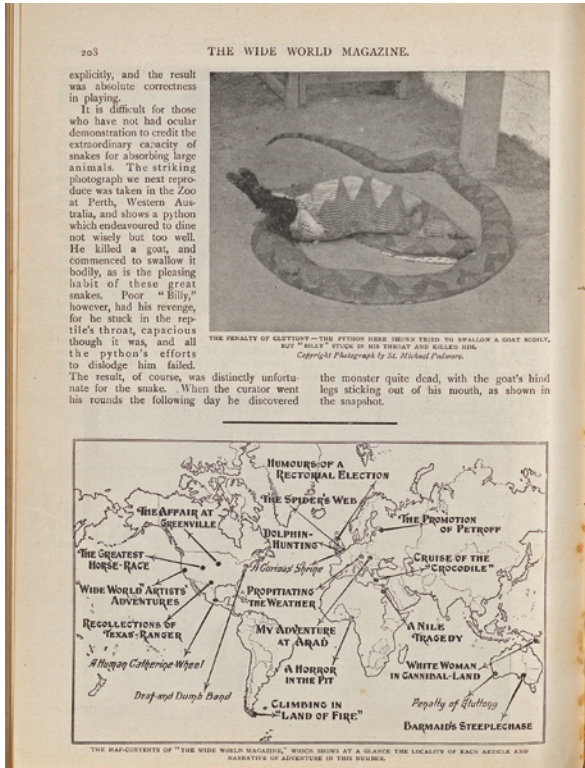


FIGURE 2.11  
*Wide World Magazine*,  
 vol. 22 (November 1908):  
 208 (size: 23 × 17 cm)

underneath. The family resemblance builds above all on recognizable similarity in order to prevent arbitrariness despite variability and heterogeneity.<sup>56</sup>

## 5 Seriality on Single/Double Pages

An important unit for journals is the double-page spread because it is ultimately what the recipient is confronted with most of the time. In purely visual terms, there is a large surface whose natural separation can be used. Serial references are thus possible within the double-page spread, or individual elements on the individual pages can enter into various distant or closer smaller relationships with each other. In the following example (fig. 2.12; 2.13) and on

<sup>56</sup> On the variable, but not random consideration and attribution of feature components in Wittgenstein's theory see Engell, "Die Kunst des Fernsehens," 20.



FIGURE 2.12 *Illustrirte Zeitung*, no. 2147 (23.08.1884): 182 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)

many advertising pages, seriality is exhibited: the reader is supposed to compare the different pictures, which are all molded into a similar layout, similar image size, similar axis arrangement; it is marked that things have a relation to each other, affinity is produced and there is a clear intention and will to serialize.

In conclusion, I would like to examine a double-page spread, on which different distant and close relationships, family resemblances, again become clear (fig. 2.14; 2.15): First, on the verso page is a collage, of pictures from “Vogtländischen Schweiz.” The pictures are arranged in such a way that most of them suggest analogies between the depicted archways and bridge arches. Once again, a visual seriality is exhibited and the viewer is visually invited to compare and assemble the images into a mosaic of the region of Vogtland Switzerland. Second, you find on the recto page a picture from the series “Portraits from the German Reichstag,” number 34, Adolf Woevmann. The name of the politician, the series title, and the number are mentioned twice: beneath the image and in the title and subtitle of the article. There is also an asterisk with a reference to number 33 in issue 2180, so in one article we have a serial picture-text relationship and a level beyond the current issue. Third, the picture underneath has a serial relationship within the issue, a kind of flow, because text and picture elements that belong together are distributed over



FIGURE 2.13 *Illustrirte Zeitung*, no. 2147 (23.08.1884): 183 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)





Zieler aus der Dargestellten Schemo und Hingung. Originalzeichnung von D. Ecker.

FIGURE 2.14 *Illustrirte Zeitung*, no. 2186 (23.05.1885): 510 (size: 37.2 × 26 cm)

Porträts aus dem deutschen Reichstag.

34. Adolf Woermann.<sup>1)</sup>  
 Genannt genannt mit Herben den  
 deutschen Welt neben den rudernden,  
 aber erloschenen Colonialverführern  
 des großen deutschen unerschöpflichen  
 Reiches an dem durch die großen Ent-  
 wicklungen von Ostindien aus ungeschultem  
 Reichthum, wie seine Ausflüge schon  
 in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts er-  
 kennt hatten, soll es mit dem Vorkommen  
 auf dem Vorkommen der Deutsche  
 nicht mehr arbeitslos sei. Nachdem unter-  
 schiedliche bahngänge und Bremer Niede-  
 re unter der Führung ihrer Städte sich  
 in allen Reichthümern bereits lebenden,  
 bei Reichthümern erwachen hatten, lag die  
 Fokussierung des kontinentalen ökonomi-  
 schen Handels nach mehr, als die Epe-  
 chologien durch die schon vorerwähnte  
 Anlage bei Norddeutschen Handels und  
 Deutschen Reiches ericht wurden.

In jenen unternehmenden Reichthümern  
 geleitet und Adolf Woermann, der Vater  
 des nationalliberalen Abgeordneten  
 Adolf Woermann, welcher letztere am  
 10. December 1847 in Hamburg geboren  
 wurde. Nach gutem Besuch der sta-  
 tistischen Handelsabtheilung wurde der Sohn  
 bald nach Reichthümern seiner Schulbildung  
 auf der Hochschule des Bergbauwesens in  
 die weltliche Welt geführt. Im Jahre  
 1866 ging der Staatswissenschaftler  
 auf einem Geschäftsreise nach dem großen  
 Norden an der Spitze des Handels, Dampf-  
 schiffe, und erreichte von 1869 an ein  
 Jahr in Petersburg, wo er als Comissar ei-  
 ner großen deutschen Firma den öster-  
 reichischen Handel prüfend seinen Kennt-  
 nis. Er reiste nach Vorderindien, Burma,  
 China und Japan und verlebte seine  
 Jahre am die Welt nach mehrmaligen  
 den Reisen in den Vereinigten Staaten  
 \*) in d. russischen L. 1866. 20-  
 21. 1866.



Porträts aus dem Deutschen Reichstag: 34. Adolf Woermann.

über Cuba. In den Jahren 1871 und 1872  
 unternahm Woermann zwei Reisen nach  
 der ostindischen Welttheile und leitete  
 während der letzteren Jahre fast vollständig  
 die bereits seit 1850 bestehenden Pacific-  
 und Handelsverbindungen sei-  
 ner Firma in dem Westindien über.  
 Nach seiner Heimkehr aus Ostindien,  
 1874, nahm wieder den Sohn als Zelt-  
 haber in seine Firma G. Woermann auf,  
 an deren Spitze Woermann nach dem  
 1880 erfolgten Tode des Vaters steht.  
 Woermann ist Mitglied der Versamm-  
 lung des hamburgischen Staats, der  
 „Bürgerchaft“ sowie der hamburgischen  
 Handelskammer, deren Vorsteher er  
 1884 war.

Im Jahre 1880 fand die Firma  
 das erste Dampfschiff nach Westindien,  
 die kann bei der Besichtigung der Ver-  
 kehr ein großes Dampfschiff für diese  
 Fahrt und unterhält jetzt mit fünf eige-  
 nen Dampfern mindestens einmal im  
 Monat eine regelmäßige Postdampf-  
 schiffahrt nach allen Häfen der Welttheile  
 des Atlantischen Ozeans. Die wach-  
 sende Bedeutung des deutschen Handels  
 in diesen Gegenden sowie die wachsende  
 Wichtigkeit anderer Nationen ist ein  
 direktes Ergebniß des deutschen Handels  
 aufzuweisen. Darum erwacht  
 die Firma G. Woermann in Verein mit  
 dem gleichfalls hamburgischen Hause  
 Jansen u. Jaspersohn im Sommer  
 1884, um bekannt, das Staatsministerium  
 der Centralamerika, Mexiko am Ende der  
 gleichnamigen haben erfinden Baltica-  
 schiffahrt und vertrieben. Wäre an der  
 Reichthümern ähnlich von dem America  
 Handel Westindien zwischen den nord-  
 lichen Staaten, Mexiko, Nicaragua und  
 Camp, als Dampfschiff für das deut-  
 sche Reich.

Bei den letzten Reisen wurde Woer-  
 mann von den politischen Liberalen in  
 Verein mit dem bei kontinentalen Welt-  
 reisen angeführt, gelangte aber nur in



Das neue Verhaftungssystem von Joseph Hoffmann in Wien. (S. 513.)

FIGURE 2.15 Illustrierte Zeitung, no. 2186 (23.05.1885): 511 (size: 37.2 x 26 cm)

pages that are apart: The essay to the picture (“Das neue Bestattungssystem von Joseph Hoffmann in Wien. [S.513]”) follows two pages later, creating a flow effect.

Although the recto and verso page appear disconnected at first due to the rotation of the verso page, there are also connective characteristics: All three elements have performative properties that emphasize their serial relationships, because all of them highlight in this way that they are parts of something.

1. On the verso page the reader has to turn the magazine or his/her head in order to be able to see all parts in their resulting total width – also a kind of conclusion.
2. With the thirty-fourth episode of “Portraits from the German Reichstag,” the reader is encouraged to consider the serial relationship to a previous issue.
3. The third element invites the reader to turn the page in order to connect the visual part to the corresponding written part.

At the same time, these three elements are connected by a layout that emphasizes the three columns as a unifying visual design: The pictures from Vogtland Switzerland are arranged in three columns, the portrait forms a three-column structure together with the associated two text columns framing it, and even the picture below with its three largest towers emphasizes the three-columns from above.

The example illustrates once again that it makes sense to differentiate between seriality and its ranges over issues, within issues, or on double-page spreads or even single pages, while keeping in mind that there are no clear boundaries – all of those relationships are part of the family that journals constitute because they repeatedly use or even exhibit this visual family resemblance. With these manifold, dense, and complex serial-performative structures and family resemblances, the reader is woven into the magazine’s network.

## 6 Conclusion

With regard to serial appearances in nineteenth-century illustrated journals, the following conclusions may be drawn:

- a) The nineteenth-century magazine is also visually conceived in a serial way: it combines visuality and seriality.

- b) There are marked and unmarked visual series, and of course everything in between; this could also be described by Turner's unruliness of the serial.<sup>57</sup>
- c) There are several levels to nineteenth-century illustrated magazines. It makes sense to differentiate between these levels, each of which is also analytically related to seriality. For example, the last sample analyzed has seriality structures on a total of three levels: First, reference is made to other issues. Second, reference is made to other pages within the same issue. And third, reference is also made to different seriality and similarity relationships on the same double-page spread. Yet, all elements, with their different degrees of relationships and dependencies, together form a dense and complex network of serial relationships that connects the reader to the journal.
- d) As for effects, it is evident that the various levels promote completely different loyalties: Am I encouraged as a reader to be loyal to the article, to the issue, to several issues, or to the journal as such?
- e) In addition to loyalty, different time structures are supported: a proximity and even synchronicity with the recipient, the feeling that the journal is bound to its own time, and that the time for recipient and journal passes simultaneously.

One can basically observe that different serialities multiply each other. Smaller serial units within large series characterize the appearance, not only of themselves, but also of the journal, the larger unit. The nineteenth-century illustrated journal is at least a highly serial medium because different serialities on different levels exponentiate, interact, overlap – the aforementioned network, which is described with family resemblances. This means that the individual threads of which Wittgenstein speaks can merge into one another and thus strengthen each other, becoming a thicker thread.<sup>58</sup> Similarities are potentiated, togetherness and networks are strengthened. “Die Galerie der schönen Frauenköpfe” enhances the serial appearance – as a reference to Mussell's essay – supporting the magazine's identity and the memory of the previous issues as a whole.<sup>59</sup> Nineteenth-century journals consist of a multitude of serial structures, which together, under the seriality of the journal, find an overall serial structure, a serial frame. But the extent to which seriality is potentiated by the various levels of illustrated journals can only be determined with the method of the double perspective: on the one hand, level differentiation of

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57 Turner, “Unruliness of Serials.”

58 Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 32e.

59 Mussell, “Repetition,” 347.

the journal, and on the other hand, convergence of all forms of seriality in light of the thought pattern of family resemblances.

Serialities multiply. At the same time, the material on display reveals flexibility, adaptability, and a kind of rhapsodic tendency: The pictures of the “Galerie der schönen Frauenköpfe” can of course be put together in a different way. In general, I attest a rhapsodic tendency to the nineteenth-century illustrated magazine, even more so than other media that publish serially, to repeatedly separate content and reassemble it.

• • •

So, what do we do with the three ships from the beginning of *die neue linie*, which are similar, partly on different pages, and whose similarity has little meaning for the content of the respective issue? Well, the illustrations themselves may have little meaning for the textual content, but they very clearly show that despite all the different microelements, the issue is a whole that is supposed to be flipped through and offers serial relationships for the reader. He or she can connect elements, form a series, or not. The journal wants to be seen as a visually planned whole. Illustrated journals make visual offers that often play with or exhibit family resemblances.

As can also be seen in the *LIZ*'s visual series, which are not numbered and run over a very long period of time, visual series can be and are dealt with much more freely than narrative series. Here the serial structure is much less tightly knit. That is to say, it is not so important when the next part appears. There is also less need to draw attention to predecessors and successors or to the series itself. Visual series do not necessarily have to be marked as series because they have purely visual family resemblances that can be memorized and retrieved – even without numbering and direct connection. Yet clear characteristics of seriality are used that are also inherent in serial narratives: the opportunity for continuity, infinity, openness, and flexibility. The visual series function less continuously in the time dimension; they are often freed from direct and immediate linearity, even if they appear linear and are printed – which corresponds to the freely selectable reading directions of magazines. After all, the imprinting and recognizability of visual serial structures can always be used without the need for a temporal sequence. Thus, the serial array assigns an image to a series or a serial network, marks it as member of a family, without the need for written text.



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**II**

*Materiality*

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# Materiality

*Oliver Scheiding*

Since the rise of an expansive periodical market in the eighteenth century, it has been a distinctive feature of magazines to use the physicality and material outlook of the page to promote a specific editorial vision (see also section VII on Location and Transfer). Unlike newspapers' use of cheap broadsheet formats divided into narrow news columns, magazines have aimed at fostering a community of taste among its readers that depended on material design and the semiotics of print. Throughout the history of magazines, the editors' success formula has been based on both the journal's print quality and popularity. However, the paucity of paper, ink, type specimen, and the cost of running the printing machines made magazines frequently give in to the financial and technological realities of the print business. While the introduction of lino-type and new typesetting systems revolutionized the periodical market in the late nineteenth-century, it is only with the emergence of microcomputers and desktop publishing systems in the 1970s and 1980s that magazine makers became less dependent on the economics of the print market and its high street distribution. Since then, the boom of independent magazines has demonstrated that the new hard- and software technologies make it possible for individuals, writers' groups or arts centers to handle unique graphic and visual page designs giving magazines a competitive appearance (see section III on Multimodality).

Magazines like *Harper's* (1850–) or *The Face* (1980–2004; relaunched 2019) have a long history as iconic serial prints. They also constitute distinct material objects. Their lurid covers, in conjunction with lavish illustrations and very particular typefaces, have given them a specific aesthetic resonance. A magazine's document design frequently evolved around a specific typographical culture. Typography, logotypes, font choice, as well as page size with its recurring columns and features, have been used to foster loyalty and recognizability. For instance, since its first appearance in the 1920s, the standard typefaces used by science fiction literary magazines are Kabel, Serif Gothic, and Avant Garde. To be seen and read on magazine covers, spines, and paperbacks, the futuristic cut of these fonts entered the collective mind and established a feeling of identification with the genre. What is more, holding the magazine in one's hands, touching the thick cardboard cover and softback binding, and skimming through its pages and feeling its mixed print-ness not only immerses the reader in the periodical's semantic-semiotic environment, but draws attention to the magazine's status as a material object as well as its magazine-ness.

As the chapters in this section demonstrate, the material object of the magazine not only involves textual competence but also material competence – an ability to read the magazine’s materiality – that embodies, shapes, and conditions the meanings of texts. Material philology suggests that texts involve matter and therefore distinguish a work’s word from the physical features constituting its material condition. Nicola Kaminski proposes new ideas for a material-philological analysis of ‘journal literature’ that allows to identify textual differences between the journal as a publication medium and the book. The magazine’s materiality also affects coagency between the medium and the reader. Materiality possesses a strategic relevance relying on sameness and variety, as well as the creation of flow through writing and design to retain readers. Rebrandings and redesigns, like the one launched by *The Atlantic* (1857–) in 2019, show how a magazine functions as an ecosystem that depends on the magazine’s material features, especially its paratextual apparatus including the paper quality, layout, typeface, pagination, emblems, and intertextual references. Materiality speaks to the magazine’s legacy and helps create its visual identity. Moreover, only when the periodical’s complex verbal-visual forms of communication are addressed, so Andreas Beck’s argument, is it possible to draw conclusions on the periodical’s programmatic.

Notwithstanding materiality’s importance for branding and visual identity, it highlights the periodical as a rich source of information for understanding the changing nature of modern society. Serving as a background of what went before, the storage of old periodicals turns them into sites of memory and archives for the retrieval of images and reports used by diverse groups of professionals, like lawyers, reporters, and scholars. Their material presence participates in the production of presence, or material engagement with periodical works of information and knowledge. It also shows that these works are an achievement of multiple actors (both human and nonhuman), as can be seen in the rise of the nineteenth-century information market and the related news business of Robert M. Budd, who compiled an enormous stock of old newspapers and magazines in New York. Ellen Gruber Garvey discusses this pre-digital information management business in the context of the archival function of periodicals (see also section v on Infrastructure and Agency).

# Signifikanz des Typographischen oder Was Kleists »Marionettentheater« mit Extrablättern vom April 1814 anlässlich der Einnahme von Paris verbindet: Konzeptuelle Überlegungen zum materialphilologischen Umgang mit »Journalliteratur«

*Nicola Kaminski*

## Abstract

In the name of the research group “Journal Literature: Rules of Format, Visual Design, and Cultures of Reception,” which was established in October 2016 and meanwhile extended until September 2022 by the German Research Foundation, this chapter makes an argument for a material philological approach, which does not consider ›text‹ as abstract but instead views it uncircumventably as materialiter. This perspective, inspired by the material philology of medieval studies as well as the book studies of Roger Chartier that is oriented towards the methods of text analysis and praxeology, considers the manuscript or print medium not as the information carrier of the ›actual‹, abstractable text. Rather, the respective medial form sets the conditions for the possibility of its publication, the specific material and distributive parameters being part of each and every text (whether they be written or illustrated). These basic premises of text theory sensitize to the textual differences and specifics of publication media in journal and book form, whose diversity and competition define the journalistic market, particularly during the 19th century.

Considering these programmatic factors, this article presents two case examples, the first of which, »Ueber das Marionettentheater« (published in Kleist's *Berliner Abendblätter* from December 12 to 15, 1810), appears interested in literature studies while the second one, a sequence of extras of the *Teutsche Blätter* (published by Herder in Freiburg from April 7 to 14, 1814) seems to be far removed from literature studies. In contrast to these intuitive allocations, the scope of this work in the first example moves from the material philological perspective on the semantic implications of sequential distributions and a choice of format which runs contrary to the receptive expectations regarding the media format, to exploring the conditioning of contemporary reading of »Ueber das Marionettentheater«. For the second example,



the periodical, typographical, and genre-based ›extra‹-logics of a sequence of extras are examined in order to present in detail the journal literary modelling of a present day epiphanic monument.

## 1 Prämissen

Wir alle sind, zumal als Literaturwissenschaftler, durch Weichenstellungen, die bis in die Goethezeit zurückreichen, so sozialisiert, daß wir Literatur unwillkürlich buchförmig denken – jedenfalls im deutschsprachigen Kulturraum. Und *buchförmig* meint, wiederum wie selbstverständlich: in Form des *monographischen* Buchs, für dessen Identität und Identifizierbarkeit die Parameter *Autor* und *Werk* konstitutiv sind.<sup>1</sup> Eine Fluchtlinie, in der ›das Buch‹, im emphatischen Singular, vom konkreten, materialiter greifbaren *Exemplar* abstrahiert gleichsam Ideenstatus erlangt. Von diesem körperlosen Status des literarischen Werks zeugen die gängigen Formen bibliographischer Verzeichnung, bibliothekarischer Ordnung sowie die autor- und werkbasierten Prämissen der Editionsphilologie einerseits,<sup>2</sup> die daran halbwegs bruchlos anschließenden Abstraktionen von der *print culture* zu den *contents* der *digital humanities* andererseits.<sup>3</sup>

Dagegen sucht die Forschergruppe »Journalliteratur: Formatbedingungen, visuelles Design, Rezeptionskulturen«, die zum 1. Oktober 2016 in Bochum, Marburg und Köln die Arbeit aufgenommen hat,<sup>4</sup> das *Medium* in seiner irreduziblen *Materialität* zum Ausgangspunkt literatur- und medienwissenschaftlicher Forschung zu machen.<sup>5</sup> Leitend ist die Überzeugung, daß es einen Unterschied macht, ob der (vermeintlich) selbe Text in einem journal- oder buchförmigen Medium gedruckt und gelesen wird,<sup>6</sup> und zwar nicht nur

1 *Locus classicus* ist der Vortrag von Michel Foucault: Was ist ein Autor? In: Michel Foucault: Schriften zur Literatur. Aus dem Französischen von Karin von Hofer und Anneliese Botond. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer 1988, S. 7–31. Nicht minder wirkungsmächtig Gérard Genette: Paratexte. Das Buch vom Beiwerk des Buches. Mit einem Vorwort von Harald Weinrich. Aus dem Französischen von Dieter Hornig. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 2001.

2 Vgl. dazu Nora Ramtke: Anonymität – Onymität. Autornamen und Autorschaft in Wilhelm Meisters ›doppelten Wanderjahren‹. Heidelberg: Winter 2016, bes. S. 261–298.

3 Auf diesen blinden Fleck der *digital humanities* weist mit Nachdruck hin James Mussell: The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2012 und fordert Reflexion darauf, daß »[e]very digitization project is also an editorial project and all editorial projects must define in some way what it is they edit« (S. 4).

4 Vgl. <https://journalliteratur.blogs.ruhr-uni-bochum.de> (letzter Zugriff: 1. August 2018).

5 Vgl. als Prospekt unseres Forschungsvorhabens Nicola Kaminski/Jens Ruchatz: Journalliteratur – ein Avertissement. Hannover: Wehrhahn 2017 (Pfennig-Magazin zur Journalliteratur Heft 1).

6 Vgl. dazu als Fallstudie mit paradigmatischem Anspruch Volker Mergenthaler: Garderobenwechsel. »Das Fräulein von Scuderi« in Taschenbuch, Lieferungswerk und Journal

hinsichtlich der je verschiedenen *spatialen* und *temporalen* Gesetzmäßigkeiten von Publikation und Rezeption (»Formatbedingungen«), sondern auch mit Blick auf differente Strategien des *optischen* Auftritts, der Gestaltung von Schrift- und Bildkomponenten (»visuelles Design«). Daraus resultiert, daß auch für die *Konzeptualisierung des Rezeptionsakts* die Modellierung des Lesers, des Leseorts, des Lesens selbst durch die materiale Verfaßtheit des jeweiligen Lesemediums ernst genommen werden will (»Rezeptionskulturen«). Methodisch wegweisend ist für uns gegenüber der dominant autor- und werkorientierten neuphilologischen Forschung<sup>7</sup> der seit den 1990er Jahren in der Mediävistik unter den Voraussetzungen handschriftlicher Überlieferung vollzogene Paradigmenwechsel von der Textkritik Lachmannscher Prägung, die am Konstrukt des *einen* Autortextes ausgerichtet ist, zur *material philology* mit ihrem Interesse an den konkreten Handschriften und den ihrer materialen Gestaltung, ihren Gebrauchs-, Archivierungs- und Tradierungsformen jeweils ablesbaren Rezeptionsmodi,<sup>8</sup> wie sie neuerdings auch in der Klassischen Philologie Fuß faßt.<sup>9</sup>

Parameter wie Format, Typographie, *mise en page*, Papierqualität, publizistisches Umfeld, Publikationsrhythmus oder Distribution sind in material-

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(1819–1871). Hannover: Wehrhahn 2018 (Pfennig-Magazin zur Journalliteratur Heft 2). Daß die binäre Unterscheidung zwischen Journal und Buch gegenüber der materialen und distributiven Verfaßtheit des im 19. Jahrhundert auf dem literarischen Markt konkurrierenden zu grobschlächtig ist, haben wir in einem von Fallbeispielen in der breiten Zone der Zwischenformen ausgehenden Bochumer Workshop »Journalähnliche Bücher, buchförmige Journale« am 26./27. April 2018 in ersten Ansätzen zu kartieren versucht: vgl. Andreas Beck/Volker Mergenthaler (Hgg.): Journalähnliche Bücher – buchförmige Journale. Hannover: Wehrhahn 2022 (Pfennig-Magazin zur Journalliteratur Heft 8) (im Druck). Die Rede von »buchförmigen« versus »journalförmigen« Medien(formaten) sucht für diesen systematischer Erforschung noch harrenden Sachverhalt zu sensibilisieren. Vgl. auch Mark W. Turner: Companions, Supplements, and the Proliferation of Print in the 1830s. In: *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43 (2010), S. 119–132.

7 Vgl. aber das Themenheft *Edition & Typographie* (Text. Kritische Beiträge 11 [2006]), darin insbes. Rainer Falk: Literatur aus dem Winkelhaken. Zur literatur- und editionswissenschaftlichen Bedeutung der Typographie, S. 33–53, sowie den Sammelband von Wolfgang Lukas/Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth/Madleen Podewski (Hgg.): Text – Material – Medium. Zur Relevanz editorischer Dokumentationen für die literaturwissenschaftliche Interpretation. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014 (Beihefte zu *editio* 37), ferner die Literaturwissenschaft und Buchwissenschaft disziplinar enger als in der deutschsprachigen Universitätslandschaft zusammendenkende angelsächsische Journalliteraturforschung.

8 Grundlegend Stephen G. Nichols: Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts. In: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 116 (1997) (Sonderheft: Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und neue Horizonte. Hg. von Helmut Tervooren und Horst Wenzel), S. 10–30, und Roger Chartier: Lesewelten. Buch und Lektüre in der frühen Neuzeit. Aus dem Französischen von Brita Schleinitz und Ruthard Stäblein. Frankfurt a.M./New York/Paris: Campus 1990.

9 Vgl. den Sammelband von Cornelia Ritter-Schmalz/Raphael Schwitter (Hgg.): Antike Texte und ihre Materialität. Alltägliche Präsenz, mediale Semantik, literarische Reflexion. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2019 (Materiale Textkulturen 27).

philologischer Perspektive nicht *Rahmenbedingungen* des ›eigentlichen‹ Werks, von denen sich fallweise je nach Fragestellung auch absehen läßt. Vielmehr sind sie *Teil* des Textes, *jedes* Textes in Schrift und Bild (auch des monographisch-buchförmigen), beteiligt an den zwischen ihm und dem Rezipienten ablaufenden Sinnbildungsprozessen,<sup>10</sup> und wer von ihnen absieht, tut im Prinzip nichts anderes, als läse er (was natürlich niemand täte) ein Sonett unter Verzicht auf den vierzehnten Vers, als blickte er auf einen Comic und abstrahierte von den Linien der Panels, als studierte er ein Altarbild ohne Einbeziehung der Altar- und Kirchenarchitektur.

Nur gibt es auf dem literarischen Markt, im je konkreten *hic et nunc* zeitgenössischer Marktkonkurrenz, Medien(formate), die die *serielle, visuelle* und *navigative* Dimension in ihrem Marktauftritt eigens zur Geltung bringen – darauf setzen in besonderem Maße *journalförmige* Medien (Fig. 3.1), aber etwa auch buchförmige periodische Formate wie in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts das *literarische Taschenbuch* (Fig. 3.2),<sup>11</sup> das nicht nur mit aller Macht die Blicke der Leser und vor allem Leserinnen auf sich ziehen will, sondern auch mit haptischen Reizen lockt, durch Einbände aus Samt, Seide(nmoiré), Maroquin (weichem Ziegenleder) oder (wie es 1840 in einer Rezension heißt) durch ein »Papier, daß die Finger bey seiner Berührung wonnelächeln«. <sup>12</sup> Und es gibt Medien(formate), die sich im Namen der

10 Ob es sich dabei um Intendiertes oder um kontingente Effekte etwa der Satzerstellung handelt, ist aus einer rezeptionsorientierten Perspektive, die von der Frage nach materialer Konditionierung von Lektüre geleitet wird, gleichgültig. Vgl. demgegenüber vom produktionsästhetischen Standpunkt des Editionsphilologen aus den Versuch der Unterscheidung von Roland Reuß: Spielräume des Zufälligen. Zum Verhältnis von Edition und Typographie. In: Text. Kritische Beiträge 11 (2006), S. 55–100.

11 Vgl. Nicola Kaminski: Die Almanach- und Taschenbuchsammlung im Archiv des Bochumer Germanistischen Instituts. In: Carsten Zelle (Hg.): Literaturwissenschaftliche Aufbaujahre. Beiträge zur Gründung und Formation der Literaturwissenschaft am Germanistischen Institut der Ruhr-Universität Bochum – ein germanistikgeschichtliches Forschungsprojekt. Frankfurt a.M.: Lang 2016, S. 223–248. Ausführlich dazu: Stephanie Gleißner/Mirela Husić/Nicola Kaminski/Volker Mergenthaler: Optische Auftritte: Marktszenen in der medialen Konkurrenz von Journal-, Almanachs- und Bücherliteratur. Hannover: Wehrhahn 2019. Einer der ersten, der den Marktfaktor in der zeitgenössischen Taschenbuchkultur systematisch diagnostiziert, ist Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, der als Nachtrag zur fünften Auflage seines *Conversations-Lexicons* selbst den Artikel beisteuert: Taschenbücher- und Almanachsliteratur in Deutschland. In: Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände. (*Conversations-Lexicon*.) In zehn Bänden. Zehnter Band. To bis Zz. Fünfte Original-Ausgabe. Mit Königl. Württembergischen Privilegien. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1820, S. 973–978.

12 Die Almanache von 1841. (Fortsetzung.). In: Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode [Nr.] 207. Montag, den 28. December 1840, S. 1653–1655, hier S. 1653. Mit dieser schmeichelhaften Zuschreibung wird bedacht: Jris. Taschenbuch für das Jahr



FIGURE 3.1 Konkurrieren um Sichtbarkeit auf dem publizistischen Markt – Zeitschriften ...  
Exemplare in Privatbesitz (Andreas Beck, Volker Mergenthaler)



FIGURE 3.2 ... und literarische Taschenbücher und Almanache des 19. Jahrhunderts.  
Exemplare in Privatbesitz (Nicola Kaminski, Volker Mergenthaler)

*Kunst* vom bunten, lauten Marktgeschrei distanzieren, deren Typographie in der funktionalen Schlichtheit des Werksatzes<sup>13</sup> darauf zielt, sich in der Leserwahrnehmung zugunsten körperlosen *Sinns* zum Verschwinden zu bringen (Stichwort Autonomieästhetik) – etwa die mehrbändige, buchförmige Werkausgabe, die aber natürlich mit diesem Distinktionsgebaren ihrerseits auf dem Markt reüssieren will. Daß gerade letztere so maßgeblich wie einseitig unsere Vorstellung von Literatur geprägt hat, hängt, wenigstens im deutschsprachigen Kulturraum, mit Wertungs-, Kanonisierungs- und Exklusionsprozessen im Literaturbetrieb der ersten Jahrzehnte des 19. Jahrhunderts zusammen – Prozessen, die zeitlich konvergieren mit der Etablierung der Germanistik als universitären Faches.

Wenn unsere Forschergruppe *gegen* die vorherrschende Ausblendung darauf setzt, »Journalliteratur« zu akzentuieren, dann bedeutet das freilich nicht, im Gegenzug buchförmige Formate auszuklammern – auch das ergäbe ein schiefes Bild der je zeitgenössischen Marktszene. Wie in der Printkultur in der Regel kein Schrift- oder Bildtext allein steht, sondern umgeben ist von anderen Schrift- und Bildbeiträgen (das monographische Einzelwerk ist ein Extrem, nicht der Normalfall!), so erscheint auch auf dem literarischen Markt *keine* Publikation (journal- oder buchförmig, mit vielfältigen Misch- und Zwischenformen insbesondere im Bereich des Lieferungswerks) ohne journal- und buchförmige Konkurrenz.<sup>14</sup> Wenn ich im folgenden je ein Beispiel aus den beiden Teilprojekten, an deren Leitung ich innerhalb der Forschergruppe »Journalliteratur« beteiligt bin,<sup>15</sup> skizziere, dann sind, wo ich in der Nahaufnahme konkret werde, die Begrenzungen kontextoffen zu denken.

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1841. Herausgegeben von Johann Graf Mailáth und Dr. S. Saphir. Zweiter Jahrgang. Mit sechs Stahlstichen. Pesth, Verlag von Gustav Heckenast.

- 13 Die Unterscheidung zwischen »Werksatz«, »Zeitungssatz« und »Accidenzsatz« macht zum Grundriß seiner Darstellung August Marahrens: Vollständiges theoretisch-praktisches Handbuch der Typographie nach ihrem heutigen Standpunkt. Herausgegeben von August Marahrens, Buchdrucker. Erster Band: Das Setzen in seinen verschiedenen Branchen. Leipzig, Verlag der Leipziger Vereinsbuchdruckerei. 1870.
- 14 Von dieser Einsicht aus formuliert Linda K. Hughes die Empfehlung »thinking and moving sideways«. Linda K. Hughes: *SIDEWAYS! Navigating the Material(ity) of Print Culture*. In: *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47 (2014), S. 1–30, hier S. 21.
- 15 Teilprojekt 2 (zusammen mit Volker Mergenthaler): »Zeit/Schrift: journalliterarische »Chronopoetik« und Genese von Literarizität« (Ruhr-Universität Bochum); Teilprojekt 3 (zusammen mit Volker Mergenthaler): »Optische Auftritte: *mise en page* in Journal- versus Buchliteratur« (Philipps-Universität Marburg).

## 2 Exempel

### *Beispiel 1: »Ueber das Marionettentheater«*

Nach meinem methodischen Vorab mag die Wahl des ersten Beispiels, allem Anschein nach literaturwissenschaftsaffin, ausgehend von kanonischem Autor und prominentem Text, enttäuschen – nichts, das man nicht schon kannte. Der Marionettentheater-Essay dürfte Kleists in der Forschung am intensivsten traktierter Prosatext sein. Kurt Wölfel modelliert bereits 1998 »[s]eine Interpretationsgeschichte« nach dem »Mythos von Sisyphos: jeder Interpret findet sich wieder am Fuß des Berges, das dem (Be-)Griff entgleitende Stück Prosa vor sich und in seinem Bewußtsein die kaum mehr absehbare Reihe der Vorgänger, die es auf den Gipfel der Erkenntnis zu wälzen unternommen haben.«<sup>16</sup> Ich möchte statt der üblichen Höhenflüge im philosophisch-ästhetischen Diskurs am Fuß des Berges bleiben und vorschlagen *zu blättern*.

»Ueber das Marionettentheater« ist (ohne Gattungsangabe) im 63sten bis 66sten Blatt der *Berliner Abendblätter* in vier Fortsetzungslieferungen erschienen, am 12., 13., 14. und 15. Dezember 1810, Mittwoch bis Samstag.<sup>17</sup> Von der Forschung wird dieser Text fraglos als Text *Kleists* verstanden; selbst Sibylle Peters, die in ihrer Dissertation *Heinrich von Kleist und der Gebrauch der Zeit. Von der MachArt der Berliner Abendblätter* für die ersten neunzehn Blätter detailliert die Dramaturgie der Informationsvergabe rekonstruiert, spricht ihn von vornherein als Kleistschen Text an.<sup>18</sup> Der zeitgenössische Erstleser

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- 16 Kurt Wölfel: *Über das Marionettentheater*. In: Walter Hinderer (Hg.): *Kleists Erzählungen*. Stuttgart: Reclam 1998, S. 17–42, hier S. 17.
- 17 Ueber das Marionettentheater. In: *Berliner Abendblätter*. 63tes Blatt. Den 12ten December 1810, S. 247–249; Ueber das Marionettentheater. (Fortsetzung.). In: *Berliner Abendblätter*. 64tes Blatt. Den 13ten December 1810, S. 251–253; Ueber das Marionettentheater. (Fortsetzung.). In: *Berliner Abendblätter*. 65tes Blatt. Den 14ten December 1810, S. 255–257; Ueber das Marionettentheater. (Beschluß.). In: *Berliner Abendblätter*. 66tes Blatt. Den 15ten December 1810, S. 259–261. Zugrundegelegt wird das Exemplar der Staatsbibliothek Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Signatur: Libri.impr.rari.oct.216).
- 18 Sibylle Peters: *Heinrich von Kleist und der Gebrauch der Zeit. Von der MachArt der Berliner Abendblätter*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 2003. Diese der zeitgenössischen Sukzessivität von Journallektüre Rechnung tragende Perspektive bestimmt die ersten beiden Kapitel, vgl. S. 8–67. Das (beinah) Schlußkapitel zum »Marionettentheater«-Text (S. 180–210) hingegen geht, in einem typischen Gestus der Kleistphilologie, aus von einem Brief Kleists an seine Schwester Ulrike, um sodann die bislang von der Forschung nicht systematisch in Rechnung gestellte Publikation als Fortsetzungstext ausgerechnet als »Gemeinsamkeit« mit Schillers in der *Neuen Thalia* (einem ästhetischen Journal, keiner Tageszeitung!) erstpublizierter Abhandlung »Ueber Anmuth und Würde« zu exponieren (S. 180). Auch im Fortgang des Kapitels bilden Kleist und *seine* Texte in den *Berliner*

hatte dieses Autorwissen *nicht*: bei der Lektüre der ersten Lieferung vom 12. Dezember sowenig wie bei derjenigen der zweiten und dritten Lieferung an den Folgetagen; noch die Lektüre der letzten Lieferung erfolgt *nicht* im Horizont Kleistscher Autorschaft. Es sei denn, der Leser hätte es nach drei Tagen anonymierter Fortsetzungspublikation nicht mehr ausgehalten und *vor* dem Lesen des »Beschl[usses]« zu dessen Schluß auf der dritten Seite des 66sten Blattes vorgeblättert – und dort die Sigle »H. v. K.« gefunden.<sup>19</sup> Erst eine *Relektüre* des *ganzen* »Marionettentheater«-Textes (frühestens am Samstag abend) *könnte* ihn als das lesen, als was die Forschung ihn in aller Selbstverständlichkeit ›immer schon‹ liest: als literarisches, ästhetisches, womöglich auch den ästhetischen Diskurs ironisierendes ›Werk‹ eines namhaften Autors.<sup>20</sup> Zu dieser retrospektiv sich eröffnenden *Möglichkeit* sind aber die impliziten Signale des Publikationsmediums ins Verhältnis zu setzen. Die *Berliner Abendblätter* gehören hinsichtlich des Erscheinungsturnus (»täglich, mit Ausschluß des Sonntags«),<sup>21</sup> des Umfangs (eine Nummer hat vier Seiten) und des Aufbaus zum generischen Format Tageszeitung<sup>22</sup> – einem Format, das

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*Abendblättern* den Referenzhorizont, so daß Peters' ingeniöse Lektüre von »Ueber das Marionettentheater« unversehens eine Journalpoetik unter der Signatur des Autors zutagefördert. Folgerichtig attestiert sie im allerletzten Kapitel den *Abendblättern* einen verzeitlichten Quasi- »Werk-Status« (S. 215).

- 19 Ueber das Marionettentheater. (Beschluß.) (15. Dez. 1810) (Anm. 17), S. 261; die Signatur kann er zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon sicher zuordnen.
- 20 Daß die retrospektiv vollständige Zugänglichkeit der *Berliner Abendblätter* die Forschung verleitet habe, sie »als ein gewissermaßen geschlossenes Werk [zu] untersuch[en], aus dem die für die Entstehung des Korpus konstitutive Sukzession der täglichen Ausgaben getilgt ist«, moniert demgegenüber Peter Staengle: »Eine Art Vorläufer der Zeitungen«. Zur politischen Berichterstattung in Kleists »Berliner Abendblättern«. In: Von der Zeitschrift zum poetischen Text. Die »Berliner Abendblätter« Heinrich von Kleists. Beiträge eines deutsch-italienischen Kolloquiums in der Villa Vigoni im Frühjahr 1997. <http://www.textkritik.de/vigoni/staengle.htm> (letzter Zugriff: 2. August 2018). Gegen eine Teleologie des Lesens, indem »man ›Ueber das Marionettentheater‹ fraglos als einen in sich geschlossenen und auf seinen Schluß hinzielenden Text betrachtet«, auch schon Alexander Weigel: Der Schauspieler als Maschinist. Heinrich von Kleists »Ueber das Marionettentheater« und das »Königliche Nationaltheater«. In: Dirk Grathoff (Hg.): Heinrich von Kleist. Studien zu Werk und Wirkung. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1988, S. 263–280, hier S. 264. Ein grundsätzliches Caveat vor dem *trompe de l'œil* synchroner Vollständigkeit formuliert Mark W. Turner: The Unruliness of Serials in the Nineteenth Century (and in the Digital Age). In: Rob Allen/Thijs van den Berg (Hgg.): *Serialization in Popular Culture*. New York/London: Routledge 2014, S. 11–32.
- 21 [Redaktionelle Mitteilung]. In: *Berliner Abendblätter*. 1stes Blatt. Den 1sten October 1810, S. 4.
- 22 Vgl. Heinrich Aretz: Heinrich von Kleist als Journalist. Untersuchungen zum ›Phöbus‹, zur ›Germania‹ und den ›Berliner Abendblättern‹. Stuttgart: Heinz 1983, S. 163–167.

seine Leser *nicht* mit der Erwartung wiederholter, intensiver Lektüre konfrontiert. Andererseits stoßen die Rezipienten von früh an, zum erstenmal in einer redaktionellen Beilage zur fünften Nummer, immer wieder auf Rückverweise und »Druckfehler«-Korrekturen, die zum Zurückblättern animieren<sup>23</sup> – eine rekursive Praxis, die bis Mitte Dezember als eingespielt gelten kann. Daraus ergibt sich eine Spannung, die es nicht biographisch ›wegzuerklären‹ gilt,<sup>24</sup> sondern medienkonzeptuell herauszuarbeiten: eine hochkulturell referenzierbare ästhetische Abhandlung wird in einer »ideale[n] Wurstzeitung« (so Wilhelm Grimm)<sup>25</sup> abgedruckt, d.h. in einem Lokalblatt, das man nach der Lektüre eher wegwirft als aufbewahrt,<sup>26</sup> vielleicht weiterverwertet, etwa zum Einwickeln von Einkäufen auf dem Wochenmarkt,<sup>27</sup> das jedoch

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- 23 Vgl. An das Publikum. [Beilage zu Berliner Abendblätter. 5tes Blatt. Den 5ten October 1810.], unpag.: »Uebrigens wird nur auf den Schluß des vierten Blattes (vom 4ten October) verwiesen [...]«. Die Rubrik »Druckfehler« bringt zum erstenmal das achte Blatt vom 9. Oktober.
- 24 Beispielsweise bei Aretz (Anm. 22), S. 288–291, wenn er Kleist, als es ihm »aufgrund der schwierigen Zensurauseinandersetzungen schwerfiel, sein Blatt zu füllen, [...] mit diesem Aufsatz in Fortsetzungsform quasi als ›Lückenbüßer‹ vier hintereinanderfolgende Nummern seiner Zeitung jeweils dreiseitig bestreite[n]« sieht, dem »exemplarisch [...] die Zwänge der in den ›Abendblättern‹ angewandten Aktualisierungsstrategien für nicht primär aktuelle Beiträge« abzulesen seien.
- 25 Wilhelm Grimm an Paul Wigand am 18. November 1810. In: Peter Staengle: »Berliner Abendblätter«. Chronik. In: Brandenburger Kleist-Blätter 11 (1997), S. 369–411, hier S. 378f. (Zitat S. 379). Kurz zuvor hatte Grimm diese Spannung so beschrieben: »Die Zeitung ist recht vernünftig gedacht, und dabei nicht wie andere Theatermäßig herausgeputzt. Nur die Polizeianzeigen nehmen sich hier oft lächerlich aus: es ist als ob jemand, der uns raisonabel unterhalten, auf einmal mit seltsamer Vertraulichkeit seine Taschen herauszög, die Brodkrumen herauswischte und die Löcher zeigte, die geflickt, und die Flecken, die müßten herausgewaschen werden. Einem dabei stehenden Schneider wär das unstreitig das interessanteste an dem ganzen Mann, und so mag es vielen dort, besonders rechten Hausricken das liebste sein, mithin hat es einen Grund auch wieder, daß es da ist.« Wilhelm Grimm an Clemens Brentano am 6. November 1810, ebd., S. 376f. (Zitat S. 376).
- 26 Daß die *Berliner Abendblätter* sich konzeptuell in der Spannung zwischen »ephemerality« und der dem »canonizable artwork« zugeschriebenen »permanence« positionieren, zeigt, ausgehend von der ersten Nummer des zweiten Quartals, Sean Franzel: Kleist's Magazines: Archiving the Ephemeral in the *Berliner Abendblättern*. In: German Studies Review 40 (2017), S. 487–507. Zitate S. 487 und 488.
- 27 Die genaue Bedeutung von ›Wurstzeitung‹ ist unklar. Das Grimmsche Wörterbuch konstatiert für ›Wurst-Komposita dieser Art einen »abwertenden oder doch vergrößernden sinn [...] mit der vorstellung des geringwertigen und bäuerlichen« und gibt für ›Käse- und Wurstblatt‹, ›Wurstblätchen‹, ›Wurstzeitung‹ die Erläuterung »lokaltzeitung«. Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm. Bd. 14/II: WILB–YSOP. Bearbeitet von Ludwig Sütterlin. Leipzig: Hirzel 1960, Sp. 2295–2310 s.v. ›WURST‹, hier Sp. 2310 C.6. Zeitlich näher die Erklärung zur in Hessen-Cassel seit 1731 bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert erscheinenden *Fürstlich-Hessisch privilegirten Polzey- und Commerzien-Zeitung*:



ungeachtet seines ephemeren ›Auftritts‹ implizit die eigene »longevity«<sup>28</sup> unterstellt (ein Wink, dem prominent, aber halbwegs singular wiederum die Grimms gefolgt sind).

Erste Zwischenbilanz: Ein ästhetischer Text erscheint völlig deplaziert in einem lokalen Sensationsblatt, das »in der ersten Instanz« auf »Unterhaltung aller Stände des Volks« zielt,<sup>29</sup> spottbillig ist, auf schlechtem, nicht zur Archivierung einladendem Papier gedruckt wird und das marktschreierisch damit wirbt, daß (gesperrt gesetzt!) »bloß das, was dieses Blatt aus Berlin meldet, das Neueste und das Wahrhafteste sei.«<sup>30</sup> Diese Deplaziertheit ist, wenn man von der materialen Logik des Publikationsmediums her liest, *Teil* des Textes »Ueber das Marionettentheater« und stellt die Weichen für die zeitgenössische Rezeption. Und zwar, je nach rezeptionskulturellem Kontext, unterschiedlich: wer, neugierig auf Stadtsensationen wie die Brandstiftungsserie der sog. »Mordbrenner-Bande«,<sup>31</sup> zu den *Abendblättern* greift, wird den Marionettentheater text tendenziell als *Fremdkörper* lesen, vielleicht auch schlicht überblättern (wobei dann vier Nummern in Folge lang wenig mehr für ihn abfällt); wer zur Bildungselite gehört (zunächst einmal der tendenziell unwahrscheinlichere Adressat, doch zeigt die Empirie an exponierten Vertretern wie den Grimms oder Fouqué, daß es ihn gab), wird die *Deplazierung* wahrnehmen.

Zweite Zwischenbilanz: In mancher Hinsicht *ist* »Ueber das Marionettentheater« in den *Berliner Abendblättern* gar nicht so deplaziert. Denn was die Forschung gern als ästhetische Abhandlung klassifiziert, ist in eine dialogische

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»Von dem darin stets bemerkten Preise des Fleisches und der Würste rührt auch der Spottname der Wurstzeitung her, mit welchem man sie hin und wieder bezeichnete.« Ueber politische Zeitungen und Intelligenzblätter in Sachsen, Thüringen, Hessen und einigen angränzenden Gebieten. Von Joachim von Schwarzkopf, Königlich Britischem Churbraunschweigischem Ministre-Resident bei dem Chur- und dem Oberrheinischen Kreise, der Königl. Societät der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen correspondirenden, und der Churmainzischen Akademie Nützlicher Wissenschaften zu Erfurt, wie auch anderer gelehrten Gesellschaften wirklichem Mitgliede. Gotha, in der Ettingerschen Buchhandlung 1802, S. 80f., Zitat S. 81.

28 Vgl. Laurel Brake: The Longevity of ›Ephemera‹. Library Editions of Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers. In: *Media History* 18 (2012), S. 7–20.

29 Erklärung. S[iehe] Voß[ische] Zeitung, den 25. Sept. 1810. In: *Berliner Abendblätter*. 19tes Blatt. Den 22ten October 1810, S. 75.

30 An das Publikum (Anm. 23).

31 Polizeiliche Tages-Mittheilungen, Etwas über den Delinquenten Schwarz und die Mordbrenner-Bande. Extrablatt zum 7ten Berliner Abendblatt, unpag.

Rahmenerzählung eingebettet;<sup>32</sup> und auch die Binnenargumentation setzt sich aus anekdotischen Erzählungen zusammen, die in einer theoretischen Schrift einen Fremdkörper bilden, nicht aber in einem Nachrichten- und Unterhaltungsblatt.<sup>33</sup> Der Spannung zwischen Publikationsmedium und Diskursreferenz korrespondiert eine Spannung *in* der Machart des Textes, der das miszellane »allen allerley vom All« als Signatur »aller Zeitschriften überhaupt, ja des Quodlibet-Säkulums selber«<sup>34</sup> in seiner Lieferungsfolge im kleinen wiederholt.

Gesetzt den Fall, die Literaturwissenschaft nähme diese genuin rezeptionskulturelle Spannung als *Teil* des Textes »Ueber das Marionettentheater« wahr, dann läge es einerseits nahe, mit neuen Augen noch einmal zu *lesen*, was man zu kennen glaubt; und andererseits lohnte es sich, die Augen zum *Schauen* zu benutzen, in die *Berliner Abendblätter* nämlich.<sup>35</sup>

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- 32 Dieses Moment ist der Forschung selbstverständlich nicht verborgen geblieben; Ernst damit macht die Entscheidung des Herausgebers Walter Hinderer, dem »Essay[] *Über das Marionettentheater*, bei dem es sich genau genommen um einen raffiniert erzählten Text handel[e]«, innerhalb der 1998 vorgelegten »Interpretationen der sämtlichen Erzählungen Heinrich von Kleists« einen Platz einzuräumen. Walter Hinderer: Vorwort. In: ders. (Hg.): Kleists Erzählungen. Stuttgart: Reclam 1998, S. 7–15, hier S. 14. Gleichwohl dominiert in der interpretatorischen Praxis die Behandlung des Literarischen als Einkleidung, selbst da, wo dessen Inkommensurabilität als Ablenkung der philosophischen Argumentation ernst genommen wird.
- 33 Weigel (Anm. 20), S. 266, sieht darin einen Strategiewechsel zwischen den ersten zwei und den beiden folgenden, »fast ausschließlich mit zwei wahrscheinlich aus dem »Ideenmagazin« stammenden Anekdoten gefüllt[en]« Lieferungen. Doch beginnt schon der erste Satz des »Marionettentheater«-Textes anekdotisch.
- 34 So Jean Paul in seiner »Abschieds-Rede bey dem künftigen Schlusse des Morgenblatts« zu dessen Eröffnung, als er auf die »stehende[n] Artikel« zu sprechen kommt und unter ihnen als »universal-monarchische[n] Direktorial-Artikel« die Rubrik »Miszellen« hervorhebt. Abschieds-Rede bey dem künftigen Schlusse des Morgenblatts. Von Jean Paul. In: Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände Nro. 1. Donnerstag, 1. Jänner, 1807, S. 1–4, hier S. 3.
- 35 Vgl. Tom Grettons glückliche Prägung vom »reader-viewer« oder, davon angeregt, die Rede vom »Leser-Betrachter« bei Andreas Beck, der Gretton (zu Recht) vorwirft, über dem Schauen das Lesen zu vergessen. Tom Gretton: *Industrialised Graphic Technologies in Symbiosis with the World of Art: the Illustrated London News and the Graphic c. 1870–c. 1890*. In: Kate Nichols/Rebecca Wade/Gabriel Williams (Hgg.): *Art versus Industry? New Perspectives on Visual and Industrial Cultures in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, S. 140–157, *passim*; Andreas Beck: *Einstürzende Textbauten, Lücken im Schriftsatz, schattierender und durchscheinender Druck – von der Produktivität des Bedruckstoffs Papier in frühen illustrierten Journalen*. In: Andreas Beck/Nicola Kaminski/Volker Mergenthaler/Jens Ruchatz (Hgg.): *Visuelles Design: Die Journalseite als gestaltete Fläche. Visual Design: The Periodical Page as a Designed Surface*. Hannover: Wehrhahn 2019 (Journalliteratur 1), S. 333–359.

*Lesen* wir also in die erste Lieferung hinein:

Als ich den Winter 1801 in M ... zubrachte, traf ich daselbst eines Abends, in einem öffentlichen Garten, den Hrn. C. an, der seit Kurzem, in dieser Stadt, als erster Tänzer der Oper, angestellt war, und bei dem Publico außerordentliches Glück machte.<sup>36</sup>

Der erste Satz situiert die Erzählung der Form nach im Anekdotischen, inhaltlich im hochkulturell-bildungsbürgerlichen Milieu, dem Herr C. als erster Tänzer wie das Ich als regelmäßiger<sup>37</sup> Opernbesucher eindeutig zugehören. Der »öffentliche[] Garten« als neutraler Begegnungsort stellt diese Zuordnung nicht in Frage. Wohl aber der nächste Satz:

Jch sagte ihm, daß ich erstaunt gewesen wäre, ihn schon mehrere Mal in einem Marionettentheater zu finden, das auf dem Markte zusammengezimmert worden war, und den Pöbel, durch kleine dramatische Burlesken, mit Gesang und Tanz durchwebt, belustigte.<sup>38</sup>

Ein extremer Milieuwechsel von der hochkulturellen Institution Oper zur niederen Pöbelbelustigung auf dem Markt, der den ersten Tänzer wie das ihn beobachtende Ich als *Grenzgänger* zwischen Hochkultur und Pöbelkultur ausweist, auch dies mit Regelmäßigkeit.

*Schauen* wir jetzt: Auch wenn die *Berliner Abendblätter* durch Publikationsturnus und materiales Erscheinungsbild (Nummern zu vier Seiten, keine Bogensignatur, Zeitungskopf auf der ersten Seite jeder Nummer, billiges Papier, anspruchslose Typographie, am Ende der Nummer kleiner und kompreß gesetzt tagesaktuelle Rubriken) klar dem generischen Format des zeitungsnahen Nachrichten- und Unterhaltungsblatts zugeordnet sind, so gilt dies doch in *einer* Hinsicht *nicht*: sie erscheinen nicht im Quartformat mit gespaltenem Satz,<sup>39</sup> sondern in Kleinoktav in *einer* Kolumne (Fig. 3.3); der Satzspiegel beträgt gerade einmal 13,5 × 7,1 cm.<sup>40</sup>

36 Ueber das Marionettentheater (12. Dez. 1810) (Anm. 17), S. 247.

37 Das signalisiert beiläufig »seit Kurzem«, das »Regelwissen« unter Beweis stellt.

38 Ueber das Marionettentheater (12. Dez. 1810) (Anm. 17), S. 247.

39 Vgl. zur Differenz zwischen am Dispositiv Zeitung oder aber am Dispositiv Buch orientierten Journalen Jürgen Wilke: Literarische Zeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts (1688–1789). Stuttgart: Metzler 1978, S. 127f. Auf generische Referenz und Formatdifferenz weist für die *Berliner Abendblätter* Franzel (Anm. 26), S. 491 und S. 505, Anm. 19, hin.

40 Maße des Exemplars der Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Anm. 17). Anders als im Fall des 1808 von Kleist und Adam Müller veranstalteten *Phöbus* sind die für die *Berliner Abendblätter*

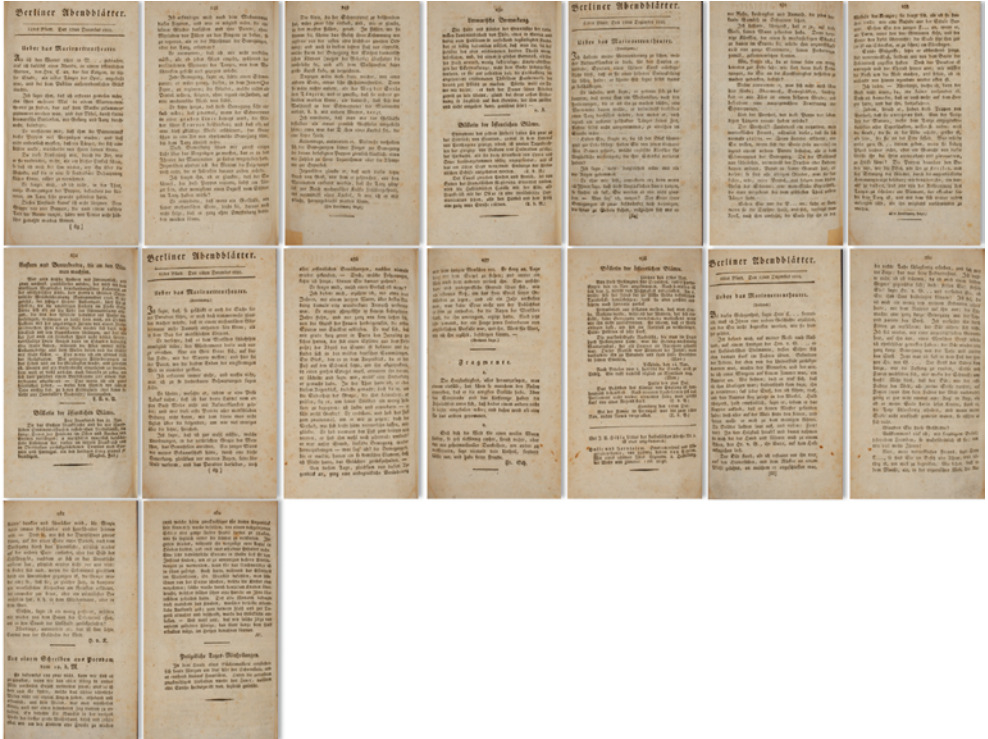


FIGURE 3.3 *Berliner Abendblätter*. 63tes Blatt. Den 12ten December 1810, 64tes Blatt. Den 13ten Dezember 1810, 65tes Blatt. Den 14ten December 1810, 66tes Blatt. Den 15ten Dezember 1810. Exemplar der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Signatur: Libri.impr.rari.oct.216)

vorliegenden Faksimile- bzw. Reprintausgaben, was den Satzspiegel angeht, originalgetreu. Das gilt jedoch nicht für das Format. Während im Berliner Exemplar die Seite in der Höhe 17,0 cm mißt, in der Breite 9,5 cm, sind die Seiten im Faksimile von Georg Minde-Pouet – Heinrich von Kleist. *Berliner Abendblätter*. Mit einem Nachwort von Georg Minde-Pouet. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann 1925 (Faksimiledrucke literarischer Seltenheiten 2) – 17,5 cm hoch, 10,7 cm breit, haben also mehr unbedruckten Rand (allerdings bleibt unklar, welches Exemplar dem Faksimile zur Vorlage für die Formatwahl diene). Die Reprintausgabe von Helmut Sembdner – *Berliner Abendblätter*. Herausgegeben von Heinrich von Kleist. Nachwort und Quellenregister von Helmut Sembdner. Darmstadt 1982 –, die laut Impressum das 1925er Faksimile nachdruckt, vergrößert diese Vorlage auf 18,0 × 10,9 cm. In der Zusammenschau mit den spektakuläreren Befunden für den *Phöbus* (vgl. Nicola Kaminski: Die Quartseite als »Kampfflatz«. Der Dresdner *Phöbus*. *Journal für die Kunst* als typographischer Gegenschauplatz zur »Bühne von Weimar«. In: Andreas Beck/Nicola Kaminski/Volker Mergenthaler/Jens Ruchatz (Hgg.): *Visuelles Design: Die Journalseite als gestaltete Fläche*. Visual Design: The Periodical Page as a Designed Surface. Hannover: Wehrhahn 2019 (Journalliteratur 1), S. 403–426) läßt sich eine Tendenz zur Nivellierung irritierender optischer Auftritte konstatieren.

Ein grotesk winziges Format für eine Zeitung, anders gefaßt: die *Berliner Abendblätter* tendieren ihrem typographischen Format nach auf Buchförmigkeit<sup>41</sup> und loten damit die maximale Spannung zwischen literarischem Buch und ephemerer Tageszeitung aus.<sup>42</sup> Gerade durch die Tendenz aufs Buch aber nötigen sie einem Text wie »Ueber das Marionettentheater« um so ausgeprägtere Journalförmigkeit auf: denn daß der Text in vier Fortsetzungslieferungen (so »[d]ie Redaction«) *gebroschen* werden muß,<sup>43</sup> verdankt sich eben dem »Prokrustes-Bette« (so der Verleger) des buchförmigen Kleinoktavformats;<sup>44</sup> in zweispaltigem Quartdruck, wie ihn etwa *Der Freimüthige oder Berlinisches Unterhaltungsblatt für gebildete, unbefangene Leser* praktiziert, hätten die elf Seiten der *Abendblätter* gut sieben Spalten gefüllt, nicht einmal eine ganze Nummer (Fig. 3.4).<sup>45</sup>

Bildet man beide Grenzgänge – den zwischen marktgängigem Pöbeltheater und prestigeträchtiger Oper und den zwischen wertlosem Zeitungsdruck und überzeitlichen Wert symbolisierendem Buchformat –, als deren *tertium* sich der ›optische Auftritt‹ bestimmen läßt, aufeinander ab, so verhandelt »Ueber das Marionettentheater« im Gespräch zwischen dem Tänzer und

41 Darauf deutet auch die – freilich nicht singuläre, für eine täglich erscheinende Zeitung aber doch nicht selbstverständliche – Paginierung hin; jahrgangsweise (wenn das für eine nur zwei Quartale umfassende Journalpublikation zu sagen erlaubt ist), wie der Leser ab der ersten Januarnummer des Jahres 1811 feststellen kann. Vgl. Roland Reuß: Zu dieser Ausgabe. In: H. v. Kleist. Sämtliche Werke. Brandenburger Ausgabe hg. von Roland Reuß und Peter Staengle. Bd. II/8: Berliner Abendblätter II. Basel/Frankfurt a.M.: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern 1997, S. 384–392, hier S. 391.

42 Gabriele Kapp: Nachwort. In: dies. (Hg.): Heinrich von Kleist. Über das Marionettentheater. Studienausgabe. Stuttgart: Reclam 2013, S. 80–109, hier S. 86, faßt das inhaltsbezogen als »Spagat zwischen Sensations- und Bildungsblatt«, ohne die Zitation des Buchformats zu sehen. Nach Franzel (Anm. 26), S. 491, habe Kleist versucht, »to fuse the reporting capabilities of the newspaper (*Zeitung*) with the critical ambitions of the cultural journal (*Kulturzeitschrift*)«; »the *Abendblätter*'s single-sheet, four-page octavo format could make it feel more like a pamphlet (*Flugblatt*) than a full-fledged journal or newspaper«.

43 Vgl. Anzeige. In: Berliner Abendblätter. 16tes Blatt. Den 18ten October 1810, S. 49 [recte: 66], wo an die »unbekannten Herrn Mitarbeiter, die uns mit ihren Beiträgen beehren«, appelliert wird, »auf die Oekonomie dieses Blattes Rücksicht zu nehmen, und uns gefälligst die Verlegenheit zu ersparen, die Aufsätze brechen zu müssen«.

44 Vgl. Hitzig an Fouqué am 18. Oktober 1810: »Mit dem Raum u. dessen Beschränkung haben Sie vollkommen Recht. Ein wahres Prokrustes-Bette; aber es ist der Wille des Herausgebers und nicht der Meine. Es ließe sich hierüber viel sagen, was schriftlich nicht geschehen kann.« Staengle (Anm. 25), S. 373.

45 Die Seite des *Freimüthigen* mißt 24,5 × 20,7 cm, die zwei Spalten pro Seite sind jeweils 20,3 cm hoch, 7,2 cm breit. Zugrunde gelegt wurde die Nummer vom 14. Dezember 1810 des Exemplars der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (Signatur: Eph.lit.0237.f).

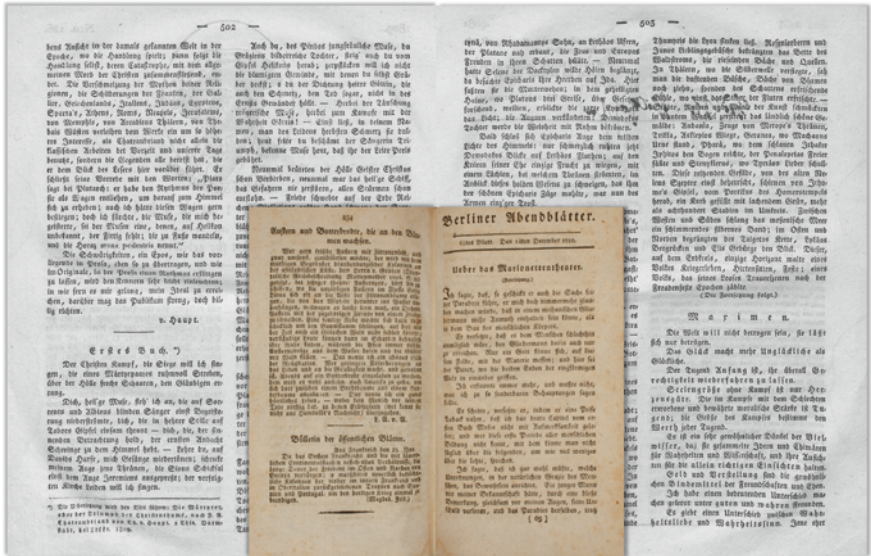


FIGURE 3.4 Der Freimüthige oder Berlinisches Unterhaltungsblatt für gebildete, unbefangene Leser Nro. 246. Montag, den 10. December 1810, S. 994/995; Berliner Abendblätter. 65tes Blatt. Den 14ten December 1810, S. 234/235. Montage. Exemplare der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (Signatur: Eph.lit.0237.f) und der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Signatur: Libri.impr.rari.oct.216)

dem Ich über die Grazie der Holzpuppe gegenüber einstudierter menschlicher Darstellungskunst auch den eigenen »Marktauftritt« zwischen den geläufigen Formaten.<sup>46</sup> Wie die fremdbestimmte einem Drahtzieher unterworfenen,

46 Daß die Einführung theatralischer Aufführungsform mit literarischer Kunstform zeitgenössisch nicht fern liegt, läßt sich dem programmatischen Vorwort zur 1806 anonym erschienenen Sammlung *Marionetten-Theater* ablesen. Dort heißt es: »Die Italiener, Spanier und Franzosen haben viele kleine Lustspiele, die sich durch freie Charakterzeichnung, durch kecke Karikaturen, durch komische Intrigue, durch frische Lebendigkeit auszeichnen. [...] Man strömt zu ihren Vorstellungen, sie belustigen, sie erfreuen, die Liebe zur Schauspielkunst wird lebendig erhalten, und das Volk, gewohnt eines seiner Hauptvergüngen im Theater zu finden, erwirbt durch diese leichten Spiele des Scherzes den empfänglichen Sinn für die Meisterstücke des tragischen Kothurnes. In Deutschland ist es anders. [...] Mit einer Aengstlichkeit, als ob ein ungeheures Wagstück zu vollbringen wäre, gehen unsre Dichter an eine dramatische Arbeit, und gedrückt durch so manche unglückliche Versuche, voll Furcht vor der Menge der Kritiker und der babylonischen Verwirrung der Kritiken, die in demselben Verhältnisse in Deutschland sich vermehren, als die Kunst abnimmt – ist es ein Wunder, daß ihre Produkte ohne Leben,

durch ihn freilich auch »antigrav« sich bewegende Marionette unterliegt der journaliterarische Fortsetzungstext einem »auf eine mechanische Weise«, durch die jeweiligen temporalen und spatialen Formatbedingungen, vorgegebenen »Rhythmus der Bewegungen«, der ihn gegenüber dem nichtsequenzierten Buchtext vor typographischer »Ziererei« bewahrt und zugleich im Wechsel von Fortsetzung und Abbruch bei hoher Absatzfrequenz<sup>47</sup> schwerelos macht.<sup>48</sup> Der provokant »geheimnißvolle« und »geistlose«, durch Sperrung zum Leuchten gebrachte »Weg der Seele des Tänzers«,<sup>49</sup> der in doppelter

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ohne Interesse, ohne Wirkung ausfallen? Noch einige Jahre so fort, und unser Theater, das jetzt schon in Jamben zum Grabe hinkt, stirbt mit antiken Verzuckungen an der neuen Kunsttheorie. Wäre es nicht rathsam, durch kleine leichte Stücke, von freier und kecker Erfindung, nicht in der Büchersprache geschrieben, die dem freien Fluß der Rede widersteht, aber auch nicht in dem platten Jargon des Pöbels, nicht mit vornehm witzigen Pointen, aber auch nicht mit niedrigen und pöbelhaften Späßen, voll Satire, aber ohne Persönlichkeiten, die Lust und Liebe des Volks zum Theater zu wecken? [...] | Jch habe hier einen Versuch zu solchen Stücken gemacht. Jch habe sie Marionettenspiele genannt, weil ich glaube, die gezogenen Puppen von Holz werden sie eher und besser aufführen, als die hölzernen lebendigen auf unsern Haupt- und Staatstheatern.« Marionetten-Theater oder Sammlung lustiger und kurzweiliger Actionen für kleine und große Puppen. Leipzig, bei Georg Voß. 1806, S. III–VI, hier S. III–V. Als Herausgeber der *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* und Pächter der *Leipziger Zeitung* operiert deren ungenannter »Verfasser« (S. VI) Siegfried August Mahlmann selbst auf dem nicht der »Büchersprache« verpflichteten journaliterarischen Markt. Auf die Schrift von Mahlmann verweist in ihrer Kontextualisierung des »Marionettentheater«-Textes Kapp (Anm. 42), S. 51–53.

- 47 Die Binnengliederung durch Absätze ist in »Ueber das Marionettentheater« nicht nur im Vergleich mit dem 1810 erschienenen ersten Band von Kleists *Erzählungen* ungewöhnlich hoch, sondern auch im Verhältnis zu den bis dahin ausgegebenen *Abendblatt*-Nummern. Erste Lieferung: 95 Zeilen, achtzehn Absätze; zweite Lieferung: 96 Zeilen, vierzehn Absätze; dritte Lieferung: 74 Zeilen, acht Absätze; vierte Lieferung: 82 Zeilen, acht Absätze.
- 48 Ueber das Marionettentheater (12. Dez. 1810) (Anm. 17), S. 248; Ueber das Marionettentheater. Fortsetzung.) (13. Dez. 1810) (Anm. 17), S. 252f. Die Struktur leichtfüßigen An- und Absetzens (»Die Puppen brauchen den Boden nur, wie die Elfen, um ihn zu streifen, und den Schwung der Glieder, durch die augenblickliche Hemmung neu zu beleben«) reicht gelegentlich bis ins rahmende Gespräch hinein, vgl. die narrative Moderation der Repliken in der zweiten Lieferung: »Sehen Sie nur die P... an, fuhr er fort, wenn sie die Daphne spielt [...]. | Solche Mißgriffe, setzte er abbrechend hinzu, sind unvermeidlich [...]. | Jch [...] bat ihn, fortzufahren.« Es schließt sich die Explikation des »Antigraven« an. Ebd. Meine Kursivierungen.
- 49 Sperrsatz ist in der Zeitungstypographie zeitgenössisch geläufig, doch sind es Namen von Personen und Orten, die solcherart ausgezeichnet werden, allenfalls noch markante Zitate. Zum »Weiß als Grund, der durch die Buchstaben sichtbar zum Leuchten gebracht wird«, vgl. Thomas Fries: Der weiße Zwischenraum aus typographischer und poetischer Sicht. In: Mareike Giertler/Rea Köppel (Hgg.): Von Lettern und Lücken. Zur Ordnung der

Übersetzung (der Empfindungen der Seele in die »Bewegungen seiner Finger« und dieser wiederum in die »Bewegung der daran befestigten Puppen«) dem Marionettentheater ablesbar wird,<sup>50</sup> beschreibt dann *auch* die paradoxe Bewegung des Fortsetzungstextes auf dem literarischen Markt im Versuch, ob das ›Paradies‹ ungezierter Kunst jenseits autorzentriert-monumentaler »Werkpolitik«<sup>51</sup> ›vielleicht von hinten irgendwo wieder offen ist.«<sup>52</sup>

*Beispiel 2: Extrablätter vom April 1814*

Mein zweites Beispiel bildet ein Untersuchungscorpus, das nicht für den Schreibtisch des Literaturwissenschaftlers bestimmt scheint, sondern ganz der medialen Logik journalistischer Tagesaktualität verpflichtet. Ereignisgeschichtlich perspektiviert, sind die Texte, die ich herausgreife, publizistische Reaktionen auf die Besetzung von Paris durch die alliierten Truppen am 31. März/1. April 1814 im Rahmen der Befreiungskriege gegen Napoleon. Zeitgenössisch wurde dieser Höhepunkt des ersten Frankreichfeldzugs, dem am 2./3. April die Thronentsetzung Napoleons folgt, von Anfang an als Zäsur von weltgeschichtlicher Bedeutung wahrgenommen; schon die Rheinüberquerung der Alliierten im Dezember 1813 wird als epochal erfahren und zum Anlaß von Journalgründungen, so der *Teutschen Blätter* ab dem 6. Januar 1814 bei Herder in Freiburg.<sup>53</sup> Die Aufladung des Geschehens mit Bedeutsamkeit ist

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Schrift im Bleisatz. München: Fink 2012, S. 115–127, hier S. 117f. (Zitat S. 117). Wenig ergiebig das Kapitel zum »Sperrsatz« bei Thomas Nehrlich: »Es hat mehr Sinn und Deutung, als du glaubst.« Zu Funktion und Bedeutung typographischer Textmerkmale in Kleists Prosa. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms 2012, S. 59–77, das beinahe ausschließlich von dessen Semantik her argumentiert, nicht von der Optik.

50 Ueber das Marionettentheater (12. Dez. 1810) (Anm. 17), S. 249.

51 Vgl. Steffen Martus: *Werkpolitik. Zur Literaturgeschichte kritischer Kommunikation vom 17. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert mit Studien zu Klopstock, Tieck, Goethe und George*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2007.

52 Vgl. Ueber das Marionettentheater. (Fortsetzung.) (13. Dez. 1810) (Anm. 17), S. 253.

53 Das Epochale des Gründungsmoments hebt der erste Satz des ersten Artikels hervor: »Wir beginnen unsere Kriegsberichte mit dem Rheinübergang der verbündeten Heere und dem Einrücken in die Schweiz, welche wohl eine der merkwürdigsten Perioden dieses Krieges eröffnen, und nicht anders als das Signal zu den größten Ereignissen seyn können.« Kriegsschauplatz. In: *Teutsche Blätter. I. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten*. Nro. 1. Donnerstags, den 6. Januar 1814, S. 1. In einer redaktionellen Mitteilung unter dem Kopf der ersten Nummer stellt das neue Blatt sich so vor: »Die teutschen Blätter, welche gemäß hohen Befehls dahier in Freyburg zur schnellern Beförderung der täglichen Armee-Nachrichten fortgesetzt werden, sind einem doppelten Zwecke gewidmet. Sie werden 1. die neuesten Armee-Nachrichten und überhaupt politischen Nachrichten, 2. patriotische Aufsätze, Parallelen, Charakterzüge aus der Geschichte, politische Abhandlungen von nicht allzugroßem Umfang, Gedichte, Rezensionen und überhaupt



militärisch und politisch leicht nachvollziehbar, frappant sind jedoch die Formen, in denen das geschieht: man kann sie regelrecht als barock bezeichnen. Charakteristisch sind Chronogramme, vorzugsweise in lateinischen Distichen, sowie typologisch-allegorische Argumentationsfiguren.<sup>54</sup> Ein markantes Beispiel ist die Nummer 43 der zweiten Abteilung der *Teutschen Blätter* vom 14. April 1814 (die *Teutschen Blätter* erscheinen wöchentlich dreimal, jeweils in einer ersten Abteilung »Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten«, in der Regel vier Seiten, und einer zweiten Abteilung »Patriotische Erhebungen«, in der Regel ebenfalls vier Seiten): Die Nummer 43 der »Patriotischen Erhebungen« hat nur *zwei* Seiten (Fig. 3,5/3,6), denn die »Kriegs- und politischen Nachrichten« vom gleichen Tag haben *sechs* Seiten gebraucht; sie ist – absolute Ausnahme – abgesehen vom Zeitungskopf ganz in Antiqua gesetzt; sie bietet – abermals absolute Ausnahme – abgesehen von der Überschrift ausschließlich Verse und will, abgesehen von den schließenden drei lateinischen Distichen, gesungen werden; die »Regieanweisung« unter der Überschrift lautet: »*Mel. Freude, schöner Götterfunken etc.*«. <sup>55</sup>

Die nachfolgende Ode in hohem Ton steht so im Zeichen Schillers<sup>56</sup> und überblendet das antike »Elisium«<sup>57</sup> mit christlicher Auferstehungsfreude:

Wie der Herr aus Todesbanden  
Siegend in das Leben kehrt:  
Ist das Teutsche Volk erstanden,  
Neu erbaut der traute Heerd.

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Aufsätze enthalten, welche dazu dienen, auf den öffentlichen Geist in Teutschland, dem hohen Zweck der Verbündeten gemäß, wohlthätig einzuwirken, und von der jetzigen Epoche eine würdige Schilderung zu liefern. [...] Alle Wochen erscheinen 3 Bogen in 4. Das erste Blatt erscheint den 6. Januar 1814.« Ebd. Hier und im folgenden wird nach dem Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i.Br. zitiert (Signatur: H 2264 f 1814).

- 54 Beispielsweise die Denkfigur der »Parallele«, die im Plan der *Teutschen Blätter* denn auch als ein eigenes Genre namhaft gemacht wird (vgl. vorige Anm.). So konstruieren sowohl die *Teutschen Blätter* als auch die am 16. Juni 1814, kurz vor Erscheinungsschluß der *Teutschen Blätter* (am 30. Juni 1814), eröffneten *Friedensblätter* mittels horazischer Oden eine Parallele zwischen dem römischen Kaiser Augustus und Kaiser Franz II. von Österreich. Vgl. dazu David Brehm/Nicola Kaminski/Volker Mergenthaler/Nora Ramtke/Sven Schöpf: *Zeit/Schrift 1813–1815 oder Chronopoetik des »Unregelmäßigen«*. Hannover: Wehrhahn 2022 (*Journalliteratur* 3), S. 209–215, 225–231 und 241–247.
- 55 Bey der Feyer des Einzugs der verbündeten Heere in Paris und des Sturzes Napoleons. In: *Teutsche Blätter*. II. Patriotische Erhebungen. Nro. 43. Donnerstag den 14. April 1814, S. 153f., hier S. 153.
- 56 Vgl. z.B. An die Freude. In bekannter Melodie. In: *Lieder zur Erhöhung gesellschaftlicher Freude, nebst angehängten Gesundheitsen*. Nürnberg, bei Johann Gottfried Stiebner, 1793, S. 59–64.
- 57 Ebd., S. 59.

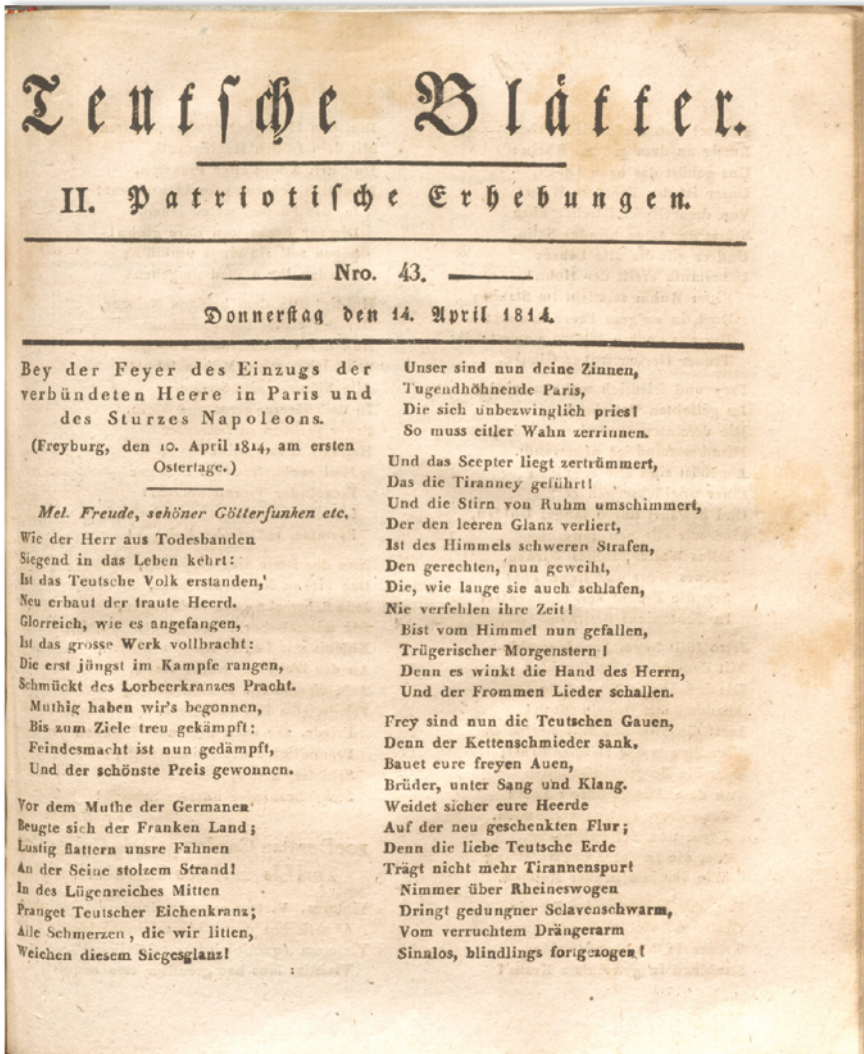


FIGURE 3.5 *Teutsche Blätter*. II. Patriotische Erhebungen. Nro. 43. Donnerstag den 14. April 1814, S. 153/154. Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i.Br. (Signatur: H 2264 f 1814)

Glorreich, wie es angefangen,  
Ist das grosse Werk vollbracht:  
Die erst jüngst im Kampfe rangen,  
Schmückt des Lorbeerkranzes Pracht.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Bey der Feyer des Einzugs (Anm. 55), S. 153.

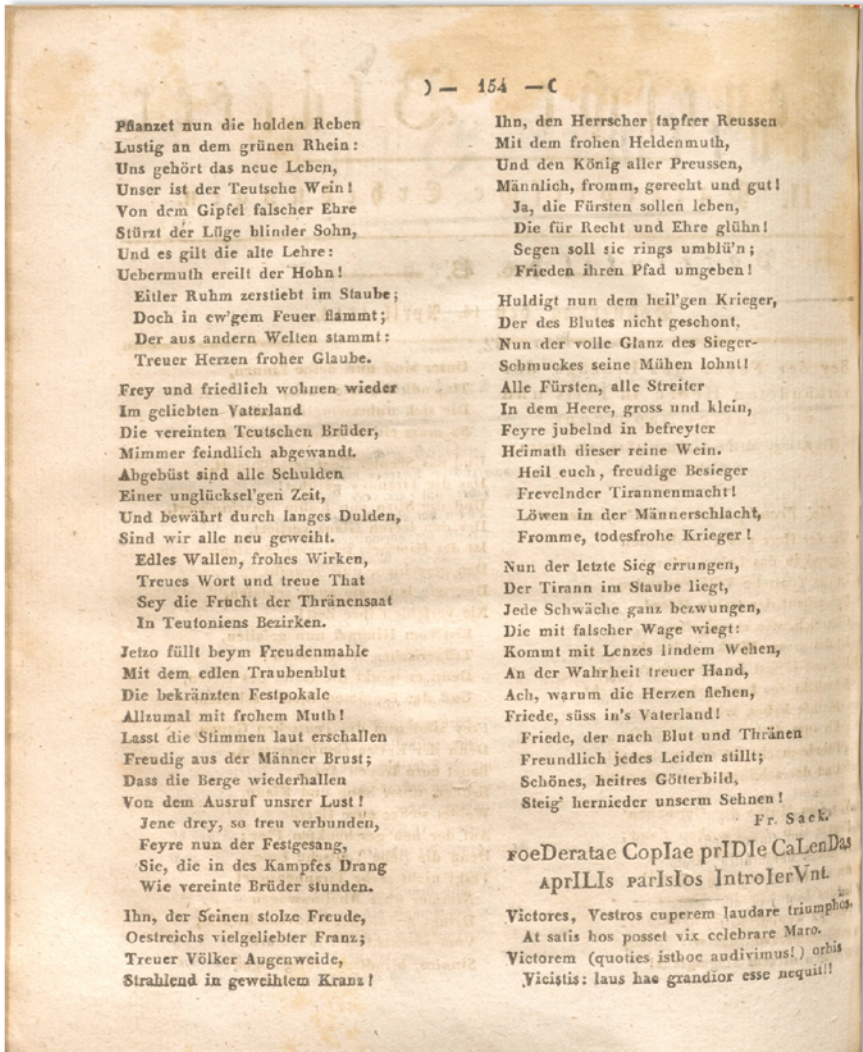


FIGURE 3.6 Teutsche Blätter. II. Patriotische Erhebungen. Nro. 43. Donnerstag den 14. April 1814, S. 153/154. Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i.Br. (Signatur: H 2264 f 1814)

Im weiteren Verlauf wird es politisch konkret, Paris wird genannt und die drei Monarchen, ebenso der namenlose »Tyrann« und »Kettenschmieder« Napoleon.<sup>59</sup> Das lateinische Chronostichon fixiert wie in Stein gemeißelt *semantisch* den Tag der Einnahme von Paris (»prIDIE CaLenDas APRILIs«:

59 Vgl. ebd., Zitate S. 154 und 153.

am 31. März), *chronogrammatisch* das *Jahr*.<sup>60</sup> Wie paßt das aber zum »aus Todesbanden« erstandenen Herrn, womit die deutschen Verse die Befreiung Deutschlands vergleichen? Der 31. März ist der Donnerstag vor Palmsonntag, im Kirchenjahr ein völlig unscheinbarer Tag. Die Überschrift verrät es, gibt aber zugleich ein neues Rätsel auf: »Bey der Feyer des Einzugs der verbündeten Heere in Paris und des Sturzes Napoleons. (Freymburg, den 10. April 1814, am ersten Ostertage.)«<sup>61</sup> Warum erst am 10.? In Freiburg wußte man von der Besetzung der französischen Hauptstadt schon am 7. April (Gründonnerstag) durch ein »Extra-Blatt« zu Nummer 40 der *Teutschen Blätter*, das auf einem ganzen Bogen ultraknapp aus Paris berichtet und die zugehörigen Aktenstücke abdruckt (Fig. 3.7).<sup>62</sup>

Mit diesem Extrablatt eröffnen die *Teutschen Blätter* eine Art »Ausnahmezustandssequenz«, in der auch das reguläre Blatt von der Semantik extraordinärer Bedeutsamkeit affiziert wird: Nummer 41 der »Kriegs- und politischen Nachrichten« vom 9. April (Ostersamstag) reproduziert das Extrablatt vom 7. April (auf zweieinhalb von vier Seiten).<sup>63</sup> Die Begründung für die ungewöhnliche Dopplung liefert eine redaktionelle Fußnote:

Zum Besten derjenigen Herren Abonnenten, denen das mit unserer letzten Nummer ausgegebene Extra-Blatt nicht zugekommen seyn sollte, nehmen wir den Jnhalt desselben auch in gegenwärtige Nummer auf.<sup>64</sup>

Die Folge, *performativ*: die Zeit steht publizistisch still. Und *seriell*: es wird zu Nummer 41 erneut ein Extrablatt nötig (Fig. 3.8/3.9).

60 Es gelten als Zahlbuchstaben die Majuskeln: D (500) + C (100) + I (1) + I (1) + D (500) + I (1) + C (100) + L (50) + D (500) + I (1) + L (50) + I (1) + I (1) + I (1) + I (1) + I (1) + V (5) = 1814.

61 Bey der Feyer des Einzugs (Anm. 55), S. 153.

62 Armee-Nachrichten. [Extrablatt zu Teutsche Blätter. 1. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 40. Donnerstag, den 7. April 1814], unpag. Im Normalfall messen die Seiten der *Teutschen Blätter* in der Höhe 23,1 cm, in der Breite 19,0–19,5 cm; das vorliegende, für die Einbindung in den Halbjahresband unregelmäßig beschnittene Extrablatt ist 39,8 cm hoch sowie am oberen Blattrand 34,6–34,7 cm breit, am unteren 33,6 cm. Referenz ist das Freiburger Exemplar (Anm. 53). Daß es sich um ein Extrablatt zu Nummer 40 handelt, erfährt man (wenigstens in der Retrospektive) erst durch eine redaktionelle Mitteilung in der Folge Nummer über »das mit unserer letzten Nummer ausgegebene Extra-Blatt«. Armee-Nachrichten. In: Teutsche Blätter. 1. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 41. Samstag, den 9. April 1814, S. 175–177, hier S. 175, Fußnote \*).

63 Ebd., S. 175–177.

64 Ebd., S. 175, Fußnote \*).



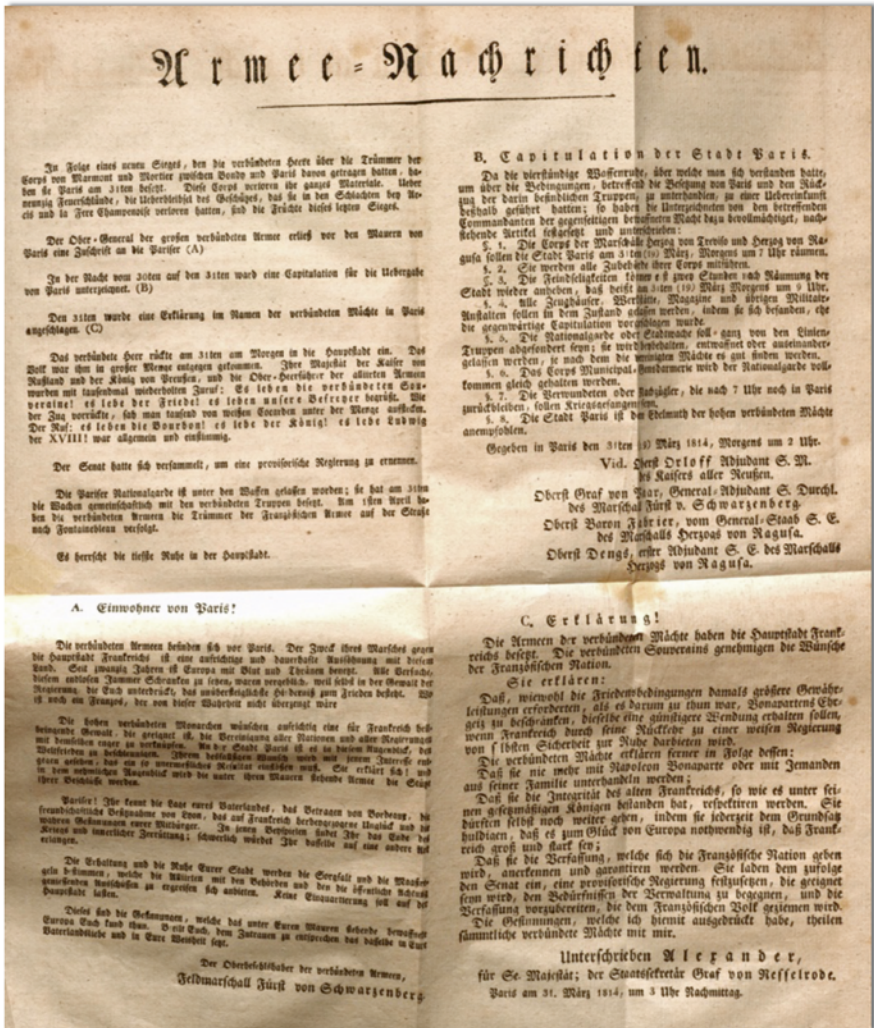


FIGURE 3.7 Armee-Nachrichten. [Extrablatt zu Teutsche Blätter. I. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 40. Donnerstag, den 7. April 1814], unpag. Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i.Br. (Signatur: H 2264 f 1814)

Und zwar ein merkwürdiger Zwitter aus ordentlichem und außerordentlichem Blatt, sowohl was seine Serialität angeht als auch hinsichtlich des typographischen Erscheinungsbildes. In der Überschrift (»Auszug der officiellen Nachrichten aus Paris Nro. 1. oder Fortsetzung der Armee-Nachrichten«<sup>65</sup>)

65 Auszug der officiellen Nachrichten aus Paris Nro. 1. oder Fortsetzung der Armee-Nachrichten. [Extrablatt zu Teutsche Blätter. I. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 41. Samstag, den 9. April 1814], unpag.

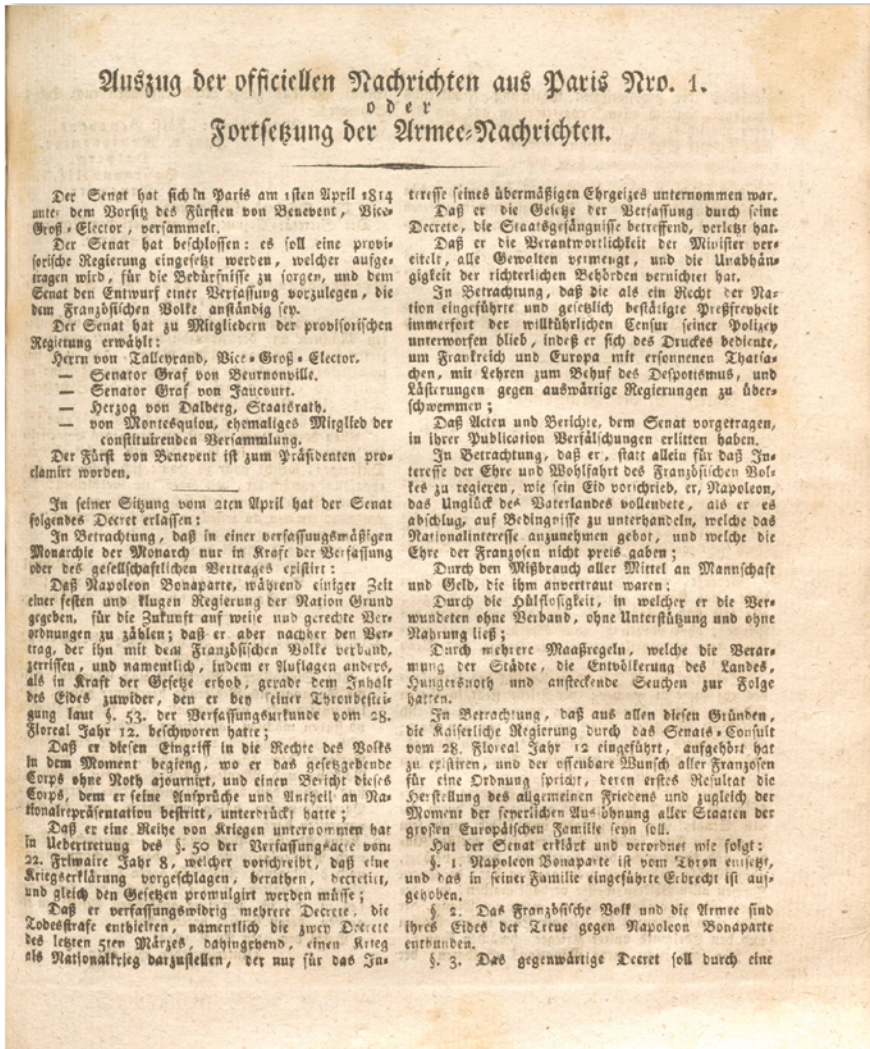


FIGURE 3.8 Auszug der officiellen Nachrichten aus Paris Nro. 1. oder Fortsetzung der Armees-Nachrichten. [Extrablatt zu Teutsche Blätter. I. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 41. Samstag, den 9. April 1814], unpag. Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i.Br. (Signatur: H 2264 f 1814)

gibt es sich als Fortsetzung, fügt sich somit als Glied in die serielle Ordnung ein – allerdings als Fortsetzung nicht des regulären Blattes, sondern des in seiner Außerordentlichkeit Einmaligen: des *Extrablatts* zu Nummer 40 unter dem Titel »Armees-Nachrichten«! Entsprechend zwiespältig das Druckbild: einerseits erscheint das Fortsetzungsextrablatt (anders als das erste) im regulären Satzspiegel der *Teutschen Blätter* und im normalen Umfang von vier



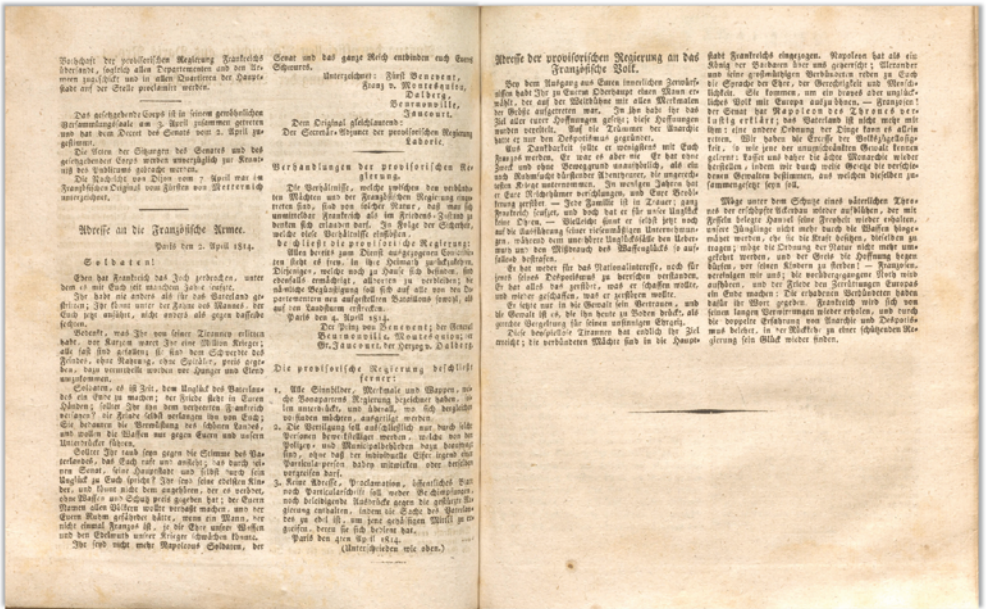


FIGURE 3.9 Auszug der officiellen Nachrichten aus Paris Nro. 1. oder Fortsetzung der Armee-Nachrichten. [Extrablatt zu Teutsche Blätter. I. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 41. Samstag, den 9. April 1814], unpag. Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i.Br. (Signatur: H 2264 f 1814)

Seiten, wenn auch nicht in die Paginierung einbezogen; andererseits bringt der Ereignisdruck eine regelrecht gestische ›Extra-Typographie‹ hervor, es ist kompakt gesetzt (›es pressiert‹), und doch bleibt vom zweiten Blatt die halbe Vorderseite und die ganze Rückseite unbedruckt (›keine Zeit für *mise en page*, keine Lückenbüßer‹).

Oder verhält es sich womöglich anders? An dieser Stelle kommt in den Halbjahresband der *Teutschen Blätter* ein Moment ›Gegenwart‹, der sich erhalten, jedoch nicht in die durch das Gesamtittelblatt<sup>66</sup> als intendiert bezugte Archivordnung der Zeitschrift gefunden hat. *Nach* dem Fortsetzungsextrablatt

66 Teutsche Blätter, welche nach dem hohen Armeebefehl in Freyburg fortgesetzt wurden. Erste Abtheilung, Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten, oder die neuesten officiellen Armee-Nachrichten vom Einmarsch der verbündeten Armeen in die Schweiz bis zum Rückzug derselben aus Frankreich nach dem Frieden von Paris. Zweyte Abtheilung, Patriotische Erhebungen, welche den Zweck haben, auf den öffentlichen Geist in Teutschland dem großen Zweck der hohen Alliirten gemäß wohlthätig einzuwirken, und von dieser Epoche eine würdige Schilderung zu liefern. Freyburg und Konstanz, in der Herderschen Buchhandlung, 1814. Dieses Titelblatt des Freiburger Exemplars wurde laut einem Vermerk auf der Rückseite faksimiliert »nach dem Exemplar der Großh. Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe«.

ist im Freiburger Exemplar nämlich noch ein einseitig bedrucktes Extrablatt eingebunden (Fig. 3.10), unter dem schieren Titel »Armee-Nachrichten«, mit Datum »Paris, den 1sten April 1814« (die Fortsetzung reichte bis zum 7.).

Der erste Satz lautet: »Ich wünsche, daß diese Nachrichten die ersten seyn mögen, die das Publikum über den glänzenden Erfolg unserer Waffen erhält.«<sup>67</sup> Eine Lektüriereihenfolge wird demnach »gewünscht«, die *dieses* Extrablatt *vor* dem zuvor eingebundenen vorsieht (also in Spannung steht zu der buchstäblich als *petitio principii* daherkommenden Zählung »Nro. 1« in dessen Überschrift), vielleicht sogar noch *vor* dem Extrablatt zu Nummer 40. Mit welcher Autorität der Wunsch geäußert wird, *wessen* Ich spricht, bleibt unklar; der zweite Satz (»Am 24sten März vereinigten sich unsere Truppen mit der Armee des Feldmarschalls Blücher [...]«<sup>68</sup>) läßt nur erkennen, daß der Sprecher der Armee des Fürsten von Schwarzenberg angehört, ein namenloser Augenzeuge somit aus *dessen* Truppenteil (womöglich gar in dessen Auftrag?), auf dessen Geheiß auch die *Teutschen Blätter* erscheinen. Gegenüber der unzweideutigen Sequenzialität periodischer Publikation haben sich die Hierarchien, zeitlich wie dem Range nach, für einen Moment aufgelöst zur konkurrierenden Polyphonie froher Botschaften.

