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Periodicals and the History of their Present: *Die Zeiten* (1805–20) as Chronopoetic Historiography

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses periodicals as media forms that are dependent on and correlated with time. It treats periodical publication as a form of chronopoetics, exploring modes of writing the present at work in journals as well as their varied relationships to writing history. Focusing on *Die Zeiten* (1805–20), a German-language historio-political monthly journal of the Napoleonic Era, the article describes chronopoetic writing as the layering of history; the experience of time in and through medial formats, and the more specific rhetorical, material, and medial temporalities of periodicals.

KEYWORDS

periodicals, periodicity, temporality, historiography, contemporary history, Napoleonic era

Die Zeiten and the Birth of Time and Contemporary History

‘*Die Zeit im Gebährstuble* [‘*Time in the Birthing Chair*’] is prepared in Magdeburg and brave Prof. Voß in Halle continues in his journal *Die Zeiten* to describe the birthing pangs in detail.¹ These words, which are from a catalogue of a book fair held in 1809, refer both to an anonymous pamphlet that critiqued its own era, and to the continuation of a journal that, since its founding in 1805, had exploited the potential of periodical form to mirror the times in which it came out, as shown in its title, *Die Zeiten* [*The Times*].² As the latter’s editor, Christian Daniel Voß, who was a professor of philosophy and constitutional law in the German city of Halle, wrote about his publication: ‘To present a faithful picture of the times was, from the very beginning, the purpose of this journal.’³ *Die Zeiten* (Fig. 1) was thus designed as a genuine medium for writing about time and writing time, as a *Zeit-Schrift* (the German term for ‘magazine’, meaning ‘time-writing’) in the literal sense.

The times to which *Die Zeiten* was devoted between 1805 and 1820 were not ordinary. The ‘birthing pangs’ of the period mentioned in 1809 had been ongoing for years at this point, and they were to continue until Napoleon’s defeat brought about not only a new political order in Europe, but also a new era, which was conceptualized in the journalistic perception as ‘the beginning of a new life.’⁴ Heinrich Luden wrote, adopting the same metaphor, in the first issue of his magazine *Nemesis*: ‘These times are difficult because they matter; they are painful because they will give birth to new life.’⁵

In light of the negotiations on a post-Napoleonic political and constitutional order in Europe, which in Germany were closely linked to the development of visions

- 1 ‘*Die Zeit im Gebährstuble* wird in Magdeburg dargestellt und der wackere Prof. Voß in Halle fährt fort in seinem Journal: *Die Zeiten*, die Geburtswehen ausführlich zu beschreiben.’ [Anon.], ‘Bücher-Katalog der Michaelismesse’, *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 201 (9 October 1809), 1601–05 (col. 1604) (translation is mine, as are all following translations in the text unless otherwise noted). This article originally appeared in German as ‘Zeitschrift und Zeitgeschichte: *Die Zeiten* (1805–1820) als chronopoetisches Archiv ihrer Gegenwart’, *IASL*, 45.1 (2020), 112–34. It has been slightly revised and supplemented with visual materials. The author is grateful to Ioana Moldovan for translating the article into English.
- 2 [Anon.], *Die Zeit im Gebährstuble oder die Ereignisse des Tages. Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit* (1809), quoted after a copy of the University Library of Marburg (095 VIII C 332 cg). The anonymous pamphlet warning against civil war and uprising is reproduced in *Die Erhebung gegen Napoleon 1806–1814/15*, ed. by Hans-Bernd Spies (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), pp. 138–44, featuring a few indications on the context.
- 3 ‘Ein treues Bild der Zeiten darzustellen, war, vom Anfange an, die Bestimmung dieser Zeitschrift.’ ‘Der Herausgeber, an die Leser dieser Zeitschrift’, *Die Zeiten*, 1.9 (1807), 3–20 (p. 17). Contributions to *Die Zeiten* were anonymous but in most cases Voß can be assumed to be the author. The most detailed contemporary information on the editor Christian Daniel Voß can be found in his obituary: [Anon.], ‘Nekrolog’, *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 44 (February 1822), 348–52. On his work as a political scientist at the University of Halle, see Axel Rüdiger, *Staatslehre und Staatsbildung: Die Staatswissenschaft an der Universität Halle im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005), pp. 309–415. On the first two volumes published with Friedrich Justin Bertuch’s *Industrie-Comptoir*, see, from a perspective of publishing history, Katharina Middell, ‘Dann wird es wiederum ein Popanz für Otto...’: *Das Weimarer Landes-Industrie-Comptoir als Familienbetrieb (1800–1830)* (Leipzig: Leipzig University Press, 2006), pp. 31–56. After the unsuccessful collaboration with Bertuch, *Die Zeiten* appeared for two years at the expense of the editor until the publisher Johann Georg Mittler (Leipzig) took over the paper starting with 1809.
- 4 ‘Wer könnte so stumpfsinnig seyn, daß er sich nicht, in einem hohen Grade, glücklich priese, den Zeitpunkt erlebt zu haben, welcher als der Anfang eines neuen Lebens und einer neuen Wohlfahrt, für einen ganzen Welttheil, betrachtet werden muß!’ [‘Who could be so obtuse as to not consider himself fortunate, to a high degree, to have experienced the moment which must be regarded as the beginning of a new life and a new benefit for an entire part of the world’]. ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’, *Die Zeiten*, 37.3 (March 1814), 484–94 (p. 484).
- 5 ‘Die Zeit ist schwer, weil sie wichtig ist; sie ist schmerzreich, weil sie ein neues Leben gebären soll.’ [Heinrich Luden,] ‘Das Jahr 1813’, *Nemesis: Zeitschrift für Politik und Geschichte*, ed. by Heinrich Luden (Weimar, Verlag des H. S. privil. Landes-Industrie-Compoirs, 1.1, 1814), 54–62 (p. 57).



Fig. 1 *Die Zeiten oder Archiv für die Neueste Staatengeschichte und Politik*, edited by Christian Daniel Voß. Title page and frontispiece of volume 1 (1805). Copy of the SLUB Dresden (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

of future national unity, the ‘last era so rich in action, so pregnant with doom’ was interpreted in the spirit of the Restoration as a ‘rebirth’ rather than a birth.⁶ According to this perception, the ‘glorious rebirth period of the European state system’, with which at the same time ‘a whole new history’ began, started with the year 1813, the year of the Battle of Leipzig and the push-back of Napoleon behind the Rhine.⁷ In May 1814, one still had to cast a prophetic ‘glance into the future’ to outline ‘Germany’s rebirth and unity’ — according to Brockhaus’s *Deutsche Blätter* — until finally, in 1816, *Die Zeiten* proclaimed ‘a new birth of time, from the bosom of eternity’ and political and spiritual rebirth converged in the epochal new beginning:

- 6 ‘neueste Zeit, so thatenreich, so verhängnißschwanger’. ‘Rückblick auf das erste Jahr unserer Wiedergeburt. Von einem Einwohner eines deutschen, vormahls zur Rheinkonföderation gehörigen Landes’, *Die Zeiten*, 43.8 (August 1815), 149–70 (p. 151). On the intersection of liberation and restoration after the Napoleonic Wars of 1813–15 cf. Karen Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia’s Wars against Napoleon: History, Culture, and Memory*, trans. by Pamela Selwyn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 61–72.
- 7 ‘ruhmvolle Wiedergeburtperiode des europäischen Staatensystems’, ‘eine ganz neue Geschichte’. ‘Das Jahr 1813’, *Die Zeiten*, 37.1 (January 1814), 3–22 (p. 22).

‘We now begin a whole new life, one that will count its years from the sacred year of liberation, which will count at the same time as that of spiritual rebirth.’⁸

From a contemporaneous perspective, the exceptional historical situation of the Napoleonic Wars proved to be exceptional, in that the perception of time and associated traditional patterns of reflection on time and historical thinking lost their validity.⁹ The pamphlet ‘Die Zeit im Gebährstuhle oder die Ereignisse des Tages’ [‘Time in the Birthing Chair or the Events of the Day’] (Fig. 2), which was reviewed together with the periodical *Die Zeiten*, explained this impression and, at the same time, pointed out the accompanying difficulties in following, depicting, and recording events in a contemporaneously observational manner:

The present is pregnant with future! Time sits in the birthing chair, struggling with the pangs of birth, what great events! In a period of twenty years so many world events have occurred [...] that it was only possible for the attentive observer to follow them; to capture any of them with his gaze he was not able, for often a single year alone offered a series of events which in another age and under other circumstances and conditions would have sufficed to fill half a century.¹⁰

The difficulty experienced by the observer, in taking in such a density of historical events, met with the idea that the birthing of time also contained something monstrous, and alluded to the myth of Kronos: ‘The present time resembles the fertile animalistic creatures that are almost in a constant state of birthing’, writes Voß in *Die Zeiten* in 1813, ‘alas! may it at last cease to present the image of a monster alien to nature, a monster ceaselessly engaged in murdering and devouring its own children!’¹¹

These techniques, through which the transformation of historical thought takes place in metaphorical and mythological terms — which can be described as poetic according to Hayden White’s more general concept of metahistory — serve the

- 8 [Anon.], ‘Deutschlands Wiedergeburt und Einheit. Ein Blick in die Zukunft. Vorgelesen in einer Gesellschaft von Gelehrten am 3ten Mai 1813’, *Deutsche Blätter*, ed. by Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus (Leipzig and Altenburg), 3.36.130 (12 May 1814), 561–67; ‘eine neue Geburt der Zeit, aus dem Schooße der Ewigkeit’, ‘wir beginnen jetzt ein ganz neues Leben, das seine Jahre von dem heiligen Jahre der Befreyung, welches zugleich das der geistigen Wiedergeburt ist, zählen wird’. ‘Die geistige Wiedergeburt; merkwürdigstes Zeichen der Zeit (Eingesandt.)’, *Die Zeiten*, 47.9 (September 1816), 466–89 (p. 466–67).
- 9 For the period of the Napoleonic Wars, see Ernst Wolfgang Becker, *Zeit der Revolution! — Revolution der Zeit? Zeiterfahrungen in Deutschland in der Ära der Revolutionen 1789–1848/49* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999) and Hagemann 2015, pp. 273–300; see also Reinhart Koselleck, ‘Historia Magistra Vitae: The Dissolution of the Topos into the Perspective of a Modernized Historical Process’, in Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. and intro. by Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 26–42. For theoretical considerations on a history of time from the perspective of cultural studies, as well as a research overview, see Achim Landwehr, ‘Alte Zeiten, Neue Zeiten: Aussichten auf die Zeit-Geschichte’, in *Frühe Neue Zeiten: Zeitwissen zwischen Reformation und Revolution*, ed. by Achim Landwehr (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012), pp. 9–40; on the changed construction of time around 1800 from the perspective of literary studies, see Ingrid Oesterle, ‘“Es ist an der Zeit!” Zur kulturellen Konstruktionsveränderung von Zeit gegen 1800’, in *Goethe und das Zeitalter der Romantik*, ed. by Walter Hinderer, Alexander von Borrmann, and Gerhart von Graevenitz (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002), pp. 91–121.
- 10 ‘Die Gegenwart ist schwanger an Zukunft! Die Zeit sitzt im Gebährstuhle, kämpfend mit den Geburtswehen, großer Ereignisse! In einem Zeitraum von zwanzig Jahren, ereigneten sich der Weltbegebenheiten so viele [...], daß es nur dem aufmerksamen Beobachter möglich war, ihnen zu folgen; festzuhalten mit seinem Blick vermochte er keine derselben; denn oft bot ein einziges Jahr allein schon, eine Reihe von Ereignissen dar, die in einem andern Zeitalter und unter andern Umständen und Verhältnissen hingereicht haben würden, ein halbes Jahrhundert, auszufüllen.’ ‘Die Zeit im Gebährstuhle’, pp. 3–4.
- 11 ‘Die jetzige Zeit gleicht den fruchtbaren animalischen Wesen, die fast in stetem Gebären begriffen sind: — ach! Mögte sie endlich aufhören, das Bild eines der Natur fremden Ungeheuers darzustellen, eines Ungeheuers, das unablässig in Morden und Verzehren der eigenen Kinder begriffen ist!’ ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’, *Die Zeiten*, 33.2 (February 1813), 336–44 (p. 344).