In Nummer 42 der »Kriegs- und politischen Nachrichten« vom 11. April (Ostermontag) wiederholt sich der Funktionstausch zwischen regulärem und Extrablatt: sie druckt das Fortsetzungsextrablatt noch einmal (nicht aber die einseitigen »Armee-Nachrichten«<sup>69</sup>) und kann ein neuerliches Extrablatt nur vermeiden, indem sie zuungunsten der zweiten Abteilung *sechs* Seiten beansprucht.<sup>70</sup> Gleiches gilt für die nun *kein* Extrablatt nachtragende, dennoch *sechsstellige* Nummer 43;<sup>71</sup> außerordentliche *Zeiterfahrung* fordert *Extraraum*. Die ungewöhnliche Nummer 43 der *zweiten* Abteilung setzt diesem »Extra-Trend« stillgestellter Zeit und raumsprengender Ereignisfülle

67 Armee-Nachrichten. Paris, den 1sten April 1814, unpag. Im Freiburger Exemplar eingebunden zwischen dem Fortsetzungsextrablatt zu Nro. 41 und Nro. 42. Die hier untersuchte Extrablatt-Sequenz ist in keinem weiteren Exemplar der *Teutschen Blätter* nachweisbar, so daß Vergleichsmöglichkeiten entfallen.

68 Ebd.

69 Sie bleiben vielmehr in der Schwebe einer vagen Formulierung zu Beginn von Nummer 42, die es offen läßt, ob sie disjunktiv auf *beide* Beigaben zum regulären Blatt bezogen werden will: »Wir haben die Details vom Einzug der Alliierten in Paris in einer Beylage zu unserer letzten Nummer gegeben. Die Summe der großen Ereignisse in dieser Hauptstadt enthalten folgende Armeenachrichten.« *Teutsche Blätter*. I. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 42. Montag, den 11. April 1814, S. 179.

70 Vgl. ebd., S. 179–184.

71 *Teutsche Blätter*. I. Kriegs- und politische Nachrichten. Nro. 43. Donnerstag, den 14. April 1814, S. 185–190.



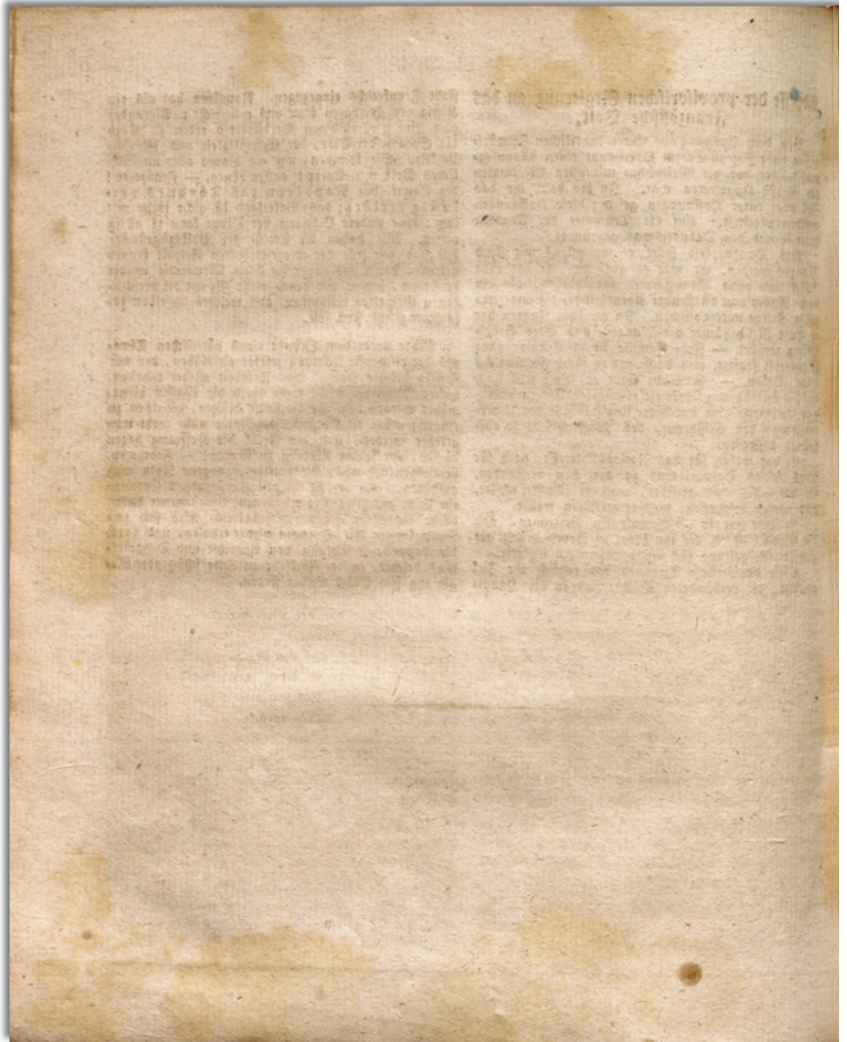


FIGURE 3.10 Armeenachrichten. Paris, den 1sten April 1814, unpag., zwischen dem Fortsetzungsextrablatt zu Nro. 41 und Nro. 42. Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i.Br. (Signatur: H 2264 f 1814)

## A r m e e : N a c h r i c h t e n .

Paris, den 1sten April 1814.

Ich wünsche, daß diese Nachrichten die ersten seyn mögen, die das Publikum über den glänzenden Erfolg unserer Waffen erhält. Am 21sten März vereinigten sich unsere Truppen mit der Armee des Feldmarschalls Blücher, nachdem der Kaiser Napoleon mit ungefähr 50,000 Mann bey Vitry über die Marne gegangen war, um eine Diverſion in unserm Rücken zu machen. Der Kaiser Alexander sahre darauf den erhabenen und entscheidenden Entschluß, diese Bewegung nicht zu achten, und sämtliche Truppen in forcirten Märschen gegen Paris über Sezannes, Montmirail und Meaux vorrücken, und ein ansehnliches Corps bey Vitry zurückzulassen, um den nach St. Diziers und Tignonville gegangenen Feind zu beobachten. Kaum hatten wir diese Bewegung angefangen, als der Marschall Marmont, welcher mit seinem Corps schon früher von der Blücherischen Armee zurückgedrängt war, sich zwischen Vitry und Jere Champagne zeigte. Sogleich geschah ein allgemeiner Angriff auf denselben. Er verlor seine ganze Artillerie, bestehend aus 80 Kanonen und mehrere hundert Munitionswägen, dabey 7000 Gefangene. Wir schritten darauf unsern Marsch ununterbrochen fort, und erschienen gestern früh auf den Anhöhen von Paris. Hier kam es zu einem blutigen Gefecht. Der Marschall Marmont raffte in der Eile alle Truppen zusammen, die er in Paris mit Beyhülfe des Königs Josephs von Spanien zusammenbringen konnte, und stellte sich auf den Anhöhen bey Romainville, Belleville und Montmarre. Von unsrer Seite geschah der Angriff sogleich, und schon Nachmittag um 4 Uhr war die ganze Stellung des Feindes mit stürmender Hand eingenommen, und derselbe mit Zurücklassung seiner sämtlichen Artillerie bis in die Vorstädte von Paris zurückgedrängt. Der Kaiser Alexander befand sich eben damals auf der Anhöhe zwischen Belleville und Paris. Hier empfing er mehrere Parlementsräthe um den Abzug der wirklichen Truppen aus

Paris anzusuchen; dabey aber die Stadt selbst nebst allen Arsenalen und allen militärischen Vorräthen uns zu überlassen sich erbieten. Alles dieses wurde auch sogleich bewilliget, indem der Kaiser Alexander, wie Sie aus der Proclamation an die Pariser ersehen haben, die Hauptstadt Frankreichs durchaus nicht feindselig behandeln wollte. Auf diese Art endigte sich der gestrige Tag; was aber heute geschah, das übersteigt alle Vorstellung.

Der Kaiser Alexander, an der Spitze seiner zahlreichen Gardes, begleitet von dem Könige von Preußen, dem Fürsten von Schwarzenberg und dem Grafen Barclay de Tolly, erschien Morgens um 11 Uhr an der Barriere von Paris, um in die Stadt einzurücken. Mit dem ersten Schritt, den er in dieselbe that, empfingen ihn die Pariser mit einem unbeschreiblichen Jubel. Alle Einwohner, beiderley Geschlechts, waren in den Straßen versammelt und begleiteten ihn unter einem beständigen Brausen und allen nur möglichen Ausdrücken der lebhaftesten Freude, sein Pferd war ununterbrochen von Tausenden umzingelt. Man küßte ihm die Hände und Füße, nannte ihn den Befreyer, den Friedensbringer, den Unvergleichlichen. Tausend jungen Officiere von feiner Suite, vom Pferde zu steigen, und machten sich dabardes her, um den Monarchen in der Nähe zu sehen. Aus allen Fenstern ließen Hunderttausend Hände weiße Tücher wehen, und auf allen Hüten sah man Cocarden von derselben Farbe. Alles forderte laut einen Bourbon zum Könige. So gieng der Zug bis in die Elisischen Felder, wo der Kaiser Halt machte, um die Truppen vorbeystreiten zu lassen. Hier überstieg der Jubel alle Grenzen. Die ungeheure Volksmasse, durch die Witzen des Kaisers endlich bewogen, den Truppen Platz zu machen, zertheilten sich in Gruppen, und Laufende rannen zur Ehrensäule Napoleons, um mit diesem Denkmale das letzte Andenken an einen grausamen Despoten zu vernichten. Die Erbitterung, womit das Volk dabey zu Werke gieng, geht über alle Begriffe. Trotz der ungeheuern Höhe, fand ein Franzos Mittel, die Säule ein lauges Seil um den Hals derselben zu winden; unterdessen daß andere die Füße unterstellten. Bey den Anstrengungen einer unabsehbaren Volksmenge und dem einstimmigen Ausrufe: Vive l'Empereur Alexandre! bemühten sich die bis zur höchsten Wuth entflammten Pariser, den Coloz zu zerschmettern.

ein Ende:<sup>72</sup> durch transzendente Sinnsetzung (politische Auferstehung als Ostergeschehen), durch den Gestus klassischer Literarizität (»Freude, schöner Götterfunken!«), durch das typographisch ausgewogene Antiquablatt, das das ephemere Extrablattformat (*ein Blatt*) in den »Patriotischen Erhebungen« zum *Denkmal* umfunktioniert.

Dies aber *nicht* zeitlos, jenseits periodischer Logik. Indem die *Teutschen Blätter*, die die Besetzungsnachricht in Freiburg schon am 7. April erreicht, eine publizistische Dramaturgie des Epochalen entwickeln, die von der Gründonnerstagsverheißung auf Ostern zielt, lassen sie der erlösenden Nachricht buchstäblich *Zeit anzukommen*: in Berlin, das vom *Preußischen Correspondenten* turnusmäßig erst am zweiten Osterfeiertag wieder auf den neuesten Stand gebracht wird, am Montag unter dem Datum des Vortags mit Verweis auf »die religiöse Feier des heutigen Tages«,<sup>73</sup> in Wien, wo der *Oesterreichische Beobachter* und die *Wiener Zeitung* feiertagsbedingt am Ostersonntag nicht erscheinen, offenbar gleichwohl noch »im Laufe des Nachmittags« in einer »außerordentliche[n] Beilage« zu letzterer,<sup>74</sup> in Leipzig aber am 10. April in einem Extrablatt zur *Leipziger Zeitung* wahrhaftig, epiphanisch *als* Osterbotschaft (Fig. 3.11).<sup>75</sup>

Die Gunst der Überlieferung will es, daß im erhaltenen Exemplar des Deutschen Historischen Museums Berlin eine handschriftliche Notiz »1ster Osterfeiertag« diese performative Lesart zeitgenössisch beglaubigt.

72 Jedenfalls in der zeitgenössisch-synchronen Perspektive. In der Retrospektive muß der Leser erst die buchförmig getrennt (im Freiburger Exemplar in *einem* Band nacheinander) gebundenen beiden Abteilungen virtuell wieder in Einzelnummern auflösen und nach Maßgabe des publizistischen Datums synchronisieren.

73 Kriegsbegebenheiten. Frankreich. Hauptarmee. Berlin, den 10. April. In: Der Preußische Correspondent Nr. 57. Montag, den 11ten April 1814. Jm Verlage der Realschul-Buchhandlung, unpag.

74 Kriegsschauplatz. In: Oesterreichischer Beobachter. Nro. 100 und 101. Sonntag den 10. und Montag den 11. April 1814, S. 545. In der *Wiener Zeitung* findet sich im regulären Blatt kein Hinweis auf die Beilage. Deren Titel weist sie in der Druckordnung der Zeitung der am Ostermontag ausgegebenen Doppelnummer zu: Zwanzigste außerordentliche Beylage zur Oesterreichisch-Kaiserlichen privilegirten Wiener-Zeitung Nro. 100 u. 101. Sonntag den 10. April 1814. Exemplar der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien (Signatur: 393052-D.AltJf. 1814).

75 Extra-Blatt zur Leipziger Zeitung. Sonntags den 10ten April 1814, unpag. Exemplar des Deutschen Historischen Museums Berlin (Signatur: Do 53/250).

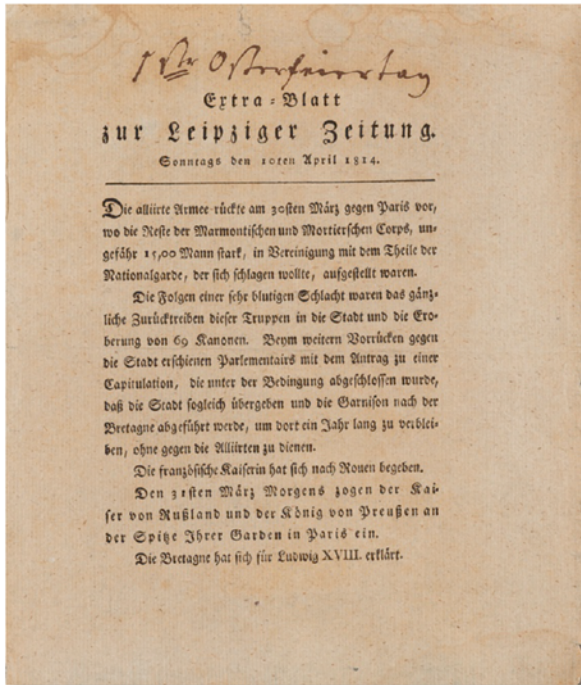


FIGURE 3.11  
Extra-Blatt zur Leipziger  
Zeitung. Sonntags den  
10ten April 1814, unpag.  
Exemplar des Deutschen  
Historischen Museums  
Berlin (Signatur: Do  
53/250)

### 3 Konklusionen

Wofür treten die beiden aus ihren Projektzusammenhängen herausgegriffenen, jeweils nur anskizzierten Beispiele in den Zeugenstand?

Dafür, daß ›Literatur‹ (im denkbar weitesten Sinne) einen Körper hat, daß dieses Corpus bei weitem keine verblaßte Metapher ist, sondern in seiner Materialität produktionsseitig wie rezeptionsseitig Bedeutungsträger;

– , daß ein wesentlicher Faktor dieser ›Körperlichkeit‹ literarischer (wiederum im denkbar weitesten Sinn) Medien *Zeit* ist, auch sie produktions- wie rezeptionsseitig in Betracht zu ziehen: insofern sie einmalig-punktuell ›am Stück‹ ein der Idee nach ›Ganzes‹ hervorbringt oder aber periodisch-sukzessive zukunftsoffenes Fortsetzungs-›Stückwerk‹, das sich in der Retrospektive in ein ›Ganzes‹ verwandelt, von dem nur noch in bewußter Willensanstrengung zu abstrahieren ist; und insofern sie so nicht nur am Einzeltext wirksam wird, sondern am Medienformat, Journalförmigkeit in der Archivierung in Buchförmiges transformiert, so daß in der Retrospektive die ephemeren ›Blätter‹, ›Nummern‹, ›Hefte‹, ›Stücke‹ der Journale in ihren Interimseinbänden (wenn überhaupt) nurmehr im Ausnahmefall anzutreffen sind;



– , daß Literarizität, verstanden als bedeutungstiftende Gestaltung von Kontingentem, im Horizont von ›Journalliteratur‹ weit unterhalb der Einheit ›Text‹ manifest wird, und zwar vorzugsweise als Abweichung von der formatkonstitutiven Serialität, sei es ›chronopoietisch‹ im Verhältnis zur Norm regelmäßiger Periodizität, sei es mittels optischer Signifikanzen im Verhältnis zum seriell identitätstiftenden typographischen Erscheinungsbild;

– , daß solche materialphilologischen *close readings* (und *close viewings*) nicht *gegen* literaturwissenschaftliche arbeiten, sondern *mit* ihnen, allerdings nicht supplementär, sondern im Wortsinn re-vidierend. Solcherart zielen sie nicht auf Widerlegung, sondern auf Wiedervorlage von vermeintlich Bekanntem.

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## Die Illustration als *parole condensée* für geistig Arme? Explizite und implizite Selbstreflexion im *Magasin Pittoresque* (1833)

Andreas Beck

### Abstract

As this essay aims to show, explicit self-reflection in early illustrated journals cannot be trusted: They underlie discursive constraints and may therefore (also) obscure the aims of such periodicals instead of exposing them. The illustration practice of texts (in which these statements are included), however, frequently offers, such is the working hypothesis, an implicit self-reflection which moves in a different direction: in the example presented in this article, one that refutes an explicit self-description by employing paratextual aspects such as the use of a layout plan (or lack thereof), paper quality, page numbering, placement of illustrations, and intertextual references. With the reconstruction of this implicit self-disclosure, the close reading of *Magasin Pittoresque* and *Penny Magazine* in the following case study intends to blaze a trail for an adequate analysis of illustrated journals of the 1830s – a trail that sheds particular light on the surprising complexity of verbal-visual forms of communication.

Wie lassen sich Funktionsweisen und Strategien illustrierter Journale des früheren bis mittleren 19. Jahrhunderts rekonstruieren? Hierfür erscheint es sinnvoll, zwei grundsätzliche Analysepfade einzuschlagen: Zum einen gilt es explizite programmatische verbale Selbstreflexionen der betreffenden Periodika zu berücksichtigen – und zum andern die illustrierte Textpraxis exemplaritätsverdächtiger Passagen. Beide Wege sind steinig, was jedoch, so mein Eindruck, im Hinblick auf den erstgenannten gerade in jüngster Zeit nicht immer ausreichend Berücksichtigung findet.<sup>1</sup> Die Vorstellung ist

1 So schließt Kathrin Löffler angesichts entsprechender Selbstauskünfte des *Pfennig-Magazins* auf finanzschwache Bevölkerungsschichten als dessen primäre Adressaten, vgl. Katrin Löffler: Das Leipziger ›Pfennig-Magazin‹. Die Anfänge der illustrierten Presse in Deutschland. In: *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 24 (2016), S. 313–340, hier S. 319. Doch die erste Seite dieses Journals adressiert mit Layout-Anleihen bei der ersten Seite des englischen *Penny Magazine* sowie bei der des französischen *Magasin Pittoresque* offensichtlich

verlockend, in expliziten Darstellungen womöglich umstandslos formuliert greifen zu können, was es mit dem jeweiligen Journal auf sich hat – doch wir sollten jenen Selbstbeschreibungen mißtrauen. Es ist nämlich keineswegs ausgemacht, daß jene Wege ineinander münden: Wenn Herausgeber und/oder Redaktion sich über ihr Journal verbreiten, dann äußern sie sich strategisch, um die (Markt-)Position des eigenen Periodikums zu festigen – was bedeutet, daß sie sich wohl in einem Korsett diskursiver Zwänge bewegen und infolgedessen vielleicht nur bedingt offen darüber informieren, welche Ziele die betreffende Zeitschrift tatsächlich verfolgt.

Die methodische Konsequenz liegt nahe: Explizite Selbstauskünfte sind auf den Prüfstand der impliziten Autoreflexion konkreter illustrierter Textpraxis zu stellen, wobei *nicht* stillschweigend von einer Deckungsgleichheit beider ausgegangen werden sollte. Es dürfte aussichtsreicher sein, arbeitshypothetisch mit Divergenzen zu rechnen, mit womöglich zeittypischen Spannungen. Sie gilt es herauszuarbeiten, um ein differenziertes Bild der wahrscheinlich verwerfungsreichen frühen Illustrationsgeschichte im Journal zu zeichnen; ›glatte‹ Lektüren, zu denen explizit selbstreflexive Journalpassagen provozieren, gilt es ›aufzurauhen‹, jene Passagen vor der paratextuellen Folie der sie umgebenden Illustrationspraxis zu relativieren, mitunter gar zu falsifizieren. Jene expliziten Selbstreflexionen auf diese Weise als taktische Manöver in kupiertem kulturhistorischem Terrain kenntlich zu machen, bedeutet, multimodale Kommunikationsstrategien früher illustrierter Journale zu rekonstruieren, d.h. solche, die mehrere verschiedene Zeichentypen beinhalten.<sup>2</sup> Dies wiederum heißt, das von Hans-Jürgen Bucher zu Recht betonte »Mehr als Text mit Bild« illustrierter Journale<sup>3</sup> analytisch wirksam werden zu lassen und im

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fremdsprachenkundige, also wohl mindestens mittelschichtige Leser und Betrachter; vgl. *Pfennig-Magazin* 1, Nr. 1 (4. Mai 1833), S. 1, gegenüber *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 1 (31. März 1832), S. 1, und *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 1 ([9. Februar 1833]), S. 1. Hans-Jürgen Bucher wiederum vertraut dem verbalen Bekenntnis zu einer Allianz von Wort und Bild, das auf der ersten Seite von *Über Land und Meer* formuliert wird. Vgl. Hans-Jürgen Bucher: Mehr als Text mit Bild. Zur Multimodalität der Illustrierten Zeitungen und Zeitschriften im 19. Jahrhundert. In: Natalia Igl/Julia Menzel (Hgg.): *Illustrierte Zeitschriften um 1900. Mediale Eigenlogik, Multimodalität und Metaisierung*. Bielefeld: transcript 2016, S. 25–73, hier S. 39f.; doch die Titelvignette inszeniert paradoxerweise den Triumph des Worts über das Bild. Vgl. *Über Land und Meer* 1, Nr. 1 (15. November 1858), S. 1.

2 Vgl. die Definition von ›Multimodalität‹ bei Hartmut Stöckl: *Sprache-Bild-Texte lesen. Bausteine zur Methodik einer Grundkompetenz*. In: Hajo Diekmannshenke/Michael Klemm/Hartmut Stöckl (Hgg.): *Bildlinguistik. Theorien – Methoden – Fallbeispiele*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt 2010, S. 43–70, hier S. 45.

3 Bucher 2016 (Anm. 1), S. 25.

Rahmen der Interaktion von Schrift und Bild<sup>4</sup> den möglichen Aussage- und Reflexionswert von paratextuellen Phänomenen wie etwa Layoutstruktur oder Papierqualität konsequent mitzubedenken. Die folgende Fallstudie soll demonstrieren, wie fruchtbar und gegenstandsadäquat sich ein *close reading* illustrierter Journaltexte ausnehmen kann, das den skizzierten Prämissen folgt.

### Illustrationen – für geistig Arme, für Frauen und Kinder?

Zwölf Wochen nach Erscheinen seiner ersten Nummer informiert der *Magasin Pittoresque* die Leser-Betrachterschaft darüber, welche Funktion den zahlreichen Bildern zukommt, durch die sich das neue Journal auszeichnet – und die Auskunft, mit der der Artikel *Des moyens d'instruction. Les livres et les images*<sup>5</sup> aufwartet, nimmt sich als Positionsbestimmung eines illustrierten Periodikums auffallend logophil-ikonokritisch aus. Die Illustration wird mit vergifteten Komplimenten bedacht; zwar erklärt der Text Bilder als Erziehungsmittel für unverzichtbar<sup>6</sup> – jedoch nicht als eigentümliche, verbal nicht verrechenbare, für alle unverzichtbare Bildungsinstrumente, sondern nur im Hinblick auf unausrottbare Defizite, die manchen Menschen leider anhaften.

»Un livre sans images«, heißt es, »n'aura qu'une valeur imparfaite et une influence douteuse, parce que, malgré la propagation des écoles primaires, une bonne partie du genre humain ne saura jamais lire qu'à moitié dans un livre sans images«. <sup>7</sup> Die Illustration fungiert als Krücke, um alphabetisierungsresistenten geistig Armen weiterzuhelfen, und in diesem Ton fährt der Text fort; »la lecture passe souvent dans l'esprit de certains individus sans [...] y déposer

4 Ich ziehe ›Schrift und Bild‹ der Rede von ›Text und Bild‹ vor. Zum einen erscheint mir im Fall bildhaltiger Texte ein Textbegriff angemessen, der, im Sinne etwa von Stöckl 2010 (Anm. 2) nicht ausschließlich verbalsprachliche Äußerungen umfaßt, wie dies etwa der Fall ist bei Susanne Horstmann: Text. In: Jan-Dirk Müller [u.a.] (Hg.): *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft. Neubearbeitung des Reallexikons der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*. Bd. III. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2003, S. 594–597, hier S. 594. Zum andern würdigt die Diktion ›Schrift‹ das »visible word«, die oft vernachlässigte optische Qualität des Gelesenen, das ja immer auch ein Gesehenes ist, so daß »the effect of manipulation of the visual form of language on the production of [...] meaning« zu berücksichtigen ist; Johanna Drucker: *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909–1923*. Chicago/London: Chicago University Press 1994, S. 2.

5 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 98–99.

6 »Sans les dessins, il est impossible d'arriver à l'éducation complète des hommes, grands et petits. | Nous attachons [...] une grande importance morale aux images«; *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13, S. 98 [Hervorhebung im Original].

7 Ebd. [Hervorhebung im Original].

un souvenir«, lesen wir anschließend – aber, so versichert man, »[c]ela ne tient pas à une faiblesse d'esprit«,<sup>8</sup> und tatsächlich scheinen die nachfolgenden Ausführungen Bildbetrachtung als der Schriftlektüre ebenbürtig zu entwerfen. Für jene folgenlose Lektüre sei »une nature particulière« verantwortlich, eine, »qui a surtout besoin d'être frappée par les yeux«;<sup>9</sup> denn

[c]eux qui en sont doués [...] sont insensibles pour une pensée qui vient tomber sur eux goutte à goutte, tandis qu'ils absorbent tout entière celle qui vient les frapper *d'un seul trait*.

C'est pourquoi les images sont pour eux une grande faveur; au premier coup-d'œil, ils saisissent l'ensemble et les détails,<sup>10</sup>

so daß ihnen ikonisch vermittelt werden kann, was sie (schrift-)sprachlich nicht erreicht. »[U]ne *image* est pour eux de la parole condensée; [...] ils disèquent [...] toutes les formes qui ont frappé leur regards, et en retirent, pour leur éducation intellectuelle et morale, le même profit que d'autres pourraient obtenir [...] d'une lecture instructive«.<sup>11</sup>

Das klingt beinahe nach echter Wertschätzung der Illustration als eines Erkenntnisinstruments *sui generis* – aber das wenig charmante Ende des Artikels steht noch aus. »Non seulement«, heißt es schließlich,

cette nature particulière qui a besoin d'être surtout frappée par les yeux, se manifeste chez différents individus; mais elle peut même se remarquer sur le même individu dans les diverses époques de sa vie. Ainsi, les enfans, en général, se rapprochent de la classe des gens qui s'instruisent par les *images*<sup>12</sup>

– was umgekehrt doch bedeutet, daß besagte ›classe des gens‹ in ihrer intellektuellen Entwicklung nicht entscheidend über die Kindheit hinauszugelangen, ›cette nature particulière‹ nicht abzulegen vermochte. Da diese Menschen Kinder waren, waren sie klug wie Kinder, und später taten sie nicht ab, was kindisch war; »[o]ffrons-leur donc l'éducation sous la forme qui convient à leur intelligence«,<sup>13</sup> nämlich in Gestalt von Illustrationen. Wir dürfen also froh

8 Ebd.

9 Ebd. [Hervorhebung im Original].

10 Ebd., S. 98f. [Hervorhebung im Original].

11 Ebd., S. 99 [Hervorhebung im Original].

12 Ebd. [Hervorhebung im Original].

13 Ebd.

sein, diesem Artikel, der bezeichnenderweise ohne Bilder auskommt, lesend folgen zu können und uns so intellektueller Infantilität entronnen zu wissen.

Diese Ausführungen »suffront, sans doute«, so scheint es, »pour faire comprendre la nature de la valeur morale que nous [le *Magasin Pittoresque*] attribuons aux images«. <sup>14</sup> Das neue Journal präsentiert, wie der Artikel zu Beginn seiner Argumentation angibt, »les *dessins* ou les *images*« als ein bloßes »moyen complémentaire d'instruction« <sup>15</sup> für diejenigen, deren intellektuelle Weiterentwicklung noch aussteht oder aber nicht recht stattgefunden hat. Derart fügt sich der *Magasin Pittoresque* in die zeitgenössische Diskurslandschaft ein: Daß Bilder geeignet seien, die Stelle der Schrift bei einem unzureichend alphabetisierten Publikum zu vertreten, ist eine zeitgenössisch geläufige Auffassung. <sup>16</sup> Sie begegnet etwa 1792 bei Boyer de Nîmes <sup>17</sup> – oder 1834 bei Eugène Lerminier, der sich nicht nur explizit auf den *Magasin Pittoresque* bezieht, sondern außerdem, wie dort in *Les livres et les images*, die Gruppe leseschwacher, bildaffiner Rezipienten mit Kindern zusammensieht. Nachdem weder das revolutionäre noch das kaiserliche noch das restaurativ-königliche Frankreich die Bevölkerung vollständig alphabetisiert habe, <sup>18</sup> bedürfe man des illustrierten Journals:

[P]our frapper avec une justesse vigoureuse les esprits du peuple et de l'enfance, il n'y a rien de meilleur que ce qui est imagé, pittoresque : les images provoquent les idées; aimables interprètes de la pensée, elles prêtent des formes et des couleurs à ce qui est abstrait et rationnel; elles animent et représentent la vérité [...]: l'image et l'imagination le conduisent [le peuple] à la pensée [...]. C'est donc chose sagement faite que d'appeler l'imagination à l'enseignement du peuple. Il y a un an parut la première livraison d'un *Magasin pittoresque*. <sup>19</sup>

14 Ebd.

15 Ebd., S. 98.

16 Vgl. Vicente Pla Vivas: *La ilustración gráfica del siglo XIX. Funciones y disfunciones*. Valencia: Universitat de València 2010, S. 30. Zum abendländischen Visualisierungsskeptizismus als Folie der illustrierten Zeitschriften des 19. Jahrhunderts vgl. Bucher 2016 (Anm. 1), S. 37f.

17 »Les Caricatures ont été dans tous les temps un des grands moyens qu'on a mis en usage pour faire entendre au peuple des choses qui ne l'auraient pas assez frappé si elles eussent été simplement écrites. Elles servaient, même, à lui représenter, avant qu'il sçut ni lire, ni écrire, différents objets qu'il importait de lui transmettre; et a[ ]ors elles étaient pour lui, ce qu'elles sont encore à présent une *écriture parlée*«. Boyer de Nîmes: *Histoire des caricatures de la révolte des Français*. Paris: Imprimerie du Journal du peuple 1792, S. 9. Vgl. auch Pla Vivas 2010 (Anm. 16), S. 30.

18 Vgl. [Eugène] Lerminier: De l'Encyclopédie à 2 sous, et de l'instruction du peuple. In: *Revue des Deux Mondes* 1, troisième série (1834), S. 270–287, hier S. 271.

19 Ebd., S. 273.

Die Darlegungen des *Magasin Pittoresque*, daß die Illustration ein dem Wort subordiniertes Bildungshilfsmittel darstelle, waren offenkundig vorzeigbar. Und das neue illustrierte Journal bekennt sich nicht nur verbal zur Unterordnung der Erziehungshelferin Illustration unter das zu lesende Wort, sondern läßt solchem Bekenntnis noch auf derselben (Doppel-)Seite die entsprechende Textbebilderungspraxis folgen (Fig. 4.1) – mit dem Artikel *Hygiène. Du danger des corsets trop serrés*.

Dieser beginnt mit einer Entschuldigung, die präzise auf die vorhergehenden Ausführungen über die Erziehungsfunktion des Bilds abgestimmt ist:

Quoique les gravures que nous insérons ici présentent quelques détails anatomiques dont la vue pourra paraître à quelques personnes peu attrayante, nous n'avons pas voulu cependant les rejeter en considération de leur but d'utilité, et même de moralité.<sup>20</sup>

Und tatsächlich bedienen die Holzstiche nicht die bloße Lust am Schauen. Zwar hebt der Text hervor, daß »[l]es figures 1 et 2 représentent une esquisse de la Vénus de Médicis, considéré à juste titre comme une des plus parfaites expressions de la beauté d'une femme«<sup>21</sup> – doch die Figur, die der Holzstich zeigt, wirkt gegenüber ihrer Vorlage (Fig. 4.2) weder sonderlich weiblich (beide Brüste, bei einer Liebesgöttin doch kein entbehrliches Accessoire, sind der Moralität zum Opfer gefallen), noch präsentiert sie sich übermäßig schön, und letzteres nicht erst dadurch, daß »le squelette laisse voir les os«.<sup>22</sup>

Bereits das Gesicht ist wenig ansprechend, weil *en profil* recht teigig, undifferenziert geraten; zudem scheint es zu den Schultern parallel zu stehen, wodurch sich die Darstellung insgesamt flächig ausnimmt und keinerlei Raumwirkung erzielt. Das Einfangen leiser Bewegtheit, das die antike Statue auszeichnet und noch in der Vorlage des Holzstichs nachschwingt, ist wenig anziehender Statik gewichen, die *ex negativo* das in der linken Spalte zu lesende Diktum »LESSING [s]« bestätigt, daß »[l]a grâce est beauté en mouvement«.<sup>23</sup>

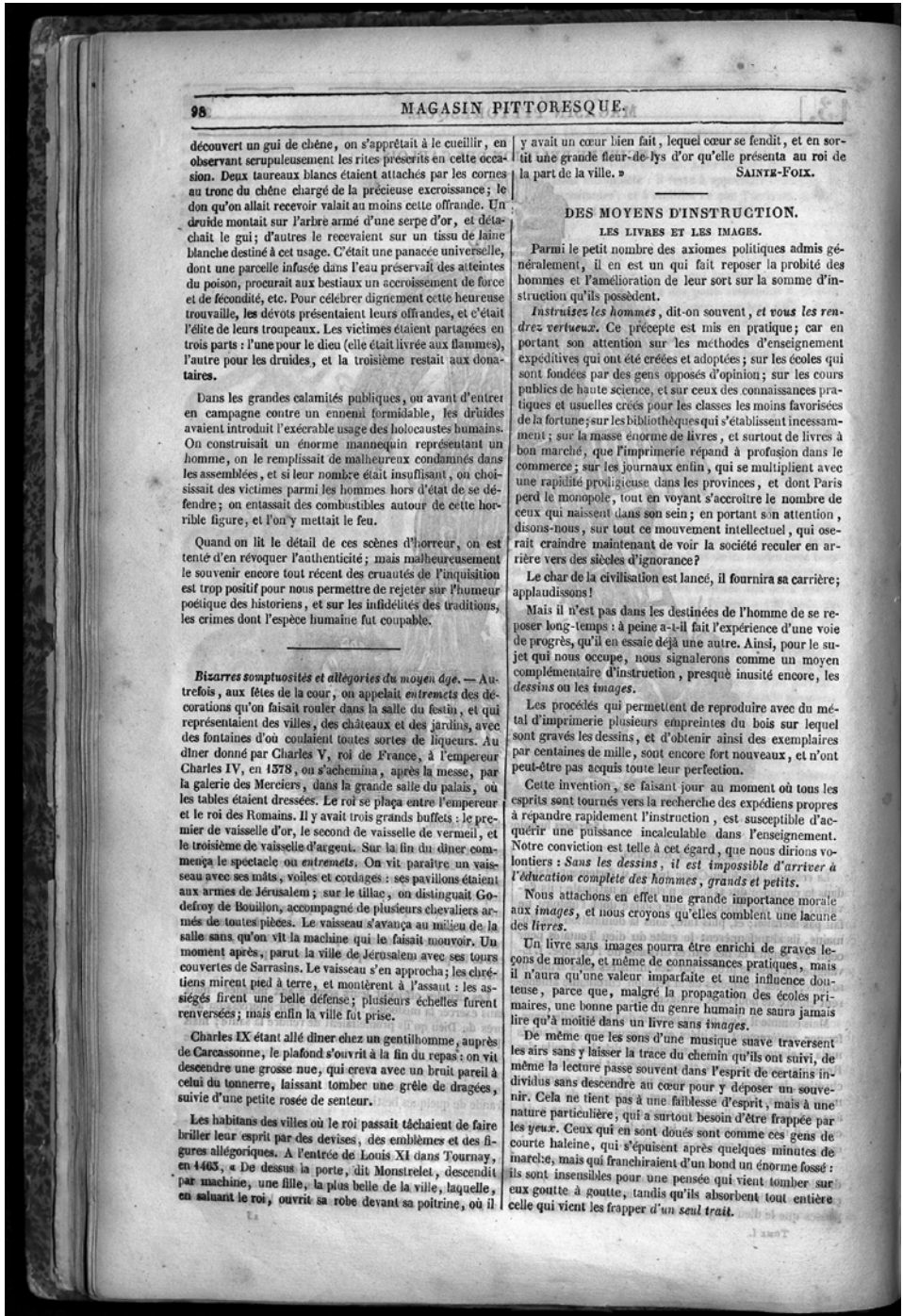
20 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai] 1833), S. 99. Die Holzstiche wurden aus dem *Penny Magazine* übernommen, vgl. On the Ill Effects of Insufficient Exercise, Constrained Positions, and Tight Stays on the Health of Young Women. In: *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 58 (Monthly Supplement, 28. Februar 1833), S. 77–80, hier S. 80; die zitierte Entschuldigung »fehlt« dort. Ebd. wird auch auf die Vorlage für die Illustrationen des *Penny Magazine* verwiesen, auf S[amuel] Th[omas] Sömmering: *Über die Wirkungen der Schnürbrüste. Mit einer Kupfertafel. Neue, völlig umgearbeitete Auflage*. Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung 1793; s. Fig. 4.2.

21 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 99.

22 Ebd.

23 Ebd.





découvert un gui de chêne, on s'appropriait à le cueillir, en observant scrupuleusement les rites prescrits en cette occasion. Deux taureaux blancs étaient attachés par les cornes au tronc du chêne chargé de la précieuse excroissance; le don qu'on allait recevoir valait au moins cette offrande. Un druide montait sur l'arbre armé d'une serpe d'or, et détachait le gui; d'autres le recevaient sur un tissu de laine blanche destiné à cet usage. C'était une panacée universelle, dont une parcelle infusée dans l'eau préservait des atteintes du poison, procurait aux bestiaux un accroissement de force et de fécondité, etc. Pour célébrer dignement cette heureuse trouvaille, les druides présentaient leurs offrandes, et c'était l'élite de leurs troupeaux. Les victimes étaient partagées en trois parts : l'une pour le dieu (elle était livrée aux flammes), l'autre pour les druides, et la troisième restait aux donateurs.

Dans les grandes calamités publiques, ou avant d'entrer en campagne contre un ennemi formidable, les druides avaient introduit l'exécrable usage de holocaustes humains. On construisait un énorme mannequin représentant un homme, on le remplissait de malheureux condamnés dans les assemblées, et si leur nombre était insuffisant, on choisissait des victimes parmi les hommes hors d'état de se défendre; on entassait des combustibles autour de cette horrible figure, et l'on y mettait le feu.

Quand on lit le détail de ces scènes d'horreur, on est tenté d'en révoquer l'authenticité; mais malheureusement le souvenir encore tout récent des cruautés de l'inquisition est trop positif pour nous permettre de rejeter sur l'humeur poétique des historiens, et sur les infidélités des traditions, les crimes dont l'espèce humaine fut coupable.

*Bizarres somptuosités et allégories du moyen âge.* — Autrement, aux fêtes de la cour, on appelait *entremets* des décorations qu'on faisait monter dans la salle du festin, et qui représentaient des villes, des châteaux et des jardins, avec des fontaines d'où coulaient toutes sortes de liqueurs. Au dîner donné par Charles V, roi de France, à l'empereur Charles IV, en 1378, on s'achemina, après la messe, par la galerie des Merciers, dans la grande salle du palais, où les tables étaient dressées. Le roi se plaça entre l'empereur et le roi des Romains. Il y avait trois grands buffets: le premier de vaisselle d'or, le second de vaisselle de vermeil, et le troisième de vaisselle d'argent. Sur la fin du dîner commença le spectacle ou *entremets*. On vit paraître un vaisseau avec ses mâts, voiles et cordages: ses pavillons étaient aux armes de Jérusalem; sur le tillac, on distinguait Godfrey de Bouillon, accompagné de plusieurs chevaliers armés de toutes pièces. Le vaisseau s'avança au milieu de la salle sans qu'on vit la machine qui le faisait mouvoir. Un moment après, parut la ville de Jérusalem avec ses tours couvertes de Sarrazins. Le vaisseau s'en approcha; les chrétiens mirent pied à terre, et montèrent à l'assaut: les assiégés firent une belle défense; plusieurs échelles furent renversées; mais enfin la ville fut prise.

Charles IX étant allé dîner chez un gentilhomme, auprès de Carcassonne, le plafond s'ouvrit à la fin du repas: on vit descendre une grosse nue, qui creva avec un bruit pareil à celui du tonnerre, laissant tomber une grêle de dragées, suivie d'une petite rosée de senteur.

Les habitants des villes où le roi passait tâchaient de faire brûler leur esprit par des devises, des emblèmes et des figures allégoriques. A l'entrée de Louis XI dans Tournay, en 1465, « De dessus la porte, dit Monstrelet, descendit par machine, une fille, la plus belle de la ville, laquelle, en saluant le roi, ouvrit sa robe devant sa poitrine, où il

y avait un cœur bien fait, lequel cœur se fendit, et en sortit une grande fleur-de-lis d'or qu'elle présenta au roi de la part de la ville. »  
SAINT-FOIX.

## DES MOYENS D'INSTRUCTION.

### LES LIVRES ET LES IMAGES.

Parmi le petit nombre des axiomes politiques admis généralement, il en est un qui fait reposer la probité des hommes et l'amélioration de leur sort sur la somme d'instruction qu'ils possèdent.

*Instruisez les hommes*, dit-on souvent, et vous les rendrez vertueux. Ce précepte est mis en pratique; car en portant son attention sur les méthodes d'enseignement expéditives qui ont été créées et adoptées; sur les écoles qui sont fondées par des gens opposés d'opinion; sur les cours publics de haute science, et sur ceux des connaissances pratiques et usuelles créés pour les classes les moins favorisées de la fortune; sur les bibliothèques qui s'établissent incessamment; sur la masse énorme de livres, et surtout de livres à bon marché, que l'imprimerie répand à profusion dans le commerce; sur les journaux enfin, qui se multiplient avec une rapidité prodigieuse dans les provinces, et dont Paris perd le monopole, tout en voyant s'accroître le nombre de ceux qui naissent dans son sein; en portant son attention, disons-nous, sur tout ce mouvement intellectuel, qui oserait craindre maintenant de voir la société reculer en arrière vers des siècles d'ignorance?

Le char de la civilisation est lancé, il fournira sa carrière; applaudissons!

Mais il n'est pas dans les destinées de l'homme de se reposer long-temps: à peine a-t-il fait l'expérience d'une voie de progrès, qu'il en essaie déjà une autre. Ainsi, pour le sujet qui nous occupe, nous signalerons comme un moyen complémentaire d'instruction, presque inusité encore, les *dessins ou les images*.

Les procédés qui permettent de reproduire avec du métal d'imprimerie plusieurs empreintes du bois sur lequel sont gravés les dessins, et d'obtenir ainsi des exemplaires par centaines de mille, sont encore fort nouveaux, et n'ont peut-être pas acquis toute leur perfection.

Cette invention, se faisant jour au moment où tous les esprits sont tournés vers la recherche des expédients propres à repandre rapidement l'instruction, est susceptible d'acquiescer une puissance incalculable dans l'enseignement. Notre conviction est telle à cet égard, que nous dirions volontiers: *Sans les dessins, il est impossible d'arriver à l'éducation complète des hommes, grands et petits.*

Nous attachons en effet une grande importance morale aux *images*, et nous croyons qu'elles comblent une lacune des *livres*.

Un livre sans images pourra être enrichi de graves leçons de morale, et même de connaissances pratiques, mais il n'aura qu'une valeur imparfaite et une influence douteuse, parce que, malgré la propagation des écoles primaires, une bonne partie du genre humain ne saura jamais lire qu'à moitié dans un livre sans *images*.

De même que les sons d'une musique suave traversent les airs sans y laisser la trace du chemin qu'ils ont suivi, de même la lecture passe souvent dans l'esprit de certains individus sans descendre au cœur pour y déposer un souvenir. Cela ne tient pas à une faiblesse d'esprit, mais à une nature particulière, qui a surtout besoin d'être frappée par les yeux. Ceux qui en sont doués sont comme ces gens de courte haleine, qui s'épuisent après quelques minutes de marche, mais qui franchiraient d'un bond un énorme fossé: ils sont insensibles pour une pensée qui vient tomber sur eux goutte à goutte, tandis qu'ils absorbent tout entière celle qui vient les frapper d'un seul trait.

FIGURE 4.1 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai] 1833), S. 98–99. Exemplar im Besitz des Verfassers

C'est pourquoi les images sont pour eux une grande fa-  
veur ; au premier coup-d'œil, ils en saisissent l'ensemble et  
les détails. Ils conservent long-temps le souvenir des con-  
tours fugitifs qu'ils auront à peine aperçus ; ils les recompo-  
seront dans leur mémoire, et se délecteront à les méditer.  
Une *image* est pour eux de la parole condensée ; ils ont un  
instinct merveilleux pour découvrir dans le détail le plus  
indifférent en apparence, dans le trait de dessin le plus  
incertain, une pensée bien nette, un sentiment bien pro-  
noncé ; ils dissèquent, en un mot, toutes les formes qui ont  
frappé leurs regards, et en retirent, pour leur éducation  
intellectuelle et morale, le même profit que d'autres pour-  
raient obtenir en distillant les sucs nourriciers d'une lecture  
instructive.

Non seulement cette nature particulière qui a besoin  
d'être surtout frappée par les yeux, se manifeste chez diffé-  
rents individus ; mais elle peut même se remarquer sur le  
même individu dans les diverses époques de sa vie. Ainsi,  
les enfants, en général, se rapprochent de la classe des gens  
qui s'instruisent par les *images*. Offrons-leur donc l'éduca-  
tion sous la forme qui convient à leur intelligence : au lieu  
de les laisser dormir ou bâiller sur un livre, emmenons-les  
souvent aux musées, ou même sur les boulevards, dans les  
géoramas et les panoramas.

— Les aperçus qui précèdent suffiront, sans doute, pour  
faire comprendre la nature de la valeur morale que nous  
attribuons aux *images*. Le *Magasin Pittoresque* n'a pas  
seulement été conçu dans un but de spéculation ou simple  
récréation historique, industrielle, artistique, savante ou  
littéraire ; un sentiment d'utilité morale y a aussi concouru,  
et la bienveillance avec laquelle on a accueilli cette publica-  
tion prouvant que notre pensée a été comprise, nous avons  
dû la préciser, nous réservant de lui donner par la suite de  
nouveaux développemens.

La grâce est la beauté en mouvement.  
LESSING.

HYGIÈNE.  
DU DANGER DES CORSETS TROP SERRÉS.

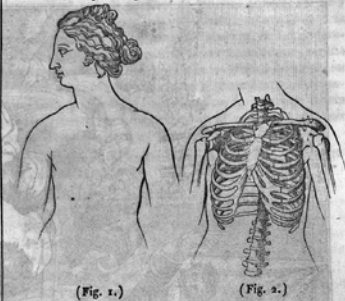
Quoique les gravures que nous insérons ici présentent  
quelques détails anatomiques dont la vue pourra paraître à  
quelques personnes peu attrayante, nous n'avons pas voulu  
rependant les rejeter en considération de leur but d'utilité,  
et même de moralité.

Les figures 1 et 2 représentent une esquisse de la Vénus  
de Médicis, considérée à juste titre comme une des plus  
parfaites expressions de la beauté d'une femme ; le squelette  
laisse voir les os dans leur position naturelle.

Les traits de la figure 3 représentent une demoiselle qui  
a voulu être mince au-delà du vœu de la nature, et a monté  
sa taille dans un corset ; la figure 4 montre la triste disposi-  
tion de sa charpente osseuse.

En vérité, le dernier de ces dessins ne laisse dans l'âme  
que de mélancoliques pensées. Respiration embarrassée et  
fréquente, palpitations de cœur ; sang mal aéré, et par suite  
débilité des organes ; inflexion de l'épine dorsale et déran-  
gement de la taille ; digestion pénible ; finalement, maladies  
pulmonaires ; voilà quelques uns des inconvéniens des cor-  
sets trop serrés. Nous ferons grâce à nos lectrices de plus  
de détails ; les gravures leur parleront assez clairement ; au  
besoin, leurs docteurs en diront davantage. Nous nous ha-  
tons d'ajouter cependant que nous ne plaidons que contre  
les corsets trop serrés, et nous reconnaissons les avantages  
de cette partie de la toilette pour donner au corps un main-  
tien convenable, l'empêcher de contracter des habitudes de  
positions défectueuses, et suppléer en quelque façon chez

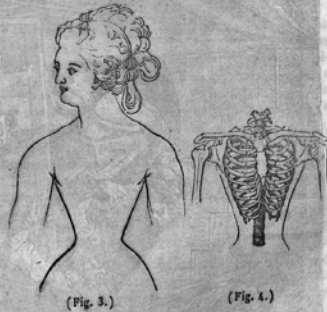
les jeunes personnes aux exercices gymnastiques qui leur  
demeurent trop étrangers.



(Fig. 1.)

(Fig. 2.)

Mais il nous sera permis de déclarer ici avec les formes  
les plus polies et les plus respectueuses que nous puissions  
employer, que les femmes sont dans une parfaite erreur  
lorsqu'elles s'imaginent ajouter à leurs grâces naturelles en  
donnant à leur taille une raideur et en même temps une  
frêle apparence pénible à voir. *Beauté et santé*, sont deux  
qualités intimement unies. Une taille trop menue fait dis-  
paratre avec le reste du corps ; elle perd d'ailleurs, sous la  
compression barbare de la baleine ou de l'acier, la mobilité  
et le laisser-aller qui lui donnent de l'expression ; car la vie  
et le sentiment sont pressés sous ces armures inanimées et  
mécaniques, et ne se manifestent que par un mouvement  
machinal et saccadé, semblable à celui d'un automate mis  
en jeu par la vapeur. Et enfin, les mères ne sont-elles pas  
responsables envers leurs enfans de la vie qu'elles leur don-  
nent ; ne craignent-elles pas de ne leur transmettre qu'une  
faible santé ? Elles emploient leurs plus belles années à les  
soigner dans leurs berceaux, nous le savons ; mais si par  
ces sacrifices auxquels elles se consacrent, elles remplis-  
sent leur devoir de mère, pourront-elles racheter le vice  
de constitution dont elles laissent le triste et douloureux  
héritage ?



(Fig. 3.)

(Fig. 4.)

LES CARTONS DE RAPHAEL.  
N° 1. — MORT D'ANANIE.

Les artistes, en général, appellent *cartons* les dessins  
destinés à servir de modèles et de patrons aux tableaux  
qui doivent être exécutés à fresque, en mosaïque, ou en ta-  
pissierie.

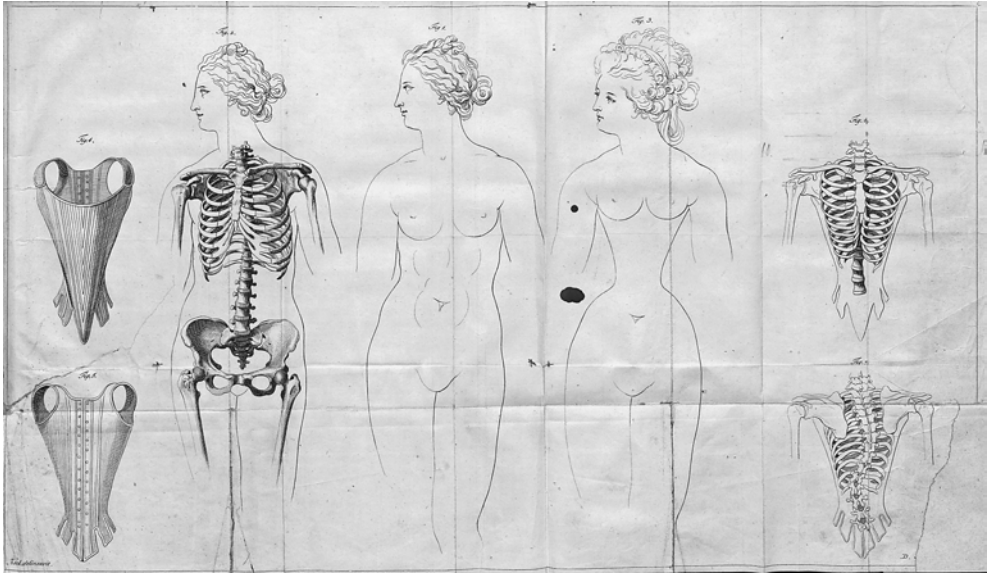


FIGURE 4.2 S[amuel] Th[omas] Sömmering: *Über die Wirkungen der Schnürbrüste*. Mit einer Kupfertafel. Neue, völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung, 1793, Kupfertafel. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Signatur: Jk 3165)

Wir haben also eine Illustration vor uns, deren Sujet geeignet wäre, die Grenzen nützlich-moralischer Didaxe zu überschreiten, um erotischen oder ästhetischen Mehr- und Eigenwert des Bilds jenseits des Worts zu entfalten. Aber jener erste Holzstich – wie auch der nachfolgende zweite – beschränkt sich darauf, die nebenstehende verbale Beschreibung gesundheitsschädlicher Effekte von zu eng geschnürten Korsetts visualisierend zu unterstützen. Und wenn beide Xylographien schließlich doch über das im Artikel Beschriebene hinausgehen, dann nicht, weil sie ins Gebiet des kaum oder nicht mehr Sagbaren hinüberspielen würden, sondern aus zweideutiger Rücksichtnahme auf die weibliche Leserschaft.

Mit dieser hat man(n) nach einer Aufzählung von Gebrechen, die zu enge Korsetts nach sich ziehen, ein Einsehen: »Nous ferons grâce à nos lectrices de plus de détails; les gravures leur parleront assez clairement.«<sup>24</sup> Kavaliärsmäßige Delikatesse gegenüber den Damen? Vielleicht, doch angesichts des vorhergehenden Artikels über *Les livres et les images* steht eine andere, weniger schmeichelhafte Lesart im Raum: »[C]ertains individus«, hieß es dort, »sont insensibles pour une pensée qui vient tomber sur eux goutte à

24 Ebd.

goutte, tandis qu'ils absorbent tout entière celle qui vient les frapper *d'un seul trait*«<sup>25</sup> beim Anschauen eines Bilds. Dem korrespondiert nun sehr genau, daß *Du danger des corsets trop serrés* auf der nächsten Seite anfangs auf lektürkompetente Rezipienten setzt und »des inconvénients des corsets trop serrés« zunächst Schritt für Schritt in umfänglicher schriftlicher Aufzählung mitteilt: »[r]espiration embarrassée et fréquente, palpitations de cœur; sang mal aéré, et par suite débilité des organes; inflexion de l'épine dorsale et dérangement de la taille; digestion pénible; finalement, maladies pulmonaires.«<sup>26</sup> Hieran anschließend erfolgt dann jener Wechsel des Kommunikationsregisters im Interesse der Leserinnen: der Schwenk zum Bild, zu den »gravures«, die »leur parleront assez clairement«,<sup>27</sup> die ihnen also, wie es oben in derselben Spalte in *Les livres et les images* heißt, als »parole condensée«<sup>28</sup> dienen sollen. Mit andern Worten: Wenn die Illustrationen des Korsett-Artikels über das im Text Gesagte hinausgehen, dann geschieht dies wohl nicht zuletzt im Hinblick auf weibliche Rezipientinnen als Teil jener leseschwach-bildaffinen, kindlichen, intellektuell (noch) nicht vollständig entwickelten Klasse von Menschen, die des Bilds als eines Schriftsurrogats bedürfen.

### Seitenzahlen, Layout, durchscheinender Druck – vom Reflexionswert unscheinbaren Paratexts

Mit solcher Leserinnenmodellierung bestätigt die Illustrationspraxis, die auf *Les livres et les images* folgt, die logophil-ikonokritischen Ausführungen dieses Artikels zur Funktion des Bilds im neuen illustrierten Journal. Meine Arbeitshypothese, daß explizite Selbstreflexionen derartiger Periodika vor der Folie ihrer Illustrationspraxis zu relativieren bzw. zu korrigieren seien, mutet damit obsolet an. Wer wollte angesichts der paßgenauen Entsprechung von expliziter Selbstreflexion und tatsächlich vorgenommener Textbebilderung hier nachzuweisen suchen, daß man, anders als andere Forscher,<sup>29</sup> den Formulierungen jenes autoreflexiven Artikels besser *nicht* trauen sollte? Daß sie nur ein Lippenbekenntnis darstellen, um dem herrschenden Logozenismus

25 Ebd., S. 98.

26 Ebd., S. 99.

27 Ebd.

28 Ebd.

29 Vgl. Thierry Gervais: *L'illustration photographique. Naissance du spectacle de l'information (1843–1914)*. Phil. Diss. EHESS Paris 2007 Elektronische Publikation, <http://issuu.com/lhivic/docs/l-illustration-photographique> (letzter Zugriff 21. September 2018), S. 20, 43, und S. 54f.; Pla Vivas 2010 (Anm. 16), S. 29–31.

wohlfeilen Tribut zu zollen und im Schutz solcher diskursiven Camouflage tendenziell das genaue Gegenteil ins Werk zu setzen? Ich wage es, jener so schlüssig wirkenden expliziten Reflexion eine implizite entgegenzusetzen, die sie nachhaltig untergräbt und zeigt, daß die Bilder des *Magasin Pittoresque* hier keineswegs bescheiden nebenher gehen, sondern sich in den Vordergrund drängen, um der Schrift eine untergeordnete Stellung zuzuweisen – daß die Bildbetrachtung, die hier zur Debatte steht, keineswegs lediglich einem visuell kondensierten Schriftsubstitut gilt, sondern dezidiert auch Illustrationen, die bildkünstlerischen Eigenwert entfalten und deren Komplexität sich kaum verbal ausbuchstabieren läßt. Ich möchte eine implizite Reflexion auf jenen Seiten herausarbeiten, die das neue illustrierte Journal als einen Schauplatz ausweist, auf dem sich das Wort als Schrift gegenüber dem Konkurrenzdruck zu behaupten hat, den das Bild aufbaut – den das Bild nun aufbauen kann, da es nach Durchsetzung des Holzstichs so selbstverständlich wie verbreitet im Druck zusammen mit dem Letternsatz auftritt.

Diese implizite Autoreflexion des *Magasin Pittoresque* operiert mit einem Set von gerade auch paratextuellen Bedeutungsträgern, das ungewöhnlich erscheinen mag: mit der Seitenpaginierung, mit der zeitweiligen Suspendierung eines Layoutschemas, mit dem durchscheinenden (Bild-)Druck der Rückseite sowie mit intertextuellen Beziehungen. Solche Selbstauskunft, die ich als eine rekonstruieren möchte, die zeitgenössischen Rezipienten ›lesbar‹ gewesen sein dürfte, zeugt bereits für sich genommen davon, daß es wohl kaum angeht, die verbalvisuellen Beziehungen im *Magasin Pittoresque* auf den recht einfachen expliziten Nenner von *Les livres et les images* zu reduzieren. Mit ihr präsentiert sich die schrift-bildliche Kommunikation des Journals merklich komplexer, erweist sich deren visuelles Moment nicht einfach auf Leseschwächen hin kalkuliert – jene implizite Reflexion rechnet vielmehr mit einer beachtlichen Kompetenz der Rezipientenschaft, Gelesenes und Gesehenes gerade *nicht* als tendenziell unabhängig voneinander wahrzunehmen, sondern der bedeutungserzeugenden Interaktion beider zu folgen.

Angesichts der Doppelseite, die unter anderem *Les livres et les images* bietet, dürften zeitgenössische Rezipienten sogleich bemerkt haben, daß es an dieser Stelle wohl kaum darum geht, die Illustration dem Wort unterzuordnen. Auf den ersten Blick nämlich ist zu erkennen, daß hier ausgerechnet mit jenen bescheidenen korsett-kritischen Holzstichen, die sich im Rahmen ihres Artikels inferioren Verbalsurrogaten nähern und so die mäßig bilderfreundliche Perspektive von *Les livres et les images* stützen, die Journalillustration gegenüber dem Wort als Schrift in exzeptioneller Weise an Terrain gewinnt – und zwar im Hinblick auf die Verteilung von Schrift und Bild auf der typographisch gestalteten Seitenfläche. Was sehen wir auf der betreffenden Doppelseite (Fig. 4.1)? Eine linke Seite mit zwei Spalten gedruckten Letternsatzes, sowie

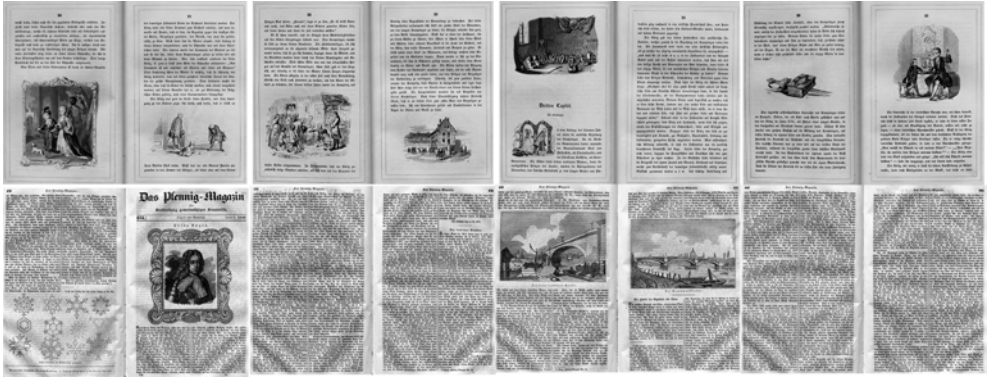


FIGURE 4.3 Franz Kugler und Adolph Menzel: *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen*. Leipzig: Weber 1840[–42], S. 20–27 (oben) – gegenüber dem illustrierten Buch läßt das *Pfennig-Magazin* 8 (1840), S. 176–183 (unten) den für illustrierte Journale charakteristischen ›alternierenden Satz‹ erkennen. Exemplare im Besitz des Verfassers

eine rechte, deren linke Spalte ebenfalls ausschließlich Schrift zeigt, während die rechte nicht nur mit Buchstabensatz, sondern außerdem mit jenen beiden Xylographien aufwartet; weiterhin scheint der Druck der jeweiligen Rückseiten deutlich genug durch, um ausmachen zu können, daß auch die vorhergehende sowie die nachfolgende Seite Illustrationen bieten.

Aus heutiger Sicht mag das nicht sonderlich spektakulär anmuten – aus zeitgenössischer Perspektive aber durchaus, denn derart wird ein medienformatspezifisches Layoutschema suspendiert, dem der *Magasin Pittoresque* bis dahin strikt gefolgt war: Während im illustrierten Buch prinzipiell jede (Doppel-)Seite für eine Bebilderung in Frage kommt,<sup>30</sup> wechseln im illustrierten Journal grundsätzlich bebilderte und bildfreie Doppelseiten einander ab (Fig. 4.3).

Dieser ›alternierende Satz‹,<sup>31</sup> prägt bis in die späten 1860er Jahre das Erscheinungsbild illustrierter Journale,<sup>32</sup> und auch der *Magasin Pittoresque*

30 Entsprechend begegnet in Franz Kugler/Adolph Menzel: *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen*. Leipzig: J. J. Weber 1840[–42], erst mit S. 100f. eine holzstichfreie Doppelseite.

31 ›Alternierender Satz‹ stellt einen terminologischen Vorschlag meinerseits dar; französische Journalforscher bezeichnen das betreffende Phänomen als ›alternance des pages illustrées et non illustrées‹. Vgl. Marie-Laure Aurenche: *Édouard Charton et l'invention du Magasin pittoresque (1833–1870)*. Paris: Champion 2002, S. 166 und S. 171; vgl. weiterhin Gervais 2007 (Anm. 29), S. 64–66. Im angloamerikanischen Bereich begegnet ›text-opening/image-opening cadence‹. Vgl. Tom Gretton: *The Pragmatics of Page Design in Nineteenth-Century General-Interest Weekly Illustrated News Magazines in London and Paris*. In: *Art History* 33, H. 4 (2010), S. 680–709, hier S. 688f.

32 Der Effekt ›alternierenden Satzes‹ ergibt sich infolge des Faltens und Aufschneidens von Bögen, bei denen aus drucktechnischen und arbeitsökonomischen Gründen



FIGURE 4.4 Strikte Durchführung des ›alternierenden Satzes‹ im *Magasin Pittoresque* 1 (1833), S. 80–94 (oben und Mitte), sowie anschließend dessen erstmalige Durchbrechung ebd., S. 95–101 (unten). Exemplar im Besitz des Verfassers

hält dieses Layoutschema anfangs penibel-ausnahmslos ein, zwölf Wochen lang über knapp einhundert Seiten hin – bis er es mit den zwei korsettkritischen Holzstichen durchbricht (Fig. 4.4), mit denen sich offensichtlich erstmals im *Magasin Pittoresque* drei illustrierte Doppelseiten aneinanderreihen.

Besagte Doppelseite mit jenen beiden unauffälligen Xylographien stellt also sehr wohl ein ›spektakuläres‹, ein hinsehenswertes Phänomen dar, das zeitgenössischen Rezipientenaugen aufgefallen sein dürfte: als Durchbrechung bis dahin starrer satztechnischer Gepflogenheiten im Hinblick auf die Verteilung von Schrift und Bild.<sup>33</sup> Und weiterhin dürfte solche auffällige Abweichung von schrift-bildlichen Layoutstandards nicht erst aus heutiger, literatur- und buchwissenschaftlich sensibilisierter Perspektive als implizite Stellungnahme

die Vorderseite mit illustriertem und die Rückseite mit bildfreiem Text bedruckt wurde. Ausführlich hierzu Andreas Beck: Friedrich der Große schlägt Napoleon bei Waterloo – die Geschichte *Friedrichs des Grossen* im Epitext des *Pfennig-Magazins*. In: Martin Gerstenbräun-Krug/Nadja Reinhard (Hgg.): *Paratextuelle Politik und Praxis. Interdependenzen von Werk und Autorschaft*. Wien: Böhlau 2018, S. 183–212, hier S. 196–198.

33 Ein vergleichbares Phänomen schildert Gervais 2007 (Anm. 29), S. 35: Angesichts der revolutionären Ereignisse in Paris Ende Juni 1848 bringt *L'Illustration* Anfang Juli einen »numéro exceptionnel« heraus, in dem unter Suspension des alternierenden Satzes »chacune des pages du journal est illustrée«.

zum Verhältnis von Bild und Schrift im vorliegenden Journal wahrgenommen werden: Die in Frage stehende Doppelseite wird ja durch die expliziten Darlegungen in *Les livres et les images* als ein Ort entsprechender Selbstreflexion exponiert.

Diese Selbstreflexion präsentierte sich Zeitgenossen somit als eine widersprüchliche: Während sie sahen, daß das Bild markante Geländegewinne gegenüber der Schrift erzielt, lasen sie von der Unterordnung der Illustration unter die Lektüre. Ist nun der Lesart oder der ›Sichtart‹ zu trauen? Für letztere ›spricht‹, daß die erstmalige Durchbrechung alternierenden Satzes nicht die einzige sichtbare exzeptionelle Besonderheit darstellt, durch die sich die dreizehnte Nummer des *Magasin Pittoresque* auszeichnet. Jenes Novum verbindet sich vielmehr mit einem weiteren: mit der ersten ganzseitigen Illustration des Journals, von der die erste Durchbrechung alternierenden Satzes nicht zu trennen ist, auf die sie hinführt und durch die sie eine signifikante Steigerung erfährt.

Daß die Plazierung der korsettkritischen Xylographien eine Suspensierung alternierenden Satzes bedeutet, wird dadurch kenntlich, daß der Bilddruck der Folgeseite durchscheint. Die dortige Illustration ist mit ihrer indirekten Präsenz auf der vorhergehenden Seite also Teil jener impliziten, ikonophilen Selbstreflexion mittels ungewöhnlichen Layouts – wodurch diese Reflexion von prominenter Position her Unterstützung erfährt, denn die in Frage stehende folgende Seite ist nicht irgendeine, sondern die einhundertste des neuen illustrierten Journals, eine Jubiläumsseite, die auch als solche inszeniert erscheint (Fig. 4.5).

Auf ihr bringt der *Magasin Pittoresque* erstmals einen ganzseitigen Holzstich, der die Schriftspalten vollständig verdrängt,<sup>34</sup> und mit ihm zugleich erstmals eine um neunzig Grad gedrehte Xylographie. Vor diesem Hintergrund werden die Geländegewinne der beiden korsettkritischen Holzstiche gegenüber dem Schriftsatz als ein sorgfältig kalkuliertes, bescheidenes Vorspiel kenntlich: als Anbahnung des massiven Eingriffs in die ›Gerechsamkeit‹ der Schrift, den sich jene großflächig-querformatige Illustration dann umgehend erlaubt, indem sie die Lektüretätigkeit der Rezipienten auf ›ihrer‹ Seite auf ein Minimum – Seitenzahl, Kolummentitel, Bildunterschrift und Stechersignatur – reduziert und außerdem das Lesen der gegenüberliegenden rechten Seite spürbar erschwert, da sie ein Drehen der Zeitschrift verlangt, um angemessen betrachtet werden zu können.

34 Obwohl dies offensichtlich nicht notwendig war: Der durchscheinende Druck zeigt, daß noch Raum für einige Schriftzeilen vorhanden gewesen wäre.





(Mort d'Avande,

FIGURE 4.5 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai] 1833), S. 100–101. Exemplar im Besitz des Verfassers

Les cartons les plus renommés sont naturellement ceux de Raphaël, qui est lui-même le plus célèbre des peintres modernes.

Il ne nous est pas possible d'entrer ici dans de longs détails sur ce grand artiste, qu'on a surnommé divin. En donnant plus tard son portrait, nous raconterons sa vie et sa mort prématurée; nous essaierons aussi de caractériser son génie, dont il serait difficile, en France, de se former une juste idée, si l'on ne voulait l'apprécier que d'après celles de ses peintures que le Musée du Louvre possède au nombre de quatorze. Aujourd'hui, il nous suffira de faire observer que, dans notre temps, où toutes les réputations qui avaient été consacrées par les siècles, semblent avoir été violemment renversées de leurs bases pour être soumises à de nouveaux jugemens, la réputation de Raphaël, presque seule, n'a été atteinte par aucune réaction: elle est demeurée de bien haut élevée au-dessus de l'arène où les partis ont livré aux débats de la critique les principes de l'art aussi bien que ceux de la politique et de la religion; tous l'ont respectée, comme si, de quelque côté qu'on eût tenté de l'atteindre, on eût aussitôt reconnu qu'elle était inexpugnable.

L'Italie possède encore presque toutes les peintures les plus précieuses de Raphaël; mais l'Angleterre, jalouse sans doute de montrer que ses préoccupations industrielles et commerciales ne prouvent rien contre son amour pour l'art, s'est peu à peu enrichie d'un nombre considérable d'œuvres des grands maîtres, et, parmi ces œuvres, on remarque au premier rang huit d'entre les célèbres cartons, dont l'un a fourni le sujet de la belle gravure de Jackson, que nous donnons dans notre livraison de ce jour.

L'histoire de ces cartons nous paraît digne d'être racontée.

Ce fut d'après les ordres, ou, si l'on veut, d'après les conseils du pape Léon X, que Raphaël, au milieu de sa gloire et peu d'années avant sa mort, composa ces dessins. Quand ils furent achevés, on les envoya à Bruxelles pour y être exécutés en tapisserie, sous la direction de Bernard Van Orley, et moyennant un prix convenu de 70,000 couronnes (plus de 400,000 fr.). Il semblera étrange que, lorsqu'on eut terminé les tapisseries, les cartons n'aient pas été rendus à Rome; mais déjà, à cette époque, Raphaël et Léon X n'existaient plus, et le nouveau pape, Adrien VI, n'avait pas hérité du génie et de l'amour de gloire qui ont immortalisé le pontificat de son prédécesseur. Les cartons restèrent donc à Bruxelles. Par une indifférence inexplicable, les hommes de goût qui avaient présidé et pris part à l'exécution des tapisseries, tels que Van Orley et Michel Coxis, tous deux élèves de Raphaël, ne songèrent à la conservation de ces originaux, dont la mort de Raphaël rendait la valeur encore plus inestimable; long-temps ils furent confondus dans le mobilier de la manufacture; on assure même que quelques uns furent exposés aux injures de l'air, au-dessus de la porte d'entrée, comme pour indiquer la destination de l'édifice.

Dans la suite, Rubens eut honte de l'abandon où il les trouva; Charles I<sup>er</sup>, à sa recommandation, en sauva plusieurs de la destruction qui les menaçait, et les fit transporter à Londres. Bientôt la révolution d'Angleterre éclata; le musée royal fut vendu et dispersé; les cartons, qui n'étaient alors que très peu appréciés par les amateurs anglais, allaient être mis à l'encan pêle-mêle à vil prix; on les estimait 500 livres sterling (7,650 fr.), mais Cromwell montra plus de goût que ses contemporains, et les fit acheter pour les conserver à la nation.

Le Protecteur mort, Charles II les envoya à Mortlake, pour qu'ils y fussent copiés en tapisseries par un artiste nommé Cleen, directeur de la manufacture que Jacques I<sup>er</sup>

avait établie dans cette ville. Là, comme à Bruxelles, ils demeurèrent enfouis pendant de longues années; on les y avait complètement oubliés. Ils étaient entassés, sans la moindre précaution, dans une salle obscure, et fort endommagés, lorsque, d'après les ordres du roi Guillaume, on alla les chercher pour les transporter de nouveau à Londres, où ils furent restaurés par le peintre William Cooke, et inaugurés dans la galerie de *Hampton-Court*, construite exprès pour les recevoir. Les Anglais espèrent aujourd'hui les voir exposer bientôt au public, dans la *Galerie nationale*.

Dans l'origine, les cartons étaient au nombre de vingt-cinq; en voici la liste :

- 1<sup>o</sup> Prédication de saint Paul aux Athéniens;
- 2<sup>o</sup> Mort d'Ananie;
- 3<sup>o</sup> Elymas, le Magicien, frappé d'aveuglement;
- 4<sup>o</sup> Le Christ donnant les clefs à saint Pierre;
- 5<sup>o</sup> Le Sacrifice de Lystra;
- 6<sup>o</sup> Les Apôtres guérissant dans le Temple;
- 7<sup>o</sup> La Pêche miraculeuse;
- 8<sup>o</sup> La Conversion de saint Paul;
- 9<sup>o</sup> La Nativité;
- 10<sup>o</sup> L'Adoration des Mages;
- 11<sup>o</sup> Le Christ soupant chez Emmaüs;
- 12<sup>o</sup>, 13<sup>o</sup>, 14<sup>o</sup> Le Massacre des Innocens;
- 15<sup>o</sup> La Présentation dans le Temple;
- 16<sup>o</sup> Descente de Jésus-Christ dans les Limbes;
- 17<sup>o</sup> La Résurrection;
- 18<sup>o</sup> L'Ascension;
- 19<sup>o</sup> *Noli me tangere*;
- 20<sup>o</sup> Descente du Saint-Esprit;
- 21<sup>o</sup> Lapidation de saint Etienne;
- 22<sup>o</sup> Le Tremblement de terre;
- 23<sup>o</sup>, 24<sup>o</sup> Groupes d'enfans;
- 25<sup>o</sup> La Justice.

Ce sont les sept premiers sujets que représentent les cartons de la galerie de *Hampton-Court*. Deux autres sont, dit-on, en la possession du roi de Sardaigne; et un dixième, faisant partie de l'œuvre du massacre des Innocens, appartient à un Anglais, sir P. Hoare, écuyer. Tous les autres dessins originaux, sauf quelques rares fragmens, sont perdus; on les trouve seulement reproduits en entier dans les tapisseries de Rome.

Il est bien peu de personnes, en France, qui aient vu ou qui puissent espérer de voir jamais les cartons que Londres possède: il aura été réservé au *Magasin Pittoresque*, malgré la difficulté de l'entreprise, d'en répandre dans notre pays des milliers d'exemplaires, et de faciliter ainsi l'étude de la pureté et de la simplicité admirables du génie qui a inspiré toutes les grandes compositions de Raphaël.

Une analyse des beautés de la *Mort d'Ananie* ne nous est pas permise dans cet article, qui dépasse déjà les limites ordinaires; nous sommes obligés de nous borner à transcrire le texte des Ecritures qui explique le dessin.

#### RÉCIT DE LA MORT D'ANANIE ET DE SAPHIRE, EXTRAIT DES ACTES DES APÔTRES.

« Toute la multitude de ceux qui croyaient n'avait qu'un cœur et qu'une âme; et nul ne considérait ce qu'il possédait comme étant à lui en particulier, mais toutes choses étaient communes entre eux.

« Les apôtres rendaient témoignage avec une grande force à la résurrection de notre seigneur Jésus-Christ; et la grâce était grande dans tous les fidèles; car il n'y avait aucun pauvre parmi eux, parce que tous ceux qui possédaient des fonds de terre ou de maisons, les vendaient, et en apportaient le prix, qu'ils mettaient aux pieds des apôtres; et on les distribuait ensuite à chacun suivant ses besoins.

## Bildimport aus England – warum darf Paulus nicht im *Magasin Pittoresque* predigen?

Dies läßt nun doch an der Belastbarkeit der ikonokritischen expliziten Ausführungen in *Les livres et les images* zweifeln und eine gegenläufige implizite illustrationspraktische Selbstreflexion vermuten. Für die Plausibilität dieser Sicht liefern Sujet und Herkunft jener groß- und querformatigen Illustration weitere Anhaltspunkte. Sie bietet die Reproduktion eines der sogenannten »Raffael-Kartons«,<sup>35</sup> einer der Vorlagen, die »Raphaël, au milieu de sa gloire, et peu d'années avant sa mort«,<sup>36</sup> für Wandteppiche zum Schmuck der Sixtinischen Kapelle anfertigte. Zu sehen ist »[la] Mort d'Ananie«, in Holz gestochen, wie in der rechten unteren Ecke zu lesen, von »J. JACKSON«. <sup>37</sup> Spätestens angesichts dieser Signatur<sup>38</sup> dürften geübte Leser-Betrachter des *Magasin Pittoresque* gewußt haben, daß ihnen ein Illustrationsimport aus dem *Penny Magazine* vorliegt: Der Signatur des Xylographen Jackson waren sie schon mehrfach begegnet,<sup>39</sup> und da sie mit dem englischen Vorbild des französischen illustrierten Journals wahrscheinlich vertraut waren,<sup>40</sup> dürften sie sich

35 Vgl. zu ihnen etwa Luca Mela: *Raffael malt die Kartons zu den Wandteppichen. Eine kunsthistorische Erinnerung*. [Leussow]: Bonobo Verlag 2015.

36 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 101.

37 Ebd., S. 100.

38 Zeichner- und Stechersignaturen sind ernstzunehmender Lesestoff. Dies zeigen Illustrationsübernahmen unter sorgfältiger Entfernung derartiger Namenszüge, die belegen, daß man produktionsseitig mit der Suche nach entsprechenden Hinweisen rechnete. Vgl. etwa *Pfennig-Magazin* 1, Nr. 2 (11. Mai 1833), S. 9, gegenüber *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 1 ([9. Februar 1833]), S. 5; oder *Pfennig-Magazin* N. F. 1, Nr. 8 (25. Februar 1843), S. 57, gegenüber J[ohan] K[arl] A[ugust] Musäus: *Volksmärchen der Deutschen. Prachtausgabe in einem Bande. Herausgegeben von Julius Ludwig Klee. Mit Holzschnitten nach Originalzeichnungen von R[udolf] Jordan in Düsseldorf. G[eorg] Osterwald in Hannover. L[udwig] Richter in Dresden. A[dolph] Schrödter in Düsseldorf*. Leipzig: Mayer und Wigand 1842[f.], S. 195.

39 Vgl. *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 4 ([2. März 1833]), S. 28; Nr. 5 ([9. März 1833]), 37; Nr. 9 ([6. April 1833]), S. 65; Nr. 10 ([13. April 1833]), S. 73; Nr. 11 ([20. April 1833]), S. 88.

40 Immerhin ist der dem *Magasin Pittoresque* eingeschriebene bzw. eingebildete konzeptionelle Leser-Betrachter auch einer des *Penny Magazine*: Die allererste Seite des *Magasin Pittoresque* (Nr. 1 ([9. Februar 1833]), S. 1) orientiert sich augenscheinlich am Layout der Eröffnungsseite des *Penny Magazine* (Nr. 1 (31. März 1832), S. 1); mit dessen Kenntnis rechnete das französische Journal also bei seiner Leser-Betrachterschaft. Von der Rezeption des *Penny Magazine* in Frankreich zeugt weiterhin etwa der Katalog eines Pariser Buchhändlers, der 1841 antiquarisch »The penny magazine [...] (the years 1832 to 1836, 1838, and 1839)« anbot; *Catalogue d'un choix de livres très bien conditionnés, la plupart français et anglais, provenant de la bibliothèque de M\*\*\**. Paris: Silvestre 1841, S. 4.

an die frühere Präsentation der betreffenden Holzstiche im *Penny Magazine*<sup>41</sup> erinnert haben. So auch beim *Tod des Ananias*, zumal der Leserblick bei dieser Xylographie nachdrücklich, unter Nennung Jacksons, in Richtung England gelenkt erscheint;<sup>42</sup> außerdem wurde die Reproduktion des Raffael-Kartons nicht allein, sondern zusammen mit jenen Korsettschädigungsbildern aus dem Februar-Supplement des *Penny Magazine* von 1833 entlehnt<sup>43</sup> – der *Tod des Ananias* verweist derart nicht nur durch seine Stechersignatur, sondern zudem als Teil einer Charge importierter Holzstiche auf seinen Herkunftsort.

Bereits zeitgenössisch spielt also der *Tod des Ananias* im *Magasin Pittoresque* sicht- und lesbar vor der Folie seiner Erstpublikation im *Penny Magazine*. Vor deren Hintergrund will er wahrgenommen werden – und wenn wir dem nachkommen und die französische mit der britischen Präsentation dieses Raffael-Kartons vergleichen, stoßen wir auf einen markanten Unterschied: Im *Magasin Pittoresque* nimmt der *Tod des Ananias* eine privilegierte Position ein, hier eröffnet er die Serie der Raffael-Kartons als deren »N° 1«<sup>44</sup> – während das *Penny Magazine* ihn vordem lediglich als »No. 3« geführt hatte.<sup>45</sup> Weswegen solche Umgewichtung im *Magasin Pittoresque*? Diese Frage stellt sich um so mehr, als die Bevorzugung des *Tods des Ananias* eine Abweichung nicht nur gegenüber dem *Penny Magazine*, sondern außerdem von der ursprünglichen Reihenfolge der Kartons bedeutet: ihr zufolge steht der *Tod des Ananias* »nur« an zweiter Stelle, Platz eins belegt hier die Predigt des Apostels Paulus auf dem Areopag in Athen (Fig. 4.6).<sup>46</sup>

41 Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 35 (20. Oktober 1832), S. 284; Nr. 29 (15. September 1832), S. 237; Nr. 46 (22. Dezember 1832), S. 369; Nr. 39 (10. November 1832), S. 313; Nr. 10 (Monthly Supplement, 31. Mai 1832), S. 88.

42 »[L]’Angleterre«, heißt es, »jalouse sans doute de montrer que ses préoccupations industrielles et commerciales ne prouvent rien contre son amour pour l’art, s’est peu-à-peu enrichie d’un nombre considérable d’œuvres des grands maîtres, et, parmi ces œuvres, on remarque au premier rang huit d’entre les célèbres cartons, dont l’un a fourni le sujet de la belle gravure de Jackson, que nous donnons dans notre livraison de ce jour.« *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 101.

43 Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 58 (Monthly Supplement, 28. Februar 1833), S. 76 (»THE DEATH OF ANANIAS«) und S. 80 (»the Effects of Stays«).

44 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 99.

45 *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 58 (Monthly Supplement, 28. Februar 1833), S. 75.

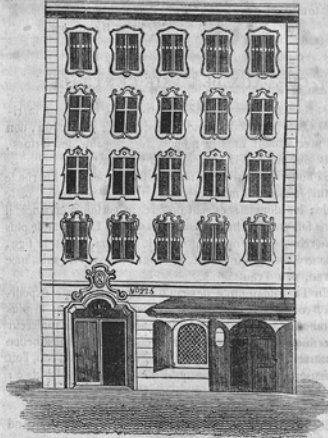
46 »Dans l’origine, les cartons étaient au nombre de vingt-cinq; en voici la liste : 1° Prédication de saint Paul aux Athéniens; 2° Mort d’Ananie«; *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 101. Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 349.

par la course ou le travail, une des veines de son col s'ouvre naturellement.

La réputation des chevaux qui avoisinent l'Oxus était déjà faite dès le temps d'Alexandre. — Les traditions semblent démontrer qu'il y a eu un mélange de cette race avec celle d'Arabie.

#### MAISON DE MOZART A SALTZBOURG.

Nous avons donné (tome I<sup>er</sup>, p. 528, 1835) une rapide esquisse de la vie de Mozart. Nous mettons aujourd'hui sous les yeux de nos lecteurs la maison à Saltzbourg où cet artiste célèbre naquit, au second étage, le 27 février 1756. Dès l'âge de trois ans il annonçait des dispositions extraordinaires pour la musique et s'essayait déjà à toucher du piano. A quatre ans, son père lui enseigna quelques menues qu'il apprenait en une demi-heure. Enfin à cinq ans il composa quelques petits morceaux. A quatorze ans il exécutait, à Naples, au *Conservatorio della Pieta*, une composition des plus difficiles. La dextérité de sa main gauche et sa brillante exécution firent soupçonner à une partie superstitieuse de son auditoire que son merveilleux talent tenait à la vertu magique d'une bague qu'il portait. Il l'ôta aussitôt de son doigt, continua à jouer avec la même perfection, et excita une admiration universelle. A sa mort, de six enfants qu'il avait eus, quatre fils et deux filles, il ne laissa que deux fils, dont le plus jeune n'avait alors que quatre ans. Celui-ci fut le seul de ses enfants dont l'oreille ressemblât à celle de Mozart, qui, comme on peut voir par la gravure que nous publions, était d'une construction particulière.



(Maison de Saltzbourg où est né Mozart.)

Nous empruntons les anecdotes suivantes, assez peu connues, à une biographie de Mozart publiée à Leipsick par Georges-Nicolas de Nissen, en 1828.

Mozart, étant à Vienne, à l'âge de six ans, se trouvait un jour dans les appartemens de Marie-Thérèse avec deux princesses filles de cette impératrice. Peu habitué au parquet ciré, il glissa et tomba. L'une des archiduchesses ne fit pas seulement attention à sa chute; l'autre, au contraire (c'était Marie-Antoinette, depuis reine de France), s'empressa de le relever et de lui donner des soins. « Vous êtes bonne, lui

dit Mozart; je veux vous épouser. » Marie-Thérèse lui demanda ce qui lui avait inspiré cette résolution : « La reconnaissance, répondit Mozart; elle a été bienveillante pour moi, quand sa sœur ne s'est pas même inquiétée de mon mal. »



(Oreille de Mozart.)

Un soir, Mozart songeait aux moyens d'acquitter quelques dettes; un de ses amis entre chez lui, et le prie de lui composer un morceau pour l'aider à payer les siennes. Mozart se met sur-le-champ au piano, et, sans plus songer à lui-même, commence par le morceau destiné à son ami, qui, grâce à lui, se trouva ainsi tiré d'embarras.

Mozart se plaisait à redire qu'il avait composé son *Don Juan* pour deux de ses amis et lui, à Prague, dans une maison qui appartenait à Dussek. On assure que l'ouverture ne fut réellement faite que la veille de la représentation. Il travailla une partie de la nuit, buvant du punch et prêtant l'oreille aux récits de sa femme, qui lui conta jusqu'à quatre heures du matin de vieilles légendes bohémiennes, dont l'originalité avait pour lui le plus grand charme.

#### LES CARTONS DE RAPHAËL.

##### SAINT PAUL PRÉCHANT A ATHÈNES.

Cette gravure fait suite à celles de notre premier volume, qui représentent *la Mort d'Ananie*, *le Sacrifice de Lystra*, et *la Pêche miraculeuse*; nous ne croyons pas pouvoir donner une plus juste idée de cette composition de Raphaël qu'en rapportant le jugement émis par M. Quatremère de Quincy, dans la Vie qu'il a écrite de ce grand artiste.

« Le sujet de saint Paul prêchant, soit à Ephèse, soit dans Athènes, a occupé plus d'une fois Raphaël. Il en existe plusieurs dessins qu'on doit regarder comme les préudes de la grande et belle composition du carton d'Hampton-Court, dans laquelle on croit reconnaître tout ce qui peut porter à en attribuer l'exécution au seul pinceau du maître. Ici brille en effet ce caractère de sagesse et d'ampleur, de simplicité et de richesse, de grandeur et d'élegance, qui fut le propre de son dessin. Le trait qu'il fit à la plume, de cette prescription de saint Paul, trait gravé par Marc Antoine, a servi de thème au carton.

« Toujours ingénieux dans le choix du local où il place toutes ses scènes, Raphaël a donné à celle-ci, pour accompagnement, un espace environné de beaux édifices; et son premier plan, formé des marches d'un temple sur lesquelles s'élève l'apôtre, lui fait une sorte d'estrade ou de tribune, au-

tour de laquelle est venu se ranger en cercle l'auditoire dont les masses se trouvent balancées avec une rare habileté, par la variété introduite dans les groupes de figures, les unes debout, les autres assises. Cette disposition qui isole l'orateur sacré, en le plaçant sur le devant du tableau, donne à toute sa personne une grandeur de proportion relative, qui semble ajouter l'effet d'une nouvelle supériorité à celui de l'action imposante par laquelle il domine ses auditeurs.

» Il n'y a point de composition qui ne doive tendre à produire pour les yeux d'agréables rapports entre les parties et le tout, en subordonnant les groupes et leur liaison à l'harmonie, ou à ce qu'on appelle le pittoresque. Ce bel accord, qui charme les sens, et que Raphaël a possédé au-dessus de tous les peintres, n'est pourtant, dans ses ouvrages, au jugement d'une critique plus élevée, qu'un mérite secondaire. Il y a chez lui un ordre de combinaisons plus savantes; car



(Saint Paul prêchant à Athènes, carton de Raphaël.)

non seulement dans des tableaux on peut se rendre raison des mouvemens et de l'action de chaque personnage, mais on peut y demander compte à chacun de ce qu'il sent et de ce qu'il pense; et il est vrai de dire que les idées aussi et les affections s'y composent, s'y contrastent et s'y groupent comme les corps.

» On distingue dans ce cercle des auditeurs de saint Paul cinq groupes, si l'on peut parler ainsi, d'affections opposées

entre elles, dont l'expression alternative indique toutes les sortes de dispositions des esprits.

» Derrière l'apôtre se trouvent réunis trois personnages, dont le maintien et les physionomies ne décèlent qu'une admiration froide. Le second groupe d'hommes, assis près de l'orateur, indique par l'agitation qui se manifeste parmi eux qu'il y a un combat entre leurs opinions. Vient ensuite un groupe en tête duquel est un personnage debout, dont l'atti-

Die Reproduktion dieses Kartons war im *Penny Magazine* bereits im Januar 1833 erschienen<sup>47</sup> – ihr Klischee hätte also wohl rechtzeitig zur Verfügung gestanden, um Anfang Mai 1833 im *Magasin Pittoresque* den Reigen der Raffael-Kartons mit dem eigentlich ersten Karton beginnen zu lassen.<sup>48</sup>

Dies wäre auch dahingehend stimmig gewesen, als die Darstellung von Paulus' Predigt an die Athener vorzüglich zur wenig bilderfreundlichen Perspektive von *Les livres et les images* gepaßt hätte: Paulus hatte, da er im Vorbeigehen die Götterbilder der Athener betrachtete, einen Altar gefunden, auf dem *geschrieben* stand: ›Dem unbekanntem Gott‹ – den er dann in seiner Predigt verkündigte (Apg 17,23). Durch diesen biblischen Subtext eignet der Szene, die der ursprünglich erste Raffael-Karton zeigt, eine Spannung von Bild und Schrift. Auf welche Seite sich Paulus schlägt, ist klar: »nous ne devons pas croire que la divinité soit semblable à de l'or, à de l'argent, ou à de la pierre, dont l'art & l'industrie des hommes a fait des figures« (Apg 17,29)<sup>49</sup> – im (Predigt-)Wort entscheidet sich der Apostel gegen das (Götzen-)Bild, er warnt davor, diesem zu großen Wert beizumessen. Die Übernahme von »PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS«,<sup>50</sup> um mit diesem Holzstich auf der einhundertsten Seite des *Magasin Pittoresque* die Serie der Raffael-Kartons zu eröffnen, hätte somit das Bild gezwungen, seine gegenüber der Schrift erzielten Geländegewinne zu widerrufen: sowohl den, den es unter Durchbrechung alternierenden Satzes gerade auch mit dem (Götzen-)Bild der mediceischen Venus erzielt hatte; als auch den auf der weitestgehend bildbesetzten hundertsten Jubiläumsseite. Der durch ›l'art & l'industrie des hommes‹ in Holz gestochene predigende Paulus hätte als Darstellung verbaler Negation des Bilds sich selbst widerrufen, und entsprechend wäre auch der zweispaltige Schriftsatz bei Reproduktion dieses Kartons nicht vollständig von der Seite verdrängt worden. Derart hätte der bis dahin raumgreifendste und zugleich erste um neunzig Grad gedrehte Holzstich des *Magasin Pittoresque*, seiner typoklastischen Tendenz zum Trotz, in Übereinstimmung mit *Les livres et les images* ein Instrument der Unterordnung des Bilds unter das Wort abgegeben.

47 Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 51 (19. Januar 1833), S. 17.

48 Der *Magasin Pittoresque* brachte ihn erst in Band 3, Nr. 50, (12. Dezember 1835), S. 393.

49 *Le Nouveau Testament de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, traduit en François selon l'edition Vulgate, avec les differences du Grec*. Mons: Migeait 1668, 493.

50 *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 51 (19. Januar 1833), S. 17.



### Und sie bewegt sich doch.

#### Das *Penny Magazine* erschüttert das katholische Weltbild

Dies geschieht im *Magasin Pittoresque* aber eben *nicht*, ein weiteres Indiz dafür, daß es dem Journal mit der vorhergehenden Formulierung einer ikonokritischen Position nicht allzuernst gewesen sein könnte. Den Grund für die Bevorzugung des *Tods des Ananias* indes, sowohl gegenüber dem *Penny Magazine* als auch gegenüber der ursprünglichen Reihung der Raffael-Kartons, haben wir noch immer nicht ausgemacht, und dies wird auch noch ein wenig dauern. Nehmen wir den nächsten markanten Unterschied in den Blick, den die Präsentation des *Tods des Ananias* im *Magasin Pittoresque* gegenüber der im *Penny Magazine* aufweist: Der französische Begleittext hat mit dem des *Penny Magazine* wenig bis nichts gemein; soweit er keine Neuerung darstellt, handelt es sich bei ihm um eine leicht gekürzte Übertragung von Passagen, die im britischen Journal nicht den *Tod des Ananias*, nicht die dritte, sondern die erste Reproduktion eines Raffael-Kartons begleiten.<sup>51</sup>

Mit deren Darbietung (Fig. 4.7)<sup>52</sup> hat der *Tod des Ananias* im *Magasin Pittoresque* nicht nur Teile des Begleittexts gemein, sondern auch Momente des Mit-, Neben- und Gegeneinanders von Bild und Schrift: Das *Penny Magazine* bietet mit der ersten Reproduktion eines Raffael-Kartons ebenfalls, wie später der *Magasin Pittoresque*, erstmals eine ganzseitige und um neunzig Grad gedrehte Illustration, und mit dieser zugleich, eine weitere Vorwegnahme der französischen Nachahmung, erstmals eine zugunsten des Bilds fast vollständig schriftbereinigte Seite. Damit nicht genug: Auch im *Penny Magazine* ist die erste Reproduktion eines Raffael-Kartons (anders als die des *Tods des Ananias* dort<sup>53</sup>) Teil einer Serie von illustrierten Doppelseiten, die den alternierenden Satz durchbricht, und auch hier gehen der anspruchsvollen xylographischen Wiedergabe des Kartons, die eine linke Seite besetzt, bescheidene Illustrationen, technische Zeichnungen auf der rechten Seite der vorhergehenden Doppelseite voraus, deren linke gleichfalls nur Schriftsatz zeigt (Fig. 4.8).<sup>54</sup>

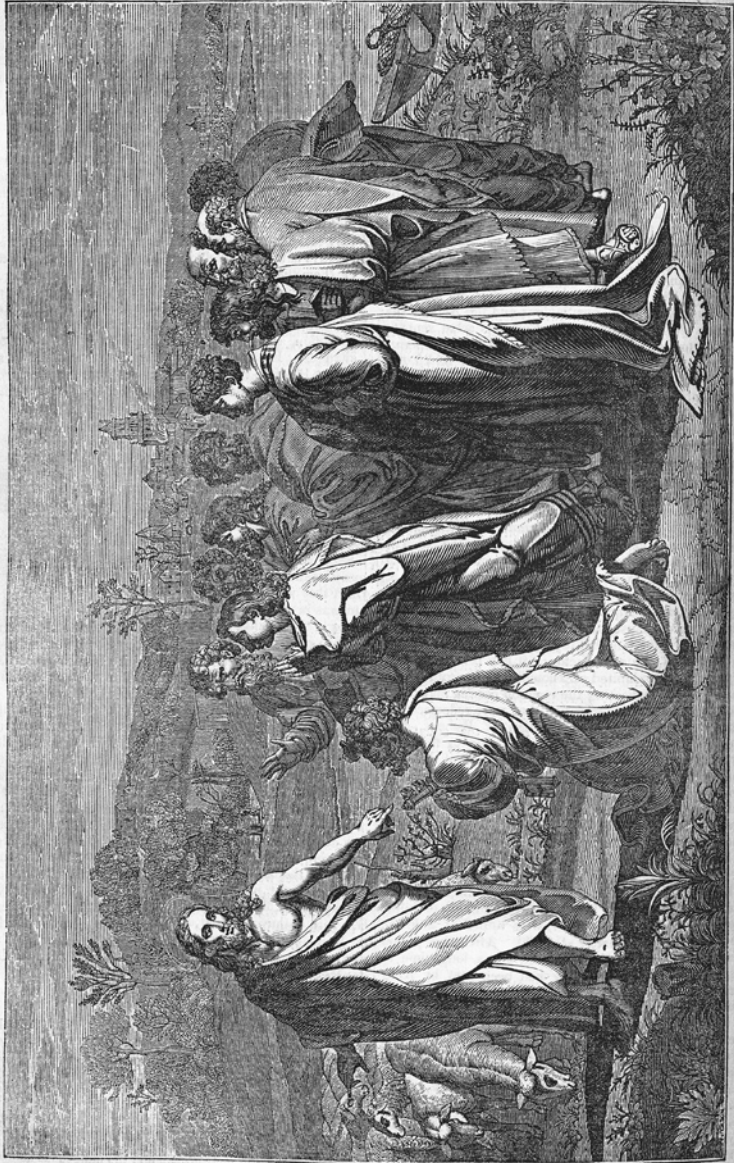
51 Vgl. *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 99–101, gegenüber *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43, (1. Dezember 1832), S. 349.

52 Ebd., S. 348.

53 Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 58 (Monthly Supplement, 28. Februar 1833), S. 73–80.

54 Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 42 (Monthly Supplement, 30. November 1832) und Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 344–349.





[Christ delivering the Keys to St. Peter.]

FIGURE 4.7 *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 348–349. Exemplar im Besitz des Verfassers

1832.]

## THE PENNY MAGAZINE.

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## THE CARTOONS.—No. 1.

IN the Cartoons of Raffaele England may congratulate herself on being in possession of the noblest works of art which have ever been produced by human genius. The history of these designs, subsequently to their completion, as well as that of the tapestries which have been copied from them, is extraordinary. Estimated originally as the most splendid ornaments of regal and pontifical state, they have since been exposed to all the vicissitudes of fortune;—seized as the spoils of war, dispersed in revolutions, disfigured by ignorance, and mutilated by avarice. Happily, the seven compositions at Hampton Court\*, if compared with others of the series, still to be seen in tapestry, must rank among the finest of the number, and they are in good preservation. Two or three others are said to be extant. The rest of the set, originally twenty-five, it is to be feared, have perished.

It was within a few years of his death, and during the meridian of his powers, that Raffaele was engaged by Leo X. to design this series of subjects, taken from the Life of our Saviour and the Acts of the Apostles. When finished, the Cartoons were sent to Brussels to be woven in tapestry, under the superintendence of Bernard Van Orlay, at a cost of 70,000 crowns. It seems surprising that when the tapestries were completed the Cartoons were not reclaimed and brought back to Rome: the circumstance, however, explains itself by referring to the events of the period. Both Raffaele and his munificent patron, Leo, had died in the interval; and the succeeding pontiff, Adrian VI., a man of narrow capacity and destitute of taste, bestowed not a thought on those arts which had distinguished the reign, and were destined to immortalize the memory of his illustrious predecessor. It is more inexplicable, that among the persons who superintended the execution of the tapestries, there were not some who were capable of appreciating the excellence and value of the originals, more especially as Van Orlay and Michael Coxis, both engaged in those works, had been pupils of Raffaele. From whatever cause, the Cartoons were thrown by as things of no value, and left to moulder and decay among the lumber of the manufactory: it has been said that they were even exhibited occasionally in the front of the house as signs, indicating the vocation carried on within. From this state of degradation they were redeemed by Charles I., at the recommendation of Rubens, and brought to England. The obligation due to this monarch, to whose taste we owe the acquisition of the Cartoons, is to be extended to Cromwell, by whose discernment they were secured to the country during the sale and dispersion of the royal collection. They were purchased at the immediate command of the Protector, whose sagacity seems in this, as in most other instances, to have outgone that of his contemporaries, on whom the showy ostentation of Andrea da Mantegna appears to have made a stronger impression than the chaste and intellectual grandeur of Raffaele. The triumphs of Julius Caesar, painted by the former, were valued at £2000; the Cartoons of the latter at £300. After this period these works were again consigned for a long time to obscurity and neglect. They had been sent by King Charles II. to Mortlake to be copied in tapestry by an artist named Cleen, who superintended a manufactory of arras at that place, originally established by James I. Here they met with no better treatment than they had formerly encountered at Brussels; for it was found, when they were afterwards opened and inspected by the command of King William, that they had been so carelessly packed as to have sustained considerable injury. By

\* The Cartoons are shown, with the other pictures, to visitors, upon payment of a fee to the person who goes round the apartment. We hope, when the new National Gallery is finished, that they will be removed to London, so that the public may be delighted and improved by their contemplation without the exaction of sixpences and shillings.

this last-mentioned monarch they were consigned to the care of William Cooke, an artist of considerable talent, by whom they were repaired, and happily restored to their original appearance. The gallery at Hampton Court was built by King William for their reception.

The following is a list of the subjects, and the original number of the Cartoons executed by Raffaele:—

1. Paul preaching at Athens.
2. The Death of Ananias.
3. Elymas the Sorcerer struck with blindness.
4. Christ delivering the Keys to St. Peter.
5. The Sacrifice at Lystra.
6. The Apostles healing in the Temple.
7. The miraculous Draught of Fishes.
8. The Conversion of St. Paul.
9. The Nativity
10. The Adoration of the Magi.
11. Christ supping at Emmaus.
- 12, 13, 14. The Slaughter of the Innocents.
15. The Presentation in the Temple.
16. The Descent of Jesus Christ into Limbus.
17. The Resurrection.
18. The Ascension.
19. Noli me tangere.
20. The Descent of the Holy Ghost.
21. The Stoning of St. Stephen.
22. The Earthquake.
- 23, 24. Children at Play, catching Birds, &c.
25. Justice.

The first seven above enumerated are those at Hampton Court. Two others are said to be in the possession of the King of Sardinia; and a third, one of the compartments of the Slaughter of the Innocents, is in this country, having been accidentally discovered, and purchased by P. Hoare, Esq. The rest, with the exception of a few dismembered fragments, are all lost: the designs, however, are still visible in the tapestries at Rome.

Such is the history of those noble productions. But notwithstanding the neglect and partial destruction to which they were so barbarously consigned, their reputation was in the mean time promulgated and established through the medium of the tapestries. Nor can there be a stronger proof than this of their deep and intrinsic excellence, which could make itself felt and understood through a mode of copying so coarse and inefficient; although we must admit that, considered not as transcripts of fine art, but merely in the light of splendid furniture, nothing can be more magnificent than those stately hangings of arras. The two sets first manufactured were intended by Leo X., the one for the apartments of the papal palace, the other as a present to Henry VIII. of England. These works were destined to encounter a greater variety of adventures than even the original Cartoons. The first account we have of their appearance was during the pontificate of Paul IV., by whose order they were suspended on high festivals in one of the vestibules of the basilica of St. Peter. It is said that they excited delight and astonishment not only among the learned in art, but that they were viewed by the populace with enthusiastic and unsated avidity. In the sack of Rome, in 1526, they were carried away, but were restored during the reign of Julius III. by the Duc de Montmorenci. Again, in 1798, they made part of the French spoiliations, and were actually sold to a Jew at Leghorn, who burnt one of them for the purpose of extracting the precious metal contained in the threads. As it was found, however, to furnish very little, the proprietor judged it better to allow the others to retain their original shape, and they were soon afterwards re-purchased from him by the agents of Pius VII., and reinstated in the galleries of the Vatican.

The second set of tapestries, intended by Leo X. as a present to Henry VIII. of England, were accordingly transmitted to that monarch, although it is affirmed by some authorities that he obtained them by purchase from the state of Venice. On their arrival in England, they

the extreme. The outer sides of the acute cone by which you have to climb are nothing but a deep accumulation of cinders, ashes, and other yielding volcanic matter, into which your legs sink, and where you lose at least one out of every three steps you take. Even hardy and active men have been known to throw themselves down on the sides of the cone in a complete state of exhaustion, long before they could reach the top. But the summit once gained, fatigue is repaid by prospects of beauty that are scarcely rivalled upon earth.

Naples and all the towns and villages we have mentioned lie at your feet; before you flows the magnificent Neapolitan bay studded with islands; and inland stretches the luxurious plain of Campagna Felice, with cities and towns, and with villas and hamlets almost too numerous to count, while the sweeping chain of the Apennines forms the extreme back-ground to the picture.

We have noticed the views first, as they are of greater interest than the interior of the crater. This is nothing, in ordinary times, but a great funnel-shaped hollow, round the edges of which you can walk in perfect safety, and look down the curious depth. Some have even descended into it. The person who writes this short account did so in the summer of 1816, when the mountain had been inactive for some years, emitting only, from time to time, a little smoke. Provided with ropes, which the ciceroni or guides held at the edge of the hollow, he and a friend went down the shelving side for about one hundred and fifty feet, when they landed on a circular flat that sounded hollow beneath their feet, but presented nothing very remarkable, except a number of fumaroll or little holes through which smoke ascended. The interior of the crater was coated with lapilla and sulphur, and in colour a yellowish white. The fumes of the sulphur, and the pungent smoke from the little holes at the bottom of the crater, compelled a very speedy retreat, which was made with some difficulty, and without any great addition to their knowledge of volcanos. It must be observed, that this principal crater, on the summit of the mountain, is always considerably altered in its form and features when the eruption proceeds from it; and, moreover, that it is by no means the *sote vent* the subterranean fire of Vesuvius finds. On the contrary, the fire and lava often issue from the sides of the mountain far below, while the superior funnel only emits smoke. In the winter of 1820, a mouth was formed at the foot of the superior cone, and nearly on a level with the hermitage of San Salvatore. To use a homely comparison, this vent was not unlike the mouth of a baker's oven; but a considerable stream of lava, which, when in a state of perfect fusion, resembles molten iron, issued from it, and flowed down a chasm in the direction of the Torre del Greco, the place we have described as having so often suffered from eruptions. A singular and deliberate suicide was committed here. An unhappy Frenchman walked up the mountain one night, and threw himself in at the source of this terrific stream. The men who conducted him said afterwards, that they had observed he had a quantity of gunpowder about his person! He scarcely could have needed its agency, for the intense fire must have consumed him, skin, flesh, and bones, in a very few seconds. But though the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius do not always proceed from the grand crater, it must also be said that those that do are by far the most sublime in their effects, and that nothing can well be imagined more picturesque and striking than to see by night the summit of that lofty cone crowned by fire, as it frequently is, for many successive weeks. The finest view, under those circumstances, is from the bay, over the waters of which it often happens that the moon throws a broad path of silvery light in one direction, and the volcano the blood-red reflection of its flames in another.

## ON MOTION.

If we were to ask any one of our readers, who has not studied the subject, the following question, How do you know whether you are at rest or in motion? he would probably imagine that we took him for a simpleton. We should appease his indignation, by desiring him to remember, that there was a time when this inquiry was judged so important, that the ruling powers of the Catholic Church thought it not beneath them to employ a little force to make their subjects think rightly, that is, with them, in this respect. This happened in the well-known case of Galileo. As governments have for some time declined to interfere in the matter, we may be excused for endeavouring to put together a few notions on this question.

We would first inquire, What are the tests of motion? When we walk, we feel sensible of the exertion which is necessary to continue that exercise; when we ride, the jolting of the horse or carriage reminds us of the fact, because we have never experienced the same on former occasions, except when the horse or carriage was moving forwards. We also see a change of position and magnitude in surrounding objects. But neither of these is the criterion which it is supposed to be; for a man might be walking, without really quitting the spot on which he began to do so; as, for example, when he is in a ship, and walks towards the stern at the same rate as the ship is going. In this case, all he can do by walking one way, is to hinder the ship from carrying him the other, and he remains stationary, with the exception of moving his feet backwards and forwards, over that part of the water on which he was when he began. Again, a blind man, who had never heard of a carriage, when placed in one for the first time, could not know that the jolting which he experienced was the effect of the carriage moving forwards. A better test, apparently, is derived from the objects about us, which appear to change their places and their magnitudes when we move; that is, it becomes necessary to turn the head gradually, if we would continue to look at one object while we are in motion; at the same time, the object either becomes more or less distinct and large, according as we are moving to or from it. But this phenomenon does not absolutely establish the fact that we are moving; all that it puts beyond a doubt is, that either we, or the object at which we look, is in motion. And this appearance often deceives us; for example, when we are in a boat, moving through smooth water, the banks appear to move, and we need our reason and memory to assure us that it is we, and not they, who change places. Again, in the pantomimes at the theatres, it is contrived that a picture of an object, such as a waggon, shall move from the ground up a scene placed on the wall, and diminish its magnitude as it moves; by which means it so completely assumes the appearance of moving away from us along a road, that perhaps some of our readers who have seen it may imagine that it really does so. If a man who had never seen a sledge were placed in one upon a vast sheet of ice, all of the same colour, and presenting one unvaried appearance as far as his eye could reach, he would have no means of knowing whether the sledge were in motion or at rest. He might really be so, or the sledge might be moved by hidden mechanism; he has no means of distinguishing. If he saw another such sledge, at some distance, he would be equally at a loss to know whether his own sledge was moving or not, provided the other appeared stationary: for either both might be at rest, or both might be moving forward at the same rate in the same direction; in which case, he must always keep his eye in one direction, or, if he used a telescope fixed on the sledge, he would not need to alter its position, so long as the other sledge moved with the same velocity, and in the same direction, as his own. For example, let the sledge which contains our spectator

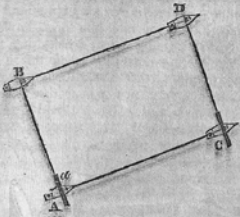
FIGURE 4.8 Penny Magazine 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 346–347. Exemplar im Besitz des Verfassers

1832.]

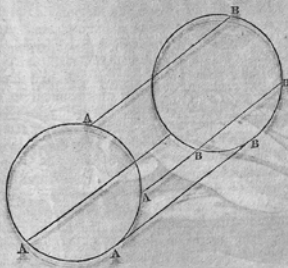
THE PENNY MAGAZINE.

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be at A, and the other at B, so that on turning the telescope A in the direction A B, he sees some conspicu-



ous object, say a mast, in the other sledge. If A move from A to C in one minute, and B move from B to D, through a distance B D equal to A C in the direction B D, which is the same as that of A C, and also in one minute, the telescope will have remained pointed at the mast in the other sledge, so that there is none of that indication of motion which arises from change of apparent position. Neither will there be any of that which arises from change of apparent magnitude, at least if the weather be equally clear throughout; for the distance A B is equal to C D, and the two will have continued at the same distance throughout. Now, the weather remaining the same, the apparent magnitude of an object depends upon its distance alone, growing less as it recedes, and greater as it approaches; so that if it were to describe a circle round the spectator, the apparent magnitude would remain unaltered. Since then B neither changes its apparent position or its apparent magnitude with respect to A, the spectator at A perceives no indications of motion, and therefore imagines both are at rest. Generally, if we see neither change of position or of apparent magnitude in the objects around us, we can only conclude, either that, 1. we and the objects around us are all at rest, or, 2. that we and the objects are all in motion in the same direction and with the same velocity. This is not only true when the bodies are moving in straight lines, but when they are describing any curve whatever, provided we describe the same curve with the same velocity. Let A move round the circle A A A, while B moves round the equal circle B B B with the same velocity; the reader may easily



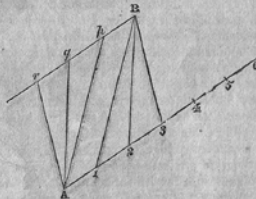
satisfy himself that to what point soever A may have come, B will still be at the same distance, in the same direction, as when they set out.

We have hitherto supposed in the spectator an eye so fine, or so practised, that he can detect the smallest change, either of position or magnitude, in the object at

\* We shall, in what follows, take for granted several simple propositions of geometry, which the reader, who is not acquainted with that science, will easily see to be true, even by means of a figure drawn with the pen, if he be anything of a draughtsman.

which he looks. This we know to be impossible; we must, therefore, modify the proposition above-mentioned, so far as to assert that all objects will appear to us to stand still, whose velocity or the direction of whose motion differs so little from our own, as not to cause any perceptible change in their position or magnitude.

We now proceed to inquire, what apparent motion will the sledge B have, when its real motion is different in direction, or in velocity, or in both, from that of A? When we talk of *apparent* motion as distinguished from *real*, we refer to the fact that the spectator always imagines himself to be at rest, unless the motion is either an act of his own will, or unless he perceives something, such as the jolting of a carriage, or the motion of the horses' feet, from which former experience has taught him to draw a conclusion. Independently of these, his only sensations are those of a change of position and distance in surrounding objects; and, in looking at any one of them, he will not recollect that the observed changes may be compounded out of those which will arise from his own motion and that of the object together, but, thinking himself at rest, will attribute to the object such a motion as would, by itself, produce the observed changes. For example, suppose that the object is at rest at B, while the spectator moves from A towards C, coming to 1 at the end of the first minute, to 2 at the



end of the second, and so on. At the end of one minute, the object B is at the distance 1 B, in the direction 1 B. The spectator who thinks himself at rest at A, will suppose that B has moved to p, so as to place itself at the distance A p equal to 1 B, in the direction A p, which is the same as that of 1 B. Similarly, while he moves from 1 to 2, B will appear to him to move from p to q, and so on. That is, any real motion in the spectator gives, to an object really at rest, an apparent motion of equal velocity, but contrary direction, to his own. The apparent motion of the banks of a river, to a spectator carried along in a boat, is a case in point. The same proposition may be shown to hold good where the spectator moves in a curve instead of a straight line. Thus, if the spectator were carried round a circle, any fixed object would appear to be carried round the contrary way in a circle of equal dimensions. For instance, we, being carried round on the earth in a circle, from west to east, imagine that the stars move round us in a circle from east to west. We shall hereafter enter on the reasons why we cannot form any distinct idea of the diameter of this circle.

(To be concluded in our next.)

*Horses in Brazil.*—The great increase of these animals, in a land where none of the same genus had existed before the discovery, altered even the physical features of the country. The bulbous plants and the numerous kinds of aloes (*pitax* or *caraguatas*) with which the plains were formerly overspread, disappeared; and in their place the ground was covered with fine pasturage, and with a species of creeping thistle hardy enough to endure the trampling by which the former herbage had been destroyed. The insect as well as the vegetable world was affected, and the indigenous animals of the country, birds as well as beasts of prey, acquired new habits.—*Souhey's Brazil.*

Als Differenz fallen allein die unterschiedlichen Sujets ins Auge, insbesondere die der jeweils ersten Raffael-Reproduktion: Die Serie der Kartons beginnt im *Penny Magazine* ja nicht mit dem *Tod des Ananias*, sondern mit »CHRIST delivering the Keys to ST PETER«<sup>55</sup> – und so stellt sich abermals die Frage, weswegen nicht, der »original number of the Cartoons« folgend, deren Nummer »1. Paul preaching at Athens«<sup>56</sup> den Anfang macht? Auch hier verwundert dies um so mehr, als der predigende Paulus sich dafür vorzüglich geeignet hätte – in einem englischen illustrierten Journal, das in London erscheint, wo die Architektur der St. Pauls-Kathedrale weithin sichtbar die trotzig anglikanische Replik auf den Petersdom »formuliert«. Statt dessen aber, mit der *Übergabe der Himmelsschlüssel*, ausgerechnet die Szene, auf die als ihre Gründungsszene sich die römisch-katholische Kirche beruft, in der sie die Einsetzung des Papsttums und die der Kirche als Heilmittlerin sieht (Mt 16,18f.) – während nach anglikanischem Verständnis die Rechtfertigung des Menschen allein durch den Glauben an die Erlösungstat Christi erfolgt.<sup>57</sup>

Warum also bildet im englischen *Penny Magazine*, das die in religiösen Fragen neutrale bzw. zeitgenössisch als säkular wahrgenommene<sup>58</sup> *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* publiziert, just die ultramontan anmutende *Übergabe der Himmelsschlüssel* den Auftakt der Raffael-Kartons? Die Antwort auf diese Frage wird die bisherigen Untersuchungsergebnisse weiter stützen – und sie wird uns auf die Folgerichtigkeit führen, mit der der *Magasin Pittoresque* die *Übergabe der Himmelsschlüssel* durch den *Tod des Ananias* ersetzt.

Der Begleittext zu *Christ delivering the keys to St Peter* liefert einen ersten Hinweis auf den Grund für die Wahl dieses Sujets: nämlich, dessen »papistische« Dimension in deren Darbietung zu unterminieren. Die Szene, die der Karton darstellt, bezieht sich auf zwei Stellen im Neuen Testament: Primär, mit der Übergabe der Schlüssel im Vordergrund, auf die der lichtbeschiedene linke Arm Christi weist, auf Mt 18,16f. – und nachrangig, durch die Schafe im Hintergrund, auf die die verschattete Rechte Jesu deutet, auf Joh 21,15–17. Dieses Verhältnis kehrt das *Penny Magazine* um: »With one hand he [the

55 Ebd., S. 348.

56 Ebd., S. 349.

57 Vgl. den elften der *Neununddreißig Artikel* der anglikanischen Kirche.

58 Vgl. Rosemary Ashton: *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*. In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-59807?rsk=y4SbP4&result=2> (online gestellt 24. Mai 2008; letzter Zugriff 22. September 2018); vgl. auch Jean-Pierre Bacot: *La Presse illustrée au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Une histoire oubliée*. Limoges: Presses Universitaire de Limoges 2005, S. 36.

Redeemer] points to a flock of sheep, symbolically introduced in illustration of the text, ›feed my sheep‹ with the other he consigns the keys to St. Peter, who kneels with devout reverence to receive them.«<sup>59</sup> Die Beschreibung des Kartons beginnt, dessen Titel und Bildkomposition zum Trotz, *nicht* mit dem Bezug auf das Matthäus-, sondern mit dem auf das Johannesevangelium; dieses wird mit ›feed my sheep‹ auch zitiert, während jenes, da man es bei der Beschreibung einer stummen Geste beläßt, nicht zu Wort kommt, seine ›römisch-katholische‹ Botschaft also verschwiegen wird. Damit nicht genug: Mit dem Johannesevangelium erfährt auch dessen Verfasser, der Jünger gleichen Namens (vgl. Joh 21, 24f.), eine Bevorzugung. ›Feed my sheep‹, ›weide meine Schafe‹ – diese Worte richten sich an Petrus, da er auf die dreimalige Frage seines Herrn »Lovest thou me« ebensooft antwortet »thou knowest that I love thee«. <sup>60</sup> Über diese Liebesbeziehung zwischen Erlöser und Protopapst aber verliert das *Penny Magazine* kein Wort; statt dessen betont es die emotionale Bindung zwischen Johannes, »the disciple whom Jesus loved« (Joh 21, 20),<sup>61</sup> und Christus: »St. John, the beloved of Jesus, presses eagerly forward, the veneration he evinces being mingled with an expression of affectionate attachment.«<sup>62</sup> Der Begleittext zu *Christ delivering the keys to St Peter* läßt letzteren also gegenüber Johannes in den Hintergrund treten – und das durchaus auch in Übereinstimmung mit der Bildsprache des Kartons: Petrus kniet zwar im Vordergrund und der auf ihn weisende Arm Christi ist hell beschienen, doch sein Gesicht liegt im Schatten; auf das des Johannes indes fällt Licht, wie auch auf die Schafe, die den Text seines Evangeliums illustrieren, auch wenn nur die verschattete Rechte Jesu auf sie deutet.

Die implizite Reserve gegenüber dem Papsttum, die dem Begleittext zu jenem Raffael-Karton im *Penny Magazine* eingeschrieben ist, wird durch explizite Kritik am Stuhl Petri ergänzt: Sie findet sich kurz vor der *Übergabe der Himmelsschlüssel*, zu Beginn des Artikels »ON MOTION«, <sup>63</sup> und sie zeigt, daß das *Penny Magazine* Vorbehalte gegenüber der römisch-katholischen Kirche nicht zufällig im Hinblick auf einen großflächigen, ungewöhnlich ausgerichteten Ausnahmeholzstich anmeldet. Jener Artikel setzt mit der Bemerkung ein, daß ein unbefangener Leser, wenn man ihn fragte: »How do you know whether you are in motion or not?« – wohl glauben würde, »that we took him for a

59 *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 350.

60 *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated out of the Original Tongues; and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised, by the Special Command of King James I. of England.* Walpole (NH): Whipple 1815, S. 839.

61 Ebd.

62 Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 1 Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 350.

63 Ebd., S. 346.



simpleton«.<sup>64</sup> Indes möge er sich daran erinnern, »that there was a time when this inquiry was judged so important, that the ruling powers of the Catholic Church thought it not beneath them to employ a little force to make their subjects think rightly, that is, with them, in this respect. This happened in the well known case of Galileo.«<sup>65</sup> Im Zeichen von Bewegung ist die Rede von der katholischen Kirche, bevor nur zwei Seiten später mit der ersten Reproduktion eines Raffael-Kartons deren Gründungsszene in den Blick gerät – ebenfalls unter dem Aspekt von Bewegung, da jene Xylographie sich gegenüber dem Schriftsatz um neunzig Grad gedreht präsentiert, so daß die Leser-Betrachter das Journal in Bewegung setzen müssen, um den in Bewegung geratenen Holzstich angemessen ansehen zu können.

Eine zufällige Analogie? Kaum, denn die Erwähnung des ›well known case of Galileo‹ erscheint abgestimmt auf die nachfolgenden drei technischen Zeichnungen, mit denen zusammen sie die Rezeption des so auffällig dargebotenen Raffael-Kartons vorbereitet, um diese in eine antikatholische Richtung zu lenken. Galileo wurde von der Kirche gezwungen, sich zum geozentrischen Weltbild zu bekennen, dazu, daß sich die Erde in Ruhe befinde – und die berühmte Schilderung seines Widerrufs besagt, »that Galileo, as he rose from his knees, [after reading his abjuration of the earth's motion,] stamped on the ground, and whispered to one of his friends, *E pur si muove*, (›It does move though.‹)«.<sup>66</sup> Die technischen Zeichnungen, die dem Hinweis auf Galileo folgen, bieten nun Pendants zu der irrigen kirchlichen Auffassung, daß man sich in Ruhe befinde und bestenfalls andere Gegenstände in Bewegung seien: Die erste Abbildung illustriert den Fall eines Menschen, »who had never seen a sledge«, der sich nun jedoch in einem befindet, und zwar »upon a vast sheet of ice, all of the same colour, and presenting one unvaried appearance as far as the eye could reach«; wenn sich sein Schlitten nun auf dieser Eisfläche in gerader Richtung fortbewegte, ebenso wie »another such sledge, at some distance, [...] with the same velocity, and in the same direction, as his own«, dann gäbe es für ihn »no means of knowing whether the sledge were in motion or at rest«. <sup>67</sup> Ebenso verhielte es sich in dem Fall, den die zweite Abbildung darstellt, wenn beide Schlitten in stets gleichbleibendem Abstand auf einer Kreisbahn gleichen Durchmessers mit gleicher Geschwindigkeit sich bewegten.<sup>68</sup> Und wenn schließlich jener erste Schlitten, dies visualisiert die dritte Abbildung, auf eintönig-unterschiedsloser Eisbahn sich bewegte, ein

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64 Ebd.

65 Ebd.

66 *The American Monthly Review* 3, Nr. 13 (Januar 1833), S. 20 [eckige Klammern im Original].

67 *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 346.

68 Vgl. ebd., S. 347.





Uhrzeigersinn gedreht, so daß sie, von diagonalen Linien dominiert, dynamisch wirken.

Wir haben also Darstellungen einer Instanz vor uns, die ihre eigene Bewegtheit nicht wahrnimmt und die gerade auch insofern in Bewegung geraten ist, als ihre bildliche Darstellung eine spürbare Wendung erfahren hat. Dies nimmt sich nun, vor der Folie der Einführung des Themas Bewegung durch den Hinweis auf Galileo, wie eine wohlkalkulierte Hinführung zur Darstellung von *Christ delivering the keys to St Peter* aus, wie eine Anleitung zu kirchenkritischer ›Lektüre‹ des Holzstichs, der auf der nächsten Seite folgt: Mit ihm haben wir die Gründungsszene der katholischen Kirche vor Augen, die, wie es Mt 16,19 in nachdrücklicher Wiederholung heißt, »on earth«<sup>70</sup> als Heilsinstanz eingesetzt wird, die aber, jenem Menschen im Schlitten analog, ›the earth's motion‹ nicht wahrnimmt. Starsinnig ignoriert sie die Bewegung der Erde, doch ›it does move though‹ – sie, auf der Petrus kniet, bewegt sich doch, sie ist mit der um neunzig Grad gegen den Uhrzeiger gedrehten Xylographie, die das Rotationsmoment der vorhergehenden drei Illustrationen aufgreift und weiterführt, in Bewegung geraten, was im Rezeptionsvorgang erneut geschieht, wenn das illustrierte Journal zum Zweck angemessener Bildbetrachtung gedreht wird.

Das *Penny Magazine* zelebriert seine erste ganzseitige und um neunzig Grad gedrehte Xylographie. Gekonnt nutzt es diese Drehung in ihrem Zusammenspiel mit dem Bildsujet sowie dem illustrierten Text der vorhergehenden Doppelseite, um einen amüsanten Seitenhieb gegen die katholische Kirche zu inszenieren – im Interesse der ›Diffusion of Useful Knowledge‹, von belastbarem astronomischem Wissen. Ein Lehrstück impliziter Bedeutungserzeugung durch verbalvisuelle Syntax, durch eine ›Zusammenordnung‹ von Bild und Schrift, die die Grenzen des einzelnen illustrierten Texts überschreitet und so ein markantes Beispiel liefert für das Semantisierungspotential, das dem Nebeneinander, das dem mutuellen paratextuellen Verhältnis disparat erscheinender Journaltexte inhärent ist.

### *La Mort d'Ananie in der Galerie Nationale des Magasin Pittoresque*

Diese britischen Verhältnisse haben Folgen für die Beurteilung der ersten Reproduktion eines Raffael-Kartons im *Magasin Pittoresque* und damit für die Bestimmung des dortigen Verhältnisses von Bild und Schrift. Die Präsentation des *Magasin Pittoresque*, so hatte sich gezeigt, ist auf einen Vergleich mit

<sup>70</sup> *Holy Bible* 1815 (Anm. 60), S. 753.

ihrem britischen Vorbild hin angelegt, und sie lehnt sich in ihrer typographisch schrift-bildlichen Gestaltung eng an die des *Penny Magazine* an; passend hierzu wird nun deutlich, daß nicht erst im *Magasin Pittoresque*, sondern schon im *Penny Magazine* die betreffende Raffael-Reproduktion sich zusammen mit anderem illustrierten Text auf der vorhergehenden Doppelseite als sinntragendes Ensemble betrachten und lesen läßt. Das erlaubt, grundsätzlich zu folgern, daß Analysen eine gewisse Plausibilität beanspruchen dürfen, die, wie die vorliegende, damit rechnen, daß illustrierte Journale der 1830er Jahre ihre Botschaften (auch) mittels text- und doppelseitenübergreifender Schrift-Bild-Ensembles ›formulieren‹. Und konkret für die Beziehung von *Magasin Pittoresque* und *Penny Magazine* im Fall der jeweils ersten Darbietung eines Raffael-Kartons bedeutet dies, daß der Verweis des *Magasin Pittoresque* auf die englische Herkunft seiner Materialien einen Wink an die Rezipienten darstellen dürfte, die strukturellen Parallelen zwischen der französischen Präsentation und deren britischem Pendant wahrzunehmen. Und wozu sollten Leser-Betrachter dies tun? Doch wohl auch, um konzeptuelle Gemeinsamkeiten und Differenzen zwischen den Journalen auszumachen – also wohl auch, um zu erkennen, daß die erste Präsentation eines Raffael-Kartons im *Penny Magazine* mit dem illustrierten Text der vorhergehenden Doppelseite kooperiert und es sich im *Magasin Pittoresque* ähnlich verhalten könnte.

So gewinnt ein konzeptioneller Leser-Betrachter des *Magasin Pittoresque* Kontur, der die Auffassung weiter stützt, daß der ikonokritischen Perspektive von *Les livres et les images* kaum zu trauen ist. Die Schrift-Bild-Beziehungen im Journal nämlich, deren Wahrnehmung der *Magasin Pittoresque* seinen Leser-Betrachtern im *Penny Magazine* und von diesem her auch auf den eigenen (Doppel-)Seiten empfiehlt, nehmen sich weit komplexer aus, als daß sie sich mit der reduktiven Modellierung der Illustration als Verbalsubstitut und Erziehungshilfsmittel fassen ließen. Auf den eben analysierten Seiten des *Penny Magazine*, wie auch auf denen des *Magasin Pittoresque*, die ihnen korrespondieren, kooperieren Bild und Schrift ja als gleichberechtigte Partner; sie tragen jeweils das Ihre zu einer Aus›sage‹ bei, die weder der Holzstich für sich betrachtet darzustellen noch die Schrift für sich gelesen zu formulieren vermöchte.

Noch immer aber ist ungeklärt, weswegen der *Magasin Pittoresque* die Serie der Raffael-Kartons, entgegen deren ursprünglicher Reihung und anders als das *Penny Magazine*, mit dem *Tod des Ananias* eröffnet. Jetzt zeichnet sich eine Antwort auf diese Frage ab: Nachdem eine Holzstichreproduktion des Ananias-Kartons vorlag, ließen sich die Momente, die die Präsentation von *Christ delivering the keys to St Peter* im *Penny Magazine* bestimmen, dort aber unverbunden nebeneinander stehen, produktiv miteinander verknüpfen – so

daß im *Magasin Pittoresque* nun der erste Artikel zu den Raffael-Kartons zusammen mit dem illustrierten (Kon-)Text, der ihm vorhergeht, ein kohärent komponiertes Ensemble bildet.

Im Zusammenspiel mit dem Bildsujet wird die Drehung der ganzseitigen xylographischen Raffael-Reproduktion im *Penny Magazine* geschickt semantisiert – dieses Manöver allerdings ist nicht, wie dann im *Magasin Pittoresque*, Teil einer Selbstreflexion des illustrierten Journals. Eine solche bietet die Präsentation des ersten Kartons im *Penny Magazine* indes durchaus; sie findet sich, semi-explizit, in den beiden Fußnoten zum Begleittext der *Schlüsselübergabe an Petrus*. Die erste Anmerkung moniert die restringierte öffentliche Zugänglichkeit der Kartons, die sich »at Hampton Court«, damals außerhalb Londons gelegen, in einer »gallery [...] built by King William for their reception« befanden:

The Cartoons are shown [...] to visitors, upon payment of a fee to the person who goes round the apartment. We hope, when the new National Gallery is finished, that they will be removed to London, so that the public may be delighted and improved by their contemplation without the exaction of sixpences and shillings.<sup>71</sup>

Diese vergleichsweise auffällige Klage über das unpassende Eintreiben einer hohen Besichtigungsgebühr<sup>72</sup> bildet den dunklen Hintergrund für die glänzende Selbstpräsentation des illustrierten Journals in einer weiteren Fußnote:

The series of wood-cuts, which we are about to publish in this work, of the seven Cartoons, will, we trust, enable thousands of persons who have never seen the originals, or even engravings of them, to judge of the grandeur and beauty of these noble compositions. Engraving on wood is not unsuited to the boldness of their style.<sup>73</sup>

71 *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 349.

72 *Der Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* 15, Nr. 408 (2. Januar 1830), S. 4, hatte sich in seinem Artikel über *The Cartoon Gallery, at Hampton Court* spürbar dezent geäußert: »The information might be unseasonable, but it may be useful to state that the Cartoons [...] at Hampton Court may be seen any day or hour, on application to the guide, who resides in the palace, and expects a fee«.

73 *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 350.

Das *Penny Magazine* inszeniert sich als Antizipation der noch im Bau befindlichen neuen *National Gallery*:<sup>74</sup> Wenige Monate nach Gründung des neuen Journals hat dessen industriell betriebener Massendruck von Holzstichbildern ein beachtliches qualitatives Niveau erreicht, so daß sich das *Penny Magazine* erstmals an die Reproduktion eines Gemäldes wagen kann, eines Raffael-Kartons und damit eines der »noblest works of art which have ever been produced by human genius«.<sup>75</sup> Dieses Meisterwerk wird aus seiner exklusiven Abgeschlossenheit in Hampton Court, wo sein Genuß einer zahlungskräftigen Klientel vorbehalten bleibt, nach London geholt, um in der Metropole (und andernorts) bereits jetzt, wie später womöglich in der neuen *National Gallery*, von einer breiten, auch weniger finanzstarke Kreise umfassenden Öffentlichkeit rezipiert zu werden.<sup>76</sup>

Die Reproduktion der *Schlüsselübergabe* dient derart einer Selbstreflexion des *Penny Magazine*, die dessen kulturelle Bildungsleistung hervorhebt: daß dieses illustrierte Journal Meisterwerke der Malerei in herausragenden Holzstichen angemessen reproduziert und allgemein zugänglich macht. Auf das Verhältnis von Bild und Schrift bezogen bedeutet dies: Das *Penny Magazine* stellt stolz heraus, daß es Bildwerke xylographisch adäquat wiederzugeben vermag, die über bloße Texterläuterungen hinausgehen – daß es Holzstiche bietet, bei denen sich die dem Konzept der Illustration inhärente Hierarchie umkehrt. Nun dient das Wort dem Bild, »remarks to the Cartoon [...] *Christ delivering the Keys to St Peter*« erläutern den Holzstich, und sie stoßen dabei an die Grenze der Leistungsfähigkeit verbaler Erklärungen: »To enter on an analysis of the style of Raffaele, would far exceed the limits which we can assign to this article«.<sup>77</sup>

Solche Selbstreflexion des *Penny Magazine* aber hat, wie gesagt, mit dem Bildsujet der *Schlüsselübergabe an Petrus* nichts und mit deren Rotation nur wenig zu tun. Natürlich: Ein ganzseitiger, noch dazu um neunzig Grad

74 Sie wurde erst 1838 eröffnet; die Entwürfe Raffaels verblieben jedoch in Hampton Court. Vgl. Opening of the »National Gallery«. In: *Spectator* 11, Nr. 511 (14. April 1838), S. 356f.

75 *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 349.

76 Einen Penny kostete eine Nummer des *Penny Magazine*. Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 7 (12. Mai 1832), S. 64. Die xylographische Galerie der Raffael-Kartons, die mit Nr. 81 (6. Juli 1833) in sieben Nummern vollständig vorlag, war also für 7 d zu haben und damit deutlich preiswerter als das Eintrittsgeld in Hampton Court, das sich ja auf »sixpences and shillings« (1 s = 12 d) belief. Ein Besuch der »National Gallery, to which the public have free access«, war freilich noch günstiger; *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 58 (Monthly Supplement, 28. Februar 1833), S. 73.

77 *Penny Magazine* 1, Nr. 43 (1. Dezember 1832), S. 350.

gedrehter Holzstich bildet, wenn er zudem noch den ersten derartigen in einer Zeitschrift darstellt, bereits als solcher eine ikonophile Stellungnahme zum Verhältnis von Schrift und Bild, von Lektüre und Betrachtung. In dieser Eigenschaft jedoch wird die Ausnahmexylographie im *Penny Magazine* eben nicht ausgestellt, sondern ihre Drehung für eine ganz anders gelagerte Pointe genutzt.

Das ändert sich im *Magasin Pittoresque*, dessen Präsentation des *Tods des Ananias* jene Momente zusammenführt. Die Selbstreflexion des *Penny Magazine* wird, entsprechend nationalisiert, übernommen:

Il est bien peu de personnes, en France, qui aient vu ou qui puissent espérer de voir jamais les cartons que Londres possède : il aura été réservé au *Magasin Pittoresque*, malgré la difficulté de l'entreprise, d'en répandre dans notre pays des milliers d'exemplaires, et de faciliter ainsi l'étude de la pureté et de la simplicité admirable du génie qui a inspiré toutes les grandes compositions de Raphaël.<sup>78</sup>

Der *Magasin Pittoresque* geriert sich als französisches Pendant der journalförmigen »*Galerie nationale*«,<sup>79</sup> die das *Penny Magazine* eröffnet hatte, und wie dieses betont auch er die Grenzen, die dem Wort, das nun im Dienst des Bilds steht, bei der Erläuterung der xylographischen Raffael-Reproduktion gesteckt sind:

Une analyse des beautés de la *Mort d'Ananie* ne nous est pas permise dans cet article, qui dépasse déjà les limites ordinaires : nous sommes obligés de nous borner à transcrire le texte des Ecritures qui explique le dessin.<sup>80</sup>

Solche Reflexion auf die kulturelle Bildungsaufgabe, der sich der *Magasin Pittoresque* verschreibt, sowie auf das Verhältnis von Bild und Schrift im neuen illustrierten Journal, das aus ihr resultiert, erscheint nun mit der Drehung und dem Sujet der betreffenden Xylographie enggeführt. Hier geht die Unterordnung des erläuternden Worts unter das zu erklärende Bild mit einem entschieden logokritischen Einsatz der Bildrotation einher; der raumgreifende Ausnahmeholzstich steigert ja auf einer Jubiläumsseite in markanter Weise den ikonischen Übergriff in den Zuständigkeitsbereich der Schrift, der auf der vorhergehenden Seite zu beobachten war. Und das Verdienst des illustrierten

78 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 101.

79 Ebd.

80 Ebd.

Journals, als eine Art Nationalgalerie ein so wertvolles, im buchstäblichen Sinn außer-ordentliches Bildwerk allgemein mitzuteilen, zu verhindern, daß es nur wenigen Privilegierten zugänglich ist – dieses Verdienst findet nun auch, anders als im *Penny Magazine*, im Bildsujet sein Echo, indem anstelle der *Schlüsselübergabe an Petrus* der *Tod des Ananias* die Serie der Raffael-Kartons eröffnet.

Worum geht es bei diesem Ereignis? In der christlichen Urgemeinde herrscht Gütergemeinschaft:

Toute la multitude de ceux qui croyaient n'avait qu'un cœur et qu'une âme; et nul ne considérait ce qu'il possédait comme étant à lui en particulier, mais toutes choses étaient communes entre eux. [...] [I] n'y avait aucun pauvre parmi eux, parce que tous ceux qui possédaient des fonds de terre ou de maisons, les vendaient, et en apportaient le prix, qu'ils mettaient aux pieds des apôtres, et on les distribuait ensuite à chacun suivant ses besoins.<sup>81</sup>

APG 4, 32–35

Doch nicht jeder stellt seine partikularen Interessen zugunsten des Gemeinwohls zurück:

[U]n homme nommé Ananie [...] vendi[t] [...] un fonds de terre; et cet homme ayant retenu [...] une partie de prix qu'il en avait reçu, apporta le reste, et le mit aux pieds des apôtres. Mais Pierre lui dit : Ananie, comment Satan a-t'il tenté votre cœur, jusqu'à vous faire mentir au Saint-Esprit, et détourner une partie de ce fonds de terre ? [...] Ce n'est pas aux hommes que vous avez menti, mais à Dieu. Ananie, ayant entendu ces paroles, tomba, et rendit l'esprit.<sup>82</sup>

APG 5, 1–5

Ananias ist nicht bereit, auf exklusives Privateigentum zu verzichten und wird dafür bestraft; dieses Bildsujet erlaubt dem *Magasin Pittoresque* bei Eröffnung seiner Holzstichgalerie der Raffael-Kartons eine sozusagen negative performative Pointe: Mit außerordentlichen Xylographien teilt das illustrierte Journal (Kultur-)Güter, deren jeder in unserer (Bildungs-)Gemeinschaft bedürftig ist, allen mit – und demonstriert mit dem *Tod des Ananias* im Akt solcher

81 Ebd.

82 Ebd., S. 102.

wohltätigen Freigebigkeit zugleich, wie verwerflich es ist, der Allgemeinheit das ihr Notwendige egoistisch vorzuenthalten.

Im *Penny Magazine* sowie im *Magasin Pittoresque* gehört der erste Holzstich eines Raffael-Kartons jeweils nicht nur ›seinem‹ Artikel an, sondern interagiert zugleich mit dem illustrierten Text der vorhergehenden Doppelseite. Im englischen Journal wird die Raffael-Reproduktion dadurch zu einem Kreuzungspunkt divergierender Aspekte, zum Schauplatz eines thematischen Auseinanderdriftens, das die französischen Nachahmer später ›beheben‹: Gerade auch dadurch, daß sie dem *Tod des Ananias* den Vorzug geben, gelingt ihnen eine kohärent komponierte mehrseitige implizite Selbstreflexion des illustrierten Journals, die sich weder mit der *Schlüsselübergabe an Petrus* noch mit dem ikonoklastischen Prediger Paulus hätte einrichten lassen.

### Schlußbetrachtung

Dieses selbstreflexive Ensemble illustrierter Texte überblicken wir nun in seiner Vielschichtigkeit: Zunächst modelliert *Les livres et les images* die Illustration explizit als ein subalternes, dem Wort zuarbeitendes bildliches Erziehungshilfsmittel für intellektuell mäßig leistungsstarke Rezipienten – und die Illustrationspraxis des nachfolgenden Artikels scheint solche Perspektive zu bestätigen. Diese Illustrationspraxis allerdings stellt, infolge durchscheinenden Drucks deutlich sichtbar, eine exzeptionelle Durchbrechung des bis dahin streng befolgten alternierenden Satzes dar, mit ihr dringt das Bild in einen Bereich vor, der strikt der Schrift vorbehalten war. Das nährt Zweifel an der Ernsthaftigkeit der vorhergehenden ikonokritischen Darlegungen – Zweifel, die offenkundig begründet sind, denn die folgende linke Seite, kaum zufällig die einhundertste des neuen Journals, präsentiert sich anlässlich dieses Jubiläums weitestgehend schriftfrei: Auf ihr verdrängt eine fast ganzseitige Xylographie, die erste derartige im *Magasin Pittoresque*, das Wort beinahe vollständig; und da dieser Holzstich zudem, ein weiteres Novum, um neunzig Grad gedreht erscheint, beeinträchtigt er überdies die ungestörte Lektüre der Schrift auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite.

Angesichts dessen geraten jene wenig bilderfreundlichen Ausführungen in den Verdacht diskursiver Tarnung, eines bequemen expliziten Lippenbekenntnisses zum traditionellen abendländischen Logozentrismus, um konservative Kritiker zu beruhigen. Die in Frage stehenden (Doppel-)Seiten lassen sich als eine mehrseitige implizite Selbstreflexion ›lesen‹, die unter solchem Schutz keineswegs konventionell die Überlegenheit des Worts postuliert –

sondern vielmehr das neue illustrierte Journal als ein Medienformat ausweist, in dem das Bild und dessen Betrachtung gegenüber der Schrift und ihrer Lektüre eine spürbare Aufwertung erfährt, in dem die herkömmliche Hierarchie von Schrift und Bild hinterfragt, ja tendenziell umgekehrt erscheint.

Und die Chancen standen gut, daß zeitgenössische Leser-Betrachter jene (Doppel-)Seiten als Sinneinheit auffaßten. Immerhin regt der *Magasin Pittoresque* zum Vergleich seiner ersten Reproduktion eines Raffael-Kartons mit deren englischem Vorbild an; und da die entsprechende Präsentation des *Penny Magazine*, an die sich die schrift-bildliche Gestaltung des französischen Pendants eng anlehnt, bereits mit impliziter artikel- und doppelseitenübergreifender Bedeutungserzeugung operiert, lag es nahe, in den betreffenden Passagen des *Magasin Pittoresque* ähnliches zu vermuten. Damit nicht genug: Rezipienten, die vor der Folie jener markanten Gemeinsamkeiten auch der auffälligen Differenz des veränderten Bildsujets nachspürten, konnten zudem wahrnehmen, wie die Entscheidung der französischen Journalmacher für den *Tod des Ananias* dazu beiträgt, der raumgreifenden bilderfreundlich-logokritischen impliziten Selbstreflexion des *Magasin Pittoresque* Kohärenz zu verleihen.

Es lohnt sich also, die explizite Selbstauskunft des *Magasin Pittoresque* in *Les livres et les images* nicht einfach hinzunehmen, sondern in ihrem Umfeld auf zunächst wohl unscheinbar anmutende, im Nachhinein womöglich ›laute‹ implizite Signale zu achten. Diese impliziten Signale – Seitenpaginierung, durchscheinender Druck, Durchbrechung bisheriger typographischer Gepflogenheiten sowie Markierung intertextueller Bezüge – eröffnen die Chance, sich gewinnbringend in ein Netz ungewohnter historischer Kommunikationsstrategien zu verstricken, auf komplexe verbalvisuelle Signifikanten zu stoßen, deren Dechiffrierung man der Rezipientenschaft produktionsseitig offenbar zumutete. Wer jener expliziten Selbstreflexion des *Magasin Pittoresque* konstruktiv mißtraut, erfährt, daß sich das Verhältnis von Schrift und Bild im frühen illustrierten Journal ungleich facettenreicher ausnimmt, als jene unumwundenen Ausführungen vermuten lassen.

Zu solcher reizvollen Komplexität gehört schließlich auch, daß implizite Reflexionen auf das Verhältnis von Schrift und Bild im frühen illustrierten Journal wohl kaum je eine abschließende Position ›formulieren‹. Für die erste xylographische Reproduktion eines Raffael-Kartons und ihr Umfeld im *Magasin Pittoresque* heißt das, daß dieses Ensemble sich nicht darin erschöpft, die explizite ikonokritisch-logozentrische Perspektive von *Les livres et les images* implizit zu attackieren. Es relativiert vielmehr zugleich wieder die mit ihm vertretene logokritisch-ikonophile Gegenposition: Zwar mag nun, angesichts



eines Raffael-Kartons, das Wort dem Bild als Erläuterung dienen – doch das bedeutet auch, daß das Bild, weil eben nicht aus sich selbst heraus verständlich, auf verbale Sinnbeschreibung bzw. Sinneinschreibung angewiesen ist.

Dies betont die Darbietung des *Tods des Ananias* im *Magasin Pittoresque*, wie ein letzter Vergleich mit dem *Penny Magazine* zeigt: Dessen Präsentation des Ananias-Kartons verwendet Bibeltext, der als solcher lediglich durch Anführungszeichen dezent kenntlich gemacht wird, sparsam, überwiegend wird paraphrasiert und nur wenige Zitate werden eingeflochten.<sup>83</sup> Der *Magasin Pittoresque* hingegen zitiert ausgiebig aus der Apostelgeschichte, fast eine halbe Seite füllt hier der »EXTRAIT DES ACTES DES APÔTRES«;<sup>84</sup> und dieser Bibeltext wird nicht nur ausdrücklich als solcher erwähnt, sondern zudem dezidiert in seiner Verbalität und Schriftlichkeit ausgestellt, wenn sich der *Magasin Pittoresque* daran macht, »à transcrire le texte des Ecritures qui explique le dessin«.<sup>85</sup> Mit dieser Formulierung schlägt die Unterordnung des erklärenden Worts unter das zu erläuternde Bild schier ins Gegenteil um: Solche Wortwahl hebt ja hervor, wie sehr auch Meisterwerke der Malerei sowie ihre exzeptionellen xylographischen Reproduktionen im illustrierten Journal, um ›sprechend‹ zu werden, abhängig bleiben von sinntragenden verbalen Äußerungen (›texte«), die durch die Operation des Schreibens (›transcrire«) in Form der – noch dazu heiligen – Schrift (›Ecritures«) vorliegen.

Großflächige, gedrehte Holzstiche mögen wenig bilderfreundliche, wortzentrierte Ausführungen Lügen strafen, sie mögen die Schrift weitestgehend von der Seite verdrängen bzw. ihre Lektüre erschweren; dennoch steht das xylographische Bild, seinen logokritischen Geländegewinnen zum Trotz, nach wie vor unter der Kontrolle der ›heiligen‹ Schrift, des sakralisierten Letternsatzes. Mit dem *Magasin Pittoresque* präsentiert sich das frühe illustrierte Journal derart als Ort, an dem im Modus impliziter Selbstreflexion die spannungsvollen Verhandlungen geführt bzw. die kontroversen Auseinandersetzungen ausgetragen werden, die mit dem Aufkommen illustrierter Journale und Bücher seit den 1830ern zwischen Schrift und Bild anstehen.<sup>86</sup>

83 Vgl. *Penny Magazine* 2, Nr. 58 (Monthly Supplement, 28. Februar 1833), S. 75.

84 *Magasin Pittoresque* 1, Nr. 13 ([4. Mai 1833]), S. 101.

85 Ebd.

86 Zum illustrierten Journal als Ort entsprechender Prozesse vgl. etwa Bucher 2016 (Anm. 1), S. 37, und Madleen Podewski: Abbilden und Veranschaulichen um 1900. Verhandlungen zwischen Texten und Bildern in der ›Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt‹. In: Natalia Igl/Julia Menzel (Hgg.): *Illustrierte Zeitschriften um 1900. Mediale Eigenlogik, Multimodalität und Metaisierung*. Bielefeld: transcript 2016, S. 219–230.

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# Millions of Old Newspapers: Back Number Budd and the Materiality of the Periodical

*Ellen Gruber Garvey*

## Abstract

Robert M. Budd, known as Back Number Budd, was an African American newsdealer who redefined old newspapers: they were not just paper to turn into trunk linings and pulp, but rather a vehicle for information and history to access and organize. He pioneered in a business of buying and selling old newspapers, starting in the 1880s. Budd's redefinition was a crucial step in understanding and using newspapers as a source of data. His clients recognized that they could buy either the physical paper or the movable text. Because he dealt in used newspapers, a low status material, and because he was black, news coverage about him was often ambivalent or disrespectful, even though the fact that he saved and sold old newspapers was flattering to reporters. Budd's understanding of newspapers undergirds our current digital practices.

## 1

What is a pile of newspapers? Is it paper, subject to decay and to be eaten by mice? Or is it a treasure house of information, a record of its times, a trove of valuable resources that can be read, separated from its original paper and ink, then reused and rewritten and reprinted? Of course, it is both. In our current digital environment, our understanding that text is separate from paper and can whiz around on the Internet transformed into many forms and fonts has become intuitive. It was not so easy for nineteenth-century newspaper readers to see this, and this made it difficult for them to understand the value of old newspapers.

Editing and circulation practices have relied on the separation between the text and its material form. In the nineteenth-century United States, articles and poems were frequently copied by other newspapers and recirculated via what were known as exchanges between newspapers. Items were collected by exchange editors. Newspapers called attention to their recirculation practices, heading columns of reprinted items "gleanings," or "from our exchanges" or

attributing an item to another newspaper. Such columns sometimes carried an image of an editor with scissors, asserting that someone had physically cut the item out of a paper newspaper and passed it along to the compositor (see fig. 5.1–5.3). Some columns used just the iconic pair of scissors itself, sometimes grouped with pastepot and paste brush, as though disembodied forces, not editors, had found and cut out an item, physically removing it from one paper and causing its reprinting in another. Exchange practices disrupted the idea that the contents of the newspaper were tied to its date, since the same item might appear months apart in different parts of the country. For all the visual references to the tools for physically manipulating written printed matter, its traces were not present on the page – no cropped corners, no smears of glue. The material form of the original item did not actually matter in reprinting. The typeface and line breaks of the reprinted item would change, and lines might be added, deleted, or edited, as readers were probably aware.

Repackagers of information in the second half of the nineteenth century understood newspapers as something other than its material form. News was becoming more important. As goods and messages traveled at unprecedented speed and volume across the growing country, information spread in ways that made news central to economic and political life. Magazines speeded up content delivery, from annuals to quarterlies, to monthlies to increasing numbers of weeklies. As early as the 1840s there were so many important magazines to keep up with that what were called “eclectic magazines” like *Littell’s Living Age* offered a weekly compilation of articles culled from other magazines. They were the nineteenth-century version of BuzzFeed, Bored Panda, or Digg, compilers that primarily cull from and repackages other media.

While information in newspapers moved through the country with greater versatility, newspapers and magazines themselves were still bulky material



FIGURE 5.1  
Animated paste and scissors.  
Chicago *Inter Ocean* column  
heading, “Scissors and Paste:  
Wheat and Chaff from Our  
Esteemed Contemporaries,”  
June 30, 1895, 23 col. A

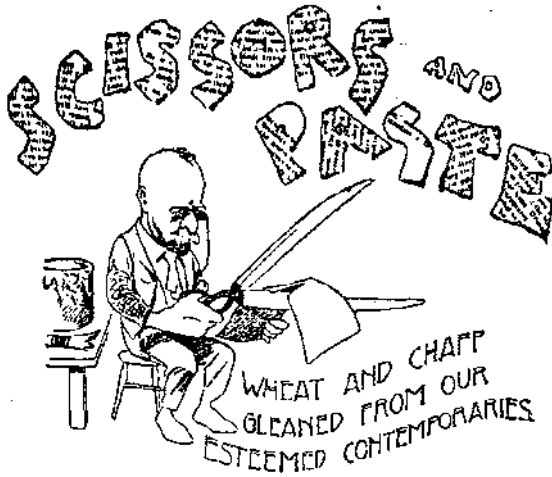


FIGURE 5.2  
Exchange editor with  
the scissors of his trade.  
Chicago *Inter Ocean* column  
heading, "Scissors and Paste:  
Wheat and Chaff from Our  
Esteemed Contemporaries,"  
October 13, 1895



FIGURE 5.3 Editor as sifter. *Baldwin's Monthly*, October 1874, 2

objects. Moving them meant stacking them in weighty piles, transporting them in carts and on trucks. They were tied into bundles, hefted on shoulders, carried in newsboys' bags and satchels, to be rapidly sold or delivered. The bustle that produced the newspaper and moved it along aimed to get its newness into its readers' hands quickly. The freshness of the news it held made the newspaper worth paying for. As the news in them became obsolete, old newspapers seemed to be nothing but material, the paper they were printed on. They piled up, they took up space, and were liable to be eaten by mice or catch fire. Obsolete newspapers could be reused: they were at hand as the proverbial fish wrapping. Old newspapers lined trunks, shelves, drawers, or baskets, or insulated clothing, shoes, bedding, and walls and were cut into dress patterns and quilt backings. They were folded into hats for printers and newsboys; stocked the kindling and outhouse piles; shredded to make papier-mâché goods or put to myriad household uses like cleaning windows and irons.

The physical newspapers also turned into more newspapers. Through the 1880s, most newspapers were still printed on paper made from linen and cotton rags and could be processed into more paper. Old newspaper had exchange value for sale to junk dealers or specialized collectors, to be pulped to create more paper. With a few exceptions – newspapers used as wallpaper, where a room's occupants might read the scraps or look at pictures on the sheets, or newspapers used instead of blank pages for scrapbooks – all of these reuses ignored their printed content.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to newspapers, old magazines had a well-established second life as texts. Subscribers could arrange to have copies bound into sets, often in decorative covers designed by the magazine – including for compilation magazines like *Littell's*. Used bookstores often sold loose or bound magazines. Some libraries kept runs of prominent or local magazines. Although used book dealers did occasionally sell newspapers as runs or bound volumes, scouring used book stores was far from a reliable way to find a particular issue. Each newspaper kept copies of its own publication, but since each city had multiple, sometimes dozens of dailies, traveling from one newspaper office to another was impractical for anyone seeking material from different papers. Private reading rooms that subscribed to many newspapers, such as the Gilpin's Merchants' Exchange Reading Room in New York's Stock Exchange, wanted them for the day's business news, were not attached to them as a historical record and did not keep the papers. Other libraries likewise did not save newspapers until the early twentieth century. Yet one New York dealer made old newspapers

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1 Thanks to the members of the SHARP-L listserv for information on these uses, see Garvey "Paper Recycling."

accessible and searchable. He pioneered in a business of buying and selling old newspapers, starting in the 1880s. Robert M. Budd, known as Back Number Budd because he dealt in “back numbers” or old copies of newspapers, was an African American man who stockpiled millions of papers, organized by date and city.

## 2

Robert M. Budd's career weaves through the movement of print through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His work points to how newspapers were transformed into data and to developing modes of storing and accessing newspaper contents. Budd recognized the value of the newspaper both as data and as concrete, tangible evidence. Budd was born in 1852 in Washington, DC, to free parents. As a child, he had an eye out for making money, and later recounted having held horses for theatergoers outside Ford's Theater. He said he happened to be off duty the night Abraham Lincoln was shot. (He was also a good storyteller.) More regularly, as a youth, he sold newspapers in the camps near Washington, where soldiers were eager for news during the Civil War. He would ride out to the camps and battlefields with fresh papers to sell, sometimes hitching on the wagons used to collect the dead. Newspapers at the time sold for from one to three or four cents. But several weeks after the Battle of Bull Run, soldiers offered him an extravagant three dollars each for his remaining copies of newspaper describing the battles they had been in. From this experience, he understood that people might pay more for old newspaper than new ones.

After the Civil War, he moved to Philadelphia, where he first had an ordinary newsstand selling the day's papers. In the early 1880s, he moved to New York City and opened a newspaper and shoeshine stand in what is now the Greeley Square and Herald Square area of Manhattan, in the West Thirties. He soon added old newspapers, and eventually they displaced the shoeshines and current newspapers. His mode of storing and selling the newspapers depended on their periodicity. They were separated from their newness, but firmly tied to having been published at a specific time even by his method of storing them, which he compared to a calendar, sorting them by date as well as newspaper name. Budd kept what he said were millions of papers and moved from one long, narrow, gaslit basement to another. In at least one location, he had a shopwindow of display boards upstairs. At the time he took up shop in this location, the area was full of hotels like the Gilsey House and the Imperial Hotel, theaters like Wallack's and the Haymarket, and brothels and gambling



houses. As hotels served as landmarks, one of his business cards mentioned that he was “opposite Imperial Hotel.” Most importantly for a business dealing in bulky materials, rents were cheap. The hotels had newsstands and reading rooms in their lobbies where clients read newspapers. Budd bought old and leftover newspapers by the pound from the hotels’ newsstands and cleaning staffs, who might previously have been in the habit of selling to pulp paper dealers.

He moved a number of times until 1905, always in the same area around what became Greeley Square. Budd was already established in the area when the newspapers started moving uptown from Printing House Square near City Hall. As the present-day names Greeley Square and Herald Square might suggest, this area was becoming important to the newspaper trade – Greeley Square was named after Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, and after 1893, the *New York Herald’s* offices were in Herald Square. Budd offered newspaper reporters access to older news articles. They often paid to read his papers on his premises and used his storehouse as a library reading room. Newspaper editors had long understood the medium primarily as text, as a vehicle for writing, but with Budd’s help, these reporters took the practices of scissor-wielding exchange editors a step further. They thus treated the newspaper as a vehicle for data or information. Although they were in a warehouse of old newspapers, they were no longer focused on the material qualities of the newspaper.

The reporters who visited Budd carried away the information they needed in the form of notes to be reprocessed into new articles. If they bought Budd’s papers, it was for the convenience of keeping or transferring the words at a later date – as though they were OCR’ing the material, abandoning the visual information of the text. Because newspaper reporters made use of his premises, they spotted him as an interesting story, and newspapers across the country published articles about him. Reporters were flattered to find that their work was not wrapping fish after all but was preserved for future readers. Budd showed off his collection of rarities, like newspapers printed on wallpaper in the South during the Civil War, or an issue marking the death of General Lafayette in 1834 with turned column rules.<sup>2</sup> His ads referenced newspaper history as well, announcing that he had papers dating back to 1833, which cognoscenti would recognize as the founding date of New York’s first penny paper, *The Sun*.

Some articles focused on how popular their own paper was to his customers. A *New York World* reporter exulted in 1886, “a glance at Mr. Budd’s books ...

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<sup>2</sup> R. W. T., “Back Number Budd.”

serves to indicate something of the wonderful growth of *The World* within the past four years.... From Feb[ruary] 20 to Nov[ember] 30 of the present year, he has sold 5,614 *Worlds*, or nearly twice as many as any other paper on his list.”<sup>3</sup> Magazines even advertised that he collected their issues. The *Amusement Bulletin* boasted that Budd was laying in copies of their weekly for the value of its illustrations.<sup>4</sup> Budd understood the publicity value of the articles and reprinted some on the backs of his stationery and in an advertising booklet he produced.

Racial politics entered into the reporters’ approach to writing about him. Some quoted him using the kind of stereotypical black dialect used in minstrel shows. “Paper am a great ting to stand de fire and water,” the *New York Tribune* reported he said after his business suffered a fire in 1895, as he spread out newspapers to dry.<sup>5</sup> The fact that other journalists quoted him using standard English suggests that the reporters who put his words in dialect were lazily placing Budd into a framework that allowed them to see him as entertainment – more acceptable and less threatening than a black businessman. This framework also allowed them to see his success as accidental and magical, rather than the result of hard work.

Although Budd supplied anecdotes of the high prices he had received for particular issues of newspapers to publicize his success and demonstrate the value of his stock, reporters often framed such anecdotes as a story of Budd creating riches from waste, almost by chance: “He has a business that grows while he sleeps, and grew from almost nothing,” the *Baltimore American* asserted in 1891 in an article whose title, “An Odd Way to Gain Money,” betrays its narrow view.<sup>6</sup> Even though the reporters were flattered by the value assigned to old articles or issues, the habit of both disparaging the work of African Americans and of seeing old newspapers just as waste paper overrode this reporter’s ability to understand that Budd was preserving and offering a searchable historical record.

Budd’s prices also excited hostility. Budd set uniform prices based on the age of the newspapers, with additional charges based on rarity. In 1887, he charged five cents for a week-old copy of most papers, and eight cents for week-old copies of five-cent papers. The price rose to ten cents for month-old papers, and five cents for each additional month; fifty cents for year-old papers, and twenty-five cents for each additional year. Rare papers fetched even higher

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3 “Jake Sharp Buys Old Papers.”

4 See the miscellany column, *Amusement Bulletin*, 10.

5 “Digging in the Ruins,” 17.

6 “Odd Way to Gain,” *Baltimore American*, June 1, 1891.

prices.<sup>7</sup> When a reporter who sought articles from a few months earlier was unable to find them in a library, he was directed to Budd's establishment. Budd located them easily and then shocked him by charging "ten times their original price."<sup>8</sup> Other reporters marveled at Budd's ability to command such prices for papers that had once been worth only a penny and also that he stuck to his rates (an issue surely on the mind of any reporter who had just tried to bargain with him). One sympathetic account noted, "It frequently happens that persons come to purchase papers several years old and expect to get them at face value. When they learn of the advanced price, it is amusing to hear them threaten to complain to the publisher and write to the editor and do other dreadful things, but as a general rule, they end by paying Budd's prices, as they know they cannot procure them elsewhere." Budd, a shrewd businessman who had carved a niche for himself in the market for information, forced everyone, including white men, to accept his valuations, scaled according to his own careful recordkeeping.<sup>9</sup>

Budd took great pride in his business. When he reprinted newspaper articles about himself on the back of his stationery, he excluded the articles that disparaged him by putting his words in minstrel dialect. And he fought back against the claims that his success was magical and accidental. He defended his practices in his advertising booklet published in 1889: "It is often said that my business is a trust, or monopoly, and a swindle, and an outrage because I charge \$2.50 for a copy of any paper 7 years old, which only cost me 1 ½ cents." He explained in great detail how much money he invested in his stock of papers to produce an income of five hundred dollars a year. He summed up, "As can be seen from my Sales from the last 7 years that only one thirty-second ... of the Papers I have are sold, and out of this I must get the money to pay my rents, help and my own work Day and Night. Then would you call this a Trust?"<sup>10</sup> He wanted not only to silence his critics but also to have them acknowledge his innovative and extensive enterprise. His booklet asserts,

Is this not a great enterprise? Does it not deserve Success? Is not my experience in Newspaper Business since 1863 worth at these late dates of my life, a few dollars? or would you have me work during my old age or bad health? I begin to think you all would. But as I have had the enterprise to

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7 "Color Line in Newspapers," *Journalist*, March 19, 1887, 4.

8 "New York Letter," 73.

9 "Color Line in Newspapers," *Journalist*, March 19, 1887, 4.

10 Budd, *Back Number Budd's Directory*, 1–4.

accomplish what no other dealer in the world ever attempted, I can stand being called a trust.... My address can never be forgotten. It is BACK NUMBER BUDD, New York City, USA.<sup>11</sup>

Budd's advertising booklet was titled *Back Number Budd's Directory*, perhaps to lend it more gravitas. It was hardly intended to seduce customers. Rather, it addressed a hostile reader who thought Budd had an unfair monopoly on information – just when the Sherman Antitrust Act was working its way through Congress – and who wanted him to work into old age (as, in fact, he went on to do). Like white writers who imagined lazy black people lounging instead of working and white legislators who enacted the notorious Black Codes of the post-Reconstruction South to enforce freedpeople's labor, Budd's hostile reader could not recognize his hard work. Race shaped this discussion about value, competition, success, and independence. White men rarely would have been required, as Budd evidently felt he was, to show everyone their account books. Budd's careful recordkeeping allowed him to make an argument about his business acumen, but this detailed revelation of his books seems a race-based invasion of privacy.

While reporters for white newspapers who wrote about him usually saw him as a curiosity, for the black newspapers, he offered lessons in successful striving and a rags-to-comfort life. A front-page article in 1889 in the Indianapolis *Freeman: A National Colored Weekly Newspaper*, for example, was headed "Back Number Budd: How a Hobby Was Ridden to Fame and Fortune. The Rise of the Negro in the Business World – Why Mr. Budd Selected the Back-Number Enterprise – The Extent of His Collections – The Lesson His Career Teaches."<sup>12</sup> Unlike most of the white papers, it referred to him as Mr. Budd. It celebrated him as "a wonderful illustration of what results can come from pluck and perseverance" and explained that his work consisted of "collecting, assorting, and selling back numbers of leading daily and weekly newspapers." The *Freeman* thus focused on Budd's activity in creating new value in the newspapers. Writing for a weekly, its reporter singled out Budd's attention to weeklies as well as dailies. It is a telling commentary on the absence of complete collections of nineteenth-century newspapers from archives and libraries – especially black newspapers – that this article survived only because a black historian and scrapbook maker saved it. William Henry Dorsey of Philadelphia, who corresponded with Budd in the 1880s, saved articles about

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<sup>11</sup> Budd, 4.

<sup>12</sup> R. W. T., "Back Number Budd."

him, including this one from the *Freeman*, and another one that has a date but no source.<sup>13</sup>

So much of the writing about Robert Budd is two-sided. On the one hand, it celebrates the existence of this collection, and therefore the ability to find old articles, and on the other hand, it repeatedly claims that the materials gained value by accident, not from Budd's vision and efforts. This grew from his dealing in low-status materials, papers that were otherwise understood as waste. Yet the fact that for decades he continued to have to explain the value of the materials he sold was certainly linked to his lower status as a black man.

### 3

There were many reasons for readers to keep newspapers for their content. But the bulk and ability to consume space of stacks of newspapers made it attractive to access them outside the home or office, particularly in a city where space was becoming more costly. Budd's advertising booklet explained the advantages he offered specific groups who frequently reached back into old newspapers: "Editors, Lawyers, Doctors, Orators, Historians, Writers, Politicians, Reading Rooms, Social Clubs and all others, do not waste your time and room filing papers and only using them twelve times a year, when you can obtain back numbers of all papers for every day in any year from 1833 up to date." The appeal to editors acknowledged and encouraged them to view his collection as a form of off-site storage – both a morgue of their own newspapers and a more expansive assemblage that would allow their work a broader range. Just as reporters paid to read articles on site, because they needed the information but not the physical printed copy, readers could dip in and buy only the copy they needed to work from and not store the rest of the issues.

The second category on the list in this directory, lawyers, occupied a special place among Back Number Budd's clients. Lawyers wanted documentation of dates of events or notices. Notes would not suffice. They needed the materiality of the news item, physical evidence on paper that it had been published on a specific date. Lawyers therefore not only bought the old papers but sometimes paid Budd to swear to a newspaper's authenticity. Budd's anecdotes of high prices paid for particular issues often focused on lawyers – in one case, one who paid forty dollars for two copies of an 1861 paper, while another

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13 Google News Archive has some other issues of the *Freeman*, the first illustrated African American newspaper, but not the issue of January 19, 1889, see <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=FlkAGsgz2eEC>.

complained bitterly about paying three dollars for a paper published in 1877. Back Number Budd conceptualized newspapers as piles of printed paper that would become valuable over time, and that people would buy if the papers were properly sorted and stored so they could access an item from an already known date. How they would know about the item and date was a more difficult problem. Budd attempted to help his clients gain access to more content. When he learned of the existence of a subject index to periodicals, *Poole's Index* in 1888, he wrote to William Frederick Poole, then the head librarian at the Newberry library in Chicago, in an attempt to barter newspapers for a copy of the index. Since *Poole's* covered magazines, not newspapers, it would have been of limited use to Budd's clients if he had gotten it.

Today's newspaper has obvious value: it carries news of the moment and notices of events planned for that day or the day after. When the day is over, it is no longer today's paper, and a new 'today's paper' supplants it on the top of the stack. As it moves further down the stack, it applies less and less to the needs of the day. The papers seem more like a stack of waste, and even the most indolent housekeeper will eventually dispose of them. For both types of users – those who wanted only the content, like the reporters, and the lawyers, who required the physical copy as evidence, as well as those somewhere in between – Budd revised and extended the understanding of the newspapers' value. As one nineteenth-century account of newspapers explained:

A daily paper lasts but for a day; then it is dead and another takes its place. To know how completely a daily paper dies when its day's work is done, so to speak, suppose you try to buy a copy three months old, or a year old. You remember three months ago there were hundreds of thousands of copies printed and distributed. You suppose that you can get a copy at the office of the paper, at any rate. But no; all more than three months old have been destroyed.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps because of Budd's frequent moves, this 1899 writer believed that Budd had gone out of business. While the daily paper's value depended on its freshness and up-to-dateness, the newspaper's place in a daily series, and the readers' sense that they are reading at the same time as others, Budd discovered that there was value in age. Budd, like archivists or special collections librarians, understood that he could not predict what would later interest people.

As his newspapers moved further from the time they were printed, they were further from being new. But their periodicity, their rootedness in time

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14 Cody, *Four American Poets*, 44.

became significant in new ways. The date no longer tied them to the present, but to a historical date. In one sense, Budd freed the newspaper from its connection to time, since buyers were no longer acquiring it for fresh news. But his time-dependent prices and his organizing system, which he frequently described as being “like a calendar,” asserted the importance of time and periodicity. Despite the rags-to-comfort framing of the black newspapers’ accounts of his life, or the white notion that he made money as he slept, his life did not end in riches or comfort. He suffered two fires at his Queens, New York, warehouse – one in 1895 and the second, more devastating, in 1925, when most of his papers burned. But by then, he no longer had a location in Manhattan, near reporters, and most of them assumed he was already out of business.

Reporters no longer depended on him because other institutions had come to recognize the need to keep and offer access to old newspapers. The New York Public Library grew and added newspapers to its collections, so reporters had other sources to work from. More crucially, a growing institution, the clipping service, disrupted the timeliness or time-bound chronological nature of the newspaper to offer clients the information they wanted in morselized and extracted form. Anke te Heesen has written about the newspaper clipping as a modern and modernist object, resulting from a rationalizing and streamlining process, extracting portions of the newspaper and moving them along.<sup>15</sup> Clipping services that began in Europe in the 1880s, after Back Number Budd’s business started, became a force in the United States, coexisted with him and then outlasted him.

Robert Budd died on April 9, 1933. Ironically, for a man whose work was so dependent on the dates of events and of articles about them, two articles about him and his business appeared after his death, describing him as though he were still alive.<sup>16</sup> I have found no obituaries. Now that we can easily separate the text from the paper it was printed on and access it in electronic form, astonishing new projects using periodicals have been developed. These sometimes lead us to imagine that all periodicals are digitized and available, and what is not digitized does not matter. But Robert M. Budd’s massive collecting and loss reminds us of the fragility of those original sources. For many newspapers and magazines there are no extant copies. If only we could time travel to before those fires that destroyed his collection. If only we knew what happened to what was left of Budd’s collection of papers when he died.

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<sup>15</sup> See Heesen, *Newspaper Clipping*.

<sup>16</sup> “‘Back Number’ Budd, Famed Collector of Old Papers,” 14; “‘Back Number’ Budd Now a Back Number,” 10.

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**III**

*Multimodality*

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# Multimodality

*Oliver Scheiding*

Periodicals are distinct multimodal (print) objects. They combine text, photos, illustrations, infographics, data visuals, and typographic design to communicate with their audiences. Apart from conveying the message of an issue or a feature through a series of printed texts and images alone, periodicals communicate ideas graphically. Newspapers with well-branded magazine supplements like the *New York Times* develop their own creative model to give their content a visual dimension. Alongside media changes that have occurred over decades and integrated different media technologies like print and digital modes of communication, periodicals have moved from telling to showing the world. For making text and image work together, they rely on interacting modes or culturally shaped resources like color, sound, typeface, paper, and ink. For example, a magazine's front cover may link up four modes: the magazine's name, a specific background color, a portrait or documentary shot, and fluorescent inks for the cover headline. The cover is a multimodal compound or semiotic unit that combines verbal and visual modes to create meaning. It serves as a representation of a specific idea or concept that is framed by a set of compositional functions. The multimodal cover design ultimately invites interaction between what the visual or cover story conveys and the support of that position by a reader who needs to take seriously into account the meaning the cover represents.

Mainstream publishing and newsstand magazines frequently use the front cover as a distinct multimodal genre that grabs the reader's attention to buy the magazine. Less driven by the sales pitch of the front cover design or the business model of a global media company, independent magazines have more freedom to experiment with multimodal designs to maintain their visual dimension. They engage the digital through producing magazines as hybrid off-line manifestations or by combining multimedia elements into a magazine structure, which involves creating and curating video and/or audio, as well as designing a layout to best present the information. Their multimodal creative models engender a new aesthetics, or a postdigital neo-analogue, unfolding in print a complementary aesthetization of computational modes of communication. Multimodality serves independent creators to map out the messy state of media, arts, and design after their digitization. Instead of swipeable Instagram posts and browsing thumbnails on Twitter, their multimodal magazines provide a creative yield calculated to affect people. As semiotic-imaginary

artifacts they intend to arouse feelings of identification or to change people's lives, and their visual components produce affection for distinct lifestyles and subjectivities or give voice to discriminated social groups. Independent magazines in general offer different, often shocking, points of view on a wide range of topics. Both their themes and their multimodal design capture alternative modes of world-making and the social discourses related to them. They foster intimate connections between their producers and readers that are made possible by the multimodality of the magazine medium.

Multimodality invites us to analyze a periodical in its entirety as it consists of different levels of modes, genres, and discourses. The chapters in this section rethink multimodality by reassessing the coagency of representation, composition, and interaction. They propose a multimodal reading of periodicals as an organic complex whose affective dimension depends upon the smell of the ink, the sound of the page, the texture of paper, the typographical and visual design, engaging our organ senses. In addition to how humans sense paper and become tied to it, they also suggest that the magazine's semantic-semiotic frame differs from digital media's hyper attention, affording an experience of deep attention concentrating on a single object for a longer period. Hans-Martin Rall and Wibke Weber advocate a multimodal approach to visual storytelling, underscoring the semiotics of design, which fundamentally affects the meaning making in recent forms of visual-prone journalism. Contemporary lifestyle magazines serve Sabina Fazli as source material for an investigation into the affect- and atmosphere-producing mechanisms of periodical publishing. Integrating design-related aspects, materiality, and reading, she illustrates how magazines may be conceptualized as "affect generators" (Andreas Reckwitz). Abby Hohenstatt finally undertakes a close reading, using an independent international dance magazine for her examination of a periodical's visual identity formation. *A Dance Mag* (2018–), she argues, is a community-oriented print product that employs circular design elements to indicate movement and connectedness, thus going beyond a mere aesthetically pleasing, decorative function.

# The Semiotic Work Design Can Do: A Multimodal Approach to Visual Storytelling

*Wibke Weber and Hans-Martin Rall*

## Abstract

In this chapter, we address an area that has received little attention in journalism studies so far: the visual design and its semiotic work in journalistic storytelling. In recent years, periodicals have become increasingly multimodal and particularly visual. We are witnessing a shift from text-based pages to a multimodal news design with alternative forms of content presentation, new layout variants, and a general trend to more visual storytelling. Using the theory of social semiotics and taking a multimodal approach, we analyze how design is giving meaning to a journalistic artifact. In a case study using a printed newspaper, we demonstrate how design can shape and influence the message. Our essay provides an analytical framework that comprises three levels: the level of modes, of context, and of discourse. The framework contributes to a systematic understanding of the ongoing changes in visual communication in periodical cultures.

## 1 Introduction

The design of printed newspapers has changed significantly. We observe a visualization of newspaper culture moving away from monomodal, that is text-based, forms of storytelling towards alternative and multimodal forms of storytelling. Nowadays, much more emphasis is put on visual elements. One trend coming from Northern Europe is “designing newspapers to look like magazines.”<sup>1</sup> Topics are often presented on double-page spreads, where the message is conveyed through the multimodal interplay between verbal and visual elements; texts, photographs, diagrams, illustrations, infographics, and design – not to mention the multimodal possibilities offered by new technologies, for instance, augmented reality in newspapers by using a cell phone or a tablet to bring stories alive. In other words, in periodical culture, writing

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1 Küpper, “Newspaper Trends 2018.”

is no longer the central means of conveying meaning. The visual language – for a long time regarded as a mere decoration or packaging in journalism – has come to play an ever more important role for shaping the meaning of an artifact.<sup>2</sup> Today, the role of design comprises more than providing cohesion and coherence through visual-rhetoric devices such as composition, style, or color schemes; design has become a crucial part of storytelling.<sup>3</sup> Every mode, for instance, text, image, color, layout, typography, and the combination of these modes are essential for the reader's understanding.<sup>4</sup> As the judges of the World's Best Designed Newspaper competition remark: newspapers are a “wonderful symphony of journalism that is created by combining text, design, photography, graphics and illustration.”<sup>5</sup>

Of course, we are well aware that design has always been present on newspaper pages, particularly in the form of typography, color, and layout; however, since design elements in newspapers are more prevalent nowadays, they are becoming a mode of their own, and thus, increasingly contribute to the meaning-making process. Therefore, we argue that the meaning of a story is not only communicated by the text in itself, but by its entire visuality, that is, “how it is *realised* visually”<sup>6</sup> or as Robert Waller puts it: “We should not forget that documents are more than linear text. They are multimodal juxtapositions of elements whose spatial relationship may be every bit as intentional, essential, and effective as the order of words in sentences.”<sup>7</sup> In view of this visual prevalence, it is striking that only a few scholars have started to study the role of design in journalism.<sup>8</sup> “While photojournalism has been taken more seriously, other visual aspects of news and journalism have tended to be sidelined as mere packaging.”<sup>9</sup>

In the following sections, we will address this neglected aspect and draw attention to the growing role of visual design and its semiotic resources. We will use an “integrated multimodal approach”<sup>10</sup> that connects design with other modes (text and images) and places design into its broader context. Our

2 Weber and Rall, “Design and Journalism,” 313–18; see Küpper, “Newspaper Trends 2018” and Küpper, “Das Besondere suchen,” 16–19.

3 Klanten and Kouznetsova, *Newspaper Design*.

4 Quinn, “Trends Noticed by the Print Judges.”

5 Wile, “World's Best Winners in Print.”

6 Machin and Polzer, *Visual Journalism*, 1.

7 Waller, “Graphic Literacies,” 202.

8 See Ledin and Machin, *Doing Visual Analysis*; Jewitt and Henriksen, “Social Semiotic Multimodality,” 145–64; Machin and Polzer, *Visual Journalism*; Ananny and Crawford, “Liminal Press,” 192–208.

9 Machin and Polzer, *Visual Journalism*, 1.

10 Van Leeuwen, “New Forms of Writing,” 130.

contribution aims to bridge the academic fields of linguistics, journalism, and editorial design by linking multimodality and social semiotics to the field of design (sections 2 and 3). On the *level of modes*, we will examine the inter-relationship of the semiotic modes with a focus on the role of design using a printed feature story on the First World War – published in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (NZZ) in 2014 – as a case study (section 4). Following this multimodal analysis, we then extend our investigation to *context* and *discourse* (section 5). The chapter concludes with a summary (section 6). Our multimodal approach to visual storytelling seeks to advance understanding of the ongoing changes in visual communication in periodical cultures.

## 2 Social Semiotics and Multimodality

Social semiotics and multimodality are a growing research field. Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen are regarded as the pioneers in this field<sup>11</sup> and many scholars have contributed to refining, enhancing, but also criticizing this theoretical approach. Social semiotics investigates how people communicate: how they make signs, how they use semiotic resources and regulate their use in the context of specific social practices and institutions, in communities or cultures to achieve specific aims. Social semiotics also investigates the conventions and rules of this use as well as modifications and changes.<sup>12</sup> So, writing, advertising, or design can be seen as social practices that are influenced by the interest of the sign-makers in a specific context. Social practices are inextricably intertwined with discourses – the ways we think and talk about the world and act in it.

The sine qua non for social semiotics is that communication is multimodal, that is, it consists not only of language but always of various modes.<sup>13</sup> Mode is understood as “a set of resources, shaped over time by socially and culturally organized communities, for making meaning.”<sup>14</sup> Writing, image, sound, speech, gesture, but also 3D objects and color are examples of modes. Each mode consists of a set of semiotic resources. For instance, writing has words, word classes, clauses, sentences, and grammar; on a text level we have paragraphs and blocks of writing. Furthermore, writing has a set of graphical

11 See Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Multimodal Discourse*; Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*; Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*.

12 Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 4–6.

13 Kress, *Multimodality*; Bezemer and Jewitt, “Multimodal Analysis,” 180–97.

14 Jewitt, Bezemer, and O'Halloran, *Introducing Multimodality*, 15.



resources such as punctuation marks, font, size, or line spacing. The semiotic resources designers and illustrators use for making meaning are, for instance, colors, light, shade, lines, points, areas, size, shape, spacing, positioning, or alignment – to mention just a few.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, modes have a set of affordances, that is, their potential uses, materiality, inherent logics, and constraints. What can be communicated easily with the resources of the visual mode might not be expressed in the verbal mode in the same way.<sup>16</sup> Writing can name things and arrange words into sentences in order to express causality, coherence, and logic, whereas images and design can provide visual evidence, can make things immediately visible and visualize complex information so that the users are able to grasp the message at a first glance. Traditionally, journalists make use of the semiotic inventory of linguistics to reach their goal, whereas the community of designers employ the inventory of visual stylistic devices.<sup>17</sup> “Almost everything we do or make can be done or made in different ways and therefore allows, at least in principle, the articulation of different social and cultural meanings.”<sup>18</sup>

Modes answer the questions: “How is the world best represented and how do I aptly represent the things I want to represent in this environment?”<sup>19</sup> Therefore, multimodality goes beyond traditional semiotics extending multimodality and modes “to necessarily include material and discursal facets.”<sup>20</sup> We argue that in the course of media convergence, graphic designers and journalists working together in the social environment of a newsroom must know the different semiotic inventories relevant to newspaper design; they must understand how meaning emerges from the combination of the various semiotic resources, modes, and their affordances. They must be aware of the fundamental shift in journalism and periodical cultures, namely that design – or generally speaking visuality – has become a part of journalistic storytelling. This kind of “new writing,” as Van Leeuwen calls it, “integrates writing and image in new ways and increasingly blurs the distinction between the two.”<sup>21</sup> Ledin and Machin even speak of “‘integrated design’ of which language is one semiotic material.”<sup>22</sup> In our case study, we will exemplify what new writing respectively integrated design means.

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15 Horn, *Visual Language*; Bertin, *Semiology of Graphics*; Van Leeuwen, *Language of Colour*.

16 Kress, *Multimodality*, 84–88.

17 Kress, 84–88.

18 Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 4.

19 Kress, *Multimodality*, 116.

20 Bateman, *Multimodality and Genre*, 135.

21 Van Leeuwen, “New Forms of Writing,” 132.

22 Ledin and Machin, *Doing Visual Analysis*, 8.

### 3 Multimodal Analysis

Social semiotics and multimodality provide a set of tools that, applied to visual communication, “brings the possibility of a more systematic and critical approach to visual communication.”<sup>23</sup> It moves away from describing artifacts only in an aesthetic way and enables us to systematically break down an artifact into its major semiotic modes, resources, and materials with the aim to analyze the interplay of text, image, and design and to place the artifact within its context of use and discourse. For that, we use the three metafunctions that stem from systemic functional linguistics (SFL). These three metafunctions are:

- (1) the ideational (also called representational) metafunction that communicates something about the world – the world around and inside us, like actions, states, or events. The ideational function is linked to the question: What content is represented, what excluded? How is content organized semantically? How can the content be classified, for example, in terms of text or image types?
- (2) the interpersonal (or interactive) metafunction that says something about those involved in the communication – the relationship between the author(s) and the audience. This leads to our second question: How is the content presented to the reader, for instance, factual or sensational, neutral or subjective? What attitudes are communicated? What does the design reveal about the relationship or power relations between the author(s) and the audience?
- (3) the compositional (or textual) metafunction that refers to how the other two functions are interwoven to produce a coherent whole. This leads to the third question: How is the content or the page composed to make a meaningful whole from the single units?

In SFL, all signs serve these three metafunctions in order to work as a system of communication. This stance has been adopted in the field of multimodality and social semiotics in such a way that “all semiotic modes serve all metafunctions.”<sup>24</sup> However, it is debatable whether all modes of an artifact must serve all metafunctions in the same way. We agree with Andersen, who relativizes: “You could say that in multimodal communication we always need

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<sup>23</sup> Machin and Polzer, *Visual Journalism*, 13.

<sup>24</sup> Andersen, “Metafunctions”; Djonov and Knox, “How-to-Analyze Webpages,” 171–93; Kress, *Multimodality*, 79–102.

the three metafunctions, so that all three are present in any act of multimodal communication, but which metafunctions is mostly or solely carried by which kind of mode in the mix may differ.”<sup>25</sup>

With this in mind, we do not regard the three metafunctions as a grammatically organized system, but as a useful heuristic tool for analyzing multimodal artifacts. In order to gain insights into the context, we will also consider the social practices the artifact is inevitably linked with: the canons of use. According to Machin and Ledin, “canons of use accounts for a different level of instances of communication than the semiotic resources (for example, the actual contents of a photograph).”<sup>26</sup> They define canons of use as “traditions of use of such instances along with the kinds of semiotic resources that tend to be employed in them,”<sup>27</sup> “how things tend to get done and what kinds of materials we choose to do so.”<sup>28</sup> So our fourth question addresses the context of the artifact:

- (4) What established canons of use can be identified in association with which kind of discursive practices?

The aim of our case study is to show what is communicated particularly through the mode of design, thus highlighting the semiotic work design can do. The limitation of the multimodal approach is that it is mainly focused on the product and production process of an artifact and less on its reception.

#### 4 The Case Study

As a case study, we choose the feature “Der Grosse Krieg” (The Great War).<sup>29</sup> It was published in the *NZZ am Sonntag* (May 4, 2014), the Sunday edition of the Swiss newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, on the occasion of the centenary of the beginning of the First World War in 1914 (fig. 6.1). The feature was awarded the European Newspaper Award 2014 (Award of Excellence) and can be seen as a representative example of the current trend in newspaper design: a trend to multimodal storytelling with a focus on visually.

25 Andersen, “Metafunctions.”

26 Ledin and Machin, “Doing Critical Discourse,” 5.

27 Ledin and Machin, 5.

28 Ledin and Machin, *Doing Visual Analysis*, 38.

29 Furger et al., “Der Grosse Krieg,” 20–23.

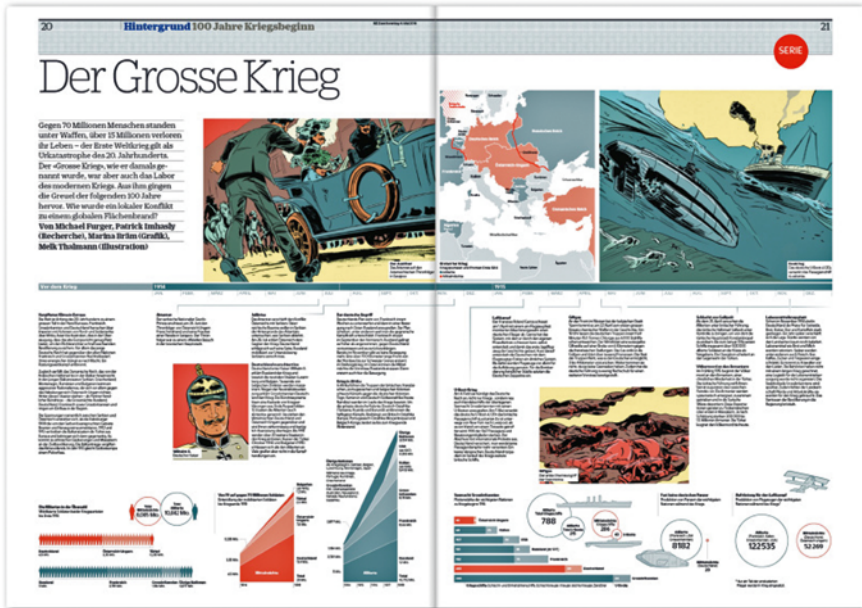


FIGURE 6.1 Feature “Der Grosse Krieg”

© NZZ AM SONNTAG, MAY 4, 2014, BY MICHAEL FURGER, PATRICK IMHASLY, MARINA BRÄM (INFOGRAPHIC), MELK THALMANN (ILLUSTRATION), 21–22. USED WITH PERMISSION

#### 4.1 *The First Impression*

Since our material was published in a newspaper, it is obvious that the context is journalism. It was published in the section “Hintergrund” (Background), which points to background analyses and reports on major topics that are newsworthy and relevant to society. The section title, “Hintergrund: Hundert Jahre Kriegsbeginn” (“Background: 100 Years Beginning of War”), suggests a specific social practice: a detailed report with documentary character illustrated by historical black and white photographs. However – and this is surprising – no photographs are provided at all. The feature extends over two double-page spreads and contains text modules, a timeline, diagrams, maps, and illustrations. The illustrations are colorful pictures in a style that is reminiscent of comics.<sup>30</sup> This is all the more surprising since the *NZZ* has a high reputation in the Swiss newspaper market and is known for its seriousness and

<sup>30</sup> We are referring to the use of black outlines (‘inking’) to delineate characters and environments combined with the use of flat colors. The sequential structure and the similarly spaced picture frames show further similarities to a traditional comic (although we cannot call the whole feature a comic).

well-researched reports. Even though readers may expect a more magazine-like presentation of the First World War because it is the Sunday edition, the feature differs strikingly from the *NZZ* newspaper style that readers are familiar with: It breaks with the social practices of traditional journalism, that is, using text as the main means of conveying news. Instead, the focus lies on visual storytelling. We will return to this aspect in section 5. In the following paragraphs, we will analyze the feature according to the three metafunctions.

#### 4.2 *The Ideational Meanings*

The topic of the feature is the First World War. Along a timeline, the feature covers the background and origin of the war and its progress, important dates and milestones that have led to the disaster, battles, military factors, equipment, weapons, political and military alliances, economic effects, financial costs, peace treaties, the number of casualties, and aftermaths. The content is represented in three zones (fig. 6.2):

1. The first third of the spread depicts the story in the form of illustrations and thematic cartography (visual mode). The illustrations in comic style portray milestones of the First World War such as the trigger of the war (the assassination of Austria's Archduke Ferdinand) and the Battle of Verdun. The captions embedded in the illustration name the events depicted in the illustrations. The map shows the countries that participated in the war.
2. The second zone contains single units of text with subheadings representing the milestones of the First World War (written mode). The text units do not result in a coherent body copy but are arranged as modules and can be classified as short summaries of the respective milestones. They are linked to a timeline and illustrated by smaller pictures in the same comic style as the illustrations in the first content zone.
3. The last third deals with the visual-numeric mode.<sup>31</sup> The figures of the war are depicted in data visualizations: bubble, pie, area, and bar charts. They provide quantitative information about the war, for instance, the casualties, the size of the troops, the allies, warships of the countries involved in the war, and so on.

What attracts the reader's attention is the design of the whole page. The producers did not use a traditional layout of text columns. They designed the page as a big information graphic with the timeline as a backbone. It is not a text-heavy page illustrated by photographs of those years what readers might have

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<sup>31</sup> Engebretsen and Weber, "Graphic Modes," 277–95.

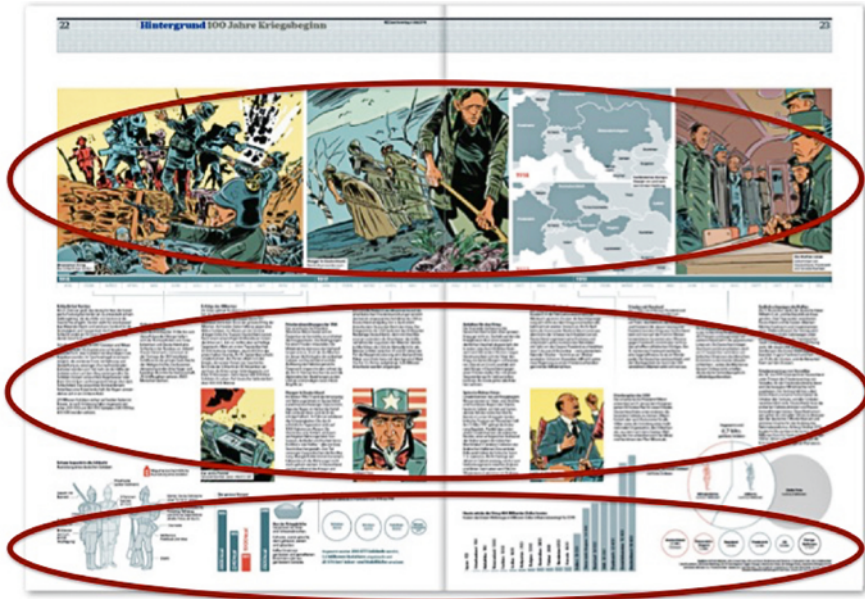


FIGURE 6.2 Three zones of content with different visual styles

© NZZ AM SONNTAG, MAY 4, 2014, BY MICHAEL FURGER, PATRICK IMHASLY, MARINA BRÄM (INFOGRAPHIC), MELK THALMANN (ILLUSTRATION), 22–23. USED WITH PERMISSION

expected. Photographs have been intentionally excluded, as the production team told us. Instead, the reader is surprised by illustrations in comic style, data visualization, and a fresh, modern and catchy look due to the color.

### 4.3 *The Interpersonal Meanings*

The communicative purpose of the feature is to inform and to explain, to provide facts and figures, and to recall the disaster of the First World War. The white space provides lightness and enough room for reflection. The font of the copy, a sans-serif typeface, which is not the usual font of the newspaper *NZZ am Sonntag*, underpins the effect of lightness and appears modest and informative. The content zone of data visualization has a clear layout which might be associated with soberness, clarity, and an aura of objectivity.<sup>32</sup> The colors used in the diagrams and maps are soft colors, shades of blue, red, and grey, which correspond with the coloring of the illustration. The data visualizations and graphics can be read as explanations and visual arguments that

32 Kennedy et al., “Work That Visualisation,” 715–35.

corroborate the text units. The text is written in a concise and sober style, fact-oriented, and descriptive. It is modularized in short text portions, which are connected to the timeline. The subheadings are very short, consisting of one or two words that indicate the milestones of the First World War.

The attitude communicated in the diagrams differs strikingly from the attitude shown in the illustrations in comic style. While the design of data visualizations communicates a fact-based, objective, and sober attitude, the illustrations stand for emotion, drama, and disaster. The stylistic devices are typical comic-specific resources like motion lines, distorted perspectives, and strong brushstrokes that provide motion, energy, and action. Here, the visual mode expresses the dramatic side of the war and conveys the human aspect of the story to the reader. It works as a counterbalance to the soberness shown in the data visualizations and the text. Of course, the data visualizations are also designed in a subjective style, but this is less obvious because of the abstract forms, geometric shapes, common diagrammatic types such as bar and pie charts, and the reduced use of colors.

In summary, we can identify two opposing attitudes: (i) On the one hand, we have soberness, logical reasoning, and an aura of scientific objectivity in the visual-numeric mode; in addition, fact-based storytelling in the textual mode. (ii) On the other hand, we recognize emotion, drama, exaggeration, dynamics, and a subjective style because of the artistic interpretation, which is – to a certain degree – associated with fictional storytelling.<sup>33</sup> The various design styles create a whole that is larger than the sum of its parts: the facts are presented in a more neutral design style (maps, data visualizations) combined with the more expressive and personalized artistic account (comic-style illustration). In that way, a multiangled perspective of the content is presented – a holistic view that could not be achieved through the isolated use of any of the visual or verbal elements present.

#### 4.4 *The Compositional Meanings*

Kress and Leeuwen suggest three principles how verbal and visual elements interact to make a multimodal artifact a coherent whole: framing, salience, and information value:<sup>34</sup>

*Framing* is defined as “the principle by which any semiotic entity (for example, a text) is given internal unity and internal coherence.”<sup>35</sup> Visual resources

33 Weber and Rall, “Authenticity,” 376–97.

34 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 183.

35 Bezemer and Kress, “Framing.”

that provide internal coherence are, for instance, lines, borders, spacing, and colors. In our case study, we find the same range of colors in the illustrations, the graphs, and the timeline. Lines connect the dates of the timelines to the subheadings of the text units. White spaces and thin lines separate the different elements. The layout is clearly structured; the various elements are neatly arranged without a given reading path. Rather, readers are invited to explore the page. Only the timeline suggests a possible starting point for the reading process. Not only does the timeline work as a backbone for the entire double-page spread, it also links the dramatic part – the illustrations – to the text, thus creating a coherent entity. By doing so, the feature also references the central narrative technique of comics: sequential storytelling. While the single illustrations are not clearly delineated as telling an ongoing story through “comic panels,” the timeline nonetheless suggests a narrative sequence (to a degree) and influences the perception of the story.

*Salience* refers to how the attention of the readers is achieved, for example, through size, color, tone, focus, perspective, contrast, repetition, etc. The most visually salient elements that capture the reader’s attention immediately are (i) the headline and the lead and (ii) the illustrations in comic style. Especially the illustrations work as eye-catchers and seduce the audience to read the text. Regarding typography, we find a hierarchy from the headline (in large font) to the lead (smaller font) to the subheadings of the text (bold font) to the units of text (small font, sans-serif).

While the notions of *framing* and *salience* are plausible, the notion of *information value* has been discussed controversially among scholars.<sup>36</sup> *Information value* refers to the placements of elements in the visual space. This concept proposes that different content zones – left/right; top/bottom; center/margin – have particular meanings, namely, given/new, ideal/real, and important/less.<sup>37</sup> The critique is that “Kress and van Leeuwen are concerned to establish a link between compositional choices and ideological import.”<sup>38</sup> What we could identify in our case study in relation to information value is that there is a strong contrast between top and bottom respectively, ideal and real. Looking at the page from the top to the bottom, the unconventional, surprising elements – the illustrations in comic style – are placed on the top. The upper section creates “emotive’ appeal,” while the lower section “tends to be

36 Waller, “Graphic Literacies,” 177–204; Bateman, *Multimodality and Genre*, 44.

37 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 186–211.

38 Bateman, *Multimodality and Genre*, 44.



more informative and practical.”<sup>39</sup> The upper section has the power to arouse emotions and to immediately make the audience connect with the story. In contrast, on the lower section of the page, we can find those elements – the information graphics and diagrams – that provide facts and numbers. The horizontal axis that bridges the opposition between top and bottom is the timeline.

This multimodal analysis with a focus on the semiotic work of design outlines exemplarily how a complex artifact can be studied. As our analysis has shown, the meaning of multimodal artifacts is made not only by text and images but also by design. So far, our multimodal analysis has addressed only semiotic modes and resources, that is, the inner form. In the following section, we link our findings to the contextual level: the outer form.

## 5 Context Analysis

In order to fully understand the meaning of an artifact, we need to treat artifacts as “material wholes”<sup>40</sup> and place them in their contexts, that is, the canons of use. With the following context analysis, we will answer the fourth question: What canons of use can be identified?

### 5.1 *Production Process*

The production team of the analyzed material consists of two journalists, one graphic designer, and one illustrator. As the producers told us, the feature was designed on a visual basis in the first place, starting with the timeline, the graphics, and the illustrations. It was the graphic designer who was responsible for the conception and design of the whole artifact. This is unusual, since in traditional print journalism the journalists usually have the leading role in the production process and the designers only deliver their parts. However, with regard to multimodal storytelling, teamwork is key. Teamwork becomes even more important when we consider the material and the affordances of digital interactive artifacts devised for the small screens of cell phones or tablets. Thus, we argue that designers and journalists – and also programmers when it comes to digital artifacts – should have a mutual understanding of the semiotic resources, the affordances of the various modes, and the different ways of thinking. If so, the communities of journalists and designers will be better

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39 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 193.