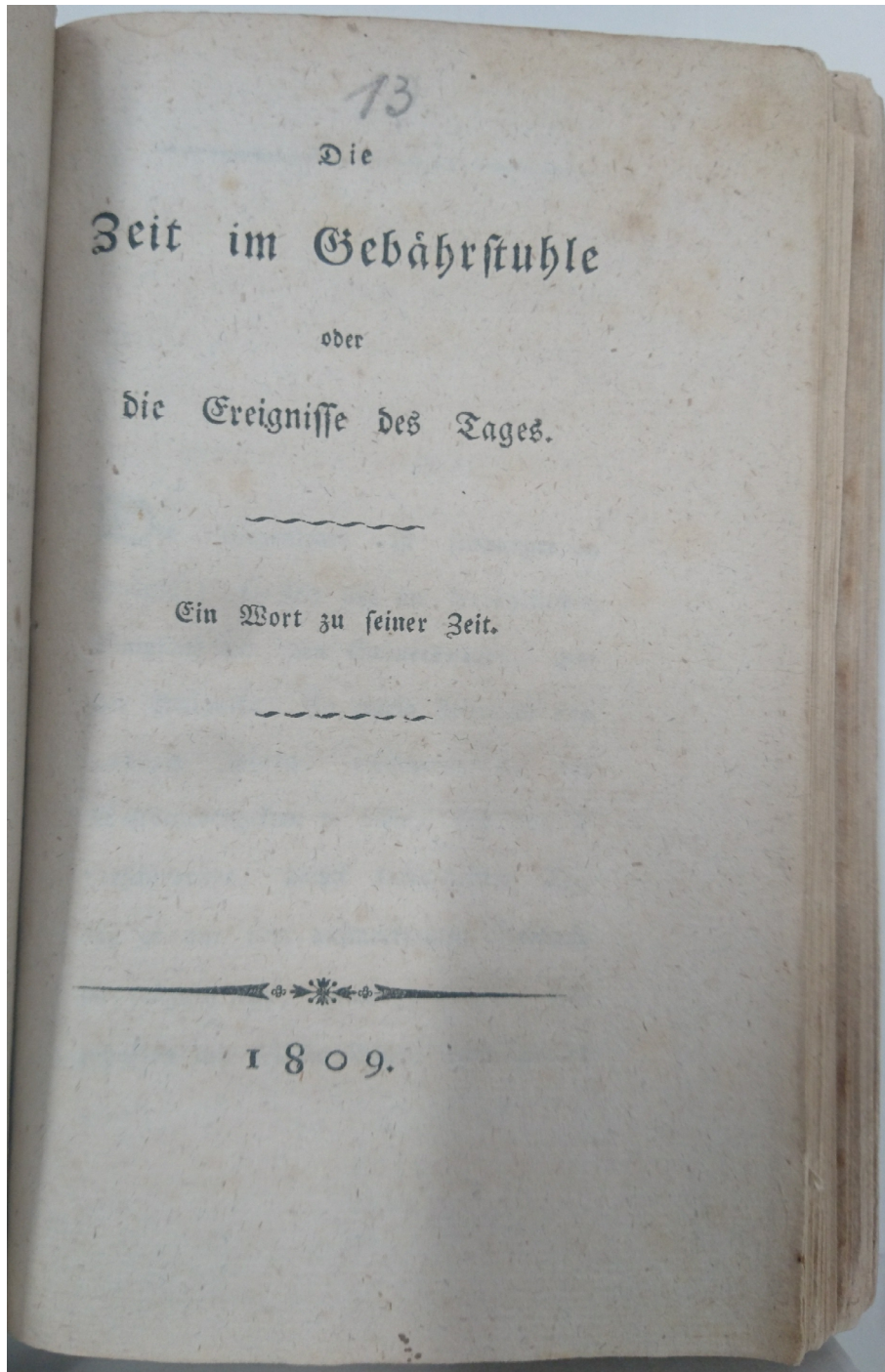


Fig. 2 Anonymous pamphlet *Die Zeit im Gebärstuhle* [*Time in the Birthing Chair*], reviewed together with *Die Zeiten*. Copy of the University Library of Marburg (095 VIIId C 332 cg).

proto-historiographic structuring and interpretation (and re-interpretation, as the turn from ‘birth’ to ‘rebirth’ shows) of the present. As a temporally determined noun, and from the perspective of conceptual history, ‘the present’ was still a new phenomenon in 1800.¹² In the scope of the present essay, these techniques are of interest insofar as they are chronopoetic techniques specific to journals, that is, techniques through which (explicitly or implicitly) a journalistic reflection on ‘writing time’ in and through the format of the journal becomes tangible.¹³ Within this context, the concept of chronopoetics neither aims at mere structural parallels between historiography and literature, nor necessarily at literary techniques in the narrower sense (such as metaphorization), but is fundamentally intended to draw attention, in the sense of ‘poiesis’, to the ‘madness’ of journals with regard to the factor of time.¹⁴ As such, time in the written medium is brought to the fore: in the temporal and material performativity of journals, time can be experienced in its regular, periodic, or even discontinuous course. In this sense, the concept of chronopoetics denotes a mutual relationship between the history of events, the experience of time, and its medial form, which in turn shapes how time is conceptualized and experienced. In particular, the historico-political papers of the Napoleonic Wars are concerned with the popular media transfer of their own present into contemporary history. They possess a particular chronopoetic potential, as the present paper will show by looking at *Die Zeiten*.¹⁵ Ingrid Oesterle has argued that the German noun ‘Gegenwart’ [‘present’] was used as a reflexive historical category only since the French Revolution. Its rapid assertion coincided precisely with a period of

- 12 See Hayden White’s fundamental study *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975) and Ingrid Oesterle, ‘Der “Führungswechsel der Zeithorizonte” in der deutschen Literatur: Korrespondenzen aus Paris, der Hauptstadt der Menschheitsgeschichte, und die Ausbildung der geschichtlichen Zeit “Gegenwart”’, in *Studien zur Ästhetik und Literaturgeschichte der Kunstperiode*, ed. by Dirk Grathoff (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1985), pp. 11–76; as well as Johannes F. Lehmann: “Gegenwartsliteratur” — begriffsgeschichtliche Befunde zur Kopplung von “Gegenwart“ und “Literatur”, in *Aktualität: Zur Geschichte literarischer Gegenwartsbezüge vom 17. Bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Stefan Geyer and Johannes F. Lehmann (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2018), pp. 37–60. For a broader discussion of the contemporary as a critical concept see Theodore Martin, *Contemporary Drift: Genre, Historicism, and the Problem of the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).
- 13 Cf. Sean Franzel, *Writing Time: Studies in Serial Literature, 1780–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2023).
- 14 This essay originates from the subproject 2 *Zeit/Schrift: Journal Literature ‘Chronopoetics’ and the Genesis of Literariness* of the Research Unit 2288 Journal Literature, funded by the German Research Foundation. On the concept of ‘periodical chronopoetics’ see the joint monograph of the project team: David Brehm, Nicola Kaminski, Volker Mergenthaler, Nora Ramtke, and Sven Schöpf, *Zeit/Schrift 1813–1815 oder Chronopoetik des ‘Unregelmäßigen’* (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2022). Cf. also Nicola Kaminski: ‘25. Oktober 1813 oder Journalliterarische Produktion von Gegenwart, mit einem Ausflug zum 6. Juli 1724’, in *Aktualität: Zur Geschichte literarischer Gegenwartsbezüge vom 17. Bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. By Stefan Geyer and Johannes F. Lehmann (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2018), pp. 241–70 (particularly pp. 241–47). A concept of chronopoetics that deviates from this, which seeks to grasp medial historiography not as a specifically chrono-historical but rather as an anti-historical technical phenomenon, is developed by Wolfgang Ernst in *Chronopoetics: The Temporal Being and Operativity of Technological Media*, trans. By Anthony Enns (London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).
- 15 In this sense, the present entry also follows Daniel Fulda’s plea ‘den sattelzeitlichen Geschichtsdiskurs nicht auf dessen professionellen, akademischen Teil zu zentrieren oder die Untersuchung gar darauf zu beschränken’ [‘to not restrict the historical discourse of the Saddle Period to its professional and academic part, or even to limit its research to it’]. Daniel Fulda, ‘Sattelzeit: Karriere und Problematik eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Zentralbegriffs’, in *Sattelzeit: Historiographiegeschichtliche Revisionen*, ed. by Elisabeth Décultot and Daniel Fulda (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2016), pp. 1–16 (p. 12).

accelerated events that could no longer be perceived or captured in writing or narrative.¹⁶ This article posits that the perception and construction of the present as pregnant with history — the pre- and perinatal metaphors also shine through in this expression — demanded new forms of depicting time, a need to which first and foremost journals reacted in their capacity as temporally and spatially organized media forms.¹⁷

‘Every day of the near future is pregnant with deeds’, editor Voß wrote in 1807 to the readers of his journal, once again invoking the metaphor of birth omnipresent in *Die Zeiten*: ‘If it is difficult to guide the pen now, it is even more difficult to put it down.’¹⁸ To observe the ‘birthing process’ of the present, document its sources, interpret it journalistically, and translate it into language was thus the genuine task of the ‘Zeitschriftsteller’ (a pun on the German word for ‘time’, ‘Zeit’, and ‘writer’, ‘Schriftsteller’), as Joachim Heinrich Campe aptly translates the term ‘journalist’ in the context of the times.¹⁹ Thus, the founding of numerous journals — especially of those dedicated to archiving and documenting history — in the early years of the nineteenth century was directly related to the impression of the difficulty and necessity of contemporary historiography. Significantly, the notion of ‘time’ appeared in many of these journals’ titles.²⁰

***Die Zeiten* as an Archive of its Own Present**

When *Die Zeiten* was first published in the spring of 1805, this moment in time (independent of pragmatic publishing considerations and plans) was not understood as a contingent starting point for the enterprise, but rather as significant, as historically utterly necessary, in view of the transformation and looming dissolution of the German

16 Oesterle, “Es ist an der Zeit!”, p. 10. See also Oesterle, ‘Der “Führungswechsel der Zeithorizonte”’. For the background of the history of journalism, see Birgit Fratzke-Weiß, *Europäische und nationale Konzeptionen im Rheinbund: Politische Zeitschriften als Medien der politischen Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997). Her study is also significantly based on an evaluation of Voß’s *Die Zeiten*. For the narrower period of 1813 to 1814, see also Eva Bockholt, ‘Der europäische Bund: eine gescheiterte Vision der Freiheitskriege? Studien zur deutschen Publizistik 1813/14’ (doctoral thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2004) [accessed 9 June 2023].

17 ‘Periodicals thereby become a central site for reflection upon the temporalization (Verzeitlichung) of experience, for their mixed form and serial publication place potentially unrelated objects, events, and accounts of temporal duration into proximity.’ Sean Franzel, “Ephemerische Lieblinge”: The Periodical as Heterochronic Archive and F.J. Bertuch’s London und Paris’, in *Flüchtigkeit der Moderne: Eigenzeiten des Ephemereren im langen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Michael Bies, Sean Franzel, and Dirk Oschmann (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2017), pp. 19–40 (p. 21). On the spatial and temporal organization of journals, see also Nicola Kaminski, Nora Ramtke, and Carsten Zelle, ‘Zeitschriftenliteratur/Fortsetzungsliteratur: Problemaufriß’, in *Zeitschriftenliteratur/Fortsetzungsliteratur*, ed. by Nicola Kaminski, Nora Ramtke, and Carsten Zelle (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2014), pp. 7–39.

18 ‘Jeder Tag, der nahen Zukunft, geht mit Thaten schwanger [...]. Wenn es schwer ist, jetzt die Feder zu führen, so ist es noch schwerer, sie niederzulegen.’ ‘Der Herausgeber, an die Leser dieser Zeitschrift’, p. 14.

19 Joachim Heinrich Campe, ‘Journalist’, in *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke. Ein Ergänzungsband zu Adelung’s und Campe’s Wörterbüchern. Neue starkvermehrte und durchgängig verbesserte Ausgabe* (Braunschweig 1813), p. 386. On the term ‘Zeitschriftsteller’, see also Iwan-Michelangelo D’Aprile, ‘Verflochtene Sattelzeitgeschichten: Journalistische Zeitgeschichtsschreibung um 1800’, in *Sattelzeit: Historiographiegeschichtliche Revisionen*, ed. by Elisabeth Décultot and Daniel Fulda (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2016), pp. 178–97 (p. 183–84).

20 See Iwan-Michelangelo D’Aprile, *Die Erfindung der Zeitgeschichte. Geschichtsschreibung und Journalismus zwischen Aufklärung und Vormärz* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), pp. 37, 39–40. See also Franzel, “Ephemerische Lieblinge”, the section ‘Models of Spatial and Temporal Storage in Periodical Titles’, pp. 24–28.

Empire and the war situation in Europe.²¹ As *Die Zeiten* put it: ‘The events of the past, present and future form a chain, in which one can only intervene at joints, if one does not want to confuse or tear the whole thing apart.’²² The preliminary ‘final link’ of this historical chain formed ‘the *epoch* with which our journal begins’, literally the ‘point in time’ or the ‘point in the sequence of time at which one stands still or marks a range of time’, and thus a historical break ‘at which one begins to count a successive series of years’.²³ This contemporary understanding of ‘epoch’ coincides most precisely with the practice, which we take for granted, of counting journals based on annual volumes.

Journals like *Die Zeiten* were concerned with contemporary historiography in two respects. Not only were they preoccupied with the problem of representing the abundance of contemporary events, as suggested by Voß’s ‘review of the first decade of “Die Zeiten”’:

The periods of time are formed, as it were, according to the masses of events which they contain within themselves. Weeks that have passed under unfamiliar circumstances and a rapid change of objects and events seem to us, in our memory, to have been months and months seem to have been years. Years, however, expand into decades; and decades become like centuries.

The decade that our journal has covered with its previous year is of this kind. If we, as contemporaries and observers, were to consider only the amount and effect of the events experienced, we would easily persuade ourselves to have covered a full century in it.²⁴

As serials, they were furthermore temporally determined media which created continuities between past and future issues through formal, material, and praxeological characteristics such as columns, layout, numbering, indexes, references, binding, and archiving requirements. That is how they structured historical time in a way specific to this media form, and made it tangible.²⁵ Journals could thus develop forms of chronopoetic representation and reflection of contemporary history that opened a broad field between topical reference and archiving efforts, as in the case of historico-political

21 See Middell, pp. 33–49. In fact, *Die Zeiten* was to be edited by Johannes von Müller; Voß was only Bertuch’s second choice after Müller had cancelled at short notice. This resulted in a somewhat bumpy start for the paper. On the historical context of journalism in Prussia, see Ludger Herrmann, *Die Herausforderung Preußens: Reformpublizistik und politische Öffentlichkeit in Napoleonischer Zeit (1789–1815)* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998.)

22 ‘Die Begebenheiten der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft bilden eine Kette, in welcher nur an gewissen Abtheilungsringen eingegriffen werden kann, wenn man das Ganze nicht verwirren, oder aus einander reißen will.’ ‘Einleitung’, *Die Zeiten*, 1.1 (January 1805), 17–23 (p. 22).

23 ‘Schlussring’, ‘die *Epoche* mit der unsere Zeitschrift ihren Anfang nimmt’. ‘Einleitung’, p. 23. ‘Zeitpunkt, d. i. ein Punkt in der Zeitfolge, bei dem man still steht, oder einen Zeitabschnitt macht’, ‘Punkt [...] bei welchem man eine Folge von Jahren zu zählen anfängt’. Campe, ‘*Épôche*’, p. 293.

24 ‘Die Zeiträume bilden sich gleichsam nach den Massen von Begebenheiten, welche sie in sich begreifen. Wochen, die uns, unter ungewohnten Verhältnissen und einem raschen Wechsel von Gegenständen und Ereignissen verflossen sind, scheinen uns, in der Erinnerung, Monate und Monate Jahre gewesen zu seyn; Jahre aber sich zu Jahrzehnden auszudehnen; und Jahrzehnde gleich Jahrhunderten zu werden. Das Jahrzehend, welches unsere Zeitschrift, mit dem vorigen Jahrgange zurück gelegt hat, ist von dieser Art. Nähmen wir, die wir, als Zeitgenossen und Beobachter, desselben theilhaftig geworden sind, nur auf die Masse und Wirkung der erlebten Begebenheiten Rücksicht, wir würden uns leicht überreden, ein volles Jahrhundert, in demselben zurück gelegt zu haben.’ ‘Rückblick auf das erste Jahrzehend “der Zeiten”’, *Die Zeiten*, 41.1 (January 1815), 3–27 (p. 3).

25 See Mark W. Turner’s fundamental ‘Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century’, *Media History*, 8.2 (2002), 183–96; James Mussell, ‘Repetition: Or, “In Our Last”’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48.3 (2015), 343–58; and Margaret Beetham, ‘Time: Periodicals and the Time of the Now’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48.3 (2015), 323–42.

publications. In this sense, journals such as *Die Zeiten* can be understood as proto-historiographic media.

The term ‘Zeitgeschichte’ [the history of the present or contemporary history; literally, the ‘history of time’] is a beautiful word, but a difficult concept’, according to Reinhart Koselleck.²⁶ It has ‘emerged as an abbreviation from “history of one’s own time” (historia temporis sui) in the sense of topical history and has been in more general use since about 1800, a very characteristic date’, as Fritz Ernst points out as early as 1957.²⁷ This corresponds to the fact that contemporary historiography around 1800 was not reinvented, but, as Iwan-Michelangelo D’Aprile points out, ‘as a specific historical form of reflection on its own present, [...] acquire[d] a fundamentally changed quality’, which was particularly evident in the journalistic field.²⁸ The historical crisis period around 1800 proved to be extremely fruitful media-wise, opening up a new market for publishers. Although *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* praised *Die Zeiten*, it tempered that praise with scorn:

The novelty and unexpectedness of the events of the present time, the important influence that the political changes have or may have in the future on everyone, and the curiosity that wants to be entertained by the closer detail of the wonderful events, offer the diligent hands of many writers and the spirit of enterprise of Messrs. *Druckebald and Comp.* the most beautiful opportunity for lucrative speculations.²⁹

The ‘Messrs Druckebald and Comp.’, as their satirical name suggests, proved to be enterprising precisely because they operated promptly and ‘print fast’. This was particularly true of periodicals which observed the present from a synchronic position with more flexibility than monographic depictions, and could thus describe and write contemporary history. At the same time, as periodical writings, they opened a diachronic perspective.³⁰ Accordingly, *Die Zeiten* was announced as a ‘work’ that ‘by its nature must take the form of a journal’.³¹

26 Reinhart Koselleck, ‘Constancy and Change of All Contemporary Histories: Conceptual-Historical Notes’, in Reinhart Koselleck, *Sediments of Time. On Possible Histories*, trans. and ed. by Sean Franzel and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), pp. 100–16, p. 100.

27 ‘Zeitgeschichte ist als Abkürzung aus “Geschichte der eigenen Zeit” (historia temporis sui) im Sinne der zeitgenössischen Geschichte entstanden und seit etwa 1800 — ein sehr charakteristisches Datum — in allgemeinerem Gebrauch.’ Fritz Ernst, ‘Zeitgeschehen und Geschichtsschreibung: Eine Skizze’, *Die Welt als Geschichte. Eine Zeitschrift für Universalgeschichte*, 17 (1957), 137–89 (p. 138).

28 ‘Zeitgeschichtsschreibung wird um 1800 nicht neu erfunden, aber sie gewinnt als eine spezifische historische Reflexionsform der eigenen Gegenwart eine grundlegend veränderte Qualität.’ D’Aprile, p. 7. See also Koselleck, ‘Constancy and Change of All Contemporary Histories’, particularly pp. 110–12.

29 ‘Das Neue und Unerwartete der Begebenheiten der jetzigen Zeit, der wichtige Einfluß, den die politischen Veränderungen auf jeden Einzelnen haben oder in Zukunft haben können, und die Neugierde, die von dem nähern Detail der wundervollen Ereignisse unterhalten seyn will, bieten den fleißigen Händen vieler Schriftsteller und dem Unternehmungsgeiste der Herren Druckebald und Comp. Die schönste Gelegenheit zu einträglichen Spekulationen dar.’ [Anon.], ‘Journale und Bücher über die Ereignisse der jetzigen Zeit’, *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 97 (18 June 1807), 771–72.

30 ‘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.’ *Au fond*, 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.’ Gustav Frank and Madleen Podewski, ‘The Object of Periodical Studies’, in *Periodical Studies Today: Multidisciplinary Analyses*, ed. by Jutta Ernst, Dagmar von Hoff, and Oliver Scheiding (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022), pp. 29–53 (p. 40).

31 ‘dies Werk — das seiner Natur nach die Form einer *Zeitschrift* erhalten muss’. ‘Plan und Ankündigung’, *Die Zeiten*, 1.1 (January 1805), 3–16 (p. 4).