40 Ledin and Machin, “Doing Critical Discourse Studies,” 6.

positioned to master the challenges of new fields in periodical culture such as animated news, augmented reality or even virtual reality in journalism.

## 5.2 Genre

The artifact analyzed is a hybrid form of text units, timeline, visualizations, and illustrations. This hybrid form cannot be classified as a typical newspaper genre. Even more, it crosses the borders of genres – something between feature, information graphic, and documentary – and mixes journalistic storytelling with literary elements. Mikhail Bakhtin, who transferred the term hybridization to cultural studies, defines a hybrid form as “a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor.”<sup>41</sup> This hybridity becomes immediately obvious only by looking at the visual mode: the reader is faced with reality and facts in the form of data visualization, and with fiction and imagination in the form of illustrations, which show a subjective component even though they are based on original material of that time.

As Weber and Rall delineated for comics journalism, the subjectivity becomes apparent in the graphic style.<sup>42</sup> Traces of the author can be found in the stylistic conventions and semiotic resources of expression like mark making (the different lines, patterns, and textures in an artwork, for example, graphic lines), hand-written lettering, the size and shape of the panels, the color design, or the page layout. Fig. 6.3 shows two different styles of the same motif: one picture with a fine and marginally varied outline like in a technical drawing (left side) and the other picture with varied brushstroke effects and minimal artistic details (right side). The latter style conveys more atmosphere, appears more subjective, and leaves more room for interpretation, whereas the graphic style in the first example focuses more on showing the facts through detailed illustration – similar to a photograph.

The main question for the production team in our case study was whether the mixture of two different styles (or languages) – illustrations in comic style and data visualizations based on figures – would be suitable for presenting a historical topic like the First World War or whether the whole artifact runs the risk of being perceived as unreliable and untrustworthy due to the striking illustrations.

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41 Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 358.

42 Weber and Rall, “Authenticity,” 384.



FIGURE 6.3 Two variations of the same motif  
ILLUSTRATION AND COPYRIGHT: HANS-MARTIN RALL

### 5.3 *Canons of Use*

Many readers may associate the comic style with graphic novels, and thus with fictional storytelling but not with journalism, and therefore skip the page. Graphic novels, as a specific subcategory of comics, often strongly rely on accounts of facts from subjective points of view. There is a plethora of autobiographical graphic novels where this idea takes center stage and the subjective intent of the narrative is expressed through the design of the drawings.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the subjective perspective of the illustrations undermines the journalistic norm of objectivity.<sup>44</sup> So, how can journalists and designers find the right balance between fact-based storytelling, which might appear credible but boring, and fictional storytelling, which might be emotional but not authentic?

Journalistic storytelling as a social practice strives for authenticity and factual reporting; journalism is traditionally ruled by ethical standards like accuracy, truthfulness, credibility, fairness, and impartiality. In contrast, social practices of designers are characterized by aesthetics, creativity, entertainment, originality, innovation, and interpretation; design always implies an interpretation in terms of color, shape, style, placement, etc. As the Society for News Design (SND) stresses in its *Code of Ethics*, “logic and literalness, objectivity and traditional thinking have their important place, but so must imagination and intuition, responsible creativity and empathy.”<sup>45</sup>

43 Chaney, *Graphic Subjects*, 5.

44 There is an ongoing debate on whether objective writing is possible at all. However, in the era of fake news and truthiness, objectivity remains an important norm in journalism; see Hanusch and Hanitzsch, “Comparing,” 525–35; Tandoc and Thomas, “Readers Value Objectivity,” 32–45.

45 Society for News Design, “Mission/Code of Ethics.”

In our example, the right balance between factual and fictional storytelling is achieved in three respects:

- (i) Factual content provided by the textual part strongly informs the visual design process, and the visual interpretation of the illustrator enriches and adds to the journalistic experience. At the end of the artifact, the scientific advisor and the sources that were used for information gathering are listed – a strategy that contributes to transparency in journalism.
- (ii) In addition, the sign at the top of the right corner, a red bubble, frames the artifact as a special series and accounts for the exceptional presentation and design.
- (iii) The brand *NZZ* stands for high quality in journalism. This reputation is a commitment to trustworthiness, truthfulness, accuracy, accountability, and further ethical standards in journalism. Even if the artifact opposes genre conventions, readers may rely on the brand's reputation and promise: to deliver serious journalism.

#### 5.4 *Discourse*

Hybrid forms that call into question traditional social practices and break with genre conventions are a typical phenomenon in an era of media convergence, media disruption, and digital transformation. The media industry – particularly the newspaper industry – is undergoing a radical change. As the newspaper industry has been declining for years, newspapers are forced to reconsider traditional formats and business models and look for new strategies in newsrooms and innovative content marketing in order to tap into new target groups or to maintain or even strengthen their position in the market. The *New York Times*, for instance, has responded to this changing media landscape with a report in which a team of seven *Times* journalists outline the changes that have to be made in the future: for instance, to become more visual, to use a more digitally native mix of journalistic forms, to start a new approach to features and service journalism.<sup>46</sup> The hybrid form of our example is in line with these aspirations for innovation. As the producers of the artifact told us, using illustrations reminiscent of comics was an experiment to present a well-known topic in an unexpected way, and by doing so, to set it apart from other newspaper accounts of the First World War. So, the *NZZ* feature can be interpreted as a change in social practices, and thus as a response to the current media discourse in order to position the newspaper as a modern brand for innovative storytelling.

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46 Leonhardt et al., "Journalism."

## 6 Concluding Remarks

In newspapers, the current shift from a text-driven to a more visual culture leads to artifacts that are characterized by multimodal complexity, genre hybridity, and a stronger visuality. We argue that in journalistic storytelling, design and its semiotic resources become as central as text and images and that design has the power to shape and influence the meaning of a journalistic artifact. Therefore, designers and journalists working together in the social environment of a newsroom must know how meaning emerges from a multimodal artifact and its context. In other words, practitioners as well as students and scholars of journalism, media studies, or visual communication must know: What do words do best? What do images best? What does design best? And how can the various modes and resources be mobilized in specific contexts and for specific purposes?

Drawing on the theory of social semiotics and multimodality, we have presented a multimodal approach for the analysis of journalistic artifacts. This approach based on the three metafunctions that stem from linguistics can be understood as a heuristic tool for analyzing artifacts in newspapers. Of course, when it comes to digital artifacts, the framework presented must be adapted, for instance, in terms of interactivity or overlay of texts and images. As the metafunctions only address the level of modes, we complemented our analysis by including context and discourse. Our framework supports a systematic analysis of the interplay of semiotic resources and modes and provides deeper insights into the semiotic work of design. As a result, social practices deeply rooted in periodical cultures may be questioned, reconsidered, or changed, and thus may lead to innovative artifacts that meet the information needs of tomorrow. More than ever, designers and journalists must be aware of the semiotic work design can do since the digital transformation has initiated an irreversible trend: digital forms of communication which rely on a visuality that is much higher and more complex than in printed periodicals.

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# Magazines, Affects, and Atmosphere

*Sabina Fazli*

## Abstract

Magazine reading and magazine feeling overlap. To contribute to efforts capturing the complexity of the medium, I propose to consider magazines through approaches that deploy affect and atmosphere as critical terms to reorganize literary and cultural studies. From this perspective, magazines may be conceived as ‘affect generators’ (Reckwitz), that is, as circulating discourses on emotions, moods, and atmospheres in specific genres, and as participating in practices that are imbricated with particular, magazine-specific affects. The approach can draw together issues in magazine design, reading, and materiality that have already garnered attention but deserve a more central position in investigations of contemporary mainstream and independent titles. To elucidate how contemporary lifestyle magazines work, amalgamate loyal readerships, and remain largely viable despite competition from digital outlets, affect may serve as a way to look beyond magazines as vehicles for entertainment and information.

## 1 Introduction

This chapter examines contemporary lifestyle magazines as affective media and as concerned with discourses on emotions, moods, and atmospheres as well as their production and modulation. It considers how the concepts from critical work that has contributed to the ‘affective turn’ in the humanities may be mobilized to read magazines and help specify the modalities of magazine reading in contrast to monographical reading, subsuming issues such as periodicity, the often subsidiary role of text, materiality, and affects discursively attached to magazine consumption. Magazines come in a myriad of shapes and offer content that caters to proliferating lifestyles. In the lifestyle segment, they range from mainstream glossies with huge marketing apparatus and distribution channels, subscription bases, and taste-making clout to independent publishers and crowdfunded projects that proffer niche interests, subcultural and marginalized identities, and often disruptive aesthetics. Richard Sharpe’s



formulation of magazines as the “wallpaper of our life”<sup>1</sup> captures their ubiquitous and effective but low-key presence that makes readers feel at home in their pages. Magazines emerge as ‘affect generators’ in everyday life.

Reading lifestyle magazines is an affective practice as much as it involves active meaning-making from text and images. In their designation, lifestyle publications already gesture towards this affectivity because their ‘style,’ which intertwines with that of their readers and unfurls in their imagined and actual lives, relies on the affective resonance of the magazines’ aesthetics with the tastes and dispositions of audiences. Concerns with illustrations, layout, and format are among the aspects of magazines that can be analyzed through and drawn together under the rubric of affectivity. This may help to strengthen perspectives on magazines viewing them as multimodal wholes rather than “containers”<sup>2</sup> and construe reading in a narrow sense as amplified by viewing and feeling and coated by sensory affects. Affect may hence provide a flexible approach to the different dimensions of magazines and complement other perspectives that are biased towards discursive elements.

Lifestyle magazines also reflect on affects as topics: They are the focus in horoscopes, lengthy features, personality tests, and advice columns. Additionally, two genres especially are sites of affective autopoiesis: ‘Mindstyle’ magazines center on and contemplate moods and affective states, their subjective desirability, change, and modulation, ways to induce particular feelings and avoid or overcome others. Shelter magazines instruct readers on how to produce atmospheres at home as well as offering the opportunity to contemplate and immerse themselves in carefully designed atmospheric stages and imagine how to affectively inhabit them. Before turning to the terminologies that affect studies offers and examples of reading magazines as affective, I will briefly look at the production-side view of magazines. If periodical studies takes magazines as its primary object, practitioners and industries concerned with the production and distribution of magazines generate paratexts that constitute another facet of magazines’ multidimensionality.

In handbooks aimed at newcomers to the industry, authors recur to an editor’s intuition and instincts, the ability to soak up a particular mood and convey it to readers. J. W. Click and Russell N. Baird’s very technical, practical introduction informs readers about how layout has to resonate with targeted audiences based on designers’ “intuitive practices,”<sup>3</sup> while John Morrish more pervasively references the editors’ intuitive vision that allows them to align their magazine

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1 Sharpe, “Editorial,” 110.

2 Latham and Scholes, “Rise of Periodical Studies,” 517, 521.

3 Click and Baird, *Magazine Editing*, 200.

with the audiences' outlook.<sup>4</sup> He also describes the editor as a manager of their staffers' moods,<sup>5</sup> a kind of emotional labor that figures prominently in creative work and that Anne Soronen<sup>6</sup> has studied among magazine workers in her ethnography of fashion shoots for women's lifestyle magazines. Soronen investigates the practical implications of the attitudes evident in these handbooks and identifies emotions and their management as essential to editorial work, the creation of content in precarious working arrangements, and the imagined ideal reader and how to relate to her. Ben Crewe's critical study centers on editors' personalities and biographies and the "informal knowledges" that they bring to bear on magazine-making to explain the success of new British men's lifestyle titles in the 1990s. He argues that, because magazine writing is conceived as largely intuitive and rooted in the editor's own experience, the subcultural and social connections and knowledges coalesce into "editorial capital"<sup>7</sup> that allows editors to hit the right note with audiences. This hints at how the magazine may be viewed as an affective resource, an object that builds on the appreciation of information and credibility as well as the resonance of taste and affect. A chapter in David Stam and Andrew Scott's edited textbook oriented towards practitioners advises the budding editor to concentrate not only on what information their readers may look for and what they want to do with it but to also ask, "what does it make the reader feel?" Feeling "empowered" by being part of a community and "touching" the reader's heart, the chapter suggests, distinguishes a successful magazine. It further addresses the magazine as an outward projection of the reader's personality because another issue that the editor should attend to concerns what others will think about the reader when they see them carrying the magazine.<sup>8</sup> Such discourses on magazine reading as 'feeling' imbricate with marketing strategies that sell magazines through emotions.

An example that showcases the magazine as an affective object may be drawn from the paratextual apparatus of magazine publishing in which publishing houses solicit media buyers in the trade press. This constitutes a self-presentation of publishers for other practitioners in the media and advertising industry.<sup>9</sup> As products competing in the marketplace, magazines' 'personalities' are turned into recognizable media-crossing lifestyle brands. These efforts develop print magazines into platforms whose diversified output coheres

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4 Morrish, *Magazine Editing*, 8, 26, 38, 50.

5 Morrish, 45, 53, 112.

6 Soronen, "Emotional Labour."

7 Crewe, *Representing Men*, 97.

8 Sharpe, "Editorial," 117.

9 Gough-Yates, *Understanding*, 23–24.



FIGURE 7.1 “Point of Passion” campaign by Condé Nast. Condé Nast PHOTOGRAPHY BY MARK SELIGER. REPRODUCED FROM: ROBERTS, KEVIN, AND SAATCHI & SAATCHI. *THE LOVEMARKS EFFECT: WINNING THE CONSUMER REVOLUTION*. BROOKLYN, NY: POWER HOUSE BOOKS, 2006, 214–15. CROPPED

around a brand image that will, ideally, envelope and infuse an array of products beyond the print copy. In 2005, Condé Nast launched the campaign “Point of Passion” (fig. 7.1), geared towards media buyers and agencies to promote print products as attractive and profitable environments for placing advertisements and successfully capitalize on affects connected with magazines. The campaign was devised in the context of digital media securing a growing share of advertising revenue at the expense of print. To establish a counter-narrative to the predominance of digital outlets, the Condé Nast campaign aimed at convincing potential clients that magazines capture and hold consumers’ attention and ensure their enthusiastic and monetizable loyalty to a branded product advertised in their pages. In the campaign’s logic, the ‘selling point’ of print is the ‘passionate’ relationship that readers have with their favorite magazines as spectacularized commodity and packaged experience. The advertisement hones in on the emotional attachment of readers to the magazine as an object integral to their emotional lives and casts it as an affective counterpart.

On the dark background of the double-page spread, images of readers hugging, cradling, and kissing their favorite Condé Nast titles surround the

caption that reads, “There’s a connection our readers have with our magazines. A connection fueled by passion.” The images suggest that the emotions evoked by the magazines compare to the relationships with one’s pet, baby, or romantic partner. As the magazines’ titles are legible, the photographed individuals are cast as typical readers and, thus, as participating in a reciprocal flow of characterization in which the magazine marks them as part of its discerning community of readers, able to appreciate its proffered aesthetics. While the readers are provided with an accessory shorthand for their social and cultural affiliations and aspirations, advertisers get to pick a preselected and affectively engaged target group. The magazines are cast as integral to specific lifestyle-relevant practices and attitudes: Emerging from the black backdrop are a corduroy-jacket-wearing reader hugging a copy of the *New Yorker*, a young couple wearing white and carrying wedding magazines, a middle-aged male collector with copies of *Wired*, and a female gourmet grocery shopper lost in the smell of *Bon Appétit*. They demonstrate how magazines are imagined to mold themselves to their readers’ lives and identities so that the aesthetic ‘style’ of the lifestyle magazines enmeshes with that of the readers. The advertisement does not aim at promoting magazine content but the emotional dyad of reader and object, that is, their attachment to the magazine as a ‘whole,’ an artifact that can be caressed and held close to the body, and an aesthetic object that chimes with their lifestyles. The campaign links magazine reading with an affective investment that the images express in the close and interactive relationship with the magazine as a material object. Giulia Bruno makes this point more generally in relation to surfaces and screens: “A surface condition creates sensitivity to the skin of things, and this kind of sensory interaction includes atmosphere and mood.”<sup>10</sup> In the introduction to *Touching Feeling*, Eve Sedgwick delineates “a particular intimacy [that] seems to subsist between textures and emotions.”<sup>11</sup> Sedgwick’s assertion – that affects can attach themselves to all kinds of things and that “texture and affect, touching and feeling seem to belong together”<sup>12</sup> – appears in the images the Condé Nast campaign paints of magazines as objects realized and imagined through touch as much as reading.

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10 Bruno, *Surface*, 94.

11 Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, 17.

12 Sedgwick, 21.

## 2 Affect Studies

In the following brief outline of contributions to the affective turn, I am interested in finding points where affect becomes relevant for the analysis of magazines without going into the critiques<sup>13</sup> of affect that target the alleged scientism or holistic claims made in affect studies. For an object as multidimensional and complex as the magazine, relying on affect alone is in any case unproductive. To do justice to the multimodal and multidimensional magazine object, the combination of different approaches in a mix of methods and perspectives can, however, profit from readings sensitized to affect as a methodological lens and recurring subject matter in magazines.

Affect studies, or the affective turn, has introduced and strengthened perspectives that view cultural practices through sensory and bodily phenomena of sensations, feelings, and emotions. They challenge the primacy of language, text, and vision to fully capture and explain human experiences and culture and grapple with aspects of affectivity that appear elusive to language yet central to affective lives, such as the ‘in-between-ness’ of atmospheres in spaces or the ‘intensities’ of affect in and between bodies that challenge subject-object divides. Affect studies tends to gesture towards space and materiality as carriers and mediators of affect. It brings to the fore and complicates the notions about what affect, emotion, and by extension, atmospheres are, and especially, do. The two most influential iterations of the Anglophone affective turn share the movement of rereading and resituating psychological and neuroscientific works and emplacing them against poststructuralist textuality. Eve Sedgwick’s recovery of Silvan Tomkin’s writing proceeds as a critique of both “*automatic antibiologism*” (original emphasis) and the misrepresentation of earlier strands of structuralist theory.<sup>14</sup> The resulting argument builds on Tomkin’s theory stipulating that affects and drives are distinct systems which, however, “coassembl[e]” and intertwine with cognition without these layers ever coming to a smooth fit.<sup>15</sup> A finite number of affects (such as shame, interest, joy, etc.<sup>16</sup>) hence makes for infinite, unpredictable, and occasionally contradictory combinations. Sedgwick’s insistence on affects in the plural and their qualitative differences combined with their ability to freely attach to anything is elaborated in her introduction to *Touching Feeling* in the contact between “texture

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13 Leys, “Turn to Affect”; Hemmings, “Invoking Affect.”

14 Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, 105, 108.

15 Sedgwick, 101, 107.

16 Sedgwick, 97.

and affect, touching and feeling"<sup>17</sup> that highlights all kinds of surfaces as potential sites of affective gluey-ness. Nigel Thrift comments on Sedgwick's take that it represents and builds on the popular, "culturally familiar" understanding of affects in Western cultures.<sup>18</sup> Sedgwick's recovery of touch as the conduit for feelings reevaluates materiality and 'texture,' which suggests routes into magazine reading as sensorimotoric and haptic as well as procedures that aim to attract the reader's touch, most notably in glossy coating, the alternation of different stock, and the matching of different stocks to a magazine's contents.

By contrast, Brian Massumi's "The Autonomy of Affect" uses the singular to denote the underlying intensity of all realized and emergent emotions and actions as an amorphous force. The essay builds on the interpretation of two neuroscientific experiments and thus, like Sedgwick's, reinterprets scientific texts through the lens of social and cultural studies. The first experiment measures children's responses to different versions of a short film. In the subsequent interviews, the children verbalized reactions that contradicted their physical responses while viewing the film, which had been measured in skin conductivity and heart rate. Massumi argues that the experiment actually registered two different levels: "Intensity is embodied in purely autonomic reactions most directly manifested in the skin – at the surface of the body at its interface with things. Depth reactions belong more to the form/content (qualification) level, even though they also involve autonomic functions such as heartbeat and breathing.... Intensity is beside that loop, a nonconscious, never-to-conscious autonomic remainder."<sup>19</sup> Massumi's differentiation isolates 'intensity' as 'affect' from qualified and verbalized emotion. The second experiment, in Massumi's reading, highlights this intensity as a consistent energy underlying all life. It investigates the time lapse between conscious decision and action: Test subjects were asked to clock the moment they decided to flex a finger, and then perform the action. However, the results showed a 0.5 second gap between discernible activity in the brain and the action, with the clocked moment occurring in the middle at 0.2 seconds before the action. Massumi interprets the conscious moment of decision-making as a point of veto which inhibits all but one tendency allowing it to emerge and manifest itself, rather than as the beginning of a single specific action that starts from one conscious decision that neatly translates into the act. The un-realized tendencies that have been inhibited to allow the flexing of the finger then form the 'virtual'

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17 Sedgwick, 21.

18 Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory*, 176.

19 Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect," 85.

pool of “incipience” and “emergence.”<sup>20</sup> In affect theory, this simmering, latent, and ultimately uncontrollable flow of affect forms the basis of utopian readings that build on its inherent creativity and potential for change.<sup>21</sup> Massumi closes the essay with a short analysis that harnesses the ‘virtual’ to read Reagan’s successful media presence as part of a general ‘virtualization’ of media consumption that increasingly proceeds in “fits and starts”<sup>22</sup> as the audience’s attention drifts. This jolting progression creates the same pockets of virtual, that is, ongoing and latent possibilities that fill the 0.5 second gap observed in the second experiment. Massumi’s work hence centrally includes observations on media and their affective effects. However, affect theory’s tendency to “emphasize the unexpected, the singular, or indeed the quirky, over the generally applicable”<sup>23</sup> makes it difficult to distill a manageable method from work that is either highly theoretical and abstract or dives into the particularities of unique and singular situations, in which affects’ unexpected and uncontrollable tendencies become visible.

Sociologist Andreas Reckwitz’s praxeological work on affects as integral but neglected components of practices yields useful concepts to fill in this gap. Rather than highlighting the disruptive and anarchic potential of affect, he emphasizes the inseparability of affects and practice in stabilizing as well as possibly transforming events and adds the importance of following discourses *on* affects in addition to their immediate bodily expression.<sup>24</sup> Affective practices thus have an articulable and discursive element. Massumi’s and Sedgwick’s privileging of affect entails renewed attention to the body and to objects that affects could latch onto or that would resonate with shared intensities. In Reckwitz’s model, practices rely on the directed attention of participants, and this focus can be attracted and modified by “intensely charged” material objects.<sup>25</sup> They could be intentionally made to carry affects as “things ... produced or used expressly for their function as affect generators.”<sup>26</sup> This pulls affects from the level of an internal, psychological, and speculative realm of ‘affect’ and ‘intensities’ into social and cultural transactions. While architecture figures as one of Reckwitz’s prominent examples, because atmosphere is central to the experience and planning of the built environment, he

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20 Massumi, 89–91.

21 Gregg and Seigworth, “An Inventory of Shimmers,” 9; see Hemmings, “Invoking Affect,” 550.

22 Massumi, “The Autonomy of Affect,” 104.

23 Hemmings, “Invoking Affect,” 550.

24 Reckwitz, “Practices and their Affects,” 121–22.

25 Reckwitz, 122.

26 Reckwitz, 123.

further singles out “semiotic-imaginary artefacts” as another category of affect generators, “transporting signs and imaginations calculated to affect people.” Reckwitz’s concept of affect generators entails their artifactual status. They are intentionally produced involving knowledges and strategies “aimed at making texts, images, and acoustic signals in such a way that they can affect people, while the purpose of reception practices is to be affected.”<sup>27</sup> Viewing magazines as affect generators acknowledges their artifactual made-ness and proximity to media of atmosphere.

Atmospheres constitute a spatialization of affect and, in philosopher Gernot Böhme’s formulation, “spaces with a certain mood.”<sup>28</sup> Atmospheres occupy a mediating position and cannot be fully located in either subjects or objects, but in their copresence:

Atmospheres are neither something objective, that is, qualities possessed by things, and yet they are something thing-like, belonging to the thing in that things articulate their presence through qualities – .... Nor are atmospheres something subjective, for example, determinations of a psychic state. And yet they are subject-like, belong to subjects in that they are sensed in bodily presence by human beings and this sensing is at the same time a bodily state of being of subjects in space.<sup>29</sup>

As people move through these atmospheres, they are themselves affected: “This participation is an affective tendency by which our mood is attuned to the nature of a space, to its atmosphere.”<sup>30</sup> Moods, rather than affect, are central to the perception of atmospheres, and they only come into being when they are aesthetically perceived by the participant: “Moods are atmospheres pervading the air”<sup>31</sup> and “the character of an atmosphere is the way in which it communicates a feeling to us as participating subjects.”<sup>32</sup> Knowledge about atmospheres, Böhme holds, crystalizes in the ‘aesthetic work’ of advertising, architecture, and stage design. By arranging “material conditions, of things, apparatus, sound, and light,” the conditions for atmospheres to emerge can be ‘generated.’<sup>33</sup> Stage design and architecture figure as the paradigmatic instances of artificially produced atmospheres intended to affect an audience

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27 Reckwitz, 124.

28 Böhme, *The Aesthetics of Atmosphere*, 161.

29 Böhme, 19.

30 Böhme, 138.

31 Böhme, 187.

32 Böhme, 28.

33 Böhme, 30–31.



or inhabitants assembled in the 'tinctured' space. More, the omnipresence of the aesthetics and techniques of staging beyond the theater and architecture, Böhme contends, are the epochalist indicators of "the real theatricalization of our life."<sup>34</sup> Although Böhme mostly assumes that knowledge of atmospheres and their creation is implicit and tacit among professionals concerned with staging, interior decoration magazines constitute a popular and omnipresent body of texts that explicitly thematizes atmospheres and aesthetic work as a leisure activity.

### 3 "E wie Emotion": Staging Possible Atmosphere in *H.O.M.E.*

Shelter magazines both discursively process affects and moods in relation to objects and function as affect generators through the aesthetic presentation of these discourses on the magazine page. The spread from the German shelter magazine *H.O.M.E.* (fig. 7.2) conveys both aspects and may be read through Reckwitz's and Böhme's arguments for the cultural circulation of specific discourses on affect alongside affects' nondiscursive embodiment.

In her study on domesticity and its subversive appropriations, Susan Fraiman writes about the aesthetics of shelter magazines that "the shelter genre features rooms uncontaminated by people, hermetically sealed against the ordinary drama of human lives.... Perfectly ordered, impossibly beautiful, and carefully evacuated rooms, photographed with precision and tenderness: these images suggest a rejection of domesticity oriented toward (or even including) others."<sup>35</sup> Fraiman's description chimes with the elements of the spread under discussion: It realizes the pristine inertia of shelter magazine aesthetics – an ordered space which invites the reader to dwell on details and, crucially, enjoy the display uninterrupted by emotions, or even text. The presence of the model owes to the inclusion of the spread in the fashion section. In the opening double-page spread as well as the following one-page photographs taken in the same industrial-chic loft, the human model remains expressionless and detached, seated or lounging, and in the last image, bouncing on a mattress and photographed in midair. Her body and clothes mold themselves to the pieces of furniture, and the colors she is wearing blend with the upholstery. Fashion recedes behind interior decoration and becomes a parenthetical addition to the pieces of furniture. Her presence hence does not disturb the

34 Böhme, 33.

35 Fraiman, *Extreme Domesticity*, 99.

perfect order of the rooms while still offering the reader frontal views of her face as affective foci in the images.

The double page opens a piece that has been teased in a cover-line as “Emotion: How to bring feelings home” (my translation)<sup>36</sup> and, on the following six pages, presents furniture and fashion that the text describes as props for the staging of emotions. The caption reads: “Contrasts inspire emotions. The combination of black & white and its energy and tension introduce more *power* to the living environment, [while] as soloists they create a stylish background for emotions. These sitting and lounging ensembles show how exciting furniture in the two *non-colors* can be” (my translation, emphasis added).<sup>37</sup> The subjects in this text are aesthetic phenomena, contrasting colors personified as “soloists,” which may be captured and transposed into the home as branded seating furniture. Paradoxically, the soloists, who should take center stage, are relegated to the background. The “emotion” of the heading turns into the plural in the text but remains untethered from any feeling human subject and is instead free-floating and suggestive. Similarly, the “energy” and “power” remain unqualified but, in conjunction with the image of the woman and sofa, echo the magazine’s cover, which carries a similar image with the main cover-line “Energie” running across the lower third of the page. “Energy” is the topic of the issue’s main feature on energy-efficient homes and conservation. However, it also connects with the feature on “Emotion” through iconographic and semantic references and emphasizes “power,” “energy,” and “tension” as central to the image.

The caption indicates that the spaces are conceived as stages, as backgrounds for unspecified affects, which are inspired by the skillful curation of objects, yet are not presented as fully realized or embodied. The search for the embodied emotion, however, misses the point. Rather, the spread presents different blurings that decenter the site of where any affect could manifest itself: The lettering of the heading veers into visual art, the artwork blends with the interior, the architectural features serve as typographical grid lines, the German text is interspersed with English words, and human and nonhuman soloists merge.<sup>38</sup>

36 Cover of *H.O.M.E.* no. 6 (2018).

37 *H.O.M.E.* no. 6 (2018): 49.

38 This strategy recurs in different variations throughout the magazine: lamps are ‘bright minds’ (“Helle Köpfchen,” 74), “Black is Beautiful” serves as the heading for a short note on the use of the unusual color in bathroom design, instead of white (16), and “chubby is beautiful” (“Mollig is beautiful,” 20) refers to plushy sofas. Qualifiers and phrases are shifted to objects and their meanings disperse between pieces of furniture and human bodies in ambivalent aestheticized registers of speaking about interior decoration. No actual ethnic minority or nonstandard bodies feature in the issue.



FIGURE 7.2 “E wie Emotion” from *H.O.M.E.* no. 6 (2018): 48–49, and cover

IMAGE CREDIT: REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF *H.O.M.E.*, AHEAD MEDIA GMBH BERLIN

In the foreground, the blond white model, dressed in black, sits on a black sofa, so that her dark outfit and the upholstery are almost indistinguishable and only differentiated through the effect of the lighting on the different textures. She casually holds an electric guitar (identified as a Les Paul in the caption) and looks straight at the reader. Behind her, a Pollock-like diptych (or mirror) leans against the wall with its beige lower half almost exactly matching the color of the floorboards that seem to extend into the painting. To its left, half cut off by the edge of the page, stands a disc-shaped light reflector that combines with the guitar in a synesthetic ensemble of instruments of visual art and sound. The “background” the text describes as a screen for “soloists,” that is, the reading of the interior as a stage on which items are arranged to silhouette and perform affects, is replete with objects that suggest affect expression but which remain untouched, unused, or static, in tune with the passive attitude of the model in the foreground. The most intricate blurring appears in the heading which is made part of the photographed scene: The typographic arrangement of the title splits the “E” on the left from the rest of the heading and positions it squarely in the left part of the diptych. This position makes the letter a diegetic element of the photographed scene, a feature of the abstract painting, from whence the progression of the phrase pulls it into the heading and connects it with the serified “Emotion.” As an interlingual homograph, “Emotion” may be read as either German or another English insertion evoking the cosmopolitan design and taste on display. The word “wie,” (how) links the two elements “E” and “Emotion” and sits exactly on the parallel plumbing pipes running along

the wall at the back. The neat alignment is emphasized by the larger spacing between the letters and hence their horizontal extension which parallels the pipes. The title, thus, seems to emanate from the photographed world and is only definitely recognizable as a superimposed caption in the centrally placed "Emotion." Yet the conjured emotions remain unrepresented and contingent: the stage is set and carefully laid out to allow the expression of emotions, or affects, hedged in and valorized by the taste in art and interior decoration on display. The left page visually enumerates synesthetic generators of atmospheres, lighting, sound, and colors, that would "set ... the conditions in which the atmosphere appears."<sup>39</sup> The spread may hence be read through Böhme's notion of staged and curated atmospheres or Reckwitz's affect generating artifacts. The ambiguous phrasing of the caption further suggests the vibrant, diffuse, and latent affective possibilities that Massumi interprets as "affect," and which do not seem to congeal into any "Emotion," despite the title. This openness is reflected in the idiom of both the text and image that suggests readers conceive of and move in interiors as designed stages and must realize their potential to affect inhabitants who, in turn, must be sensitized to the affective tinge of the interiors.

#### 4 "[L]ike a print version of chicken soup": 'Mindstyle' and Affect

*Breathe* describes itself as "the original mindfulness mag for a calmer and more relaxed you."<sup>40</sup> As a mindstyle<sup>41</sup> magazine, *Breathe*'s focus is on the reader and her moods and emotional life. Articles share subjective experiences and invite the reader to participate in them, reenact, and reflect on them. Through the virtual exclusion of other voices, outside social relations, and a social, economic, or political environment that could interfere with the subject's soliloquy-like observation and calibration of her feelings, the magazine circumscribes an insulated yet highly aestheticized and stylized space. Events and objects only register through how they impinge on and affect the implied reader's emotional state. In the design of the magazine, this is mirrored in the use of illustrations rather than photography (with hardly any people featuring in the photographs). If photographic images suggest a deceptive kind of realism,

39 Böhme, *The Aesthetics of Atmosphere*, 30–31.

40 *Breathe*, "About Us."

41 This is the term German media have used for the phenomenon, analogous to the lifestyle segment and pioneered in Germany by Bauer's edition of *Happinez* in 2010, see Uwe Mantel, "Happinez"; the magazine was originally launched in the Netherlands in 2003.

### A love affair with print

From motorbikes to macramé and furniture to fashion, there are hundreds of reasons why so many still adore 'old-fashioned' magazines. Join *Breathe* in a celebration of tangible titles

Hidden away down the side of my bed, in an enormous, mountain of magazines - a slightly chaotic testament to my hypochondria to resist the thing. I can't pinpoint the exact moment that I fell head over heels in love with them but I know that it must have been reasonably early on - certainly long enough for me to remember the faint excitement when, as a girl, I would greedily peruse the newsmagazines' shelves on my way home from school.

To my young mind, it seemed that there was something impressively sophisticated about the act of purchasing a new magazine. Although, now I think about it, I'm sure I must have cut a fairly peculiar figure - not yet 12 years old, and taking in the full gamut of titles as I shuffled along the shelves through the children's section along to young adult, women's interests and eventually fashion, home & lifestyle.

From *JET* Street and *Cosmo* I quickly expanded my tastes to include cooking guides with few gaps and step-by-step projects, while literary specials, fashion magazines that were too chic to include much, and music titles featuring lengthy interviews with obscure indie bands. Then, as now, I would read regularly, within means. I enjoyed the entire magazine package: the print, the paper, the flaps and the inserts. From the simple beauty of a good binding would draw me in.

Over the intervening years, I've discovered a publication for just about every occasion. From teen problems to wedding planning, parenting to poultry keeping, my glossy little manuals have seen me through it all. There's hardly a single life event I've encountered that hasn't warranted a quick turn to the newsmag to check for pertinent titles and, like a print version of *Kindle* app, I've found that there are few ailments that can't be improved with a small but loyal stack of magazines to flick through. For me, the fascination runs deeper than the desire for instruction and advice and, while it's true that the range of subjects covered is more or less exhaustive, it's a much about the experience as it is about the expertise.

As the *Audie* Bureau of Circulations, which verifies 157 UK titles and reports on media performance, warns of an overall decrease in sales of print media, I find myself saddened by the figures while also appreciative of the so-called digital takeover. In an age of immediacy and 24-hour accessibility, it's unsurprising that newspapers are increasingly moving towards an online

format, but print magazines have always represented more than words for the dissemination of information and, personally, I suspect the read itself to have - mainstream titles at least - less to do with the internet and more to do with financial prowess within the industry itself.

**Print versus online**  
The print-versus-online debate is a well-worn one and, for fans of the magazine experience, it's irrelevant. As with advocates of printed books, those dedicated to hard copies of magazines are able to acknowledge the usefulness of electronic texts while simultaneously citing the many perceived advantages of their preferred medium. There is, of course, the texture of the paper, the tangible feeling of turning a page and the time spent away from blue-light technology that numerous studies have also identified benefits specifically associated with the physical magazine format - they include more meaningful memories characteristics such as the size and copy-to-graphic ratio.

#### MAGAZINE HEAVEN...

MagCulture, London - based in Chesham, London, this shop is dedicated to great editorial design and wonderful magazines, with a constantly changing stock of more than 400 titles, it can also offer a bespoke publication package for use in workshops and organisations. See [magculture.com](https://www.magculture.com) for details.  
Stack - Launched in 2009, Stack offers a wide selection of independent magazines for purchase, as well as a 'loyalty' subscription service that sees the Stack team sending clients something new to try each month. There's also the yearly Stack Awards. For more information visit [stackmagazine.com](https://stackmagazine.com).  
Magazine Brighton - Established in December 2004 and based in the North Laine area of Brighton, East Sussex, this outlet has more than 200 titles in stock, and books available via [magazinebrighton.com](https://magazinebrighton.com).

In a 2017 article on the subject, *The British Psychological Society* suggested that, by being larger, more visually orientated and more aesthetically pleasing than the average paperback, the magazine contents can be more easily digested and will prove to be more memorable. This, too, is often focused on a particular subject, with articles broken down into manageable paragraphs, punch and subtext, making it clear and approachable.

Educational design is a skill in itself and a feature will have been especially put together to be an engaging and appropriate as possible for its reading. It's this dual thoughtfulness and purposefulness that lends each magazine its individuality - a publication's house style becomes as familiar to readers as the tone of the content and allows readers to feel less like an audience and more like a club-house member, although they may not meet, are likely to have shared interests and attitudes.

Whether in time, like the quality more evident than in the Letters Page, and while most correspondents to new via email or tweets, the tradition is one that runs throughout almost all areas of magazine publishing. The medium may have changed, but the desire to connect with the readership remains the same. We've frequently tried to write to editors and agency execs and, to enter competitions, to raise queries and to express opinions. This ability to connect the people behind the pages has allowed magazines to promote a particular sense of industry that it is just not possible for books to offer.

#### Shared experience

What's more, experts have discovered a widespread tendency to view magazines themselves as communal objects - perhaps because of their generally short shelf-life, or because each issue supersedes the last. Despite a reasonable similarity in price, we generally fail to treat magazines with the same reverence or possessions with which we treat paperback books. Instead, it's fairly agreed that these are informal, social items designed to be flipped in and out of, shared with friends, signed or passed on or simply left behind to brighten someone else's day. When, for the most part, we're expected to treat a book from start to finish, magazines grant permission to browse, allowing the reader to wander in a space that doesn't demand a purchase and, in some ways, a more relaxed attitude towards them and their contents. It's an increasingly rare prospect. Perhaps that gives some way towards explaining why I've always felt that there's something indulgent about magazines. They're a kind of comfort and they give people better value and dopamine in a way not encompassed by any other format. And, in terms of content, experts suggest that, in an age of unlimited access to information, there are positive benefits to shorter, more constrained updates. Magazines are carefully crafted helms from trained sources, containing articles broad enough to engage but narrow enough not to overwhelm. Their monthly, and even bi-monthly issues means they're also less likely to cause the fear of missing out and pressure to keep up that can be the cause of so much reader anxiety.

With a history dating back almost 350 years, the magazine has had plenty of time to tailor itself to the needs of its audience and, while the first incarnation was a German literary and philosophy

periodical with a narrow scope and an editorial team of one, there are now thousands of titles created by small, independent teams, large publishing houses, and everything in between. Readers are still able to find tucked between the racks, substack titles including *Harper's Bazaar* and *The Lady* (founded in 1867 and 1885 respectively) as well as a whole host of fresh offerings. Happily, new titles are still being launched. Over the centuries, magazines have both on their educational roots and have found a reputation for being simultaneously versatile, engaging and enlightening.

**Perfect balance**  
The late author and poet Maya Angelou commented that: 'In a magazine, one gets - from cover to cover - 75 to 80 different ideas on life and how to live it.' And I suspect that forms a large part of their appeal. As well as the access to their insights - a good magazine is able to strike the perfect balance between opinion and aspiration, style and substance. It should take pride in acknowledging that its readers are both social creatures and solitary beasts, satisfying their desire to feel connected, while also recognizing their need to be alone.

A delicate blend then of the communal and individual, the scientific and artistic, graphic and linguistic, the magazine is sure to create a powerful allure for generations to come. And I sincerely hope that it continues - in all its forms - to bring up its headlike tale for a good many years to come.

Words: Victoria Pickett



FIGURE 7.3 “A Love Affair with Print” from *Breathe* 16 (2018): 84–85  
ILLUSTRATION BY SARA THIELKER-BOWLES. REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF  
*BREATHE* MAGAZINE ([HTTPS://WWW.BREATHEMAGAZINE.COM/](https://www.breathemagazine.com/)), GMC PUBLICATIONS

*Breathe* largely excludes photographs and images that are not extremely aesthetically filtered and stylized. *Breathe* is furthermore ad-free, which ties in with the magazine's inward directedness that is not interested in avenues leading away from its focus on interiority (as well as shedding light on the economic viability of the genre). The title of the publication itself encapsulates its 'mindful' attitude towards one's own body and feelings - a meditative focus on interiority and the self. When *Breathe* touches on other subjects, it immediately puts them into relation with the reader's affective experiences.

In an article titled “A Love Affair with Print”<sup>42</sup> (fig. 7.3), the author reflects on the feel of magazines and magazine reading, and hence the object the reader holds in her hands. The article extolls the virtues of magazines as opposed to screens, because “the texture of the paper” and “the tangible feeling of turning a page” cannot be reproduced by “blue-light technology.” The perspective is in tune with the prerogative of valuing subjective experiences as print first and foremost registers as a different reading sensation impinging on the reader's

42 Pickett, “Love Affair,” 84–85.

wellbeing. It provides an escape from social demands on the subject, as the “glossy little manuals” offer actable advice on all kinds of problems. However, reading not only promises information in the sense of “service journalism,”<sup>43</sup> it also embraces the reader affectively: “like a print version of chicken soup, I’ve found that there are few ailments that can’t be improved with a small (or large) stack of magazines to flick through.”<sup>44</sup> The simile that casts print magazines as a synesthetic “version of” comfort food maps the material and sensory properties of paper and vision onto the texture of food and taste. Magazines, the comparison implies, offer not only concrete help but also enfold the reader in desirable affects and communions. The article suggests that the care, intimacy, and emotional security that home-prepared soup promises as a remedy for colds also describes the magazine’s affects: It provides a similarly intimate, personal, and soothing sensation, apparently specifically tailored to the reader and her particular situation. The design of the article evokes such a calm atmosphere with a regular layout and broad double column text that emphasizes the horizontal spread rather than verticality. The last (that is, fourth) column ends half-way down the page with the rest of the space taken up by an illustration. It shows the small figure of a woman leaning against a row of magazines on a shelf. The woman is the size of a bookend and her weight leaning against (and into) the nearest magazine lets the copies at the other end of the row topple over. The cover shows a beaming heart and the woman’s pose suggests that she is not only bracing herself against the magazine body but leaning in to hug and kiss it. The color scheme is dominated by reddish tones that mirror this warmth and affection. The congruence between the cover and the woman’s expression of affection suggests the sentiment that the text describes verbally: the resonance that magazines allow for their readers’ affects and the emotional relationship they enter into. In the illustration, the “love affair” of the title is removed to an imaginary Wonderland-like world in which the body of the reader is shrunk so that enfolding herself physically in the magazine pages becomes, theoretically, possible.

The illustration is placed in the bottom right corner, the place that readers will touch to turn the page. This interfacing carries its own affective charge, which becomes evident through a return to the synesthetic simile of print as “chicken soup”:

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43 Fürsich, “Lifestyle Journalism,” 15.

44 Pickett, “Love Affair,” 84.

Eating food, for instance, might necessarily privilege taste, yet to concentrate on taste to the exclusion of other senses means to fail to recognize that the experience of eating is also dependent on the haptic sensitivity of tongues and mouths, on our olfactory abilities, and on sight and sound (the cacophony of crunching might actually be part of the ‘flavor’ of potato chips, for example).<sup>45</sup>

The sensorimotoric and haptic underpinnings of magazine reading contribute to its aesthetic experience, the ‘crunch’ of chips translates into the crinkle of paper, and the warmth of soup into the texture of pages. Feeling the paper while reading may be framed as ‘microperception’: “Microperception is not smaller perception; it’s a perception of a qualitatively different kind. It’s something that is felt without registering consciously. It registers only in its effects.”<sup>46</sup> The illustration here imbues the common kinesthetic gesture with an additional affective layer. The reader not only feels the paper but also reiterates the illustrated skin-paper contact infused with the affects assembled in the text and image: feeling cared for, enveloped in warmth, and love.

Apart from the multisensory affordance of print, the article further describes magazine reading as couched in its own periodical temporal frame. There is no “fear of missing out and pressure to keep up,”<sup>47</sup> because monthly or bi-monthly publication cycles provide stable and unrushed rhythms. More generally, the temporal organization of magazine reading as periodical, that is, as structured through periods of anticipation culminating in the release of the next issue and as insinuating the rhythms of print into individual lifestyles creates its own affects. Anticipation, stoked by the previews magazines usually provide as teasers for the next issue, is a constitutive feeling underlying serial media. As an affect, it may be carried over into the rhythms of everyday life and resurface as an emotion when the subscription copy arrives. “The media enter into the everyday; even more: they contribute to producing it,”<sup>48</sup> which goes together with the extension of magazine affect over the periods between numbers. This includes the variations between surprise tampered by recognition and habitualizing repetition that underwrite magazine affect.<sup>49</sup> The revaluation of ‘slowness’ that permeates *Breathe* can also be seen in the rise of

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45 Highmore, “Bitter After Taste,” 120.

46 Massumi and McKim, “Of Microperception and Micropolitics,” 4.

47 Pickett, “Love Affair,” 85.

48 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis*, 48.

49 Dillane, “Forms of Affect,” 12.

slow journalism magazines<sup>50</sup> such as the quarterly *Delayed Gratification* and the biannual *Ernest*. Megan Le Masurier notes that “D[elayed] G[ratificaton] uses print deliberately as a medium of slow pleasure.”<sup>51</sup> Slowness as a desirable quality becomes a constitutive element in the reading experience of *Delayed Gratification*, which lets readers embody and enact its title with their subscription or purchase and sets itself off from the instantaneousness of digital media. The magazine creates its own chronotope of narrative journalism, expansive thematic scope, and the valuation of thoroughness and sustainability<sup>52</sup> that is folded into the revaluation of slowness in both the production and consumption of its contents. Although *Breathe* and *Delayed Gratification* probably follow diametrically opposed editorial philosophies, they both leverage the ‘slowness’ of print as part of their message. This slowness manifests nondiscursively in the affects of periodicity and underlies not only the moments of reading but also the stretches of time between issues. Like the valorizing of print materiality, periodicity as well may be further illuminated by approaching it through affect: The ‘indulgence’ of “tea breaks and daydreams” that *Breathe* evokes,<sup>53</sup> and more generally the anticipation, suspense, and frustration of periodicity – as well as maybe even remnants of a sense of community, like a watered-down Victorian “magazine day”<sup>54</sup> whose communal excitement may have migrated to online groups – represent affects tied to the magazine.

## 5 Browsing: Not Reading Magazines

Browsing constitutes a form of reading encouraged by magazine design: arrangements offering multiple entry points into the magazine as a whole as well as into individual items, entailing the possibility to skip pieces, pages, or sections, are typical for magazines and inhere in their design. Browsing dominates at newsstands where potential buyers look at covers and flip through copies, but it is also typical of scenes in which magazines function as the literature of the “in-between,”<sup>55</sup> wedged in by other activities deemed more important and dictated by external time regimes, for example, on commutes, at the

50 Slow journalism was inspired by the Italian slow food movement of the 1980s that opposed fast food chains for their destruction of local food cultures, see Le Masurier, “What Is Slow Journalism?,” 140.

51 Le Masurier, 146.

52 Slow Journalism Company, “*Delayed Gratification*.”

53 Pickett, “Love Affair,” 85.

54 Hughes and Lund, *Victorian Serial*, 10.

55 Hermes, *Reading Women’s Magazines*, 27.



hairdresser's, or in waiting rooms. Browsing entails different levels of attention and temporal commitment: The reader can immerse herself in a lush spread, skim-read headings, pull quotes and boxed text embedded in a lengthy feature article, and skip whole sections to reach the horoscope on the last page, only to return to the beginning of the magazine and follow a different route through it, or break off at any point. These different modes can be related to different "scales of reading," Julie Orlemanski introduces the phrase to characterize professional forms of reading texts, such as the 'distant reading' of digitized corpora, and forms of close reading. However, leisure reading may be equally thought of as 'scaled,' following Orlemanski's argument: "First of all, scale is profoundly aesthetic – of or pertaining to *aisthesis*, sense perception. It is irreducibly a concept of relation and refers us to our specific capacities for attention, cognition, perception, and feeling" (original emphasis).<sup>56</sup> This highlights reading as a situated event that "happen[s]" in specific scenes.<sup>57</sup> Magazines invite scaled engagements through their design and styles of writing.

Ethnographies of magazine reading have captured some of the scales that characteristically occur in particular scenes: Mehita Iqani has studied the magazine newsstand as a site of media consumption, a "media-place interface."<sup>58</sup> In her ethnography of magazine shoppers, she divides customers into three groups, capturing their engagement with magazine texts as "'drifting,' 'speed-shopping,' and 'free-reading,'"<sup>59</sup> each describing a particular form of looking at magazines. In her ethnography of reading at home, Brita Ytre-Arne finds that her female interviewees describe two reading practices: one she calls "ritual," which comprises relaxation and calm, and is framed as a "reward" after a busy day; the other she calls "fragmented," that is, reading fit in around other activities, "slip[ping] in and out of the world of the magazine."<sup>60</sup> In her influential study on women's magazines, Joke Hermes writes that she was baffled by her interviewees' indifference towards the magazines' content and their reluctance to talk about them. From these experiences, Hermes establishes early on that "media use is not always meaningful."<sup>61</sup> The attraction of magazine reading, according to her, lies in its flexibility as it fits around a busy workday of chores and errands. Magazines are hence constructed in a way that makes them "putdownable,"<sup>62</sup> a quality that would be lethal for the success of a book.

56 Orlemanski, "Scales of Reading," 218.

57 Orlemanski, 218–19.

58 Iqani, *Consumer Culture and the Media*, 11.

59 Iqani, 63.

60 Ytre-Arne, "Women's Magazines," 219.

61 Hermes, *Reading Women's Magazines*, 15.

62 Hermes, 32.

'Putdownability' must hence be written into the magazine and its surfaces that accommodate different scales of reading and jolting rhythms of consumption. Hermes's observations about the consumption of magazines by their readers elucidates how critical close readings miss an important affordance of magazines.

The same issue can also be approached through discourses on the design of magazines: Willberg and Forssman's *Lesetypographie*, ("the typography of reading") is geared towards practitioners and considers decisions of layout and font design from the perspective of readability. In their handbook, they conceive of book, that is, (prototypically) novel reading, as "linear" (my translations).<sup>63</sup> By contrast, magazine typography, the authors argue, should motivate readers to start reading at any point in the text, and invite them to continue as long as possible.<sup>64</sup> The authors term this mode "activating" reading and, besides the magazine, identify textbooks as another site of its application. The similarity underlying magazine and textbook design implies a view of readers as not so much immersed in linearly progressing narrative but as distractable, jumpy, and willful as well as seducible and tractable through careful design choices. Design, then, plays a much greater and more visible role in magazines and becomes part of the content.<sup>65</sup> It informs reading routines, accounts for magazines' 'putdownability,' and offers viewing rather than 'reading' pleasures.

Thinking about these scaled modes of engagement through conceptions of reading formed in literary studies fails to adequately describe it as an experience in which text is not necessarily perceived to be dominant but rather subsidiary, or even ornamental. Leafing through a magazine and dipping into some pieces while skipping others or merely looking at ensembles of text, image, and layout may be approached as an affective engagement which does not follow stable routes to proceed linearly through an issue<sup>66</sup> or invest the same attention into all elements.

At different points, scholarship has acknowledged that viewing media consumption through affect amounts to a recalibration of attention to discursive and nondiscursive elements: Jo Labanyi has parsed affect's usefulness for literary analysis and argues that "the affective turn can make us attentive to 'what texts do' – and what texts do is communicate all manner of things. So affect

63 Willberg and Forssman, *Lesetypographie*, 17.

64 Willberg and Forssman, 53.

65 Le Masurier, "What Is a Magazine," 7.

66 Kaminski, Ramtke, and Zelle discuss the nonlinearity of periodical reading from a historical perspective, focusing on serials, and suggest a heuristic terminology to differentiate between 'zapping' within one issue and reading a serial across successive numbers. See Kaminski, Ramtke, and Zelle, "Zeitschriftenliteratur."

takes us back to meaning, but to forms of meaning that are not restricted to the cognitive.”<sup>67</sup> Lawrence Grossberg’s study on rock and roll’s affects understands texts as “operating at a level other than that of messages and their interpretations,”<sup>68</sup> and Eric Shouse writes more generally that “the power of many forms of media lies not so much in their ideological effects, but in their ability to create affective resonances independent of content or meaning.”<sup>69</sup> A similar outlook may profitably inform analyses of magazines and magazine reading: Approaching it through affect adds modes and layers of engagement that are not wrapped up in meaning-making or critical close readings. The idea that readers may not primarily seek ‘meanings’ or concrete advice from lifestyle journalism should highlight elements that may seem inconsequential for close readings but nevertheless are typical and constitutive of magazines.

The act of leafing through the magazine that lets colors and forms blend and blur into each other and animates the pages in a cinema-like effect resulting in a kaleidoscopic movement creates ensembles not unlike “paper movies.”<sup>70</sup> With magazine shopping relocating to online environments, the visual and gestural repertoires of magazine browsing, too, have been translated into a digital genre showcasing magazines, the digital-born format of flip-through videos. The videos represent the mode of casual browsing that is difficult to capture in critical analyses yet seems to come naturally to readers intent on sharing and reviewing magazines on video platforms, and as commercial teasers. The homepage of the online distribution service Stack, for instance, regularly features flip-through videos introducing and reviewing magazines that are available in their online shop and surprise box subscription service. The videos provide a glimpse of magazines presented in a way that highlights what potential readers are expected to look for while browsing.

The short video reviews are revealing regarding the mode of engagement they show: The camera assumes the perspective of the reviewer looking at the magazine, shooting only the hands and fingers leafing through the pages, holding the magazine closer or further away from the camera to highlight layout, text, or paper in front of a matching-color background screen. While the voice-over summarizes the contents and comments on the ‘feel’ of the magazine, the visual emphasis is on the magazine-specific properties of the medium

67 Labanyi, “Doing Things,” 230.

68 Grossberg, “I’d Rather Feel Bad,” 74.

69 Shouse, “Feeling, Emotion, Affect.”

70 Holschbach and Krause-Wahl, “Mode und Avantgarde,” 69. Holschbach and Krause-Wahl cite the phrase from Kerry William Purcell, *Alex Brodovitch* (London: Phaidon, 2002), 38. Purcell describes Brodovitch’s work at *Harper’s Bazaar* as turning the magazine into a cinematic “montage of attractions,” 41.

captured in movement: the succession of different typography, layout, and color schemes. The videos show the issues' thickness and reflection of light off the coated paper by angling them towards the camera, or the reviewer running a finger over the textured paper while explaining the haptic quality of the stock, which gives an impression of the magazine as object and its visual style. For example, the review video of the third issue of *Ladybeard*, an independent magazine, starts with the cover and pages through the magazine, then returns to the cover twice to take different routes and abort them at different points to dwell on some pages and skip others entirely. The incongruity that such a jolting reading may create chimes with Massumi's outline of contemporary "image/expression events"<sup>71</sup> as producing "fits and starts as attention flits" and hence the minuscule gaps in which 'tendencies' and 'incipience' accumulate.<sup>72</sup> In magazines, every page turning is therefore a little virtual gap that persists as potential. Magazines create these 'starts' in rhythms through typographies that aim to engage readers in an uninterrupted flow as well as offering ways into and out of elements, pages, and issues to ensure their 'putdownability.'

The video gives a comprehensive impression of the magazine because it showcases a 'look' or style in the alteration of typography, white space, and illustration, features that may also be described as defining a rhythm and "flow,"<sup>73</sup> animated by the turning pages. The elements that stand out when browsing through a magazine are not necessarily the same that would be chosen for close readings. Turning back to *Breathe* magazine provides an example of this bias: While the self-reflexive piece on print's affects is immediately intriguing, the spreads that separate the magazine's different sections could be regarded as merely functional pointers. "A Love Affair with Print" appears in the section titled "Creativity." It is set off from the preceding section by a spread in which the left page is a monochrome venetian red and the right page shows a collection of leaves and buds displayed in a partitioned wooden tray, with a caption reading: "The shifting seasons are a reminder of life's constant changes – embrace them and stay connected to the outdoors with a natural display."<sup>74</sup> Different shades of red recur throughout the section, for example, in the piece discussed above. The monochrome pages that introduce new sections are one of the most striking features when leafing through the issues. In the logic of the magazine, they are a recurrent element with which readers are

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71 Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect," 103.

72 Massumi, 104.

73 Sharpe, "Editorial," 137.

74 *Breathe*, 79. The caption refers to a subsequent piece on craft projects: "Seasonal Displays," 94.

familiar. However, the colors are not exclusively assigned to the same sections over different issues. Rather, the monochrome surfaces interspersed in the magazine contribute to the rhythmic impression of its visual flow. In conjunction with the section they introduce, the spreads are a form of affective ‘cueing,’ preparing the reader for the tone and mood that they should expect, and already attune themselves to, in the following pieces. Although the plain pages are an extreme example, they nevertheless highlight the shift of emphasis that attention to magazine affects can add to analyses.

## 6 Conclusion

Magazines are both affect generators and media reflecting on affects and atmospheres. One specific affordance of magazines consists in their offering an aesthetic space in which readers may affectively inhabit lifestyles and lifestyle worlds. Reading, then, becomes an act of ‘tuning’ oneself to the resonances that permeate and define the magazine, which promises the imaginary affective affiliation with the community of readers who share this aesthetic tuning. Shelter and ‘mindfulness’ or ‘mindstyle’ magazines explicitly thematize affects and atmospheres. They circulate as metatexts on affective phenomena. The double-page article in the mindfulness magazine *Breathe* and Condé Nast’s commercial campaign for its print products as advertising outlets explicitly leverage affects connected with print. The two instances of self-promotion draw on similar figures that integrate magazines as affective objects into a self-reflexive narrative of ‘mindful’ media consumption and the presentation of loyal and affectively attuned consumers, respectively. Digital media loom large in both instances and serve as a foil that provokes emphases on magazine reading as affectively charged. Considering magazine reception through affect illuminates modes that oscillate between ‘reading’ and looking, and may even privilege the latter. This poses a challenge for critical engagements with magazines but may also broaden the type of material that comes under scrutiny and further disciplinary “poaching”<sup>75</sup> in adjacent fields.

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# Indie Magazines and the Metafunction of Visual Identity

*Abby Hohenstatt*

## Abstract

Independent magazines play a special role in the magazine world, and particularly in our considerations of the magazine corpus. They explicitly deviate from mainstream, glossy magazines and are dedicated to the print medium with its aesthetic and haptic capabilities. In summer 2018, issue one of *a Dance Mag*, an international independent dance magazine, was launched in Beirut, Lebanon. Through personal email correspondence, editor in chief Jana Al-Obeidyine elucidated details such as the magazine's unique slender form, this issue's bright yellow-orange color, and its visual identity – circular elements inspired by Rudolf Laban's kinesphere which denote movement and human connectedness. A condensed version of the email correspondence in part one highlights the fruitfulness of interview methods for the analysis of indies and understanding visual identity in general. Furthermore, the chapter examines visual identity in *a Dance Mag* in closer detail: as a metamode, it functions like an architectural 'dotted line,' providing design structure and coherency across page layout, content, and composition. Understanding the metafunction of visual identity in indie magazines will contribute to methodologies aimed at developing multimodal analyses of periodicals.

## 1 Introduction

Independent magazines play a special role in the magazine world, and particularly in our considerations of the magazine corpus. They explicitly deviate from mainstream, glossy magazines and are dedicated to the print medium with its aesthetic and haptic characteristics. In his contribution to the *Irish Times*<sup>1</sup> Conor Purcell sets the following parameters for an indie: they play with form (everything from paper size and quality to the type of binding); they have diverse content; they use diverse production techniques; they use technological advances to promote the magazine to world-wide audiences; their revenue

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1 Purcell, "Rise of Independent Magazines."

comes purely from the number of hard copies sold (ergo, they may generate no revenue at all). If we are to analyze magazines as multimodal artifacts, then we should consider the indie magazine in particular as the departure point for the development of a theoretical framework for a multimodal analysis.

In the fall of 2018, a colleague forwarded me the contact information for Jana Al-Obeidyine, founder and editor in chief of *a Dance Mag*,<sup>2</sup> a new independent magazine out of Beirut, Lebanon. The two had met at ModMag, a biannual event dedicated to “the culture of magazines,” curated by magCulture in London.<sup>3</sup> The following is a condensed version of my email correspondence with the editor over the course of a few weeks between December 2018 and April 2019:<sup>4</sup>

A: Jana, could you tell me a little about the circles on the front and back cover? I was also curious as to if the color orange is something that will stay, or if the reader can expect different colors with different issues.

J: The circle is the main device around which the visual identity of the magazine is built. They are often ‘open’ circles and ‘interconnected,’ and denote our human openness and interconnectedness. The rational[e] is: The borders that separate our bodily movement from others’ movement are circular in shape. This is also a reflection of Rudolf Laban’s kinesphere concept and Da Vinci’s ‘L’Uomo Vitruviano.’

As for the color, it’s an interpretation of the theme – in this case: transcendence. So it will be different in every issue. The interesting thing about the way we settled on the yellowy-orange is that for the Hamburg-based team, orange seemed the best-suited color for transcendence, which Beirut’s team strongly opposed, suggesting that gold was the color of transcendence. The result was a concession between the two viewpoints. I like this anecdote because it illustrates the joy of working with a multi-cultural team.

A: Why did you (or the team) choose to make it so slender? Why/How did you choose the paper over a ‘glossier’ paper?

J: To be honest, although the format will stay the same in the future, it was initially inspired by the theme, transcendence, and it was proposed by the designers. However, someone later mentioned that the format reminded him of a quote (we had already used on social media) from Georges Bernard Shaw: “Dance is perpendicular expression of a horizontal desire.”

<sup>2</sup> Al-Obeidyine, ed., *a Dance Mag*.

<sup>3</sup> magCulture, “ModMag.”

<sup>4</sup> Hohenstatt, “*a Dance Mag*.”

I liked it! Jeremy Leslie of magCulture said in his review: “The super-vertical exterior becomes a horizontal experience when opened.” The choice of the paper was to free me from the guilt I was feeling choosing to print instead of going online, which entailed contributing to the death of some trees. The recycled papers came to the rescue.

A: Where and how did you contact your contributors? Where did the title come from?

J: Ibrahim (the creative director) and I sent the call for contributors to our respective contact lists in late October 2017. His list had professionals while mine had dancers and anthropologists. Both our lists were very international, since we had both traveled a lot. We searched for a title for months; it almost drove us mad! Then it hit us, we (Ibrahim and I) were telling people that we are working on a dance magazine and [their] eyes would instantly glow! So we thought: Why are we searching so far? Let’s just call it what it is: *a Dance Mag!*

A: There is a disclaimer at the end of the issue that you don’t exercise censorship on your authors. Can you elaborate? And expanding on that, which role do you as the editor play?

J: I don’t exercise censorship meaning that I don’t force my views on authors. Examples: I personally don’t believe in the body/mind dichotomy, but it’s a popular viewpoint, so I accept the writers’ opinions and don’t force my belief on them. Furthermore, the magazine taps into politics, which is a sensitive area. The mag may publish an opinion that is not necessarily in line with my (and the team’s) political views. Also, sometimes we might not be aware of political sensitivities specific to a certain geographic area, hence the disclaimer. This also applies to religious views. Publishing an opinion doesn’t mean that we endorse it. But I think it’s important that we hear it and accept it.

As for my work as an editor, that includes 1) selecting the titles that I judge fit best to the magazine’s vision in general, and the theme at hand in specific; 2) I work with contributors to make the best out of their proposed pieces/stories; that includes working with them on the writing style to make the story more engaging and more ‘bodily’ written, rewriting/restructuring, sometimes expanding a piece, doing the necessary research to ensure accuracy of facts. But generally speaking, I do my best that the final outcome remains faithful to the original wording and cultural specificity; it’s a very important aspect of the magazine. If I have doubts that the final outcome may have tweaked the original meaning, I make sure to get the writer’s approval again before we go to print; 3) curating the issue. It happened that I worked on stories that didn’t

make it to print because they didn't fit into the big picture. I might also seek stories that I think will make the issue more complete.

This correspondence is particularly interesting to me for two reasons: First, I was surprised at how easy it was to initiate and maintain contact with Jana. I (perhaps naively) anticipated more vague answers shrouded by 'industry secrets'; what I received, however, was an openness and excitement to discuss *a Dance Mag* and its intricacies, which highlighted the collaborative nature of indie publishing as a whole. Instead of an 'elbow-your-way-to-the-top' strategy of crushing the competition, indies actively welcome newcomers and embrace print culture. An example of this is *The Publishing Playbook*, collectively written by Hüman [sic] After All, a creative company in London which "believe[s] that magazines are wonderful communication tools and we'd like nothing more than to see the world filled with beautiful new publications ... made by you."<sup>5</sup> *The Publishing Playbook* is a GoogleDoc open to any individual who requests access, and anyone can make revision suggestions or add their own ideas. It is downloadable and totally free of charge.

The aforementioned *Magazine Blueprint: The Ultimate Guide to Indie Publishing* is also noteworthy here. Conor Purcell supplements his own experiences in indie publishing with fifty expert interviews to deliver a step-by-step guide to creating a successful indie magazine. Coincidentally, Purcell also includes insights from Ibrahim Nehme, creator of *The Outpost* and creative director of *a Dance Mag*.<sup>6</sup> Both of these examples bring together communities of writers and creators and give them a platform for expression and creation. To engage with an indie, then, is to also engage with a greater community of people dedicated to their art, the individuals and teams behind the titles. This approach may seem self-evident – researchers have been conducting interviews with editors for years, for example to gain a better understanding of layout, seriality, readership, etc. I am suggesting, though, that the interview process be used less as a supplement and instead as a departure point. It is necessary here to quickly comment that I use the term 'interview' relatively loosely because I never actually set out to interview Jana (and strictly speaking still have not). It was suggested I contact Jana because of my interest in dance magazines, and the first email was sparked by an almost schoolgirl-like adoration for *a Dance Mag*. Our emails have maintained a fairly informal and friendly tone – just two people engaging in a conversation about a magazine.

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5 Hüman [sic] After All, *The Publishing Playbook*, 1.

6 Purcell, *Magazine Blueprint*, 31.

This brings me to the second interesting thing I learned by corresponding with Jana: discovering about the magazine's visual identity firsthand, the ideas that inspired the cover's illustration, completely changed my reading of the magazine as a multimodal, material object. Lois Weinthal explains the function of the "dotted line" in architecture as a "represent[ation of] the intangible in order to construct the tangible. The dotted line can represent the path of occupants through space, give hints at architectural elements that are out of view.... This subtle notation often falls away after a project is complete, yet its meaning endures as it shapes our experience of the constructed realm. The dotted line is, at the same time, a means for uncovering background knowledge that informs a design process on its way to a realizable outcome."<sup>7</sup>

This led to the conclusion that if we consider the magazine's visual identity as a "dotted line," it might lead us to a better understanding of the magazine as a whole. The visual identity becomes the metamode, if we consider Kress and Leeuwen's assertion that "modality is 'interpersonal' rather than 'ideational' [as] ... it produces shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others. It serves to create an imaginary 'we.'"<sup>8</sup> Tracing the indie's visual identity into the different layers of the magazine and using it as the basis for analysis may reveal more about the composition of the magazine and its materiality than approaching the elements from the other direction to try and find the underlying relational structures. *A Dance Mag*, as will be shown, may serve as the metamagazine for such an approach.

## 2 The "Dancing" Metamagazine

*A Dance Mag* – published in English by Crayola in Beirut, Lebanon, in collaboration with *The Outpost*, and printed on recycled paper by Medialis in Berlin – is still in its infancy. The first issue, "Transcendence," was released in July 2018; the second issue was released in Spring 2019. Two features immediately catch the eye from the shelf: the bright, yellow-orange color and its slender form. The length is the same as the standard size of paper (DIN A4), yet the slenderness of the booklet gives it a dominating sense of verticality. Against the yellow-orange backdrop, white circles extend towards the outer edges of the paper (fig. 8.1). They dominate the visual hierarchy,<sup>9</sup> alluding to the magazine's awareness of its horizontal dimensions. In her analysis of zines, Alison Piepmeier recognizes the unavoidable "spatial limitations" of print not so much as a

<sup>7</sup> Weinthal, "Drawing the Dotted Line," 79.

<sup>8</sup> Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 160.

<sup>9</sup> Johnson and Prijatelj, *Magazine from Cover*, 216.



FIGURE 8.1 Jana Al-Obeidyne, ed., *a Dance Mag* (Beirut: Caryola, 2018). Used with permission

hinderance, but an aesthetic attribute: “[the creator] uses the limits of the page to create boundaries she can fill, and she bumps up against them.”<sup>10</sup> If you open the back cover and splay the magazine out, the half circles form the shape of a whole; the various ends, however, either end prematurely or softly brush by each other. In one instance, the circles indeed “bump up against” and are cut off by the edge of the paper.

<sup>10</sup> Piepmeier, “Why Zines Matter,” 223.

*A Dance Mag's* design deviates from the mainstream glossy dance periodicals. They often draw in readers with a subjectified model, which Elisa van der Laan and Giseline Kuipers in their aesthetic analysis of female fashion images define as someone who is "shown as a real person with whom an (imaginary) relationship is established."<sup>11</sup> The cover of the American ballet magazine *Pointe*,<sup>12</sup> for example, always showcases one or a group of ballerinas. On the cover of the summer 2014 issue, three prominent African American ballerinas warmly smile back at us and are described in a tagline as "Beyond Role Models." Together with the title, a reader of this issue of *Pointe* may feel drawn into an imagined black ballet community. Although this cover is worthy of its own analysis, suffice it to say that the bodies on the cover draw clear distinctions between genres of dance and other categories of personhood such as race, gender, and ability. *A Dance Mag* breaks with this tradition by centering its visual identity around abstract illustrations of movement as reflected in DaVinci's Vitruvian Man and Rudolf Laban's concept of the kinesphere.<sup>13</sup>

Using dance and performance as the groundwork for an analysis of magazines is not as foreign a concept as it may seem. Alexey Brodovitch, art director for *Harper's Bazaar* from 1934 to 1958, also recognized the magazine page as a performance in its own right – a presentation of elements targeted at creating a captivating and aesthetically pleasing reading flow. He used a dance frame of reference to "orchestrat[e]" a page design that would reflect this performativity. According to Sammie Johnson and Patricia Prijatel, his pages had "a musical feeling and a rhythm that would carry the reader through the magazine like a series of dance steps.... Brodovitch expected magazine design to have spontaneity, vitality, and movement."<sup>14</sup> His elegant designs and modern use of the page's white space earned him a legacy as one of America's most renowned graphic designers.

In Emily Hage's 2016 article on Hugo Ball's *Cabaret Voltaire*,<sup>15</sup> she similarly understands the magazine, which arose out of the club Cabaret Voltaire in Switzerland, as its own performance: "In many ways, the magazine *Cabaret Voltaire*, with its assortment and sequencing of materials, recalls a cabaret or variety show.... Subsequent pages feature a mishmash of many distinct kinds of contributions, each of which brings with it a distinct mode of address and a framework of references and expectations." Furthermore, performance theory

11 Van der Laan and Kuipers, "How Aesthetic Logics," 67.

12 Rubin, *Pointe*.

13 Hohenstatt, "a *Dance Mag*."

14 Johnson and Prijatel, *Magazine from Cover*, 214.

15 Hage, "Living Magazine," 403.

in general has its place in periodical studies, for example in Olga Taxidou's analysis of *The Mask*, an early twentieth-century art periodical: "In general the way the periodical appears to the eye is consistent with Craig's [the editor] overall views on performance ... he not only writes on his theories but also demonstrates them visually. In this sense the periodical functions as a *performance*, and, as we shall see, its whole layout reinforces this effect."<sup>16</sup>

Although these examples are a starting point, they remain fairly superficial and ignore the thingness – the haptic quality of the magazine – and its 'living' relationship to its reader. Labanian theory, however, can account for the magazine as an object with all of its haptic capabilities.

Rudolf Laban (1879–1958) was a Hungarian dancer and choreographer who developed a system for writing human movement still used worldwide today. Sutil summarizes Laban's ideas on dance:

Laban spoke of space specifically in terms of an area within reach of the body's extended limbs, which when projected in all directions from the bodily centre can be conceived as a totality of movement or a sphere of movement; Movement analysis therefore encourages us to rationalize movement as a series of snapshots, which can be ordered, structured, formalized as part of a meaningful and codified bodily language.<sup>17</sup>

Laban coined the kinesphere – the sphere of space around the human body<sup>18</sup> determined by the body's structure and limits of its reach in terms of 1) its verticality, which acts as its structural center of movement; 2) its horizontality, the range of motion left to right; and 3) the sagittal, the diagonal extensions of our body. As we move and test the boundaries of our reach, we create invisible trace forms (like the streaks of circle on the cover) and our individual kinespheres move with us; as we jump, fall, and collide with others around us, so too do our kinespheres. Our movement and bodies are therefore inseparable from the movements of others and the greater material world around us. Furthermore, Laban developed an idea for choreutics, "a vision of space movement that involves a multisensory perception: Vision is not only trained to produce sight perception, but also a motional perception (proprioception), as well as an audial – spatial sense."<sup>19</sup> I maintain that kinespheric trace

16 Taxidou, "The Mask", 3.

17 Sutil, "Rudolf Laban," 174.

18 For a comprehensive discussion of Laban's movement theory, see Brooks, "Harmony in Space," 29–41.

19 Sutil, "Topological Movement," 175.



forms illustrated in *a Dance Mag's* visual identity function as the "dotted line." This, combined with the multisensory perception of choreutics, allows us to delve deep into the logic of the magazine's composition and materiality. This nonreductionary perspective mirrors the magazine itself – instead of targeting its readers by establishing a specific community, a balletic community for example (in the case of *Pointe*), *a Dance Mag* uses the multimodality of Laban's methods to stress the interconnectedness of people both within and outside of a perceived dance community; the magazine becomes the material mediator.

The slenderness of *a Dance Mag* induces a perception of verticality, literally given stability and structure by its spine, from which movement can extend outwards. The arrangement of the less salient month of publication and issue number, "July" and "01," respectively (running horizontally across the center of the cover), function as a representation of the horizontal range of motion. Simultaneously, they act as a framing device for the rest of the magazine, separating the texts from the artistic elements. Kress and Van Leeuwen summarize such an information value distribution as the "Ideal" (the top) and the "Real" (the bottom), whereby the Ideal is "the idealized or generalized essence of the information, hence also as its, ostensibly, most salient part," and the Real "the specific information (for example, details), more 'down-to-earth' information (for example, photographs as documentary evidence, or maps or charts ...)."<sup>20</sup> While this holds true on a content level, the salience of the "Real" in *a Dance Mag* is almost always stronger than the "Ideal"; every article experiments with the color, and many of them play with this boundary, often spilling over into the top half of the page if not consuming it entirely (this will be explored in-depth later). The titles (*a Dance Mag* and "Transcendence") as well as the barcode and ISSN number serve as the sagittal extensions. The actual sphere of human movement, and for that matter the movement of the magazine itself, the interconnectedness of these elements, is signaled by the circle. Also noteworthy is the inversion of white space on the cover. Instead of using white space (or "negative space"<sup>21</sup>) as a backdrop for the circular elements of movement on the page or using white space to achieve a "'clean' and uncluttered minimalist"<sup>22</sup> aesthetic, *a Dance Mag* uses the white to signal movement, cutting through the solid orange paper. Although minimalist in terms of the lack of clutter on the cover, the inversion of white and yellow-orange suggests that the magazine departs from a place of complexity. Hence, deviating from its mainstream counterparts, *a Dance Mag* embraces multiplicity, signaling its

20 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 193.

21 Olsen, Pracejus, and Oguinn, "Print Advertising," 857.

22 Olsen, Pracejus, and Oguinn, 857.

goal of addressing multiple affiliations and intertwined identities through dance. Instead of providing a “clean” space for storytelling, this initial inversion alludes to not only the magazine’s multimodality, but also its broad spectrum of essays.

A mainstream consumer cover invites a flip-through of the magazine by including catchy teaser lines, or “cover lines.”<sup>23</sup> The summer 2014 issue of *Pointe*, again as an example, uses the “common single image, multiple cover lines”<sup>24</sup> design, whereby the aforementioned three models dominate the middle of the page and teasers from the articles are arranged around them. In contrast, *a Dance Mag* does not immediately reveal anything about its contents, forcing an interested reader to physically pick it up. The content is then revealed as a collection of essays on the topic of the issue’s theme, “Transcendence.” There are no recipes, horoscopes, or other similar genres that typically engage the reader – this role falls to first and foremost the design. As we flip from essay to essay, we engage with a different, multimodal piece of art. Page refers to this as an “Eclecticism” that “renders [the magazine] interactive, demanding of the reader a shift in approach as he or she turns from page to page, ... [which] enhance[s] its back-and-forth quality.”<sup>25</sup>

The most prominent example of this is the double title page spread for “On Whirling, the Heart, and How to Be a Dervish: An Interview with Camille Helminski” (fig. 8.2).

The two-page spread is dominated by an orange and white bleed photo,<sup>26</sup> the “salience”<sup>27</sup> of which renders the effect of a Rorschach test inkblot, earning it a spot at the top of the page’s visual hierarchy. Two general consistencies in the magazine’s arrangement – the small-font reiteration of the title in the middle of the page and the page numbers at the bottom of the page – reinforce the magazine’s verticality while still emphasizing the horizontal axis. The reading experience thus becomes a dance, the “perpendicular expression of a horizontal desire”<sup>28</sup> referred to in the correspondence with Jana. Yet the image can only be deciphered if viewed not just as an image superimposed onto the surface of the page, but in the circular way it radiates from the spine of the issue. The eye flits across the double-page spread before finally finding the title at the top, which is also spread across both pages, before returning to the image. Kress

23 Olsen, Pracejus, and Oguinn, 51.

24 Sumner and Rhoades, *Magazines*, 2:51.

25 Hage, “Living Magazine,” 403.

26 Johnson and Prijatelj, *Magazine from Cover*, 218.

27 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 184.

28 Hohenstatt, “*a Dance Mag*.”



FIGURE 8.2 Danielle Chikhani, “On Whirling, the Heart, and How to Be a Dervish,” in Jana Al-Obeidyne, ed., *a Dance Mag* (Beirut: Caryola, 2018), 40–41. Used with permission

and Leeuwen refer to this as the “circular fashion” of reading a page.<sup>29</sup> In a nod to the title of the article, white and varying shades of orange alternate from the middle of the page outward, simultaneously depicting a heart and human figures with outstretched arms. This difference in salience of the yellow-orange alludes to the figures’ whirling movements as they were captured in the original picture. The interconnectedness of the page’s elements take their form in the intertwined, circular movement of both the eye deciphering the page and the dervish whirling. Coincidentally, whirling dervishes were a significant

29 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 218.

source of inspiration for Rudolf Laban: “He encountered the ... Dervish dancers whose prayers were manifest in movement, in whirling until a trance was induced.... This magic of dance, this power of movement over man, was deeply impressive to the young Laban. He saw it as the conquest of forces of nature through dance.”<sup>30</sup>

The “back-and-forth” quality<sup>31</sup> is enhanced by the integration of rhythmic elements, eliciting continuity and cohesiveness between individual designs, much like Laban’s choreutics. From the very first page, each paragraph is offset from the paragraph before it, creating the effect of a pulsing rhythm that carries throughout the entire magazine. This supports Kress and Van Leeuwen’s idea of the page as a design matrix, thereby highlighting the enmeshed nature of individual elements. They write:

Rhythm and balance also form the most bodily aspects of the text, the interface between our physical and semiotic selves. Without [them] physical coordination in time and space is impossible. They form an indispensable matrix for the production and reception of messages and are vital and human interaction. Moreover, it is to quite some degree from the sense of rhythm and the sense of compositional balance that our aesthetic pleasure in texts and our affective relations to texts are derived.<sup>32</sup>

The color adds to this harmonic effect, “link[ing] the various elements of the arrangement to one another and [creating] a sense of harmony in the text as a whole.”<sup>33</sup> Sometimes, however, this harmony is disrupted and challenged – a kind of push-back or collision between the elements’ boundaries.

This is expertly demonstrated in Gabriel Semerene’s contribution, “How Ketamine and Techno Helped Me Finally Understand Derrida (And Incidentally Saved My Life)” (fig. 8.3). Like the cover, this article inverts white space and departs from a completely black page. The blocked rhythm of the paragraphs is contrasted by a soft, flowy pattern, like visual sound waves. Depending on lighting, the darker waves also initially appear black; they are, however, the transcendent color yellow-orange, which we can see when the waves cross the white letters. Considering the title, the pages are, for lack of a better word, trippy. It is not clear if rendering the orange indiscernible from the black was intentional, or if the combination of paper and printer toner

30 Preston-Dunlop, *Rudolf Laban*, 3.

31 Hage, “Living Magazine,” 403.

32 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 214.

33 Iqani, *Consumer Culture*, 54.

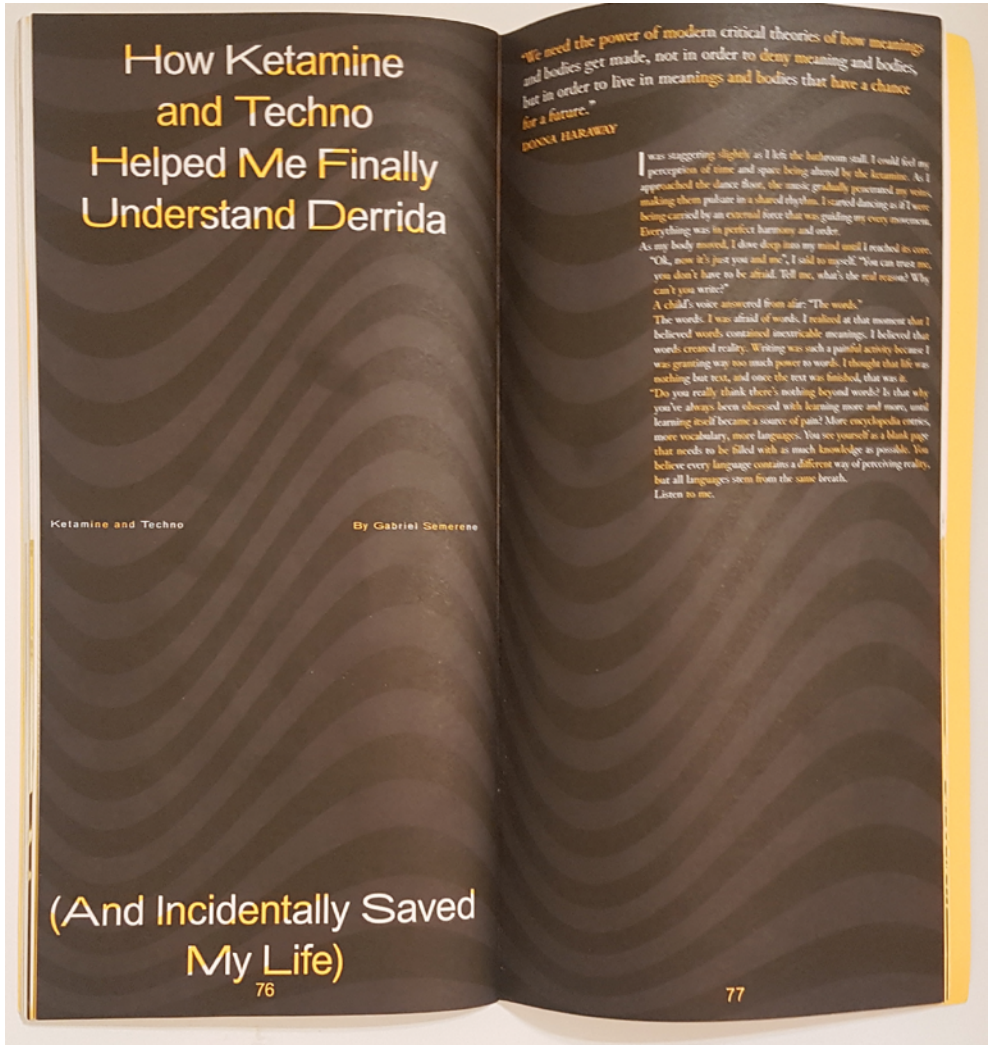


FIGURE 8.3 "How Ketamine and Techno Helped Me Finally Understand Derrida (And Incidentally Saved My Life)," in Jana Al-Obeidyne, ed., *a Dance Mag* (Beirut: Caryola, 2018), 76–77. Used with permission

created the difference in appearance; nonetheless, it encourages readers to engage with the magazine in a similar manner to "How to Be a Dervish." To capture the whole image, readers have to pick it up, tilt it, and engage in a process of inspection and reinspection to find all the hidden intricacies, the trace forms, that mark each page and continue onto the next; and the magazine is constantly reminding us to do so. In what seems like a challenge to the reader,

for example, one article is prefaced with a quote by Friedson Steven ending the with question: “How can we understand what it means to be *there-and-not-there* at the same time?”<sup>34</sup>

In “Ketamine and Techno,” the relation between design and textual elements is portrayed through movement – the waves blur boundaries between up and down, left and right, background and foreground, and spill onto the next page, almost like a black hole enveloping the magazine again reiterating Laban’s choreutics: “So, his idea of choreutics ... is based on a distinction between general space, in the way geometry or topology might define space, and space as a field of relations produced by the moving body. For Laban, space is therefore the volume occupied by an outreaching body – what he calls a ‘personal space.’”<sup>35</sup> Each article realizes the field of relations around the individual elements in a different way – some have more straightforward visual hierarchies or information values,<sup>36</sup> while some, like “Ketamine and Techno,” play with salience in order to blur those boundaries. Even the contributions with more rigid structures, however, always find ways to integrate the magazine’s visual identity. It explicitly returns in “Tales of a Sound Seeker. A Conversation with Arshia Haq,” with the sudden reemergence of the cover’s circle elements (fig. 8.4 and 8.5).

Arshia Haq was born in India and completed her Master of Fine Arts (MFA) at the California Institute of Arts. She currently lives and works in Los Angeles.<sup>37</sup> The topic of the article, an interview with creative director Ibrahim Nehme, is her tour through northern Africa and Pakistan to collect traditional Sufi music, and the impact of sound in the rituals of an unorthodox sect of Sufism, the Qalandri Circle, which “focus[es] on an immediate, unmediated and personal experience with the divine, very much anchored in the body.”<sup>38</sup> The middle of the article, which is also the middle of the entire magazine, is framed into two, again, by the small print reiteration of the title. The streaks of circles in “Tales of a Sound Seeker,” however, cut across the bottom half of the page and the text in the top section, touching the text as well as the bodies of the musicians depicted in the pictures. This mirrors how the word “*Mag*” is also touched by the movement of the semicircles on the cover, underscoring the magazine’s affect. The design catches the eye, but functions as content

34 Quoted in Okyere, “Dancing Deities,” 57.

35 Sutil, “Rudolf Laban,” 174.

36 Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 183.

37 Nehme, “Tales,” 49.

38 Nehme, “Tales,” 52.





FIGURE 8.4 “Tales of a Sound Seeker: A Conversation with Arshia Haq,” in Jana Al-Obeidyne, ed., *a Dance Mag* (Beirut: Caryola, 2018), 48–49. Used with permission

through its interplay with the textual elements. It creates an intense multimodal reading experience.

In what Megan Le Masurier coins the indie-specific “synergy” between design and content, Qalandri identities and their relationship to the spiritual world are materialized in the magazine’s paper corpus and offered to the reader. “Indie magazines lift design from its position as invisible handmaiden in most mainstream magazines to hyper-consciousness. Graphic design in



FIGURE 8.5 "Tales of a Sound Seeker: A Conversation with Arshia Haq," in Jana Al-Obeidyne, ed., *a Dance Mag* (Beirut: Caryola, 2018), 52–53. Used with permission

indie magazines *is* content,"<sup>39</sup> as text, page, art, and body become connected through and by multimodal interpretations of movement. By extension, movement and the narratives are connected by it, and hence the material magazine is *dance*. The magazine, then, becomes a circulating stage upon which stories from the dance community are reported on by people within the community

39 Le Masurier, "Independent Magazines," 389.



“in a manner that is meaningful to them and with their collaboration and support.”<sup>40</sup> This is an inherent characteristic of indies that Le Masurier calls “native reporting.”<sup>41</sup>

In the conversation about these Sufi shrines in Pakistan, the barriers and boundaries between people and society’s attempts at categorization fall away right here at the magazine’s center. Haq states: “These shrines are spaces where men and women cohabit. They are also spaces where queer people are openly visible – some are transgendered and others are not transitioned yet ... and these spaces are harbors ... the one place where they can come and participate in this intense musical experience, where they are actually fully in their bodies and completely abandoned.”<sup>42</sup>

This article’s design, in tandem with the multiplicity of design possibilities hinted at by the other contributions, highlights the magazine as the material space within which these types of narratives can circulate and ignite conversation. Whereas a body is absent on the cover, an obscured ‘other’ body is revealed in the interview through the collision of individual kinespheric boundaries. Not insignificantly, the article is also placed in the exact middle of the issue. It is here at the structural center of this particular independent magazine – in Labanian terms the place from which movement radiates – along the seams of its very simple staple binding, where the magazine opens itself up completely to the reader. Thus, there is a congruent vulnerability between the bodies written about in the text and the magazine’s material corpus – they open themselves up to change and be changed, to be examined, praised, or criticized; they always exist and circulate in relation to the material world around them. In a sense, this even touches on the choice of paper. Jana explained the recycled paper was to settle her conscious about printing the magazine instead of defaulting to a digital version.<sup>43</sup> To acknowledge the implications of deforestation, particularly during a time of raging debates on global warming, is to reiterate how intertwined humans are with the material world. The magazine’s corpus is as vulnerable to destruction as the trees or the shrines in Pakistan which, according to Haq, are “a target of violence.”<sup>44</sup> In short, we are all implicated in the movements of others, and our trace forms leave their mark even if we cannot directly see them.

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40 Le Masurier, 388.

41 Le Masurier, 388.

42 Nehme, “Tales,” 52–53.

43 Hohenstatt, “*a Dance Mag.*”

44 Nehme, “Tales,” 52–53.

In a nod to Laban's multisensory considerations of movement, *a Dance Mag* not only functions visually, but recognizes itself as a material body in relation to its audience. Piepmeier asserts, "although the text will stay the same, the artefact itself will change in subtle ways, like the body.... It brings together essential human qualities of care, fragility, pleasure and endurance, and allows ... the possibility of a meaningful, embodied connection."<sup>45</sup> True to the title's issue, when we pick up the magazine and open it, the boundaries of the magazine's corpus transcend our own. Reading becomes a three-dimensional performance in time and space, a sort of literary *pas-de-deux* with the material object that can be stopped or continued at any time, in which the boundaries of our movement become intertwined with those of the magazine, changing it throughout the process of buying, reading, (re-)gifting, returning it to a shelf, or putting it on display on a coffee table.

### 3 Conclusion

I have tried to show that the visual identity behind the cover illustration of *a Dance Mag* acts as an architectural "dotted line," shedding light on how the magazine's elements work in relation to each other and on different levels. Each article has its own design and different expressions of value information; Laban's movement theory and choreutics, however, allow us to visualize the composition of the magazine's design matrix. *A Dance Mag's* newness is advantageous to a visual identity approach – it will be possible to track its development and observe how the visual identity is adapted to different themes – if it persists or changes as the magazine grows or fails. Purcell urges aspiring indie creators to ask themselves, "What can you do differently? ... To figure that out, you need to know what type of magazine you are going to be. Be different, take some risks, and never forget why you are making your magazine in the first place."<sup>46</sup> As researchers, we must also rise to this challenge. Establishing a broader theoretical framework within which we can do multimodal, artifactual analyses of magazines might prove as difficult as trying to define the magazine in the first place. We might start, however, in the same place as magazine creators – considering the 'why' behind them. A multimodal, material-driven analysis of periodicals inherently requires the researcher to employ transdisciplinary methods and, particularly in the case of indies, it is fruitful to approach the magazine from *inside* the cultural perspective they report on

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45 Piepmeier, "Why Zines Matter," 235.

46 Purcell, *Magazine Blueprint*, 41.

and the influences *behind* their visual identities. Admittedly, this approach has its weaknesses. We certainly cannot ask nineteenth-century editors what their inspirations and goals for their magazines were, and contemporary editors may choose not to engage. Furthermore, a large-scale study of the indie genre is necessary to affirm or discredit this approach.

While the first steps to expanding periodical studies have already been taken – we now have diverse archives of periodicals spanning centuries, researchers are working to ‘plug’ historical gaps, and aspects such as advertisements are now scrutinized like never before<sup>47</sup> – we still cannot account for the magazine as a magazine in its entirety. The task at hand is thus to develop the methodologies and vocabularies that allow for new, multimodal analyses that account for a magazine’s materiality. In order to do so, we have to go beyond canonical titles and periods to include contemporary independent titles. These are nichey, complex, and continue to push the boundaries of the magazine medium that according to Latham is “possessed of its own avant-garde possibilities, pleasures, and politics”;<sup>48</sup> they are, furthermore, uniquely accessible and invite researchers to engage with creative communities. Understanding how these indie titles function both on (and in) paper may inform our approaches to historical titles and shed new light on them.

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47 Latham and Scholes, “Rise of Periodical Studies.”

48 Latham, “Mess and Muddle,” 408.

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**IV**

*Translation*

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# Translation

*Jutta Ernst*

The many content and design decisions an editor or an editorial team has to take are usually ruled by the wish of turning the periodical into a brand – that is, an easily recognizable print or online product which occupies a particular niche in the market and sells to a growing audience. In this respect, also the language or languages in which a periodical's written content appears are crucial. They not only limit or expand the possible readership, depending on the worldwide number of speakers, but also help to establish a specific periodical identity. Closely related to language choice is the issue of translation, so far an understudied aspect in magazine and newspaper research, which, however, needs to be addressed in order to fully capture the dynamics in the formation of periodical cultures. This holds all the more true as, ever since the beginning of periodical publishing, regional and national borders have been crossed in production, distribution, and reception, thus ensuring information supply and knowledge circulation in enlarged spheres (see also section VII on Location and Transfer).

Among the many questions one could raise with regard to translation is, first, which periodical texts have been translated from which source language by whom and at whose instigation? Second, how have they been translated and what are the effects of the translatory solutions on the readers' end? Third, why has translation been preferred over printing the text in the original language (or the other way round) and which periodical actors were involved in this decision? In how far have copyright regulations impinged on the decision to include or not to include translated texts? Are translated texts typographically marked, e.g., set in a different font or color, when compared with the contributions in the periodical's main language and what does that entail for the periodical's self-perception and its community-building potential (see also section VI on Community)? Next to these and similar questions which pertain to specific texts and tackle linguistic translation, one might also ask in how far instances of cultural translation have shaped a particular periodical. It is well known, for instance, that Ezra Pound, in his capacity as foreign editor of the *The Little Review* (1914–1929), recommended the *Mercure de France* (1890–) as a model for the American modernist magazine, proposing to editor Margaret Anderson to emulate some of the French journal's rubrics.

In contemporary times, there are more and more periodicals which count on English as a *lingua franca*, although their editorial offices are based in



Amsterdam or Berlin, thus either having their content produced in English from the start or having it translated into this shared global idiom. Others, such as the Reykjavík-based independent magazine *FÆDA* | *FOOD* (2016–), have decided on bilinguality, offering Icelandic and English textual variants in different columns next to each other; or, as the design, business, and lifestyle magazine *nomad* (2016–) practiced it until November 2018, issue separate German-language and English-language editions.

The two chapters in this section showcase linguistic and cultural translation as well as their overall effects in different sociocultural spheres. Translational strategies to produce a German version of Frank Norris's *The Octopus* for an audience with socialist leanings stand in the center of Florian Freitag's contribution. Tracing how the annual calendar *Pionier* used "textual selection, translational shifts at the textual level, and paratextual framing" (255) and aligning these procedures with André Lefevere's notion of translation as rewriting, the author shows how methodologies derived from translation studies can fruitfully be combined with periodical studies approaches. Under the title "Transnationale Avantgarde-Zeitschriften als Verhandlungsforen europäischer Kunst, Gesellschaft und Politik: *Contimporanul* und *Integral*" Iulia-Karin Patrut presents a case study on two Romania-based periodicals which strove to negotiate between West and East European languages, cultural discourses, and traditions, thus opening up a transnational space of engagement for the avant-garde in the 1920s.

## Translation and Periodical Studies: The *Pionier's* Rewriting of Frank Norris's *The Octopus*

*Florian Freitag*

### Abstract

This chapter discusses the first German translation of Frank Norris's *The Octopus: A Story of California* (1901), which appeared in late 1903 in the *Pionier*, a yearly illustrated calendar published by the New York City-based nonprofit Socialist Cooperative Publishing Association. More specifically, combining a periodical studies with a translation studies approach, it examines the specific translational strategies that the *Pionier* employed to tailor Norris's novel to its ideological agenda and target audience: textual selection, translational shifts at the textual level, and paratextual framing. In a second step, drawing on Lefevere's conceptualization of translation as a form of rewriting, I compare the *Pionier's* translation of *The Octopus* to other contemporary popular rewritings of the novel (namely, film adaptations and reviews). Ultimately, the chapter illustrates how periodical studies can profitably integrate approaches to linguistic, medial, and cultural translation.

### 1 Introduction

When Frank Norris unexpectedly died of peritonitis at the age of thirty-two in October 1902, American periodicals responded with a flurry of death notices, obituaries, and retrospective articles about his life and work. Many of these pieces were especially attuned to the publications' individual interests and target audiences. In the December 1902 issue of the literary magazine *The North American Review*, for example, William Dean Howells discussed Émile Zola's influence on Norris, offered detailed readings of *McTeague* (1899) and *The Octopus* (1901), compared Norris to Stephen Crane, and reflected in very general terms on the future of American fiction.<sup>1</sup> Already in October 1902, the *University of California Chronicle*, a quarterly dedicated to social and academic events on UC campuses, in turn, had printed a collection of personal

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<sup>1</sup> Howells, "Frank Norris."

reminiscences of Norris by Harry M. Wright, one of the writer's closest friends from his student days at San Francisco Boys' High School and UC Berkeley.<sup>2</sup>

Yet perhaps the most interesting obituary of Norris appeared as late as October 1903 in the 1904 edition of the *Pionier*, an illustrated German-language calendar published by the New York City-based nonprofit Socialist Cooperative Publishing Association. Unsigned and simply entitled "Frank Norris," the seven-page article not only contains a general appraisal of Norris's writing, an excerpt from his essay "The True Reward of the Novelist" (first published in *World's Work* in 1901), and a large photograph of Norris comfortably sitting in a chair, reading a book, and smoking a pipe (also taken from a 1901 issue of *World's Work*; see fig. 9.1). It also features what one may consider the very first German translation of *The Octopus: A Story of California*, the first installment of Norris's projected "Epic of the Wheat" trilogy and the last novel published in book form prior to his death.<sup>3</sup>

Like those by Howells and Wright, the *Pionier's* obituary of Norris, and especially the translation of *The Octopus* offered therein, were specifically tailored to the editorial formula and the target audience of the calendar – in this case, German-speaking supporters of the international labor movement living in the US.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in "Frank Norris," as well as in the follow-up article "Der Weizen als Nemesis" (published in October 1904 in the 1905 edition of the calendar), the *Pionier* and its translator(s) use a variety of translational strategies to position *The Octopus* as a "purpose novel" informed by and supporting a Socialist worldview. It is these strategies that this chapter seeks to identify by combining a periodical studies with a translation studies approach. More specifically, conceiving of the network of textual and pictorial elements that surrounds the translation within the obituary in particular and within the *Pionier* in general as paratexts of the translation, I will show how the calendar employs not just translational shifts at the textual level (for example lexical choices) and textual selection or "zero translation," but also and especially paratextual framing to present Norris's novel as a "wake-up call" to German-speaking Socialists in the US.

In a second step, I will draw on translation studies scholar André Lefevere's conceptualization of translation as "rewriting" in order to compare the *Pionier's* translation of *The Octopus* to other popular rewritings of the novel

2 Wright, "In Memoriam."

3 *The Pit: A Story of Chicago*, the second installment of the "Epic of the Wheat," was serialized in the *Saturday Evening Post* from September 1902 through January 1903, but did not appear as a book until January 1903; see McElrath and Crisler, *Frank Norris*, xxii.

4 On the development of the calendar as a periodical form, see Poore, "Pionier," 108–10.

### Frank Norris.

Wir werden leider aus der Feder von Frank Norris keine neuen Bücher entstehen sehen. Bevor er noch den auf drei Erzählungen berechneten Roman-Oktav „Das Epos des Weizens“ vollenden konnte, ist der Tod ihm am 28. Oktober 1902 für immer die Augen, nachdem er kaum das 32. Lebensjahr zurückgelegt hatte.

Der Weizen als sozialer Machtfaktor, als Weltbewegende, wohlthätige Kraft, das sollte, ganz im Zola'schen Geiste und mit rückhaltloser Wahrheitstheorie dargestellt, die Centralidee des durch und durch amerikanischen Werkes sein. Wir haben es hier mit einem unermüdlichen sozialen Roman zu thun, dem ersten literarisch bedeutenden Werke dieser Art, aus amerikanischen Verhältnissen herausgewachsen und mit martiger Hand nach dem Leben gezeichnet.