This double, synchronous-diachronic perspective of time writing can be understood as a specific feature of journals: ‘The archivization of divergent frames of time thus enables divergent goals both of unrelenting currentness and long-term, systematic organization’.³² This corresponds to a typical double aim of the project, addressing both the ‘thinking observer of contemporary history’, and therefore the contemporary reader and buyer, and the ‘historiographer [...] of later centuries’.³³ *Die Zeiten* thus responded to the ‘lack of a work [...] in which everything [...] remarkable is carefully recorded, compiled according to plan in luminous overviews, and, after the most careful of research, preserved as closely as possible to the truth for contemporaries and posterity’.³⁴ In accordance with the subtitle *Archiv für die Neueste Staatengeschichte und Politik* [‘Archive for the Recent State History and Politics’], the journal saw itself as a ‘historical archive’ that aimed to ‘collect *documents* and *facts* for the knowledge and correct assessment of the relative condition of the states, their progress and lagging, etc., and to preserve them for the observation of contemporaries and the knowledge of posterity’.³⁵ On the one hand, this definition followed the widespread idea of journals as (metaphorical or actual) archives of their own present:

Individual periodicals can be situated on a spectrum between more and less temporary storage sites, tending with the daily newspaper toward the rapid replenishment of current news or toward the stable preservation of lasting contributions to science with monthly or yearly scholarly journals.³⁶

On the other hand, *Die Zeiten* participated in what Cornelia Vismann calls the ‘new genre’ of periodically published papers since the end of the eighteenth century, which addressed an emerging public sphere in Habermas’s sense that ‘figure[d] as the target of this work, written with practically no addressee’.³⁷

Naturally, such temporal double-coding of the journal could also lead to conflicts, particularly when the density of historical events made continuous periodic documentation difficult and the contents were either no longer or still too topical, leading to divergent interests of contemporaries and apostrophized posterity.

32 Franzel, “Ephemerische Lieblinge”, p. 26.

33 ‘denkenden Beobachter der Zeitgeschichte’, ‘Plan und Ankündigung’, p. 11; ‘Geschichtschreiber [...] späterer Jahrhunderte’. ‘Der Herausgeber, an die Leser dieser Zeitschrift’, p. 5.

34 ‘Mangel eines Werks [...], in welchem alles [...] Merkwürde sorgfältig verzeichnet, unter lichtvolle Uebersichten planmässig zusammengestellt, und, nach der sorgfältigsten Erforschung, der Wahrheit möglichst gemäss, für die Zeitgenossen und die Nachwelt aufbewahrt würde’. ‘Plan und Ankündigung’, p. 3.

35 ‘Das historische Archiv wird auch in Betreff dieser Gegenstände *Urkunden* und *Thatsachen*, zur Kenntniss und richtigen Beurtheilung des relativen Zustandes der Staaten, ihres Fortschreitens und Zurückbleibens u. s. w. sammeln und für die Beobachtung der Zeitgenossen und die Kunde der Nachwelt aufbewahren.’ ‘Plan und Ankündigung’, p. 10. See Herrmann, p. 185, who points out that the aim of providing contributions to history and contemporary history regularly appears especially in periodical literature.

36 Sean Franzel, ‘Kleist’s Magazines: Archiving the Ephemeral in the Berliner Abendblätter’, *German Studies Review*, 40.3 (2017), 487–507 (p. 489). See also Franzel: “Ephemerische Lieblinge”. In this context and on the later nineteenth century, see Daniela Gretz, ‘Archen in der Papierflut der Gegenwart: Zur medialen Selbstinszenierung von Zeitschriften als Archiven in der “Bildungspresse” des 19. Jahrhunderts’, *Sprache und Literatur*, 2 (2014), issue *Zeitschrift als Archiv*, ed. by Susanne Düwell and Nicolas Pethes, pp. 89–107. On the archival functions of journals in a broader context of the history of knowledge, see Gustav Frank, Madleen Podewski, and Stefan Scherer, ‘Kultur — Zeit — Schrift: Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften als “kleine Archive”’, *IASL*, 34.2 (2010), pp. 1–45.

37 ‘als Adresse dieses eigentlich adressatenlosen Schriftwerks figuriert’. Cornelia Vismann, *Akten: Medientechnik und Recht*, 3rd edn (Frankfurt: Fischer 2011), p. 229. For a changed understanding of files and archiving system during the Prussian administration reforms, see also pp. 226–35 and pp. 242–52. The abridged English translation *Files: Law and Media Technology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008) does not include the cited paragraph. See also Fratzke-Weiß, pp. 63–78.

In 1815, for instance, Voß apologized for the late printing of documents on Prussia's earlier alliance with France, saying:

Even if contemporaries may consign these documents to oblivion, they may not be withheld from posterity that has a right to them. And in so far as we are collecting for history, we would deserve reprimand if we passed them over.³⁸

Conversely, a few months later he defended himself against the (anticipated) reproach of not having yet dedicated an article to the negotiations and resolutions of the Congress of Vienna, with the same argument: 'Since we collect for history, we can only include what is suitable for such collections. The first requirement for this is authenticity; and this, strictly speaking, can only be provided by official publication. Up to now, this has been lacking.'³⁹

The temporal double-coding found its material or media-praxeological counterpart in the planned — though not consistently implemented over the entire publication period — division of the issues into a main part and a supplementary collection of papers for documenting purposes. As Voß explained when talking of an archiving practice that favoured bound volumes: 'This so-called *Urkundenbuch* ['book of documents'] is printed with each issue of *Die Zeiten*, but since it is *separately paginated*, it can be separated from the issues and attached to each volume when binding.'⁴⁰ (Fig. 3) The attached detailed indexes and tables of contents also contributed to subsequently accessible volume forms. The journal-like writing of contemporary history stood in a proto-historiographic relationship to an (imagined) future historiography: on the one hand, it provided the 'material', but on the other, it assumed a qualitative difference between the present 'archive' and later history:

Time finally strips away the cover — even one most artificially wrapped — and makes the work of the historian of later centuries easier. The narrator and evaluator of contemporary history lacks this assistance. It is peculiarly characteristic of historiography that distance makes things brighter and one sees more clearly. Proximity, however, blinds, or obscures, or reveals. If this peculiarity does not belong exclusively to our times, it is nevertheless, in these very own times, more than ever effective.⁴¹

38 'Allein wenn die Zeitgenossen auch jene Akten der Vergessenheit übergeben mögten, so dürfen sie doch der Nachwelt nicht vorenthalten werden; welche ein Recht auf sie hat. Und in sofern wir für die Geschichte sammeln, würden wir Tadel verdienen, wenn wir sie übergängen.' 'Diplomatisches Tableau der neuesten Staats- und Kriegsverhältnisse und Begebenheiten. Achtzehnte Abtheilung, Nachträge, zu den Aktenstücken, die, vor dem Ausbruche und während des letztern Krieges zwischen Frankreich und Rußland, mit ersterer Macht abgeschlossenen Allianzverträge betreffend. 'Vorwort des Herausgebers', *Die Zeiten*, 41.3 (March 1815), pp. 323–24 (p. 324).

39 'Da wir für die Geschichte sammeln, so können wir auch nur aufnehmen, was sich für solche Sammlungen eignet. Erstes Erforderniß dazu ist Authenticität; und diese giebt, genau genommen, nur officiële Publikation. Hieran hat es, bis jetzt noch gefehlt.' 'Erste allgemeine officiële Mittheilung, in Betreff der Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse des Wiener Kongresses. Vorwort des Herausgebers', *Die Zeiten*, 43.6 (June 1815), 341–44 (p. 341).

40 'Dies sogenannte *Urkundenbuch* wird zwar jedem Hefte *der Zeiten* begedruckt, da es aber *besonders paginirt* wird, so kann es von den Heften getrennt, und beim Binden jedem Bande angehängt werden.' 'Plan und Ankündigung', p. 15.

41 'Die Zeit streift die Hülle, — auch die am künstlichsten umwundene — endlich ab, und erleichtert dem Geschichtschreiber, späterer Jahrhunderte, sein Werk. Dieser Hülfe entbehrt der Erzähler und Beurtheiler der Zeitgeschichte. Sonderbar charakteristisch ist es, für die Geschichtschreibung, daß Ferne hier aufhellt und deutlicher sehn läßt; Nähe aber blendet, oder verdunkelt, oder enthüllt. Wenn diese Eigenthümlichkeit unsern Zeiten nicht ausschließlich angehört, so wird sie doch, in den unsrigen, mehr als jemahls wirksam.' [Christian Daniel Voß,] 'Der Herausgeber, an die Leser dieser Zeitschrift', p. 5.

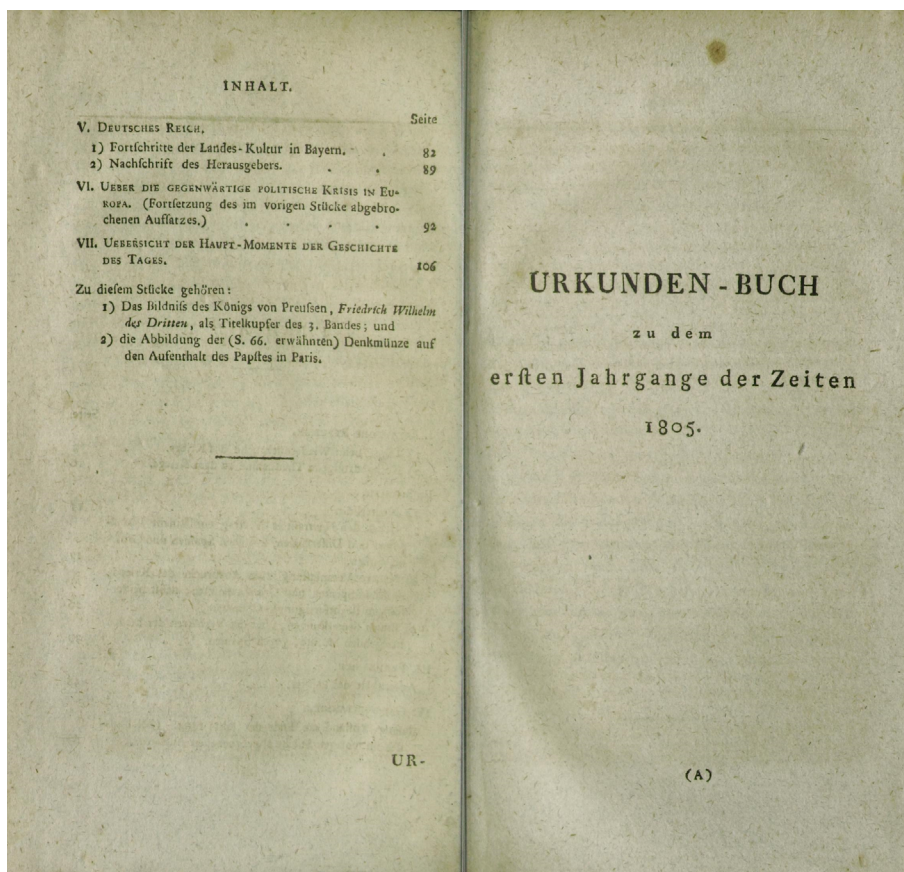


Fig. 3 Separately paginated *Urkunden-Buch* [*Book of Documents*], first issue, bound after the table of content of issue 7 (July 1805) in *Die Zeiten*, vol. 3, p. I. Copy of the SLUB Dresden (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

Thus, the task of the ‘historian of later centuries’ was to bring the historical events documented in periodical form into a systematic context so as to provide the overview that remained hidden from the blurred close-up perspective. This function of collecting, archiving, and pre-structuring history assigned to historico-political journals such as *Die Zeiten* an intermediate position in the media spectrum between the daily press and historical works:

Since it would now [in March 1807] be too hasty in every respect to provide a *history of the war events*, we shall first confine ourselves to providing a concise overview of the *course and effects* of the war [...]. For the actual history of the war, we are now collecting the materials in order to be able to deliver it, in its time, with completeness, accuracy and impartiality [...]. It must be obvious that this historical account can only gain by delay; and since the individual events, as they occur, reach public knowledge more quickly through the newspapers than we could

achieve, [...] the readers of our journal can have little interest in finding them repeated here in details, as they have read them in the newspapers.⁴²

In this sense, periodicals and political newspapers differ, above all, in terms of their ability to provide a ‘concentrated overview’, a difference that also had a temporal dimension insofar as it concerned the mediating role for a future historiography. A few years later, Voß returned to the difference between newspaper and journal (in connection with the massive delay of almost all issues of *Die Zeiten* in 1813 at the height of the Napoleonic Wars — more on this below) and criticized the ‘enormous hunt for newspapers, periodicals, and brochures that emulate newspapers, which has become today’s agenda’.⁴³ A mode of ‘newspaper reading and writing’ fixated solely on news would promote a state of ‘constant excitement’ and ‘impatience’ and thus prevent readers from ‘gaining a complete overview of the course of events’.⁴⁴ This form of newspaper reception and production, exclusively committed to the novelty of news, coincided with the figure of the scissors-and-paste editor who ‘often [went] through incoming newspapers half asleep and half awake’.⁴⁵ *Die Zeiten* distanced itself from this practice. Similarly to Heinrich Luden, who placed his historico-political journal *Nemesis*, founded in 1814, ‘in the middle’, ‘but, if possible, closer to the work of history than to a newspaper’,⁴⁶ Voß emphasized: ‘Our journal is not dedicated to the trade in news, it is dedicated to contemporary history. It has striven to maintain this purpose under all circumstances and will not stray from it as long as it exists.’⁴⁷ In this sense, contemporary history was created on the path between newspaper and history, and this path led via periodicals and their capabilities, specific to this media format, to write their era in an ordering way.

***Die Zeiten* and the Periodic Order of Time and Journals**

Die Zeiten’s claim of proto-historiographical systematization that converges in the concept of the archive can be traced by means of various columns that enable a temporal scaling of contemporary history, from the review of the decade to the history of the day. In the following, one of the longest-lived of these columns, ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’ [‘Overview of the Main Moments of the History of the Day’], will be discussed in detail from the perspective of its journal-specific chronopoetic

42 ‘Geschichtschreibers späterer Jahrhunderte’, ‘Da es jetzt [im März 1807], in jedem Betrachte, zu voreilig seyn möchte, eine Geschichte der Kriegsbegebenheiten zu liefern; so beschränken wir uns zuvörderst darauf, den Gang und die Wirkungen des Kriegs, [...] unter eine concentrirte Uebersicht zu stellen. Für die eigentliche Kriegsgeschichte sammeln wir jetzt die Materialien, um sie, zu seiner Zeit, mit der Vollständigkeit, Genauigkeit und Unparteilichkeit liefern zu können [...]. Es muß einleuchten, daß diese historische Darstellung durch Verzögerung nur gewinnen können; und da die einzelnen Begebenheiten, so wie sie geschehen, durch die Zeitungen schleuniger, als wir sie liefern könnten, zur allgemeinen Kenntniß gelangen, [...] so kann den Lesern unserer Zeitschrift wenig daran liegen, sie hier, wie sie sie in den Zeitungen lasen, in extenso wiederholt zu finden.’ ‘Krieg zwischen Frankreich und Preußen. 3. Gang des Krieges nebst Wirkungen; bis zur Theilnahme Rußlands an demselben. Vorerinnerung des Herausgebers’, *Die Zeiten*, 9.3 (March 1807), 417–20 (p. 417–18).

43 ‘gewaltige Jagd nach Zeitungen, die Zeitungen nacheifernden periodischen Schriften und Brochüren, die jetzt an der Tagesordnung ist’. ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’, *Die Zeiten*, 36.10 (October 1813), 142–48 (p. 142).

44 ‘Zeitungsleserey und Schreiberey’, ‘steten Erregsamkeit’, ‘Ungeduld’, ‘nie eine vollständige Uebersicht des Ganges der Begebenheiten erhalten’. ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’ (October 1813), pp. 144–45.

45 ‘Wie die Zeitungsblätter ankommen, werden sie von den Redaktoren [...] oft halb schlafend halb wachend durchlaufen’. Ibid.

46 ‘in der Mitte, jedoch, wenn es möglich ist, dem Geschichtswerke näher, als der Zeitung’. [Heinrich Luden,] ‘Das Jahr 1813’, p. 61.

47 ‘Unsere Zeitschrift ist nicht der Neuigkeitskrämerey, sie ist der Zeitgeschichte gewidmet. Sie hat diesen ihren Zweck, unter allen Umständen, festzuhalten gestrebt und wird nicht von ihm abweichen, so lange sie existirt.’ ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’ (October 1813), p. 146.

methods.⁴⁸ It will become apparent that the relationship between the density of historical events to be covered, the periodical norm of the journal, and editorial pragmatics is a potentially conflict-laden one that requires frequent readjustment and commentary on the part of the editor. In particular, the relationship of the journal to topicality proves to be problematic. In practice, the postulated intermediary position between newspaper and retrospective historical representation must be sounded out first.

On the level of regular periodicity, the problems start with the very first issue. While Bertuch, the publisher, planned to launch *Die Zeiten* in the second quarter of 1805, the short-term takeover of the *Die Zeiten* by Voß would cause a delay of several weeks. At the same time, Bertuch demanded that twelve monthly issues be delivered in the first year, which is why the January issue appears in May and the June issue in September.⁴⁹ The resulting delay ran through almost the entire first two years. For example, issue 10 (October 1805) reported on the battle of Austerlitz of 2 December 1805.⁵⁰ The report was written ‘on 12 January 1806’, as Voß added by way of explanation.⁵¹ Initially, the editor was still optimistic ‘that a better relationship will develop between the preliminary indications of the history of the day and the more complete presentation of the contemporary history, as the publication settles into the proper periods, and each piece can increasingly cover a certain and specific period of time’.⁵² In fact, it is foremost the column’s relative claim to topicality that can be used to identify a problem of disturbed periodicity, since it is here that incongruities between the nominal monthly issue, the actual date of publication, and the history of the event are most obvious. Voß complained to his colleague from Halle, Christian Gottfried Schütz, that Bertuch only decided afterwards ‘that the news of the day should also be included in every issue. [...] If this were not the case, there would be less pressure of a punctual monthly publication.’⁵³ He explained to his readers:

So far, we have not provided these overviews on a regular basis; partly because we have not always been able to find the space for them, because there was still much to catch up on, and one remarkable event has pushed the other; partly and mainly, though, because the irregular appearance of this journal, which has resulted from its accelerated publication, did not allow for a regular overview of the main moments of the day, according to time periods.⁵⁴

48 The end-of-the-year reviews, with which most January issues begin, would also be an example of a more or less established column, reflective of time — not only because the naming of these reviews fluctuates, but also because they are sometimes left out, spread in instalments over the entire issue (as in the 1809 volume), or merged with other articles.

49 See Middell, p. 47.

50 ‘Uebersicht der Haupt-Momente der Geschichte des Tages’, *Die Zeiten*, 4.10 (October 1805), 110–22.

51 ‘den 12. Januar 1806’. Ibid.

52 ‘dass sich ein besseres Verhältnis, der vorläufigen Andeutungen der Geschichte des Tags, zu der vollständigern Darstellung der Zeit-Geschichte, nach eben dem Masse, ergeben wird, da die Herausgabe in die gehörigen Zeiträume einrückt, und jedes Stück immer mehr einen gewissen und bestimmten Zeitraum umfassen kann’. ‘Der Herausgeber an das Publikum’, *Die Zeiten*, 2.6 (June 1805), 386–88 (p. 387–88).

53 ‘daß auch die Neuigkeiten des Tags in jedem Stücke beigebracht werden sollten. [...] Wäre dieses nicht, läge nicht so viel an der pünktlichen monatlichen Erscheinung’. Quoted in Middell, p. 46.

54 ‘Wir haben bisher diese Uebersichten nicht regelmäßig geliefert; indem wir theils nicht immer den Raum dafür gewinnen konnten, weil noch vieles nachzuholen war, und eine Merkwürdigkeit die andere drängte; theils und hauptsächlich aber, weil die bisherige, aus der beschleunigten Herausgabe dieser Zeitschrift entstandene, Unregelmäßigkeit ihrer Erscheinung eine regelmässige Uebersicht, der Haupt-Momente der Geschichte des Tages, nach Zeit-Abschnitten, nicht wohl gestattete.’ ‘Uebersicht der Haupt-Momente der Geschichte des Tages. Vorerinnerung des Herausgebers’, *Die Zeiten*, 7.9 (September 1806), 353–54 (p. 353).

Only in the seventh volume in September 1806 could he finally announce: 'From now on, *Die Zeiten* will progress regularly with time.'⁵⁵

However, the just-achieved periodic synchronization of *Die Zeiten* with the actual timeline of events would not last long. Already at the end of the second year Bertuch terminated the collaboration with Voß. *Die Zeiten* was published in Halle for the next two years at the editor's expense, a change which was again reflected in the rhythm of publication. Once again, the editor needed to provide an explanation and in a note on the current delayed publication he promised 'that the old order and regular appearance of each issue, each monthly, will be re-established in the shortest possible time'.⁵⁶ And once again, the 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages' of the April of 1807 issue reported on 'new major events [...] in the course of the month of June'.⁵⁷ At least this time, Voß managed to re-align the issue count and month of publication by autumn: 'As we promised, the regular issue of our journal has now been restored since September in such a way that each issue is published at the end of its designated month.'⁵⁸

If these irregularities in the periodicity of the journal can be traced back to the circumstances of *Die Zeiten's* early years, the renewed outbreak of the war in 1813 brought about a situation in which the history of the events and their regular overview-like transcription were once again disarranged. The consequences for a column committed to both overview and topicality were serious:

Since, due to the circumstances of the time, the appearance of our journal has somewhat lost its usual rhythm, we have also lagged by several months in the Overview of the Main Moments of the History of the Day. In view of the new and great expectations of the present moment, which links the focus on the present and the future rather than on the past, it does not seem to us to be the most appropriate time to add what has been left behind. Also, what lies several months in the past is no longer really the history of the day.⁵⁹

It was due to the 'circumstances' that the cover and publication date of the journal diverged, bringing the functionality of the column to a standstill. If the month of May 1813 and the 5th issue of 'May 1813' diverged in such a glaring way that a 'focus on the present and the future' became problematic, the journal must 'reserve the peculiar

55 'Die Zeiten werden, von jetzt an, mit der Zeit regelmässig fortschreiten'. Ibid.