Die erste Erzählung des Ochs, der „Octopus“, hat als Grundlage den Kampf der Weizenfarmer Californiens gegen die germalende Uebermacht des Eisenbahnmonopols. Die zweite, „The Pit“, führt uns in das Gewühl der Getreidebörse von Chicago, wo das Weizen in unermesslichen Strömen ein- und ausfließt, seinem Circulationsproceß zuwendend. Die dritte Erzählung, „The Wolf“, sollte schildern, wie der gelbe Weizenstrom in einem vom Hunger heimgesuchten entlegenen Theile der Welt als Nektar und Götter austritt. Für diesen brillanten Theil hatte Norris bereits reichliches Material gesammelt, als

frühzeitiger Tod seine Hand erstarren machte. Nach Plan, Weltanschauung und Behandlung haben wir hier ein Werk vor uns, welches sich auf wirklichem sozialem Boden bewegt und mit bewundernswerther Klarheit, frei von aller Heuchelei und Schönfärberei, sich nur ein Ziel setzt: das „Ausprechen dessen, was ist.“

In welsch' hochethischem Sinne Norris die Aufgabe des echten Schriftstellers erfaßt, erhellt am Besten aus einer von ihm kurz vor seinem Tode geschriebenen Stelle:

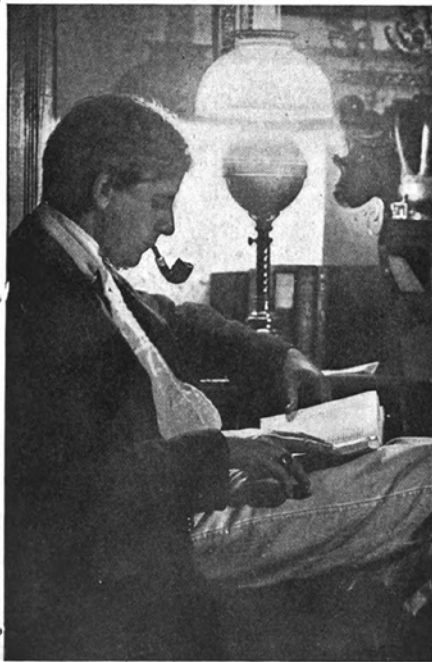
„Geld zu machen, ist nicht die Aufgabe des Novellisten. Wenn er von rechtem Schrot und Korn ist, hat er andere Verantwortlichkeiten, und zwar gewichtige. Er ganz besonders darf nicht nur für sich und an sich selbst denken. Und wenn die letzte Seite geschrieben ist und die Fäuste an der Federhülse bedrückt, wenn die hungrigen Druckpressen einem anderen Schriftsteller

nachbitten, dem „Neuen Mann“ und der neuen Mode der wochselnden Stunde, so soll er an die lange, harte Arbeit denken, an die hinter ihm liegenden Lebensjahre, an sein Werk, das er Hand um Hand vollendet — aufrichtiges Werk, die Wahrheit verkündend, wie er sie erkannte, unabhängig von der Mode und den Gasfreiergütern, mit fest gehaltenen Händen und zusammengeklammerten Zähnen festhaltend an seiner inneren Ueberzeugung — an all das soll er denken, und er wird sagen dürfen: „Ich bin nie gestochen; ich nahm nie vor der Mode meinen Hut ab und hielt ihn hin, Pfennige einzusammeln. Bei Gott, ich sagte ihnen die Wahrheit. Ob sie ihnen gefiel, ob sie nicht gefiel — was kümmert's mich? Ich sagte ihnen die Wahrheit; ich erkannte sie damals als die Wahrheit, und ich erkenne sie auch jetzt als Wahrheit.“ Und das ist sein Lohn, der beste, den ein Mann je kennt, der einzige, dessen Ersetzung in Wirklichkeit der Mühe werth ist.“

Wie dieses Glaubensbekenntniß zeigt, haben wir es hier mit keinem „Wochselweiser zu thun“, mit keinem „Käseker der Gefolge“, mit keinem um die Gunst der herrschenden Klassen suchenden Schönfärber, mit keinem gefirnigten Gewohnheitslügner, sondern mit einem echten Ritter des heiligen Geistes, dem die Feder als Waffe in die Hand gewungen ist. Eine herzerquickende Erscheinung in der Dede und Banalität unserer amerikanischen Novellistik.

Um den Lesern eine Idee von Norris' ruchtiger Gestaltungskraft zu geben, lassen wir eine der Schlüsselformen des Romans „Octopus“ folgen.

Die Farmer sind in ihrem Kampfe gegen das Eisenbahn-



Frank Norris.

FIGURE 9.1 The first page of "Frank Norris," published anonymously in the 1904 edition of the *Pioneer*

THE UNREDITED PHOTOGRAPH HAD ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN A 1901 ISSUE OF *WORLD'S WORK*

from the period, including early newspaper reviews and D. W. Griffith's 1909 movie *A Corner in Wheat*. The parallels that will emerge from this comparison suggest, as I will argue, that in the wake of the novel's publication, there existed an entire range of popular rewritings – reviews, adaptations, translations – that sought to generically categorize *The Octopus* as a “social novel,” an example of “littérature engagée,” or, to use the title of Norris's May 1902 article in *World's*

*Work*, a “novel with a ‘purpose’”<sup>5</sup> – a perspective that sharply contrasts with later academic critiques of *The Octopus* as a seminal example of American literary naturalism. From a methodological perspective, the comparison of early rewritings of *The Octopus* further supports the notion that periodical texts, translations, and particularly translations that were published as periodical texts, must not be read in isolation, but should always be regarded as part of an intertextual network of periodical texts and images and/or rewritings. Moreover, such a comparison also confirms the idea that both periodicals and translations/rewritings – and particularly anonymous and illustrated translations such as the *Pionier*’s rewriting of *The Octopus* – fundamentally undermine the “unitary conception of authorship”<sup>6</sup> and should therefore be read as the products of an interpersonal network of collaborators.

## 2 Translation Studies, Periodical Studies, and the *Pionier*

Following the rise of descriptive translation studies and what later came to be referred to as the “Manipulation School” during the 1980s as well as the ensuing “cultural turn” during the 1990s,<sup>7</sup> translation studies scholars – especially those focusing on literary translation – have become particularly interested in the production and reception processes of translations. This generally entails, as Claire Gilbert has recently noted in an article for *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Culture*, paying special attention to the “context and co-texts” of translations,<sup>8</sup> that is, the “network of personal and institutional relationships in which a translator, a patron, a reader, or any other actor in the translation process is embedded” as well as the “texts or other materials found outside the translation.”<sup>9</sup> In the context of a translation published in a periodical, such as the *Pionier*’s translation of *The Octopus*, “context and co-texts” first and foremost refer to the various actors involved in the production, distribution, and reception of the periodical as well as to the various textual and pictorial elements that surround the translation within the periodical publication.

It is precisely at this point that periodical studies and translation studies converge. For just as translation studies has refused to examine translations in isolation, periodical studies has been based on the premise that periodicals are

5 Norris, “Novel with a ‘Purpose.’”

6 Tucker, *Illustration*, 158.

7 See Toury, *In Search of*; Hermans, *Manipulation of Literature*; Bassnett and Lefevere, *Translation*.

8 Gilbert, “Social Context,” 226.

9 Gilbert, 226, 227.

more than just compilations or containers of individual, independent features. And just as translation studies has therefore become particularly interested in the “context and co-texts” of translations, periodical studies has thus come to increasingly focus, as John Fagg, Matthew Pethers, and Robin Vandome have noted in the introduction to a special issue of *American Periodicals* (2013),<sup>10</sup> on the institutional networks of periodical actors and the intertextual networks of periodical features that make up the periodical. In the present case of a translation published *within* a periodical, then, translation studies and periodical studies directly feed into each other, as their mutual interest in the interpersonal and intertextual networks that produce and surround the periodical feature/the translation have become squarely congruent.

Unfortunately, very little is known about the periodical/translational actors – editor(s), illustrator(s), translator(s), etc. – involved in the production and distribution of the *Pionier* in general and of “Frank Norris” in particular. What we do know is that the *Pionier: Illustrierter Volks-Kalender* (Pioneer: Illustrated Calendar for the People), to give it its full title, was one of several “satellite” publications of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, which, along with the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* (founded in 1834) and the *Deutsches Journal* (1895–1918), belonged to the three most successful German-language daily newspapers in New York City during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>11</sup> Established as the official organ of the Sozialistische Arbeiter-Partei (Socialist Labor Party) in January 1878 at 184 William Street near Printing House Square, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (NYVZ) was formally published by the nonprofit Socialist Cooperative Publishing Association, with Alexander Jonas, who had previously edited the weekly *Arbeiterstimme*, as editor in chief and recent Russian émigré Sergius E. Schewitsch in charge of the *Sonntagsblatt* (the Sunday edition).<sup>12</sup>

By 1903, when the NYVZ celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary and “Frank Norris” was published in the *Pionier*, the paper had almost quadrupled its rather modest original circulation of 5,500<sup>13</sup> and had a new editor in chief. Since 1891, German-born Hermann Schlüter had been at the head of the NYVZ. As Peter Conolly-Smith notes, Schlüter had “emigrated to the United States in the 1860s, worked for the German-language radical press in Chicago, then

10 Fagg, Pethers, and Vandome, “Networks and the Nineteenth-Century Periodical,” 101.

11 On the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and the *Deutsches Journal*, see Conolly-Smith, *Translating America*, 54–76 and Conolly-Smith, “Transforming,” respectively.

12 On Jonas and Schewitsch, see Van der Linden and Zieren, “August Sartorius,” 48n49. On the NYVZ in general, see Hoerder and Weber, *Glimpses*, 9–18 and Conolly-Smith, *Translating America*, 54–76.

13 See Poore, “*Pionier*,” 111.

returned to Germany as a foreign correspondent during the panic of the 1870s, only to leave for America once more in the wake of Bismarck's 1878 antisocialist laws.<sup>14</sup> Schlüter would remain in his post until his death in 1919 while simultaneously authoring a series of monographs on the German American labor movement (for example, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika*, 1907). Moreover, by 1903 the NYVZ had grown into an entire family of periodicals, including the NYVZ and its *Sonntagsblatt*, of course, but also the weekly journals *Vorwärts: Wochenblatt der New Yorker Volkszeitung* (since 1878) and *The People/The Worker* (in English; since 1891)<sup>15</sup> as well as the yearly *Pionier* (since 1881).<sup>16</sup> Carol Poore maintains that the same people who were responsible for the NYVZ, the *Sonntagsblatt*, the *Vorwärts*, and *The People/The Worker* also wrote for the *Pionier*,<sup>17</sup> although it remains unclear who exactly was involved in "Frank Norris" and especially in the translation of *The Octopus*. As virtually all of the NYVZ staff were native speakers of German and (more or less) fluent in English, anyone could have acted as the translator(s).

In fact, given the multigeneric and multimedial nature of "Frank Norris" – the article comprises, as we shall see, biography, literary criticism, translation, as well as printed text and photography – but also given the political orientation of the *Pionier*, it is not entirely inconceivable that the article in general and the translation in particular were the product of collaborative work. On the one hand, the various competences or skills required for "Frank Norris," from critical analysis and literary translation to the reproduction of images, may have called for the cooperation of several experts in each of these fields. On the other hand, such collaborative work would have fit particularly well with the political spirit of this publication, which was, after all, officially published by what referred to itself as the Socialist Cooperative Publishing Association. To be sure, like many other periodicals at the time, the NYVZ and the *Pionier* were hierarchically organized, with – formally, at least – an editor in chief at the head of the editorial teams, and especially the *Pionier* liberally accorded the "social prestige of authorship"<sup>18</sup> to contributors of literary texts (short stories and poems), their names appearing below the titles of their texts as well as in the table of contents. However, articles dealing with politics in general and the labor movement in particular are often left unsigned, thus suggesting a team of

14 Conolly-Smith, *Translating America*, 69.

15 On the *Vorwärts* and *The People/The Worker*, see Hoerder and Weber, *Glimpses*, 10, 11.

16 During the first two years of its existence, the NYVZ had apparently imported and distributed a yearly calendar from Europe, namely, *Der Republikaner*, edited by Jacob Obrist and printed in Switzerland; see Obrist, "Meine Bekanntschaft," 118.

17 See Poore, "Pionier," 111.

18 Cordell, "Reprinting," 418.

collaborating editors, illustrators, and other periodical actors that speaks with a common, unitary voice.<sup>19</sup>

Much more can be said, of course, about the network of textual, pictorial, and other periodical elements that surround “Frank Norris” and “Der Weizen als Nemesis” within the 1904 and 1905 editions of the *Pionier*, both of which have been digitized and are freely available online.<sup>20</sup> Comparing these two editions to earlier and later ones as well as to Poore’s general description of the structure and the content of the *Pionier* over its more than fifty-year life span<sup>21</sup> – the last edition appeared in 1932, which was also the year in which the *NYVZ* ceased publication – one may conclude that the 1904 and 1905 editions constitute fairly typical issues of the calendar: for example, the cover of the 1904/1905 *Pionier* shows a drawing of a middle-aged, bearded man in a leather apron against the background of a river landscape. Surrounded by work tools (for example, an anvil and a hammer), the man is holding a flagpole topped with a Phrygian cap; the fluttering banner reads “PIONIER” (“pioneer”). The themes of liberty and labor are taken up again in the background, where four circular inserts depict a smith, a carpenter, a farmer, and a sailor (all male), signs of industry and commerce dot the landscape (for example, a factory with a tall smoking chimney and steam and sailing ships), and the actual words “Freiheit” (“liberty”) and “Arbeit” (“labor”) appear above the setting sun. This cover image, which had been used at least since 1900, would be retained until the 1910 edition, when it was replaced by a drawing of a man in front of a log cabin (that is, an actual pioneer) flanked by allegorical depictions of liberty and labor.

Similarly, while the frontispieces of earlier and later editions of the *Pionier* would feature the “portrait of a revolutionary leader like Marx or Lasalle or a reproduction of a painting (perhaps from revolutionary history such as Adolph [von] Menzel’s paintings of 1848, but perhaps also a landscape or genre painting),”<sup>22</sup> the 1904 and 1905 editions greet readers with studies of the “enemies” of the revolution – those who, in the eyes of the *NYVZ*, shun honest “Arbeit” and stand in the way of “Freiheit”: a picture of a hopelessly inebriated monk amidst empty wine bottles entitled “In the Monastery Cellar” (1904) and a drawing of a group of policemen hiding behind a street corner and waiting to attack a march of workers called “Unsettled Times” (1905). Along with

19 With respect to the *NYVZ*, Conolly-Smith has similarly pointed out that editor in chief “Schlüter’s editorials were never signed, and his name never even appeared in the newspaper’s masthead.” Conolly-Smith, *Translating America*, 69.

20 See <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101072312364>.

21 See Poore, “*Pionier*,” 112.

22 Poore.



capitalists, agents of authority such as the clergy and the police were frequently targeted in the texts and pictures printed in the *Pionier*.<sup>23</sup>

Following the frontispiece and the table of contents, the actual calendar section only takes up twelve pages – one for each month – and thus a little more than ten per cent of the entire calendar. Each month is accompanied, as Poore notes, by an illustration as well as a list of “important dates including events from American and European progressive history.”<sup>24</sup> The list of “historical and biographical dates” for March 1904, for instance, includes the death of Goethe in 1832 and the birth of Wilhelm Liebknecht (one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party in Germany) in 1826, the emancipation of Russian serfs in 1861 and of Puerto Rican slaves in 1873, but also the Boston Massacre in 1770 and the withdrawal of British troops from that city six years later. Hence, the calendar section addresses an immigrant readership that clearly retains some attachment to the old home, its language, culture, and politics, but also has a keen interest in European and international progressive history, and especially that of the new home.

This also applies to the back section of the calendar. In addition to about ten pages of advertisements mainly for small, local, German-owned businesses – like the *NYVZ* itself,<sup>25</sup> the *Pionier* apparently found it difficult to attract ads from larger, American companies – this section usually features “greetings from many socialist and labor fraternal organizations in New York City, and lists of books which could be ordered from the *NYVZ*”:<sup>26</sup> in fact, in both 1904 and 1905 the “Socialist Literature Company,” which used the same address as the offices of the *NYVZ*, ran ads for “Agitations-Broschüren” (propaganda material) such as one Emil Lies’s *Was ist Socialismus?* (“What Is Socialism?”) or *Municipale Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie* (“Municipal Goals of Social Democratic Politics”) by editor in chief Schlüter himself, but also for editions of the writings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Ferdinand Lasalle.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the 1904 edition also offers readers information about the measures and weights, coins and bills, abbreviations, and time zones used in the US,<sup>28</sup> thus once again marking the *Pionier* as an immigrant publication.

The bulk of the *Pionier*, however – about 80 pages per issue – is made up of what Poore refers to as “reading material”:<sup>29</sup> the characteristic mix of poems,

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23 Poore.

24 Poore.

25 See Conolly-Smith, *Translating America*, 69.

26 Poore, “*Pionier*,” 112.

27 *Pionier* 1904, 97; *Pionier* 1905, 100.

28 *Pionier* 1904, 95.

29 Poore, “*Pionier*,” 112.

short stories, essays on issues of art, science, history, technology, and travel, as well as pictorial material (some of which related to specific texts) that could also be found in a typical issue of one of the leading American literary magazines from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – sans any serialized matter such as novels or regular editorial departments, however. Unlike in these literary magazines, but as in the (German) immigrant press in general,<sup>30</sup> only some of the material was original and specifically written for the *Pionier*. As Poore points out, “many pieces were taken over from the German press or calendars” and “very little material was translated from English for inclusion.”<sup>31</sup> In fact, while also featuring both original pieces (for example, short stories and illustrated articles on science and nature by German American writers Edna Fern and Wilhelm Gundlach, respectively)<sup>32</sup> and reprints from Germany and Austria (for example, Friedrich Schiller’s crime report “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” [“The Criminal of Lost Honor”] and Franz Brand’s sketch “Ein Arbeiter” [“A Worker”]),<sup>33</sup> the 1904 and 1905 editions of the *Pionier* do contain a fair amount of translations, not just from English (in addition to *The Octopus*, an illustrated short story by Lewis A. MacBrayne entitled “The Promised Land” and first published in 1902 in *McClure’s*),<sup>34</sup> but also from French (Émile Zola’s “Le paradis des chats” [“Cats’ Paradise”]) and Russian (Maxim Gorky’s “Vyvod” [“The Procession of Shame”] and excerpts from Leo Tolstoy’s “Razrushenie ada i vosstanovlenie ego” [“The Restoration of Hell”]).<sup>35</sup>

Poore also maintains that from the point of view of content, “by no means all of [the ‘reading material’] was overtly political. Those pieces expressing a clearly socialist standpoint were definitely in the minority.”<sup>36</sup> Of course, articles such as “Das Leipziger Centralkomitee und Ferdinand Lassalle” (“The Central Committee in Leipzig and Ferdinand Lassalle”) or “Der Klassenkampf in Colorado” (“Class Conflict in Colorado”) openly acknowledged their

30 See, for instance, Steinroetter, “Politics,” 33 or Starnes, “Entertaining Companion,” 86.

31 Poore, “*Pionier*,” 112.

32 See Fern’s “Finchen” (*Pionier* 1904, 31–34) and “Eine Beichte” (*Pionier* 1905, 41–43) as well as Gundlach’s “Was uns die Steine lehren” (*Pionier* 1904, 27–30) and “Naturkräfte und Naturschönheiten” (*Pionier* 1905, 29–32). On Gundlach, see Poore, “*Pionier*,” 114.

33 See *Pionier* 1904, 16–23 and *Pionier* 1905, 84–88, respectively. Schiller’s text was first published under the title “Verbrecher aus Infamie” in his own journal *Thalia* in 1786; Brand’s sketch had been previously printed in 1895 in the Austrian libertarian journal *Deutsche Worte*.

34 See *Pionier* 1905, 35–40. In contrast to the other reprinted pieces, here the source was acknowledged, possibly because of the illustrations.

35 See *Pionier* 1905, 56–57, *Pionier* 1904, 59–60, and *Pionier* 1904, 60–63, respectively.

36 Poore, “*Pionier*,” 112.

ideological bents.<sup>37</sup> Yet while some of the other material published in the *Pionier* may not appear explicitly political in itself or upon first sight, at least in some cases concrete intertextual connections and the periodical surroundings may also suggest otherwise. Thus Zola's piece, especially when appearing in a periodical that bears the words "Arbeit" and "Freiheit" on its cover, may be argued to make a strong case for the liberation of the working class; and the reproduction of Jean-François Millet's "Le semeur" ("The Sower"), which may appear like an illustration included merely for decorative purposes or to fill up space, strongly resonates with Norris's *The Octopus*, where Presley and his poem of political protest, "The Toilers," are based on American poet Edwin Markham and his acclaimed "The Man with the Hoe," which in turn is based on Millet's eponymous painting.<sup>38</sup> Hence, in some cases it was mainly or even exclusively the periodical surroundings that suggested a political and, more specifically, a Socialist reading of a particular text or illustration published in the *Pionier*. This was not the case, however, with the calendar's translation of *The Octopus*.

### 3 From "A Story of California" to a "Novel with a 'Purpose'"

Indeed, paratextual framing was just one of the translational strategies that the *Pionier* used to make Norris's novel fit into the collection of more or less overtly political reading material aimed at a German-speaking, Socialist-leaning immigrant readership that was published each year in the calendar. The others were textual selection (or "zero translation") and translational shifts at the lexical level (for example, lexical choices). It should be emphasized, however, that none of these translational strategies is exclusive to the *Pionier's* translation of *The Octopus*, and neither is their particular combination. Indeed, *any* translation process necessarily and inevitably involves textual selection (beginning with the question of which texts should be translated), lexical shifts, and, particularly in the case of literary translations, paratextual framing (for example, through blurbs, prefaces, or translator's notes) for a specific purpose – or, as Theo Hermans famously wrote in the introduction to *The Manipulation of Literature* (1985): "From the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose."<sup>39</sup>

37 See *Pionier* 1904, 35–37 and *Pionier* 1905, 45–54, respectively.

38 *Pionier* 1904, 93. On the connection between Presley and Markham, see, for instance, Beers, *End of Eden*, 129.

39 Hermans, "Translation Studies," 11.

The task here, then, is less to establish *that* specific translational strategies have been used or *that* “manipulation” has taken place during the translation of *The Octopus*, but rather to identify the particular *purpose* or effect of these strategies. Ultimately, I argue, this purpose or effect was to present Norris’s “Story of California” as a “novel with a ‘purpose.’”

With respect to translational shifts at the textual level, it is instructive to compare the *Pionier*’s 1904/1905 anonymous translation of *The Octopus* with that by Eugen von Tempsky, published only two years later, in 1907, as *Der Octopus* with the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt in Stuttgart (Germany). Perhaps one of the most striking differences between these two German translations of the novel is the heavy use of English loanwords and expressions in the translation published in the US. For instance, whereas Tempsky translates the term “boarding-house” as “Kosthaus[e]” – an established translation that had been used as early as 1858<sup>40</sup> – the *Pionier*’s translator(s) use(s) the compound “Boardinghaus,” consisting of the English “boarding” and the German “Haus.”<sup>41</sup> Likewise, in the *Pionier* “cable cars” and “street car” appear as “Kabelcars” and “Straßen-Car,” respectively, while Tempsky uses “Kabelbahn” and simply drops that part of the sentence that contains the word “street car.”<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the *Pionier*’s translator(s) frequently retain(s) English terms of address and American coin names, whereas Tempsky uses German equivalents and/or adds explanatory footnotes. Thus “Mrs Gerard” remains “Mrs Gerard” in the *Pionier*, but becomes “Frau Gerard” in Tempsky’s translation;<sup>43</sup> and “quarter,” “nickel,” and “dime” (the coins) are translated as “Quarter,” “Nickel,” and “Dime” in the *Pionier* and as “Vierteldollar,” “Nickel,” and “Dime” by Tempsky, with added footnotes identifying, for example, a nickel as a “five-cent coin made from nickel” (my translation) and worth “20 Pf. [Pfennige; a former German coin unit].”<sup>44</sup>

Hence, while Tempsky was primarily translating for a Europe-based, German-speaking readership that possessed no or comparatively little knowledge about life in the US, the *Pionier*’s translator(s) apparently assumed that the calendar’s German American immigrant target audience was at least somewhat familiar with, for example, American coin names – and if they were not as of yet, the back section of the 1904 edition offered them a succinct guide to such matters (see above). Though the *Pionier* may have also reached European

40 See Möllhausen, *Tagebuch*, 22.

41 Norris, *The Octopus*, 592; Norris, *Der Octopus*, 649; *Pionier* 1904, 48.

42 Norris, *The Octopus*, 593; Norris, *Der Octopus*, 649, 650; *Pionier* 1904, 48.

43 Norris, *The Octopus*, 592; Norris, *Der Octopus*, 649; *Pionier* 1904, 48.

44 Norris, *The Octopus*, 597, 599; Norris, *Der Octopus*, 653, 656; *Pionier* 1904, 50, 51.

readers – even during the years from 1878 to 1890, when the *NYVZ* and, presumably, all of its satellite publications were banned in Germany under the so-called Anti-Socialist Laws,<sup>45</sup> Jacob Obrist recalls reading the paper in Paris, where it was sent to him from his native Switzerland<sup>46</sup> – it was to German (or German-speaking) immigrants in the US that the calendar was addressed first and foremost.

The *Pionier's* intended audience not only had an impact on translational shifts at the textual level, however, but must have also played a role during the process of textual selection. Obviously, as a periodical comprising a mere hundred pages, the *Pionier* could not possibly have translated Norris's 650-page novel (in the 1986 Penguin edition) in its entirety.<sup>47</sup> In fact, what the calendar offers its readers in its 1904 edition is but a translation of (a part of) one single chapter of *The Octopus*, namely, the second half of chapter VIII of book II of the novel.<sup>48</sup> This chapter, however, focuses precisely on those characters of Norris's novel with whom the *Pionier's* target audience arguably could have identified most easily – that is, Mrs Hooven and Hilda, the wife and the daughter of Hooven, the German-born tenant on Magnus Derrick's "Los Muertos" ranch. Following the climactic shootout between the farmers and the agents of the Pacific & Southwestern Railroad and the death of Hooven, Mrs Hooven and six-year-old Hilda (as well as the Hoovens' other daughter, nineteen-year-old Minna) decide to "abandon ... Los Muertos and her home forever"<sup>49</sup> and move to San Francisco. When he learns of the Hoovens' unexpected departure, Presley is immediately alarmed: "the suspicion forced itself upon him that Mrs Hooven ... country-bred, ignorant of city ways, might easily come to grief in the hard, huge struggle of city life."<sup>50</sup> It is not only due to their German ethnicity, but also due to the Hoovens' unfamiliarity with the "hard, huge struggle of city life," then, that German(-speaking) immigrants, and especially German(-speaking) immigrants in New York City, may have particularly empathized with and related to them.<sup>51</sup>

45 See Hoerder and Weber, *Glimpses*, 14.

46 See Obrist, "Meine Bekanntschaft," 117.

47 Conolly-Smith maintains that the *NYVZ* serialized a complete translation of *The Octopus* in January 1910. Conolly-Smith, *Translating America*, 310n49. I have been unable to find this translation in the microfilmed issues of *NYVZ* available at the New York Public Library.

48 Norris, *The Octopus*, 592–613. Page numbers refer to the Penguin edition.

49 Norris, *The Octopus*, 567.

50 Norris, 567.

51 The translator(s) further emphasized the connection between the Hoovens and readers of the *Pionier* by consistently referring to (German-born) Mrs Hooven as "Frau Hooven," whereas (American-born) Mrs Gerard is referred to as "Mrs Gerard" (*Pionier* 1904, 48; see above).

Of course, the second half of chapter VIII of book II of *The Octopus* also constitutes that famous part of the novel in which Norris, in sections and paragraphs that grow shorter and shorter, cuts back and forth between scenes of the Hoovens roaming the streets of San Francisco, begging and looking for food, and scenes of Presley attending a lavish dinner party at the mansion of railroad magnate Mr Gerard. Contrasting an almost pathological analysis of Mrs Hooven's slow starvation with extremely detailed descriptions of the various dishes served at the dinner party, the chapter culminates in two short paragraphs that suggest that precisely at the moment when the guests thank Mrs Gerard "for a delightful dinner," Mrs Hooven is declared dead due to "exhaustion from starvation."<sup>52</sup>

By selecting this – and *only* this – part of *The Octopus* for translation, however, the *Pionier* completely reconfigures both the central conflict and the final message of the novel: on the one hand, readers of the *Pionier* translation never learn that the majority of the farmers in the San Joaquin Valley are, in fact, big landowners whose reckless, solely profit-oriented monoculture complements rather than contrasts with the monopoly of the railroad. Silencing this "pre-history" of the climactic shootout through careful textual selection or "zero translation,"<sup>53</sup> the *Pionier* presents the struggle between the capitalist railroad and the equally capitalist farmers as one between small, honest laborers (the Hoovens) and big, morally corrupt plutocrats (the Gerards and their dinner guests) – an instance of the very class war that is also evoked in countless other features in the calendar and in *NVZ* publications in general.

On the other hand, by also withholding from its readers the "Conclusion" of *The Octopus*, in which the narrator asserts that "falseness dies," "injustice and oppression in the end of everything fade and vanish away," and that "all things, surely, inevitably, resistlessly work together for good,"<sup>54</sup> the *Pionier* simultaneously leaves them with the profound sense of injustice and frustration, the "sympathetic or angry response"<sup>55</sup> that the "dinner party/starvation" scene has elicited in many readers and critics (and that has led some among the latter to utterly reject the "Conclusion" as inconsistent and incompatible with the rest of the novel).<sup>56</sup> Rather than ultimately constituting an assertion of the utilitarianism and optimism expressed in the "Conclusion," *The Octopus* transmogrifies, in its translation in the *Pionier*, into the very "kind of work that

52 Norris, *The Octopus*, 613.

53 Tymoczko, "Translation," 6.

54 Norris, *The Octopus*, 651–52.

55 Fusco, "Taking Naturalism," 161.

56 See Freitag, *Farm Novel*, 123.

Norris himself celebrates in his essay “The Novel with a ‘Purpose’”:<sup>57</sup> a call for protest and action and, hence, a very fitting piece for a family of periodicals that elsewhere characterized itself as a wake-up call to laborers.<sup>58</sup>

For the follow-up article “Der Weizen als Nemesis” (“The Wheat as Nemesis”) in the 1905 edition of the calendar, the *Pionier* similarly selected a scene that must have elicited a strong affective, even cathartic response in many of Norris’s readers – namely, the last section of chapter IX of book II of *The Octopus*,<sup>59</sup> in which S. Behrman, the “seemingly intangible and indestructible local agent of the railroad in the San Joaquin Valley and the ‘arch-enemy’ of the farmers,”<sup>60</sup> who had miraculously survived two assassination attempts, meets a gruesome death when he falls into the cargo hold of a wheat ship and is buried alive under the grain. The selection of this – and *only* this – scene, too, somewhat alters the final message of the novel. In *The Farm Novel in North America*, I have argued that Behrman’s death is ultimately presented as meaningless, since according to “the larger view” taken in the “Conclusion,” the fates of individuals such as Behrman (or the Hoovens, for that matter) simply do not count – they are but “motes in the sunshine,” and while they, as individuals, may suffer, “the race goes on.”<sup>61</sup> By contrast, in the *Pionier*’s translation Behrman’s death appears like a direct and well-deserved retribution for the death of the Hoovens. To be sure, while “Frank Norris” may be considered a “wake-up call,” “Der Weizen als Nemesis” should not be mistaken for a call for or a sanctioning of violence or murder: as Hoerder and Weber have pointed out, the *NYVZ* regularly distanced itself from radical anarchism.<sup>62</sup> Paratextually invoking some higher order – that is, the titular “nemesis” in the shape of the wheat – the 1905 translation nevertheless seeks to indicate that the *Pionier* and its readership have espoused the right cause.

Incidentally, the suggestive title is one of the very few immediate paratexts that surround the *Pionier*’s translation of *The Octopus* in the 1905 edition of the calendar. Indeed, apart from this title and a subtitle that identifies the source of the text as a “scene from the novel ‘The Octopus,’ by Frank Norris”

57 Beers, *End of Eden*, 135.

58 On the title page of its twenty-fifth anniversary edition, published in the same year as the *Pionier*’s translation of *The Octopus*, the *NYVZ* printed a drawing of an angel holding a torch and blowing into a fanfare horn labeled “Arbeiter-Presse” (“workers’ press”) in order to wake up a man sleeping on the ground next to a shovel and a spade. The caption reads “Mann der Arbeit, aufgewacht!” (“Man of labor, wake up!”; see Hoerder and Weber, *Glimpses*, 42–43).

59 Norris, *The Octopus*, 639–46.

60 Freitag, *Farm Novel*, 126.

61 Norris, *The Octopus*, 651–52; see Freitag, *Farm Novel*, 143n40.

62 Hoerder and Weber, *Glimpses*, 13.

(my translation),<sup>63</sup> “Der Weizen als Nemesis” merely offers its readers a two-paragraph introduction that briefly summarizes the plot of the novel leading up to this “masterful scene” (my translation).<sup>64</sup> While the translation published in the 1904 edition is not even mentioned, in its depiction of the central conflict of *The Octopus* as one between honest, hard-working farmers and a ruthless monopolistic enterprise, the 1905 summary largely corresponds to the transformation that Norris’s text had undergone in the 1904 edition as a result of textual selection: Behrman, for instance, is described as being driven by “pitiless unscrupulousness” and acting with “devilish calculation,” wasting no thought on “all the injustices that he had committed, all the blood that had been spilled, all the misery that he had brought upon so many families” (my translation).<sup>65</sup>

Just like “Der Weizen als Nemesis,” “Frank Norris,” too, features an introductory plot summary that situates the translated scene within the novel as a whole; and here, too, Hooven is depicted as just another one among the many Californian wheat farmers who “bravely fight” against the “crushing superior force of the railroad monopoly” (my translation).<sup>66</sup> Compared to the 1905 edition of the *Pionier*, however, the 1904 edition of the calendar accompanies its translation of *The Octopus* with a much richer immediate paratextual apparatus: in addition to the plot summary and the news of Frank Norris’s recent death – ostensibly the motive for publishing the article in the first place – “Frank Norris” also includes the aforementioned photograph of Norris taken from *World’s Work* as well as a detailed description of the writer’s “Epic of the Wheat” project, probably based on the note included in the first book edition of the second part of the trilogy, *The Pit: A Story of Chicago*.<sup>67</sup> Even more importantly, “Frank Norris” employs quotes from Norris’s essay “The True Reward of the Novelist” (published in October 1901 in *World’s Work*) as well as from Ferdinand Lassalle’s “Was nun? Zweiter Vortrag über Verfassungswesen” (first published in 1863 and translated into English as “No Compromise”)<sup>68</sup> to characterize Norris and his “Epic of the Wheat” as unencumbered by the quest for fame and fortune and as committed to speaking the truth.

Thus the author(s) of “Frank Norris” translate and quote from the last section of “The True Reward of the Novelist,” in which Norris differentiates between

63 *Pionier* 1905, 59. In fact, in the German original the subtitle uses the term “Novelle” (“novella”), presumably an erroneous translation of the English “novel” into German.

64 *Pionier* 1905, 59.

65 *Pionier* 1905, 59.

66 *Pionier* 1904, 47, 48.

67 See Norris, *The Pit*, n. pag.

68 See Lassalle, “No Compromise.”



“Fictitious” (“royalties”) and “Real Rewards” (“sincerity, sincerity, and again sincerity”),<sup>69</sup> in order to substantiate their claim that Norris was “no fashionable writer, no worshipper of success,” and certainly “no whitewasher seeking to win the favors of the dominating classes” (my translation).<sup>70</sup> Likewise, they insist that the “Epic of the Wheat” is “free from hypocrisy and whitewashing” and knows “nur ein Ziel ...: das ‘Aussprechen dessen, was ist’” (“but one goal: the ‘stating of that which is’ [my translation]).<sup>71</sup> In contrast to the source of the lengthy quote from “The True Reward,” that of the rather short quote used to indicate the goal of the “Epic of the Wheat” – “Aussprechen dessen, was ist” – is not indicated in the article. The author(s) of “Frank Norris” may have assumed that *Pionier* readers were sufficiently familiar with the writings of German Socialist and founder of the first German labor party Ferdinand Lassalle to identify the phrase as having been taken from Lassalle’s 1862 speech “Was nun?,” in which he famously noted that “All great political action consists in the stating of that which is, and begins with, such a statement.”<sup>72</sup> (And if some of them were not, then the excerpt from Julius Vahlteich’s speech celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of Lassalle’s party, which was printed in the very same issue of the *Pionier*, as well as Lassalle’s collected writings, advertised by the Socialist Literature Company in the back matter of the 1904 calendar, may have offered a hint or two.)<sup>73</sup>

Aligning the alleged goal of Norris’s trilogy with Lassalle’s definition of political action and, hence, more or less subtly identifying the “Epic of the Wheat” as a political and specifically a Socialist work, the *Pionier* presents the “Story of California” as a “novel with a ‘purpose,’” a literary text that, as Norris writes in his eponymous 1902 essay, constitutes “a great force, that works together with the pulpit and the universities for the good of the people, fearlessly proving that power is abused, that the strong grind the faces of the weak, that an evil tree is still growing in the midst of the garden, that undoing follows hard upon righteousness.”<sup>74</sup> In fact, this is precisely what happens in the *Pionier*’s translation of *The Octopus*, where the “undoing” (in the shape of Behrman’s death in the 1905 edition of the calendar) “follows hard upon righteousness” (the dinner and the simultaneous death of Mrs Hooven in the 1904 edition). To be sure, and as I have already mentioned, the *Pionier*’s paratextual framing of the translation extends far beyond the limits of “Frank Norris” and “Der Weizen

69 Norris, “True Reward,” 1339.

70 *Pionier* 1904, 47.

71 *Pionier* 1904, 47.

72 Lassalle, “No Compromise,” 46.

73 *Pionier* 1904, 35–37, 97.

74 Norris, “Novel with a Purpose,” 219.

als Nemesis” and also includes, for example, “Das Leipziger Centralkomitee und Ferdinand Lassalle,” the reproduction of Millet’s “Le semeur,” or the advertisement for Lassalle’s collected writings in the 1904 edition. Indeed, all of the texts and images published in the 1904 and 1905 issues of the calendar may be conceived of as paratexts of the translation that, together with textual selection and translational shifts at the textual level, contribute to tailoring Norris’s novel to the *Pionier*’s target audience and to rewriting *The Octopus* as a “novel with a ‘purpose.’”

#### 4 The *Pionier* and Other Popular Rewritings of *The Octopus*

However, the *Pionier*’s translation of *The Octopus* was by no means the only rewriting of Norris’s “Story of California” as a purpose novel that appeared during the first decade of the twentieth century. In “Why Waste Our Time on Rewrites?” André Lefevere has conceptualized translation as a form of “rewriting” of literature, often designed, like reviews, criticism, historiography, anthologizing, adaptation, and other forms of rewriting, “precisely to push a given literature in a certain direction.”<sup>75</sup> In addition to my reading of the *Pionier*’s translation of *The Octopus*, two more forms of early rewritings of Norris’s novel – namely, (film) adaptation and reviews – have been recently examined by Katherine Fusco and Sydney Bufkin, respectively.<sup>76</sup> Neither Fusco nor Bufkin refer to the concept of “rewriting,” but their findings generally corroborate Lefevere’s claim that rewritings tend to “push a given literature in a certain direction.” Moreover, a comparison of Fusco’s, Bufkin’s, and my own findings suggests that early popular rewritings of *The Octopus* all tended to push the novel into the *same* direction – one that sharply contrasts with the direction into which later, more “elite” rewritings (for example, literary criticism) sought to push Norris’s work.

Thus, Fusco has examined *A Corner in Wheat*, written and directed in 1909 by D. W. Griffith for the Biograph Company (which, incidentally, was based in Manhattan, just like the *NYVZ*). Depicting wheat speculator W. J. Hammond’s

75 Lefevere, “Why Waste,” 219. See also Lefevere and Susan Bassnett’s “General Editors’ Preface” to the Routledge series “Translation Studies,” printed in e.g., Lefevere, *Translation*, vii–viii. Bassnett-McGuire, in turn, elsewhere refers to a 1908 article by Luigi Pirandello about “Illustrators, Actors and Translators,” in which Pirandello argues that all three “falsify the original text, ... reinterpret and in doing so rewrite it.” Bassnett-McGuire, “Ways,” 93.

76 See Fusco, “Taking Naturalism” and Bufkin, “Resisting Naturalism.”

successful attempt at controlling “the entire market of the world,”<sup>77</sup> *A Corner in Wheat* is mainly based on *The Pit: A Story of Chicago* (1903), the second installment of Norris’s “Epic on the Wheat,” as well as on “A Deal in Wheat,” a 1902 story by Norris that has often been described as a “preliminary sketch” for *The Pit*.<sup>78</sup> As Fusco points out, however, Griffith’s movie also borrows some of its key scenes from *The Octopus* – notably, the very scenes that had been selected for translation in the *Pionier*: Firstly, about five and a half minutes into the fourteen-minute movie, Griffith starts cutting back and forth between “The Gold of the Wheat,” scenes of a lavish dinner party at Hammond’s, and “The Chaff of the Wheat,”<sup>79</sup> scenes set at a bakery, where due to the rising flour prices a woman in ragged clothes accompanied by a young girl (reminiscent of Mrs Hooven and Hilda in chapter VIII of book II of *The Octopus*) cannot afford to buy bread anymore. Secondly, in the following segment, which is introduced by the intertitle “A Visit to the Elevators,”<sup>80</sup> Hammond shows his dinner guests around the grain elevator. After receiving a note from his accountant which informs him that he now has “control of the entire market of the world” and that “yesterday added \$4,000,000 to [his] fortune,”<sup>81</sup> Hammond “raises his fist heavenward in celebration of his earnings, steps backwards, and, losing his balance, tumbles into the grain tank”<sup>82</sup> and is eventually buried underneath the wheat, much like Behrman in chapter IX of book II of *The Octopus*.

Fusco argues that like *The Octopus*, *A Corner in Wheat* generally remains committed to the naturalistic focus on the wheat as a deterministic force, as evidenced by the wide shots of sowers in a wheat field with which the movie begins and ends,<sup>83</sup> and maintains that Griffith’s parallel editing further contributes to the Naturalistic bent of the movie.<sup>84</sup> At the same time, however, she also admits that the juxtaposition of the lavish dinner party and the starving Mrs Hooven/the woman having to leave the bakery empty-handed “may provoke a sympathetic or angry response” within readers and viewers.<sup>85</sup> Hence, even if the movie as a whole, like *The Octopus*, takes a distanced, deterministic perspective, the scenes borrowed from the novel, like its translation in

77 Griffith, *A Corner in Wheat*, 00:10:32.

78 See, for instance, Dawson, “Transforming,” 119.

79 The two intertitles first appear at Griffith, *A Corner in Wheat*, 00:05:26 and at 00:06:09.

80 Griffith, *A Corner in Wheat*, 00:10:00.

81 Griffith, *A Corner in Wheat*, 00:10:32.

82 Fusco, “Taking Naturalism,” 161–62.

83 Fusco, 164–65. Tom Gunning has drawn parallels between these shots, Millet’s “Le Semeur,” Markham’s “The Man with the Hoe,” and *The Octopus*. See Gunning, *Griffith*, 251.

84 Fusco, “Taking Naturalism,” 161.

85 Fusco, “Taking Naturalism.”

the *Pionier*, rather support a reading of *A Corner in Wheat* as a “movie with a ‘purpose.’”

Bufkin, in turn, has examined early reviews of *The Octopus* in newspapers and literary magazines and has noted a clear dichotomy: whereas, she argues, magazine reviews geared at a more select, elite audience “emphasized a proto-modernist aesthetic that prefigured twentieth-century academic readings of the novel,” newspaper reviewers writing for a broader, popular audience rather “saw the book as a purpose novel,” considering “*The Octopus*’s depiction of corporate corruption and unprincipled trusts as a call to action.”<sup>86</sup> As Bufkin shows, newspapers such as the *Evening World* (New York) or the *San Francisco Call*, which both serialized the novel,<sup>87</sup> but also the *New York Times*, the *Sun*, and the *Daily Tribune*, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the *Washington Times*, the *Richmond Dispatch*, the *Dallas Morning News*, and the *Louisville Times* all viewed *The Octopus* in terms of contemporary politics, with, for instance, Isaac Marcossou writing in the *Louisville Times* that “[Norris’s] story is a terrific protest against the oppression of a community by a great railroad; it is a stinging indictment of a trust, that fastened its tentacles in the rich soil of a great country and wrote the story of its success in the life’s blood of its martyrs.”<sup>88</sup>

According to Bufkin, newspaper editors and reviewers particularly embraced such a reformist reading of *The Octopus* for at least two reasons: Firstly, emphasizing plot over form and aesthetics – that is, following Bourdieu, the interests of popular over those of elite taste<sup>89</sup> – newspaper reviews sought to “shap[e] the novel so that it appealed to the wide range of newspaper readers, who were just as likely to come from the lower classes as the literary elite.”<sup>90</sup> Secondly, elevating the “topical over the universal” – that is, the topical issue of trusts and monopolies over the Naturalistic concern with deterministic forces – newspaper reviews raised “social and political questions [that] would have been addressed in the other sections of the paper through news stories and editorials.”<sup>91</sup> Much like the *Pionier*, then, newspapers used their popular rewritings of *The Octopus* to tailor Norris’s novel to their specific target audience and their specific editorial formula. What the newspaper reviewers mostly objected to, in turn – namely, the novel’s optimistic “Conclusion”<sup>92</sup> – and what some contemporary magazine reviewers and most later critics used

86 Bufkin, “Resisting Naturalism,” 198, 202.

87 In July 1901 and November 1902, respectively. See Bufkin, “Resisting Naturalism,” 207.

88 Quoted in Bufkin, “Resisting Naturalism,” 217.

89 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 34. See Bufkin, “Resisting Naturalism,” 210–11.

90 Bufkin, “Resisting Naturalism,” 198.

91 Bufkin, 219.

92 Bufkin, 217.

as an argument against a reformist reading of *The Octopus* – namely, the fact that (most of) the victims of the railroad in the novel are wealthy capitalists themselves<sup>93</sup> – are precisely what the translation in the *Pionier*, through textual selection and paratextual framing, excised from the text.

In the wake of the novel's publication, then, there existed a considerable variety of popular rewritings of *The Octopus* – reviews, film adaptations, and translations – that all viewed Norris's text as a purpose novel and that competed with contemporary as well as later, more elite readings of the "Story of California" as a work literary Naturalism. As Bufkin has shown,<sup>94</sup> this link between the popular and the reading for purpose can be traced back to *The Octopus* itself, specifically to the discussion between Presley and Vanamee about where to publish Presley's poem, "The Toilers." In chapter III of book II of *The Octopus*, Vanamee describes "The Toilers" as "an Utterance – a Message" – a "poem with a 'purpose,'" in short – and warns Presley not to "publish it in the magazines," but rather in the "common," "vulgar," and "undignified" daily press, where it will be read by "the People."<sup>95</sup> Hence, while Presley associates reading for literary art with elite magazines – he argues that the "great magazine gives me such – a – background; gives me such weight"<sup>96</sup> – Vanamee firmly links the reformist perspective with the popular press. Ironically, the poet eventually agrees to publish "The Toilers" in the newspapers, but "the novel shows Presley's poem working its way through bourgeois literary institutions" and "gives no indication of the response from the People for whom the poem is ostensibly intended."<sup>97</sup> Instead, appearing "as an advertisement for patented cereals,"<sup>98</sup> it is shown as fully participating in the capitalist commodification of the wheat. Nevertheless, through Vanamee and Presley's discussion about the publication of "The Toilers," *The Octopus* somehow anticipates its own rewriting in the periodical press of the day.

## 5 Conclusion

Of course, the translational rewriting of *The Octopus* as a purpose novel in the *Pionier* cannot be solely attributed to the popular nature of the calendar – though it did refer to itself as a "Volks-Kalender" – but must first and foremost

93 Bufkin, 202.

94 Bufkin, 203–5.

95 Norris, *The Octopus*, 376–77.

96 Norris, 377.

97 Bufkin, "Resisting Naturalism," 204.

98 Norris, *The Octopus*, 394.

take into account, as I have sought to argue in this chapter, the periodical's commitment to the Socialist cause.<sup>99</sup> Methodologically, this argumentation has depended upon a combination of periodical studies and translation studies approaches, a combination that allows for both a reading of textual and pictorial elements surrounding a translation within a periodical as paratexts of the translation as well as a reading of the various actors involved in the production, distribution, and reception of the periodical as translational actors. This combination, in turn, has been greatly facilitated by the turn towards the "context and co-texts" of translations within translation studies on the one hand, and by what may be referred to as the "rhizomatic" turn in periodical studies on the other hand – in short, by the parallel turn of both disciplines towards the notion of networks. Just as periodical studies today conceives of periodicals as intertextual networks of periodical elements and as the products of interpersonal networks of periodical actors, translation studies has become particularly interested in the networks of textual, personal, and institutional relationships in which any translation is inevitably embedded.

This parallel development or convergence of interests may likely turn out to prove particularly opportune for ventures in periodical studies that take an explicitly transnational perspective and will, therefore, inevitably be confronted with questions of linguistic, medial, and cultural translation. Indeed, a transnational periodical studies may greatly benefit from the specific expertise of translation studies, which has, by its very nature, long dealt with the movements of texts across borders and has, in the process, not only developed a keen sensitivity to the various linguistic, cultural, institutional, social, and political factors that may impact these movements and their products (the translated texts), but has also gathered valuable experience in identifying, locating, and reading the particular documents and sources that are needed to analyze these movements – from translators' notes and legal documents pertaining to translation rights to the comments of government "reviewers" (censors) on translation projects in totalitarian regimes.

It is, however, not only in the very specific case of translations published in periodicals that periodical studies may benefit from an integration of

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99 This link between a reading for purpose and a Socialist worldview, however, opens up yet another trajectory in the history of rewritings of *The Octopus* in general and of German translations of the novel in particular: In 1954, then East Berlin-based publisher Aufbau sought to issue a new edition of *The Octopus* for readers in the German Democratic Republic. The parallels between the translational shifts carried out by the *Pionier's* translator(s) and the comments and recommendations by the GDR's "advisory reviewer" (censor) for the East German edition of the novel are remarkable (see Friedländer, "Gutachten").

translation studies. As my comparison of the *Pionier's* translation with reviews of *The Octopus* in newspapers and literary magazines has shown, periodicals served as vehicles not only for the novel itself (in serialized form), but also for all kinds of “rewritings” of it. A conceptualization of translation as a subcategory of rewriting may thus yield further insights and inquiries into connections between rewritings published in periodicals, between rewritings and other periodical elements, as well as between periodicals as a whole, also and especially across linguistic and other borders. In what other ways has *The Octopus* been rewritten in periodicals, in the US, in Germany, but also in other countries, and what does that tell us about *The Octopus*, the rewritings, and the periodicals that published and the people that were involved in them? Have these and other rewritings of *The Octopus* such as D. W. Griffith's *A Corner in Wheat* been rewritten, in their turn, in periodicals, for example in the shape of translation or movie reviews? And what can we learn from all this about (transnational) periodical networks, whether between periodical elements or between periodical actors? Periodical studies may wish to turn to translation studies for answers – and for more questions.

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# Transnationale Avantgarde-Zeitschriften als Verhandlungsforen europäischer Kunst, Gesellschaft und Politik: *Contimporanul* und *Integral*

Iulia-Karin Patrut

## Abstract

During the 1920s, transnational avant-garde magazines witnessed how a new self-understanding of artists and intellectuals arose in Eastern and Western Europe. Their feuilletons and glosses, their intermedial arrangements emerging from the juxtaposition of visual arts reproductions, announcements, proclamations, literary texts, and news (including national and international politics), break up national frameworks of culture by interlinking discourses and artistic genealogies from different European countries. Often led by artists with transmigration experiences, they map a new transnational common ground for intellectual and artistic engagement. The contribution mainly discusses examples from *Contimporanul* and *Integral* and finally compares them with *Klingsor*, a journal which squandered the chances of a transnational avant-garde and developed into an antisemitic Nazi journal in Transylvania.

Die Erwartungen, mit denen sich modernistische und avantgardistische Zeitschriften im Osten Europas konfrontiert sahen, waren hoch: Ihre Herausgeber waren stets getrieben von der Befürchtung, im Westen des Kontinents könnten sich bereits noch avanciertere Entwicklungen der Kunst und Literatur vollzogen haben, hinter denen der Osten nicht zurückstecken dürfe. Diese Obsession der Nachträglichkeit wirkte durchaus stimulierend, weil in den 1920er Jahren ein geradezu unbändiges Begehren nach Synchronisierung mit den Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften in Deutschland, Österreich, Frankreich, Italien, der Schweiz und Großbritannien, aber auch Skandinavien und Spanien aufkam. Zum einen führte dies zur Intensivierung transnationaler Rezeption, zum anderen zum Zuwachs künstlerischer Produktivität; angesichts der Rolle, die Benjamin Fondane oder Tristan Tzara für die europäische Avantgarde-Bewegungen spielten, ist ohnehin fraglich, worin die immer wieder artikulierte eigene Nachrangigkeit begründet war.

Das Beispiel Rumäniens ist insofern interessant, als sich in dem erst 1918 etwa in seiner heutigen Gestalt vereinigten Staat unterschiedliche Sprachen und Religionen seit Jahrhunderten ein und dasselbe Territorium teilten. Als in der Zwischenkriegszeit europaweit die Publizistik an Bedeutung gewann, explodierten auch dort die Literatur- und Kunstkritik, die politischen Kommentare und Glossen, die im Feuilleton-Stil neben erstveröffentlichten Gedichten, Holzstichen und anderen Kunstwerken erschienen. Auch bildete sich eine gesamteuropäische Perspektive heraus, die vielleicht von der Sorge getragen war, wichtige Entwicklungen zu verpassen. Nicht zuletzt stellte sich die Frage, ob die im neuen Staat allgegenwärtige Mehrsprachigkeit zum Impuls europaweiter Vernetzung umgemünzt werden sollte und konnte, oder ob die Publikationslandschaft weiterhin nach Sprachen und z. T. nach Religionszugehörigkeiten segregiert bleiben sollte, wie sie es bis dahin weitestgehend war.

### Dilemmata kultureller Urheberschaft – Dekonstruktion von Machtasymmetrien

Die Zeitschrift *Contimporanul* (rum. *Der Zeitgenosse*), das mit Blick auf transnationale Vernetzungen und Transfers vielleicht ergiebigste rumänischsprachige Periodikum der 1920er Jahre, erklärt ihr Selbstverständnis in einem Editorial wie folgt:

*Contimporanul* unternimmt große Anstrengungen, die Aufmerksamkeit berühmter Kombattanten der zeitgenössischen Kunst und Literatur aus dem Okzident auf Bukarest zu lenken. Stetiger Briefwechsel, der Austausch von Zeitschriftenausgaben, Ideen, Informationen, die persönlichen Beziehungen und die Autorität, die einige von uns bereits in den Zentren haben, in denen die moderne Kunst in vollem Aufschwung ist, haben bereits die Neugier unserer Freunde im Ausland geweckt. Viele unter ihnen sind sogar davon überzeugt – so schreiben sie – dass schon bald die intellektuelle Elite unserer Metropole nicht nur am Puls des Jahrhunderts, in dem wir leben, sein wird, sondern zu den Kreativen gehören und den rückständigen Gesellschaften des Balkans den Weg weisen wird.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> „Pentru Contimporani“ [„Für Zeitgenossen“]. In: *Contimporanul* 34 (1923), H.11, S. 4. [Übersetzung dieses und der folgenden Zitate aus dem Rumänischen: I.-K. P.].

Das asymmetrische Blickregime auf Europa, seine Avantgarden und modernistischen Bewegungen fällt hier besonders deutlich auf: Die ‚Zentren‘ werden woanders vermutet, weshalb auch eigene Kreativität nur gelten gelassen wird, wenn sie von den ‚Freunden im Ausland‘, also in den ‚Zentren‘, anerkannt wird. Aus diesen Gründen wohnt den avantgardistischen Zeitschriften Osteuropas von Anfang an eine Paradoxie inne: Einerseits sehen sie sich als Impulsgeber für die Gesellschaften des Balkans, andererseits werden die eigentlichen Zentren der Innovation in Westeuropa gesucht. Daher besteht für die eigene Kreativität ein Anerkennungsproblem, das mit den unterschiedlichen Rezeptionskontexten in West- und Osteuropa zusammenhängt und bis zum Ende der Avantgarde nicht ganz gelöst werden kann. Zeitschriften wie *Contimporanul* verstehen sich indes nicht allein als Publikationsorgane, sie wollen gesellschaftsrelevant agieren, indem sie Akteure aus Westeuropa in die südöstlichen Metropolen einladen und Ausstellungen, Filmvorführungen, runde Tische und zahlreiche weitere Veranstaltungsformate generieren, von denen sie sich nichts Geringeres als eine Transformation der breiten Öffentlichkeit versprechen. Dabei wird der ‚Westen‘ mit Avantgarde und Modernismus gleichgesetzt; dass beispielsweise in Deutschland auch die konservative Publizistik florierte, wird weitgehend ausgeblendet. Nicht ganz unbegründet ist die Sorge um die ost-westeuropäische Asymmetrie insofern, als zwar in den Bukarester oder Belgrader Avantgarde-Zeitschriften neben rumänischen, serbischen und kroatischen auch Texte auf Deutsch, Italienisch, Französisch und Englisch gedruckt beziehungsweise sogar erstveröffentlicht werden, während in umgekehrter Richtung fast immer – wenn überhaupt – Übersetzungen gedruckt werden. So ist die in Paris erscheinende Zeitschrift *Dada* fast ausschließlich französischsprachig, und es ist gut möglich, dass die 2 *poèmes nègres. Trad. par T. Tzara*, die in der zweiten Ausgabe von *Dada* im Dezember 1917 publiziert wurden,<sup>2</sup> ironisch auf genau diese Problematik hinweisen: Als ‚barbarisch‘-, ‚schwarze‘ Sprache, die allenfalls in Übersetzung in den ‚Zentren‘ anklingen kann, dürfte Tristan Tzara auch seine Erstsprache, das Rumänische, empfunden haben. Der 1896 als Samuel Rosenstock in Ostrumänien geborene Tristan Tzara nahm wie viele osteuropäische Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftsteller, die nach Zürich, Berlin oder Paris gingen, in Westeuropa Abstand von seiner Erstsprache, die gleichwohl ein Fundus für Witz, Metaphern und Ironie blieb. Die *poèmes nègres* (ins

2 Zu diesen Gedichten im Kontext des Dada-Exotismus und -Primitivismus vgl. Hélène Thiérard: Negergedicht, Lautgedicht? Jedem das eigene Fremde. In: Ralf Burmeister/Michaela Oberhofer/Esther Thisa Francini (Hgg.): *dada Afrika. Dialog mit dem Fremden*. Museum Rietberg Zürich/Berlinische Galerie. Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess 2016, S. 22–28.

Deutsche ungenau als *Negerlieder* übersetzt) werden nicht in ethnographischem Duktus als Lieder von Schwarzen präsentiert, sondern sie sind selber ‚schwarz‘ – spielerisch und geradezu anti-essentialistisch vorwegnehmend, was in den Jahrzehnten der Dekolonisierung als ‚Écriture noire‘ beschrieben wurde: eine Literatur, deren innovativer Charakter sich in ästhetischen Formen äußert, die Erfahrungen von Gewalt, einseitige Kulturtransfers und Machtasymmetrien thematisieren und spürbar werden lassen. Bei allen Gefahren, den Kolonialismus zu relativieren und illegitim im Namen Anderer zu sprechen, sind die *poèmes* geprägt von Solidarität mit denen, deren Gedichte auf Übersetzungen angewiesen sind, um Aufmerksamkeit der westeuropäischen Metropolen zu erhalten; und diese Übersetzungen, so die ironische Anklage Tzaras, sind einem Paradigma verpflichtet, das Faszination um den Preis ethnisierender Inferiorisierung erzeugt. Die ‚Originale‘, die Tzara unübersetzt abdruckt, stoßen – darin liegt die Provokation – auf so viele Vorurteile, dass die Leserinnen und Leser meinen, auch ohne Übersetzung im Bilde zu sein: Man brauche ‚primitive‘ Kunst nicht so genau zu nehmen. Die Gedichte legen offen, wie Primitivismus auf Zuschreibungen beruht, und sie treffen gerade damit am Veröffentlichungsort Bukarest auf einen anderen Rezeptionskontext als in Frankreich: Die dortigen Künstlerinnen und Künstler dürfen sich gefragt haben, inwiefern es ihren Texten in Frankreich nicht zumindest teilweise ähnlich ergeht. Als doppelbödiger Kommentar Tzaras zu den eben doch nicht ganz synchronen Entwicklungen der Avantgarden interpretierbar, werfen sie in der Pariser Zeitschrift *Dada* wie in osteuropäischen Avantgarde-Zeitschriften weitreichende Fragen zur Interkulturalität von Rezeption, Wertung und der Anerkennung von Innovationen auf: Ist ‚schwarze‘ oder als ‚barbarisch‘ bezeichnete Kunst erst nach westeuropäischer Aneignung anerkennungswürdig? Tzara nahm mit diesen Gedichten eine selbstironische Doppelrolle ein, wenn er als Übersetzer der *poèmes* in Erscheinung trat und sich damit imaginär auf beiden Seiten verortete. Tzara, einer der Mitbegründer des *Cabaret Voltaire* in Zürich, damit Dadaist der ersten Stunde, veröffentlichte weiterhin auch in Bukarester Zeitschriften, insbesondere in Ion Vineas und Marcel Jancos *Contimporanul*. Janco, der rumänisch-israelische bildende Künstler, Schriftsteller und Architekt hatte, wie Tzara, das *Cabaret Voltaire* gemeinsam mit Hugo Ball, Emmy Ball-Hennings,<sup>3</sup> Hans Arp und Richard Huelsenbeck gegründet, sich dann aber 1922 für Bukarest

3 Vgl. Emmy Ball-Hennings: *Blume und Flamme. Geschichte einer Jugend*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1987 sowie Emmy Ball-Hennings: *Das flüchtige Spiel. Wege und Umwege einer Frau*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1988 sowie Bernhard Echte (Hg.): Emmy Ball Hennings: „*Ich bin so vielfach ...*“. *Texte, Bilder, Dokumente*. Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern 1999.

entschieden, von wo aus er erst 1941 nach Palästina zog. Damit wirkte in der Leitung und Redaktion des Bukarester *Contimporanul* ein erstrangiger Avantgarde-Vertreter mit, der bereits auf eine stabile Zusammenarbeit mit Dada-Künstlern aus der Schweiz, Deutschland und Frankreich zurückblicken konnte.

Freilich erfolgte die Dekonstruktion von Machtasymmetrien nicht in allen Bereichen mit gleicher Konsequenz; so partizipierten Dada-Künstlerinnen rege an der Bewegung, wurden aber auch von Tzara in Anthologien und Memoiren marginalisiert, wie die Dada-Künstlerin Céline Arnaud schon 1924 beklagte.<sup>4</sup> Arnaud, die im südrumänischen Călărași als Carolina Goldstein geboren wurde, veröffentlichte ihren ersten Gedichtband, *La lanterne magique*, bereits 1914 in Paris und gründete 1920 die unter Zeitgenossen anerkannte avantgardistische Zeitschrift *Projecteur*; Lebensweg und künstlerisches Engagement weisen viele Parallelen zu Tzara auf, und es wird deutlich, dass jüdisch-osteuropäische Künstlerinnen noch stärker um Anerkennung ringen mussten – mitunter auch bei ihren Freunden und Kollegen. Dennoch ist an den Zeitschriften insgesamt eine Vervielfältigung der Selbst- und Weltentwürfe abzulesen, die auch die Geschlechterverhältnisse mit einschließt.<sup>5</sup>

Der rumänische Kritiker und Publizist Eugen Lovinescu veröffentlichte 1925 eine dreibändige *Geschichte der modernen rumänischen Zivilisation*, in der er schilderte, dass das literarische und kulturelle Leben in Europa seit dem späten 18. Jahrhundert nur in kontinentaler Perspektive betrachtet werden könne, weil eben „die Entwicklung der europäischen Literatur synchron stattfindet“.<sup>6</sup> Er spricht aber von dem ‚französischen‘ Impressionismus und Kubismus und von dem ‚deutschen‘ Expressionismus, die sich in ganz Europa verbreiten. Unbeabsichtigt erzeugt dies einen Widerspruch, der aus allen Zeitschriften der 1920er Jahre hervorsticht: Die europäische Vernetzung und der Austausch verstehen sich als zugleich synchron und asynchron, weil ein leicht nachgelagerter Charakter des ‚Eigenen‘ (aus östlicher Sicht) angenommen wird. Eine Befindlichkeit, die mitunter – so im Fall der serbisch-kroatischen Avantgarde-Bewegung um die Zeitschrift *Zenit* – zu rhetorischen Überschlagsreaktionen wie der Überanpassung an die Rolle des ‚Barbaren‘ führte, die ‚der Westen‘ ihnen vermeintlich zuschrieb: „Hurraaa Barbaren! Hurraaa Zenitisten! Wir brüllen aus einer uralten Wiege der Kultur. Wir

4 Vgl. Ruth Hemus: *Dada's Women*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press 2009, S. 1. Vgl. dort auch das Kapitel „Céline Arnaud“, S. 165–194.

5 Vgl. Das Kapitel „Dada's Multiple Names, Dada's Multiple Genders“ in Ruth Hemus: *Dada's Women*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press 2009, S. 201–205.

6 Eugen Lovinescu: *Istoria civilizației române moderne*. Bd. 3. Bukarest: Editura Muzeul Literaturii Române 1925, S. 45 („evoluția literaturii europene este sincronica“).

vom Balkan brüllen: Antikultur! ... Antieuropa! ...“.<sup>7</sup> Innovation kann laut diesem Manifest Ljubomir Micićs aus dem Jahr 1925 nur stattfinden, wenn jenes Europa negiert wird, welches stereotype Abwertungen perpetuiert; deshalb wird ‚Europa‘ im Zuge einer rhetorischen Umkehr der Macht- und Deutungshoheits-Asymmetrien abgelehnt und als ‚weiblich‘ konnotiert, die ‚männlichen‘ balkanischen ‚Hajduken‘ und ‚Dichter-Rebellen‘ werden hingegen adoriert.

Dabei ist der *Zenit*, der von Februar 1921 bis März 1923 in Zagreb und anschließend vom Juni 1923 bis Dezember 1926 in Belgrad erschien, eine ausgesprochen ‚europäische‘ Zeitschrift. Als ihre Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter werden beispielsweise die Pariser Schriftstellerin Claire Goll, der belgische Dadaist Paul Dermée, der in Paris die Avantgarde-Zeitschrift *L'Esprit Nouveau* von 1920–1925 herausgab (u.a. gemeinsam mit Le Corbusier), aber auch der deutsche Expressionist Walter Hasenclever oder der Kopenhagener Dadaist Fredrik Nygaard sowie Schriftsteller aus dem Umfeld der dänischen Avantgarde-Zeitschrift *Klingen* (1917–1920) genannt. Raoul Hausmann veröffentlichte im *Zenit* ebenso wie Wladimir Majakowski oder Iwan Goll, der eine selbständige Buchpublikation als Sonderausgabe dieser Zeitschrift 1921 herausbrachte: *Paris brennt. Ein Poem nebst einem Postkartenalbum*. Das Carl Einstein gewidmete Poem erschien in deutscher Sprache – was durchaus keine Ausnahme war: Fast alle avantgardistischen Zeitschriften im europäischen Osten druckten „Manuskripte aller Sprachen im Originaltext“, wie es auf dem Buchrücken des *Zenit* heißt, und: „Außerdem bringt *Zenit* Reproduktionen neuer bildender Kunst aller Nationen. Kämpfend gegen alle Traditionen, für Brüderlichkeit aller Menschen, gründete sie die jüngste Bewegung neuer Kunst und Dichtung genannt: Zenitismus.“<sup>8</sup> Die transnationale Zeitschrift fasst sich als Initiatorin einer Bewegung auf, der sie ihren Namen gibt; darüber hinaus ist sie Impulsgeberin für vergleichbare Zeitschriften in anderen osteuropäischen Ländern, etwa für die slowenische Zeitschrift *Tank* oder für die ungarischen *Út* (1922–1925) und *MA* (1916–1926). Ähnlich verhielt es sich auch mit den polnischen Zeitschriften *Zwrotnica* (1921–1928) sowie *Blok* (1924–1928), insofern, als sie sich als Zentren kultureller Aktivitäten wie Ausstellungen, Performances, Diskussionsrunden usw. auffassten. Auch in Moskau, wo die Arbeiten Natalia Goncharovas den Boden für eine junge, breitgefächerte Avantgarde-Bewegung

7 Micićs Ljubomir: Manifest an die Barbaren des Geistes und Denkens auf allen Kontinenten. In: Holger Siegel (Hg.): *In unseren Seelen flattern schwarze Fahnen. Serbische Avantgarde 1918–1933*. Leipzig: Reclam 1992, S. 130–134, hier S. 130.

8 Zenit-Redaktion: Selbstdarstellung auf dem Buchrücken des Bandes Ivan Goll: *Paris brennt. Ein Poem nebst einem Postkartenalbum*. Zagreb: o.V. 1921 (Biblioteka Zenit; 2).



bereitet hatten, erschienen die avantgardistischen Zeitschriften *LEF* und *Nowyi LEF*; dort trafen sich Wassily Kandinsky, Alexandra Exeter, Ljubow Popova und Warwara Stepanowa,<sup>9</sup> während in Georgien das *Cabaret Chimaera* in Tbilisi zum Zentrum der Avantgarde wurde.<sup>10</sup> Sie alle standen in engem Austausch mit den avantgardistischen Zeitschriften Westeuropas, etwa mit der in Rom erscheinenden *Noi* (1917–1925) oder Kurt Schwitters' Hannoveraner *Merz* (1923–1932), die beispielsweise für den *Zenit* und ihren Gründer Ljubomir Micićs sehr bedeutsam war. In Bukarest war bereits 1915, noch vor der Gründung des *Cabaret Voltaire*, von Ion Vinea und Tristan Tzara die Zeitschrift *Chemarea* erschienen, die jedoch bald wieder eingestellt werden musste. 1919 gründete Eugen Lovinescu die allen modernistischen Bewegungen offen gegenüberstehende Zeitschrift *Sburătorul* (1919–1921 und 1926–1927), in der auch avantgardistische Theoretiker und Schriftsteller wie Ilarie Voronca debütierten, der erst 1933 endgültig nach Paris ging.

Voronca, dessen Bücher später Original-Kunstwerke von Constantin Brâncuși bzw. später Brancusi<sup>11</sup> und Marc Chagall enthielten, und dessen Portrait aus der Feder Robert Delaunays berühmt wurde, gründete 1925 die Zeitschrift *Integral. Revistă de sinteză modernă*, die gleichzeitig in Bukarest und Paris erschien. In der rumänischen Hauptstadt verantworteten sie neben Voronca der Surrealist Filip Brunea-Fox (eigentlich Filip Brauner) und der Maler Max Hermann Maxy (der in Berlin studiert hatte und an den *Sturm*-Ausstellungen beteiligt war, aber in sein Werk auch Stilelemente des französischen Kubismus und der russischen Avantgarde integrierte). In Paris gaben der Schriftsteller, Kritiker und Regisseur Benjamin Fondane, der 1944 in Auschwitz-Birkenau ermordet wurde,<sup>12</sup> und Matthis Teutsch bis 1928 die

9 Vgl. Übergreifend: Margarita Tupitsyn (Hg.): *Russian DaDa 1914–1924*. Cambridge/London: MIT Press 2018.

10 Vgl. Bert Cardullo: *Theories of Avant-Garde Theatre: A Casebook from Kleist to Camus*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group 2013, insbesondere das Kapitel „Chronology of the European Avant-Garde, 1890–1950“, S. XLI.

11 Brâncuși entschied wie viele aus Osteuropa kommende Künstler, seinen Namen der französischen Diktion anzupassen. Tatsächlich lassen sich kaum Beispiele für europaweit bekannte Schriftsteller und Künstler finden, die nicht entweder so verfahren wären (Brancusi, Ionesco, Cioran, Codreano) oder aber Pseudonyme gewählt hätten, die nicht ‚osteuropäisch‘ oder ‚jüdisch-osteuropäisch‘ klingen (Tristan Tzara statt Samuel Rosenstock; Benjamin Fondane statt Benjamin Wexler). Dies ist wohl darauf zurückzuführen, dass sie befürchteten, aufgrund ihrer osteuropäischen Herkunft abgewertet zu werden.

12 Siehe zu Fondanes Leben und Werk: Oliver Salazar-Ferrer: *Benjamin Fondane*. Paris: OXUS 2004. Aufschlussreich für weitere Vernetzungen auch: Petre Raileanu: *Gherasim*

französische Ausgabe von *Integral* heraus. Das Vorhaben, Zeitschriften in mehreren europäischen Metropolen erscheinen zu lassen, sollte nicht nur die Sichtbarkeit der avantgardistischen Bewegungen und ihre gesellschaftliche Relevanz steigern, sondern auch einen europäischen Verständigungs- und Resonanzraum entstehen lassen, der von Moskau und Tbilissi bis nach Lissabon reichte; die dort bereits 1915 entstandene avantgardistische Zeitschrift *Orpheu* wurde wahrgenommen, die Manifeste José de Almada Negreiros und die Werke Fernando Pessoa erschienen in Belgrad und Bukarest.<sup>13</sup>

Die transnationalen Verflechtungen zwischen diesen Zeitschriften, von denen jede sich ihrerseits als ‚transnational‘ auffasste, sind also vielschichtig. Dabei entwarf jede Avantgarde-Zeitschrift ihre eigenen Modi der Transnationalität: Die kulturell-historische Einfärbung von Stilen, Motiven, Formelementen und Sujets scheint in den Kunstwerken und Essays, die hier publiziert wurden, zwar auf, sie wird aber überschrieben von sprach- und kulturraumübergreifenden Sinnangeboten, die v. a. durch Ähnlichkeitsrelationen und intertextuelle Bezüge getragen wurden. Dabei wenden sich zum einen viele der einzelnen Kunstwerke an transnational konfigurierte Adressaten (durch die Vielfalt hergestellter Bezüge und Kontexte), zum anderen entstehen transnationale Sinnangebote infolge der Interaktion der Texte, Bilder, Kunstwerke und Einträge innerhalb einzelner Zeitschriftenausgaben. Hinzu kommt Transnationalität auf programmatischer Ebene, sowohl was einzelne Künstlerinnen und Künstler als auch die einzelnen Zeitschriften angeht. Die Künstler, Redakteure und Schriftsteller, die daran beteiligt waren, agierten und publizierten ihrerseits länderübergreifend. In den Zeitschriften osteuropäischer Großstädte erfolgten nicht selten bedeutsame Erstveröffentlichungen, so etwa Marinettis erstes futuristisches Manifest, das in der *Democrația* im südrumänischen Craiova 1909 erschien, noch vor der französischsprachigen Publikation in Paris.<sup>14</sup>

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Luca. Paris: OXUS 2004, insbesondere das Kapitel „L'avantgarde en Roumanie: la carriole et le cheval-vapeur“, S. 23–45.

- 13 Einen guten Überblick der Vernetzungen, die durch Avantgarde- und modernistische Bewegungen quer durch Europa zustande kamen, vermitteln die Bände: Ryzsard Stanislawski/Christoph Brockhaus (Hgg.): *Europa, Europa. Das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa*. 4 Bände. Bonn: o.V. 1994 sowie Wolfgang Asholt (Hg.): *Manifeste und Proklamationen der europäischen Avantgarde (1909–1938)*. Stuttgart: Reclam 2005.
- 14 Vgl. Ion Pop: *Avangarda romaneasca – o „sinteza moderna“*. In: Ders. (Hg.): *Avangarda romaneasca*. Bukarest: Editura Muzulului Literaturii Române 2016, S. V–LXVI, hier S. IX.

Dabei basiert die Nachträglichkeit lediglich auf (verinnerlichten) Zuschreibungen, denn de facto waren die Vertreterinnen und Vertreter von Dada und Surrealismus schnell in vielen großen europäischen Metropolen präsent. So reisten André Breton, Louis Aragon oder Robert Desnos ebenso nach Bukarest und zu Ausstellungen in andere östliche Städte, wie Tristan Tzara, Benjamin Fundoianu oder Irène Codreanu sich in Paris aufhielten. *Contimporanul* berichtete 1923 nicht nur von enger Zusammenarbeit mit Filippo Tommaso Marinetti und Enrico Prampolini, auch der Dadaist Hans Richter (1888–1976) wurde in seiner Eigenschaft als experimenteller Filmmacher nach Bukarest geholt, um ein breites Publikum mit der Form des abstrakten Films vertraut zu machen. Im März desselben Jahres fanden bereits eine Vortragsreihe und Gemäldeausstellung von Theo van Doesburg (1883–1931), dem Gründer von *De Stijl*, der niederländischen Vereinigung abstrakter Künstlerinnen und Künstler, und eine Konzertreihe der berühmten Künstlerin, Musikerin und Choreographin Nelly van Doesburg (1899–1975) statt. Die dauerhafte Vernetzung des *Contimporanul* mit der aus dieser Bewegung hervorgegangenen Zeitschrift *De Stijl* war erklärtes Ziel.<sup>15</sup> Die transnationalen Vernetzungen der Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftsteller, die hier publizierten, reichten über die Grenzen Europas hinaus bis nach New York.<sup>16</sup>

Ähnliches geschah mit Blick auf Herwarth Waldens (1879–1941) Zeitschrift *Der Sturm*, die zwischen 1912 und 1932 bestand und – wie die *Sturm-Galerie* und die *Deutschen Herbstsalons* – aufmerksam verfolgt wurden. Auch in Bukarest zeigte Herwarth Walden, wie im *Contimporanul* angekündigt, eine Ausstellung, die den *Sturm* als breite Plattform der Avantgarde-Bewegungen präsentieren wollte.

*Contimporanul* ist also – gerade angesichts der Mitwirkung Marcel Jancos – durchaus ‚synchron‘ und nicht ‚nachträglich‘, was die Teilhabe an der Avantgarde angeht. Im Gegenteil, der Produktivitätsüberschuss der Beteiligten führte dazu, dass weitere, zumeist kurzlebige, dafür nicht minder interessante Zeitschriften mit transnationalem Anspruch entstanden, darunter allein im Jahr 1924 *Punct. Zeitschrift für konstruktivistische Kunst* und *75HP*, eine ebenfalls konstruktivistisch-dadaistisch orientierte Publikation. Wie *Contimporanul* in Bukarest eignet diesen beiden Zeitschriften das Bestreben, etwaige ‚nationale‘ Anteile von Kunst als (unkünstlerische) Ideologeme zu enttarnen:

15 Zur transnationalen Vernetzung der Avantgarde vgl. für in Deutschland zentrierte Künstlerinnen und Künstler: Hanne Bergius (Hg.): *Das Lachen Dadas. Die Berliner Dadaisten und ihre Aktionen*. Berlin: anabas 1989.

16 Vgl. den als illustrierte Chronik angelegten und um wissenschaftliche Beiträge ergänzten Ausstellungskatalog: Francis M. Naumann/Beth Venn: *Making Mischief: Dada Invades New York*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art 1996.

Mit ihrer neuer Sprache, dem Gefühl des Rohen, der klassischen objektiven Konstruktion (durchgesetzt mit Hilfe eigener Ordnung und eigener Zwänge) bläht die aktuelle Dichtung die Erdkruste, lässt sie das Mark durch die Nervenadern der Blätter zirkulieren, lässt Mineralwasser zum Himmel aufsprudeln.<sup>17</sup>

Dieses Selbstverständnis, das Ilarie Voronca in der in Bukarest und Paris erscheinenden Zeitschrift *Integral* formuliert, ist – entgegen der ersten Anmutung – nicht in naturalistischen Fehlschlüssen wie dem organischen Verhältnis von Teilen und Ganzem in der Natur (und der Nation, wie eine in der Zeit häufig gebrauchte Analogie infolge einer verkürzten Herder-Rezeption es nahelegte) befangen, sondern im Gegenteil transeuropäisch. Bei näherem Hinsehen sind die Natur-Bilder alle verfremdet, ein Jedes in ein Anderes transponiert. Durchaus geht es um Metaphern des Lebendigen und Lebensfähigen, aber nicht im Sinne eines ‚arttypischen‘ Hervorwachsens aus der Scholle. Gemeinsamer Nenner der Bilder ist vielmehr die Dynamik transnationaler Transfers und interkultureller Prozesse, die einer Vernetzung der Sprachen und eines Spiels mit Ähnlichkeiten und Kontrasten bedürfen.

Das Heft 1 der Bukarester Ausgabe der *Integral* aus dem Jahr 1916 enthält Aphorismen sowie eine Kurzgeschichte von Constantin Brâncuși, der 1904, als er von Bukarest nach dem Studium an der dortigen Kunstakademie nach Paris ging, 28 Jahre alt war. Er veröffentlichte in französischer Sprache, genauso wie Tzara, der zwei neue Gedichte beisteuerte. Daneben findet sich ein lobender Artikel über verschiedene Richtungen der afrikanischen Kunst, deren Wert gerade angesichts der Auslöschung afrikanischer Zivilisationen durch den Kolonialismus unschätzbar sei. Die „schwarze Kunst, heute anerkannt und gewürdigt, erobert sich nicht nur einen Ehrenplatz in der modernen Ästhetiktheorie, sondern etabliert auch das Prinzip der Relativität des Schönen.“<sup>18</sup> Im gleichen Artikel wird die Orientierung an antiken Schönheitsauffassungen als einseitig verworfen, der afrikanischen Kunst Genialität zuerkannt und dem ‚Negrismus‘ oder ‚Sauvagismus‘ eine Absage erteilt, da diese aus dem traditionellen Kunstbetrieb heraus formulierten

17 Ilarie Voronca: Cicatrizari. Poezia nouă. [Vernarbungen. Die neue Dichtung]. In: *Integral. Revistă de sinteză modernă* 1 (1925), S. 2–3, hier S. 3. [„Limbă nouă, senzație crudă, construcție clasică obiectivă (impusă de o ordine și constrângere proprie) poezia actuala umflă coaja solului, circulă sevă prin nervura frunzelor, țâșnește apă minerală.“]

18 Corneliu Mihăilescu: Arta Neagră. (Die Schwarze Kunst). In: *Integral. Revistă de sinteză modernă* 1 (1925), S. 10–11, hier S. 11. [„Arta neagră, astăzi recunoscută și afirmată, cucerește împreună cu locul de onoare pe care începe să-l ocupe în preocupările estetice moderne și principiul relativismului în expresiunea frumosului.“]

Exegeză lirică deformată a vicliilor ritmice interioare intens trăită  
Exteriorizare orchestrală integral dezvoltată. Egotism pronunțat.

Imagism variat, dinamic, surprinzător. Colisiuni frecvente  
între analitic și sintetic cu rezultat implicit: deformațiune  
în expresie.

Poema lui Buzzi se poate prenumera printre operele capitale  
ale futurismului european.

Un studiu special va contura în No. viitor personalitatea  
febrilă a scriitorului italian.

■ **KORTARS**, revistă ungurească de avangardă, întrunește  
sub aceeași formă și spirit pe toți colaboratorii revistei  
„Mx”. Cuprinde o scrisoare despre arhitectura belgiană, de  
Serwranck, un articol de Ludvig Kassak: „F. T. Marinetti”.  
Două pagini de poezie franțuzească, adună numele poezilor:  
A. Rimbaud, Max Jacob, Pierre Reverdy, Paul Eluard, Guil-  
laume Apollinaire, Marcel Sauvage, Philippe Soupault,  
Francis Picabia, Tristan Tzara, Jean Cocteau.

Notăm printre obișnușii colaboratori și pe Dl. Tamas Aladar,  
Desenuri și ilustrații de Willy Baummeister, Victor Serwranck,  
Meholy-Nagy, T. Zarnover și M. H. Maxy.

■ **PERISZKOP**: Redactor Szász György.  
Apare într-una din provinciile noi României (Arad) o revistă  
de popularizare a artei moderne.

O colaborare de elemente variate, dau un aspect de an-  
tologie revistei ce stăruie căutător pe un drum anevoios  
printre lăpturi artistice și culturale.

■ **STURM** 16 Jahrgang Berlin Mai 5 Heft. Herausgeber  
Herwarth Walden.

Un număr pumnal lui Adolf Behne, unul din teoreticienii  
arhitecturii germane. Statisticianul Behne, enumerând, în  
„Kunst, Wissenschaft und Europa” munca practică a noii  
generații, trece în revistă toate publicațiile de avangardă din  
lume (pomenește natural și despre Punct) și desconsideră  
aportul universal pe care „Sturm” îl aduce de 16 ani încoa.  
Primul pumnal îl aruncă Walden:

„Der Wille zur Gemeinschaft nicht nur mit Europa, auch  
mit der ganzen Erde, ist von der Zeitschrift der Sturm  
ausgegangen und diese Zeitschrift führt noch heute auf  
allen Wegen.....

.....Er holt sich sein Kunstwissen des Herrn Westheim, von  
L'Esprit Nouveau und von „De Styl”.....

Lothar Schreyer, Rudolf Blümmner, Kurt Liebman, Otto Ne-  
bel, William Wauer, asociați notei comune protestare, ve-  
hemente, scut în jurul revistei ce le-a intrunit virtuțile ma-  
bine de-o decadă.

Un articol corespondenței: „Stadtebildchen: Paris”, ni-l  
reamintește pe Walden, observatorul cinic și incisiv:

„Die Franzosen sind solide, einfache sachliche Menschen,  
ländlich, schlicht und geschmackvoll. Die Französinen,  
die den Ruf von Paris begründet haben, stammen aus Polen,  
Rumänien und der Tschechoslowakei. Die echten Pariserin-  
nen sind die grosse Demimonde, von denen die deutschen  
Männer dichten und nach denen die deutschen Frauen  
trachten”.....

.....Man fragt sich nach der Mona Lisa durch, von deren  
Lächeln ganze Generationen von Schriftstellern, und Kunst-  
historikern leben.....

.....Poezii de Otto Nebel.

7 AKTS. No. 25, dedică primul număr special consacrat ex-  
poziției din Paris.

Cu mult patos, arhitectul Henri Van de Velde, revendică  
pentru belgieni cinstea devansării asupra tuturor celorlalte  
popoare, în cercetarea frecventă a stilului nou. Injghebarea  
regulată a manifestărilor periodice, nu pot reprezenta decât  
în largă măsură, o doză organizată de propagandă. Eltorurile  
spirituale în Franța, Italia și Germania, s'au realizat la în-  
ceput, mai puțin public, și în ultimă instanță, Franța ține  
la discreția Europei, primul drapel modernist.

Câteva ilustrațiuni specifice, precum „Perspectiva pavilion-  
ului rus” de arhitectul Constantia Melnikof, diversele fo-  
tografii după proiectele și realizările arhitecților M. Gaspard  
și F. Hoeben. Dealțul latreg numărul, un apel la adunarea  
tuturor forțelor, pentru recunoașterea devizului: Le Style  
Nouveau, Sobre & Costaud.

■ Să se consulte librăria „Hasefer” din str. Cara-  
georghievici, în ce privește cartea, literatură, drama  
și plastica modernă.

### In Editura „INTEGRAL”

va apare în curând:

„T. X.” plachetă în 200 exemplare de lux.

Text: Ilarie Voronca, F. Brunea, St. Roll,

Desenuri: M. H. Maxy și V. Brauner

„PRINȚ PAPAL” psihismautomat  
de ION CALUGARU

DESENURI: M. H. MAXY

„SUPRAAMERICANUL” de F. BRUNEA

DESENURI: M. H. MAXY

Mișcarea Literară: Director Liviu Rebreanu.

Cuvântul Liber: Director Eugen Filoti.

Ideea Europeană.

Noi, Revista d'arte futurista. Directore: E. Prampolini.

Via Trento 89, Roma.

Staub, Revue d'architecture. Charles Teige. Kolkouwna

4, Praga.

Zenit, L. Mitsich, 22 rue Birtschamine, Belgrad.

Disk Charles Teige.

De stijl, art constructiviste. Di. Theo van Doesburg.

Les Feuilles Libres, Marcel Ravai. Paris.

Blok, Warsova.

„G □” material pour la construction élémentaire.

Hans Richter.

L'Esprit Nouveau. Ozenfant et Jeanneret. 3 du Cherche

Midi Paris.

Sturm. Herwarth Walden. Postdamestr. 134 Berlin.

7 Arts, P. Bourgeois. Bruxelles. Boul. Leopold 2.

„Integral” întesnește abonamente pentru revistele  
străine:

**ATTENTION**  
ADRESSE  
RED. et ADM.  
M. H. MAXY Calea Victoriei, 79, Et. I  
BUCAREST

Tipografia „Reforma Socială” — Fotografia „Tzairi” — Clujeș „Rampa”

Etikettierungen aus dem ‚Primitivismus‘ eine Modeerscheinung machen wollten, die der westeuropäischen Kunst lediglich als Inspiration, Verjüngung und Bereicherung dienen sollte. Corneliu Mihăilescu strebt hingegen eine Dezentrierung von Kunst und ästhetischer Theorien an, da sich Europa angesichts der afrikanischen Kunst nicht mehr als Mittelpunkt der schöpferischen Welt betrachten könne.<sup>19</sup>

In der ersten Ausgabe des *Integral* von 1925 (Fig. 10.1) findet sich am Ende eine Zusammenstellung aktueller avantgardistischer und konstruktivistischer Zeitschriften, die der Redaktion zugeschickt wurden; dazu gehörten die ungarische *Kotars*, von der es heißt, sie enthalte Artikel zur belgischen Architektur-Avantgarde, einen Text von Ludvig Kassak über Marinetti, französische Gedichte von Arthur Rimbaud bis Francis Picabia, Tristan Tzara und Jean Cocteau sowie die Zeitschrift *Periszkop* im rumänisch-ungarisch-serbischen Grenzgebiet, die ebenfalls eine europaweite Perspektive einnahm. Erwähnt werden ferner 7 *Arts* aus Brüssel mit einem Bericht von der großen Pariser Kunstausstellung und Einblicken in die deutschen, italienischen und französischen, aber auch russischen Pavillons, und zahlreiche weitere Zeitschriften, die ebenfalls transnationalen Anspruch erheben: *Ideea Europeana*, *Noi. Revista d'arte futurista* (aus Rom), *Staub*, *Revue d'architecture* (aus Prag), *Zenit* (aus Belgrad), *De stijl. Art constructiviste* (aus Amsterdam), *Les Feuilles Libres* und *L'Esprit Nouveau* (beide aus Paris), *Blok* (aus Warschau) und *Sturm* (aus Berlin). Aus dieser letztgenannten Zeitschrift wird auch ausführlicher zitiert, und zwar auf Deutsch, zum einen aus Adolf Behnes „Kunst, Wissenschaft und Europa“, zum anderen aus einem durchaus problematischen Artikel Herwarth Waldens, einem „Städtebildchen: Paris“, in dem er Osteuropa, osteuropäische Frauen und dann auch noch die Pariserinnen (wohl Inbegriff des ‚Weiblichen‘ im Allgemeinen) abwertet: Die echten Pariserinnen seien die „echte Demimonde“, die geheimnisvolle Halbwelt, die aus dem Lächeln Mona Lisas aufscheine. Den gegenwärtigen Ruf Paris‘ hätten Individuen begründet, die „aus Polen, Rumänien und der Tschechoslowakei“ stammen, während die echten Franzosen „solide, einfache sachliche Menschen, ländlich, schlicht und geschmackvoll“ seien.<sup>20</sup>

19 Vgl. übergreifend zu den Afrika-Bezügen des Dada: Ralf Burmeister/Michaela Oberhofer/ Esther Thisa Francini (Hgg.): *dada Afrika. Dialog mit dem Fremden*. Museum Rietberg Zürich/Berlinische Galerie. Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess 2016.

20 Die in diesem Satz enthaltenen Zitate stammen aus *Sturm* 16 (1925) H. 5, abgedruckt in *Integral. Revistă de sinteză modernă* 1 (1925), S. 15.

Diese Äußerungen verdeutlichen zum einen, dass Ethnisierung, Sexismus und gezielte Nutzung von Ressentiments zur Anerkennungsverweigerung weit verbreitet und auch außerhalb rechter Bewegungen, in moderaten oder sogar modernistischen Kreisen, nicht unbekannt waren. Der Wiederabdruck und die ironische Kommentierung im *Contimporanul* veranschaulicht zum anderen, dass publik gemachte Ressentiments in einer europäischen Echo-Kammer, die dank dem transnationalen Zeitschriftenwesen in den 1920er Jahren zustande kam, aufgegriffen und kritisch kontextualisiert wurden. Dies ermöglichte Solidarisierung mit den von ethnizitäts-, geschlechts- und religionsbezogener Abwertung Betroffenen.

### **Aushandlungen im politischen Feld und Grenzziehungen in der Kunst: Ethnisierung und Antisemitismus**

Den transnational agierenden Zeitschriften kann man durchaus nicht vorwerfen, einer naiven Vorstellung vom Weltbürgertum und der transnationalen Vernetzung verhaftet zu sein, ohne zu registrieren, dass in den 1920er Jahren auch eine Zuspitzung nationalistischer, ja chauvinistischer Tendenzen zu verzeichnen ist. Vielmehr zeugen zahlreiche Artikel – von kleinen Randnotizen bis zu Rezensionen, Glossen und längeren Analysen – davon, dass auch die internationale Entwicklung und Vernetzung des Nationalismus kritisch beobachtet wird. Während hinsichtlich der avantgardistischen Ästhetik die Transnationalität mit einer gesamteuropäischen Perspektive einhergeht, bedeutet Internationalisierung für nationalistische Kreise die Herstellung eines ethnisierenden und antisemitischen Konsenses. So berichtet *Integral* in Bukarest besorgt, dass der deutsche Staat beleidigt auf die mutmaßlich etwas verspätet erfolgte Einladung zu einer Kunstausstellung in Paris reagiert habe, nämlich mit der Ankündigung einer eigenen Parallelausstellung in Köln, zu der keine Vertreterinnen und Vertreter Frankreichs eingeladen werden sollten. Darin zeige sich, so der kleine anonyme redaktionelle Beitrag, auch etwas Internationales, nämlich eine „Internationalität, die [in den unterschiedlichen Ländern] auf der gleichen Basis aufbaut: dem Chauvinismus.“<sup>21</sup>

Schon Anfang der 1920er Jahre veröffentlicht *Contimporanul* Artikel, die Besorgnis über den Zuwachs des Antisemitismus äußerten. Direkt unterhalb eines Holzstichs von Marcel Ianco, der die in Paris lebende, aus einer Bukarester sephardischen Familie kommende Klavierspielerin Clara Haskil zeigt, beklagt der Artikel „Die Juden und die Hooligans“ („Evreii și Huliganii“),

<sup>21</sup> Redaktionelle Notiz. In: *Integral. Revistă de sinteză modernă* 1 (1925), S. 14.

dass die jüdischen Organisationen, Vereine und Verbände, aber auch von Gewaltandrohungen betroffene Einzelpersonen, hilflos angesichts antisemitischer Pogrome seien. Der unter dem Pseudonym Aladin firmierende Journalist lobt die Ergebnisse eines Jüdischen Kongresses, an dem auch Vertreter aus Siebenbürgen (das erst 1920 mit Rumänien vereinigt wurde) teilnahmen. Die Teilnehmer des Kongresses lehnten es jedoch kategorisch ab, den Gewalttätern mit Gewalt zu begegnen, vielmehr erklärten sie:

Das Ideal ist die Besserung der Massen durch Kultur, damit sie in der Lage sind, ihre eigenen Emotionen selbst zu hinterfragen und die ihnen angebotenen Ideen eigenständig zu überprüfen. Dann werden solche Ausschreitungen nicht mehr möglich sein. Eine Handvoll Menschen würde es nicht mehr wagen, zu beanspruchen, im Namen aller zu sprechen. Die ganze Bevölkerung würde die geschlossenen Universitäten, verwüsteten Druckereien, geschlossenen Jalousien, die doppelzüngige Regierung und die Autoritäten, die ein doppeltes Spiel spielen, indem sie provozieren und schlichten, nicht mehr hinnehmen.<sup>22</sup>

Dieser Artikel auf der ersten Seite im Heft 33 des *Contimporanul* von 1923 schließt mit der offenen Frage, ob es wohl gelingen wird, dass die ‚denkenden‘ Menschen sich gegen die anachronistischen Gewaltmuster durchsetzen würden, angesichts des Umstands, dass es schwerer sei, auf eine höhere seelisch-emotionale Stufe zu gelangen, als Geld- und Machtzuwachs zu erlangen.

Auf Seite zwei bringt die Zeitschrift eine literarische Impression mit dem Titel *Ezrê*, eine einfühlsam und atmosphärisch mit wenigen Zeilen sehr dicht gestaltete Szene von Sergiu Dan, in der Ezrê am Freitagabend die Synagoge verlässt und in die dunkle, regnerische Nacht hinausschreitet. Das Wiedersehen mit seiner Frau Esther antizipierend, die, obwohl ganz in der Nähe, seinen Sinneswahrnehmungen entzogen ist, versucht er, sich des haptischen Eindrucks ihrer Haut zu erinnern und legt sich die Worte für die abendliche Wiederbegegnung zurecht, während sich ein eiserner Gedankenreigen wie vor Tollwut rasend um sein Hirn legt – eine Anspielung auf die Angst vor dem Antisemitismus, der in den jüdischen Alltag einbricht und noch die letzten gedanklichen Rückzugsorte, die Synagoge und die Liebesbeziehung, besetzt.

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22 Aladin: Die Juden und die Hooligans. In: *Contimporanul* 33 (1923), S. 1. („Idealul de urmărit e ridicarea maselor prin cultură la puțința de a-și verifica sentimentele, de a controla singură ideile ce li se propun. Atunci agitațiile nu vor mai fi posibile. Un pumn de oameni nu va mai cuteză să se pronunțe în numele altora. O întreagă populație n'ar tolera universități închise, tipografii devastate, obloane trase, un guvern ambigen și autorități cu dublu rol de provocare și ocrotire.“)



Unter dem Titel „Der Fall ist gelöst“ („Chestiunea e rezolvată“) befasst sich eine sarkastische Glosse mit antisemitischen Ausschreitungen, die die Beschränkung der Zulassung von Juden für das universitäre Studium forderten. Die Glosse verkündet die ‚Lösung‘: Der Bildungsminister habe verkündet, dass den jüdischen Studierenden der medizinischen Fakultät fortan keine Leichname mehr für Obduktionsübungen bereitgestellt würden, sie mögen sie selbst beschaffen oder sich auf ein theoretisches Studium beschränken. Daraufhin hätten die jungen Makkabäer einen heroischen Beschluss gefasst: Jeden Monat würden fünf von ihnen Selbstmord begehen. Auf diese Weise würde die Medizinische Fakultät in zwei Jahren ‚judenfrei‘ – bliebe nur die Frage, wie die Sektion menschlicher Körper als verpflichtende Disziplin an der Juristischen, der Philosophischen, den Philologischen und den weiteren Fakultäten eingeführt werden könnte.<sup>23</sup> Der makabre Text legt die Skrupellosigkeit und das unterschätzte Gefahrenpotential des antisemitischen Diskurses offen, dessen europäische Dimension an vielen anderen Stellen in den avantgardistischen Zeitschriften diskutiert wird.

In der gleichen Ausgabe reagieren mehrere Glossen und Notizen auf einen der größten Skandale, der aufkam, als der französische Journalist André Joubert sein Buch *Femmes sans pudeur* veröffentlichte. Der von einem Bukarester Bankier mit einem luxuriösen Gehalt und einem Fünfjahresvertrag ausgestattete Joubert sollte eine große illustrierte Tageszeitung lancieren, die die Interessen des Bankdirektors vertreten sollte. 1923 reagierte die gesamte konservative und moderate Presse heftig auf den schlüpfrigen Roman, der, teilweise im Deckmantel ethnographischer Neugier getarnt, vermeintliche Einblicke in die freizügige Sexualität der Metropole gewährt und dabei ein misogynen und rassistisches Ressentiment an das nächste reiht. Auf dem Höhepunkt des Skandals wurde André Joubert von der rumänischen Regierung des Landes verwiesen. *Contimporanul* pflichtet der allgemeinen Ablehnung bei, ohne die Prüderie und den verletzten Nationalstolz der männlichen Ankläger Jouberts zu teilen. Stattdessen werden einige Romanabschnitte von zweifelhafter Qualität abgedruckt; sie kontrastieren mit den Selbstvergleichen Jouberts mit Balzac, Zola, Flaubert und Marguerite, denen sich ein anderer Artikel dieser Ausgabe, „Am Rande eines Skandals“ („In jurul unui scandal“) widmet. Während Joubert ganz offensichtlich Kultur, Gesellschaft, Ethnizität und Geschlecht nur in gewerteten, miteinander verschränkten Dichotomien denkt und meint, legitimerweise auf einer Machtasymmetrie zwischen West- und Osteuropa zu beharren (aus der er seine Deutungshoheit über den Osten ableitet), greifen avantgardistische Zeitschriften dieses Sujet auf, um eben

23 Vgl. I.G.C.: Chestiunea e rezolvată. In: *Contimporanul* 33 (1923), S. 4.

diese Asymmetrie abzubauen. Sie streben eine egalitäre transeuropäische Vernetzung an.