56 'daß die alte Ordnung und regelmäßige Ausgabe, jedes Monatsstücks, in möglichst kurzer Zeit hergestellt seyn wird'. 'Notiz die verspätete Erscheinung, dieses und die zu beschleunigende der folgenden Stücke betreffend', *Die Zeiten*, 9.1 (January 1807), p. 182.

57 'Neue große Ereignisse [...] in dem Laufe des Monats Jun[i]'. 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages', *Die Zeiten*, 10.4 (April 1807), 127–28 (p. 127).

58 'Wie wir es versprochen, so ist nun bereits seit dem September die regelmäßige Ausgabe unserer Zeitschrift dergestalt wiederhergestellt, daß jedes Stück mit dem Ende des Monats, wovon es die Bezeichnung trägt, versandt wird'. 'Notiz', *Die Zeiten*, 12.12 (December 1807), Anhang Politisch-literarischer Anzeiger N.V., p. 48.

59 'Da durch die Zeitumstände, die Erscheinung unserer Zeitschrift etwas aus ihrer gewöhnlichen Ordnung gerückt ist, so sind wir auch in der Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages um einige Monate zurück geblieben. In Erwägung der neuen und großen Erwartungen des gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkts, welcher die Aufmerksamkeit an die Gegenwart und Zukunft, als an die Vergangenheit knüpft, scheint uns derselbe zum Nachtragen des Zurückgebliebenen nicht der schicklichste zu seyn. Auch ist, was mehrere Monate weit zurück liegt, nicht mehr ganz eigentlich Geschichte des Tages.' 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages', *Die Zeiten*, 34.5 (May 1813), 319–20.

happenings that need to be caught up on from this period [...] for other appropriate sections'.⁶⁰

The 'temporal order' of *Die Zeiten* and the calendrical order of time developed a paradoxical relationship in the following months.⁶¹ On the one hand, the historical importance of the events of 1813 can be measured from the fact that it trumps the periodic ordering principles of the journal. The editor, for example, expected 'no reproach' for 'departing from the chronological order' and preferring to print documents on the Battle of Leipzig: 'The splendour and importance of the deeds of arms that took place here are so striking that we would rather fear reproach if we did not allow ourselves to be prompted by them to depart from the chronological order.'⁶² In this sense, periodic asynchrony is the strongest marker to use when distinguishing the present as historically significant. On the other hand, this asynchrony is only tangible through the maintenance of the periodic norm. Perhaps for this reason, and despite the capitulation of periodical logic to the 'history of the day' overtaking it (in the May issue), Voß ultimately held on to twelve monthly issues for the year 1813, with correspondingly large concessions to chronological order. The June issue reported on the Battle of Leipzig in October and the August issue declared without further ado: 'It is complete, the year 1813 — the great year of suffering and deeds. The year of hopes has begun.'⁶³ (Fig. 4)

With a certain consistency, this massively disturbed chronological order is reflected not only in the topicality of individual sections, but also at the very level of the monthly issue. To conclude the year 1813, the last two issues (November and December) appeared together, but apparently only *after* the first three issues of 1814. At any rate, this is suggested by a footnote in the double November/December issue referring to documents in the February and March 1814 issues, i.e. in the future, if one goes by the logic of periodicity.⁶⁴ The journal's belated retrospective becomes obvious when the 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages' in January 1814 begins with the words 'When we wrote down our last overview (in the September issue of last year's volume)' — although this issue was written at the beginning of February and reported on the expectation of the imminent capture of Paris, and therefore on the prospect of the conclusion of a military campaign that was just getting underway

60 'In Erwägung der neuen und großen Erwartungen des gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkts, welcher die Aufmerksamkeit mehr an die Gegenwart und Zukunft, als an die Vergangenheit knüpft, scheint uns derselbe zum Nachtragen des Zurückgebliebenen nicht der schicklichste zu seyn. [...] Wir werden daher das Merkwürdige, was aus diesem Zeitraume nachzuholen ist, [...] andern angemessenen Rubriken vorbehalten.' Ibid. p. 320.

61 'Zeitordnung'. 'Zu der Geschichte der Feldzüge, im Jahre 1813, gehörige Aktenstücke. Die offiziellen Berichte, von den Schlachten bey Leipzig. Vorwort des Herausgebers', *Die Zeiten*, 35.9 (September 1813), 333–42 (p. 333).

62 'Wir befürchten keinen Vorwurf deßhalb, weil wir aus der Zeitordnung weichen [...]. Der Glanz und die Wichtigkeit der Waffenthaten, die hier geschahen, sind so hervorstechend, daß wir vielmehr Vorwürfe befürchten würden, wenn wir uns dadurch nicht veranlassen ließen, von der chronologischen Ordnung abzuweichen.' Ibid.

63 'Es ist vollendet, das Jahr 1813 — das große Jahr des Leidens und der Thaten; und begonnen ist das Jahr der Hoffnungen.' 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages', *Die Zeiten*, 35.8 (August 1813), 283–69 (p. 283).

64 See footnote 'S. die Zeiten Febr. und März St. 1814' in 'Vorwort des Herausgebers zum Artikel: Noten des Moniteurs zu der letztern Erklärung des österreichischen Ministers, auf dem Kongresse zu Prag', *Die Zeiten*, 36.11–12 (November–December 1813), p. 206. There is a reference to the article 'Diplomatisches Tableau der neuesten Staats- und Kriegsverhältnisse und Begebenheiten. Siebzehnte Abtheilung, Aktenstücke, die diplomatischen Verhandlungen, zwischen Oestreich und Frankreich, vor dem Ausbruche des jetzigen Krieges, betreffend', *Die Zeiten*, 37.2 (February 1814), 157–205; and 37.3 (March 1814), 319–60.

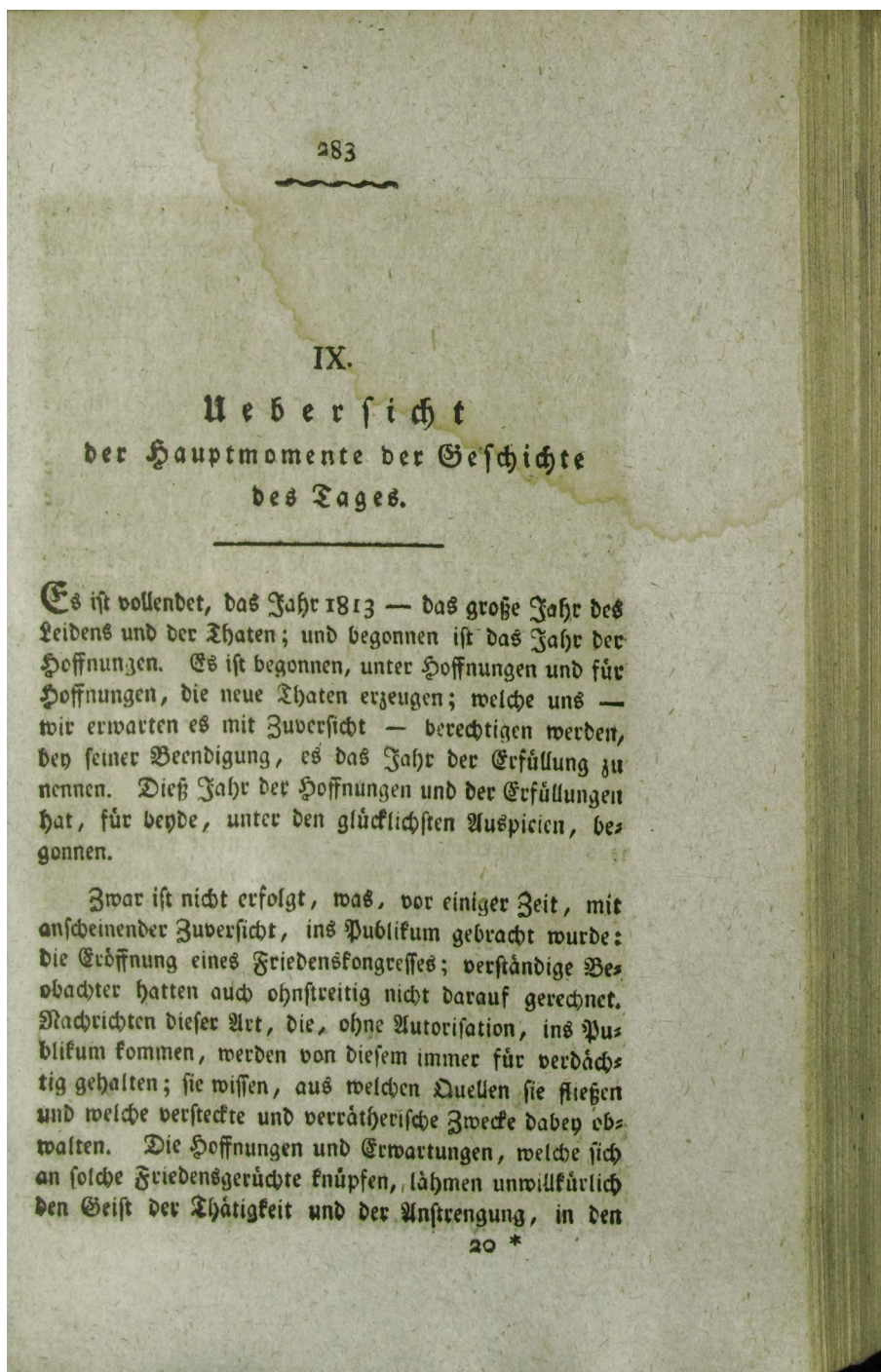


Fig. 4 The 'Overview of the Main Moments of the History of the Day' announces in August 1813: 'It is complete, the year 1813 [...].'*Die Zeiten*, 35.8 (August 1813), p. 283. Copy of the SLUB Dresden (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

in September.⁶⁵ One can therefore assume that the October issue of 1813 was written at the earliest after the January issue of 1814; coincidentally it is the piece cited above in which Voß used the overview for his tirade against the ‘Neuigkeitskrämerei’ [‘news-trading’] of newspapers.⁶⁶

If obvious problems regarding the possibility of depicting time as contemporary history result from the density of events, a look at the quieter years of *Die Zeiten* after the final takeover of the journal in 1809 by the publisher Johann Georg Mittler in Leipzig is no less revealing. Politically, the times were, if not calm, then comparatively calmer, except for the founding of the Kingdom of Westphalia, which directly affected Voß at the University of Halle after the cession of the Prussian territories. And so it happened that *Die Zeiten* reflected for the first time the connection between periodicity and the modes of depicting event overviews on the occasion of a relative *poverty* of events:

When, in former times, years and decades went by without such an event occurring as in our day occurs constantly, no one found it remarkable, for one was accustomed to the quiet progress of the conventional order of events [...]. Now we are accustomed to seeing the conventional order of things changed every month by new events: and we find it remarkable if within one or two months only one or a few changes of this kind occur.⁶⁷

Indeed, if there was nothing to report for a month ‘that would have surprised the audience or which would have an important or decisive influence on the course of world events’, then this was a singular case, ‘a rarity which therefore deserves to be noticed first and foremost’.⁶⁸ This exceptional case was seen by Voß as a sign of a present that, due to the historical experience of war and crisis, had become accustomed to publication-worthy events without interruption, and was distinguished from past times poor in newsworthy material — an argument that refers to the ‘evolutionary improbability’ of daily (here monthly, but in any case of regularly, periodical) news described by Niklas Luhmann:

If it is the idea of surprise, of something new, interesting and newsworthy which we associate with news, then it would seem much more sensible not to report it in the same format every day, but to wait for something to happen and then to publicize it.⁶⁹

65 ‘Als wir unsere letzte Uebersicht niederschrieben (im Septemberstücke des vorjährigen Jahrganges). ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’, *Die Zeiten*, 37.1 (January 1814), 150–56 (p. 150). ‘Entscheidendes ist noch nicht erfolgt; aber das Entscheidende immer mehr vorbereitet. [...] Es ist daher nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß, indem wir dieß niederschreiben (am 8. Febr.) der Einzug in Paris, dem gemäß, wie in den neuesten öffentlichen Blättern im Voraus angekündigt worden, in der That geschieht.’ [‘Decisive things have not yet been done; but the decisive things are more and more prepared. (...) It is therefore not improbable that, as we are write this down (on 8 February), the march into Paris will in fact take place, according to what has been announced in the latest public papers.’] ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’, *Die Zeiten*, 35.9 (September 1813), 451–60 (p. 451). The dating of the section is not unique but still unusual.

66 ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’ (October 1813), p. 146.

67 ‘Wenn ehmahls Jahre und Jahrzehnte hingingen, ohne daß eine solche Begebenheit sich ereignete, als sie in unsern Tagen ohne Unterlaß eintreten, so fand dieß Niemand bemerkenswerth, denn man war an den ruhigen Fortgang der herkömmlichen Ordnung der Dinge gewöhnt [...]. Jetzt sind wir gewohnt, jeden Monath die herkömmliche Ordnung der Dinge, durch neue Ereignisse verändert zu sehn: und finden es bemerkenswerth, wenn binnen ein, oder zwei Monathen, nur eine, oder einige Veränderungen dieser Art sich ereignen.’ ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’ *Die Zeiten*, 13.1 (January 1808), 135–42 (p. 135).

68 ‘In diesem Monathe — eine Seltenheit, die deßhalb zuvörderst bemerkt zu werden verdient — ist einmahl nichts geschehen, oder zur öffentlichen Kenntniß gelangt, wodurch das Publikum überrascht worden wäre, oder was auf den Gang der Weltbegebenheiten [...] einen erkennbar wichtigen, oder entscheidenden Einfluß hätte.’ ‘Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages’, *Die Zeiten*, 22.5 (May 1810), 320–24 (p. 320).

69 Niklas Luhmann, *The Reality of the Mass Media* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 25.

The fact that recurring columns such as the 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages' are based on the continuation of the history of the day and assume a more or less continuous availability of the 'remarkable', and thus newsworthy, is on the one hand reflected in the practice of the monthly issued magazine, but on the other hand is not yet so deeply established that the editor himself would not occasionally wonder about it, as the cited irritation above shows. Also, the column peritextually appears surprisingly late as a continuation when from mid-1818 on the note 'to be continued' appeared frequently.⁷⁰ In any event, such temporally based sections contribute to the formation of a 'journalistic writing style' that exceeds a suggestion of a continuity that starts from the last known state of affairs and reaches beyond the present to the immediate future and is thus involved in the change of perceptions of time.⁷¹ From the perspective of the dawning nineteenth century, Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as an 'imagined community' created by the 'mass ceremony' of daily, simultaneous consumption of newspapers, is at most the very distant endpoint of a development that mainly produces a multitude of heterogeneous periodic time regimes in both newspapers and magazines.⁷²

***Die Zeiten* and the 'Evolutionary Improbability' of Periodic News**

The 'evolutionary improbability' of periodically timed news, to use Luhmann's formulation once again, is indeed only one form of temporalization of historical events in the media. The possibility 'to wait for something to happen and then to publicize it', which seems more probable, is not only reflected in articles devoted to individual topics, but also in other, irregularly appearing rubrics of the journal, some short-lived, others recurring but at large intervals.⁷³ In this sense, beneath the 'improbable' periodical surface of the journal, there is a distinction of the journal-specific writing of contemporary history between more or less fixed sections and those that appear irregularly, depending on the occasion. Therefore, in the final section, I will discuss 'Regenten-Entsetzungen, Entweichungen und Resignationen, seit dem Anfange des Jahres 1807' ['Regents' Deposings, Slips, and Resignations, since the Beginning of the Year 1807'], a section that was purely event-caused and whose very existence is already interpreted as a sign of the times:

In our days, when we are accustomed to seeing events that were once rare in past centuries, or even non-existent, crammed together in annual and monthly periods, the most extraordinary of things, even when in abundance, and precisely because of it, lose their power to impress. [...] This is, of course, partly due to dullness, [...] but partly also to the faster succession of similar, formerly extraordinary, now almost everyday occurrences. Take the ones suggested by the title of this article.⁷⁴ (Fig. 5)

70 '(Die Fortsetzung folgt.) 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages' *Die Zeiten*, 54.6 (June 1818), 466–72 (p. 472).

71 Luhmann, p. 26.

72 See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edn (London and New York: Verso, 2006), p. 35; Turner, 'Periodical Time', particularly pp. 186–91.

73 Luhmann, p. 25.

74 'In unsern Tagen, wo man sich gewöhnt, Begebenheiten, die ehemals in Jahrhunderten Seltenheiten waren, oder gar nicht vorkamen, in Jahres- und Monatszeiträumen zusammengedrängt zu sehen, verliert auch das Außerordentlichste, selbst wenn es sich drängt und eben dadurch, daß es sich drängt, an Kraft des Eindrucks. [...] Dieß liegt freilich theils in der Abstumpfung, [...] theils aber doch auch in der schnellern Folge gleichartiger, ehemals außerordentlicher, jetzt fast alltäglicher Begebenheiten. Man nehme die, welche die Ueberschrift dieses Artikels andeutet.' 'Regentenentsetzungen, Entweichungen und Resignationen; seit dem Jahre 1807. Vorwort', *Die Zeiten*, 14.5 (May 1808), 192–95 (p. 192–93).

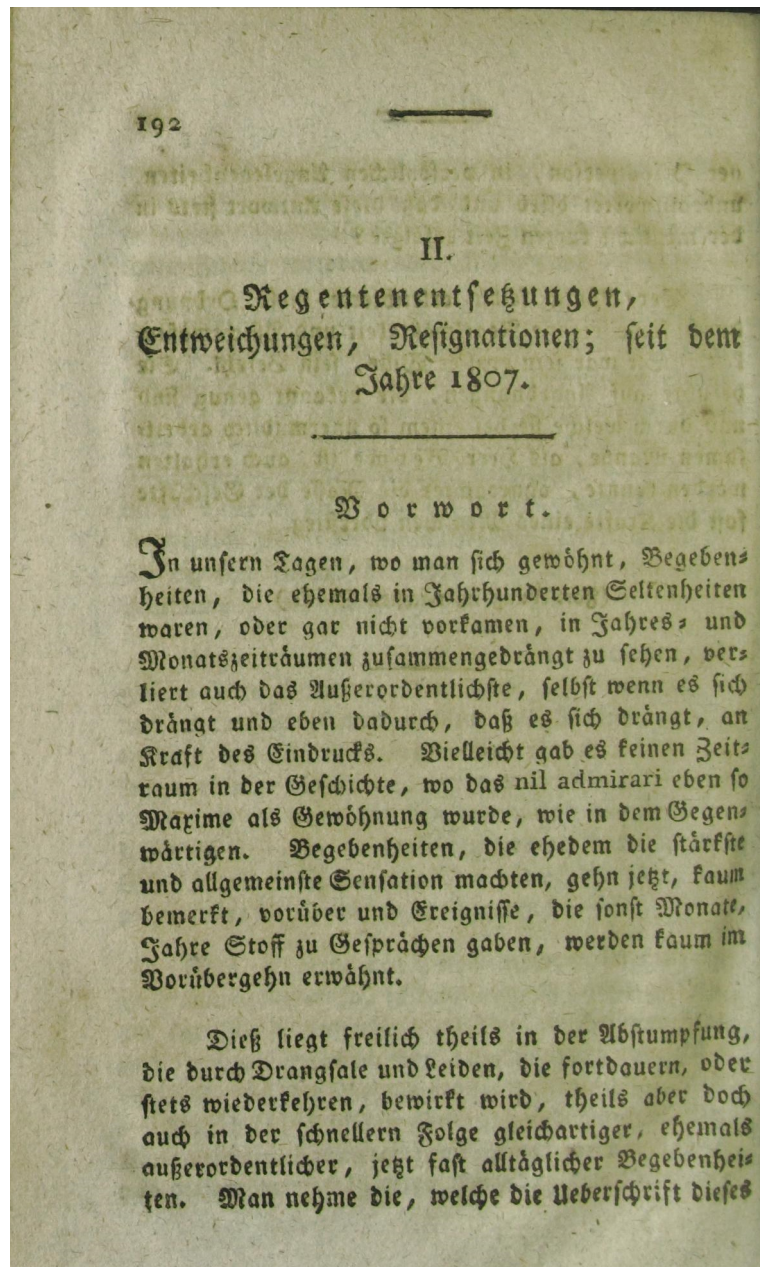


Fig. 5 New section 'Regents' Deposings, Slips, and Resignations, since the Beginning of the Year 1807', *Die Zeiten* 14.5 (May 1808), p. 192. Copy of the SLUB Dresden (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

The fact that European regents are ‘deposed’ by a *coup d’état* or uprising, or have to flee for other reasons and renounce their position is no longer an absolutely singular event, but justifies its own, in theory open-ended section. Voß introduces the continuation of the article from the previous year in April 1809: ‘It is certainly one of the most striking peculiarities and characteristic features of our contemporary history that, in a journal dedicated to it, an article under the above heading becomes a standing one.’ He also adds: ‘These events happened faster than we could write about them.’⁷⁵ Despite this accumulation, in the case of ‘Regentenentsetzungen, Entweichungen und Resignationen’ there are happenings that cannot be featured regularly due to their very nature. Longer gaps are therefore to be expected. Accordingly, the continuation of the section each time already testifies to the progress of contemporary history and is also reflected in this sense, particularly on point in the continuation of an article from January 1811 that is devoted to Napoleon being deposed in 1814:

‘Regentenentsetzungen, Entweichungen, Resignationen’ — we have so far talked about its history in this article — were by far, in the greatest part, the work of Napoleon, the Emperor of the French. The last one whose resignation history we have communicated was *his own brother*, installed by him, induced to abdicate by him. The one with whom we begin this continuation is *himself*; and those whose stories of resignation will follow are again *his brothers*. Thus Providence rules! Will the story of these cases, will this article be closed for ever? Who would undertake to decide with certainty, in advance.⁷⁶

After Napoleon was deposed, the column bearing this title does indeed come to an end, but history does not. And so, it was only logical that the historical turning point at the beginning of the post-Napoleon Restoration interpreted as a ‘rebirth’ should inspire a kind of ‘rebirth’ for the column:

It was probably one of the signs of the sad times that had passed: that ‘Regentenentsetzungen und Resignationen’ became and had to become the subject of a standing article in a journal that presented the main facts of Europe’s most recent history; just as it is a sign of the better times that have begun: that a section under the heading ‘Regentenwiedereinsetzungen und Rückkehren’ [‘Regents’ Reappointments and Returns’] can take the place of its predecessor. Providence intended that he who had given rise to that section, and who had provided by far the most, if not all, materials directly and indirectly for it, should himself follow this evolution. [...] If the section ‘Regentenentsetzungen und Resignationen’ closes most appropriately with the abdication of *Napoleon*, [...] the

75 ‘Es gehört doch wohl gewiß zu den auffallendsten Eigenthümlichkeiten und charakteristischen Zügen unserer Zeitgeschichte, daß, in einem derselben gewidmeten Journale, ein Artikel unter obiger Ueberschrift zu einem *stehenden* wird. [...] Es folgten sonach diese Ereignisse schneller, als sie erzählt werden konnten. ‘Regenten-Entsetzungen, Entweichungen und Resignationen, seit dem Anfange des Jahrs 1807. (Fortsetzung.) Vorwort’, *Die Zeiten*, 18.4 (April 1809), 109–15 (p. 109).