Am aufschlussreichsten für das europäische Verständnis der Zeitschrift ist aber eine Glosse mit dem ironischen Titel „Austausch von Liebenswürdigkeiten“ („Schimb de amabilități“):

Wenn Frankreich uns einen nichtswürdigen Schriftsteller wie Joubert exportiert, überhäuft uns dieser mit Injurien. Wenn wir Schauspielkünstlerinnen wie Ventura nach Frankreich schicken, deren Temperament die schwerfälligen Indigenen in den Schatten stellt, überhäufen sie sie mit Injurien.<sup>24</sup>

Hier artikuliert sich eine frühe Kritik der Ressentiments, die sich quer durch Europa Bahn brechen sollten. Der anonyme Verfasser (I.G.C.) diagnostiziert eine grundsätzliche west-östliche Asymmetrie, zu der Nicht-Anerkennung, Schmähungen und Spott gehören, und von der Frauen sowie Jüdinnen und Juden in potenziertes Weise betroffen sind. Es geht um Marie Ventura, eine rumänisch-französische Schauspielerin und Regisseurin, die von 1919 bis 1941 an der altehrwürdigen, 1680 gegründeten *Comédie-Française*, dem Pariser Staatstheater, arbeitete und hier als erste weibliche Regisseurin überhaupt 1938 Jean Racines *Iphigénie* inszenierte. Der Schriftsteller Paul Léautaud wird mit seiner Kritik an einer Camille-Aufführung in der Pariser *Nouvelle Revue Française* wie folgt im Bukarester *Contimporanul* zitiert:

Was wird wohl über Fräulein Ventura gekommen sein, dass sie mit dem Theater anfangen wollte? Sie ist hässlich, sie ist kleinwüchsig, [...] ich kann sie mir eher in einer Abteilung eines Warenhauses vorstellen, wie sie den Kundinnen Neuigkeiten präsentiert als auf irgendeiner Theaterbühne. [...] Schon vor zehn Jahren sah ich in einer Chronik im *Mercure* voraus, dass diese hässlichen Judenmädchen, von denen das Konservatorium voll ist, bald alle weiblichen Rollen [...] spielen werden. Nun ist es soweit. Ich liebe die Frauen, auch die Jüdinnen sind mitunter schöne Frauen. [...] Ich finde nur, dass eine Selektion stattfinden könnte, in ihrem eigenen Interesse und dem unseres Vergnügens.<sup>25</sup>

24 I.G.C.: Schimb de amabilități. In: *Contimporanul* 33 (1923), S. 4. („Când Franța ne exportă un scriitor nul ca Joubert, acesta ne înjură. Când trimitem Franței artiste ca Ventura, al cărei temperament eclipsează răsufăturile indigene, ... o înjură ei.“)

25 I.G.C.: Schimb de amabilități. In: *Contimporanul* 33 (1923), S. 4. („Ce i-o fi venit domnișoarei Ventura să se apuce de teatru? E urâtă, e mărunță [...]. Mi-o închipui mult mai la locul ei în raionul vreunui magazin de noutăți prezentând articole clientelor, decât

Besonders negativ fällt hier schon die Wortwahl auf, wenn in Bezug auf Juden von ‚Selektion‘ die Rede ist. Dieses Beispiel verdeutlicht, dass transnational ausgerichtete Zeitschriften wie *Contimporanul* und die in Frankreich und Rumänien erscheinende *Integral* nicht nur als Vernetzungs- und Vermittlungsorgane, sondern auch als kritische Echokammer Europas fungierten. Misogynie, Antisemitismus, ost-west-europäische Asymmetrien, insbesondere asymmetrische Transfers und Ungleichheiten des Anerkennungs-Regimes wurden registriert, offengelegt und kritisch kommentiert. Des Weiteren sind Solidarisationen mit emanzipatorischen Bewegungen, so etwa mit den Feministinnen, die sich für das Frauenwahlrecht einsetzten, nicht selten.

Bemerkenswerterweise findet sich auf der gleichen Seite wie die Kritik an Léautaud eine Glosse, die die feministische Bewegung vor dem liberalen Ministerpräsidenten Ion I. C. Brătianu warnt, da dieser das immer vehementer eingeforderte Frauenwahlrecht<sup>26</sup> verhindern wolle. Der „Kausa des Feminismus, mit der wir sympathisieren“,<sup>27</sup> solle gedient werden mit dem Hinweis darauf, dass der Ministerpräsident in der neuen Verfassung der Senatskammer eine Übermacht erteilt und das Prinzip der Gleichwertigkeit aller Stimmen so weit ausgehebelt habe, dass er nun die Forderung nach Frauenwahlrecht als Anachronismus hinstellen könne. Angesichts dieser Haltung müssten weitreichendere Anstrengungen unternommen werden, um Veränderungen herbeizuführen.

Gerade hinsichtlich der politischen Ausrichtung lohnt ein vergleichender Seitenblick auf die deutschsprachige Literatur-, Kunst- und Kulturzeitschrift *Klingsor*. Sie wurde von 1924 bis 1939 vom deutschsprachigen Schriftsteller Heinrich Zillich herausgegeben.<sup>28</sup> War sie anfangs noch offen für die

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pe scena oricărui fel de teatru. [...] Sunt zece ani de când prevedeam, într'o cronică din *Mercure*, interpretarea eroinelor din repertoriu, mai ales din Musset, de către aceste oveicuțe urâte de care e plin Conservatorul. S'a întâmplat. Imi sunt foarte dragi femeile, si evreicile sunt adesea femei tare frumoase. [...] Gălesc numai că s'ar putea face o selecție, în interesul lor și pentru agrementul nostru.“)

- 26 Das Frauenwahlrecht wurde erst 1929 auf kommunaler Ebene bedingungsgebunden eingeführt, landesweit dann erst 1938/39. Die Zeitschrift *Unirea Femeilor Române*, in der die Einführung des Frauenwahlrechts diskutiert wurde, erschien seit 1908. Vgl. Alin Ciupală: *Bătălia lor: Femeile din România în Primul Război Mondial*. Bukarest: Polirom 2017 („Ihre Schlacht: Die Frauen in Rumänien im Ersten Weltkrieg“), wo der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Einsatz der Frauen im Umfeld des Kriegs und der Emanzipationsbewegung untersucht wird.
- 27 I.G.C.: D-nul Brătianu face o cură de iaurt. In: *Contimporanul* 33 (1923), S. 3 („cauza feminismului, cu care simpatizăm“).
- 28 Vgl. Walter Myss: *Fazit nach achthundert Jahren. Geistesleben der Siebenbürger Sachsen im Spiegel der Zeitschrift Klingsor 1924–1939*. München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks 1968.

Avantgarde-Bewegungen und hatten darin namhafte nicht-deutschsprachige Symbolisten und Expressionisten publiziert, verschob sich das Selbstverständnis der Zeitschrift zunehmend in eine nationalistische, später nationalsozialistische Richtung. Der Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache war in Rumänien der 1920er Jahre verbreitet, zum einen wegen der großen protestantischen<sup>29</sup> und katholischen deutschen Minderheiten, zum anderen weil es die Alltagssprache sephardischer wie aschkenasischer Juden war, die ebenfalls deutschsprachige Tageszeitungen, Zeitschriften und Bücher herausgaben. Schließlich schrieben auch weitere Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftsteller Deutsch oder verfassten Übersetzungen ihrer anderssprachigen Texte ins Deutsche, sei es, weil sie in Berlin, Leipzig, München oder Wien studiert hatten oder sich der deutschsprachigen Literatur verbunden fühlten. In den Anfangsjahren war der vielbeachtete *Klingsor* – dessen Titel darauf anspielt, dass die gleichnamige Gestalt aus Wolfram von Eschenbachs *Parzival* und aus der Manessischen Liederhandschrift aus Siebenbürgen gekommen sei – auch ein Forum für junge jüdische deutschsprachige Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftsteller aus der Bukowina, aus jenem Kreis also, zu dem später auch Paul Celan gehören sollte. So publizierte der jüdische Schriftsteller und spätere Förderer Celans Alfred Margul-Sperber noch 1932 im *Klingsor* und auch die Czernowitzer Schriftstellerin Rose Ausländer war Anfang der 1930er Jahre vertreten.

Nach 1928 wandelte sich aber die Zeitschrift aber und nahm, unter dem Einfluss von NS-Aktivisten wie Fritz Fabritius und dessen Erneuerungsbewegung, zunehmend den Duktus völkischer Propaganda an; sie wurde nun offen antisemitisch.<sup>30</sup> *Klingsor* fasste vor allem die Deutschsprachigkeit nicht mehr im Sinne transnationaler Vernetzung auf, nicht mehr im Sinne der Adressierung eines europaweit zu suchenden Publikums, das sich für deutschsprachige Literatur in ihren vielfältigen mehrsprachigen Umfeldern interessierte; die eigene Deutschsprachigkeit wurde umgedeutet zu einem für die ‚Volksgemeinschaft‘ identitätsstiftenden Merkmal. Damit war auch die Affinität zu modernistischen und avantgardistischen Bewegungen verwirkt. Die Machtergreifung der NSDAP begrüßte *Klingsor* als Sieg der „schöpferischen

29 Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts erfolgte die Reformation fast aller als Katholiken eingewanderten Deutschen in Siebenbürgen durch Johannes Honterus (fast gleichzeitig mit Martin Luthers Reformationsbewegung). Siehe übergreifend Konrad Gündisch: *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*. München: IKGS Verlag 1998.

30 Vgl. Stefan Sienerth: Adolf Meschendörfer und Heinrich Zillich im Literaturbetrieb des „Dritten Reiches“. In: Ders.: *Studien und Aufsätze zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und Sprachwissenschaft in Südosteuropa*. Band 1. München: IKGS Verlag 2008, S. 189–226.

Männlichkeit“<sup>31</sup>, die sich nicht weiter vom falschen „Spiel“<sup>32</sup> der Demokratie einschränken ließe. Damit sei der „gesamteuropäischen Zukunft“<sup>33</sup> ein wegweisender Dienst geleistet worden, denn die Demokratie sei inhaltsleer geworden, so auch der „politische Gegensatz zwischen ‚rechts‘ und ‚links‘“ und jener „zwischen Marxismus und freier Wirtschaft“.<sup>34</sup> Vom „Staate, der am meisten für die Mitte und den Osten des Erdteils kulturell bestimmend ist“,<sup>35</sup> sei sicherlich bald auch eine ‚erneuerte‘, diesem Selbstverständnis entsprungene Kunst zu erwarten. Nicht mehr „Typen wie Emil Ludwig oder Einstein, oder gar die schleimigste schriftstellerische Unfähigkeit Lion Feuchtwanger[s]“<sup>36</sup> würden sich behaupten; „unerhört trüchtig, unendlich weit“ sei die „seelische und geistige Landschaft“, die sich „im Reich“ aufgetan habe, eine Abkehr von „Mimikry“<sup>37</sup> (dem vermeintlich ‚jüdischem‘ Ersatz für Innovationsfähigkeit) in Gesellschaft und Kunst kündige sich an. Im *Klingsor* wurden fortan völkische, NS-nahe Texte ‚volksdeutscher‘ Autorinnen und Autoren veröffentlicht und der Tenor wurde zunehmend antisemitisch.<sup>38</sup> Zillich, der unter anderem ein Lobgedicht auf Adolf Hitler, antisemitische und antiziganistische Romane und Erzählungen schrieb,<sup>39</sup> ab Ende der 1930er Jahre in der NS-Zeitschrift *Das Innere Reich* regelmäßig publizierte und während des Nationalsozialismus ein ausgesprochener Erfolgsautor war, arbeitete nach Kriegsende als Funktionär im Münchner Vertriebenenverband.<sup>40</sup>

Im Gegensatz zur Synchronisation des künstlerischen Programms mit der zum Staatsprogramm gewordenen NS-Ideologie setzte sich im *Contimporanul* ein ganz anderes Kunstverständnis durch: Wenngleich weniger konsequent als noch Anfang der 1920er Jahre, hielt die Zeitschrift an der Unabhängigkeit der Kunst von staatlichen Doktrinen und allgemein von Ideologien fest und bestand auf der Demokratie als Bedingung für die Entfaltung von Kunst, die

31 Heinrich Zillich: Deutsche Revolution. In: *Klingsor. Siebenbürgische Zeitschrift* 9 (1933), S. 165–177, hier S. 169.

32 Ebd., S. 168.

33 Ebd., S. 177.

34 Ebd., S. 168.

35 Ebd., S. 176.

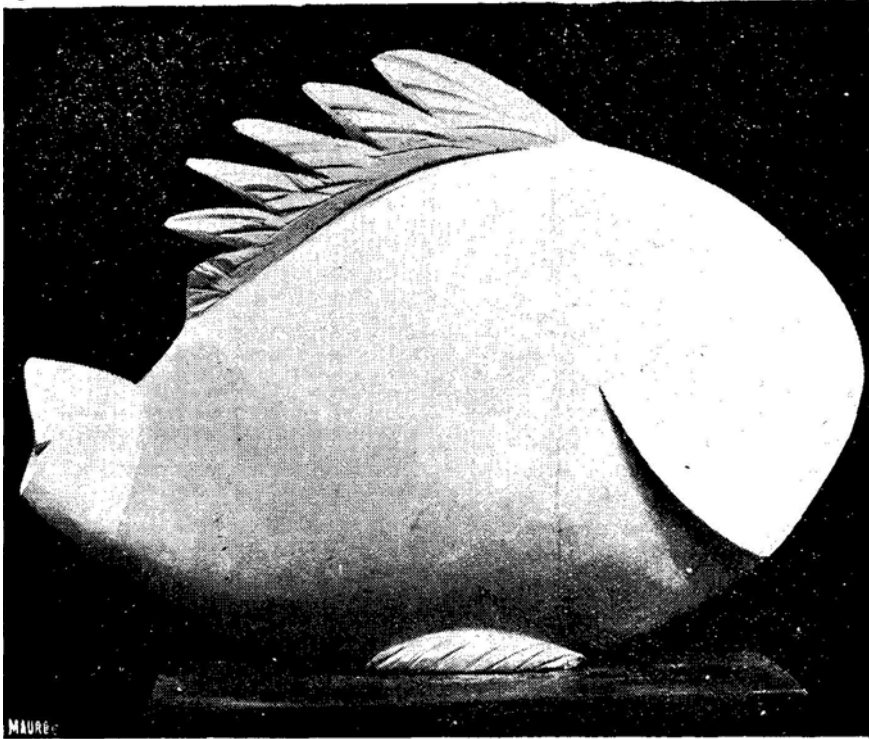
36 Ebd., S. 176–177.

37 Ebd., S. 163.

38 Vgl. Johann Böhm: *Nationalsozialistische Indoktrination der Deutschen in Rumänien. 1932–1944*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2018.

39 Vgl. Heinrich Zillich: *Die Zigeuner*. Schäßburg: Dr. Markus 1931; Ders.: *Zwischen Grenzen und Zeiten*. München: Albert Langen/Georg Müller 1941.

40 Vgl. Johann Böhm: *Hitlers Vasallen in der deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien vor und nach 1945*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2006.



*Irène Codreano : Bronze.*

FIGURE 10.2 Irène Codreano: Bronze. In: *Contimporanul* 91–92 (1930), S. 14

weiterhin per definitionem als transnational aufgefasst wurde. Wenn der Artikel „Neue Zeichen“ („Semne Noui“) in der Ausgabe 93–95 von 1930 über gesellschaftliche Erneuerung und künstlerische Innovation räsoniert, dann fragt er nach den neuen Schnittstellen zwischen Literatur und Gesellschaft auf Feldern wie dem Sport und den sich verändernden Körperkulturen, danach, ob in Zukunft nur noch jene Kunst Bestand haben würde, die „Gesten zeigt, welche auch auf der kinematographischen Leinwand eingefangen werden können“<sup>41</sup> – was durchaus als Innovationsfaktor begrüßt wurde. Wenn auch im späten *Contimporanul* vereinzelt Mystifizierungen des freien Willens, der Jugend oder der Religion anklingen, bleibt er doch dem Grundsatz verpflichtet: „Die Kultur und der Staat sind Antagonisten.“<sup>42</sup> Damit ist die Unabhängigkeit

41 Emil Riegler-Dinu: Semne Noui. In: *Contimporanul* 93–94–95 (1930), S. 2–4, hier S. 3.

42 Ebd., S. 2.

transnationalen Kunst und Kultur gemeint, in Europa und darüber hinaus, die auf Demokratie und Pluralismus angewiesen ist, um sich totalitärer Begehrlichkeiten eines Staatsapparats entziehen zu können und in diesem Sinne eine (engagierte) Autonomie zu wahren.

Noch 1930 feierte *Contimporanul* Künstlerinnen wie Irène Codreano (rum. Irina Codreanu) und Milița Petrașcu, die damals in europäischen Metropolen, insbesondere in Paris, in futuristisch-spätavantgardistischen Ausstellungen erfolgreich waren. Codreano blieb in Paris, wo sie u.a. mit Brancusi zusammenarbeitete, Plastiken und Gemälde ausstellte, für die sie französische wie auch deutsche Auszeichnungen erhielt.<sup>43</sup> Petrașcu kehrte nach Bukarest zurück, wo sie nach 1945 vom rumänischen Geheimdienst überwacht wurde und kaum Möglichkeiten hatte, ihre Arbeit fortzusetzen.

Die Energie, die diesen Werken innewohnt, wurde von *Contimporanul* eingehend gewürdigt; der Kunstkritiker und Musikwissenschaftler Emil Riegler-Dinu äußerte sogar den Wunsch, die gesamte junge Künstlergeneration möge diese Plastiken zur Kenntnis nehmen und anerkennen. Milița Petrașcus „Rast“, eine Bronze, die eine sich nach körperlicher Anstrengung ausruhende, gleichzeitig nachdenkende Frau als stehenden Akt zeigt, wird neben einem eingehenden Kommentar zu James Joyces *Ulysses* (1922) abgedruckt, dessen Bewusstseinsstrom-Technik als Maßstab für den neuen modernen Roman gepriesen werden. Transnationalität korreliert in den avantgardistischen Zeitschriften mit einem interpretationsoffenen Verständnis von Kunst, die für besprechungswürdig erachtet wird, wenn sie sich nicht auf gewertete Dichotomien zurückführen lässt oder auf kollektive Identitätsstiftung zielt. Auch bestimmte Züge der klassischen Moderne, die sich etwa bei Joyce oder Franz Kafka finden, ziehen das Interesse der Avantgarde-Zeitschriften durch deutungsoffene Risse, Abbrüche und Paradoxien auf sich. Das Verständnis transnationaler Kunst, das in den Avantgarde-Zeitschriften eingeschrieben ist, verhält sich aufgrund des Fragmentarischen subversiv zu jeder Form von Kunst, die (staatliche, ethnische, nationale, geschlechtliche) Kollektive entwirft.

Hierin heben sich die Avantgarde-Zeitschriften von den Gedankenwelten, Gesellschaftsmodellen und Kunstauffassungen der ins Nationale, Rassistische und Antisemitische tendierenden Zeitschriften wie *Klingsor* wohl am deutlichsten ab. Wenngleich sowohl *Contimporanul*, *Integral* und weitere

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43 Vgl. Hugues Finaz/Pierre Arnauld: *Irène Codreano et son oeuvre*. Paris: Université Paris Sorbonne 2010.

avantgardistische Zeitschriften als auch *Klingsor* ganz Europa in den Blick nahmen, blieben erstere transnational, während die zunehmend deutsch-nationale, antisemitische Zeitschrift *Klingsor* Kunst als Ausdruck einer angeblichen ‚volksspezifischen‘ Kreativität auffasste und zugleich als eine Disziplin, in der die so definierte ‚deutsche‘ Kultur besonders gut abschneidet. *Contimporanul* blieb, wenn auch weniger dezidiert, offen für Kolonialismuskritik, für europäisch wie auch national angelegte Gender-Fragen und für die Werke international agierender Künstlerinnen – alles Belange, die im Zuge nationalistischer Schließung anderer Zeitschriften völlig außen vor blieben.

### Fazit

Die Beispiele vermitteln einen Eindruck von der Spannweite zwischen einem Europa-orientierten, interkulturellen Selbstverständnis in transnational ausgerichteten Zeitschriften der osteuropäischen Avantgarden, insbesondere *Contimporanul* und *Integral*, und Zeitschriften wie *Klingsor*, die sich gegen Ende der Weimarer Republik nicht nur modernistischen und avantgardistischen Strömungen, sondern auch der Mehrsprachigkeit und dem Gedanken eines transnationalen Europa zunehmend verschlossen, bis hin zum Anschluss an die nationalsozialistische Ideologie. Der starke Resonanzeffekt der politischen Entwicklungen in Deutschland auf Literatur, Kunst und Kultur in diesen osteuropäischen Gesellschaften veranschaulicht zum einen, dass Transnationalität bereits selbstverständlich geworden war; zum anderen wird auch die Asymmetrie der Transfers greifbar, denn die politischen und kulturellen Entwicklungen im Westen Europas, insbesondere in Deutschland, beeinflussten das gesellschaftliche Klima und die Kunst-Debatten im Osten des Kontinents ungleich stärker als umgekehrt.

An der Entwicklung der angesprochenen Zeitschriften während der 1920er Jahre lässt sich – wie hier lediglich exemplarisch aufgezeigt – auch ablesen, wie die Durchlässigkeit zwischen modernistischen und konservativen Kunstauffassungen nachlässt und Zeitschriften wie der *Klingsor* sich für radikale soziale und ästhetische Schließungen entscheiden. *Contimporanul* druckte 1930 Fotografien von Plastiken der Bildhauerinnen Mița Petrașcu und Irène Codreano ab, die damals in europäischen Metropolen, insbesondere in Paris, in futuristisch-spätavantgardistischen Kreisen erfolgreich waren; in *Klingsor* und anderen ehemals transnational offenen Zeitschriften, die nationale Schließungen mitvollzogen, hätten sie keinen Zuspruch mehr finden können.



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V

*Infrastructure and Agency*

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# Infrastructure and Agency

*Oliver Scheiding*

Periodicals function as complex and collaboratively organized communication and distribution facilities supported by operational, technological, and personal infrastructures. Since its rise in the eighteenth century, managerial innovations and advancements in communication technology have shaped the making of periodicals and made it possible to produce them. In the mid-1860s, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* launched a lengthy illustrated piece showcasing the magazine's infrastructure. The magazine invites the reader to experience the manufacturing flow of a monthly print. It exhibits a print space in which machines and human actions merge. The article not only represents sectional diagrams of the magazine's staff who operates the monthly, but it also exposes the modern machinery and the innovative building design needed to process the paper. Likewise, the *New York Times Magazine* published a 2019 special weekend's section on the company's printing plant in Queens. While the magazine delivers behind-the-scenes insides of the newsprint's business, the photo essay exposes how journalism and newspaper printing come together. The giant plant that prints 80,000 copies every hour on 14 miles of conveyor belts depends on countless coworkers like laser machines, soft- and hardware, sheets of aluminum, editors, writers, copy editors who sign the final version off to be printed. Moreover, it includes the plant's employees who check the color and prints, or bundle and stack them for delivery. What the reader finally buys at the newsstand or reads at home results from an infrastructural habitat where modern technology and human power entangle through distributed agency and hybrid constellations between nonhuman agents and human actors. Like factory tours, the magazine's visual tour advertises the newspaper as a networked infrastructure based on sociomaterial relations and interactions (see section II on Materiality).

Illustrated articles, photo essays, and behind-the-scenes videos on YouTube are important 'infrastructural' genres to display a periodical's networked agency among other national organizations participating in the sphere of politics and corporate capitalism (see section VI on Community). Unlike independent magazines whose infrastructure is closer to a fluid assemblage based less on stability than change producing brakes and discontinuities, well-branded national newspapers like the *New York Times* (1851–), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (1949–) in Germany or the British daily *The Guardian* (1821–) are densely networked media organizations. The newspaper's agency arises out

of a network as a mediated effect between the periodical with its diverse departments and the sociopolitical environment. By contrast, independent magazines repeatedly curate an agency that leans toward the event relying on an aleatory and unpredictable sociospatial organization (see section III on Multimodality).

From what has been said it becomes clear that an analysis focusing on infrastructure and agency requires a different approach to examining newspapers and magazines, and the role they play in society. The two chapters in this section propose an empirical study of specific departments within newspaper and media enterprises and the network of sociomaterial interactions emerging from it. This means to move beyond a mere content analysis of a given periodical exploring it as a container of information mirroring the past, or the present time we live in. To grasp a newspaper's agency in terms of stability and change, and the attachment it produces among both its staff and readers, Maximilian Kutzner's chapter suggests to reassess the periodical as a media infrastructure for negotiating public concerns. The economics department of the German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* serves him as an example to illustrate the agency and social impact of this newspaper. In his contribution, the author addresses theoretical, heuristic, and methodological questions that researchers in the field of modern media history and periodical studies are confronted with. The coauthored chapter by Oliver Scheiding and Anja-Maria Bassimir, "Under the Cover of Religious Periodicals: Magazine Agency and Newsroom Practice," relies on on-site, ethnographically informed investigations of a contemporary Christian magazine, thus offering unusual insight in the infrastructural setup and the day-to-day proceedings of a periodical. The newsroom is identified as an important relational space of human and material coactors that needs to adapt to technological and economic developments.

# Die Zeitung als Akteur: Theoretische, heuristische und methodische Zugänge in der modernen Mediengeschichte

*Maximilian Kutzner*

## Abstract

In modern media history, newspapers, radio stations, and news platforms on the Internet are viewed as agents with their own agenda in an area of tension between politics, economy, culture, science, and the public. Thus, a new way of thinking has arisen in this discipline. The past media historiography had often tended to view historic events through a “mirror of the media.” This assigned the media the passive role of spectators of current events. In addition to this, internal operations of the media were rarely contextualized historically, and the editorial department was often viewed as a black box that functions independently from external influences. However, said discipline has abandoned this perspective over the past several years.

Currently, modern media history makes use of interdisciplinary approaches such as basic concepts of system theory according to Niklas Luhmann, the medializing theory, and the agenda-setting research, which enable the examination of the interrelation between media and their social environment. A further component of modern media history is a heuristic multiperspectivity which frees itself from press coverage as the only source and includes internal editorial documents as well as sources from archives of interaction partners. The third aspect are methodological tools, the use of which is enabled by the digital access to source material and leads to new questions and findings.

In this article, these approaches are outlined and illustrated using the history of the economics department of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. The goal is to present components for a stringent examination of media as productive societal agents which can be used for further research.

Im April 1961 schrieb Erich Welter, einer der Herausgeber der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* (FAZ), einen Brief an Jürgen Eick, den Leiter der Wirtschaftsredaktion der Zeitung. Darin philosophierte der Herausgeber über die Bedeutung seines Blattes. Gerade hatten die FAZ und ihr Wirtschaftsressort



an der Seite von Bundeswirtschaftsminister Ludwig Erhard erfolgreich dafür gekämpft, die D-Mark gegenüber dem US-Dollar aufzuwerten und damit die Konjunktur der Wirtschaftswunderjahre vor der Überhitzung einstweilen geschützt.

Hundert Briefe von noch so einflussreichen Leuten á la [Theodor, Anm. des Verfassers] Heuss und so weiter haben zusammengenommen eben nicht die Wirkung, die eine gedruckte Zeile in der *FAZ* auszuüben vermag. Mir wird immer ganz Angst und Bange, wenn ich bei jeder Gelegenheit, wie zum Beispiel bei dieser, gewahr werde, welches Machtinstrument uns in die Hand gegeben ist, denn ich frage mich oft, ob wir es gut und richtig und ausreichend handhaben,

schrieb Welter an Eick.<sup>1</sup> Der Herausgeber ahnte, dass die *FAZ* mehr war als bloß eine Zeitung, die das Weltgeschehen abbildete. Sie war auch ein wichtiger Akteur im Gefüge zwischen Politik, Wirtschaft und Öffentlichkeit, so zumindest die Beobachtung Welters. Umso mehr verwundert es, dass dieser Rolle von Medien wenig Beachtung in der Historiografie geschenkt wurde und wird. Die Bedeutung von Zeitungen, Sendern und Journalisten als gestaltende Akteure spielten oft keine große Rolle. In vielen Arbeiten wird sogar implizit das Gegenteil vorausgesetzt: Indem medienhistorische Quellen allenfalls als Illustration herangezogen und historische Ereignisse „im Spiegel der Medien“ betrachtet wurden, sprach man ihnen den Charakter wirkmächtiger und eigenständig handelnder Akteure ab. Sie galten unter diesem Betrachtungswinkel lediglich als Chronisten des Zeitgeschehens, standen abseits und reproduzierten, was sie beobachteten. Egal ob Krim-Krieg, sexuelle Revolution oder Wiedervereinigung – vieles wurde mit den immer gleichen theoretischen Vorannahmen und methodischen Zugriffen betrachtet.

Die moderne Mediengeschichte nimmt einen anderen Betrachtungswinkel ein und begreift Zeitungen, Fernsehsender oder Radioprogramme stärker als Akteure in einem gesellschaftlichen Gefüge zwischen Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur und Öffentlichkeit. Ihr geht es darum, sich von der spiegelhaften Betrachtung serieller Artikelfolgen zu lösen und die Abläufe hinter der Berichterstattung zu betrachten. Auch die Adressaten geraten jüngst stärker ins Blickfeld und damit die Frage, welche Wirkungen Programme und Artikel haben konnten.<sup>2</sup> Dass Medien selbst über eine eigene Agenda verfügen,

1 Erich Welter an Jürgen Eick, 21. April 1961, Ordner Eick – Korrespondenz Prof. Welter, 1. März 1960–31. März 1962, Archiv der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung.

2 Bösch und Vowinckel, „Mediengeschichte“, 370–390; Hoeres, „Geschichte“, 14–27.

zeigen nicht nur der Brief des Herausgebers Welter, sondern auch die höchst unterschiedlichen Deutungen bestimmter Ereignisse und die Pluralisierung der Medienlandschaft.<sup>3</sup>

Dieser Betrachtungsstandpunkt, Medien selbst als Akteure mit einer ihnen eigenen Agenda zu begreifen, bringt unterschiedliche Bedingungen für theoretische, heuristische und methodische Herangehensweisen in der historiografischen Erforschung mit sich. Es genügt nicht mehr allein die Berichterstattung, die auf das Medium selbst verengt ist, zu betrachten, um die Rolle eines Mediums im gesamtgesellschaftlichen Gefüge zu verorten. Der Blick muss sich weiten auf die Frage, wie dieses Gefüge auf die Medieninhalte reagierte und mit ihnen interagierte. Zudem soll die redaktionelle Ebene, die Erzeuger der Inhalte, nicht mehr von der Berichterstattung getrennt werden und als Blackbox, die unabhängig von ihrer Umwelt arbeitet und von dieser scheinbar nicht beeinflusst wird, erforscht werden.

Bisher fehlte es an konkreten Anwendungsbeispielen, die ein dementsprechendes Vorgehen in der Forschung exerzierten. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, Vorschläge für einen solchen Weg zur historiografischen Erforschung von Medien aufzuzeigen. Er wurde in der Praxis in den vergangenen Jahren erfolgreich erprobt und findet Anwendung in weiteren Projekten.<sup>4</sup> Es geht darum, den Mehrwert interdisziplinärer Anleihen für die theoretische Ausrichtung (1), die Bedeutung heuristischer Multiperspektivität (2) und den Erkenntnisgewinn einer Methodenmischung (3) für medienhistorische Arbeiten aufzuzeigen. Mit deren Hilfe lässt sich die Bedeutung der *FAZ* für Politik, Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft, Kultur und Medien in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik näher fassen. Diese Bausteine sollten weniger als geschlossenes methodisch-theoretisches Konzept verstanden werden, sondern als Anregungen, die es in Zukunft zu erweitern und zu schärfen gilt.

Warum gerade die *FAZ*? Die Zeitung gilt als eines der einflussreichsten Blätter der Bundesrepublik. „Dahinter steckt immer ein kluger Kopf.“ Wer kennt nicht diesen berühmten Werbeslogan der Zeitung? Ursprünglich 1964 vom späteren Geschäftsführer der *FAZ*-GmbH und Werbefachmann Viktor Muckel erdacht und als Werbetext genutzt, erlebte er 1995 ein Revival in Form von großformatigen Plakaten. Zu sehen sind darauf stets bekannte Persönlichkeiten in symbolträchtigem Umfeld, wie Hans Dietrich Genscher auf dem Balkon der Deutschen Botschaft in Prag oder Günther Jauch im

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3 Exemplarisch von Hodenberg, *Konsens*.

4 Hoeres, *Zeitung*. Beispielhaft sind hier auch die Dissertationsprojekte von Roxanne Narz zur Geschichte des Feuilletons der *FAZ* und von Frederic Schulz zur Geschichte des Politikressorts.

Studio von *Wer wird Millionär?*, die ihr Gesicht hinter der aufgeschlagenen *FAZ* im Blattformat Nordisches (371 mm × 528 mm) verbergen. Die klugen Köpfe der Werbekampagne sind Entscheidungsträger aus Politik, Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft, Medien, Sport und Kultur. Die Botschaft lautet: Die wichtigen Leute lesen *FAZ*. Der Mainzer Publizistikwissenschaftler Jürgen Wilke wies ihr die Bedeutung eines Leitmediums zu. Diese Zuschreibung wird nicht allein an der Verbreitung der *FAZ* festgemacht. Tatsächlich lag die verkaufte Auflage der Zeitung (in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren rund 300.000) weit hinter der *Bild* mit etwa drei Millionen zurück.<sup>5</sup> Doch das Besondere des Leitmediums, so Wilke, ist dessen Nutzung durch Entscheidungsträger.<sup>6</sup> Und hier habe die *FAZ* ihre Konkurrenten übertroffen. Historisch kontextualisiert wurde diese Aussage jedoch nicht. Erst seit 2016 wird die Geschichte der *FAZ* systematisch untersucht und damit eine Forschungslücke geschlossen.<sup>7</sup>

## 1 Theoretische Betrachtungswinkel

Von der Vielzahl der möglichen Anleihen aus den benachbarten Disziplinen eignen sich insbesondere die Systemtheorie, die Medialisierungstheorie und die Agenda-Setting-Theorie zum Erkenntnisgewinn in der Mediengeschichte. Sie wurden in historiografischen Arbeiten verwendet und haben es in den Theoriekanon der Medienhistoriker geschafft, jedoch wurden sie als kombiniertes Theoriegebäude bisher noch nicht eingesetzt.

Die Systemtheorie nach Niklas Luhmann hält trotz der ihr innewohnenden Komplexität einige Erkenntniswege für die mediengeschichtliche Forschung bereit. Sie erleichtert die Betrachtung von Medien und dem Umfeld, in dem sie verortet sind. Die Systemtheorie öffnet den Blick für die Umwelt einer Zeitung oder eines Rundfunksenders. Massenmediale Öffentlichkeit wird von Luhmann als Reflexionsmedium für die Nutzer von Massenkommunikation verstanden. Zeitungen und Rundfunksender sind Einrichtungen der Gesellschaft, die sich zur Verbreitung von Kommunikation an ein disperses Publikum technischer Hilfsmittel bedienen. Sie stellen täglich eine große Masse an Informationen bereit und ermöglichen die Beobachtung der Umwelt für die

<sup>5</sup> Informationsgemeinschaft, *Auflagenliste*.

<sup>6</sup> Wilke, „Leitmedien“, 302–29.

<sup>7</sup> Die Geschichte der *FAZ* wird im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes „Geschichte eines Leitmediums. Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung von ihrer Gründung 1949 bis zur Gegenwart“ am Lehrstuhl für Neueste Geschichte der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg untersucht.

einzelnen Funktionssysteme.<sup>8</sup> So entsteht Öffentlichkeit. Diese Definition berücksichtigt einerseits, dass Medien und Mediennutzer interagieren, und bezieht andererseits mit ein, dass es systemische Grenzen zwischen dem Medium und seinem Nutzer gibt. Das Funktionssystem Medien, in dem etwa Zeitungen als Organisationen aufzufassen sind, ist an seiner Umwelt orientiert und kann mit dieser in Interaktion treten mittels struktureller Koppelungen, die als wechselseitige Leistungsbeziehung wirken.<sup>9</sup>

Der Nutzen der Systemtheorie für den Historiker liegt nicht in der Erkenntnislogik des Ansatzes, denn nach Luhmann bestehen Systeme nicht aus Subjekten, sondern aus Kommunikation.<sup>10</sup> Ihre Erkenntnislogik ist nicht unmittelbar für die Historiografie anwendbar, denn Journalisten, Verleger oder Medienpolitiker sind nicht greifbar. Jedoch dienen die beschriebenen Grundbegriffe der Systemtheorie, wie ‚System‘, ‚Umwelt‘, ‚strukturelle Koppelung‘ oder ‚Leistung‘ zum Perspektivwechsel. So lässt sich etwa danach fragen, welche Leistungen Medien und Politik in ihrer strukturellen Koppelung füreinander erbrachten. Auch die Frage nach der Einhaltung von Systemgrenzen kann zu neuen Erkenntnissen führen.

Die Medialisierungstheorie zielt ebenfalls auf die wechselseitige Beziehung von gesellschaftlichen Funktionssystemen, insbesondere zwischen Medien und Politik. Dem Ansatz liegt die Annahme zugrunde, dass eine Verbindung zwischen Handlung und Logik der Medien als Teil der Öffentlichkeit und ihrer Umwelt bestehe.<sup>11</sup> Andere soziale Systeme orientieren sich an der Logik der Massenmedien in ihrem eigenen Handeln.<sup>12</sup> Die Medialisierung kann als zentraler Einflussfaktor gesellschaftlicher Veränderung in der Moderne betrachtet werden.<sup>13</sup> Ihr Ausgangspunkt ist die Durchdringung aller Gesellschaftsbereiche seit dem 19. Jahrhundert.<sup>14</sup> Diese Extension ist ein zentraler Prozess in der

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8 Luhmann, *Realität*, 10.

9 Luhmann, *Systeme*, 35. Nach Luhmann ist die Voraussetzung für strukturelle Kopplungen zwischen zwei sozialen Systemen, deren operative Geschlossenheit. Nur wenn System und Umwelt eindeutig abgegrenzt sind, können sie in Interaktion treten. Sie entstehen, wenn ein System von seinem Handeln eine Wirkung in anderen sozialen Systemen erwartet und es temporäre Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen beiden gibt. Die entstandenen Erwartungsstrukturen sensibilisieren für Irritationen, die von der Umwelt für das eigene Handeln ausgehen. Siehe Luhmann, *Gesellschaft 1*, 92–119; Luhmann, *Gesellschaft 2*, 789ff.

10 Luhmann, *Systeme*, 240f.

11 Wendelin, *Medialisierung*, 17.

12 Meyen, „Medialisierung“, 23–38.

13 Bösch und Frei, „Ambivalenz“, 7–23; Claßen und Arnold, „Politisierung“, 11–28; Meyen, „Medialisierung“; Wendelin, *Medialisierung*, 17f.

14 Ziemann, „Reflexionen“, 183–208, 198ff.

Beziehung zwischen sozialem und medialem Wandel.<sup>15</sup> Der Widerpart der Medialisierung ist die Politisierung: Politische Logiken wirken auf dem Feld der Medien. Zu Phasen der Politisierung kommt es, wenn mediale Äußerungen verstärkt in politische Richtungszusammenhänge eingeordnet werden.<sup>16</sup> Die Medialisierungstheorie wird in der Historiografie erfolgreich dafür genutzt, den Einfluss medialer Logiken auf die Veränderung politischen Handelns zu beschreiben. Es geht dabei zumeist darum, den Umgang von Politikern mit Medien zu historisieren. Medien werden zu Akteuren, die zur Veränderung von politischer Performanz beitragen. Die leichte Anwendbarkeit der Medialisierungstheorie hat einerseits zu ihrer breiten Rezeption beigetragen, andererseits aber auch dazu geführt, dass viele Prozesse vorschnell mit ihr erklärt werden, ohne nach den weiteren Ursachen für diese zu suchen. So wird zwar mit ihrer Hilfe auf die Veränderung der erwähnten Performanz des Politischen im 20. Jahrhundert verwiesen, häufig jedoch ohne auslösende und dynamisierende Faktoren zu erschließen.

Oft wird wenig beleuchtet, welche Bedeutung Themen für den Prozess der Medialisierung und Politisierung haben. Die Agenda-Setting-Theorie repräsentiert einen zentralen theoretischen Ansatz der Medienwirkungsforschung. Der Ausgangspunkt ist die Annahme, dass ein Thema von den Massenmedien aufgegriffen werden muss, bevor es sich auf die öffentliche Meinung auswirken kann.<sup>17</sup> Die Medien übernehmen eine Selektionsfunktion und konstruieren damit die Medienrealität.<sup>18</sup> Diese beeinflusst maßgeblich die Agenda von Entscheidungsträgern aus Politik, Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und anderen Medien, die ihrerseits die Agenda der breiten Bevölkerung beeinflussen. Die Fokussierung der Berichterstattung auf bestimmte Themen liefert dem Rezipienten Bewertungsmaßstäbe für die persönliche Auseinandersetzung mit einem Thema im Sinne einer Medienwirkung. Der Aufladungseffekt (Priming) besteht darin, dass Akteure (aus Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft) nach den Mustern beurteilt werden, die in der medialen Berichterstattung verstärkt thematisiert werden. Dominiert ein bestimmtes Thema die Berichterstattung, so setzen die Rezipienten medial präsente Akteure mit ihnen in Beziehung und verbinden damit unterschiedliche Lesarten des Inhalts.<sup>19</sup> Frames (Deutungsrahmen) können von den Medien/Redaktionen bewusst gesetzt

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15 Schulz, *Kommunikation*, 32.

16 Mergel, „Medien“, 29–50.

17 Bonfadelli und Friemel, *Medienwirkungsforschung*; Kepplinger, „Wirkung“, 651–702; Brosius, „Agenda Setting“, 125–43; Iyengar, *Fernsehnachrichten*, 123–42.

18 Luhmann, *Realität*, 58.

19 Bonfadelli und Friemel, *Medienwirkungsforschung*, 188.

werden, um eine bestimmte Einordnung vorzugeben.<sup>20</sup> Bei aller Kritik, die auch an dieser Theorieanleihe in der Vergangenheit wegen ihres groben Erklärungsrasters und ihres Top-Down-Betrachtungswinkels geübt wurde, schärft sie dennoch den Blick des Medienhistorikers auf eine wichtige Frage: Wie wird ein Thema überhaupt zu einem Thema für eine Zeitung oder einen Rundfunksender?

Am Beispiel der Geschichte des Wirtschaftsressorts der *FAZ* in den 1950er Jahren lässt sich verdeutlichen, welche Vorteile die kombinierte Anwendung der hier aufgeführten Theorieanleihen bringen können.

Die Betrachtung des Forschungsgegenstandes mit Hilfe der systemtheoretischen Grundbegriffe öffnet den Blick für das Umfeld, in dem sich das Wirtschaftsressort der *FAZ* zu Beginn der 1950er Jahre bewegte. Zu seiner Umwelt gehörte das Bundeswirtschaftsministerium unter Ludwig Erhard. Zum Ministerium und seinem Leiter bestand von der Gründung der Zeitung am 1. November 1949 an eine enge Verbindung, die sich als strukturelle Koppelung begreifen lässt. Denn sie wirkte auf beide Seiten.

Das Wirtschaftsressort verteidigte Erhard und dessen Konzept der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft in den Jahren ihrer Durchbruchskrise 1949–51 gegen Angriffe von politischen Gegnern. Immer wieder wurde im Wirtschaftsteil die Bedeutung des Konzepts für die Entwicklung der jungen Bundesrepublik betont, in einer Phase, in der viele Deutsche damit einerseits wenig vertraut waren und andererseits noch sehr stark planwirtschaftlichen Gedanken nachhingen. Schließlich hatten sie kaum Erfahrung mit einer Wettbewerbswirtschaft nach den Jahren der starken staatlichen Eingriffe im Zuge der Weltwirtschaftskrise und der NS-Herrschaft. Die *FAZ* betrieb grundlegende Aufklärungsarbeit und warb für die Soziale Marktwirtschaft.<sup>21</sup> Im Gegenzug wurden Mitarbeiter der Wirtschaftsredaktion in interne Informationsstrukturen des Ministeriums eingebunden und hatten damit unmittelbaren Kontakt zu Erhard und der Führungsspitze des Bundeswirtschaftsministeriums. *FAZ*-Herausgeber Welter war maßgeblich daran beteiligt, informelle Gesprächskreise zwischen Journalisten und Ministeriumsbeamten aufzubauen.<sup>22</sup> Darin bestand die wechselseitige Leistungsbeziehung.

Diese Verbindung trug unmittelbar zur Veränderung von Verhaltens- und Denkstrukturen auf beiden Seiten bei. Die enge Verbindung zur *FAZ* sensibilisierte Erhard und sein Ministerium für die Bedeutung von Öffentlichkeit

20 Graber, *News*.

21 Kutzner, „Wirtschaftsressort“, 488–99.

22 Erich Welter an Kuno Ockhardt, 8. Januar 1952, Ordner 154, Bestand N1314, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

für seine Wirtschaftspolitik. Mediale Logiken wirkten auf das politische Feld und sorgten für eine Medialisierung der Wirtschaftspolitik. Mitarbeiter der Wirtschaftsredaktion gehörten fortan zum Wahlkampftross Erhards vor Bundestagswahlen und Artikel wurden so geplant, dass sie möglichst große Wirkung im Vorfeld von wichtigen Bundestagsdebatten hatten.

Obwohl Erhard eine bestimmte Medienstrategie verfolgte und das Wirtschaftsressort durchaus politische Ziele zu verwirklichen suchte, wie die Verabschiedung des Gesetzes gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen (GWB) zwischen 1949 und 1957, blieben doch aus systemtheoretischer Sicht, beide Teile ihres Systems und wahrten die Grenzen. Andernfalls hätten sie, wie Luhmann dies ausführt, ihre Leistungen füreinander nicht weiter erfüllen können.<sup>23</sup> Das Wirtschaftsressort wurde nicht zur Presseabteilung des Ministeriums und das Ministerium nicht Teil der Entscheidungsträger der *FAZ*. Erhard griff nicht in die Gestaltung der Zeitung ein und die Zeitung übte keinen Druck auf politische Entscheidungsträger aus. Die Unabhängigkeit (systemischen Grenzen) gegenüber Interessen aus der Umwelt sind für die Glaubwürdigkeit der Zeitung ebenso zentral gewesen wie für das Bundeswirtschaftsministerium.

Anhand der Debatte um das GWB lässt sich zudem verdeutlichen, welche weiterführenden Erkenntnismöglichkeiten in der Medialisierungstheorie liegen, die sich nicht auf die Politik beschränken müssen. Denn das Wirtschaftsressort der *FAZ* sensibilisierte durch die umfassende Medialisierung des Kartellverbotsgesetzes dessen Gegner, den Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie (BDI), für die Bedeutung der Öffentlichkeit. Der Verband registrierte im Verlauf der Jahre 1949 bis 1953 aufmerksam die Berichterstattung des Wirtschaftsteils der *FAZ*, der zum größten medialen Befürworter des Kartellverbotsgesetzes aufgestiegen war.<sup>24</sup> 1954 entschloss sich der BDI zur Gründung der Zeitschrift *Die Kartelldebatte* und bezog sich bereits in der Erstausgabe direkt auf die *FAZ*. „Die ‚Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung‘ liebt keine Diskussion. [...] Darum bitte ich alle diejenigen, deren Beiträge von der *FAZ* abgelehnt werden oder die es aufgegeben haben, ihr solche einzusenden, mir diese zur Veröffentlichung zu übermitteln.“<sup>25</sup> Man versuchte die *FAZ* als Gegenfolie für die eigene Zeitschrift zu nutzen und kopierte einfach lange

23 Luhmann, *Realität*, 187ff.

24 Kutzner, *Marktwirtschaft*, 128–52.

25 Der Beitrag ist nicht mit einer Autorenzeile versehen. Er stammt wohl von Büchner, da er die Leser auffordert, „mir diese [Beiträge] zur Veröffentlichung zu übermitteln“. Siehe *Die Kartelldebatte*, „Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung“, 7.

Passagen aus *FAZ*-Artikeln, um ihnen einen markigen Kommentar aus den eigenen Reihen zur Seite zu stellen. Die Zeitschrift ging an Verbandsmitglieder, Politiker aller Parteien und interessierte Abonnenten. Die Verantwortlichen des Verbandes wurden aber durch die Medialisierung der Debatte darauf aufmerksam, wie einflussreich Medien in der Wirtschaftspolitik waren. Der Leiter des Kartellreferats im BDI, Arno Sölter, übernahm 1953 nicht zufällig auch die Leitung des Pressereferats.<sup>26</sup>

Auf der anderen Seite wurde in den hart geführten Auseinandersetzungen um das Wettbewerbsgesetz auch die Politisierung des Wirtschaftsressorts und deren Folgen deutlich. Denn Welter verfolgte ein politisches Ziel, als er 1953 mit Franz Böhm, Bundestagsabgeordneter für die CDU und einer der stärksten Befürworter eines Kartellverbotsgesetzes, detailliert das politische Vorgehen abstimmte und auf keinen Fall der Gegenseite in die Karten spielen wollte.<sup>27</sup> Hier lohnt auch ein erneuter Blick auf die Systemtheorie, denn die Wahrung der Grenzen zur Umwelt kann in diesem Fall kritisch hinterfragt werden.

Entscheidend für die Sensibilisierung der Umwelt für die Bedeutung medialer Einflussgrößen war auch, dass das Thema Kartellgesetz zu einem breit rezipierten Thema wurde. Den Herausgebern ging es 1952 darum, das Thema gezielt und koordiniert auf die öffentliche Agenda zu setzen. Systematisch wurden Artikelfolgen im Vorfeld von wichtigen Parlamentsdebatten, Ausschusssitzungen und Parteitagen lanciert, um den Kritikern möglichst handfeste Argumente entgegenzusetzen.<sup>28</sup> Der Blick auf die Umrahmung der Artikel, das Framing, liefert hier ebenfalls wichtige Einblicke. Denn durch die Verbindungen (strukturellen Koppelungen), die zwischen dem Wirtschaftstressort der *FAZ* und dem Bundeswirtschaftsministerium bestanden, gelang es auf informeller Ebene, in den Artikeln das Handeln Erhards in den Rahmen des Einsatzes für den Verbraucher gegen die Interessen der Industrie zu stellen. Betont wurde (Priming), dass Preisabsprachen durch Kartelle die Verbraucherpreise erhöhten, während der vollständige Wettbewerb für fallende Preise sorgt.<sup>29</sup>

Warum das Thema derart bedeutend für die Geschichte des Wirtschaftsressorts war, lässt sich nicht allein aus dem Umstand erklären, dass es einer der

26 Kutzner, *Marktwirtschaft*, 128–52.

27 Abschrift des Weihnachtsbriefes von Franz Böhm an Ludwig Erhard, 22. Dezember 1953, Ordner 244, Bestand N 1314, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

28 Protokoll über die Herausgeberkonferenz vom 14. Mai 1952, Ordner Herausgeberkonferenzen 1.1.1951–24.12.1954 – Akten der Herausgeber-Erich Welter, Archiv der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung.

29 Seuss, „Getreidepolitik“, 7; Jetter, „Fleischerspannen“, 13; Götz, „Erhard“, 1.



eifrigsten Befürworter war. Hier muss auch die Frage gestellt werden, warum das Thema Kartellverbot zu einem Thema für das Wirtschaftsressort wurde.

Die Antwort darauf liegt im ordnungspolitischen Leitbild des Ressorts, das in den frühen Jahren eng am Werk des Nationalökonomten Walter Eucken orientiert war. Seine Vorstellungen von Wettbewerb, Währungsstabilität und einem staatlichen Ordnungsrahmen als Spielregeln für die ansonsten freie Wirtschaft wurden zu wichtigen Grundlagen des Ordoliberalismus. In diesem kommt dem vollständigen Wettbewerb die Aufgabe zu, Machtkonzentrationen zu verhindern, wie sie in Kartellen zutage treten.<sup>30</sup> Eucken und Welter waren bereits seit den 1930er Jahren miteinander bekannt. Sie intensivierten ihre Bekanntschaft nach 1945. Eucken wurde zu einem wichtigen Berater Welters beim Aufbau der FAZ und ihres Wirtschaftsteils. Welter meinte 1957, dass „wer in Bezug auf Eucken nicht sattelfest ist“, keine Zukunft im Wirtschaftsteil der FAZ habe.<sup>31</sup>

## 2 Heuristische Multiperspektiven

Häufig besteht die Annahme, dass Medienhistoriker, zumal in der Zeitgeschichte, durch die Fülle an Quellen, die ihre historischen Akteure erzeugten, stets auf eine gute Materialbasis zurückgreifen können. Schließlich gehört neben der Aktualität, der Universalität und der Publizität auch die Periodizität, also das regelmäßige Erscheinen, zu den Merkmalen einer Zeitung, was den Historikern eine Masse an Material beschert. Das Deutsche Rundfunkarchiv der öffentlich-rechtlichen Sender ermöglicht zudem den Zugang zu einer Fülle nichtgedruckter Quellen, von Radioansprachen aus der Kaiserzeit bis zu Fernsehsendungen aus der DDR und zeitlich darüber hinaus auch aus dem vereinten Deutschland. Dies ist ausreichend Material zur historiografischen Erforschung, möchte man meinen. Zumal einige Quellenbestände, wie im Fall der FAZ, in einem digitalen Volltextarchiv zugänglich sind. Die Nutzer können hier auf über sechseinhalb Millionen Artikel zugreifen, von der Erst- bis zur aktuellen Tagesausgabe.

Für eine empirisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchung sind diese Erschließungszustände in der Tat hinreichend. Doch für historiografische

30 Walter Eucken, *Grundsätze*, 26–54.

31 Erich Welter an Jürgen Eick, 30. Oktober 1957, Ordner 55, Bestand N1314, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

Forschungen ist es zwingend notwendig, weitere Quellenbestände zu erschließen. Eine Zeitungsgeschichte zu schreiben, die sich allein auf Artikel der Zeitung stützt, ist unmöglich, denn dies verkennt die Doppelstruktur, die Medien haben: Wie hängt die öffentlich sichtbare Seite eines Mediums mit der nicht sichtbaren Seite zusammen? Oder anders gefragt: Welche Korrelationen gibt es zwischen dem, was in der Zeitung steht und den Produzenten, also der Redaktion. Zur sichtbaren Seite des Wirtschaftsteils, den die Leser morgens aufschlagen und lesen, kommt die unsichtbare Seite des Verlags mit seiner eigenen Struktur und Politik, der Chefredaktion oder dem Herausbergremium, den Einzelredaktionen und den Redakteuren, die für sich je eigene Quellengattungen und -bestände produzieren können. Um die Doppelstruktur aufzulösen, braucht es heuristische Multiperspektiven.

Die *FAZ* wird nicht von einem Verleger oder Chefredakteur geleitet, sondern von einem Herausbergremium. Dieses traf und trifft sich regelmäßig. Die Absprachen über die publizistische Linie der Zeitung, Personalfragen und wirtschaftliche Entscheidungen werden in Ergebnisprotokollen notiert. Die unterschiedlichen Redaktionen treffen sich regelmäßig zu Redaktionssitzungen, um über Themen zu diskutieren, die für alle Teile der Zeitung relevant waren, etwa die Protestbewegung der 68er oder die Wiedervereinigung. Verlaufsprotokolle geben die teilweise hitzigen Debatten und Kontroversen wieder. Briefwechsel zwischen den Redakteuren oder den Herausgebern, ob intern über die Hauspost oder auf privater Ebene, geben Einblicke in subjektive Wahrnehmungen und Meinungsbilder. Externe Bestände aus der Umwelt des Mediums, wie Pressemappen aus dem Bundeswirtschaftsministerium, Strategiepapiere zur Pressepolitik aus dem Archiv des BDI oder Korrespondenzen aus Unternehmensarchiven komplettieren den Quellenbestand. Fügt man die unterschiedlichen Teile des Quellenbestandes zu einer Gesamtheit zusammen, so ergibt sich ein tiefenscharfes Bild, das allein durch die Betrachtung der Berichterstattung nicht entstanden wäre.

Ein Beispiel verdeutlicht dies: Wie bereits aufgeführt wurde, bestand eine enge Beziehung zwischen Ludwig Erhard und dem Wirtschaftsressort der *FAZ*. Der Blick auf die Berichterstattung des Wirtschaftsteils zeigt, dass diese Verbindung über viele Jahre konsistent blieb. In den Jahren von Erhards Kanzlerschaft 1963–66, in denen er auch innerparteilich unter starkem Druck stand, verteidigte das Ressort den Kanzler.<sup>32</sup> Nach dem Scheitern der Regierungskoalition aus CDU/CSU und FDP Ende 1966 und Erhards Rücktritt

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32 Kutzner, *Marktwirtschaft*, 152–66.

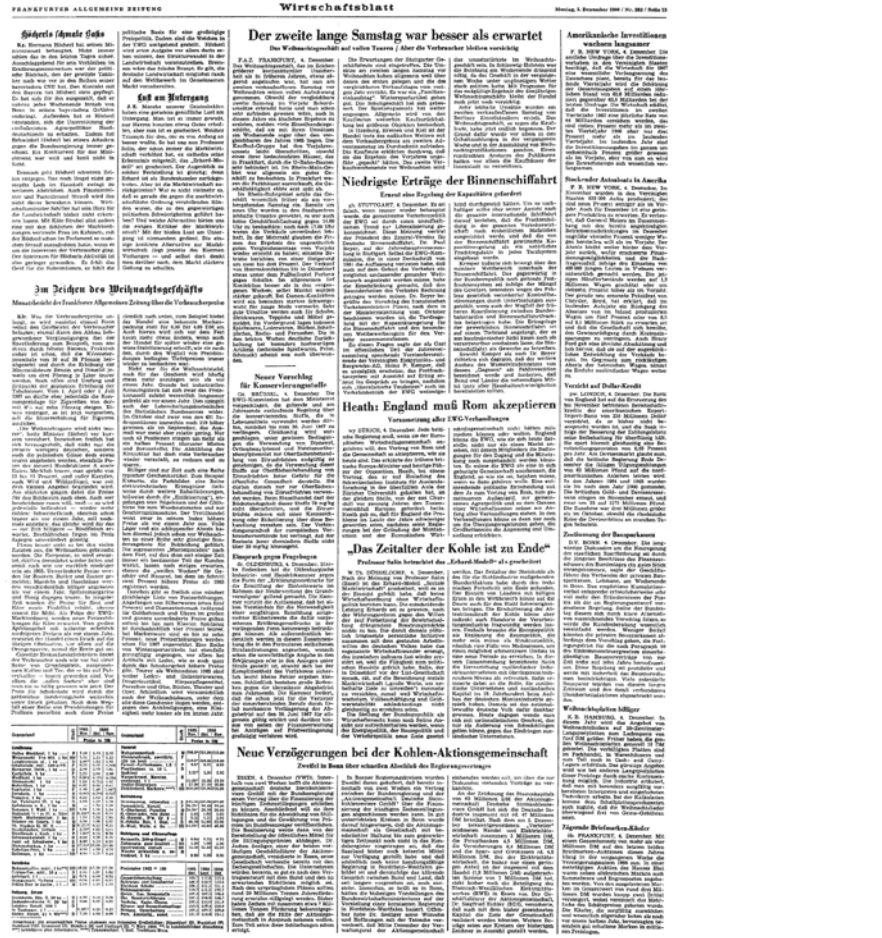


FIGURE 11.1 Wirtschaftsblatt, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5. Dezember 1966, Nr. 282, S. 15. Auf der ersten Seite des Wirtschaftsteils waren in der linken Spalte unten der längere Leitkommentar und oben die kürzeren Glossen zu finden. Hier von Jürgen Eick, „Lust am Untergang“ © FAZ

am 1. Dezember 1966, waren im Wirtschaftsteil melancholische Worte zu lesen. „Manche unserer Geisteshelden haben eine geradezu genüssliche Lust am Untergang. Man hat es immer gewusst, nur Narren konnten etwas Gutes erhoffen“, schrieb Jürgen Eick.<sup>33</sup> Blicke die historische Beurteilung allein bei der Betrachtung der Berichterstattung stehen, so könnte der Eindruck entstehen,

33 Eick, „Lust“, 15.

dass das Wirtschaftsressort der *FAZ* stets fest und unerschütterlich hinter Erhard stand.

Tatsächlich aber hegte sich bereits lange vor dem Beginn von dessen Kanzlerschaft massive Kritik im Wirtschaftsressort der *FAZ*. Sie drang jedoch nicht nach außen. So entstand eine redaktionelle Meinung, die sich fundamental von der Berichterstattung des Wirtschaftsteils unterschied. Erich Welter gestand gegenüber seinen Kollegen bereits 1959, „dass ich meine Bedenken gegen eine Kandidatur Erhard nicht zurückhalten kann; sie haben drei Gründe: 1. Erhard ist auf dem Posten des Wirtschaftsministers noch wichtiger als auf dem des Kanzlers, 2. ich befürchte, dass er auf dem Parkett der hohen Politik bald ausrutschen wird, 3. wenn das geschieht, haben wir weder einen Kanzler noch einen Wirtschaftsminister.“<sup>34</sup> Erhard stellte seine Unterstützer aber vor klare Alternativen. Er wollte Kanzler werden, oder aus dem Kabinett ausscheiden und auch nicht länger Wirtschaftsminister sein, ließ er Welter in einem vertraulichen Gespräch wissen.<sup>35</sup> In den Beständen des *FAZ*-Archivs ist die betreffende Aktennotiz Welters über das Gespräch erhalten. Dem weiteren Text ist zu entnehmen, dass Welter und die Verantwortlichen der *FAZ* sich vor dieser Situation fürchteten, denn sie glaubten, dass der Fortbestand der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft, für die sich auch die *FAZ* maßgeblich eingesetzt hatte, unmittelbar an Erhards Person geknüpft war. Die Verantwortlichen sahen nur einen Weg: Sie wussten um Erhards Unzulänglichkeiten in der politischen Führung. Man unterstütze Erhard aber trotzdem, da man um den Fortbestand der Marktwirtschaft fürchtete, wenn Erhard zurücktrat. Auch hier liefert die systemtheoretische Betrachtung einen Erklärungsansatz. Der Code des politischen Systems (Macht), dem Erhard unterlag, war auch für Welter und seine Kollegen lesbar, ebenso die damit verbundenen Konsequenzen.<sup>36</sup>

Das Wirtschaftsressort war gefangen in dieser ambivalenten Situation, zwischen Erhards bekannten Unzulänglichkeiten und seiner Bedeutung für die Marktwirtschaft. Doch kein Wort stand auf den Seiten des Ressorts geschrieben über die von Welter bemängelten Führungs- und Arbeitsmethoden Erhards. Umso mehr betonte der Wirtschaftsteil den fleißigen und effizienten Minister. Zahlreiche kleinere Meldungen zu Ansprachen, Reisen oder Besuchen Erhards erzeugten beim Leser das Bild eines unermüdlich arbeitenden Beamten; ein nicht unerheblicher Faktor, um Sympathiepunkte zu sammeln.<sup>37</sup> Auch

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34 Aktennotiz von Erich Welter an Jürgen Tern und Hans Baumgarten, 15. April 1959, Ordner 516, Bestand N1314, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

35 Ebd.

36 Mergel, „Medien“.

37 Fack, „Warentests“, 17; Götz, „Textilindustrie“, 25; Götz, „Leitlinien“, 5.

über die positiven Ergebnisse von Beliebtheitsumfragen wurde berichtet.<sup>38</sup> Nach der Ankündigung Konrad Adenauers im Oktober 1963 zurückzutreten wurde Erhard selbstredend als einziger in Frage kommender Nachfolger im Wirtschaftsteil der *FAZ* präsentiert.<sup>39</sup> Man wies darauf hin, dass im Falle einer Kanzlerschaft Erhards nur der Posten des Wirtschaftsministers neu besetzt werden müsse und erklärte auch den Lesern, dass sich nur mit ihm der Erfolg der Marktwirtschaft fortsetzen ließe.<sup>40</sup>

Mit dem (unfreiwilligen) Einsatz für den Kanzler ging zugleich eine starke Politisierung des Wirtschaftsressorts einher, wie weitere Quellenbestände aus der Redaktionskorrespondenz zeigen. Die politische Parteinahme war für die Leser in dieser Phase leicht auszumachen. In einigen an einzelne Redakteure persönlich adressierten Zuschriften machten sie sich Luft, denn auch die aufmerksamen Beobachter hielten Erhard nicht für geeignet, Adenauer nachzufolgen. Sie warfen der *FAZ* vor, sich „im Konformismus, der Ja-Sagerei“ zu erschöpfen.<sup>41</sup> Die Maxime der Zeitung, die Unabhängigkeit von politischen Parteien, war für die Leser nicht immer eindeutig wahrnehmbar, was in diesem Fall insbesondere für den Wirtschaftsteil galt.

Es ließ sich vor allem in den Jahren von Erhards Kanzlerschaft nicht mehr von der Hand weisen, dass der Einsatz für die Zeitung höchst gefährlich für die Glaubwürdigkeit der *FAZ* werden würde, was sich besonders in der Spätphase von dessen Amtszeit zeigte, als Erhard immer stärker kritisiert wurde. Den Wahlerfolg 1965 auf Bundesebene deutete der Wirtschaftsteil wenig überraschend als Bekenntnis der Wähler zur Marktwirtschaft.<sup>42</sup> Die Zeitung setzte sich für ihren Erhard ein. Doch von außen geriet die *FAZ* immer stärker unter Verdacht, den Kanzler um jeden Preis zu unterstützen. So warfen ihr manche Leser vor, dass selbst „ihr katholischer Dorfpfarrer und das CDU-Käs'Blättchen“ nicht mehr Werbung für den Kanzler hätten machen können.<sup>43</sup>

Für die Zeitung wurde die Frage der Fortführung der Unterstützung nun immer drängender. Ob sie wollten oder nicht: Die Herausgeber mussten zur

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38 Stadlmann, „Zustimmung“, 13.

39 Götz, „Minister“, 21.

40 Götz, „Regierung“, 7.

41 Ernst Günter Vetter an Erich Welter, 10. April 1963, Ordner 290, Bestand N1314, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

42 Vetter, „Votum“, 17.

43 Karl Jetter an Erich Welter, 21. April 1965, Ordner Eick Korrespondenz mit Professor Welter 1. März 1965–31. August 1966, Archiv der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung.

Kenntnis nehmen, dass die Zeitung im Verdacht stand, Erhard um jeden Preis stützen zu wollen. Der Wirtschaftsredakteur Fritz Ullrich Fack, der 1971 zum zuständigen Herausgeber des Politikteils aufsteigen sollte, nannte beim Namen, was auch für Welter längst offensichtlich sein musste: „Erhard war unser Mann, aber er hat sich nicht bewährt. Ich würde es für gefährlich halten, weiterhin bedingungslos auf ihn zu setzen. Wir werden voraussichtlich mit ihm noch böse Enttäuschungen erleben.“<sup>44</sup> Welter sah die Lage ähnlich: „Mir ist es recht, wenn Erhard von einem anderen Koalitionskanzler abgelöst wird, meinestwegen auch eines Tages von einem Sozialdemokraten.“<sup>45</sup>

Die Berichterstattung blieb positiv. Das voraussichtliche Haushaltsdefizit des kommenden Jahres 1967 hatte das Wirtschaftsressort vordergründig nicht weiter in Sorge versetzt.<sup>46</sup> Die Gründe dafür wurden vor allem in der Ära Adenauer und dort hauptsächlich bei den Sozialausgaben gesehen.<sup>47</sup> Auch jetzt wollte man Erhard öffentlich keine Schuld zuweisen. Fack kritisierte zwar die ansteigende Verschuldung des Bundes.<sup>48</sup> Die Kritik galt jedoch eher allgemein der Linie der Union und weniger Erhard. Eick ging es nun darum eines herauszustellen: Die Marktwirtschaft musste auch ohne ihre Identifikationsfigur fortbestehen. Zu dieser Feststellung, die vielleicht auch eine Hoffnung war, kam er als erster aus dem Wirtschaftsressort, jedoch ohne zu reflektieren, dass er und seine Kollegen gehörigen Anteil daran hatten, dass es zu eben jener Verbindung zwischen Person und Politik gekommen war.<sup>49</sup>

Ohne die Analyse der internen Quellen hätte das Urteil über den Blick des *FAZ*-Wirtschaftsressorts auf die Kanzlerschaft Erhards gelaute: Man unterstützte Erhard nach Kräften. Bezieht der Medienhistoriker in diesem Fall jedoch interne Quellenbestände mit ein, werden die redaktionellen Meinungen deutlich und die Frage wird aufgeworfen, weshalb das Ressort Erhard trotz Vorbehalten unterstützte.

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44 Fritz Ullrich Fack an Erich Welter, 23. September 1966, Ordner 447, Bestand N1314, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

45 Erich Welter an Fritz Ullrich Fack, 26. September 1966, Ordner 447, Bestand N1314, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

46 Vogel, „Haushaltsdefizit“, 15.

47 Vogel, „Bund“, 5.

48 Fack, „Rechnung“, 35.

49 Eick, „Lust“, 15.

Das zentrale Problem an dieser heuristischen Multiperspektivität ist jedoch die Zugänglichkeit und Überlieferung von Quellenbeständen aus Verlagen, Zeitungen und Rundfunkanstalten. Im Fall der *FAZ* konnte auf ein umfangreiches, aber nicht katalogisiertes Hausarchiv mit einigen chronologischen Lücken behafteten Beständen zurückgegriffen werden, welches jedoch erst nach einigen Jahren der beharrlichen Vertrauensbildung zwischen den Forschern des DFG-Forschungsprojektes „Geschichte eines Leitmediums. *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* von ihrer Gründung 1949 bis zur Gegenwart“ und den Herausgebern der *FAZ* erstmals geöffnet wurde. Paradoxe Weise sind es oft Zeitungen, die sorgsam ihre Archive hüten und nur selten zugänglich machen, und gleichzeitig vertrauliche Informationen aus der Politik leaken und von Unternehmen Transparenz einfordern. Für eine breite historische Einbettung von Medien sind diese Archivbestände von besonderer Bedeutung.

Doch nicht allein die Vielfalt der Quellen ist entscheidend. Auch deren Erschließungszustand und Verfügbarkeit hat unmittelbare Auswirkungen auf die Mediengeschichte. Der *Spiegel* und die *Zeit* waren die ersten deutschsprachigen Blätter, die über ein kostenloses, lückenloses und durchsuchbares Onlinearchiv verfügten. Hier können Nutzer auf Faksimile und im Fall des *Spiegels* gar auf PDF-Ansichten der Originalseiten zugreifen. Dies hat Folgen für die Wissenschaft. Denn die Verfügbarkeit der Quellenbestände der beiden Blätter führte dazu, dass beide häufig in historiografischen Arbeiten genutzt und Artikel zitiert werden, wodurch ein verzerrtes Bild der bundesdeutschen Medienlandschaft entstand. Der Blick auf studentische Hausarbeiten verstärkt diesen Eindruck. Bedeutende Blätter wie die *Bild*, die *Süddeutsche Zeitung* und die *Frankfurter Rundschau* wurden bisher allenfalls in Spezialstudien herangezogen, was maßgeblich auf den Erschließungszustand in Form kostenpflichtiger oder oft lückenhaft digitalisierter Ausgaben und Jahrgänge zurückzuführen ist. Im Fall der *FAZ* steht zwar ein digitales Volltextarchiv mit einer Vielzahl an Suchparametern zur Verfügung, jedoch müssen die kostenpflichtigen Lizenzen zur Nutzung durch die Universitätsbibliotheken von der Zeitung erworben werden.

### 3 Methodische Werkzeuge

Doch das professionell gestaltete Volltextarchiv der *FAZ* ermöglicht es dem Forscher, mittels unterschiedlicher methodischer Zugriffe Erkenntniswege zu nutzen. Neben qualitative treten quantitative Methoden, die vor allem für die Mediengeschichte wichtige Einsichten bringen können. Sind diese, wie im Fall von Artikeln, systematisch als Daten gesammelt, geordnet, durchsuchbar und in digitaler Form aufbereitet, bieten sich neue analytische Zugänge an.

Für die Pressegeschichte ist die Frage, welche Themen das Blatt zu bestimmten Zeitpunkten behandelte zentral und forschungsleitend. Und doch wird sie häufig in unzureichender Art beantwortet, denn viele Historiker gehen mit einem festen Ereigniskatalog an die Arbeit und fragen: Was hat der *Spiegel* zu den 68ern geschrieben? Wie hat die *Rheinische Post* über den Rücktritt von Richard Nixon geurteilt, oder wie thematisierte die *Bild* den 11. September 2001? Für den Fall des Wirtschaftsressorts der *FAZ* könnte eine Vorannahme auf Grundlage vorangegangener Studie lauten, dass das Blatt vor allem wirtschaftspolitische Themen behandelte. Schließlich verfügte das Ressort über ein stark ausgeprägtes ordnungspolitisches Profil und war auch durch namhafte Gastautoren aus Politik, Wirtschaft und vor allem Wissenschaft im Wirtschaftsteil präsent.<sup>50</sup> Folglich liegt es nahe, die chronologische Struktur einer Forschungsarbeit an wirtschaftspolitischen Wegmarken, von der Währungs- und Wirtschaftsreform 1948 bis zur Währungsunion 1990, festzumachen.

Ein derart vorgefertigtes Schema aus Strukturen, Personen und Ereignissen der Geschichte wird selten reflektiert und birgt die Gefahr, jene Themen auszublenden, die auf den ersten Blick weniger im Fokus standen, auf den zweiten Blick aber über viele Jahre prominent auf den Zeitungsseiten abgehandelt wurden. Ihre Eigenheit ist es, dass sie sich nicht mit einem Suchbegriff umfassen lassen, nicht eingrenzbar sind auf einen bestimmten Zeitabschnitt sind und nicht mit einem festen Personenkreis umrissen werden können.

Ein Beispiel hierfür ist im Fall des Wirtschaftsressorts der *FAZ* die Berichterstattung über Unternehmer und Unternehmen, die seit der Gründung der Zeitung eine prominente Rolle einnahm. Für einen Wirtschaftsteil mag diese Feststellung naheliegen, doch ersetzt dies nicht ihren analytischen Nachweis und schon gar nicht die Gewichtung ihrer Bedeutung für das Wirtschaftsressort. Mit Hilfe des digitalen Volltextarchivs lässt sich eine Stichprobe aus n-Elementen bilden, aus dem Aussagen über die Grundgesamtheit, also alle veröffentlichten Artikel des Wirtschaftsteils der *FAZ*, treffen lässt.<sup>51</sup> Die

50 Dies hat bereits Anton Riedl in seiner Dissertation aus dem Jahr 1992 herausgearbeitet. Siehe Riedl, *Publizistik*.

51 Im Fall des Forschungsprojekts des Autors wurde folgendes Vorgehen gewählt: Per systematischer Zufallswahl wurde eine Stichprobe gebildet, auf deren Basis sich häufig aufgegriffene Themen herausarbeiten ließen. Der 10. März, 10. Juli und 10. November der Jahre 1949–92 sind die zugrundeliegenden Stichtage. So entstand ein Sample von 114 Tagen der Berichterstattung, verteilt auf verschiedene Wochentage, Phasen des Kalenderjahres und Jahrzehnte. Dieses Vorgehen wird als heuristisches Mittel verstanden, um die Auswahl der in dieser Arbeit betrachteten Themen zu begründen. Die Gesamtheit, der zwischen dem 1. November 1949 und dem 31. Dezember 1992 veröffentlichten Artikel aus dem Wirtschaftsteil und der Leitkommentare von Mitgliedern der Wirtschaftsredaktion auf Seite eins bildet die Grundgesamtheit, über die Aussagen



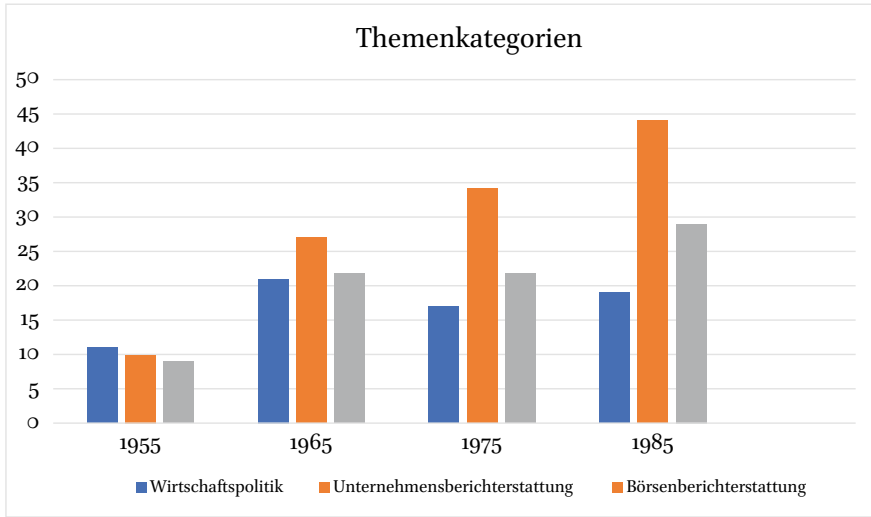


FIGURE 11.2 Themen nach Kategorien gestaffelt auf den Wirtschaftsseiten einer per systematischer Zufallswahl ausgesuchten Ausgabe der FAZ aus den Jahren 1955, 1965, 1975, 1985

Unterscheidung der einzelnen Artikel in zuvor definierte Themenkategorien wie Wirtschaftspolitik, Börsenberichterstattung oder Unternehmensnachrichten verdeutlicht, dass die Unternehmensberichterstattung eine immer größere Bedeutung auf den Wirtschaftsseiten einnahm. Mitte der 1950er Jahre waren Häufigkeiten von Artikeln aus der Überkategorie Wirtschaftspolitik und Unternehmensberichterstattung nahezu gleichauf. Ab 1960 verschob sich das Verhältnis jedoch signifikant.

Hier schließen nun weiterführende Fragestellungen an. Warum wurde die Unternehmensberichterstattung immer wichtiger für das Wirtschaftsstressort? Ein Teil der Antwort liegt in der Struktur der Zeitung. Die Gründung der FAZ ging maßgeblich auf die Initiative einiger mittelständischer Unternehmer zurück, von deren finanziellen Zuwendungen die Zeitungen bis zur Gründung der FAZIT-Stiftung im Jahr 1959 abhing. Die Förderer verbanden mit ihrem Engagement auch den Anspruch, Einfluss auf bestimmte

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getroffen werden sollen. Das Vorgehen ist angelehnt an die Medieninhaltsforschung der Kommunikationswissenschaften, verzichtet aber auf ein strikt objektivierbares kommunikationswissenschaftliches Analyseraster, welches sich allein auf quantitative Befunde stützt. Siehe Brosius et al., *Methoden*, 68–71; Bonfadelli, *Medieninhaltsforschung*, 53–58.

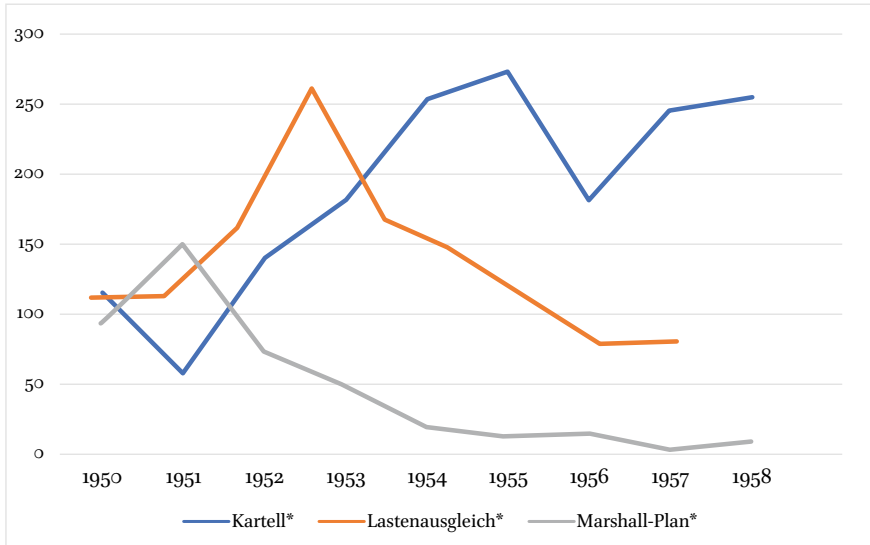


FIGURE 11.3 Häufigkeit der Worte Kartell\*/Lastenausgleich\*/Marshall-Plan\* im Wirtschaftsressort 1950–1958 auf Basis der gesamten Berichterstattung

inhaltliche Fragen zu nehmen, was sich unter anderem im Anstieg des Anteils der Unternehmensberichterstattung äußerte. Der quantitative Befund, dass diese immer prominenter wurde, hat die Frage nach dem Einfluss der Geldgeber überhaupt erst aufgeworfen und war zugleich ein methodisches Werkzeug, um diese zu beantworten. Denn tatsächlich wurde die Unternehmensberichterstattung immer dann intensiviert oder umgebaut, wenn Persönlichkeiten aus dem Fördererkreis dies forderten.<sup>52</sup> Diese Feststellung konnte insbesondere für die 1950er Jahre gelten. Später korrelierte die Ausweitung und fortschreitende Spezialisierung der Firmenberichterstattung des Wirtschaftstressorts mit der Entwicklung der bundesdeutschen Nachkriegswirtschaft, als in den 1970er Jahren Herausforderungen wie der Strukturwandel der Wirtschaft oder der Wertewandel in der Arbeitswelt die Unternehmenschaft zur Auseinandersetzung mit diesen Themen zwangen.<sup>53</sup>

Abseits des Samples gibt das digitale Volltextarchiv die Möglichkeit, einzelne Begriffe und deren Häufigkeit, gestaffelt nach Ressort, Rubrik oder Zeitabschnitt im Gesamtkorpus zu betrachten.

Das Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen dient noch einmal als Beispiel. Denn die drei prominentesten Themen im Wirtschaftsteil der *FAZ*

52 Kutzner, *Marktwirtschaft*, 166–81.

53 Ebd., 241–70.

in den frühen und mittleren 1950er Jahren waren der Marshall-Plan, der Lastenausgleich und das Kartellverbot. Der quantitative Befund verdeutlicht hier, was die qualitative Quellenarbeit bereits nahegelegt hat: Das Thema war essenziell für die Geschichte des Wirtschaftstressorts der *FAZ*.

### Zusammenfassung

Das hier vorgestellte Programm aus theoretischen, heuristischen und methodischen Elementen hat sich für das Beispiel des Wirtschaftsressorts der *FAZ* als tragfähig erwiesen und dazu geführt, dessen Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik genauer zu umfassen, als es mit einem anderen und engeren, an vorangegangenen Arbeiten orientierten Vorgehen möglich gewesen wäre. Dies meint nicht, dass es auch für andere Forschungsgegenstände nutzbar gemacht werden kann, jedoch liegt es nahe, dass die Anwendung einzelner Bausteine, wie Grundbegriffe aus der Systemtheorie zur Beschreibung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem Medium und seiner Umwelt, Anleihen aus der Agenda-Setting-Theorie zur Untersuchung von Themenstrukturen oder Logiken der Medialisierungstheorie zur Beleuchtung des Wechselspiels zwischen Politik und Öffentlichkeit durchaus nutzbar und erfolgsversprechend erscheinen. Denkbar ist auch, den Blick noch weiter zu öffnen für andere theoretisch-methodische Anleihen. Jeder der hier vorgeführten und auch der noch nicht verwandten Ansätze hat dort seine Grenzen, wo seine Anwendung zum Selbstzweck wird und der unmittelbare Nutzen für die Mediengeschichte nicht mehr erkennbar ist.

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# Under the Cover of Religious Periodicals: Magazine Agency and Newsroom Practice

*Oliver Scheiding and Anja-Maria Bassimir*

## Abstract

The chapter provides an example of how to analyze the infrastructure of a leading Christian magazine. It applies ethnographic methods of interview and institutional analysis. Especially in the context of examining the contemporary religious media business, newsroom ethnography serves as a convenient starting point for assessing periodical studies and links it to relational sociology. The chapter considers the newsroom as a relational space of human and material coactors evolving from a small room at the heart of a printing house to a large, mobile open office, and global multimedia enterprise. It examines the changes that transform religion reporting and the practices of magazine making. It also helps describe the pressures through digital production and publishing as well as the recessionary economics of 2008/9 that forced religious magazines to restructure their business, marketing, and employment strategies.

## 1 Religious Periodicals and Newsroom Research

In current scholarship, there is a new interest in periodical cultures and newsroom practices. While Jürgen Habermas celebrated newspapers' contribution to a liberal space of social discussion, what he terms "public sphere," and Benedict Anderson stressed the media's role in facilitating a sense of affiliation or belonging, what he calls "imagined communities," present studies emphasize the aspect of commercialization in regards to news, magazines, and the media.<sup>1</sup> The newsroom, as David Klinenberg has shown, changed in substantial ways since the 1970s, most importantly in regards to "synergistic production and distribution strategies."<sup>2</sup> By 2000, family-owned newspapers, magazines, and

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1 Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 181–235; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Cottle, "New(s) Times," 19–41; Schudson, "News, Public, Nation," 481–95; Banks et al., eds., *Production Studies*.

2 Klinenberg, "News Production," 50.

other media outlets had largely disappeared and were replaced by magazine industries that were “actively building lines of vertical and horizontal integration to link everything from news production to entertainment to advertising in-house.”<sup>3</sup> Favorably to their information production, this allowed for more efficient use of resources, including cross-promotion and cross-branding. Another consequence was that media enterprises “have downsized their staffs while imposing new demands that workers become skilled at multitasking with new technologies.”<sup>4</sup> Similar trends can be observed at media companies in various countries and in different market segments, including religious publishing as this chapter will show.<sup>5</sup> *Christianity Today*, the globally leading evangelical magazine, and the company Christianity Today International in the United States currently follow similar strategies despite the fact that as a Christian and nonprofit firm it is not exposed to the same economic pressures. Especially after the financial crisis of 2008/9, Christianity Today International employs industry practices such as streamlining and cross-promoting its products, redefining itself as a multimedia company, and reconceptualizing its work as creating ‘content’ (rather than doing journalism or publishing a magazine) that can be repurposed for different media, for instance print and various online formats like homepages, social media, and podcasts.<sup>6</sup>

This chapters asserts that the business of publishing religious magazines is no different from the publishing of any other type of magazine: Companies have to meet their bottom line and are thus interested in producing a product that sells.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, they struggle with the same problems brought on by technological developments, industry changes, changes in audiences’ tastes, contraction or reorganization of the market, and financial crises. Yet, in another sense, religious magazines are very different from other types of magazines.<sup>8</sup> Ultimately serving a higher purpose, religious magazines have aims and motivations that trump the economic mantra of financial gains. As such, the religious newsroom is both paradigmatic for any newsroom but also differs from other newsrooms in substantial ways. Looking under the cover

3 Klinenberg, 50; see Davidson, McNeill, Ferguson, “Magazine Communities,” 208–20; Le Clam, “Photographs of Newsrooms,” 134–52.

4 Klinenberg, “News Production,” 50.

5 See the scholarship on journalism and magazine industry in China, Man Chan, “Commercialization without Independence,” 25.1–25.21; Zhao, *Media, Market, and Democracy in China*; Strube, Chen, and Benquian L., “Enhancing Creativity,” 72–82.

6 Grem, *Blessings of Business*, 80–81; Vaca, *Evangelicals Incorporated*; Smith, *What Would Jesus Read?*, 1–16.

7 Scheiding, “Autopoiesis des Evangelikalismus,” 154–57.

8 Scheiding and Bassimir, *Religious Periodicals*.



of religious periodicals thus allows us to learn about periodical production in general and religious magazines in particular.

Recent developments in periodical studies demonstrate, however, that religious magazines and newspapers are still an under-researched topic.<sup>9</sup> In the past, much has been written about how religious periodicals function in the context of different religious communities and how as a serialized medium they help establish religious social movements.<sup>10</sup> Scholars frequently explore the history of particular religious periodicals and document how such magazines produce and reproduce particular Christian ideologies. Much of this scholarly work is either based on content analysis or examines a specific periodical as a journalistic text through which religious concerns have been accommodated either in opposition to or in accordance with mainstream culture.<sup>11</sup> Others, by comparing both religious and secular periodicals, have pointed out that both serve as major communication sources because they adapt the modern technologies of mass media.<sup>12</sup> Since their emergence in the eighteenth century and the rise of an expanding religious print market, religious periodicals have used new technology to build a network of social and cultural relationships. As Heather Haveman succinctly shows, religious periodicals create spaces not only for the exchange of religious ideas but also for boundary-making processes across different denominational identities and communities.<sup>13</sup> Drawing on earlier studies on print culture and nation-building, she concludes that religious periodicals “transcend locality and knit together large numbers of people across vast distances ... intersecting local and translocal communities.”<sup>14</sup>

Besides content-focused approaches to analyzing religious periodicals, there is presently an attempt being made among scholars of religion to explore the confluence of religion and US-American business, including the religious book and magazine market. Announcing a “business turn,”<sup>15</sup> scholars draw attention to the close ties between neo-liberal regimes and free markets on which religious groups and their publishing houses rest. Their findings show that evangelicalism is not a reaction to capitalism but “owes its existence to modern business.”<sup>16</sup> Religious imprints and the book industry are marketed

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9 Holmes, *Mapping*; Abrahamson and Prior-Miller, *Routledge Handbook*.

10 Brown, *Word in the World*.

11 Alsdurf, “Christianity Today”; Coffman, *Christian Century*.

12 Waters, “Evangelical Press,” 551–64.

13 Haveman, *Magazines*, 143–86.

14 Haveman, 2.

15 Porterfield, *Business Turn*.

16 Gloege, “Godly Work,” 48.

according to techniques of consumer capitalism. Daniel Vaca claims that evangelicalism “has taken shape in and through its textual and commercial cultures.”<sup>17</sup> As timely as these insights are, they frequently follow either cultural studies-inflected research on media or concentrate on text and audience and thus side-line production. While business-backed studies address the side of production, they privilege a macro-level view that does not account for the perspective and agency of media workers and magazines. They miss the point that magazine publishing is based on a highly socialized network of agents, organizations, and practices that evolve around the newsroom.<sup>18</sup> Our suggestion here is that many of the research methods for analyzing religious magazines to date are no longer sufficient for capturing the changes that occur in the religious media market.<sup>19</sup>

In searching for new approaches to analyze both the business and the journalistic environment of religious magazines, we work with ethnographic methods of interview and observation.<sup>20</sup> We propose a theoretically informed periodical studies based upon the social sciences and their toolbox.<sup>21</sup> For our study, we chose the newsroom of Christianity Today International, the leading multimedia company of evangelicalism in North America. We consider the newsroom as a relational space of human and material coactors evolving from a small room at the heart of a printing house to a large, mobile open office and global multimedia enterprise. As such, it allows us to examine the changes that transform religion reporting and the practices of magazine making. It also helps describe the pressures through digital production and publishing as well as the recessionary economics of 2008/9 that forced religious magazines to restructure their business, marketing, and employment strategies.

Our newsroom findings indicate that the workplace of religious newswork depends on three interrelated regimes: business, production, and journalism. In order to analyze the newsroom culture and news production of a Christian magazine, we talked to staffers, editors, and business leaders. Following

17 Vaca, “Book People,” 332.

18 Havens, Lotz, and Tinic, “Critical Media Industry,” 234–53; Stonbely, “Social and Intellectual Contexts,” 259–74.

19 Waters, “Evangelical Magazines,” 205–7; see Scheiding, “Toward a Media History,” 1–13.

20 See Willig, “Newsroom Ethnography,” 372–87; Steensen, “What Is the Matter,” 1–17.

21 Newsroom ethnography may serve as a convenient starting point for assessing periodical studies. Especially in the context of analyzing contemporary religious media institutions, scholars adopt from relational sociology the idea to overcome the “structure-agency dualism ... by conceptualizing both individuals and the larger formations in which they participate (like collectives, institutions, social systems) as belonging to the same order of reality, a relational order,” Powell and Dépelteau, *Conceptualizing*, 3; see Dollnati, *Relational Sociology*, xvi.

positions in critical media industry studies, we combine our on-site observations with textual and discursive analyses of trade publications and business reports. Regarding the preponderance of secular news and entertainment production, we claim that the religious newsroom and the practices of religious journalism should attract more critical attention. While news and entertainment are organizationally distinct from each other and served critics as an argument for research into newspapers rather than magazines (or vice versa), this chapter suggests another disciplinary framework in which religious periodicals can be studied. Developing newsroom studies, this chapter examines the routines of magazine making and its relation to the economic field and demonstrates how to analyze the infrastructure of a leading Christian magazine. It is divided into two parts: First, it examines *Christianity Today* magazine in the context of the evangelical publication industry to provide information for our ethnographic case study. Second, it uses an ethnographic investigation of the magazine's newsrooms and its creative workers based upon in-depth interviews with editors and related newsroom employees. In doing so, this chapter presents our results and also suggests an ethnographic approach and its implementation in periodical studies.

## 2 Evangelical Print Industry and Magazines

The evangelical publishing business in the United States followed a trajectory similar to other news providers from small, family-owned businesses to large, multibranded and multimedia organizations. While the religious book market between 1945 and 2005 “grew faster than the book industry as a whole,” Paul Gutjahr points out that the book industry itself was partly ignorant of the religious book market and started to gather data about religious book publishing only in the 2000s.<sup>22</sup> One sign that religious book publishing was overlooked was that the sales of religious bookstores, the primary outlet for evangelical publishing for most of the twentieth century, were excluded for the determination of bestsellers by the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine. Along a similar line, Allan Fisher remarks that “most publishing professionals know little or nothing about evangelical-Christian publishing.”<sup>23</sup> This gap is slowly being addressed, especially by contributions focusing on the evangelical book industry. Daniel Vaca states that “over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shifting techniques of production and distribution had

22 Gutjahr, “Perseverance,” 5:376–78.

23 Fisher, “Evangelical-Christian Publishing,” 3.

enabled evangelicals and evangelical media initiatives to conjure transdenominational constituencies, and evangelicals increasingly had invested the business practices and impulses that animated their endeavors with social and soteriological authority.<sup>24</sup> The evangelical print market during the twentieth century existed parallel to and largely independent of the general print market.

The beginnings of the evangelical publishing industry are credited to Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899), who has been called the “father” of evangelical publishing.<sup>25</sup> Moody was a well-known evangelist and in addition to his many missionary activities at home and abroad, he started schools and publishing ventures in Chicago.<sup>26</sup> He might be responsible for establishing the two prevailing models for evangelical publishing houses: one directly, his Bible Institute Colportage Association (BICA; reorganized and renamed Moody Publishers in 1941), and one indirectly, through his brother-in-law Fleming H. Revell’s publishing company. The main difference between the two was that Revell’s house, founded in the 1870s, was an individually owned, for-profit company, while the Colportage Association, founded in the 1890s, belonged to the Bible Institute and served as a distributor for inexpensive Christian print products.<sup>27</sup> While Revell’s business model promoted publishing and selling books, the BICA-distributed evangelical imprints across the Bible Institute’s larger ministry also included periodicals. The distributive model was adopted by organizations like the college campus ministry InterVarsity, imported from England in the 1940s. It resulted in an American publishing division, InterVarsity Press, located in Downers Grove, Illinois. Promoting books on practical Christian living, the press also maintains a focus on academic and reference books. InterVarsity almost immediately started a magazine of Christian fellowship, *HIS*, founded in 1941 to further their ministry. According to a 1991 account, it was, however, “never self-supporting” and in the early days even cut into the salaries of InterVarsity’s staff.<sup>28</sup>

Fleming Revell’s Christian print business model turned out to be more lucrative. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, a multitude of evangelical publishing houses were established, starting with William B. Eerdmans, founded by a Dutch immigrant of that name in 1911. In the wake of the Fundamentalist-Modernist

24 Vaca, “Believing Within Business,” 33.

25 Fisher, “D. L. Moody’s Contribution.”

26 See Belmonte, *Moody*; Dorsett, “Lyman,” 433–37; Kraphol and Lippy, “Moody,” 280–82.

27 Fisher, *Revell Company*; Kraphol and Lippy, “Revell,” 291–92; “Revell: Seventy-Five Years,” 2232–36; for the BICA see Dessauer, Doeblner, and Edelman, *Christian Book Publishing*, 154–55; Fisher, “D. L. Moody’s Contribution.”

28 For InterVarsity and the magazine, see Blumhofer and Carpenter, *Evangelicalism*, 69; Hunt and Hunt, *Christ and University*, 94–95; Doll and Le Peau, *Heart, Soul*, 21–22.

Controversy of the 1920s, Grand Rapids became a center for conservative Christian book publishing with the Zondervan brothers Pat and Bernie (nephews of Eerdmans), starting their publishing company there in 1931. Zondervan was bought in 1986 by Harper, owned by Rupert Murdoch.<sup>29</sup> Another Dutch immigrant, Herman Baker, opened a used bookstore, Baker Books, in 1939 that in time would develop into another prevailing and preeminent evangelical publishing house. Baker went on to expand by successively taking over and integrating the evangelical publishers Revell (1992) and Bethany House (2003). Eerdmans, Zondervan, and Baker were noted for signing weighty books on theology, history, and other scholarly writing, but also publishing Bibles. Another house with a pronounced focus on scholarly books, Kregel Publications, moved to Grand Rapids in 1982. Because of the density of publishing houses in a small, rather insignificant town, James Ruark, in an in-house publication of Zondervan, called Grand Rapids not only a “city of churches,” but the “religious-book capital of the United States.”<sup>30</sup>

Wheaton, Illinois, also attracted evangelical publishers. In 1962, Kenneth N. Taylor founded Tyndale House Publishers. Taylor had been director of Moody Press from 1948 to 1961. When he could not find a publisher for his Bible paraphrases, he started his own publishing house. Under his son, Mark Taylor, Tyndale, now located in Carol Stream, Illinois, signed an apocalyptic novel by writer team Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins. *Left Behind* became a very successful multivolume series that made Tyndale one of the most successful evangelical publishing houses.<sup>31</sup> Another former director of Moody Press, Harold Shaw, founded his own company, Harold Shaw Publishers, in 1967, first situated in Wheaton and later in nearby Carol Stream. Shaw focused on self-help books and became the publisher of the Wheaton Literary Series, publishing works by classical writers like C. S. Lewis and Flannery O'Connor. In January 2000, the general publisher Random House took over Harold Shaw Publishers. Wheaton, Illinois, and by extension Carol Stream, became thus another center of evangelical publishing in the upper Midwest.

Up until the turn of the millennium, evangelical publishers remained aloof from other publishing enterprises. Allan Fisher points out that “unlike many other forms of religious publishing, that of the evangelical Christians appears to be a world of its own.”<sup>32</sup> However, at the turn of the century, the evangelical

29 *New Netherlands Institute*; Fisher, “Evangelical-Christian Publishing,” 4; Ruark, *Zondervan*.

30 See Byle, *Baker Book*; Veith, “Christian Publishing”; Blumhofer and Carpenter, *Evangelicalism*, 69–70; Ruark, *Zondervan*, 10.

31 Cutrer, “Publishing”; Gutjahr, “No Longer,” 5:209–36; Rabey, “Left Behind.”

32 Fisher, “Evangelical-Christian Publishing,” 3.

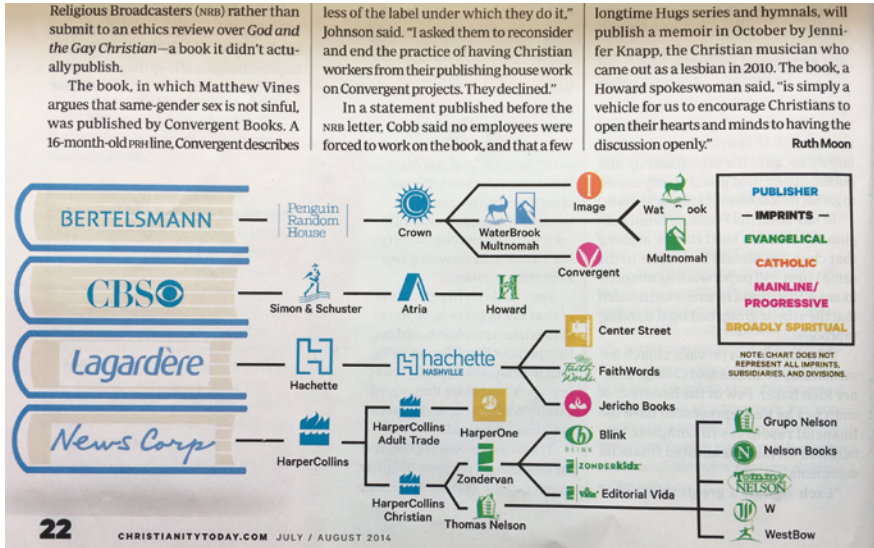


FIGURE 12.1 Ruth Moon, “Too Close for Comfort,” *Christianity Today* 58, no. 6 (July/August 2014): 22

book publishing market was gradually absorbed by the general print market. Evangelical success led to the demise of their own, separate institutions. By 2001, through internal mergers, the evangelical publishing house Thomas Nelson became the market leader for evangelical books.<sup>33</sup> Rolf Zettersten worked at Thomas Nelson as a trade publisher and wrote a biography on family counselor James Dobson, published with Word in 1989. In 2001, however, he took on a job with Warner Books to help establish the general publisher’s Christian division, leading *Christianity Today* magazine to comment on the “rapidly vanishing barriers between Christian and mainstream publishing.”<sup>34</sup> This trend led to a takeover of large parts of the evangelical print market by non-Christian companies, climaxing when HarperCollins bought up Nelson in 2011. The general publisher, part of Rupert Murdoch’s global media holding company News Corporation, now controlled fifty percent of the US-American Christian publishing market. Today, evangelical presses are divisions within huge media conglomerates like Bertelsmann or News Corp.<sup>35</sup> Presently,

33 Thomas Nelson bought another Evangelical publishing house, Word, in 1992, becoming the largest Evangelical publishing house, see Fisher, “Evangelical-Christian Publishing,” 4. In 2001, Thomas Nelson reached sales figures of approximately \$300 million, see Rabey, “Left Behind.”

34 Rabey, “Left Behind.”

35 See Grem, *Blessings of Business*, 162–225; Hatcher, *Religion and Media*.

evangelical imprints constitute *the* religious segment of most commercial publishers; they are part of huge publishing and media networks.

There are also essentially two forms of religious periodical publishing models: (1) periodicals sustained by a denomination or other religious organization, such as the *Baptist Standard* or *World Vision*, the magazine of the evangelical humanitarian organization of the same name. These publications function as outreach and advertising launchpads for a particular organization, thus also, to a degree, justifying any costs they might incur. As such they are better understood in context of a particular corporate strategy that is not of further interest in this chapter. (2) The nondenominational media model championed by Dwight L. Moody seeks “prioritizing accessibility and disavowing denominational loyalty.”<sup>36</sup> According to Daniel Vaca, Moody’s imprints made readers “understand God as a being who communicated plainly and desired a personal and transformative relationship with each person.”<sup>37</sup> Focusing on the conjunction of religious and business principles, Vaca concludes that “the business principles of individual choice and responsibility” in Moody’s thinking became “the sanctified solution to both individual and social suffering.”<sup>38</sup> Recounting the story of the Moody Bible Institute (MBI), Timothy Gloege points out that its history signals a transition from “compulsory denominational identity in the nineteenth century, to a transitional stage in which identification with a branded institution like MBI was required, to the present in which the brand alone is all that matters.”<sup>39</sup> Emphasizing the individual religious conscience and individual economic choice, religious magazine publishers today see themselves exposed to a “completely free market of religion” in which multiple corporations not only compete with each other to control a single market but lay claim to the marketable, but not tradable brand “evangelical.”<sup>40</sup>

In the early 1960s, the number of religious periodicals in the United States was estimated at about 1,500. Despite this impressive number, religion scholar Martin Marty complained that religious journalism was largely “invisible,” a complaint that has been repeated but not satisfactorily addressed since then.<sup>41</sup> While reliable numbers are hard to come by, these estimates suggest that the market for religious periodicals and the evangelical magazine in particular have been and still are substantial. Gloege contends that evangelical publishers

36 Vaca, “Believing Within Business,” 29.

37 Vaca, 29.

38 Vaca, 29.

39 Gloege, *Guaranteed Pure*, 233.

40 Gloege, 233.

41 Marty et al., *Religious Press*, vii, 16; see Fackler and Lippy, *Popular Religious Magazines*, xi; Bassimir and Kohle, “Evangelikale und Massenmedien,” 409–23.

followed the larger industry trend from mass-marketing to specialized segmented marketing. Accordingly, “each publication is carefully designed for segmented markets of pastors, men, women, and more, and most are owned by the same company.”<sup>42</sup> Rather than design one product to satisfy all consumers’ needs, the logic of segmented marketing is to micro-target specific groups with specialized products. This does not necessarily result, however, in a large and heterogeneous field of providers. On the contrary, Gloege shows that “the power behind” micro-targeted products and the celebrities that represent them are “religious media conglomerates.”<sup>43</sup>

Today, a diverse market of evangelical print and digital magazines exists, like *Christianity Today* magazine, the foremost evangelical newsmagazine targeted at evangelical ‘thought leaders.’ Other major periodicals like *Charisma* aim at a Pentecostal audience and *Sojourners* addresses politically progressive evangelicals. While these three magazines started out as print products and gradually added online divisions and further online offers such as blogs and podcasts, some of the most recent magazine launches have also appeared online. A good case in point is the evangelical magazine *Relevant*. In 2000, at age twenty-four, Cameron Strang founded the Relevant Media Group and launched the magazine online in 2002 – before it appeared in print in 2003.<sup>44</sup> While *Relevant* eventually added a print magazine, other magazines are web-only. The *Christian Post*, for example, founded in 2004, is one of the best-known and, with ten million readers monthly, one of the most popular evangelical news sites online.<sup>45</sup> Other magazines are niche-marketed for specific audiences, that is, women’s magazines like *Gather* that serves as the woman’s magazine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America; magazines for kids and youths like the *Clubhouse* line of the *Focus on the Family Magazine*, or magazines for pastors such as *Christianity Today Pastors*. *Faithfully* is a magazine founded in January 2017 by religion reporter Nicola A. Menzie, targeting a young, ethnically diverse, politically active, and socially concerned audience. Crowd-funded through a *Kickstarter* campaign, *Faithfully* exists online, as a quarterly print magazine, a weekly newsletter, and regular podcasts.

The evangelical magazine *Christianity Today* started out as a bimonthly print periodical. The brainchild of Billy Graham, the magazine was launched in 1956 with Carl F. H. Henry as editor and funding from the oil company executive

42 Gloege, *Guaranteed Pure*, 233.

43 Gloege, 232; see Klinenberg, “News Production,” who stresses the modern business logic of mergers, conglomerates, and cross-media synergy.

44 See Waters, “Evangelical Magazines,” 206–7; Bassimir, “Evangelical Magazines.”

45 See “Media Kit.”



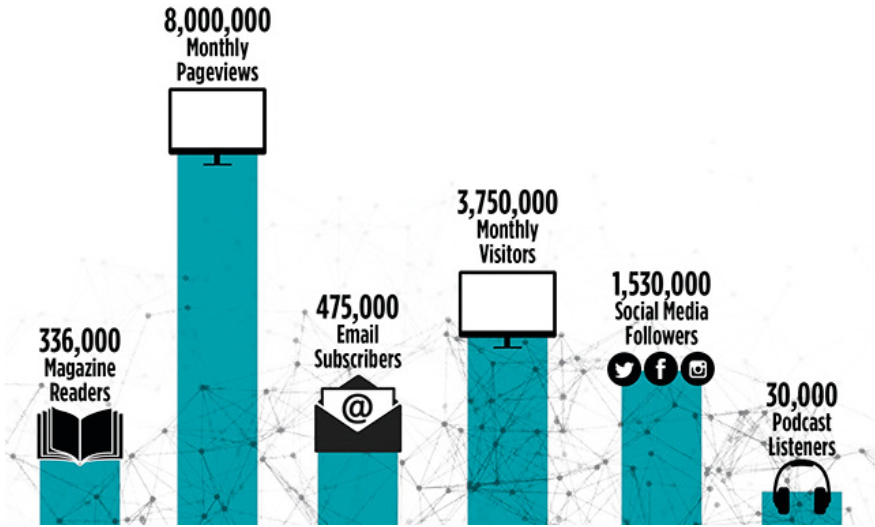


FIGURE 12.2 “Christianity Today Advertising,” accessed April 8, 2019, <http://www.christianitytodayads.com>

John Howard Pew. The magazine saw itself as the evangelical counterpart to the Chicago-based Protestant biweekly *Christian Century*. As such, Henry and succeeding editors established *Christianity Today* as the foremost evangelical news magazine. Over the years, the magazine became a brand expanding into a media enterprise and a viral print business, adding other periodicals, like *Today's Christian Woman*, making the magazine now both the company's name and its most important monthly print. In the mid-1990s, *Christianity Today* magazine went online and subsequently designed homepages and blogs, created podcasts, and became an active player in the global world of social media. Hit by the financial crisis of 2008, the company and its numerous ventures underwent a restructuring process and concentrated on its main products. The decision was made to close the production of several niche publications and to develop further the company's evangelical online news services. The company's leading magazine was rebranded as *CT*. The company is, however, more than just the publisher of a print journal. It promotes itself “as a non-profit global media ministry” that “engages over five million Christian leaders every month, encouraging and equipping them to advocate for the church and shape the evangelical conversation.” In the context of a major Christian news company, the magazine serves as a platform around which a Christian multimedia enterprise is built. As the company's creative hub, the magazine and its makers dictate the policy and design of all other print and digital products. While Christianity Today is a multimedia establishment, the print magazine maintains the brand's core and the values of religion reporting.

Being part of a nonprofit Christian news organization in the United States of America, the magazine is subject to US-American laws. It also adheres to the rules regarding news organizations and the self-policing and customs of the US-American Christian (especially evangelical) communities. The magazine is integrated into professional business networks like those of creating, printing, and mailing news magazines – including, for example, the hiring of editors, journalists, IT personnel, and other staffers, and paying for the service of sorting and shipping magazines. It is part of the marketplace of news providers, forcing it to keep up with professional standards and codes of conduct. Given its high quality in religion reporting it is referenced by leading US news magazines and newspapers like *The Atlantic*, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post* as well as *CNN*. To maintain its outstanding position in the religious news market, the magazine absorbs technological trends, strives to maintain a high quality of reporting, and cultivates a particular image through expressive style and design. It currently succeeds in being recognized as the leading Christian voice as well as being able to lead the competition in religion reporting in the United States.

Christianity Today International belongs to a network of evangelical elite institutions, especially those of higher education (that is, schools, colleges, seminaries), publishing (for example, websites, magazines, books), and social services (for example, foundations, missions, humanitarian organizations, churches). It recruits its personnel from various Christian academic institutions and schools of journalism. The composition of a newsroom peopled with like-minded Christian staffers guarantees the framing of acceptable evangelical messages and the assembling of the content that becomes *CT* news. Our interviews show that most editors were educated at evangelical colleges and seminaries, and other staffers usually join the magazine recommended by elite evangelical institutions. In addition, most of the magazine's contributors are part of an evangelical class of professionals, teachers, or ministers. Therefore, the current developments in the social services, like global missions and humanitarian issues, can be both a benchmark for how the magazine uses its network of contributors and how it elicits news subjects to be covered in the company's publications.

The Christian media enterprise is currently run by a president and CEO in conjunction with a board of directors.<sup>46</sup> The daily business takes place at the

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46 At present, the board of directors is made up of fifteen members – five women and ten men. The outgoing president and CEO pointed out that he “developed” the board and took pride in its diversity, even though he “would like one or two more women on the board to make it pretty much even,” Interview 23, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, June 6, 2017; see footnote 48. The board is fairly diverse, including people of Asian American, African American, and Latino backgrounds. See the “2018 Ministry Report.”

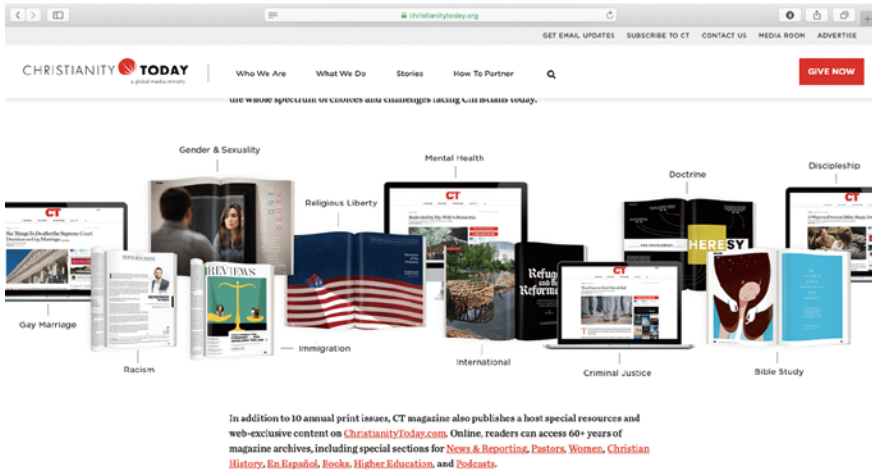


FIGURE 12.3 “What We Do,” *Christianity Today*, accessed April 8, 2019, <https://www.christianitytoday.org/what-we-do/christianity-today/>

company’s headquarters in Carol Stream, Illinois. The staff consists of sixty to eighty people and IT support from India. As a Christian news provider, the company’s main product is *Christianity Today* magazine (*CT*), available both in print and digital format supplemented by blogs, podcasts, newsletters, and social media.

Alongside the magazine, the company offers several other publications. Staffers distinguish between so-called “brands” and “verticals.” Brands are stand-alone publications with their own staff, business plan, and homepage. Since the economic crisis of 2008, many brands have closed. Presently, *CT* and two other brands exist: the bimonthlies *Men of Integrity* and *Church Law & Tax Report*. Verticals are best understood as branches of *CT* magazine. Some of them used to be stand-alone brands and others developed as the magazine’s supplements including the online women’s site *CT Women* (originating from the folded print magazine *Today’s Christian Woman* and the former blog *Her.meneutics*) and online resources like *History* (filled mostly with content that originated with the now folded brand *Church History*) or *En Español* (an online department where select articles are translated into Spanish). Since September 2014, a concerted effort (called “One *CT*”) exists to streamline all Christianity Today products, guaranteeing that design and branding make them recognizable as Christianity Today publishing initiatives and that their content conforms to unified standards. Presently, Christianity Today promotes

its news services under the label of “Christian Thought Journalism.” To expand its “global media ministry,” the company’s leadership has started a new initiative, “CT Global,” to draw an international audience with the goal of on-the-ground religion reporting around the world and from the church abroad.

### 3 The Company and the Christian Newsroom

During the summer of 2017, we conducted interviews with Christianity Today staffers, mostly editors but also staff from different departments. All in all, thirty interviews with twenty-one individuals served as the basis of this study.<sup>47</sup> All but one interview were one-on-one interviews with individual staffers; one interview was conducted via telephone. Four staffers were interviewed multiple times. Four interviews were explanatory in character: A staffer explained how some office tool, like Trello, a management software, worked. One of those explanatory interviews was a conversation between the interviewer and three staffers. Of the twenty-one individuals, eleven were male and ten were female. Interviewees included a cross sample of staffers from the president all the way down to the copy editors and secretary.<sup>48</sup>

In the spring of 2017, we approached *CT* magazine via a letter to the editor in chief with the request of observing the work and conducting interviews. He asked for a meeting before committing the magazine to the research project. A first meeting was scheduled for April at the magazine’s headquarters in Carol Stream, Illinois. A meeting between the editor in chief and the managing editors took place in the former’s office. We had time to explain the research project and the editors had time to ask questions and address reservations. It was agreed that we could proceed with the project and the first interviews were set up the same day. We observed daily work and routines happening in the headquarters’ office space and conducted interviews during two different stays of one week in April and June of 2017.

47 Interviews will be hereafter cited with numbers (1–30) in the text.

48 On the senior leadership level, interviews were conducted with the President and CEO, the Editor in Chief, the Publisher, the Chief Operating Officer and – one rank below them – with the Vice President of Technology and Operations as well as the Editorial Director. On the midmanagement level, another round of interviews took place with the Managing Editor Print and the Managing Editor Online as well as the Senior News Editor, the Director of Marketing, and the Senior Content Designer. On the lower management level, we interviewed the associate editors of *Books and Women–Online*, *Theology*, and *Church Law and Tax*, Special Projects, and with Productions. On the entry level and support roles, interviews were done with the assistant copy editors and with the Marketing and Communications Coordinator, the Secretary to the CEO, and the Data Analyst.



have moved to the Midwest from somewhere else across the country, and only a minor group has Latin American or Asian backgrounds. There is also a visible age gap: The people on the senior management level are much older than the rest of the staff. The president and CEO retired in 2019.<sup>49</sup> The editor in chief and the chief operating officer are pushing retirement age. The editorial director is in his forties, while higher- and middle-management positions are taken by men in their thirties (including the senior leadership position of publisher and vice president as well as the managing editors and deputy managing editor), and middle and lower positions are filled primarily with women in their twenties and thirties. Several interviewees offered explanations why the majority of the staff appeared surprisingly young. One explanation was that after the recession of 2008, many branches folded and (older) staff was moved out. Others mentioned that Christianity Today International is a non-profit organization and cannot afford paying the same salaries as comparable mainstream media and news corporations offer. Although people are hired at a young age, they frequently move on because there are only a limited number of senior positions available for career promotional purposes. While the editorial staff has higher education degrees, this is not true for the company as a whole. Supporting jobs in marketing and technology appear to be given to people who can be trained on the job rather than people who come with degrees in hand. One explanation offered was that while Christian journalists seek to work for religious periodicals, the same is not true for Christian computer experts. While job descriptions look similar in both the Christian and the general market, salaries widely differ. The interviewees confirm, however, that the motivation to work at Christianity Today International stems from their wish to work for an outstanding Christian (media/news) company – and this is true for those with and without degrees.

Newsroom positions appear to be neither fixed nor clearly defined. New jobs and job titles appear to be created continuously as the company's publishing business is changing in order to navigate the print and digital divide. But it could also be that in the so-called e-age recruiting and hiring procedures are being modified. The current editor in chief reported that when he started in the magazine business, Christian editors had theology degrees while today this is rather the exception. There does not seem to be a rigid profile for what

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49 The new president-elect founded Polymath, "a creative agency that helps clients with branding, design, web, video, marketing and communications, and content development. Its clients have included the Museum of the Bible, International Justice Mission, the American Enterprise Institute, and Indiana Wesleyan University"; see "Christianity Today Appoints."

skills a new hire needs to have. Rather, job requirements have become fluid in light of technological developments. Furthermore, several interviewees pointed out that their original job description has been redesigned several times. It also appears that people have been hired and moved around offices until a long-term position will open up. Several interviewees declared that they were encouraged to apply. Some found out that the magazine's editors kept their names on file when they failed to get the job when they first applied but were called to reapply for positions they had not considered. In some cases, it seems that staffers were hired because they somehow fit in with the magazine's Christian worldview and staff, and not because they had a specific skill. Furthermore, it is also impossible to separate between departments like the marketing and editorial offices or define the duties of a particular position. In one case, one staffer divides her time working for different departments, and in another case the staffer's work is not clearly aligned with any particular department.

Given its Midwestern location, the majority of staffers are either Presbyterian or Episcopalian. Baptists – otherwise one of the larger evangelical constituencies – are in the minority, and some other evangelical denominations and nondenominational groups are not represented in the newsroom at all. While the company is evangelical, and most staffers (people in supporting positions are generally excluded from this requirement) have to sign a statement of faith, there is one staffer who does not identify as evangelical but as Catholic. He acknowledged that he had signed the statement of faith since it squared with his Catholic beliefs; he also admitted that he worked in a supporting post and that he, because of his faith, did not expect to get promoted to a more visible or central employment.

The printing, binding, sorting, and shipping is processed through a network of business partnerships. The company employs a professional printing firm and relies upon postal services. It does not have its own IT office. The digital infrastructure and software for the company's homepage is created by Global Pueblo Sourcing in India. This enterprise was founded by evangelical missionaries and Wheaton graduates, and is referred to by one interviewee as a "business mission." The Indian staff is composed of specialists who possess certified computer skills. Their faith is unimportant, and the same interviewee speculated that most of them were probably Hindus. The company's diverse and fluid work force is also extended into the field of content production. Writing and religion reporting distributed through the magazine's multimedia formats comes from contributors that are not staff members.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The company's "2018 Ministry Report" states that it has 750 writers producing 4,000 articles. The report also claims that the company's Christian journalism reaches

The interviews covered the following four topics:

- (i) “Infrastructure” discusses organizational issues, like the making of the products and the organization of the institution as well as related formal and informal professional rules.
- (ii) “Personnel” explains the make-up of staffers, hiring and firing procedures, career development, qualification, and other requirements for working at Christianity Today.
- (iii) “Newswork” explores the creation of a Christian magazine and its various print and digital supplements, the daily newsroom work of the staffers, and the function of departments and their interactions.
- (iv) “Journalism” spells out the news company’s purpose and goals. The series of interviews illustrate the company’s wishes of publishing a magazine and modelling an ideal audience.

(i) *Infrastructure*

The multimedia enterprise is divided into different departments and posts. At the top is the board of directors that only meets occasionally. It supervises business affairs and offers leadership and vision. The board of directors is led by the president and CEO, who also selects the individual members. Currently, the board is made up of fifteen members, all of whom belong to the evangelical elite and are situated at strategic positions in universities, churches, businesses, and social organizations. In his day-to-day business, the president and CEO is assisted by a so-called cabinet that currently consists of the chief operations officer, the editor in chief, the vice president and publisher, the vice president of technology and operations, and the publisher for church resources. Whereas the president directs the company as a whole, the editor in chief organizes the magazine’s print and online productions and is responsible for its vertical supplements and resources. The publisher for Church Resources manages the creation of the company’s Christian brands; the chief operating officer directs the financial aspects of the organization; the vice president of technology and operation controls all technological aspects of the organization; and the vice president and publisher guide aspects of marketing.

Below the company’s upper echelon, there is the level of the day-to-day working operations divided into the editorial offices, technology and operations offices, the publishing and marketing offices, and the design office. The division of labor organization and the pertaining office spaces creates a fairly dynamic work environment. While the design office is a physically circumscribed space

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thirty-five million readers and its podcast programs engage one million listeners. In addition, the magazine’s complete archive, since its founding in 1956, is available containing 14,000 articles.



with identifiable personnel, some of the other departments have more permeable floor plans and fluctuating personnel. Interviewees declared that the company liked to “move people around.” The workspace is continuously reshaped: New cubicles are put up or taken down and staffers physically move around in the building. Sometimes offices within the building indicate the headquarters’ creative approach to work positions. For example, one marketing and communications officer was seated not with the marketing department but in the same wing as the editorial offices. The officer’s cubicle was penned in with the magazine’s copy editors on one side and the branch editor of *Men of Integrity* on the other side. As it turned out, while the officer’s job title referred to marketing, what this person did was mostly compile and edit texts and write newsletters for both *Christianity Today* magazine and *Men of Integrity*. Furthermore, there is no master plan to determine which position needs to be filled in which department. Rather, both departments and positions are developed, created, or removed according to the changing demands of the publication business. Several interviewees affirmed that their job titles had changed several times over the past years and months or acknowledged that they were asked to apply for a job although no clearly circumscribed position was advertised. Others revealed that they held a job title newly created without a predecessor, like the position of the editorial director.

The company’s internal structure appears to be in constant flux with young staffers being hired and more advanced staff leaving for better paid positions elsewhere. The input of young staff members guarantees fresh ideas; with technology and changing market trends continuously challenging the business of magazine publishing, the younger staff enables the company to reflect upon the notion of what a magazine is and how it should function in the future. Despite the constant changes, the company prides itself on having done the “same thing” for over sixty years. Continuity and recognition are provided not only by design and branding but also by referencing the company’s legacy and founding figure Billy Graham (1918–2018).<sup>51</sup> A sense of “original intent” guides the company’s business plans and publishing venture. Accordingly, Graham serves as the company’s brand value; he is mentioned in internal documents as well as in public statements. Occasionally, references to the founding documents (Graham’s speech envisioning the magazine, the first editorial, etc.), earlier articles, or references to former editors are published. Online, the magazine archive called “the vault,” contains the company’s “collective memory” and makes it accessible to a wide audience. Currently the magazine has created a partnership with Logos Bible Software to digitize the magazine’s complete

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51 See the commemorative Billy Graham issue, *Christianity Today* (April 2018).

archive, including over eight hundred previously unscanned issues dating back to 1956. Additionally, the company's popular digital sections via hypertexts create a dense web of links that invite the reader to trace traditional thoughts and compare past and present issues concerning the Christian world.

(ii) *Personnel*

At the time of this study, visitors to the company's headquarters were welcomed by a receptionist. On the ground floor of the building were the offices of President and CEO, the Chief Operating Officer, and the Vice President of Technology and Operations and their respective staffs. Also on the ground floor, the departments of technology, finances, and the Church Law and Tax offices could be found. A floor plan shows fifty-five rooms, including conference and storage rooms, and a number of 'open' or unoccupied offices. On the upper level, the editorial offices as well as the design and marketing departments were located. The floor plan shows thirty-five rooms, all used as offices, with only one open cubicle reserved for guest visitors. One wing was given over to marketing and the design department, the latter probably the smallest department in the house. The other wing held the editorial offices, with the publisher, editor in chief, editorial director, and managing editors print and online all located there. At the time of this study, all senior editorial positions were occupied by white men. The editor in chief was the oldest person in the office, while the others were in their twenties, thirties, and forties. Point editors – for *News*, for *Books*, for *Theology*, and for *Women* – were also all in their thirties, white and mixed gender. Junior editors were in their twenties. One of the copy editors – with Caucasian, Asian, and native Hawaiian roots – was the only ethnically diverse person in the department. While the editorial department was thus overwhelmingly white and leadership mostly male, the company emphasizes efforts to diversify the staff. Staffers recalled with pride their first female managing editor, Katelyn Beaty, who had only recently left the company. They also alluded to the work of the Cultural Diversity and Innovation Taskforce, an internal program aimed at promoting cultural and ethnic awareness and supporting young, female, and/or minority talents.

Staffers identify as evangelical, and when asked about their faith backgrounds, they often mentioned nondenominational or Anglican churches in the area that they attend. One editor acknowledges that the editorial staff was "mostly Anglican with a Baptist and a Methodist."<sup>52</sup> He pointed out that there were efforts to diversify staff in terms of denominational backgrounds but admitted that this was not always successful. One reason was the appeal of

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52 Interview 32, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, June 8, 2017.

Anglican and nondenominational churches in the Carol Stream area. Even if new staffers hailed from other denominational backgrounds, once they arrived at the company and looked for a new church to attend, they often chose a Baptist or nondenominational one. This might be due to the quality of the service at these churches and that new hires had met other staffers who already attended these churches.

All editorial staffers have college degrees earned at Christian institutions, including Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois; Baylor University in Waco, Texas; Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky; Asbury University in Wilmore, Kentucky; and Messiah College in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania. Most have degrees in journalism or a creative writing program and come with some experience in journalism. The most unusual background is that of Jacob Walsh, who currently serves as the magazine's publisher. He worked as a woodworker, making customized cabinets for aquariums, and ran a website through which he sold his ware. To attract customers, he worked with search engine optimization programs and created email newsletters, all cutting-edge technology at the time. When the company had a job opening for someone with digital marketing skills, Walsh applied and was hired.

### (iii) *Newswork*

Business at *CT* newsroom is conducted during the workweek from Monday through Friday. Most newsroom, media, and creative workers arrive early in the morning and leave in the late afternoon. Around 4 PM, the offices start to empty out. There are exceptions with staffers who prefer to start later and stay later. There are also occasions when staffers stay late to finish some task. Some of the younger staffers live in Chicago and take the train to work, while others drive in from the surrounding suburbs. A few staffers do not live in the area and work remotely, including the *CT News* editor who spends just a couple of days a week at the office, and the *CT Women's* editor who flies in only a few times per year. There are a number of formal and informal meetings that routinely take place every week. One editor explained that there is no recurring meeting on Mondays, but there are many small, ad hoc, individual meetings that take place on Mondays when people need to catch up with the news cycle. Tuesdays at 11 AM, the editorial team always assembles for a prayer meeting. On Wednesdays, the editorial team meets for a strategy and planning meeting where work is discussed and delegated; editors working remotely participate in these meetings via live video calls. Some staffers informally get together for lunch on Wednesdays before this meeting. Sometimes they even bring out games at meetings. On Thursday mornings younger staffers from across the entire company come together for a quick "Starbucks Drive" – they pile into

a handful of cars and drive to a nearby coffee shop to buy coffee and snacks to bring back to the office. During the summer, most staffers finish work at 12:30 PM on Fridays but work longer hours during the rest of the year to compensate for the loss of work hours during summer. Some staffers use the free afternoon to get together informally, sometimes to play sports.<sup>53</sup>

The editorial meeting roughly divides into three parts, with the editor in chief, the online editor, and the print editor updating the staff on current projects. We attended the meeting on April 19, 2017. During the first part, the editor in chief brought up the issue of paying contributing authors. The magazine was in the process of changing the system, and the editor in chief made suggestions regarding how it should be changed, with staffers contributing their own ideas. During the second part of the meeting, the online editor previewed the calendar for articles promoted online. While all agreed on his timetable, staffers discuss how a few empty slots could be filled. The online editor suggested initiating a Twitter discussion on a particular topic that could then be posted as an aggregate piece. In the third part, the new print editor provided a brief agenda for the forthcoming print issue. He asked for help with the drafts of two major articles, both of which could be improved through “better examples” and additional references. Accordingly, the online editor asked staffers to “crowd-source” information, in other words, to ask their contacts for further information to bolster the articles.

There are several ways in which magazines and journals obtain articles for publication. In rare cases, an aspiring contributor approaches the editorial office via email with an unsolicited manuscript – an idea for or the draft of an article. The copy editor, managing the email account, sorts through the proposals, deciding which ones might have potential to be published. She points out that “I am the difference between the no pile and the maybe pile (laughs). I don’t get to decide what is a yes but I do get to decide what goes into the maybe pile.”<sup>54</sup> The copy editor sorts the proposals that might have potential into categories and passes them on to the proper point editor. Point editors might start working with the author on publishing the contribution or keep the idea and the author’s name on file for future reference.

Solicited articles are by far the more common form of obtaining publication material. In this case, an editor wants a particular event or topic covered and searches for information and a writer. An obvious example is the book review. The editor for the book department receives reviewers’ copies of many books and lists of all new publications. Part of his job is to decide which books are of

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53 Interview 7, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, June 6, 2017.

54 Interview 7, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

interest to the magazine's readers. The editor states that "my job would be to try and match the book with the right reviewer; whether it's, you know, a scholar in that area, just another book author, a blogger, a pastor, you know, whoever it might be. I'll try and find someone who can write intelligently about the subject the book is talking about."<sup>55</sup> Based on the topic and premise of the book to be reviewed, the editor seeks out acknowledged experts to critique a specific book. Another example is news. Many news stories, whether published as short "gleanings"<sup>56</sup> online or as in-depth articles, are written and sometimes based on original research by magazine editors. Other articles are solicited pieces for which the editor approaches a writer familiar with the situation. International reporting has long depended on information from US-Americans who are knowledgeable about the situation either through study from home or experience abroad. The current senior news editor, however, tries to find foreign journalists who can intelligently write about developments in their own countries.

The most common form of obtaining articles is through a preexisting relationship between author and editor. In this case, an author has already written for the magazine and the editor knows her expertise, interests, and strengths. They keep in touch, discussing other potential topics. This allows them to develop an idea together that eventually will be fleshed out as an article. It also allows editors to draw on a network of contributors who acknowledge the magazine's standards and reportorial style. One editor describes the benefits and disadvantages of relying on a preexisting web of writers: While this system allows editors to quickly assign articles with expectable and dependable results, at the same time – because of the convenience of drawing on friends and acquaintances – the process is slanted to repeat the editor's own positions. This particular editor is critical of the practice and feels that editors should invest more time in cultivating diverse writers, ideally a pool of writers that in its diversity reflects the theological, cultural, and ethnic diversity of evangelicalism.<sup>57</sup>

The process from idea to published article is a long one. Upon accepting a proposal, the point editor works with the writer to improve the draft. This includes adapting or strengthening an argument or "crowd sourcing" others for additional studies, statistics, and other data to support an argument. The editor also corrects grammar, spelling, punctuation, and style. The text is checked for factual precision and its length is adapted to fit a particular word count. In the words of one editor, "they [the point editors] take the article through the process with the writer to make sure it is the best it can be, it is the right word

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55 Interview 10, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 19, 2017.

56 Interview 6, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

57 Interview 9, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 19, 2017.

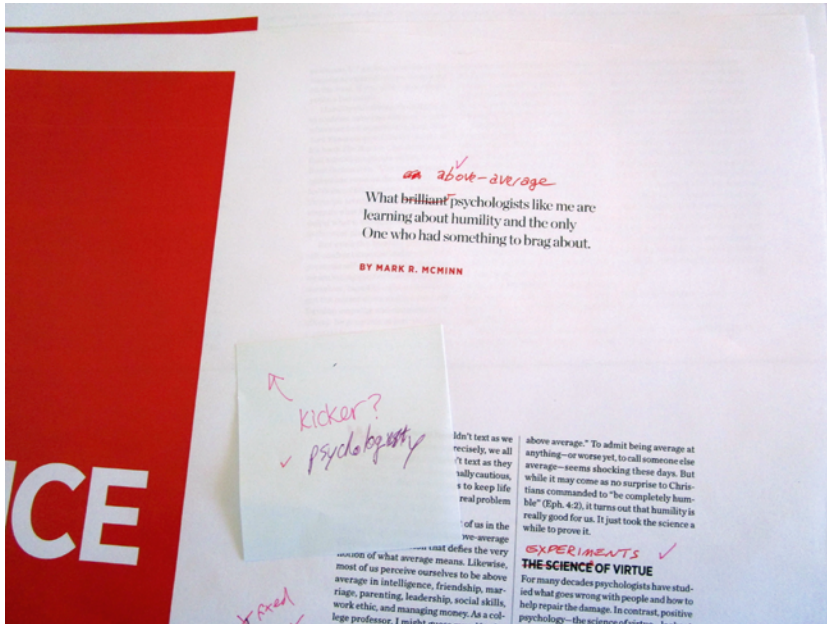


FIGURE 12.5 Draft with editor's annotations. "Kicker" refers to the subject category of article, here "psychology"  
 PHOTO BY AUTHORS

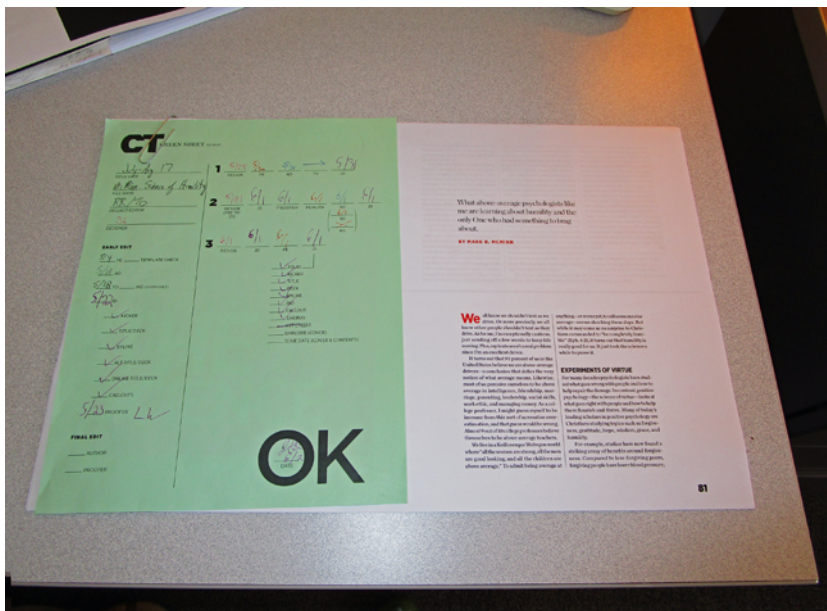


FIGURE 12.6 "Green Sheet" with editor-in-chief's approvals  
 PHOTO BY AUTHORS

count, it is factually correct.”<sup>58</sup> When the point editor approves a draft, he signals his approval by checking a box on a sheet that gets attached to the article (the so-called green sheet).

The draft is passed on to the copy editor who once again checks grammar and spelling. The copy editors suggest title options and highlight text passages or phrases for the creation of pull-out quotes – passages that will later be highlighted on the pages in the printed version or for promotional purposes. When the copy editor has signed off on the green sheet, the article might go to an outside reader – a person who proofreads the draft for the first time and can judge whether it is comprehensible, convincing, and coherently argued. The draft is passed on to the designers who lay out the text and create a design to go with it. Printed out on a large piece of paper, the article is returned to the editors who use ink pens to indicate what they want to have changed. If all changes have been accommodated, the article is examined against a checklist. When the process is completed, the copy editor sees the article one last time on a printout of the text’s final layout including design and the positioning of the advertisements on the page. She checks the text in its context “to make sure we don’t have ads covering text or, you know, an ad for a university right next to an investigative news piece about the failure of their school system or the president getting fired or something (laughs).”<sup>59</sup> The editorial department has thus completed work on the article and hands it over to the production department who sees it to the print.

The production department creates what they call the “book.” Essentially, this is the digital blueprint for the printed magazine. A staffer receives an “issue plan” from the editorial office that details the different sections (news, views, opinions, editorials, etc.) that will make up the content of the magazine, and the order in which they are to be arranged. It also details how many pages of content there are. The staffer correlates that information with details from the marketing department on how many ads there will be, what size they are, and where they should be placed. Some clients pay for specific placement of ads – like three ads on consecutive pages, or a full-page ad in the first part of the magazine. The staffer creates a thumbnail – the master plan for the magazine – by arranging the articles and ads, filling pages and thus laying out the magazine.

Editorial notes – as, for instance, which ads would fit with a particular article, which ads not to place with an article, which articles not to break up through ads, or if articles have to be printed in a particular order – guide this

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58 Interview 7, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

59 Interview 7, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

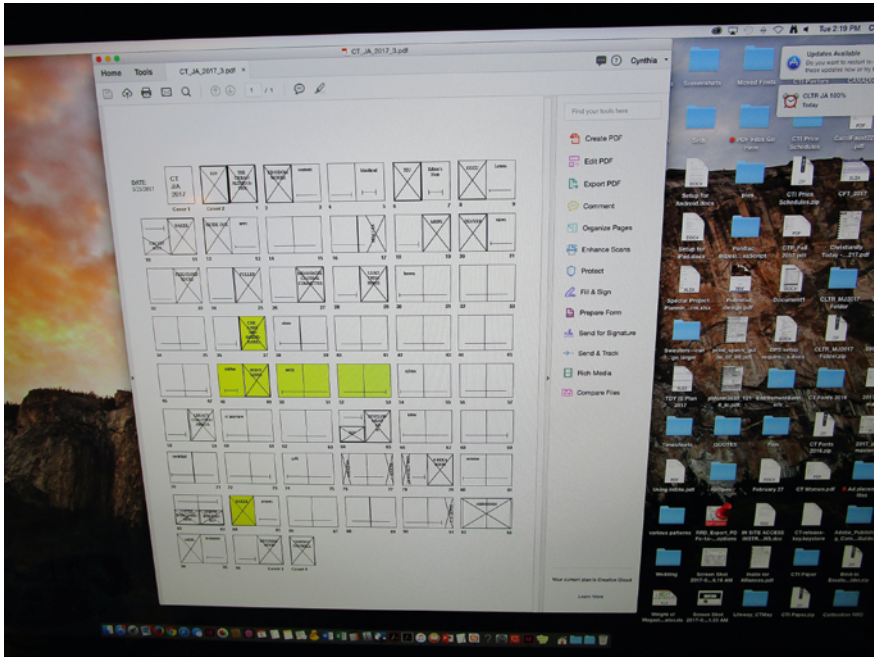


FIGURE 12.7 Magazine page outline for July/August 2017  
 PHOTO BY AUTHORS

process. The thumbnail is sent to the editorial and marketing departments who can make final changes. The production staff member checks the resolution of all contributions, converting and, if necessary, recreating ads using the software InDesign. The production office then converts everything to the settings the printer requires and creates individual PDF documents for every single page, and finally sends everything off to the printer. All of the print articles are eventually published online. Because reading habits are different online and because titles and – more importantly – links should be searchable, many articles acquire new titles, descriptive and tweetable subtitles, and addresses online. An automated system uploads articles at a scheduled time. One of the tasks of the online editor is to decide when a particular article goes online and where to be placed on the *CT* “promo panel.” He explains:

We do about half print, so we try and promo most of print ... this is the one coming up. I meet with [the print managing editor] and we go over this table of contents and then the ones that say like A, those are A-pieces versus B-pieces, which is literally like a crass way of saying it’s good versus not as good. They are the pieces we definitely want people to see and



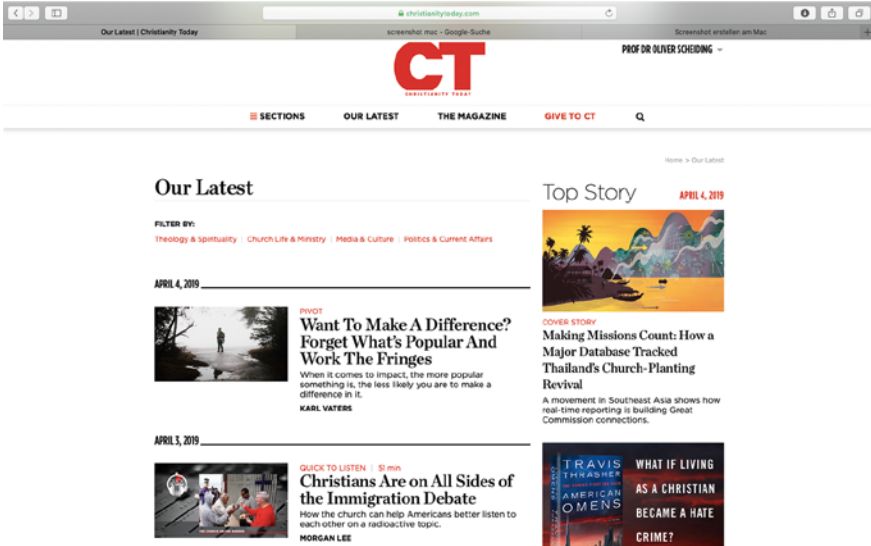


FIGURE 12.8 Screenshot of CT website, accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/our-latest/>

so one of the things that we're doing is we're saying these are definitely going to show up in the promo panel, they're be a whole day there. We're going to promo the heck out of them and if we can prolong the discussion of them in some way.<sup>60</sup>

The online editor spaces out the contents of a print issue throughout one month, featuring only one article at a time. Featured articles can be viewed free of charge the day they go live but visitors will have to subscribe if they want to see a print article online any other time.

#### (iv) *Journalism*

The interviews demonstrate that *Christianity Today* is a very self-conscious magazine. Editors and staffers repeatedly reflect upon “the strength of our brand,” as the senior news editor calls it.<sup>61</sup> The magazine’s journalistic objectives are multilayered and frequently depend on changing internal perspectives and the increasing focus on an expansive global news coverage. As the company’s ministry reports show, they range from faith and mission statements to financial strategies. In one sense, Christianity Today International

60 Interview 9, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 19, 2017.

61 Interview 6, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

is an organization that sells subscriptions and advertising space.<sup>62</sup> In another sense, it is a US-American evangelical news organization that wants to inform US-American evangelicals about current occurrences and subjects vital to their everyday lives as Christians. In yet another sense, as a “global media ministry,” it wants to function as mouthpiece and religious forum to advocate for a worldwide evangelical faith community. In an interview, the senior news editor confesses:

I mean, in some ways we are always trying to position ourselves as, like, *The Atlantic* for Christian leaders. I mean, they – *The Atlantic* is a thought-journal, right. And so, it’s not actually comprehensive, but everything in there, you know, it provokes your thought and you’re glad it’s there and you want to pick up the next issue. So, and again we do focus on good, straight journalism. So, you know, I’ve had / a lot of our stories could run in *The Atlantic* or in the [*Washington*] *Post* or the [*New York*] *Times*, like, they’re not so Christian that they would only work in our, like, silo. So, I think in some ways – in that way they’re really not that different. My goal is to write something that could or produce something that could run on the *Washington Post* – you know what I mean? So, I think the way it’s different is – again, we are purposefully trying to increase the coverage of Christian news in the sense of things happening within Christian communities and among denominations. You know, we don’t do a lot on politics, for example, because there is so much political coverage already. It would only be an inferior and smaller version of what’s being produced by the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times* but there’s not as much coverage of, you know theology, of like church history, of evangelism. So, we’re basically trying to increase the coverage of those topics, but we’re

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62 The magazine’s publisher joked that just because an organization promotes itself as a nonprofit enterprise, it “shouldn’t mean that you’re trying to lose money,” Interview 14, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 20, 2017. Indeed, solvency is the basis for any undertaking. The magazine covers its expenses through selling subscriptions and advertising and those remain the two main sources of revenue. However, as the editor in chief admits, since “the 2008/2009 crash ... we think that model will no longer work,” Interview 5, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017. Soliciting donations has become the third pillar of financial soundness. Part of the job of president and CEO as well as the editor in chief is fundraising. Additionally, the company has started applying for funding from foundations, like the Lilly Endowment, especially for developing its digital technology. Some money also comes from side businesses like reprinting licenses and cooperations with Christian institutions, like putting together a college textbook. While the company has published some e-books and print-on-demand books, this has been a less successful venture.

not per se doing it in a Christian way, like you know, if it feels overtly religious it wouldn't hold up to scrutiny in the *New York Times* – if that makes sense.<sup>63</sup>

Professional aplomb, in this case good journalism, is another objective. The editor in chief emphasizes the periodical's dedication to journalistic fairness, the trade's objective to present the facts and give a fair account of what happened. Given the "disruptive trends" and the "liquid understanding"<sup>64</sup> of current newswork, the editor in chief describes "journalistic ethics" as the practice of portraying a person's point of view, even if it was contrary to evangelical beliefs, in such a manner that the person would recognize it as her own position, saying "I can see you disagree with me, but [in what] you've said I recognize myself in that."<sup>65</sup> Good journalistic skills are a prerequisite for *CT* editors; most of whom have a journalism degree and/or prior journalistic experience. Stressing the high journalistic quality of *CT*, the editor in chief contends that "this is the pinnacle, if you're a Christian journalist and you want to get to Christian journalism, this is where you want to end up."<sup>66</sup> The editor in chief also sees compliance with journalistic standards as something nonevangels value about the magazine's newswork. He points out that the magazine is cited by secular journalists as a reliable source for information about the evangelical world and Christianity. As a matter of pride to the company, some of its former editors now hold jobs at major national newspapers and magazines, like the *Washington Post*, well-known for its Religion section and blog. This is regarded as another acknowledgement of *CT*'s journalistic quality and the strength of its brand.

Finally, the interviews reveal that the religious objective is another, albeit less sharply defined end. The CEO and president emphasizes the religious purpose when he says that "we are here solely to serve Jesus Christ, ok. We're not here solely to make money. Now obviously we need money so that we can effectively serve Jesus Christ," but money was only the means to attain a higher goal.<sup>67</sup> This religious plan for the magazines was usually referred to under the headers of "ministry" and catchphrases like "Beautiful Orthodoxy." In some cases, the definition of "Beautiful Orthodoxy" seemed to be a Christian version of good journalism, with the objective of facts replaced by Christian orthodoxy.

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63 Interview 6, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

64 Deuze, "Understanding Journalism as Newswork," 20.

65 Interview 3, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

66 Interview 5, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

67 Interview 23, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, June 6, 2017.

According to one staffer: “So it [a *CT* contribution] has to be orthodox and it can’t be finger-wagging.”<sup>68</sup> In other cases, the focus on Christian principles and service to the Christian community was highlighted. The editor in chief, for example, read from the mission statement that “in a world in desperate need of truth, goodness and beauty, Christianity Today strengthens the church by richly communicating the breadth of the true, good, and beautiful Gospel.”<sup>69</sup> In this sense, the magazine understands itself as a “ministry,” a term often used to describe the religious objective of the business. For example, the magazine’s byline identifies it as “a global media ministry.” An entry on “ministry” in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* states: “The term ministry traditionally refers to offices of leadership in the Christian church, but there has been a growing recognition that it also describes the way the mission of the whole church is conducted.”<sup>70</sup> The company thus characterizes its work as a religious endeavor and an integral part of church business. But as *Christianity Today* magazine is not aligned with any single denomination but rather adheres to evangelicalism more broadly, its newswork does not serve a particular institution. Rather, the company sees itself as a Christian news service more generally. As one editor put it, “But we can bring it [reporting] back to the real Gospel and call out truth no matter what that looks like, no matter who’s speaking it; whether it’s a political party or a pastor or, you know, the church is doing something they shouldn’t be doing, that we can stand up and say, ‘Here’s the real truth, here’s what the church should be.’”<sup>71</sup> The magazine’s reporting and newswork can hold others accountable to Christian tenets and morals, evaluate news in light of evangelical convictions, and call out digressions from the Christian faith.

#### 4 Conclusion

What follows from this analysis? First, religious periodicals are instrumental not only in helping readers make sense of understanding Christian lifeways, but they are themselves a media that set trends in how religion is mediated. Given the numerous changes that went along with marketing a global ministry, the company’s new agenda in terms of a major religious newsmagazine, and the restructuring of the print business since 2008, we found the newsroom a

68 Interview 14, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 20, 2017.

69 Interview 3, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017; see *CT*’s “Who We Are.” The website advertises “Our Cause” under the banner of “Beautiful Orthodoxy,” accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.christianitytoday.org/who-we-are/our-ministry>.

70 Paul, “Ministry,” 538–40.

71 Interview 7, with Anja-Maria Bassimir, April 18, 2017.

transitional workspace giving rise to a number of questions that go beyond the overemphasis of organizational constraints and news outlets in newsroom studies. Instead, we have placed a greater emphasis on the networked nature of evangelical newswork, journalistic production and agency. The focus was on the interaction of editors and media workers, and how editors and employees try to incorporate their understanding of the changing nature of evangelicalism into their news production routines. Our analysis also documents how the staffers' Christian mindsets become translated into the physical, virtual, and symbolic spaces of the newsroom.

Second, we understand the Christian newsroom as a complex cultural place involving production, circulation, marketing, textual representations, and readers' consumption. Within this circuit values, meanings, codes, notions, and practices of religion are exchanged. Through active participant observation embedded in an infrastructural and ethnographic analysis of a leading religious magazine and media company, the case study encourages further explorations of the production practices and the different economies and journalistic values that inform the encoding of religion into Christian periodicals. Since scholarship has paid more attention to content analysis, a central aim of this chapter is to contribute to an understanding of the meanings of religion mediation with a specific focus on newsroom agency. By generating new insight as to how knowledge about religion is produced, the chapter brings to the surface sets of macro- and micro-production practices that characterize the professional work of editors and journalists in the evangelical magazine industry. Last, it should be noted that religious newswork is not produced in a vacuum but relies upon a community of human sources and creative work associated with a range of aesthetic pleasures and affective dispositions.

And finally, this chapter also shows that by investigating religious periodicals as complex webs of relations, we avoid any narrow typology or taxonomy of periodical genres.

In doing so, we insist on creating further systematic methodologies and descriptions for studying religious periodicals. As the chapter suggests, integrating the study of religious magazines into the field of modern periodical culture seems advisable. Presently, scholars call for a fuller understanding of "transnational print media ecologies." The term "media ecology" demands "scrupulous attention to both the materiality of print and its intermedial relationships with other communication technologies."<sup>72</sup> In general terms, ecology refers to a set of relationships existing between any complex system and its

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72 Ardis, "Towards a Theory."

environments. Media ecology therefore concerns the interdependence of print, technology, and communication, and how it mediates the history of modernity. Conceptualizing periodical studies in terms of media ecology makes us aware of periodicals not as containers of information, but rather as complex configurations of works across media. However, the ecological approach frequently limits periodical studies to the grand narrative of secularization and modernization excluding religious magazines. What our case study shows is that we need to expand the term “media ecology” – and perhaps replace it – by looking at periodical environments understood as a relational and associative web of overlapping socioeconomic conditions, institutions, and people. In practice, we propose to study periodicals less as autonomous objects, but rather in terms of a social textuality evolving from multiple webs of human and nonhuman relations that sustain them.

### Acknowledgments

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VI

*Community*

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# Community

*Jutta Ernst*

Even though the history of publishing has known serialized media which have been conceived, written, edited, and printed by a single person, the production of periodicals usually hinges on a group of people who closely work together. Such business networks include authors, translators, literary agents, editors, photographers, illustrators, graphic designers, paper producers, printers, financial patrons, etc. (see also section v on Infrastructure and Agency). In many cases, business connections overlap with personal ties, either because friendships developed out of work-related contacts or because a long-time companion was asked to take on a certain task for the periodical. The latter holds particularly true for independent magazines, which often have scarce means of financing and tend to count on unpaid support from friends and relatives. The communities that, in one way or the other, emerge and develop in association with a particular periodical are rewarding objects of investigation as their members' interactions, among themselves and with the print or online product, have a huge impact on sociocultural developments. Literary authors, for instance, frequently try to launch their careers with the help of periodicals, hoping that the repeated appearance of some of their texts in serialized venues will pave the way to book-length publications by renowned publishing houses, ultimately bringing them success and financial gain. Thus, Ezra Pound used the newly founded magazine *Poetry* (1912–) not only to position himself in the transatlantic literary field of the early twentieth century, but to carve out a space for a group of writers with shared stylistic preferences who began to call themselves “Imagistes.” Pound's strategic use of the magazine *Poetry* had a long-time effect, establishing imagism as an influential variant of Anglo-American modernism.

By no means, however, is the community-building potential of periodicals limited to the production side. It also plays an enormous role for the recipients. Depending on the type of print product – daily newspaper, professional magazine, sports magazine, lifestyle magazine, etc. – different dynamics may be identified. At times, periodicals are founded by preexisting groups in order to serve their common interests and help develop their communal activities, as it may be the case for scientific or scholarly journals. Even though there might exist a rotating editorial team and advisory board as well as shifting contributors, the readership, due to the specialized focus of the journal, is often relatively limited but closely knit and stable over the years. Periodical actors

may occupy different positions during their academic careers, from readers to contributors to members of the editorial team. The readers of such a journal tend to meet in person at regular intervals, attending conferences and giving talks. But there are also periodicals that, at the moment of their inception, cannot rely on such a supportive community. They first have to attract readers and convince them to subscribe to the print product or to regularly buy it at a newsstand. This is the case, for instance, with contemporary lifestyle magazines. Via content, design, and material features (see also section II on Materiality as well as section III on Multimodality), they have to gain the attention of individuals, who, as readers of this product, become part of a community with similar interests, tastes, and beliefs. Since readers of such a magazine rarely meet in person, other means are used to support and help stabilize this group. Among them are participatory elements like letters to the editor, which turn readers into magazine contributors, or on-site events organized in larger cities such as talks or art installations. The goal is an affective attachment to the magazine, which might thus become an indispensable object in a person's life. Moreover, the periodical is often a visible expression of the reader's ideas, convictions, and preferences. Displaying a particular magazine in the living room or leafing through it on the train might be interpreted as an attempt at self-identification and -assurance, but also as an invitation to like-minded people to connect and join a particular group.

The two contributions in this section illustrate the collective-oriented dynamics of periodical publishing. Anne-Julia Zwierlein turns to the London mediascape of the late nineteenth century, exemplifying how penny fiction weeklies interacted with popular lecturing. Highlighting periodicity and participation, she succeeds in showing the formation of metropolitan communities. How the American Transcendentalists utilized the magazine *The Dial* for promoting themselves as a group in the literary and intellectual field of their time is demonstrated by Clemens Spahr. The author discusses the agency of the avant-garde editors and contributors leading up to the institutionalization of the collective.

## Metropolitan Communities: Periodicity and Participation in Late Nineteenth-Century Popular Lecturing and Penny Fiction Weeklies

*Anne-Julia Zwierlein*

### Abstract

Late nineteenth-century popular London periodicals positioned themselves as culture institutions embedded into the wider metropolitan mediascape. This essay examines oral performances at lecture institutions and their representation in popular periodicals, emphasizing the shared temporalities of these print and oral media: the sensational moment, and the weekly rhythm. My case studies are popular London weeklies that targeted upwardly mobile (female) working-class and lower-middle-class readers: *Bow Bells* (1862–1897), the *London Reader* (1863–1893; 1896–1903), and *Judy* (1867–1910) – mass products designed for quick consumption and neglected by prestige culture until today. I focus on specific feature materials that situated these cheap periodicals in productive rivalry with nineteenth-century popular lecture culture. Through sensationalist evocations of lecturers' presence, the weeklies appropriated the aspirational scene of lecture institutions for their celebration of the 'thrill'; through representations of the institutes' weekly lecturing rotas in the experiential mode of simulated printed 'letters' or 'diaries,' they invited cultural participation, assuming and thereby creating a familiarity with the metropolitan cultural sphere on the part of their readers. The interactive dynamics of serial publishing – each periodical installment gesturing towards a moment that still unfolds – thus created a sense of (cross-class) belonging while employing, and self-consciously revealing, techniques of producing sensation, private interpellation, and 'currentness.' The weeklies were supremely aware of how symbolic capital was produced, and their periodicity was conducive to creating communities and participatory practices. Insistent about their competitive stance toward elite journals and high-cultural public performances, they were also capable of playful distance. Participating in the discourse of weekly periodicals that reemphasized, with every installment, their own incremental open-endedness, readers constructed their own place within the metropolitan cultural sphere, and the material and socioeconomic networks that conditioned it, as both consumers and producers of knowledge-in-the-making.



## 1 Periodicals, Lecturing, and the Metropolitan Cultural Sphere

The professionalization of knowledge in nineteenth-century Britain was accompanied by a popularization of the arts and sciences.<sup>1</sup> The 1855 repeal of the Stamp Act made mass print more widely available and affordable, and the 1870 Education Act boosted literacy rates across the population, with both the working classes and women turning into avid readers of magazines and periodicals. The cultural and political sphere became more inclusive with the extension of the vote to working-class men in 1867 and the beginning of the women's rights movement in the same year, when John Stuart Mill submitted his (unsuccessful) petition for female franchise. Gender issues and social aspirations were closely interwoven: Jennifer Phegley sees family literary magazines of the period as "strong advocate[s] for cultural experiences that are beyond [their] pages and that extend [their] own project of bringing culture to the vast range of the middle classes, particularly to women."<sup>2</sup> My investigations into links between British popular lecturing culture and periodical literature between 1860 and 1910 show that this impetus to participate in the wider cultural, social, and political sphere was also evident in the more downmarket periodicals.<sup>3</sup> The miscellaneous fare of popular (weekly) periodicals – from fiction to science, history, and archaeology, served up through a range of feature materials from short observations to lengthy articles – was both evidence and propellant of a new era in the popularization and dissemination of science and other scholarship. If we take our cue from the current reappraisal, in sociology and cultural studies, of culture as *practice* we can start to inquire more closely into the simultaneous production and consumption, the 'dis-embedding' and 're-embedding' of knowledge across the late nineteenth-century metropolitan mediascape.<sup>4</sup> Doing so allows us to question binary oppositions between expert and amateur, producer and consumer, and the idea of a neat correspondence between active dissemination of knowledge on the one hand and passive reception or consumption on the other.

I address the field of periodical studies from the vantage point of links to other (oral) media of the late nineteenth century: specifically the nexus between popular lecturing and popular weekly periodicals. I am interested in

1 See Fyfe and Lightman, *Science in the Marketplace*.

2 Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*, 17.

3 See the first footnote.

4 For the terms, see Pearson, "Bringing Nineveh to the West (End)," 24–25. On the praxeological turn see Schatzki, Cetina, and Savigny, *Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*.

the marked ‘incompleteness’ of periodical issues: gesturing toward a moment that still unfolds, each installment affords and invites participation, creating a community of readers by eliciting strong affective responses. I focus on interconnected technologies of mediation, parts of the late nineteenth-century metropolitan cultural scene: textual formats (periodicals) and associational practices (literary and scientific institutions).<sup>5</sup> My premise is that despite the rise of mass print, late Victorian urban culture remained a culture of public speech. Print media competed against a heterogeneous and thriving oral culture – termed “speechification” by Charles Dickens – which often commanded enormous audiences (several hundred or sometimes thousands for indoor events, tens of thousands for open-air speeches).<sup>6</sup> While Joseph McCabe claimed that by 1870 the “high point of the culture of public speech” had passed,<sup>7</sup> I argue that oratory was then completing the transition to popular culture and toward more diversified audiences. The late nineteenth century metropolitan cultural scene was both elitist and democratic: The earlier Mechanics’ Institutes were being superseded as sites for rational recreation by literary and scientific institutions, which catered to the socially mobile working-class elite, middle-class day-time professionals, and, most remarkably, women. The London Royal Polytechnic Institute specialized in multimedia lecture formats, competing with other popular venues such as the Colosseum in Regent’s Park and the Egyptian Hall.<sup>8</sup> Surviving lecture lists from the Royal Institution, London Institution, and Birkbeck Literary and Scientific Institution show a dazzling range of topics from the latest scientific discoveries to literature, art, and history, as well as humorous lectures, musical performances, and poetry recitations. The audiences (especially for afternoon lectures) became increasingly more female as the century progressed.<sup>9</sup> Victorian platform

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5 See Siskin and Warner’s reading of the Enlightenment as “an event in the history of mediation”, in terms of new infrastructure that facilitated the transmission of information: “This Is Enlightenment,” 22.

6 “I have very strong opinions on the subject of speechification, and hold that there is everywhere a vast amount too much of it” (Charles Dickens, letter, 1869, quoted in Watson, *The English Ideology*, 141). See also Hewitt, “Aspects of Platform Culture,” and Ellison, *Victorian Pulpit*.

7 McCabe, *Life and Letters*, 2:285.

8 See Altick, *Shows of London*. On the Romantic-period origins of Literary and Scientific Institutions see Klancher, *Transfiguring the Arts and Sciences*, 1; and see Hewitt, *Culture Institutions*.

9 These observations draw on my own archival research at these institutions and various other London depositories, undertaken for the DFG research project ZW 81/8–1.

‘edutainment,’ as a mass culture in its own right, thus coexisted with the often cited ‘explosion’ of mass print.<sup>10</sup>

Periodicals – and especially the mass print medium of the cheap, popular weekly periodical – were very aware of the cultural scene: actively, and often tongue-in-cheek, they engaged in transforming and reinventing these performance settings. Focusing on voice acts at lecture institutions and their mediation in popular periodicals offers us a chance to observe some of the feedback loops between nineteenth-century orality and print in more detail. Lecturing to a live audience was never simply prior to periodical or newspaper accounts but embedded in social and material networks of exchange with mass print. Representations of lecture events in popular periodicals set up a conscious rivalry with oral performance and with more elitist periodicals and their comments on the public platform. Periodicals also routinely issued into oral performances as the printed pages were being read aloud.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, as Martin Hewitt has observed, lecture-goers, despite the huge turnouts, were far outnumbered by the masses who read about platform events in periodicals and newspapers (or who listened to oral renderings of these printed accounts).<sup>12</sup> Listening to a lecture, or reading a text in a periodical, was not a passive act, no Foucauldian subjection to bourgeois discipline: It was active and reciprocal.<sup>13</sup> Sociologists of science have drawn attention to “the importance of embodied practice in making knowledge,” and the active involvement of audiences in successful lecture events: “Audiences knew how to identify the marks of authenticity that performers’ bodies carried with them whether they were watching a scientific lecture ... or the latest play.”<sup>14</sup> I argue that too little attention has been given to the fact that periodicals and lecturing institutions shared a self-reflexive temporality which afforded participation, creating communities of audiences and readers: James Mussell notes that “periodicals [are not] passive terrains for the free circulation of texts. Rather, [readers have to acknowledge] that the individual number is the manifest interaction of its producers – including contributors, editors, readers ... – and that it is part of a series,”<sup>15</sup> and Sean Latham

10 See Vincent, *Rise of Mass Literacy*; on mass print’s “massive and rhizomatic growth” see King, Easley, and Morton, introduction to *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, 1.

11 See Rose, *Intellectual Life*, 87–88, and King, *London Journal*, 120–21.

12 See Hewitt, “Beyond Scientific Spectacle,” 81.

13 See the critique of Foucauldian ‘disciplinary’ readings with reference to museum culture in Pearson, “Bringing Nineveh to the West (End)”; with reference to novel audiences in Gettelman, “Psychology of Reading,” 205.

14 Both quotations: Morus, “Staging Science,” 208.

15 Mussell, *Science, Time and Space*, 6.

corroborates that periodicals can be seen as “something more than the mere additive sum of their parts.”<sup>16</sup> Pursuing these propositions in what follows, I concentrate on how this “something more” can be seen to consist in the social dynamics – the affordance of participation – that is intrinsic to the periodical format, and how this social dynamics is generated by each installment’s emphasis on its own incompleteness, its openness toward past and future installments, and the wider cultural scene.

## 2 Oral and Print Temporalities: Periodicity and Participation

Periodicals and newspapers structured readers’ days, weeks, and months, providing news, updates on the latest fashions in London, commentary on intellectual and political debates, or the next installment of a gripping serial novel.... At the same time ... a newspaper (or a periodical) could separate readers from their immediate surroundings, launching them into what Benedict Anderson has called an ‘imagined community’ of national affiliation, the idea of a reading public.<sup>17</sup>

This is Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton’s comment on the social temporality and imaginary spatiality of periodical issues. They build on Linda Hughes and Michael Lund’s well-known analyses of the new nineteenth-century temporalities of serialized writing, which they see as symptomatic of larger cultural shifts in the contemplation of time (which produced, for example, the phenomena of ‘industrial time’ and ‘railway time’).<sup>18</sup> Nineteenth-century periodicals discussed and reinvented forms of cultural participation by prompting specific reading techniques linked to temporality. Cheap periodicals offered closely printed texts, set in tiny letters, and often abrupt endings – sometimes in midsentence – at the bottom of a page. The cliffhanger at the end, or the recap at the beginning of installments, are among the best-known technologies for manipulating narrative time in serialized novels; another is the recurrent sensational ‘moment of shock.’ Nineteenth-century writer Margaret Oliphant belonged to the camp of bourgeois critics who were skeptical about the “violent stimulation of serial publication – of *weekly* publication, with its necessity for frequent and rapid recurrence of piquant situation and startling

16 Latham, “Affordance and Emergence,” 3.

17 King, Easley, and Morton, introduction to *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, 2.

18 See Hughes and Lund, *Victorian Serial*.

incident.”<sup>19</sup> The weekly rota of lecture institutions and the weekly publication of periodical installments produced interplays of sameness and difference. Sameness (the ritualized lecture performance and fixed venue, and the periodical’s standardized layout and fixed order of feature materials) as well as difference (the sensation of immediacy, of listening to the lecturer’s voice, and the topicality or news value of the periodical’s content) become visible in a temporal dimension through repeat visits to lecture performances, or by comparing a sequence of periodical issues. Developing Mikhail Bakhtin’s idea of genre as the basis for social interaction, Mussell emphasizes that each periodical issue can be seen as a virtual representative of the whole print-run:

The dynamic of seriality entails a sort of contract: publishers attempted to anticipate the demands of their readers by giving them more of what they had already demonstrated they wanted; readers repeatedly spent their money on the understanding that they would not be disappointed. Each issue of a periodical responds to a particular moment, orienting content toward the perceived interests of its readers, while restating its underlying identity. In this way, the abstract identity of the periodical, imperfectly manifested in each individual issue, is a negotiated, consensual structure into which new content could be assimilated as a version of the familiar.<sup>20</sup>

In what follows, I present some case studies that allow us to examine both sameness and difference as periodical-specific temporalities: firstly, the ‘sensational moment,’ which is linked to the effect upon the reader of an installment’s currentness, “of the latest issue to be published,”<sup>21</sup> and secondly, the periodicity of publication. I focus on selected penny fiction weeklies, the subgenre that Andrew King describes as “one of the most pervasive print media [of] nineteenth-century [Britain].”<sup>22</sup> Weekly periodicals were closely aligned with newspapers, as Laurel Brake reminds us, in that they “included time-sensitive content (however recent or old that ‘news’ might be) along with the kind of literary miscellany associated with magazines.” Frequency of publication was also linked to class- (and gender-) specific consumption patterns: “For at least half of the nineteenth century, until the advent of cheap penny and ha’penny papers in 1855–61, daily papers were not the usual format for working-class

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19 Oliphant, “Sensation Novels,” 568.

20 Mussell, “The Matter with Media,” 3.

21 Mussell, 4.

22 King, *London Journal*, 3.

readers, who favored weeklies that fit into patterns of weekly pay and leisure.”<sup>23</sup> My examples are the *London Reader* (1863–1893; 1896–1903), *Bow Bells* (1862–1897), and *Judy* (1867–1910). All three periodicals had their publishing offices in London; at the cost of one penny per issue, they targeted upwardly mobile (often female) working-class and lower-middle-class readers; circulation figures were between 120,000 and 500,000.<sup>24</sup> Each installment was comprised of sixteen pages, much of the material was lifted from popular domestic almanacs, and the fiction was often supplied by syndicates like Tillotson’s, with the authors mostly remaining anonymous.<sup>25</sup> As Phegley reminds us: “The popularity of these publications is attested to by their proliferation: in 1860 there were 17 penny weeklies in circulation, in 1880 there were 83, and by 1900 there were 304.”<sup>26</sup> As I will show, these cheap periodicals took an active part in commenting on the oral performance and lecturing scene of the metropolis. Attending to the class-specific diversification of late nineteenth-century mass print, we can observe how specific feature materials deliberately situated these mass periodicals, designed for quick consumption, in conscious relation to – and productive rivalry with – other, more prestigious (print and oral) metropolitan culture institutions.

### 3 The Sensational Moment

The sensationalist ‘New Journalism’ of the late nineteenth century cultivated a fascination with lecturers’ appearance and mode of delivery. As Hewitt reminds us, “lecturers were expected to embody and so reinforce the message of their words,”<sup>27</sup> and nineteenth-century commentators on the psychology of attention were divided between describing an audience’s instinctive subjection to powerful performers and insisting on the deliberate training of attention as an educational goal.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, lecturers were exhorted to ‘force’ themselves upon the audience, as when James Laughlin Hughes in *How*

23 Three preceding quotations: Brake, “Markets, Genres, Iterations,” 244.

24 Compare individual entries in Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*.

25 See Johnson-Woods, “Virtual Reading Communities,” and King, “Periodical Economics,” 71.

26 Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*, 278.

27 Hewitt, “Beyond Scientific Spectacle,” 89. On ‘New Journalism,’ see Meisel, *Public Speech*, 287–88.

28 See Crary, *Suspensions of Perception*, 11–79.

to *Secure and Retain Attention* (1884) advised them to “be magnetic.”<sup>29</sup> Fears of demagoguery were omnipresent in these class-ridden contexts: Ever since the 1867 Second Reform Bill had expanded the electorate to include the majority of working-class males, public speech had acquired a “novel functionality,” with the charismatic, and possibly dangerous, public speaker as a new phenomenon.<sup>30</sup> More traditionally-minded politicians eyed these developments with suspicion; their concerns about the new inclusiveness translated into visions of easily swayed audiences, echoing earlier criticism of 1860s’ sensation fiction – as when H. L. Mansel had claimed that rather than offering rational discourse this popular brand of fiction merely “electrif[ied] the nerves of the reader.”<sup>31</sup>

Turning to periodicals and their sensational evocations of a lecturer’s presence, we observe how the aspirational social scene of the lecture institution is appropriated by popular weeklies for their celebration of the ‘thrill.’ An example of this competition between popular periodicals and the high-cultural lecture platform is the episode about a lecturer at the Royal Institution, presented in *The Strand* in 1903: While holding forth to his audience, the lecturer is poisoned by fumes emanating from a fake palm tree which a female antagonist, the sinister Madame Sarah, has maneuvered onto the platform. The lecture fails catastrophically: The poisoned lecturer collapses and crashes off the platform. Through the shocking immediacy of that moment, dramatized both in print and the accompanying illustration as the installment is drawing to a close, the reading or listening audience is implicitly included among the fictional audience observing – and quite literally, in this case, receiving – the lecturer.<sup>32</sup> The moment of sensation and affect here gains emphatic ascendancy over any potential content the (unreported) lecture might have had.

A more drawn-out rendering of a sensational moment, which translates a lecture into popular fiction, emerges via the cliffhanger and recap structure, joining two installments while leaving the narrative in a time-freeze: My next example of how the periodical format is in dialogue with the instantaneous experience of platform lecturing is the sensation narrative *Gloria, or Married in Rage*, written by an anonymous author for the *London Reader* between 1877 and 1878. The close print, even in digitized versions, is difficult to read, reminding us that cheap penny fiction has not been preserved well in libraries despite the huge circulation figures it reached during its own time: a symptom of the

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29 Hughes, *How to Secure*, 87.

30 Meisel, *Public Speech*, 5.

31 Mansel, “Sensation Novels,” 57.

32 See Meade and Eustace, “Sorceress of the Strand.”

systematic neglect of such periodicals by prestige culture. *Gloria* revolves around the tale of two lovers tragically parted and later reunited when the lover, David Lindsay (now calling himself John Servant), thought to have died in a fire years before, reappears on a lecture platform. His former fiancée is in the audience: “[She] raised her eyes, and with a strong electric thrill recognized the presence of the lecturer.”<sup>33</sup>

This cliffhanger ends the installment of December 15, 1877. At the beginning of the next installment, December 22, *Gloria* is still in shock: “He bowed, and stood alone, with his eyes fixed on the floor, waiting for the tumult to subside. *Gloria* sat with almost suspended breath, gazing on him, while shock after shock of electric thrills passed through her frame.” The rest of the audience, too, is “entranced” and “spellbound” by the speaker’s “soul thrilling tones,” his “magnetic power and eloquence.”<sup>34</sup> Hughes’ exhortation to lecturers to “be magnetic” seems to have been answered in this collective moment of celebrity worship. Yet our mass-produced text also shows a deep, metafictional insight into the waywardness and independence of audiences and readers. The padding and repetitive phrasing into which the moment of sensation is embedded – ‘he was so mesmerizing, they were so attentive, he was so mesmerizing, they were so attentive’ – points up another striking aspect of the interaction between orality and mass print: As periodicals remediated illusions of presence and orality in their emphasis on news value and currentness, the formulaic writing of penny fiction simulated features of orality. Like the *Tit-Bits* style of New Journalism which Nicholas Dames has analyzed,<sup>35</sup> the very texture of formula fiction also makes concessions to the reception situation by allowing for inattentive or rushed readers as well as oral delivery: “Formulaic phrases and plots assist readers to cover the gaps, allowing them more easily to ‘grasp’ the text.”<sup>36</sup> Sudden sensational climaxes bursting into this repetitive texture were a staple of popular periodical fiction: as with newspapers, “novelty [was produced] on the level of text while ... identity [was preserved] on the levels of form and function.”<sup>37</sup> Sensation fiction writer Wilkie Collins, somewhat disingenuously considering he wrote for *Bow Bells* and other penny fiction magazines himself, complained of these periodicals’ “extraordinary

33 “*Gloria*,” *London Reader*, December 15, 1877, 154. For a reading of “*Gloria*” as discussing the ephemerality of the speech act through the figure of the revenant, see Zwielerin, “Lecturer as Revenant(e),” 46.

34 “*Gloria*,” *London Reader*, December 22, 1877, 184.

35 See Dames, *Physiology of the Novel*, 16–22.

36 King, *London Journal*, 121.

37 Liddle, “Method in Periodicals Studies: Follow the Genre,” 4.



sameness,” as if they “might have been produced by the same man.”<sup>38</sup> Beth Palmer, however, reminds us of the different reception mode we have to take into account where the popular fiction segment is concerned: “Repetitious plotting or inconsistent characterization did not matter in this sub-genre; readers seem to have relished the piling up of victims week after week.”<sup>39</sup>

The represented moment of Gloria’s shocked recognition also bears witness to the ‘unfinished’ status of periodical reading matter: the latest installment of a potentially unending sequence becomes a moment frozen artificially in time. While cliffhangers obviously helped to ensure the repeat and ongoing purchase of the publisher’s output, there are other implications at work: as with the lecturer reeling on the platform of the highly respectable Royal Institution in our first example, serialized sensation fiction, here too (like its famous models, Braddon’s and above all Collins’s sensational writings) ironically comments on high-culture public performances, establishing itself as a rival ‘institution’ of greater attractions. The representation of sensational scenes is in self-conscious collusion with a community of readers, and in the case of represented lecture events with their assumed knowledge about – and attitude toward – the wider metropolitan cultural sphere (its pretensions and, perhaps, exclusivity). Both scenes are also moments of private meaning within a public setting: while the evil poisoner Madam Sarah, in our first example, can be assumed to be sitting in the Royal Institution auditorium with a very different mind frame from that of the rest of the audience, Gloria, in the *London Reader* example, discerns in the lecturer’s presence a private, deeply affective meaning dividing her reaction from that of other audience members: As protagonist of a romance plot, she is here mesmerized not by the lecturer’s words, but by the bodily presence of her ‘resurrected’ lover. Gloria’s affect is a secret and private one. The shock has almost hypnotized her: She “[sits] there pale and rigid as if turned to stone, much as she had sat on the day that she heard of David Lindsay’s death.”<sup>40</sup> Her private reaction to a public performance thus corresponds to Matthew Rubery’s description of the “personalization of news” as plot device in serialized sensation fiction.<sup>41</sup>

Popular weeklies thus mediated between such intimate worlds of emotion and anonymous metropolitan life while frequently offering a comically exaggerated sensationalism, which parodied metatextually earlier fears about sensation fiction as wrecking the (female) readers’ bodies and nerves and placing

38 Collins, “Unknown Public,” 213.

39 Palmer, “Prose,” 139.

40 “Gloria,” *London Reader*, December 22, 1877, 184.

41 Rubery, *Novelty of Newspapers*, 13.

them beyond the socially acceptable; implicit is also an ironical twist on conservative fears about charismatic demagogues. As should have become evident, Collins's formula, "Make 'em cry, make 'em laugh, make 'em wait,"<sup>42</sup> thus projects the reader-producer interaction as too passive and one-sided. After this brief look at the 'sensational moment,' in what follows I examine related questions of rhythm and seriality. Because sensation fiction is a genuine product of the serial medium, we can investigate, with a view to textual emphasis on the weekly rhythm, how the iterated temporalities of periodical installments self-consciously interact with debates about communities of audiences and readers, and about participation in the wider cultural (and political) sphere.

#### 4 The Weekly Rhythm

The periodicity of the periodical genre corresponds to that of the lecture series and other repeated oral performances such as sermons. The weekly rhythm was conducive to emphatic dialogues with readers, kept up energetically by popular periodicals of the period: "the writer/reader binary is collapsed in situations where readers participate, through, for example, letters to the editor, as writers and contributors."<sup>43</sup> Teresa Gerrard attests to the popularity of correspondence columns among readers, who in 1870 were submitting about two hundred letters a week to the *Family Herald*.<sup>44</sup> In most cases "only the answers to readers' questions were printed (sometimes making them very mysterious indeed),"<sup>45</sup> inciting speculation and the fabrication of narratives on the part of the wider audience. In his famous essay "The Unknown Public" (1858), Collins has some condescending fun with the "Answers to Correspondents," which he calls the "most interesting page in the penny journals":

There is no earthly subject that is possible to discuss, no private affair that is possible to conceive, which the amazing Unknown Public will not confide to the Editor in the form of a question, and which the still more amazing editor will not set himself seriously and resolutely to answer.... Young girls beset by perplexities which are usually supposed to be reserved for a mother's or an elder sister's ear only, consult the editor. Married women, who have committed little frailties consult the editor.

42 Quoted in Vann, *Victorian Novels in Serial*, 14.

43 Fraser, Green, and Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, 17.

44 See Gerrard, "New Methods," 56.

45 King, *London Journal*, 19 (yet, e.g., *Bow Bells* often quoted extensively from readers' letters).

Male jilts in deadly fear of actions for breach of promise of marriage, consult the editor. Ladies whose complexions are on the wane, and who wish to know the best artificial means of restoring them, consult the editor. Gentlemen who want to dye their hair, and get rid of their corns, consult the editor.<sup>46</sup>

Audience participation and the interaction with readers were important features of the new, more inclusive popular cultural setting.<sup>47</sup> Gerrard argues that many correspondents were seeking “to better themselves mentally and intellectually” by writing to the editors,<sup>48</sup> and Sally Mitchell reminds us that the readership of penny weeklies “crossed class lines defined either economically or socially: the common denominator was the aspiration for respectability.” Such magazines offered “commonly shared information, attitudes, and emotional reactions that delineated respectability” for readers “living in a milieu which was new to them.”<sup>49</sup> These formats therefore also constructed – or simulated – a cross-class community of readers. In terms of the print-orality nexus, a vital aspect of penny weeklies’ dialogue with elitist journals was the way in which lecture events, as social occasions, were documented within this ‘community-in-print’: while occasionally even penny papers like the *London Reader* included lengthy transcripts of lectures (see that periodical’s Science section, a regular feature between 1870 and 1880), popular periodicals like *Judy* and *Bow Bells* seem to have made it a specialty to offer semi-fictional, experiential records of lecture events, embedded into social causeries. The mission statement preceding the first number of the new series of *Bow Bells* announced that “in the world of Society, it will be our duty and our pleasure to record the movements of those distinguished by rank and station, or whose public attainments mark them as public characters, whose doings will interest the general readers.” Despite the insistence here that the magazine would never indulge in “private scandal” but simply offer “the current general gossip of the day as heard at the clubs or in the boudoir,”<sup>50</sup> in fact the weekly Society columns displayed numerous observations on adultery, elopements, and suits for breach of promise. Readers were also offered an iteration of London events, and especially of metropolitan lecture schedules, through weekly running

46 Both quotations: Collins, “Unknown Public,” 211–12.

47 On interactivity as one of the features of nineteenth-century popular culture see also Rose, *Intellectual Life*, 98–102.

48 Gerrard, “New Methods,” 62.

49 Both quotations: Mitchell, “Forgotten Woman,” 34.

50 Three preceding quotations: *Bow Bells*, January 6, 1888, 8.

commentaries. My examples of this causerie genre are serial features which imitated other (preprint, and private) serial formats, the letter and the diary: “A Lady’s Letter” from *Bow Bells* and “Judy’s Diary” from *Judy* (both running between 1892 and 1895).

The “Lady’s Letter” is written by a fictitious lady named “Beryl” and addressed to her “dear May” (it is “Tilly” writing to “dear Aimée” for the first few installments). The letter contains reports on metropolitan events: exhibitions, soirées, lectures at Literary and Scientific Institutions. This is tied together with gossip, remarks on the weather, and household tips, often with an eye to being economical (recipes frequently advise how to ‘recycle’ leftovers): making ends meet, making things last – implicit hints for a female working-class audience definitely not congruent with a well-to-do lady’s preoccupations. Seemingly addressed to her lady friend, such remarks recreate the periodical’s correspondence columns in a different form; they also implicitly situate readers in terms of their class (mobility). The “Lady’s Letter” takes over the functions of the “Tea-Table Gossip” feature that *Bow Bells* had run between 1880 and 1890, and which combined causerie with ‘answers to correspondents.’ Announcing that “this department is under the charge of a lady of social position, who is able to give personal accounts of social doings likely to interest our lady readers, and who has also made domestic matters, dress, and, in fact, all matters pertaining to such a column, her especial study for years,” the earlier feature promised that “she will be happy, in answer to correspondents, to give any needed advice to readers of BOW BELLS WEEKLY.”<sup>51</sup> Reducing the degree of interactivity in that they did not invite readers’ letters but simulated such conversations through posing, always-already, *as* letters, all installments of our later feature opened vistas onto the wider metropolitan scene by mentioning at least one, if not several, public events or lectures the writer or close acquaintances are said to have attended:

February 5, 1892, p. 140: MY DEAR AIMÉE. – ... Have you heard what Max O’Rell said in a recent lecture on her highness, ‘Woman’?<sup>52</sup> ... What is your opinion of this?

...

51 Both quotations, see introduction to first “Tea-Table Gossip,” *Bow Bells*, January 13 (1888): 26.

52 Max O’Rell is the pseudonym of Paul Boulët, a humorous lecturer of French origin whose repertoire included the lecture on “Her Royal Highness, Woman,” which, as my archival research has documented, was performed at various London institutions, and at the Birkbeck Institution as late as February 6, 1901.

Dec. 9, 1892, p. 575: MY DEAR MAY, – At the lecture on astronomy, last Wednesday, the professor told us that a new comet had come, and we could see it near Andromeda with the aid of an ordinary telescope. He said that ...

Dec. 16, 1892, p. 432: MY DEAR MAY, – ... We are not to have that new comet after all. It is getting away from the earth as fast as ever it can go ... The professor (his name is such a strange one, I do not know how to spell it, but it sounds like Watherspoodleth), said there was not the slightest cause for the panic which had seized some people ...

March 31, 1893, p. 335: MY DEAR MAY, – Mrs. Fitz took the children to a lecture on natural history, and a number of ugly things were thrown on the screen by the magic-lantern. The lecturer said that a cockroach has three hundred teeth ...

May 9, 1893, p. 116: MY DEAR MAY, ... I will never wear an aigrette again. At a lecture given in the cause of our birds, the lecturer said that the aigrette and wings were torn from the bird whilst she was alive, and then she was allowed to die a slow, lingering death of agony whilst sitting on her nest. Poor bird! I only hope it is not true; but whether true or false, never again will I wear one of these ornaments....

June 30, 1893, p. 23: MY DEAR MAY, – ... At the Whitehall Room of the 'Metropole', we heard a lecture given by Mr. Selous about his hunter's life in South Africa. Some of it was most laughable, particularly where he described his flight from an elephant: rushing through a bush wall with such effect that he had no clothing left on him but one shoe. A hunter's life may be very pleasant, but it has its dangers, many of them, too, and I should not like it very much, I am sure, any more than I did the crowded state of the room. We were squeezed up for space I can tell you, and the evening was sultry....

The lecture reporting here is characterized by its deliberately personal style; frequently the writer highlights humorous aspects of serious lectures or her own cheeky thoughts about the material, eliciting comments from her readership ("Have you heard ...? ... What is your opinion of this?"). She also recurs again and again to the material/physical aspects of the lecture location, such as crammed or over-heated rooms. The simulated letters, showcasing the periodical as a "medium of sociability and dynamic consumption,"<sup>53</sup> evoke a (hand-) written format that is intimate and secret, intended to be read by one person

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53 Scheiding with reference to the "social practice of sharing, borrowing, and circulating" magazines. Scheiding, "Toward a Media History," 6.

only – while being presented to a mass-reading public. Such material is in collusion with its audience as there must be a suspension of disbelief, a complicity with the workings of the periodical genre. Indeed, such dual-consciousness reception was an inbuilt feature: While Henry Mayhew in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851–1852) still reports that “many” of the London costermongers “fanc[ied] ... that one man writes a whole periodical, or a whole newspaper,”<sup>54</sup> Dallas Liddle asserts that by the middle of the nineteenth century “audiences had begun to understand the term ‘editor’ as denoting the authoritative central intelligence of a periodical.”<sup>55</sup> Correspondence and entries for periodicals’ competitions also show that people were readily addressing a fictitious person (for instance the ‘Arachne’ persona of *The Monthly Packet*) even when they knew about the corporate identity of periodicals as products and the address of their magazine’s editorial offices. The “Lady’s Letters” are stand-alone miniature narratives, but they are also embedded within the recurrent framework of textual genre, catering to a socially mobile readership while regaling them with some fun about the lecture (and social) circuit. Readers are configured as *confidantes*, partly included and partly excluded through a complicated cross-class positioning of the speaking/writing voice. Such feature material creates a virtual community and allows for moments of vicarious participation at the same time that it offers irony, self-conscious distance, and chimeric privacy situated within seemingly intimate representations of the public entertainment scene (as with Gloria’s private reaction to a public performance during the above-mentioned ‘sensational moment’ in the *London Reader*).

Inscribing itself into the metropolitan cultural sphere, “The Lady’s Letter” also contains metamedial moments, for instance when the periodical praises itself in a reported lecture by a Miss Pelier “against the license of some of the ‘society journals’”: Among “the old-fashioned weeklies” of impeccable moral standing, *Bow Bells* is singled out.<sup>56</sup> Like the Imperial Institute at whose opening ceremony the Lady Beryl and her family are present,<sup>57</sup> the periodical is thus reaffirmed as a London cultural institution. In fact, this self-positioning was reiterated with every new installment through the masthead of the magazine, which sported statuesque women in classical robes reading, writing, and painting, positioned to the left and right of a representation of the tower of St. Mary-le-Bow church, “the magazine’s namesake and an identifying

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54 Mayhew, *London Labour*, 25.

55 Liddle, *Dynamics of Genre*, 87.

56 “A Lady’s Letter,” *Bow Bells*, April 6, 1894, 359.

57 “A Lady’s Letter,” *Bow Bells*, May 26, 1893, 527.

landmark of London's East End": a contrast results between these classical, cultural pursuits and the topography of "the Cockney center of London." Yet as Phegley argues, these woman figures "symbolize a kind of cultural identity that [the periodical's] core audience might have hoped to achieve," affirming the weekly magazine's "educational purpose even as the serial fiction and illustrations highlighted its entertaining qualities."<sup>58</sup> "A Lady's Letter" thus simulates a glimpse of upper-class privacy in the context of a cheap print commodity, combining its accounts of more exclusive venues with exhortations to the implied working-class audience to go and visit the free lectures at the Bethnal Green Free Library and take out some textbooks to "understand and follow the lecturers better in their addresses than they could do without the books."<sup>59</sup> The lady also advertises the free lectures of the London School Board – "All information can be obtained at the offices of the Board, Victoria Embankment, London W.C."<sup>60</sup> – and recommends that readers "go ... to the Great Assembly Hall, Mile End Road, to meet there people of all classes eager to listen to the scientific [charitable] lectures given."<sup>61</sup> These ventriloquized cross-class moments illustrate the socioeconomic position of the periodical's implied readership, represented, as Louis James states somewhat reductively, by "Betsy," the stereotypical, upwardly mobile, London female servant.<sup>62</sup>

Slightly more upmarket is my last example, the aforementioned comic weekly *Judy*, which set out to compete with *Punch* in 1867, imitating its 'husband' periodical "in size and format." Successfully "exploiting the lower-middle-class niche" that *Punch*, by then priced at three pence, had vacated, *Judy* "was also notable for its appeal to a female readership."<sup>63</sup> Rather than a simulated letter, the feature I focus on here is a simulated diary: "Judy's Diary" offered the exploits of the eponymous Judy, an apparently well-educated and streetwise lady. With a family resemblance to the fictitious editor persona of eighteenth-century moral weeklies (compare Addison and Steele's "Mr. Spectator") and especially to nineteenth-century feminized versions such as Charlotte M. Yonge's "Arachne" in the *Monthly Packet* and Matilda Browne's "Silkworm" in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, "Judy" offers, every

58 Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader*, 284.

59 "A Lady's Letter," *Bow Bells*, October 27, 1893, 431.

60 "A Lady's Letter," *Bow Bells*, October 19, 1894, 402.

61 "A Lady's Letter," *Bow Bells*, February 28, 1896, 240. The lectures are given "under the auspices of the Gilchrist Trust" ("A Lady's Letter," *Bow Bells*, February 28, 1896, 240); see Wilson, *Reminiscences*, 41–42 on the Gilchrist Trust lectures.

62 See James, "Trouble with Betsy."

63 Three preceding quotations: Maidment, Chez, and Taunton, "Judy," 327.

week, a diary sketching the previous week, with day-by-day accounts of London multimedia entertainments. Events are reported after Judy has attended them, with her own asides woven through the whole. There are concerts and lectures at the Birkbeck Institution, lectures at the Royal Institution, conversaciones at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, Naval Exhibitions, the Royal Italian Opera, and coach rides through Hyde Park – all staged for lower-middle class readers who were thus offered the chance to live vicariously a full metropolitan social life. Judy also occasionally expresses a feminist interest by choosing to attend “a Woman's Suffrage Ball at the Royal Institute.”<sup>64</sup> My examples here are two installments of “Judy's Diary,” each consisting of seven entries for the seven days of the previous week. This is the installment of January 10, 1894:

*Thurs., Dec. 28.* – The Earl of Dartmouth is about to have the electric light introduced into his family mansion, Patshull House, near Wolverhampton. This *has* amused me. I hear it's amused others as well. It's comforted *me*.

*Fri., Dec. 29.* – Felt very cold to-day. Thought of the Earl of Dartmouth and his electric light, and very soon laughed myself warm.

*Sat., Dec. 30.* – To the Lyceum pantomime. Why do so many people (and apparently educated people) call it pantomime? And why call it pantomime? A pantomime, according to Dr. Johnson, is a representation of an entertainment in dumb-show. But pass that. There is a scene – a forest scene – in *Cinderella* which is quite the loveliest I've ever beheld on any stage.... If Oscar Barrett can only induce the public to come to the Lyceum in sufficient numbers, he'll soon be able to introduce the electric light into his family mansion.

*Sun., Dec. 31.* – To the Royal Institution. Professor Dewar read a paper on 'Air: Gaseous and Liquid,' and on the Electric Light being introduced into Family Mansions. The Earl of Dartmouth in the chair. Dartmouth is a proud-looking man.

1895

*Mon., Jan. 1.* – To the Strand Theatre. *Binks* has been put in the evening bill. Wonder if it'll succeed there? If so, perhaps Mr. Edouin will introduce the electric light into his theatre.

*Tues., Jan. 2.* – To the New Gallery Exhibition of Early Italian Art. It *is* early. It looks early – early as 1300.

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64 “Judy's Diary,” *Judy*, January 30, 1895, 54.



*Wed., Jan. 3.* – Again to the New. Nearly all the subjects are Biblical; nearly all are mechanical; nearly all are expressionless; and nearly all are framed in utter costliness. I never saw walls look so rich. It's a remarkably interesting show and I wouldn't have missed it for – for any other. Carriages were stopping the afternoon through, so the committee will soon be able to introduce the electric light into the galleries.<sup>65</sup>

The characteristic personal style here can be linked to what James has termed “the ‘holistic’ character of a journal, the way in which it possesses a specific identity through the total effect of its contents, tone and style.”<sup>66</sup> Judy's observations on theater performances and lectures are here interwoven with cheeky, slightly insubordinate running gags about the Earl of Dartmouth and his “electric light”; these are taken up via intertextual link, in an installment more than three months later, on April 17, 1895:

*Thurs., April 4.* – Nothing to do and plenty of time to do it. Where should I go? The Duke of York gives a dinner at the Princess Mary's Village Homes for Little Boys. I am not a little boy.

*Fri., April 5.* – The Duke of Cambridge entertained some Good Girls at lunch. I am a Good Girl, yet he doesn't entertain me. Too bad. And the times I have sketched him, too – and his umbrella.

*Sat., April 6.* – Dr. Tyler at the Royal Institution, on ‘animism.’ I'm not an animist. What's an animist? I don't know, unless it's one who believes in spirits. I don't, so I'm not an animist. I said so.

*Sun., April 7.* – Bach's Passion music at St. Paul's – by permission of the L.C.C.

*Mon, April 8.* – ‘Argon’ at the Royal Institution. What's argon? Lord Rayleigh didn't ask me, so I – well, I couldn't very well ask him, not being there. Is it anything to do with the ship in which Jason sailed to Colchis in quest of the golden fleece? No. Sort of gas, isn't it? Well, the electric light's good enough for me.

*Tues., April 9.* – Lord Rayleigh on ‘waves.’ He didn't say where. Possibly at the seaside. He didn't ask me. But it's only Spring.

*Wed., April 10.* – ‘Agnes Block, Winchester House, 2.’ Does that mean 2 o'clock or 2 Winchester House? Don't know, so don't go because don't know who in the name of fortune is Agnes Block. Delighted, though, to know that she lives in Winchester House.<sup>67</sup>

65 “Judy's Diary,” *Judy*, January 10, 1894, 20.

66 James, “Trouble with Betsy,” 349.

67 “Judy's Diary,” *Judy*, April 17, 1895, 189.

In order for her repeat reference to the electric light in the Monday, April 8 entry to work, 'Judy' requires a knowing readership – in fact, a knowingness comparable to that of savvy metropolitan lecture audiences judging the authenticity of a performer. As with the exaggerated sensationalism of cliffhangers, there is a shared irony here, with Judy expecting readers to trace the joke across several installments. This specific style results from the periodical's special investment in creating communities of readers: Those in the know are able to establish a network of references across installments months apart, a phenomenon that Deborah Wynne has tried to capture by describing periodicals as "sites of simultaneity."<sup>68</sup> Such moments showcase, in the words of Oliver Scheiding, the periodical's specific "institutional organizations, action networks, and communicative environments."<sup>69</sup> In terms of cross-references between issues, "Judy's Diary" is in alignment with the operations of penny weeklies' correspondence columns: "Gerrard argues that editors assumed audiences were reading these columns closely and even saving them for reference since their correspondence frequently alluded to previously published answers."<sup>70</sup> Again we are in the middle of cross-class positioning: As King points out, because "public interaction with the consumer was not a feature found in periodicals of higher symbolic capital at this time," it was considered "a bizarre and perhaps even dangerous feature of the penny press."<sup>71</sup> Moreover, the abbreviated and throwaway style evokes a community of insiders, as when we are given simply: "Dr. Tyler at the Royal Institution," or even shorter: "'Argon' at the Royal Institution," or: "Lord Rayleigh on 'waves.'" These jottings and incomplete sentences emphasize the busy life about town of an alert, mobile middle-class (female) person; moreover, it is nowhere explicitly stated that the reference is to lectures and lecture titles. Cultural participation here operates via tacit knowledge on the part of the readers – the periodical assuming, and thereby paradoxically creating an implicit familiarity with the metropolitan cultural scene. I argue that such interactive dynamics, based on the specific temporalities of serial publishing, set up the periodical as a culture institution in its own right, appealing to readers through the ventriloquized voices of 'their' magazines' familiar feature materials. As an "intimate ... form of communication,"<sup>72</sup> popular periodicals create an 'imagined community' of readers, and with issues linked to series in an intertextual network, they also

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68 Delafield, *Serialization and the Novel*, 4.

69 Scheiding, "Toward a Media History," 9.

70 Gerrard, "New Methods," 58.

71 King, *London Journal*, 19.

72 James, "Trouble with Betsy," 351–52.

reach out to – and redefine – other, for instance oral, communication systems in the wider cultural sphere.

## 5 Conclusions: Periodicity, Participation, Knowledge-in-the-Making

As we have seen, it is specifically through their self-conscious manipulation of temporalities, the emphasis on the sensational moment on the one hand and the (here) weekly publishing rhythm on the other, that our popular periodicals inscribe themselves firmly into the metropolitan mediascape, not only imitating but also actively reshaping it and their readers' responses. These periodicals create a sense of (cross-class) 'belonging' in dialogue with the wider cultural scene while at the same time employing – and self-consciously revealing – more ubiquitously shared techniques of creating sensation, private interpellation, and currentness effects. The weeklies were ephemeral mass products designed for quick and sociable consumption; they were only rarely stocked by the reading rooms of the London lecture institutions,<sup>73</sup> and they have suffered a systematic neglect by prestige culture until today.<sup>74</sup> Yet ironically, they are supremely knowledgeable and outspoken about the ways in which symbolic capital was produced while highlighting their own techniques of creating sensation and communities of readers. Rather than judging the new nineteenth-century mass print audience as indiscriminate, passive consumers, in the manner of the Frankfurt School, or the new nineteenth-century personalized journalism as an "aspect of the historical transition from a 'culture-debating' to a 'culture-consuming' public,"<sup>75</sup> we should emphatically readdress a special affordance of periodicals' periodicity: that of creating communities and participatory practices. The cheap periodicals were insistent about their competitive stance toward elite journals and high-cultural public performances, but also very well capable of playful, ironic distance. Across their pages, their readership was conjured up as a community that keeps reinventing the cultural scene and the material and socioeconomic networks that condition it. Participating in the discourse of weekly periodicals that reemphasized, with every new installment, their own incremental open-endedness,

73 This is based on my own archival research, for example on the Birkbeck Literary and Scientific Institution's reading room between 1869 and 1903 (when it became Birkbeck College).

74 See King, *London Journal*, 120; Beetham reminds us that the "cheapest serials and periodicals were not usually considered worth binding at all." Beetham, "Towards a Theory," 23.

75 Law, "Wilkie Collins," 340, quoting from Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 170.

readers simultaneously also constructed their own place within the wider metropolitan cultural sphere as both consumers and producers of knowledge-in-the-making.

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## Romanticism's Little Magazines: The Nineteenth-Century Avant-Garde and Collective Position-Taking in *The Dial*

*Clemens Spahr*

### Abstract

This essay argues that *The Dial* was instrumental in the creation of American Transcendentalism as a position in the intellectual field. Individual Transcendentalists like Amos Bronson Alcott and Ralph Waldo Emerson had established their reputation long before the first issue of *The Dial* was published in 1840, and the Transcendentalists were perceived as a group, however different their individual philosophical and political views. With *The Dial*, the Transcendentalists decided to actively define the position they had been assigned by their detractors. The periodical became a seminal mediator in the creation of the cultural movement and established its editors as well as its contributors as agents in the literary field. *The Dial* helped institutionalize a henceforth present yet elusive group of writers.

After *The Dial* was first published in 1840, the Transcendentalist periodical quickly built a reputation as a lofty, idealist philosophical magazine that primarily catered to a privileged elite. In his caricature “Moral Influence of the Dial” (c.1840–44), Christopher Cranch humorously depicts what to many readers appeared as the periodical’s solipsistic tendencies.

The caricature portrays the philosophy of contemplation and self-culture as an excuse for self-indulgence. It shows a male character who is waiting for inspiration – or, more problematically still, perhaps has already found it as shown by his reclining posture and his presumably wine-induced contentment. Meanwhile, his wife is cleaning the boots that literally allow him to walk, although the character does not seem inclined to leave his retreat in the foreseeable future. Instead of heeding *The Dial*’s call to perpetual improvement, the man has abandoned reading and learning altogether: he has put aside his copy of *The Dial*, which rests comfortably under the bed. Apparently, the Emersonian maxim that “in going down into the secrets of his own mind





FIGURE 14.1 Christopher Cranch, Pencil drawing, "Moral Influence of the Dial." MS Am 1506 (2)  
COURTESY HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[the scholar] has descended into the secrets of all minds" conveniently justifies privilege.<sup>1</sup>

Cranch's caricature captures the possible excesses of the Romantic self.<sup>2</sup> In doing so, Cranch points to a tension inherent in *The Dial's* editorial politics. Does not *The Dial*, with its avant-garde habitus, which deliberately seeks distinction from popular periodicals, contradict Romanticism's universalist, egalitarian thrust? But the caricature is also significant because of its publication history, or rather, the lack thereof. Cranch's caricature did not appear in print but can be found only in his private notebooks, which may have circulated among friends, but which were not meant for the literate public. Cranch insisted that these sketches "were really for the private amusement of [James Freeman] Clarke and myself and a few other Emersonians; and there was never any intention that they should be known to the public. I always took

1 Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1:63.

2 The caricature features a stanza from Carline Sturgis Tappan's poem "Life," which had been published in the *Dial* in October 1840: "Why for work art thou striving, / Why seek'st thou for aught? / To the soul that is living / All things shall be brought." Of course, this is not the gist of Tappan's poem, whose speaker actually states that she cannot be "without labor or love" (195). Cranch therefore, in the tradition of parody, isolates a cliché to make a specific, problematic point about a subject.

pains to repudiate any Philistine idea that anything like ridicule was here attempted.”<sup>3</sup> Cranch was himself affiliated with the Transcendental Club. He filled in as the editor of James Freeman Clarke's *Western Messenger*, and his poems, most notably “Correspondences,” were in fact published in *The Dial*. The fact that Cranch never published the sketch suggests that he was too much aware of what was at stake with *The Dial* to risk public ridicule. This was a justified expectation as his sketches would have easily been instrumentalized by the journal's vocal critics. For Cranch as for others it was clear that their own careers as well as the future of American Transcendentalism, the avant-garde “new school” in philosophy, religion, and literature, to a large degree hinged on the success of *The Dial*.

Cranch's hesitancy about the sketch proved justified, as the literate public was quickly divided into those who embraced *The Dial's* agenda and those who rejected it as an intellectual abomination. As we will see, the vitriol and ridicule directed at *The Dial* was partially caused by the periodical's sometimes esoteric content, but much more so by the role the magazine played in cementing Transcendentalism as a social and cultural movement in an intellectual field whose dominant elite found itself in permanent need of legitimation.<sup>4</sup> In the following, I will argue that *The Dial* was instrumental in creating a collective identity (“the Transcendentalists,” “the new school”), against which all the Transcendentalists henceforth had to define themselves. Matthew Philpotts has argued that “a literary journal is characterized by what we can identify as its own ‘common habitus,’ the defining ethos which unites the members of its ‘nucleus’ and which acts as ‘a unifying and generative principle’ for their cultural practice.”<sup>5</sup> The most important generative principle to emerge from *The Dial* was that of collectivity: a collectively produced magazine by an avant-garde movement, which emphasized conversationality and exchange. *The Dial* allowed the Transcendentalists to further their appearance as an intellectual movement. As an intervention in the literary market, the periodical displayed and institutionalized an elusive cultural movement. The periodical codified a collective form of Romantic authorship, a largely informal scribal culture, in which authors circulated their journals and manuscripts and commented on each other's works. It enabled the group to position themselves in the literary market and to respond effectively, as a group, to the often-harsh criticism leveled at individual figures such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Amos Bronson Alcott.

3 Quoted in Frederick De Wolfe Miller, *Christopher Pearse Cranch*, 37.

4 Field, *Crisis of the Standing Order*.

5 Philpotts, “Periodical Editor,” 42.

If I focus on *The Dial's* positioning and the response to this positioning, I do not want to suggest that this was *The Dial's* sole purpose or that periodical's actual texts do not warrant close hermeneutical exegesis. The point is rather to suggest that in order for these philosophical, educational, political, and literary texts to unfold their influence, their authors simultaneously needed to establish or consolidate their reputation as part of a strong, visible movement. The history of *The Dial* has been masterfully told by Joel Myerson, to whose account I am hugely indebted. There is no need to rehearse this story in its entirety. I will instead use select episodes in order to establish how *The Dial*, through its position in the literary market, carved out the Transcendentalists' institutional position with every editorial choice and with every article it published.

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Despite the groundbreaking work that has been done by Clarence Gohdes, Joel Myerson, and others, *The Dial* is still often viewed as a mildly interesting, complimentary source for scholarship on American Romanticism, a journal with esoteric tendencies, representative of, and limited to, a relatively small group of Concord and Boston intellectuals; a journal, that is, without any lasting influence outside New England's presumably parochial literary market. In one of the most important studies on Romantic periodicals in the United States, Adam Tuchinsky has argued that Margaret Fuller's real entry into the literary market occurred when she became the literary editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1844. Tuchinsky contrasts the *Tribune's* cosmopolitan, populist editorial politics with what he considers a delusional form of populism at work in *The Dial*, which Fuller had edited prior to her engagement with the *Tribune*: "*The Dial's* populism, mixed with a curious elitism, was of an imagined and symbolic sort; a perspective and not a practice, it was a counterculture in which disaffected elites identified with the 'manual' classes as a kind of literary protest against commercial materialism and bourgeois respectability."<sup>6</sup> While it is true that *The Dial* operated on a symbolic level different from the *Tribune's* more immediate political agenda, *The Dial* was in fact very much a form of social practice.

When approaching *The Dial* for its role in the constitution of a movement through the literary market, it achieves an eminently practical function. Theodore Parker, himself affiliated with the Transcendentalists, retrospectively

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6 Tuchinsky, *Horace Greeley's New-York Tribune*, 70–71.

described the journal as that of “the movement party”: “The movement party established a new quarterly, *the Dial*, wherein their wisdom and their folly rode together on the same saddle, to the amazement of lookers-on.”<sup>7</sup> What is significant here is that Parker not only captures the literate public’s response to *The Dial* – that it was situated somewhere between esoteric folly and deep philosophical insight – but that he defines it as the mouthpiece of a movement. This is key to understanding *The Dial*’s function and the purpose magazines can serve in constituting groups and opening new venues for their members.

To understand the significance of *The Dial* for the history of American Transcendentalism as well as for American intellectual history, it is necessary to briefly outline the origins of the movement as well as its status at the time of the periodical’s initial publication. *The Dial* was by no means the founding act of American Transcendentalism. By 1840, Romantics such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Amos Bronson Alcott, and Orestes Brownson had established their loose network, mostly constituted through conversational exchange and mutual patronage, as one of the various influential literary circles of nineteenth-century America.<sup>8</sup> But attacks against their Romantic reform projects also permanently threatened their careers. The movement’s origins as the Transcendental Club were with conversational culture and with a scribal culture in which manuscripts circulated among friends. From such a platform, it was difficult to respond as a group to vocal critics such as Harvard Unitarianism, which rightly considered Transcendentalism as a threat to the institutional status quo.

*The Dial* was instrumental in the institutionalization and marketing of the informal literary network that Transcendentalism had henceforth been. It was a medium that channeled their individual writings and diffuse set of cultural practices, which ranged from published treatises to educational reform and lyceum lectures, into a collective public display. Clarence Gohdes has pointed out that the periodical was instrumental in showcasing the group’s works: “so far as literature is concerned, the closest approximation to concerted activity upon the part of the people who were known as transcendentalists in their own day, was attempting to bring their views before the public by means of periodicals.”<sup>9</sup> But up until *The Dial*, the group had not spoken as a group. A previous effort to establish a collective mouthpiece and to define the movement’s public role was Orestes Brownson’s *Boston Quarterly Review*, whose first issue appeared in January 1838, one and a half years before *The Dial* was

7 Quoted in De Wolfe Miller, *Christopher Pearse Cranch*, 489.

8 See Dowling, *Business of Literary Circles*.

9 Gohdes, *Periodicals of American Transcendentalism*, 13.

published. The *Boston Quarterly Review* was an influential periodical whose socialist politics as well as its attacks on the bank system stirred debate even within the Democratic Party. But the *Boston Quarterly Review* was hardly a collaborative effort; Brownson was the main contributor to his journal, which was consequently seen as the paper of someone affiliated with the Transcendental Club, but not as a platform for the movement. Brownson himself saw the need for a collaborative effort. In October 1839, a year before he would publish his widely noted political essay "The Laboring Classes," Brownson had suggested to broaden the scope of the *Boston Quarterly Review* to include the other Transcendentalists. Alcott, Fuller, and Emerson, however, feared that the magazine, while generally respected and one of the most important Boston periodicals, would not be inclusive enough to admit all writers affiliated with the new school of philosophy and literature.<sup>10</sup> Instead, they decided to found a new periodical, *The Dial*. Emerson was supposed to edit the journal, mostly because of his acquired prestige. When Emerson refused to become editor, and after a series of coincidences, Fuller assumed the editorial duties.

While it is true that *The Dial* represented a relatively small segment of the cultural elite, its audience was larger than is usually assumed. The periodical had up to three hundred subscribers. In addition, it was sold through Elizabeth Palmer Peabody's bookstore, by then a central cultural location in New England. Perhaps most significantly, the journal was widely reviewed and discussed in influential Boston and New York newspapers and magazines from the *Christian Examiner* to the *New-Yorker*, with excerpts from *The Dial* frequently reprinted in these periodicals. All of these channels contributed to the immediate visibility of the new avant-garde journal.

Published from 1840 to 1844, the history of *The Dial* amounts to a mere four issues. All of these issues, however, were substantial publications with more than 130 pages each. The length of the essays as well as the selection of authors underscored its programmatic nature. As writers did not receive any compensation for their articles, the prestige that Fuller and Emerson anticipated *The Dial* to generate was these contributors' potential reward. Although this condition made it difficult to acquire texts in time, as Fuller and Emerson had no leverage on their authors, *The Dial* ultimately worked as a collaborative effort.

A sense of coherence was necessary for the project to succeed, and the editors, just like Cranch, were aware of this necessity. But *The Dial* was not only the product of internal group dynamics. From the beginning, the Transcendentalists had been caught up in religious, institutional, and political debates. Their model of the public scholar, a Romantic intellectual who

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10 Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 37–38.

rejected tradition and authority in the name of an iconoclastic, liberating self-reliance, was a direct challenge to Harvard Unitarianism with its emphasis on rote learning and genteel order. The publication of Alcott's controversial school records *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* in 1837 as well as Emerson's "Divinity School Address" (1838) made clear that this new group of avant-garde rebels did not shy away from controversy. Emerson's speech, held at Harvard Divinity School and thus at the center of Unitarian institutional power, challenged Harvard's graduates to forfeit authority and follow their own philosophical intuition rather than cling to ossified dogma: "The doctrine of inspiration is lost; the base doctrine of the majority of voices, usurps the place of the doctrine of the soul. Miracles, prophecy, poetry; the ideal life, the holy life, exist as ancient history merely; they are not in the belief, nor in the aspiration of society; but, when suggested, seem ridiculous."<sup>11</sup> Lest his audience missed the point, he made sure to stress that the backwardness of New England's intellectual culture was the result of the "the famine of our churches."<sup>12</sup> The status quo responded not only to Emerson, the intellectual, but to what seemed to present itself as a new, emergent movement. In the most vehement response, Andrews Norton launched an attack against *The New School in Literature and Religion* (1838), underscoring that this was a collective challenge to institutional authority.

*The Dial* was a collective effort to embrace this group status and to disseminate some of its fundamental among a wider reading public. Situated in an already complex field of cultural authority and institutional power relations, *The Dial* had to carve out its space as a journal amidst periodicals such as the *Christian Examiner* which represented the Unitarian mainstream, the *Boston Recorder* and the *Boston Courier*, with their broad scope on educational and cultural affairs, and Brownson's *Boston Quarterly Review* with its progressive politics. As Derek Pacheco and others have shown, the Transcendentalists astutely employed the mechanisms of the literary market to circulate their ideas.<sup>13</sup> In the 1830s and 1840s, "technological innovation in print production and distribution soared in response to surging demand brought by growing literacy rates and an increasingly sophisticated urban populace."<sup>14</sup> It turned out that *The Dial* was a journal that Boston had henceforth lacked. The *Christian Examiner*, the *Boston Telegraph*, and the *Boston Courier* were all journals concerned with religious, educational, or current political issues. On the other end

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11 Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1:80.

12 Emerson, 1:85.

13 See Pacheco, *Moral Enterprise*.

14 Dowling, "Publishers," 221.

of the spectrum were family magazines, whose advice literature mainly reinforced the patriarchal household economy. What Boston lacked was a belletristic, literary periodical: "To those who lived in and around Boston ... the lack of a solid literary journal was embarrassing in light of their own high claims to greatness."<sup>15</sup> With the establishment of *The Dial*, then, the Transcendentalists occupied a prestigious niche in the literary market. The fact that it was the avant-garde group rather than the established literati of Boston made the enterprise particularly engaging.

As much as *The Dial's* history of publication was one of adjustments to the literary market, with its shifts in strategy and publishers, its emergence was meticulously planned, advertised, and directed by Fuller and Emerson. When Fuller and Emerson began to establish their niche in the print market, they started from a specific position as they were already linked to the informal, but influential literary circle of the Transcendentalists. Fuller kept spreading the word about the planned journal through her conversational circles and at social gatherings. The solicitation of contributions had the welcome side-effect that Emerson and Fuller were able to establish further and deeper ties with their peers. Before the first issue appeared, then, *The Dial* had established a reputation and attracted the interest of Boston's intellectual circles.

In May 1840, the prospectus for *The Dial* was sent out. A month later, the first issue was published. The first number contained 136 pages and was published on brown paper without illustrations. Its appearance was not spectacular. What was spectacular was that the Transcendentalists appeared as a group. Although Transcendentalism did not exist as an official movement, those affiliated with the new school of literature and philosophy were clearly identifiable. They were assigned an oppositional position in the intellectual field which they had to address in one way or another. *The Dial* embraced that task.

The first issue's introductory statement, which established the relationship between authors and readership, marked out the periodical's mission to further establish the new school of philosophy. True, the introductory statement tried to downplay, if not to disavow, the journal's role as mouthpiece of an avant-garde movement, partly in response to some critical responses that had been leveled against the planned journal for the mere fact that it was a Transcendentalist project. But the periodical's agenda was clear, and it was clearly presented as such. In the first issue, the editors proclaimed the periodical's mission to give voice to "the strong current of thought and feeling, which, for a few years past, has led many sincere persons in New England to make new demands on literature, and to reprobate that rigor of our conventions of

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15 Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 31.

religion and education which is turning us to stone, which renounces hope, which looks only backward, which asks only such a future as the past, which suspects improvement, and holds nothing so much in horror as new views and the dreams of youth."<sup>16</sup> In the name of the editors, Emerson states that the "revolution" that was taking shape in New England cut across "different classes": "Those who share in it have no external organization, no badge, no creed, no name."<sup>17</sup>

Emerson scholarship still often depicts Emerson as a reluctant participant, a distant observer who occasionally joined the Transcendentalists. In a more nuanced assessment, Andrew Taylor has suggested that Emerson preferred "to inhabit private spaces of resistance that ... might be conjoined through the pages of the *Dial* into effective voices of American futurity." For Taylor, Emerson's editorial contrasts with Fuller's more "dialogical sense of cultural critique."<sup>18</sup> But Emerson's structural position was tied up with a collective position. In addition, it is crucial to recall, as David Dowling rightly emphasizes, that Emerson despite his ostentatious skepticism about collective action and popular presses, was known for "his work with publishers and strategic manipulation of print media to establish Transcendentalism within American culture."<sup>19</sup> Emerson was a "shrewd ... businessman when it came to his own writings" and acutely aware of the professional nature of his publishing and lecturing to the degree where he became "his friends' unofficial agent."<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, in his prefatory remarks Emerson rejected the rigid definition of the movement as a party with a particular dogma; ultimately, however, he proclaims that the voices gathered in *The Dial* shared in the "progress of a revolution."<sup>21</sup>

As the editorial voices of the magazine, Fuller and Emerson wanted to be in control of this revolution's reception. In this context, they considered the material appearance of their journal. After the first issue, Emerson suggested changes in typeface and lettering, so as to separate articles more clearly and make the word 'Dial' on the title page stand out more distinctly. Fuller, however, decided that consistency in appearance was more important and hence did not add any changes to the printing.<sup>22</sup> Whatever the effects of these material changes would have been (if any): The discussion, by no means controversial,

16 *Dial* 1841, 1:1–2.

17 *Dial* 1841, 1:2.

18 Taylor, *Thinking America*, 93.

19 Dowling, "Publishers," 223.

20 Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 215.

21 *Dial* 1841, 1:2.

22 Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 54.



shows that Fuller and Emerson sought to secure a wide circulation of their magazine as they were well aware of the fact that *The Dial* represented, and publicly constituted, their movement. And it worked, as readers started “inquiring about the names of contributors to the mostly anonymous pieces in the first number.”<sup>23</sup> What this conjunction of print appearance, marketing strategies, and selection of articles shows is that *The Dial* was a collaborative effort and received as such. The readership’s expectations were clear: *The Dial* was supposed to give a public platform to the diverse Transcendentalist movement. Consequently, any editorial choice was an intervention in the future direction of the movement and the careers of the individual authors affiliated with it.

Initial reception varied between praise, particularly in Horace Greeley’s *New-Yorker*, and fervent, often polemical criticism. It quickly became evident that the response was about the position of the movement, as the most fervent criticism often included the claim that an essay or poem was “too transcendental.” Some of the criticism centered on precisely the lofty tendency that Cranch had considered in his sketches. A Harvard graduate simply referred to *The Dial* as “trash.”<sup>24</sup> It is also true that major periodicals such as the *Christian Examiner*, the *New-York Review*, and the *Knickerbocker* ignored or ridiculed the journal.<sup>25</sup> But in the larger Boston area, the journal was relatively well-received.

It was particularly Alcott’s “Orphic Sayings” that were singled out for their esoteric otherworldliness and supposed unintelligibility. While scholarship still tends to represent Alcott as the intellectual that singlehandedly brought ridicule on *The Dial*, it is important that responses cannot be easily divided between authors; it is not that Alcott was singled out for criticism while Emerson was unanimously praised. Emerson’s poetry was as much the aim of ridicule as Alcott’s “Orphic Sayings.” Conversely, while Alcott was frequently criticized as otherworldly dreamer, Christopher A. Greene, editor of the Providence-based *Plain Speaker*, criticized everyone else in *The Dial* for not being practical enough: “Save A. Bronson Alcott, none that I know, of the ‘Dialists’ are actively engaged in the Great Reforms of the day.”<sup>26</sup> The fact that these comments overlapped and that writers were always compared to each other shows how the subject under discussion was not simply Emerson or Alcott or Fuller – it was the group as such.

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23 Myerson, 55.

24 Quoted in Myerson, 49.

25 Myerson, 50.

26 *Plain Speaker*, January 30, 1841, 3.

While the Transcendentalists may not actively have sought controversy with *The Dial*, they had learned to employ these inevitable debates in their service. As much as the Transcendentalists aimed to establish a core readership, the controversy, and even the ridicule, surrounding *The Dial* certainly helped place the magazine visibly in the literary market. At the very least, the group made itself heard as movement. Things settled into routine, however. In addition, *The Dial* threatened to be a financial failure. On October 1, 1841, *The Dial* moved to a new publisher; after long and tedious negotiations with the bankrupt original publisher and its successor, Fuller and Emerson decided to move *The Dial* to Peabody as a publisher. This move required a new list of subscribers as the old list of subscribers was the property of the old publisher's assignees.<sup>27</sup> When Peabody started her tenure, she found that the 300 subscriptions would secure \$750 annually, of which \$700 would be needed for paper and printing.<sup>28</sup> The question for her was, then, how to make sure *The Dial* would survive.

Fuller eventually departed as *The Dial's* editor in 1842, partly because of her fragile health and the toll that *The Dial* took on her, but mostly because the bankruptcy of the first publisher had left her without salary and the journal in severe financial trouble. Emerson took over, partially because his income through lectures gave him more freedom to work as the editor of *The Dial*. Editorial politics changed slightly, but overall, Emerson continued to represent the breadth and inclusiveness of nineteenth-century American avant-garde intellectuals. Emerson placed more emphasis on poetry, but also printed Albert Brisbane's "Fourierism and the Socialists," thus underscoring the project's reformist side. In general, the reception under Emerson was more favorable.<sup>29</sup> Whether this had something to do with Emerson's choice of essays is debatable. It certainly helped that Emerson, the sage of Concord, used his reputation for the journal. But Emerson's tenure as *The Dial's* editor was soon plagued by the same problems Fuller had confronted. Peabody related to him that *The Dial's* subscription and sales numbers did not cover its expenses. In addition, *The Dial's* success in establishing the group had become a practical problem; its contributors had acquired a reputation to the degree that they could actually place their pieces in periodicals that paid their contributors.<sup>30</sup>

27 Peabody was instrumental in securing the premises for Alcott's Temple School in 1834, just as her bookstore provided a forum to bring Romanticism to a broader literate audience. It was here that Margaret Fuller held her first conversations for women.

28 Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 206.

29 See Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 80–81.

30 Myerson, 88.

As subscription numbers declined and *The Dial* had to rely on sales numbers, Emerson moved the journal to James Munroe, who had published his *Nature* and Alcott's *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* and was experienced in advertising books. But public interest in the journal – although not in Transcendentalism – waned. Emerson eventually decided to focus solely on his career as a public intellectual. The last issue of *The Dial* was published on April 8, 1844.

## 2

*The Dial's* role and reception remained relatively consistent throughout the five years of its publication. With its disappearance from the print market in 1844, it may have seemed that the journal's critics had rightly predicted its futility. This assessment still resounds in contemporary scholarship. Critics tend to emphasize the radically innovative content of *The Dial*, which, while important for intellectual history, “was too radical and outré for most of the intellectual establishment and yet too scholarly and esoteric for the masses” so that *The Dial* supposedly “spoke primarily to its own coterie.”<sup>31</sup> For Adam Tuchinsky, in turn, *The Dial's* democratic ideals were “articulated in a cultural vacuum, with an audience that would remain, as it was rendered in the first number, a fantasy.”<sup>32</sup> It is true that at least Emerson's conception of *The Dial* remained caught between a mission to educate and the assumption that the journal exists for a select few. In a letter to Margaret Fuller of April 1840, Emerson discussed his plan for the periodical's strategy:

With the old drowsy Public which the magazines address, I think we have nothing to do; – as little with the journals & critics of the day. If we knew any other Journal, certainly we should not write this. This Journal has a public of its own; its own Thou as well as I; a new-born class long already standing waiting for this voice & wondering at its delay (original emphasis).<sup>33</sup>

This is not a concrete analysis of available audiences, but rather self-empowering visionary rhetoric. Emerson here simply presupposes an audience which still needed to be established. At the same time that he expressed

31 Fink, “Thoreau and His Audience,” 74.

32 Tuchinsky, *Greeley*, 70.

33 Emerson, *Selected Letters*, 213.

his grand visions for the journal in this letter, however, Emerson's and Fuller's editorial strategies were highly practical, calculated efforts to propagate their cause.

Assessments which judge *The Dial* according to its subscription numbers and longevity (or lack thereof) neglect its true influence. *The Dial's* merit was that it helped the informal literary network from which it emerged materialized in public. Its cultural prestige as well as the controversy surrounding its publication enabled contributors to pursue or rejuvenate their careers. Most famously, it helped the emergence of young Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau had in fact edited one volume of *The Dial*, but his "limitations as an editor" were immediately apparent when he misprinted a line in one of Fuller's poems – a fact that made Fuller furious.<sup>34</sup> More importantly, however, with the help of *The Dial*, Thoreau established his reputation as a nature writer with "Natural History of Massachusetts" (1842) and "A Winter Walk" (1843).

Fuller's own case is even more instructive in showing how widely, and how unpredictably *The Dial* was received after it ceased publication. Fuller was selected as the literary editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, whose editor, Horace Greeley, had been a champion of *The Dial* throughout. Greeley printed one of the final reviews of *The Dial* on the *Tribune's* front page on April 27, 1844. Greeley's eulogy was a celebration of *The Dial's* cause: "'The Dial' holds the same relation to our current periodical literature that the Poet or Prophet does to the money-getting, pork-producing characters of everyday life.... We know no magazine more valuable to a strong mind, more fascinating to a refined one, than that before us." Greeley then humorously relates how someone has supposedly stolen *The Dial* from his desk because it was in such high demand in his office, and he therefore has to quote from memory. The point, however, is made clearly: "If this work should close now, they must be heard and felt through other channels."<sup>35</sup> Greeley concludes by offering to backorder copies from *The Dial* for his readership if they cannot get their hands on an issue. This was not an idealist promise: Greeley was a major figure in the New York publishing market and had already helped popularize Emerson's works, and his *New-York Daily Tribune* was one of the most influential newspapers in the United States.

Greeley's most lasting relationship with *The Dial* came in his acquisition of Margaret Fuller, first as the literary editor of the *Tribune* and then as its European correspondent. At the *Tribune*, Fuller became one of the most well-respected intellectuals in antebellum America, drawing praise even from Edgar

34 Walls, *Henry David Thoreau*, 144.

35 *New-York Daily Tribune*, April 27, 1844.

Allan Poe. In her role as foreign correspondent, Fuller moved to London. In Europe, she found that *The Dial* had helped establish the Transcendentalists' transatlantic foundation, and it was her reputation as part of *The Dial* that helped her gain access to Europe's cultural circles. In one of her dispatches, Fuller shows herself impressed by the reach of the Liverpool's Mechanics' Institute, a Benthamite night school for working-class adults. She is particularly pleased with the fact that the director in one of his addresses extensively quotes an essay on "self-improvement" which had been published in *The Dial*: "I found that *The Dial* had been read with earnest interest by some of the best minds in these especially practical regions, that I had been welcomed as a representative of some sincere and honorable life in America and thought the fittest to be quoted under the motto: 'What are noble deed but noble thoughts realized?'"<sup>36</sup> Fuller is pleased with the fact that *The Dial's* attempted link between philosophy and reform is well-received in the "practical regions" of England.<sup>37</sup> Fuller engages in a retrospective authorization of *The Dial* as a form of cultural practice; the essay from *The Dial* receives its authorization as a form of practice. The reputation of *The Dial* had travelled across the ocean; it now returned, in Fuller's column, as a way of authorizing Transcendentalism as a practical rather than a merely idealistic affair.

Fuller herself seems surprised that *The Dial* was well-known in England. This goes to show how deeply the Transcendentalist network had been institutionalized through various channels and how the movement's writers could rely on this network. While Fuller's account does not engage in the problematic nature of *The Dial* that Cranch's caricature had foregrounded, it shows how the periodical remained relevant as a point of reference for the American Romantics. At the same time that Fuller verifies *The Dial*, the periodical also serves as to link American Transcendentalism and the progressive reform efforts in Europe, hence redefining the legacy of Romanticism. For Fuller, the successful efforts at working-class education are the logical continuation of Romanticism's universalist idealism. It is, of course, impossible to measure the influence that *The Dial* had on Fuller's (and others') careers. But it is safe to say that the collective, collaborative appearance of Transcendentalism in the form of *The Dial* had a lasting influence in staging the group's identity as philosophical and social avant-garde.

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36 Fuller, "*These Sad but Glorious Days*", 43.

37 Fuller, 43.

## 3

*The Dial* was the only collaborative journal that represented the Transcendentalists as a group, thus establishing its authors as part of a counter-institutional movement. *The Dial* was not the sole Romantic periodical in nineteenth-century America. Other periodicals such as Brownson's *Boston Quarterly Review* with its publication of "The Laboring Classes" and Elizabeth's Palmer Peabody's *Aesthetic Papers*, which published Henry David Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government" (1849), equaled or even surpassed *The Dial's* political influence. But as a cultural intervention, *The Dial* was a seminal part of the movement's development. Far from simply espousing the idea of a Romantic author genius, *The Dial* represents how American Romanticism was a collaborative affair, and how it carried its collaborative status into the marketplace to promote and establish the movement.

Reading *The Dial* as a concerted effort in advertising and establishing the movement allows us to readjust the parameters of Romantic scholarship through periodical studies. While its articles offer perhaps the best condensed showcasing of what Transcendentalism was, the cultural prestige emanating from these pages was equally important. In other words, the fact that the Transcendentalists made a public appearance was perhaps the journal's lasting legacy. In a way typical for periodical editors, Fuller and Emerson had to "mediate between the aesthetic and commercial fields" and are often "caught between the conflicting logic of two opposing fields."<sup>38</sup> The strategic considerations, dictated by the literary market (the need for a belletristic journal) and the group-internal dynamics (the need for a public platform), coincided to create the project of *The Dial*. In particular, the afterlife of *The Dial* shows how the periodical's platform led to the journal's posthumous success in a transregional and transnational periodical landscape.

Despite the important questions that have been raised by revisionist scholarship, the term "movement" is applied to Transcendentalism only hesitantly. As the study of *The Dial* shows, however, Transcendentalism was, and wanted to be, a movement, however loosely its members affiliated themselves with the Transcendental Club, the Symposium, or the New School of Literature and Philosophy. Whether used derogatively or affirmatively, all of these terms signified a young avant-garde that rebelled against the strictures of Harvard Unitarianism. *The Dial* embraced this struggle, self-confidently staging the

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38 Philpotts, "Periodical Editor," 42.

Transcendentalist position as a collaborative, powerful movement that keenly used the literary market to challenge the institutional status quo. *The Dial* therefore may well be conceived as an important mediator, and in fact an agent, in the establishment of the Transcendentalist cultural position.

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VII

*Location and Transfer*





# Location and Transfer

*Jutta Ernst*

Newspapers, magazines, almanacs, and other serialized media are marked and defined by the basal category time (see section I on Seriality and Order). No less important for their sociocultural work, however, are links to specific places and dynamics of mobility in local, regional, national, or global spheres. Usually, a periodical is founded in a particular city or village, with the editor drawing on his or her network of business associates and friends to launch and promote the new publishing venture (see also section VI on Community). By way of example, one might point to Harriet Monroe, the founder of the magazine *Poetry* (1912–), who managed to convince an impressive number of her fellow citizens in Chicago to pledge a certain amount of money in support of this enterprise, thus serving as financial guarantors. It was the position Monroe had earned herself in the city's cultural life prior to the founding of *Poetry* which, in the end, ensured her and her magazine's success. But undoubtedly, Chicago was also a location with many advantages for the establishment of a new magazine: during the second half of the nineteenth century, the city had become one of the major publishing centers in the US, not the least thanks to its railway connections, which eased the distribution of print products (see also section V on Infrastructure and Agency). Moreover, one of the nation's leading literary periodicals, *The Dial* (1880–1929), had been set up in Chicago, thus serving as a point of reference in the city's network of print, even if the earlier magazine subscribed to the genteel tradition *Poetry* wanted to leave behind.

While periodicals are published from a particular location, they tend to reach out to other places: contributors may be solicited from different regions or countries, the wish to lower production costs may cause the printing and binding on other continents, and readers may open the latest issue in far-off places. For short, periodical actors are involved in mobility and transfer, processes which lead to ever new constellations and dynamics. In the course of these developments, not only national, but also linguistic and cultural borders are crossed (see also section IV on Translation), paving the way for the hybridization or transculturation of ideas, beliefs, and behavioral patterns. Therefore, periodicals and the people engaged in their production, distribution, and reception might be seen as important mediators.

In the twenty-first century, with more and more periodicals switching to digital formats or at least supplementing their print products with online

offers, transfer has been considerably enhanced. At the same time, the location from which a periodical is published has partly lost its importance. An editorial team no longer has to come together in one place in order to effectively cooperate, and communication does not necessarily take place in the participants' mother tongues, but in global English. This language preference is also discernible in the print and online periodicals themselves, which often cater to a worldwide audience and thus multiply their possible readership.

This section brings together case studies which, in their entirety, range from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century and cover regions as diverse as Canada, the USA, Mexico, France, and Germany. In "Reenvisioning the Canon: Three Early American Printers and Their Transnational Routes," Mark J. Noonan delineates the professional lives of William Bradford, John Peter Zenger, and John Holt, who, with their periodical and book publications, significantly molded the "printscape" (419) of New York City. The chapter by Anaïs Nagel addresses the mobility of periodical actors across national borders, with a decidedly regional focus on the Upper Rhine Valley at the turn of the nineteenth century. In order to assess the newspapers' role for identity formation and for the dynamic development of individual and collective cultural politics, the author combines archival and digital approaches. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink probes into the careers of two French Canadian journalists, whose international experiences helped them become influential transatlantic mediators. In doing so, the author emphasizes the importance of concepts such as 'cultural transfer,' or 'transcultural biography' for the study of the periodical press.

## Reenvisioning the Canon: Three Early American Printers and Their Transnational Routes

*Mark J. Noonan*

### Abstract

This chapter focuses on the recovery of lost space and the relationship between the printed page and the topography of the city. Invoking the term ‘printscape,’ rather than print culture, it explores a dynamic geography of actors, ideas, and type in motion, while attending to issues of transnationalism, lived and imagined space, interpretive networks, evolving technologies, as well as the legacies of a range of progressive concerns. Incorporating the work of transnational scholars while adding theoretical concerns advocated by periodical scholars, this essay goes back in time to concentrate on William Bradford, John Peter Zenger, and John Holt, three men with transnational biographies whose various newspapers and publications helped shape the printscape of colonial New York, introducing modern ideals and paving the way for the union of the thirteen states.

Across eras, New York disseminated news and produced creative content in a plethora of publications, ranging from newspapers, monthly reviews, and annuals to niche magazines covering political, social, or aesthetic matters. This history served as the focus of an NEH Summer Institute “City of Print: New York and the Periodical Press,” which I directed in 2015. That summer, twenty-five faculty participants came to better understand the evolution of New York’s periodical press, the shaping of readerships and genres, and the significance of place and literary space in the production of periodical literature. My current book project incorporates the themes and issues raised by the Institute, relating to the recovery of lost space and the relationship between the printed page and the topography of the city. The book is divided into six parts, each section covering a particular era in the history of New York’s colorful and varied printscapes. Invoking the term ‘printscape,’ rather than print culture, each section attends to a dynamic field of actors, ideas, and type in motion, addressing issues of lived and imagined space, interpretive networks, evolving technologies, as well as the legacies of a range of progressive concerns from

press liberties to social and political equality for women, workers, and minority groups.

Another innovative component of my book and the focus of this essay considers the transnational aspects of New York's varied printscapes. Of particular relevance is the work of Wai Chee Dimock, particularly *Through Other Continents: American Literature across Deep Time* and her new anthology of American literature comprised of selective work illustrating her concerns. In her introduction to *Through Other Continents*, Dimock writes:

For too long, American literature has been seen as a world apart, sufficient unto itself, not burdened by the chronology and geography outside the nation, and not making any intellectual demands on that score ... what we call "American" literature is quite often a shorthand, a simplified name for a much more complex tangle of relations. Rather than being a discrete entity, it is better seen as a crisscrossing set of pathways, open-ended and ever multiplying, weaving in and out of other geographies, other languages and cultures. These are input channels, kinship networks, routes of transit, and forms of attachment – connective tissues binding America to the rest of the world. Active on both ends, they thread American texts into the topical events of other cultures, while also threading the long durations of those cultures into the short chronology of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

In her book and edited anthology, Dimock utilizes the term "deep time" that at once "thickens" conceptions of American literary culture and "lengthens" its chronological borders to include world events that antedate and/or coincide with founding moments such as 1620, the year of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence.<sup>2</sup>

This essay incorporates the work of transnational scholars while adding theoretical concerns advocated by periodical scholars. To Dimock's thickening and lengthening framework, I hope to add a concern for texts beyond the strictly literary and the inclusion of influential cultural actors still not found in any American literary anthologies, not in Myra Jehlen's and Michael Warner's landmark *The English Literatures of America, 1500–1800*, nor, for that matter, in Dimock's collection. At the moment, only *Worlding America: A Transnational Anthology of Short Narratives Before 1800* edited by Oliver Scheiding and Martin Seidl offers a good mix of undervalued American texts and authors in a

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<sup>1</sup> Dimock, *Through Other Continents*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Dimock, 4.

'thick' and 'long' globalized context. Its singular shortcoming, however, is that it is limited to the genre of the short narrative. This essay, in contrast, refers to newspapers and prints of the early American colonial era produced by three remarkable men (with help from their three remarkable wives): 1) William Bradford, New York's first printer; 2) John Peter Zenger, Bradford's famous – and famously misunderstood – German apprentice; and 3) John Holt, whose patriotic *New-York Journal* (named after Zenger's newspaper) helped unite thirteen individual states into a formidable union, and subsequently, the world's first postcolonial nation.

The study of early colonial literature often features excerpts from *Of Plimmoth Plantation* by New England's pilgrim founder William Bradford before moving on to Benjamin Franklin and his autobiography, deemed the representative text of the American Enlightenment. Entirely skipped is the English Quaker William Bradford, the first printer of Pennsylvania, and subsequently, in 1693, of the colony of New York. Franklin in his autobiography refers to him as the "crafty old sophister" but he is much more than that.<sup>3</sup> First of all, it is Bradford's well-established connections in the print world that allow Franklin to get his first job in Philadelphia in the shop of Samuel Keimer. William Bradford in fact personally escorts Franklin to his first employer, an act more of espionage than altruism as Franklin makes note of in his autobiography. Like Franklin, Bradford was also from humble beginnings but by 1723 had already developed an expertise in printing as well as in papermaking, having partnered with the German entrepreneur William Rittenhouse to establish America's first paper mill. Newspaper and almanac publisher, postmaster, government printer, job printer, stationer, wholesale paper merchant, book publisher, retail and wholesale bookseller, Bradford is in fact America's first great print entrepreneur and, perhaps even more significant, progenitor of an important cast of subsequent New York printers and publishers that, like him, fought vigorously for press freedom and the rights of colonists as freeborn Englishmen.

As Russell Reising writes, American critics from V. L. Parrington to Perry Miller to Sacvan Bercovitch helped forge a literary canon that placed Puritan origin theories at its base ultimately limiting the ways in which scholars, into the present moment, think about and teach American literature. Instead of a Puritan-centric focus, we need, Reising writes, an approach capable of integrating a wider body of "religious, historical, political, and sociological research into literary investigation."<sup>4</sup> Including the printer William Bradford alongside

<sup>3</sup> Franklin, *Autobiography*.

<sup>4</sup> Reising, *The Unusable Past*, 91.



the pilgrim William Bradford, I propose, is one such crucial step. An examination of his own unique legacy allows for a fuller, ‘thicker’ picture of the colonial era that substitutes national mythologizing with an investment in alternative cultural and religious traditions.

Born in Leicestershire, England in 1663, Bradford was the son of a Quaker printer who, on occasion, fell into trouble with licensers. Until the expiration of the Licensing Act in 1695, printers of tracts critical of the Anglican church or political authorities were regularly fined or placed in jail. Despite these restrictions, Quakers – in particular – remained undeterred in getting the word out to spread their views and win converts. Following the death of his father, William was apprenticed to none other than Andrew Sowle, famed printer to the London Quakers. Sowle, in turn, had been apprenticed to radical publisher Ruth Rathow, who in 1644, printed John Milton’s landmark essay, “Areopagitica,” opposing licensing and censorship. In Sowle’s shop, William Bradford overheard, and likely participated, in the religious debates of the times and was introduced to prominent leaders of the Quaker movement including its founder George Fox and William Penn. He would also find a bride in Sowle’s youngest daughter, Elizabeth, who worked in the shop as a compositor alongside her sister Tace, who herself would gain renown for her work as a London book publisher in the 1700s.

Bradford’s marriage proposal coincided with an invitation from Penn to accompany him on board the ship *Welcome* to see if he could ply his skills in his new colony. Equipped with a press and printer supplies, “many Primers and new books,” and a letter of introduction from Fox addressed to the Society of Friends, the twenty-two-year-old set up shop on the outskirts of Philadelphia in the fall of 1685. More difficult than the hard work of printing itself and finding customers, Bradford’s greatest challenge was the threat his trade represented to those in power. In one of his first printed works – an almanac – the author Samuel Atkins used the term “Lord Penn” in reference to the proprietary governor. As Quaker tenets prohibited the use of honorary titles, the Provincial Council quickly summoned the culprits of the offending line before it. In one of the earliest examples of censorship in the colonies, Atkins was ordered “to blot out ye words Lord Penn” on each almanac and Bradford, “ye printer,” was charged “not to print anything but what shall have lycence from ye Council.”<sup>5</sup>

More trouble ensued when Bradford printed the Charter of the Province at the request of a dissenting member of the Council who wished the city’s freeholders to be cognizant of their rights. This time, the Council threatened Bradford with a penalty of £500 for any future transgressions. In a defense of

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5 McMurtrie, *New York Printing MDCXCIII*, 14.

his act, Bradford insisted that printing “is my employ, my trade and calling, and that by which I gain my living...; and if I may not print such things which come to my hand which are innocent, I cannot live. I am not such a person that takes advice from one party or other.... If I print one thing today, and the contrary party bring me another tomorrow, to contradict it, I cannot say I shall not print it.” To this early defense of press freedom, he also submitted the progressive claim that “printing is a manufacture of the nation and therefore ought rather to be encouraged than suppressed.”<sup>6</sup> Bradford ultimately was acquitted not by his eloquent defense but when the evidence in question, a type casing containing the document, was dropped by a jurist. In what remains one of the great prosecution foibles in the history of libel law, four pages of type flew out with a crash, scattering across the courtroom floor leaving Bradford a free, albeit highly disgruntled Philadelphia freeholder.

Leonard W. Levy rightly calls Bradford “the first American martyr to the cause of a free press and the earliest advocate of the jury’s power to decide the law in libel cases.”<sup>7</sup> His ‘martyrdom’ at the hands of the Philadelphia Quakers, in turn, benefited the neighboring colony of New York, whose magistrates quickly hired him in 1693. As the licensed royal printer of New York, Bradford was extremely busy publishing approximately fourteen works a year, and adding, as Michael Kammen writes, to “the steady growth of literacy in early New York.”<sup>8</sup> His early publications are an impressive list of firsts that reveal a city growing in both size and political and cultural importance, developments partly tied to Bradford’s publishing efforts. In his first year as printer, Bradford published the first book in New York City entitled, *New England’s Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsylvania*, a detailed description and defense of his libel trial in Philadelphia. He subsequently printed the first publication calling for the abolition of slavery in the colonies, entitled *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping Negroes* written by George Keith. Helping to induce literacy, he printed the widely circulated *A New Primmer, or Methodical Directions to Attain the True Spelling, Reading & Writing of English* and *The Secretary’s Guide, Or, Young Man’s Companion ... Containing the Ground of Spelling, Reading and Writing of True English*. In 1725 he began the city’s first newspaper, the *New-York Gazette*, which ran until 1744. He also published the first historical work about New York’s native population (Cadwallader Colden’s *History of the Five Indian Nations*), the first play (Robert Hunter’s *Androboros: A Biographical Farce in Three Parts*), as well as the first

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6 McMurtrie, 14.

7 Levy, *Emergence of a Free Press*, 25.

8 Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 134.

poem by a female in America, written by his wife, Elizabeth. Reflecting the linguistic and cultural diversity of colonial New York, he published works in French, Dutch, as well as a book of religious instruction entirely in Mohawk (*Ne Orhoengeneneoni Yogaraskhagh Yondereanayendaghkwa*, 1715).

It is a true wonder that a critical understanding of Bradford's time in Philadelphia and the many cultural productions from his New York press is practically nonexistent in early American literary studies. With this erasure has been lost an important chapter in press liberty, Quaker printing culture in Philadelphia and London, as well as Bradford's contributions to the growth of literacy and cultural refinement in colonial New York. One aspect of Bradford's legacy, however, has not been lost: the training of his apprentice John Peter Zenger as well as his own paper's subsequent opposition to Zenger's famed *New-York Weekly Journal*.

In contrast to Bradford's absence, the story of Zenger remains a fixture in American history and journalism courses, though far less often, in literature courses, a reminder that part of the work of transnational periodical studies is to also encourage the crossing of disciplinary boundaries. To briefly recap this well-known history, Zenger was part of the first newspaper war in the colony, occurring in 1734–1735. His wealthy patrons, James Alexander and Lewis Morris, paid to use his newspaper, the *New-York Weekly Journal*, to criticize then Governor Cosby (see fig. 15.1). Recently arrived, Cosby was a haughty leader, who used his position to enrich himself, rig the judicial system, reward his 'court' cronies, while firing his James Comey-like adversary Chief Justice Morris. Week after week, anonymous articles appeared in Zenger's newspaper highlighting Cosby's many perceived abuses of power and general incompetence. Though the pieces were penned by Morris and other members of the 'country' faction, Governor Cosby eventually had Zenger arrested for printing seditious libel. Rather than reveal the authors and stop printing, Zenger, however, willingly stayed in prison, for eight long months. He was finally exonerated by a jury verdict of 'not guilty,' setting up an important precedent for liberty of the press not only in America but across the Atlantic.

Credit for Zenger's victory in court is generally given to his eloquent, gifted attorney Andrew Hamilton and the entire trial is enshrined in a folio pamphlet penned by James Alexander and published by Zenger in 1736. Little credit is in fact given to John Peter Zenger himself. Jill Lepore, in a recent book on colonial New York, writes about the importance of the famous trial, while claiming that in the battle for press liberty Zenger merely served "to set the type."<sup>9</sup> For other historians, Zenger also seemed to have little say in this history-making event, some claiming he could barely speak never mind write in English.

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9 Lepore, *New York Burning*, xiii.



FIGURE 15.1 *New-York Weekly Journal* (Monday, November 24, 1735)  
COURTESY AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Once again it is an Anglocentric view of early American literary history that has distorted historical facts and, in the case of Zenger, almost fully eradicated his agency. A proper understanding of this remarkable printer requires us, this time, not to obliterate national boundaries but to highlight Zenger's own national and ethnic origins, as well as the historical forces that brought him and so many other German refugees to the colony New York in the first place.

Zenger was born in 1697 to a schoolmaster and his wife in the village of Rumbach, part of the Palatinate region of Germany. Recurrent invasions by the forces of King Louis XIV caused an exodus of approximately 30,000 Palatines to seek refuge in England. Many of these migrants ultimately hoped to go to America, drawn in part by pamphlets such as Josua Kocherthal's *Außführlich- und umständliche Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina* (Complete and detailed report of the famed district of Carolina). Filled with descriptions of riches and ease of life in America, pamphlets such as these created what Benedict Anderson refers to as "imagined communities" allowing masses of readers to contemplate newer, better sociopolitical situations and geographies. Arriving in a steady stream from May to November of 1709, the new arrivals, living in tents surrounding London, caused a highly politicized crisis. It was left to Whig supporters such as Daniel Dafoe to defend the immigrants as deserving new homes. Works such as Dafoe's *A Brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees*, for example, helped create a truly imagined people: the 'poor Palatines' besieged by a Catholic oppressor. Though they heralded from a variety of German territories, did not speak the same dialect, nor attend the same churches (some in fact were Catholics themselves), the arrivals willingly took on this identity for settlement in England, or better yet, passage to the golden land. In the end, 2,814 Palatines were transported in ten ships to New York, the largest single emigration to America at the time.

The plan, proposed by New York Governor Robert Hunter, was to have a handful of these immigrants indentured to artisans in the city and the remainder settled in villages along the Hudson Valley (now the county of New Paltz) trained to produce much needed naval stores for the building and maintaining of English ships. The two-month voyage was brutal – one quarter of the passengers dying of typhus. One of the victims was Zenger's own father, but he and his mother (Johanna) and two siblings (Anna Catharina and Johannes) arrived, in August of 1710, at Governor's Island, where the immigrants were first quarantined.

A year later, upon turning fourteen, John began a seven-year apprenticeship in William Bradford's shop. After living and working in Maryland, John returned to New York in 1722 to partner with Bradford before opening up his own print shop in 1726, which quickly began to thrive, mostly producing sermons and religious tracts in either Dutch or German.

When Zenger agreed on November 5, 1733, to begin issuing from his press, the *New-York Weekly Journal*, the first colonial newspaper published exclusively as an oppositional political organ, he had a host of reasons. The common consensus among historians is that Zenger started his paper exclusively for monetary reasons, as his patrons were some of the wealthiest New Yorkers

in the colony. The risks of taking on the king's governor suggests, however, that other reasons – equally imperative – pressed the German printer into the oppositional newspaper business. On the one hand, like many working-class freeholders who had begun to enjoy the relatively benevolent reign of Governor Hunter, Zenger would have found the new Governor's disregard for the larger welfare of the colony galling. As an educated German immigrant and prominent member of the Dutch Reformed Church, he also apparently had great disdain for the anti-immigrant biases Cosby tended to exhibit as well as his expressed contempt for non-Anglican worshipers. A 'deeper' understanding of Zenger's willingness to take on the new Governor thus should acknowledge Zenger's class, ethnicity, and training as a print worker. In other words, Zenger was hardly the stereotype of the German immigrant as a "low farmer or dumb pioneer" which Oliver Scheiding discusses in reference to another important German print pioneer Christopher Sauer.<sup>10</sup> Like Sauer, Zenger was both an enlightened and pragmatic printer, who, in publishing the *New York Journal*, simultaneously filled his pockets with precious *Geld* while using his paper to help his fellow New Yorkers imagine a more inclusive, rights-oriented community of freeholders.

Zenger's voice in fact continued to be heard in his paper throughout his incarceration, with help of his wife, Anna Catherine. As he explains to his readers, though in jail "I have had since that time the liberty of speaking thro' the hole of the door [of my prison] to my wife ... and hope for the future ... to entertain you with my weekly Journal as formerly."<sup>11</sup> The printer's apology was the first of a stream of letters from his prison cell.

Published on a weekly basis, they led to an outpouring of public sympathy for his cause and the focus of media attention across the colonies. Though generally written off as a 'mere mechanik' like so many other printers of the colonial era, attention to transnational concerns as well as the actual contents of his paper written expressly by him shows that Zenger was in fact very much complicit in the import of his actions.

In "Transnational Periodical Cultures: Key Terms in Current Research," Oliver Scheiding writes of the need to better historicize periodical studies while also "looking at the longue durée of periodical environments understood as a relational and associative web of overlapping socio-economic conditions, institutions, publics, identities and translations."<sup>12</sup> With these two ideas in mind, this essay concludes with an analysis of another overlooked printer who

10 Scheiding and Seidl, *Worlding America*, 7.

11 Zenger, *New-York Weekly Journal*, November 25, 1734.

12 Scheiding, "Transnational Periodical Cultures."

also deserves critical attention. I refer to John Holt, who followed in Zenger's footsteps during the Revolutionary Era. He in fact intentionally used the title of Zenger's paper as his own, to continue the fight to not simply *imagine* but help *realize* a community based on modern progressive ideals.

With William Bradford, I have suggested that we need to expand our national borders to better understand our literary past; paradoxically, with John Peter Zenger, I have argued that we need to pay close attention to national borders and ethnic origins. The newspaper work of John Holt provides a happy medium between these two seemingly antithetical arguments. His work on a newspaper that was elucidating the importance of a national identity underscores how an understanding of borders can be crucial as long as we also understand that notions of both national borders and identities evolve. When John Holt first began publishing his *New York Journal* in 1766, he was a decided Englishman. His paper advertised predominantly English goods, regularly reported on English news, and celebrated English liberties, established by the English Bill of Rights. His strong allegiance to England was even exhibited in his masthead, which from 1766 to 1774, depicted the British Royal Coat of Arms. Yet as British atrocities mounted first against Massachusetts, then against other colonies, his British allegiance diminished while his allegiance to the colonies strengthened.

During the seizure of Boston's port by the English in 1768, the beleaguered New England patriot Sam Adams fed Holt stories of British abuses. We can read these reports in the *New-York Journal* in a section called the "Journal of Occurrences." The reports were also reprinted in newspapers that circulated across the colonies. Each occurrence was written anonymously in diary form as the following sample entry dated November 9, 1768 shows:

A married woman living in Long Lane, returning home in the night, was seized by the neck and almost strangled, she was then thrown upon the ground, and treated with great indecencies: Another woman at New Boston was rudely handled. Mr. N – w – l of Needham, passing near the town gates, was struck with a musket and without the least provocation, received another stroke from a drunken guard, which stunned him.<sup>13</sup>

Accounts such as these were part of a propaganda war aimed at stirring patriotic sentiment and compelling action even as many of the reports were highly embellished or made up entirely.

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13 *New-York Journal*, November 9, 1768, 2.

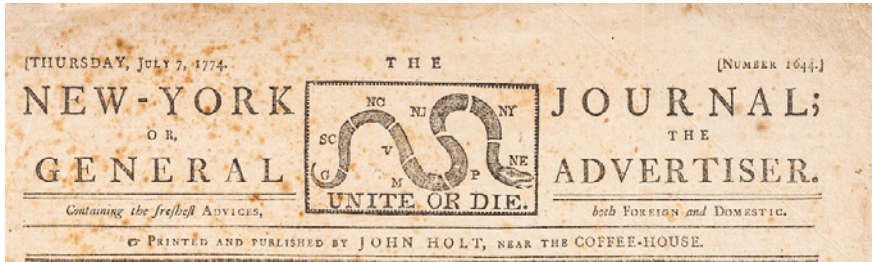


FIGURE 15.2 *New-York Journal; or, General Advertiser* (July 7, 1774)  
COURTESY AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY



FIGURE 15.3 *New-York Journal; or, General Advertiser* (December 29, 1774)  
COURTESY AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

In these accounts appearing in his newspaper, Holt helped rally anti-British sentiment across the colonies. As Robert G. Parkinson has written, Holt's newspaper accounts "fostered a sense of sameness, simultaneity, and belonging ... a critical component of forming intercolonial unity and making the cause common."<sup>14</sup>

As the British occupation continued, the newspaper's anti-British content increased. Also changed was Holt's masthead. In June of 1774, for example, Holt drops the Royal Coat of Arms for Benjamin Franklin's famous cartoon of a severed snake, first used in 1754 (see fig. 15.2). Holt's version is an almost exact replica of Franklin's, with a subtle difference in that he changes "Join or Die" to "Unite or Die" (see Minty). The idea, of course, is colonial unity against a common enemy.

After the Continental Congress met in December of 1774, Holt changed his masthead again (fig. 15.3). In it, he included an image of the Magna Carta, held up by twelve hands (representing each of the colonies) and encircled by the formerly severed serpent. First printed in 1215, the Magna Carta put a limit on

14 Parkinson, *Common Cause*, 41.



the king's power, provided protection of individual liberties, and increased the powers of Parliament. Holt, knowing the important legacy of the charter, included it atop of his publication to remind colonial readers of their own rights.

To emphasize this point, inscribed onto the snake, are the words: "UNITED NOW ALIVE AND FREE ... EVER BLESS OUR LAND ... FIRM ON THIS BASIS LIBERTY SHALL STAND."

In referring to the colonies as "our land" Holt calls for a full break from the mother country. With the printing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia in August of 1776, Holt's proclamation became a reality. In Holt's efforts to bind what were essentially thirteen separate nations, we see some of the tenets of postcolonial studies. In his evolving political position vis-à-vis England, as reflected in his evolving content and changing mastheads, we see Holt's hope of a newly imagined community defined, in part, by British ideals. As Paul Jay writes, "the post-colonial marks a break in the history of the nation-state but not a break *from* that history."<sup>15</sup> Also familiar to postcolonial writing, we see in Holt's paper the anxiety of separation as well as the insistence on sovereignty, that is, the demand for inclusivity in a new national fabric rather than persistent exclusivity.

In looking at Bradford, Zenger, and Holt, this essay has shown how transnational periodical studies can usefully problematize the boundaries of American literature, allowing for more fluid contours. Its practice can serve to destabilize national mythologies and the literary canon in favor of broadened cultural, religious, and ethnic realities that were always there in the first place. The lines of association connecting Holt, Zenger, and Bradford, in turn, reveal dedicated individuals committed to burgeoning modern ideals. A final irony relating to the progressive efforts of Bradford, Zenger, Holt, however, requires addressing. It is imperative to note that all of their newspapers were funded in part by advertisements for the sale and/or capture of enslaved persons. In the global expansion, or "worlding" of American literatures, we need to also acknowledge these ads as revelatory texts in and of themselves. Windows into the forced displacement of millions of black bodies, these ads remind us of yet another "connective tissue" binding America to the rest of the world.

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15 Jay, *Global Matters*, 41.

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# The Periodical Press in the Upper Rhine (1780–1810): Cultural Transfers and Cross-Border Figures

*Anaïs Nagel*

## Abstract

This chapter employs both close readings and modern technology to examine the rapidly changing print market during the French Revolution and the rise of the Napoleonic Empire, a transitional era characterized by new forms of publication thanks to the liberties granted by the Human Rights Declaration of 1789 and the latter's thrust against repression and imperial censorship. Focusing on the Upper Rhine region between 1780 and 1810, the chapter investigates how newspapers shape regional and national identities and how the periodical press contributes to the acculturation of individual and collective cultural politics in the Upper Rhine area. The chapter thus raises a number of methodological issues that are currently at the center of periodical studies, that is, the relevance of archival and digital research for gathering information about the structure and the content of newspapers, but also about the journalists, editors, and printers, their forms of cooperation, and their various kinds of networks. This not only allows us to learn more about the impact of periodicals on specific regions or people, but also to localize and map these relations.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire are a particularly interesting period with respect to the history of print in general and the rise of the modern press and the newspaper in particular. The so-called "Sattelzeit" (Reinhard Koselleck) at the end of the eighteenth century was not only marked by new forms of temporality, democratization, and the rise of the concept of ideology, but also saw an increase in the number of print publications. Comprising no fewer than three different forms of government – the ancien régime, the French Revolution, and Napoleon's continental empire – the period witnessed the radical evolution and transformation of societies due to rapidly changing politics. The border area around the Rhine River constituted both a dividing line and a contact zone that continuously shifted under the pressures of revolutionary and imperial expansionism and setbacks. Considered the backbone

of central Europe, the Rhine borderlands became a hotbed for printing and the promulgation of news in the closing years of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, with complex cultural exchanges and transfers taking place along the Rhine axis from Basle to Mainz. What one encounters in the pages of newspapers are hybrid phenomena of acculturation, which are the result of both individual and collective cultural politics, and which are linked to regional and national identifications.

Given the high number of periodicals and the rapidly changing local and translocal adherences in the Upper Rhine area at the time, one of the central questions is how to build a reliable and manageable corpus of source material. Once the corpus has been selected, we need to choose the methods and the tools appropriate for a structural and typological analysis of periodicals. In what follows, I will suggest a historical approach based on a combination of spreadsheets and tools developed by the digital humanities.

### A Quantitative Analysis of the Structural Evolution of Periodicals

In order to get an overview of the periodicals, I used spreadsheets (see appendix below) to list such editorial details as the format, the paper quality, the number of pages, the illustrations, the language, and the price. From a formal perspective, these spreadsheets chart the particular evolution of every newspaper, and comparing the individual entries period by period has allowed me to observe general patterns.

Indeed, as a result of editorial choices, some periodicals have evolved in quite different ways. Consider the following two examples. First, in a statistical analysis of the development of prices during the period in question it is not enough to take one periodical after the other and simply describe the respective changes. The changes need to be compared to each other so as to determine whether they all appeared simultaneously or at different times. The comparison may raise questions such as whether some publishers benefited from a privileged status, whether financial difficulties were the result of the general economic situation or the effect of some kind of boycott against the editor, or whether a financial crisis of a periodical caused its disappearance.

The second example concerns the proportion taken up by the political section 'Assemblée Nationale' in each periodical. Adopting a method developed by Pierre Rétat and Claude Labrosse in their studies of Parisian newspapers published during the French Revolution,<sup>1</sup> I made rough estimates of the total

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<sup>1</sup> Labrosse and Rétat, *Naissance du Journal*.

number of characters used in the entire issue and in the 'Assemblée Nationale' section in order to be able to calculate the respective percentage. This allows us to understand how important this type of information was and to discuss whether this section could have also been a way of filling the pages whenever the editor lacked other fresh news.

Considering these findings within the political and social context in the Upper Rhine, France, and more broadly speaking Europe will probably confirm the notion that this environment had a certain impact on the publications.

### Identifying Editorial and News Centers

The periodicals in my corpus relay news both from the city in which they were published as well as from other places, including France, Germany, but also countries much further away. Sources for these news were the editors' and printers' personal letters as well as other newspapers. Comparing the places where the news came from to the places where the papers were edited and the various places where they were sold, we notice that the news in these papers mainly concerns places near the selling points. A quantitative analysis even allows for the identification of some centers in the region. Thus, among the eleven cities where periodicals were published, two main editorial centers emerge: Strasbourg with around thirty newspapers and Mainz with around twenty, whereas the other cities merely had about five periodicals each on the market between the 1780s and the 1810s.

However, one needs to be careful when analyzing titles of articles that mention a particular location (for example, "Paris, le ..." or "Neaple"), as these titles do not necessarily indicate whether the news reported in the article was sent from there or whether it simply relays news about the place or maybe both. Hence, the articles' content needs to be examined, and even then, the news might have been taken from a newspaper from another town. It is also important to note that those articles which indicate the city in their title, but not the date when the news was sent, usually consist of a compilation of news taken from several sources that are not always cited. Articles entitled "Lettres de ..." or articles whose title gives the name of the periodical from which the editor has taken the news are easier to classify. Hugh Gough, in his study of *Courrier de Strasbourg* editor Jean-Charles Laveaux, for example, focuses on the latter's personal letters and on explicit references to the city in the titles of articles so as to map the origins of the news featured in that periodical.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Gough, *Laveaux*.

The newspapers' distribution is hard to determine because the financial accounts have usually been lost and the news and letters inserted in the pages are not sufficient to assess the actual distribution. Comparing the places of where the news originated to information about the lives of the periodical actors nevertheless allows us to identify personal networks that may have helped the distribution of the periodicals.

### No Circulation without Vectors

Many periodicals were the product of collaborations, such as that between Jean-Frédéric Simon and Andreas Meyer on *Geschichte der gegenwärtigen Zeit* between 1790 and 1793. At a time when the journalistic profession was in its beginnings, the identity of individual print actors was sometimes rather complex. An editor, for instance, could also have been the printer of his own newspaper; a political society or a political figure could have been a sponsor or a partner involved in a periodical; some newspapers had more than just one editor; sometimes – depending on the political and personal situation – the editor in chief delegated either a single article or the entire publication to a different person or to an editorial committee. Thus, during the summer and fall of 1792, Jean-Charles Laveaux was away from Strasbourg and was replaced by his Jacobin friend François Alexandre and subsequently by a committee composed of members of the “Société des amis de la Constitution” (also called Jacobins): Mainoné, Rivage, Boy, and Monet.<sup>3</sup>

Some printers were also responsible for more than just one periodical. From 1797 to 1798, for instance, Philippe-Jacques Dannbach printed two periodicals, the *Affiches du Bas-Rhin* and the *Strasburger Neue Zeitung*. At the time, he had already gathered a lot of experience in the printing world, as he had previously printed two other newspapers, the *Feuille de Strasbourg* (1792) and the *Weltbote* (1793–1794). At the end of the eighteenth century, Dannbach became one of the municipality's official printers, which offered stability and security during politically difficult times.

The actors are linked to their publications and thus to each other, ultimately creating editorial centers such as Strasbourg. These relationships can easily be visualized in a map, but they also raise further questions: When and where did the actors meet? How did their partnership begin? Comparing the lives of individual actors reveals why two or sometimes even more actors had decided to collaborate. In the eighteenth century, printers had to travel within the Upper

3 *Courrier de Strasbourg*, 1792, 126–262.

Rhine region, the cradle of printing, or even further away, in order to complete their studies. Printers thus may have met other actors during their journeys abroad, or the excellent reputation of, say, a writer may have drawn a printer to him. This, in turn, may have resulted in a partnership between a printer and a writer whom the printer knew and admired, perhaps because he had already sold some of his books. Occasionally, political affiliations may have led to business associations. After the reconquest of Mainz by the Prussians in 1793, for instance, some Jacobin editors from that city went to Strasbourg to contribute to a periodical entitled the *Rheinische Zeitung* and published in 1796. Georg Wedekind, editor of the *Patriot* (1792–1793), and Mathias Metternich, editor of the *Bürgerfreund* (1792–1793), who had both published in Mainz, seem to have helped Christoph Friedrich Cotta to bring this newspaper to life in Strasbourg. On February 15, 1795, Wedekind published a declaration in which he said he had had no hand in the writing of the *Rheinische Zeitung* but was responsible for the articles signed “W.” Metternich, in turn, was mentioned, like Cotta, as being the editor of some editions.<sup>4</sup> Their links to the Jacobins had certainly encouraged Wedekind and Metternich to enter into an editorial alliance with Cotta. Links between editors, printers, and other partners had existed at an earlier stage as well. The trajectories of the actors’ various trips and their meeting places constitute further centers.

A structural analysis of the Upper Rhine press thus covers, amongst others, the quantitative development of newspaper prices, the space taken up by the paper’s various sections, the origins of the news, and the networks between the different actors of printing enterprises during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This structural analysis needs to be complemented by a content analysis, however.

### Periodical Actors

Periodical actors may serve as a starting point for analyses of periodical content, as they frequently offer clues about the periodical’s philosophical and political positions. Editors obviously disclosed their points of view via articles in which they openly expressed their opinions, but also via their selection of news items and sources. For instance, the political or ideological position of a paper may be indicated by whether it printed news from the Jacobin and the Cordelier clubs. These two societies were known to be radical republicans, the latter even more so than the former. The affiliation to one of those groups occasionally led to tensions between, for example, the editor and the printer or the

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4 Kintz, “Alsace,” 189–278.

publisher. As the political situation grew worse, some papers would go as far as printing the terms of the association between editor and printer/publisher, as, for instance, in some editions of the *Courrier de Strasbourg* at the end of 1792, where an article clearly stated the role of each periodical actor: Laveaux was solely responsible for the content, while Treuttel was merely the printer and had no say in the selection of news. Nevertheless, Laveaux could use the correspondence of his partner. At the time, their relations were extremely tense and during Laveaux's absence, some weeks before publishing the article about their agreement, the editorial committee in charge of replacing him even printed a public letter to remind Treuttel of his duties, turning the paper's readership into a witness of the affair.<sup>5</sup> Generally, an editor was free to print whatever he wanted. Sometimes, however, tensions between editor and printer are clearly evident in the articles.

Moreover, the editors' style and tone, as well as the quotes they use, may contribute to identifying the political orientation of the periodical. Johann Butenschön, editor of the *Weltbote*, for instance, used different quotes under the title of his newspaper, some of which were surprisingly humorous. On May 20 and May 28, 1793, readers of the *Weltbote* thus read underneath the paper's title: "In gewissen Gegenden von Afrika erkaufte man den Adel um einen Hund, eine Ziege, u. einen Ochsen. Die Ochsenköpfe [*sic*] werden sodann als ein Zeichen des Adels aufbewahrt. Es gibt also auch in Afrika adeliche Ochsenköpfe."<sup>6</sup> Playing with the different meanings of the word "Ochsenköpfe," which refers to both the head of an ox and a stubborn person, Butenschön uses irony to attack the aristocracy for not following the revolutionary ideas and for remaining stubbornly attached to their privileges. The following week, Butenschön took position in the Jewish question, quoting the "Traité sur les juifs d'Alsace." Hence, paying attention to the actors can lead to insights about the political orientation of a periodical. The goal of the researcher is to establish which messages, ideas, and opinions the actors really wanted to convey to their readers.

Periodical actors may also serve as a starting point for the analysis of the representation of specific political events in the periodicals. Which participants in these events are mentioned? How are these participants described? What exactly did these words mean during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries? The choices made by the writer – even if he did not write the article himself but only took it from a letter or from the pages of

5 See *Courrier de Strasbourg*, December 14, 1792, 1177; July 26, 1792, 693.

6 "In certain areas of Africa, nobility can be bought by giving a dog, a goat and an ox. The ox-heads are then kept as a sign of nobility. There are, therefore, also aristocratic ox-heads in Africa" (my translation).



another periodical – may reveal his own opinion as well as the philosophical and political standpoint of the periodical.

Finally, periodical actors may also be used as a starting point for a discussion of cultural transfers. Their mobility and their relations on both sides of the Rhine made it into the periodicals they wrote or published. German and French people often worked together, especially in the city of Strasbourg, to which some German intellectuals had been drawn by the ideas of the Enlightenment and the Revolution. Others had to flee there – from Mainz, for instance – because their city had been repossessed by the Prussians and their Austrian allies. Letters and news may also have come from international contacts. Therefore, actors provide interesting starting points for analyses of many different aspects of periodicals, from their political position to the events related in them and to processes of acculturation during their production.

### Events and Distinct Political Cultures

The news of Louis XVI's flight from Paris to Varennes, for instance, was printed in a total of ten periodicals published at that time in the Upper Rhine.<sup>7</sup> Timothy Tackett, in his book *When the King Took Flight*, breaks down the event into several sequences, which is particularly useful for my own analysis.<sup>8</sup> The goal

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7 I focus on how some key notions and events during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have been used and relayed in the Upper Rhine press. Some events that all took place over a period of forty years, from 1780 to 1820, may be examined. For example: the king and subsequent arrest of Louis XVI of France and his family to Varennes on June 21, 1791 or any other event that appears as a turning point in the French, in the European and thus in the Upper Rhine political culture. I will offer a detailed analysis of how events developed, how they were represented and recounted in the press, and how they impacted society at the time. In each case, I will focus on a period of one month following the event itself. Every single article published on the events will be taken into account in order to explain precisely when and how the news of each event was relayed. Thus, my work will reveal when individual newspapers relayed the events, how they interpreted them, and what discourses they used to do so. Following this quantitative examination, I will compare the representation and interpretation of the events in the various periodicals. Yet another goal of my work is to understand how periodicals, as products of their society, impacted the lives of different people living in the Upper Rhine area. Rather than relying on prefabricated categories or on national borders, I will examine whether there really was a common culture in the Upper Rhine or, on the contrary, whether the political line followed by the state or the standpoint of the editors made a difference. Cultural transfers, cross-border figures, and transnational currents will thus play a major role in my study.

8 Tackett, *When the King*.

here is to understand how each periodical relayed the news of the flight of Louis XVI, of his discovery and arrest, of the subsequent return of the royal family to Paris, and of the reaction of the population as well as the feedback in the provinces. This method has already been successfully employed by Rolf Reichardt and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink in their book about the fall of the Bastille.<sup>9</sup>

I generally agree with Timothy Tackett, who in his recent book *The Coming of the Terror*<sup>10</sup> argues that we have to give greater importance to emotions as a way of understanding how editors treated participants in the events. For instance, did editors portray participants positively or negatively? The purpose of such questions is to identify what Haïm Burstin has called “the revolutionary protagonism,” that is, the way newspapers relayed the Revolution and to what goal.<sup>11</sup> This requires determining who the protagonists were before the event and discussing how sometimes previously unknown persons seized the opportunity to make a sensation and become famous.

The newspapers published in the Upper Rhine did not relay the news without expressing their opinions about the protagonists, thereby influencing their readers. In the case of Louis XVI's flight, for example, most of the periodicals still unanimously referred to Louis XVI by his name or position. The only exception was the *Geschichte der gegenwärtigen Zeit*, which called the king a perjurer as soon as people learned of the flight. Newspapers may thus be classified according to the ways in which they referred to the various actors: the king, traditional *pater familias* or perjurer; the royal family, mostly well-respected and considered a symbol of hope for the monarchy; the organizers of the flight, perpetrators to be punished or the last friends and hope of the royal family; and the discoverers of the flight, either heroes or ordinary citizens. What these categories ultimately reveal is that there was not much difference between French and German periodicals and that diverging viewpoints appear amongst all of them. This also applies to the way the periodicals described the event itself, as well as to the ways they employed notions such as ‘the Nation,’ ‘the Republic,’ ‘the People,’ etc. Event discourses thus reveal an emerging political culture at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

9 Lüsebrink and Reichardt, “Bastille.”

10 Tackett, *Coming of the Terror*.

11 Burstin, *Révolutionnaires*.

12 Monnier and Guilhaumou, *Des notions-concepts*; Guilhaumou, *L'avènement*.

Similar analyses can be made for the other three events, although of course each event displayed its own idiosyncrasies. In addition, as some newspapers appear entirely in German, others entirely in French, and still others in both languages, special attention needs to be paid to the bilingual newspapers in order to determine how the news was relayed in each language and whether there are differences between the two versions. This allows us to take a closer look at instances of cultural transfer in the Upper Rhine between the 1780s and the 1810s.

### Translation and Cultural Transfer

One of the main characteristics of the Upper Rhine press from the end of the eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries is its multilingualism. Incidentally, whether a paper was mono- (either German or French) or bilingual had nothing to do with its geographical location. The *Strasburgische privilegierte Zeitung*, the *Weltbote*, and the *Geschichte der gegenwärtigen Zeit*, for instance, were all published in Strasbourg in German, whereas the *Journal politique de Mayence* was, as its title indicates, published in French, its German location notwithstanding. Although Alsatian periodicals are mostly in German, some of them may also use dialect, as is the case with the *Strasburgische privilegierte Zeitung*: Rather than “Februar,” the paper’s editor referred to the month as “Hornung.” Does this choice of words indicate an editorial position and did the editor use it to address a specific audience? Is this word even used consistently throughout the paper or did the editor perhaps simply copy it from a letter due to lack of time? Since many periodicals appeared daily, the latter seems probable. Or maybe the editor did not care about this question of language at all because he knew that his readers would understand both words.

The *Strasburgische privilegierte Zeitung* raises another question. The articles in its ‘National Assembly’ section contain several words in brackets, mostly French expressions that have been translated into German by either the person who sent the news or the editor himself. If the writer had not translated these expressions, this could have signified that he considered them well-known and saw no reason for a translation. By translating them, however, he obviously sought to make himself understood by as many readers as possible, which could be a sign of a commitment to acculturation.

The two versions of the bilingual papers in my corpus appear either on the same or on different sheets. Sometimes, specific articles are only inserted in one version, as in the case of the *Affiches de Strasbourg*, for example. Other papers chose the sources of information according to the target audience.

The *Courrier de Strasbourg*, for instance, is split into two versions. The French one was meant for the Francophone intellectual elite, the German one addressed a more popular readership. Even though the same event may be described in both versions, it may be in completely different articles. Generally, the French version sounds more official and uses a more sophisticated style, while the German version is characterized by a more colloquial tone. Hence, although the two versions relay the same news and the same opinions, there is a significant difference between the ways these news and opinions are delivered.

### Conclusion

The method suggested in this chapter for a study of the Upper Rhine press during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries involves reconstituting a corpus of sources, choosing a research goal, and undertaking a structural and content analysis of the periodicals. The structural analysis highlights such aspects as the price evolution and the links between different periodical actors. The content analysis allows us to describe the cultural transfers taking place at the time. Thus, traditional techniques and modern technology alike offer glimpses into the printing practices of that particular era. Perhaps the most innovative feature of my methodology is the emphasis given to cultural transfers and exchanges between various cities and regions in the French and German border areas. The links between different printers and editors reporting current events give us new insights into the political and social context of the time.

### Appendix

#### *Assembling a Corpus*

In the case of periodicals from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Upper Rhine the problem of how to select a reliable corpus of sources is especially pertinent. I began by identifying the titles of the periodicals printed between 1780 and 1810 in the Upper Rhine region. In a second step, I consulted the databases of archives and libraries in the cities where the newspapers were published. Thanks to bibliographies such as *La presse départementale en révolution (1789–1799)*,<sup>13</sup> periodicals from the Alsatian *départements* were far easier to research than those from the other side of

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13 Kintz, "Alsace."

the Rhine. The online database of German libraries, to a certain extent, helped me to identify periodicals printed in the cities of the Upper Rhine (including Mainz, Freiburg im Breisgau, or Basle). If no exact titles could be found, the *Zeitungsdatenbank* newspaper database allowed me to use keywords such as 'Zeitung' or 'Merkur' or – and this proved to be extremely efficient – to select the specific period and the city I was interested in. Thus, periodical titles as well as links to the online collections of the Universities of Freiburg, Munich, Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, Mainz, etc. could be found. While many German periodicals have been digitized, this is not the case in France. Physical copies of most Alsatian titles are available in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire in Strasbourg (BNUS). As the archives are often incomplete, however, other local libraries had to be consulted in order to fill the remaining gaps.

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) in Paris keeps some of these periodical issues and has digitized some newspapers, for example, the *Affiches de Strasbourg*, the *Strasburgische privilegierte Zeitung*, or the *Weltbote*. These are the only periodicals printed in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Alsace that have been digitized so far. Other digitized papers – mostly from Paris – can be found on Gallica or Numistral (BNF's and BNUS's programs of digitization). These online newspapers allow for comparisons between Parisian and Upper Rhine periodicals. For those that had not been digitized, however, I needed to consult the online databases and visit the archives in person or ask for scans of newspaper issues.

Hence, creating a reliable and usable corpus for further analysis was seriously hampered by archival gaps and the geographical dispersion of archives. Once I had selected about seventy-five periodicals, what methods could be used? Digital humanities have greatly facilitated historical research, but before choosing their tools historians first need to identify the exact goal of their analysis. This was done with the help of spreadsheets.

### Spreadsheets and Tools

Before I introduce the various spreadsheets I employed to analyze the periodicals in my corpus, it is important to stress that every single detail is worth looking at, even if it is a feature that only characterizes one individual periodical. One spreadsheet was used to list the various structural, typological, and content characteristics of each periodical. Depending on the subject and the objectives of the research project, some of the tools commonly adopted in digital humanities may turn out to be less than helpful – sometimes, and even if it may seem old-fashioned, a simple Microsoft Excel table can be efficient, although some of the spreadsheets described below could have

also been created with more sophisticated and efficient software. The spreadsheet I used features several columns that were split to further specify individual categories.

TABLE 16.1 Titles, dates, and other formal features

Title & subtitle	Date		Format	Number of pages	Language	Supplement
	Gregorian calendar	Republican calendar			French/ German/ Bilingual	Yes/ No Number of pages
Prospectus						
1						
2						
3						

The first column is dedicated to the periodical issues and the prospectus (if there was one). The next column lists the titles and subtitles, which has allowed me to easily note orthographical evolutions as well as radical changes in (sub-)titles. The third column is for the date of publication, with two subcolumns for the Gregorian and the Republican calendars. The fourth column is dedicated to the format (in-folio or in-4° or in-8°, etc.), the fifth to the number of pages, and the sixth to the languages used (German, French, or both). The final column indicates whether or not the newspaper featured a supplement.

TABLE 16.2 Textual additions and illustrations

Quotation	Summary	Illustrations	
yes/no	yes/no	yes/no	Number

More columns were added. The first one is for quotations and mottos. If there is one below the title, the respective cell in the spreadsheet is linked to another spreadsheet that contains the quotations. The second column is for the summary and the third one is for illustrations. The latter was also split into two: Yes/No and number of illustrations. If the periodical issue has one or several illustrations, the cell is linked to an image database. For example, from January 3, 1791 to August 23, 1792, the *Strassburgische*

*Zeitung* featured a motto underneath its title: “Freyheit, Wahrheit, Unpartheilichkeit” (“Liberty, Truth, Impartiality”). Other periodicals like the *Courrier de Strasbourg* or the *Mannheimer Intelligenzblatt*, in turn, used a frontispiece. Mottoes and frontispieces constitute important elements of the masthead, as they give readers and critics an indication of the periodical’s philosophical and political position. Furthermore, the periodicals’ prices in the city of publication and at the other points of sale in the state or abroad have been listed, as well as the price for the supplement, if it was sold independently.

TABLE 16.3 Publication and production features

Price				Edition place	Selling place	Editor- contributor	Publisher
City (per year)	State	Abroad	Supplement alone				

Three more columns of the spreadsheet are devoted to the place of printing, the points of sale, and the periodical actors, that is, the editors, publishers, and other contributors. Although some of the periodicals were written and published by a single person, many others were the product of a collaboration between several actors. The *Geschichte der gegenwärtigen Zeit*, for instance, was jointly edited by Jean-Frédéric Simon and André Meyer, who for a while were assisted by Christoph Friedrich Cotta; and the paper was published by Lorenz and Schuler.

TABLE 16.4 Textual organization within the newspapers

Sections			Supplement sections
None / Explicit / Implicit	Titles	Titles in other language	Titles

The next column indicates whether the paper is divided into sections, and if so, whether these are implicit or explicit, what their titles are, and whether there are sections in a language other than the main language of the paper. The same information is provided for the supplement.

TABLE 16.5 Cross-border and translation features

Expressions		Sources of information	Geographica origin of the news
Translated	Nontranslated		

Yet another column focuses on the different translations of certain expressions (for example, expressions for ‘Nation,’ ‘Republic,’ ‘Jacobin,’ etc.). Two more columns indicate the sources of information and the geographical origin of the news.

Even though this spreadsheet may appear very comprehensive, it needed to be complemented by another one that lists the actors and their careers, with entries being linked, of course, to the appropriate column in the first spreadsheet. All information found in the periodicals or in other sources needed to be written down in order to get a clear idea of who these actors were and where they positioned themselves politically and philosophically. FileMaker or other programs like Access can help linking the spreadsheets and making statistical analyses. Tools such as Géoportail, Google Earth, Inkscape, or Illustrator can be used to create maps that visualize editorial or news centers.

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# Transcultural Careers in the Periodical Press: Fleury Mesplet and Paul-Marc Sauvalle as Transatlantic Mediators

*Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink*

## Abstract

This contribution addresses transatlantic mediators in the Francophone Canadian press in a twofold way: firstly, in questioning the core concepts of cultural transfer, transcultural mediator, transcultural career, and transcultural biography; and secondly, in presenting case studies on two French Canadian journalists who both were born in France and migrated to Canada after a several-year-long stint in the United States. In fact Fleury Mesplet, a native of Lyon, who worked as a printer and journalist in Philadelphia before emigrating to Canada in order to spread the ideas of the American Revolution and the ideals of Republicanism, and Paul-Marc Sauvalle, born in Le Havre, who, after a three-year interlude as a journalist in New Orleans and Mexico City, became one of the very first French Canadian liberal newsman, were both very influential and even groundbreaking mediators. They seem to illustrate in a paradigmatic way the dynamics of intercultural experiences and the transcultural biographies generating new forms of journalism.

## 1 Conceptual Approach and Methodological Considerations

This chapter intends to introduce some of the concepts which, it seems to me, are of central importance to the study of transnational dimensions of the press, and, by way of illustration, to present two case studies concerning the transatlantic relations between the press and the printing landscapes in France, the United States, and Canada in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My analysis is based on the core theoretical concepts of cultural transfer, the transcultural mediator, and the transcultural career or, more broadly speaking, the concept of transcultural biography. The concept of cultural transfer, which arose in the late 1980s, implies a methodological perspective of analysis which questions the circulation, translation (understood in both the linguistic and the cultural sense of the term), mediation, and reception of cultural

artifacts – such as media, information, or images – between different cultural areas. Intercultural or transcultural mediators such as journalists, editors, printers, or translators play a central role in processes of cultural transfer. They represent not only the driving forces of the process answering the question *why* cultural artifacts come to circulate between different areas; they are also often identifiable according to specific intercultural competences and experiences, by transcultural careers, the knowledge of and experience in different languages and – in the case of journalists – culturally different “mediascapes.”<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the two case studies on Fleury Mesplet and Paul-Marc Sauvalle tend to show that transcultural mediators and cultural transfers represent major factors of cultural change in societies which would have developed differently – namely, substantially slower and with less diversity – without these factors. The dynamics of cultural and, more generally, social and political change, for example in the mediascapes and the printing landscapes, is thus closely linked to both the agency and the impact of specific transcultural mediators and the structure and intensity of (inter-)cultural transfers.

## 2 From Lyon to London, Philadelphia, and Montréal: Fleury Mesplet, Journalist, Printer, and Editor

“Before Mesplet’s arrival in Montréal,” notes his biographer Jean-Paul de Lagrave in his book *Fleury de Mesplet: Diffuseur des Lumières au Québec* (translated into English under the title *Voltaire’s Man in America*), “there was no printer, no bookstore, no public library, no journalism: Montréal was even more backward than Philadelphia had been when Franklin arrived there in 1723; at least some books were sold and almanacs printed in that city.”<sup>2</sup> Fleury Mesplet was, in fact, the first printer and bookseller in Montréal and, together with his fellow countryman and collaborator Valentin Jautard (1736–1787), became the director of the *Gazette de Montréal* printed and edited by Fleury Mesplet, one of the very first journalists in Francophone Canada.<sup>3</sup>

1 The term ‘mediascape’ (which was originally coined by Arjun Appadurai) refers to the various forms of media within a specific cultural area. See Garneau and Moser, “Postface,” 367–68.

2 De Lagrave, *Voltaire’s Man*, 70. De Lagrave’s book was first published in Canada, titled *Fleury Mesplet (1734–1794): Diffuseur des Lumières au Québec* (Montréal: Patenaude, 1968); a reedition appeared under the title *L’Époque de Voltaire au Canada: Biographie politique de Fleury Mesplet (1734–1794)* (Montréal, Paris: L’Étincelle Éditeur, 1993).

3 For Jautard see De Lagrave and Ruelland, *Valentin Jautard*; on the origins of the Francophone press in Canada see De Lagrave, *Les origines de la presse*.

Born in 1734 in Lyon, besides Paris the main printing capital in France in the early modern period, Fleury Mesplet emigrated to the New England colonies in 1764, after initially emigrating to London during 1773 and 1774, where he worked as a printer and editor at Covent Garden. His move to North America was probably due to personal contact with Benjamin Franklin in London in 1733, who attracted the young and talented French printer to Philadelphia in order to found the very first French printing house in the United States and to establish close cooperations with his own expanding printing house, known especially because of the overwhelming success of Franklin's *The Poor Richard's Almanack*. Mesplet's reemigration to New France in 1775 had economic reasons – Mesplet had little success as a Francophone printer in the Anglophone cultural environment of the New England colonies and rapidly contracted debts – but also specific political reasons. These were related to the Congress's demands that Mesplet publish an open letter to the "Inhabitants of the Province of Québec, on Behalf of the General Congress of North America," written by Henry Richard Lee (from Virginia), which he had published in Philadelphia in French.<sup>4</sup> Quoting the works of Montesquieu and Voltaire in this pamphlet, Mesplet aimed to convince the inhabitants of the Province of Québec of a prospective political union with the United States of America.<sup>5</sup> Mesplet settled down for this purpose in Montréal in 1776 during the temporary occupation of the town by General Montgomery's troops. Eight days after the retirement of the American troops from Montréal Mesplet was jailed by the British colonial authorities but liberated three weeks later. Despite these circumstances and obstacles Mesplet succeeded in establishing himself as an editor and a printer, the very first in Montréal and the second in the province of Québec, after the editors Brown and Gilmore, who founded a printing house in Québec City in 1764, four years after the conquest of New France by Great Britain in 1760.

His printing production in the following years until his death in 1794 was comprised of essentially two components: On the one hand he edited and printed religious publications ordered by the numerous religious communities in the province of Québec. These communities had been cut off from the French book market since the British conquest of the colony during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), but still required printed material for the religious

4 *Lettre adressée aux habitans de la province de Quebec, ci-devant le Canada: de la part du Congrès général de l'Amérique septentrionale, tenu à Philadelphie* (Philadelphia: Imprimé et publié par ordre du Congrès à Philadelphie, de l'Imprimerie de Fleury Mesplet, 1774). See on this letter De Lagrave, *L'Époque de Voltaire au Canada*, 25.

5 Godbout, *Benjamin Franklin*, 31.

instruction of their followers and pupils, for example, the *Cantiques de l'âme dévote* or the *Règlement de la Confrérie de l'Adoration perpétuelle*, the very first religious texts edited by Fleury Mesplet in Montréal in 1776.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand Fleury Mesplet developed a printing program of nonreligious documents which reflected, in an often hidden way, his political convictions based on the ideals of democratic Republicanism and the French Enlightenment. This nonreligious production started with the *Almanac Encyclopédique* and the *Almanach curieux et intéressant*, published in 1776 and in 1777, and another periodical publication,<sup>7</sup> the *Gazette littéraire*, in 1778. The *Gazette littéraire* was the very first newspaper edited in Canada, followed the same year by the *Gazette du commerce* and in 1785 by the *Gazette de Montréal*, initially published only in French and later in a bilingual edition.

Upon liberation from another imprisonment – from 1779 to 1782, he was interned together with his fellow countryman and companion journalist Valentin Jautard (born in Bordeaux), for political reasons and the publication of seditious prints – Mesplet resumed publishing several of his periodicals: the *Almanac Encyclopédique*, the *Almanach curieux et intéressant*, the *Gazette de Montréal*, and some calendars (*Calendriers*).<sup>8</sup> Whereas religious commissions became rare after his imprisonment, Mesplet continued to publish a whole series of nonreligious pamphlets, mainly related to judicial and administrative issues.

The 1791 pamphlet entitled *La Bastille septentrionale, ou les Trois sujets britanniques opprimés*, a protest against the condemnation and the imprisonment of three British militia, used the political symbol of the Bastille and can be considered the last political pamphlet produced by Mesplet as an editor and printer. Mesplet also published the very first bilingual manual, in English and Mohawk, edited in Canada and addressed directly to members of the First Nation in order to introduce Mohawk children to reading and writing English. Written by Daniel Claus, the manual was titled *A Primer for the Mohwak Children to Acquire the Spelling and Reading of Their Own* (1781).

In the framework of (inter-)cultural transfers and transcultural periodicals, Fleury Mesplet is of twofold interest: The establishment of the *Almanac encyclopédique*, then of the *Almanach curieux et intéressant* as well as the *Gazette de Montréal*, was the result of the cultural transfer and intercultural adaptation

6 Fauteux, "Mesplet," 168–69.

7 On the origins and the evolution of the almanac production in Francophone Canada, see Lüsebrink, *Le livre aimé*.

8 Fauteux, "Mesplet," 185–88.

of the print-media genres of the almanac and the gazette which had been present in French-speaking Canada since 1777. Both of these periodical genres had emerged with the spread of print culture between the middle and the end of the fifteenth century (publication of the first almanacs in Germany, England and France between 1455 and 1494) and at the beginning of the seventeenth century (starting with the publication of the *Gazette de France* by Théophraste Renaudot in 1631).<sup>9</sup> In the case of Mesplet, this transfer of print genres within the field of periodicals was accompanied by the transfer of political ideas and concepts stemming from the French Enlightenment. As a result such new political concepts (e.g. 'Liberty') and symbols (e.g. the 'Bastille') were introduced into a colonial public sphere dominated by the Roman Catholic Church and a conservative British administration. "He found," writes Lagrave in his biography of Mesplet, "a number of kindred spirits in the bourgeoisie who had already won over to Enlightenment ideas. He joined this thinking bourgeoisie and gained their unflinching support. Thanks to the *Montréal Gazette's* role as a bilingual newspaper, the name and ideals of Voltaire became a common factor uniting French-speaking and English-speaking bourgeois."<sup>10</sup> Mesplet's career also illustrates, at a very early stage, the transfer and appropriation, in the North American and, specifically, Canadian context, of the role of the enlightened intellectual, incarnated not only by the great philosophers of the time, but also by numerous lesser-known journalists and writers. "Mesplet proposed to awaken minds in a city where people were not yet accustomed to expressing themselves in writing. He saw literature as the best channel to foster the exchange of ideas: His paper [the *Gazette de Montréal*] became tribune, published each week in its in-quarto format."<sup>11</sup>

Defending the enlightened ideas of Voltaire and the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and the central values of liberty, reason, education, and free speech, Mesplet pursued with the publication of the *Gazette de Montréal* the same aim as with the foundation of the *Académie de Montréal* in 1778, the year of Voltaire's death. Fleury Mesplet and Valentin Jautard, the two founders of the *Académie*, shared the same enlightened ideals which they also considered fundamental to the activities of the *Académie*. On December 2, 1778 they were reminded of the following by its secretary:

9 See Bollème, *Les almanachs populaires*, 11–21; Feyel, *La Presse en France*, 15.

10 De Lagrave, *Voltaire's Man*, 347.

11 De Lagrave, 85.

The design of breaking the bounds of ignorance, in a country where prejudice takes the place of reason ... is temerarious in its execution. To try to tear apart this thick veil which envelops so many geniuses is an attempt all the more to carry to its end, when these same geniuses, susceptible to good impressions, are governed by men of exalted and presumptuous character, mostly ignorant and self-important. Join us in bemoaning the lack of emulation that reigns in this colony, and let us all strive together to kindle it; let each of us carry the torch of his enlightenment to dissipate the shades of ignorance, which we must regard as an epidemic disease.<sup>12</sup>

Mesplet's transcultural career, leading him from Lyon to London and then to Philadelphia and Montréal, seems inseparable from his activities as a printer and publisher in Montréal and the impact his publications had on the French-Canadian society and culture, at least in the field of the social and intellectual elites. His stays in London and Philadelphia brought him into contact with radically different political traditions and the concrete experience of democratic Republicanism, but also with the English language and English communicative styles in the periodical press. This, in turn, enabled him to publish the first bilingual, both Francophone and Anglophone, newspaper in North America. His close contacts with Benjamin Franklin, a key figure of the popular Enlightenment with a truly transcultural impact, contributed without a doubt to Mesplet's conviction of the central importance of almanacs and gazettes as media for the diffusion of pragmatic enlightened ideas.

### 3 From a Transatlantic to a Trans-American Career: The Case of Paul-Marc Sauvalle, Journalist, Translator, Writer, and Intellectual

Paul-Marc Sauvalle (1857–1920) was an astonishing and fascinating figure who had a genuinely transcultural career.<sup>13</sup> Born in 1857 in Le Havre, France, he gave up his until then brilliant career as graduate of the elite military school of Saint-Cyr (having become a lieutenant at the age of twenty-one), in order to emigrate to New Orleans where he established himself as a journalist working for the most important French newspaper in Louisiana, *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle Orléans*, between 1881 and 1883. From 1883 Sauvalle lived in Mexico City where

12 *Gazette littéraire de Montréal*, December 2, 1778, quoted in De Lagrave, 113.

13 On Sauvalle, see Lüsebrink, *Le livre aimé*, 93–100 and Lüsebrink, "Interculturalités américaines," 15–27; see Perreault, "Paul-Marc Sauvalle," 163–89. I am presently preparing a book on the life and the works of Sauvalle which will be published in Québec in 2023.

he became a journalist and then, in 1884, editor in chief of the leading French periodical in Mexico and Central America at the time, *Trait d'Union: Journal français universel*. By the end of June 1884, however, he had been expelled from Mexico for political reasons, mainly because of his sympathy for the liberal ideas of General Porfirio Díaz and his intrusion in the internal political affairs in Mexico. He came to New York City in July 1884 where he stayed only several weeks before emigrating to Canada.

Over the following twenty years Sauvalle became one of the leading liberal journalists and intellectuals in Francophone Canada from the mid-1880s to the beginning of the twentieth century. He rapidly became a member of the editorial staff of the most important daily newspapers in Montréal, first *La Presse* (1884–1885, 1889–1892) and then *La Patrie* (1885–1887); he founded and directed several newspapers which were generally characterized by their radical liberalism<sup>14</sup> and their anticlerical positions, for example, the *Canada-Review* (1892–93) and *La Bataille* (1895–96). Between 1896 and 1903, he was the official journalist for several Montréal newspapers, especially *La Presse* and *Le Canada*, in the Federal Canadian Parliament. Thanks to the personal albeit quite reluctant support of Wilfrid Laurier, the liberal Prime Minister of Canada at the time (with whom Sauvalle had several major disagreements), he was appointed first as an employee at the Federal Parliament of Canada in 1905, then promoted to secretary and finally translator before becoming the chief of the publications department at the Ministry of Mines in Ottawa in 1915. Sauvalle thus spent the last fourteen years of his life in Ottawa as an officer of the federal government of Canada. This decision might seem astonishing given Sauvalle's very independent and turbulent previous twenty-five years. If contemporary testimonies are to be believed, it was mainly determined by censorship issues and by the fact that he needed a regular income in order to manage the accumulated debts from his various legal disputes with members of the High Clergy. His decision was certainly also influenced by his growing health problems, in particular exhaustion from his intense journalistic activities and the political and judicial conflicts they caused in the 1890s.<sup>15</sup>

Sauvalle's work as journalist, writer, translator, and intellectual and his role as transcultural mediator reflect mainly four characteristics. He can first be considered one of the major figures, and even one of the major inventors, together with Louis Fréchette, Arthur Buies, Edmond de Nevers, Honoré Beaugrand, and Aristide Filiatreault, of a political, independent and critical

14 On the term and the evolution of the "radical liberalism" ("libéralisme radical") in Canada, see Lamonde, "Le libéralisme," 15–34.

15 On this matter, see the remarks of Delisle and Otis, *Les douaniers*, 106.



journalism in Francophone Canada. Newspapers like *La Bataille*, *Le Réveil*, and *Canada-Revue*, which he founded or to which he substantially contributed, established a radically new style of debate and of public controversy in Francophone Canada which began to transform the public sphere and its media toward the end of the nineteenth century. His journalistic style and his political positions were characterized by his fundamental questioning of the dominant role of the clergy in Francophone Canada, by his references to the critical liberal thought of the French and American Enlightenment and its democratic traditions, and a social dimension which questioned not only the growing inequality in the distribution of wealth in contemporary societies, but also traditional gender roles. Sauvalle was certainly the main representative of what is called, by political and social historians, late nineteenth-century Canadian “radical liberalism.”

Sauvalle’s articles for *Canada-Revue*, a radically anticlerical periodical which he edited together with Aristide Filiatreault from 1892 to 1893 and which was the victim of various measures of censorship by the government and the clergy, are particularly revealing of his intellectual engagement. He aggressively defended the independence of journalists and writers and the democratic role of the press in modern societies and he openly attacked the “clerical demagoguery”<sup>16</sup> which tried to silence the voice of *Canada-Revue’s* journalists by different means, from intimidation to censorship. He underlined the necessity of establishing a secular education system in Francophone Canada (that was independent from the Catholic clergy and the influence of the archbishop of Montréal.<sup>17</sup> He also proclaimed the necessity of developing higher education for women in order to make of them not only “true Christians” (“véritables Chrétiennes”), but also “enlightened Republicans” (“républicaines éclairées”) and future scientists.<sup>18</sup> Together with other members of *Canada-Revue’s* editorial committee Sauvalle denounced in September 1892 a series of different scandals related to the French-Canadian Catholic clergy and the lack of public and juridical control of the clergy.<sup>19</sup> The critical and also often polemic style of rhetoric and communication used by Sauvalle was inseparable from certain forms of journalism in contemporary France which Sauvalle transferred to the Canadian press of the time, like the satirical journal *Gil Blas* or the polemic

16 Sauvalle, “Démagogie cléricale”; on journalists see Sauvalle “L’indépendance,” 260–61; on the press, Sauvalle, “La Presse,” 369–71.

17 Sauvalle, “Le Terrorisme,” 3–6.

18 Sauvalle, “Aux jeunes filles,” 168.

19 La Rédaction, “Scandales,” 161.

articles published by Émile Zola in the French daily newspaper *L'Aurore* to which Sauvalle explicitly referred in numerous articles.

Secondly, Sauvalle's work is characterized by close connections between political, literary, and journalistic discourses. A closer look at the articles he published, notably in newspapers like *Canada-Revue* or *La Bataille*, shows that political articles like "Les façades – la débâcle" concerning the breakdown of the Banque Populaire in Canada, published in the journal *Le Réveil* in 1896,<sup>20</sup> also had a literary and fictional dimension; other literary articles like "Le Noël de Pietro," the story of an Italian immigrant who had come – like Sauvalle himself – to New York, were eminently political.<sup>21</sup> The double role of journalist and writer was quite common in the literary and journalistic field of the time. But its combination with the role of the militant intellectual, which Sauvalle incarnated like few other writers and journalists in Francophone Canada, and more extensively in North America at the time, is closely related to such French models such as Victor Hugo and Émile Zola (to whom Sauvalle explicitly refers in several articles), making Sauvalle's case particularly interesting.

Thirdly, Sauvalle's role as a journalist, writer, and intellectual is characterized by the importance of translation, in both the linguistic and cultural sense of the term. Sauvalle occupied the role of linguistic and cultural translator and mediator between different cultures, namely the Anglophone, Hispanophone, and Francophone cultures of the Americas and Europe. In a translated article published in 1903 in the Montréal magazine *L'Album Universel* (which was probably the very first article published in Canada on the phenomenon of translation), Sauvalle described his own role as a 'translating mediator' in the field of literature and journalism. As of 1906 with his engagement as a translator for the federal government in Ottawa, this role as a 'translating mediator' extended further to administrative, commercial, and scientific translations. He especially underlined the creative role of the translator who interprets, rewrites, and thus re-creates texts from other languages and cultures, transposing them into a different semantics and cultural logic.<sup>22</sup>

Around 1900, Paul-Marc Sauvalle also played an important role in Francophone Canada as an intercultural mediator between North and South America in the fields of journalism and print media. Apart from Faucher de Saint-Maurice, he was the only French-Canadian writer and journalist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who spent several years in Latin America (Mexico and Cuba) and who spoke fluent Spanish. In a letter

20 Sauvalle, "Les façades," 305–7.

21 Sauvalle, "Le Noël de Pietro," 98–99.

22 Sauvalle, "Un article," 677.

to Canada's Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, Sauvalle, who wanted to become a member of the Canadian delegation to the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, recommended himself as a person familiar with the "customs and the language of the inhabitants of South America,"<sup>23</sup> which would give the delegation the advantage of fruitful intercultural contacts which had not yet really been established at the political level between Canada and South American countries. As the only journalist in Francophone Canada at the time who had a direct personal experience with Latin America, Sauvalle covered various events, particularly the war between the United States and Spain in 1898 which led to the loss of the last Spanish colonies in the Americas. In his coverage he showed a very critical attitude towards US imperialism, defending the point of view and the interests of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo, which, far from feeling liberated from the Spanish domination, perceived, from Sauvalle's point of view, the victory of the United States more as the dawn of a new, at least equally problematic, hegemony of the mighty neighbor to the North.<sup>24</sup>

Cultural mediators in the field of publishing and print journalism such as Mesplet in the eighteenth century and Sauvalle at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries in Canada, the United States, and Mexico functioned as "cultural brokers" (or in the French terminology also "passeurs culturels"<sup>25</sup>) in the contemporary theoretical sense of the term: a person who facilitates the border crossings, "culture broking" being defined by Mary Ann Jezewski and Paula Sotnik as an "act of bridging, linking or mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural backgrounds or the purpose of reducing conflict or producing change."<sup>26</sup> Mesplet and Sauvalle acted as cultural brokers (or intercultural mediators) by transforming the media landscape of the society they immigrated to – Canada – in a profound and long-lasting way, transferring print media formats stemming from other cultural areas (France, England, and the United States) to Francophone North America. In creating a French-Canadian branch of the transcultural phenomenon of the Enlightenment (in the case of Mesplet) and a strong and influential French-Canadian version of nineteenth-century radical liberalism – in the specific sense given to the term 'liberalism' at the end of the nineteenth century – (in the case of Sauvalle), and in designating themselves as "Voltairiens" and

23 Sauvalle to Wilfrid Laurier, 1901, Bibliothèque et Archives du Canada (Ottawa), Political Papers, General Correspondance, R10811-2-3-E, Microfilm C-786.

24 Lüsebrink, *Le livre aimé*, 250–52.

25 On this term, which is used largely synonymously with "cultural mediators" ("médiateurs culturels" or "intermédiaires culturels" in French), see Luneau et al., *Passeurs d'histoire(s)*; Jezewski, "Evolution."

26 Jezewski and Sotnik, "Culture Brokering," quoted in Vandevoorde and Verbruggen, 1345.

“Cosmopolitans,” these two emblematic figures were also genuine intercultural brokers in transferring new concepts and social roles across the Atlantic and across cultural borders.

The analysis of journalists as cultural mediators, related to the question of cultural transfers, opens up a field of investigation situated at the interface between social history, cultural studies, and book and print history. Journalists like Mesplet and Sauvalle were not at all isolated figures; in fact, they played, alongside other journalists with transcultural and immigrant backgrounds, a central role in the rise of a modern mediascape – in their case in Canada – and the political and cultural dynamics it engendered as of the end of the nineteenth century. The transcultural dimension of journalistic careers and the various aspects of cross-border exchanges (transfer of information, images, genres, styles) appear thus as a major focus of investigation for a transnational history of periodical cultures.

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