76 Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, 1806–10, King of Holland. ‘Die Regentenentsetzungen, Entweichungen und Resignationen, deren urkundliche Geschichte wir in diesem Artikel bisher lieferten, waren, bey weitem dem größten Theile nach, das Werk *Napoleons*, des Kaisers der Franzosen. Der letzte, dessen Resignationsgeschichte wir mittheilten, war *sein eigener Bruder*, durch ihn eingesetzt, durch ihn zur Abdankung veranlaßt. Der, mit dem wir diese Fortsetzung beginnen, ist — *er selbst*; und die, deren Entsetzungsgeschichten nachfolgen werden, sind wiederum *seine Brüder*; — So waltet die Vorsehung! — Ob mit der Geschichte dieser, dieser Artikel, für immer zu schließen seyn wird? — Wer mögte sich unterfangen, mit Bestimmtheit darüber, in [sic] Voraus, entscheiden zu wollen.’ ‘Regentenentsetzungen, Entweichungen und Resignationen, seit dem Jahre 1807. Fortsetzung des, im Januarstücke des Jahrgangs 1811, abgebrochenen Artikels. Entsetzung und Resignation Napoleons, Kaisers der Franzosen’, *Die Zeiten*, 38.4 (April 1814), 116–50 (p. 116–17).

article ‘Regentenwiedereinsetzungen’ begins, appropriately, with *Louis XVIII*. This act immediately follows on from the previous one; it is, as it were, a continuation of it.⁷⁷ (Fig. 6)

In the same way, ‘Regentenwiedereinsetzungen und Rückkehren’ is like a continuation of the preceding section, ‘Regentenentsetzungen, Entweichungen und Resignationen’. Start-up and continuation coincide here and, together with this ‘section rebirth’, form the media counterpart to the Restoration Epoch. Against the background of this history of origins, it is not surprising that the report on Napoleon’s unexpected temporary ‘return’ and his hundred-day ‘reinstatement’ in the early summer of 1815 were *not* included in the obviously suited section — the history of the present and its journalistic evaluation was too strongly connected with the formal organisational structure of the journal. Thus, the report of Napoleon’s renewed return to power found its place in an individual article with the ambiguous title ‘Napoleon le revenant oder Bonapartes Wiedererscheinung. Vorläufiges Wort’ [‘Napoleon le revenant or Bonaparte’s Reappearance. Preliminary Note’]. (Fig. 7)

The effort to present this ‘reappearance’ as the opposite of a ‘rebirth’ is clear: ‘Napoleon Bonaparte, who, as is well known, died *one* year ago of a rather unglorious political death, suddenly reappeared as a *revenant* where he had previously resided in life, and as such, from there, spread terror and horror throughout the whole of Europe anew.’⁷⁸ There was something ‘magical’ about the appearance of the revenant, at least at a ‘superficial glance’, something ‘supernatural’. ‘And yet it is natural enough, and everything can be explained easily and without assuming the workings of ghosts and witches’, namely from the political circumstances of power.⁷⁹ Nevertheless: Napoleon was undead, not a man returned or reinstated regent, and as such he could not be fitted into a restoration narrative. ‘That is why it is necessary to completely exorcise the unclean spirit; and one has learned to banish it’ — militarily, politically, and journalistically, as demonstrated by *Die Zeiten*.⁸⁰ As such, the section ‘Regentenwiedereinsetzungen und

77 ‘Es gehörte wohl recht eigentlich zu den Zeichen, der zurückgelegten traurigen Zeit: daß: ‘Regentenentsetzungen und Resignationen’ Gegenstand eines stehenden Artikels, in einer Zeitschrift, wurden und werden mußten, welche die Darstellung der Hauptfakten der neuesten Staatengeschichte Europa’s zu ihrem Gegenstande hatte; so wie es ein Zeichen der begonnenen bessern Zeit ist: daß eine Rubrik, unter der Ueberschrift Regentenwiedereinsetzungen und Rückkehren an die Stelle jener treten kann. Die Vorsehung wollte, daß der, welcher Anlaß, zu jener Rubrik gegeben, und die beyweitem meisten, wo nicht alle, Objekte unmittelbar und mittelbar für dieselbe geliefert hat, selbst sich an die Reihenfolge anschließen mußte. [...] Wenn sich die Rubrik: Regentenentsetzungen etc. am angemessensten, mit der Entsetzung *Napoleons* schließt, [...] so beginnt der Artikel: Regentenwiedereinsetzungen etc. wohl ebenfalls am angemessensten, mit *Ludewig XVIII*. Dieser Akt schließt sich, an jenen, unmittelbar an; ist gleichsam eine Fortsetzung von jenem.’ ‘Regentenwiedereinsetzungen und Rückkehren. Vorwort des Herausgebers’, *Die Zeiten*, 41.2 (February 1815), pp. 194–95.

78 ‘Napoleon Bonaparte, bekanntlich vor *einem* Jahre, eines nicht sehr ruhmvollen politischen Todes gestorben, ist, als *revenant*, plötzlich, wo er vorher, im Leben, hauste, wieder erschienen, und hat, als solcher, von dort aus, aufs Neue, Schrecken und Entsetzen, durch ganz Europa verbreitet.’ ‘Napoleon le revenant oder Bonapartes Wiedererscheinung. Vorläufiges Wort’, *Die Zeiten*, 42.4 (April 1815), 164–75 (p. 164).

79 ‘In der That kann man das Magische, das Wundervolle, was die Wiedererscheinung *Bonapartes* in Frankreich, bey einer oberflächlichen Beobachtung hat, nicht in Abrede stellen. [...] Sieht dieß nicht etwas Uebernatürlichem ähnlich? Und doch geht es natürlich genug zu, und erklärt sich alles leicht und ohne Annahme von Gespenster- und Hexenwerk.’ ‘Napoleon le revenant oder Bonapartes Wiedererscheinung’, pp. 165–66.

80 ‘Darum ist es nöthig, den unsaubern Geist völlig auszutreiben; und man hat gelernt, ihn zu bannen.’ ‘Napoleon le revenant oder Bonapartes Wiedererscheinung’, p. 175.

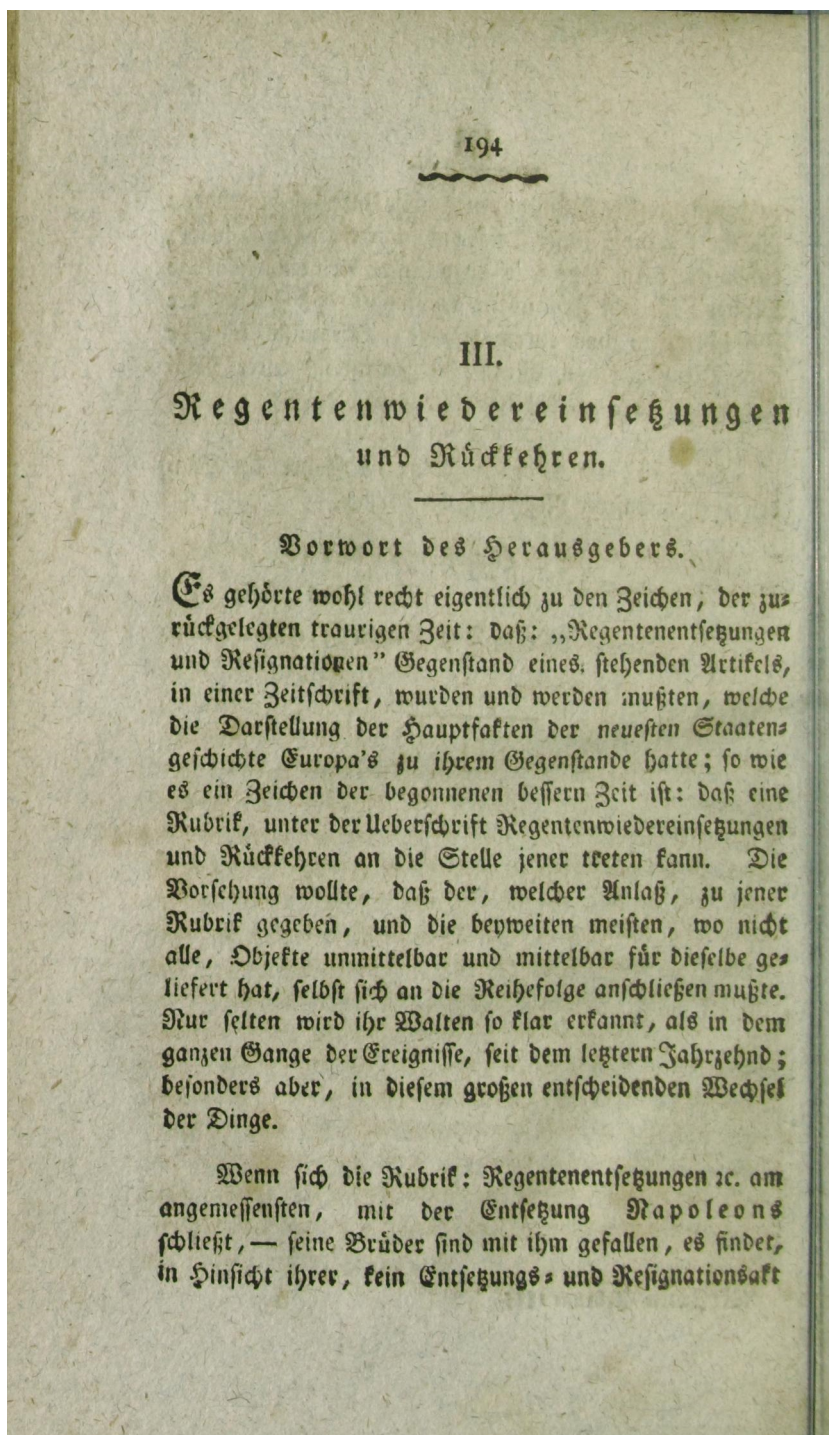


Fig. 6 'Renaissance' of the former section 'Regents' Deposings' under the new title 'Regentenwiedereinsetzungen und Rückkehren' ['Regents' Reappointments and Returns'], *Die Zeiten*, 41.2 (February 1815), p. 194. Copy of the SLUB Dresden (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

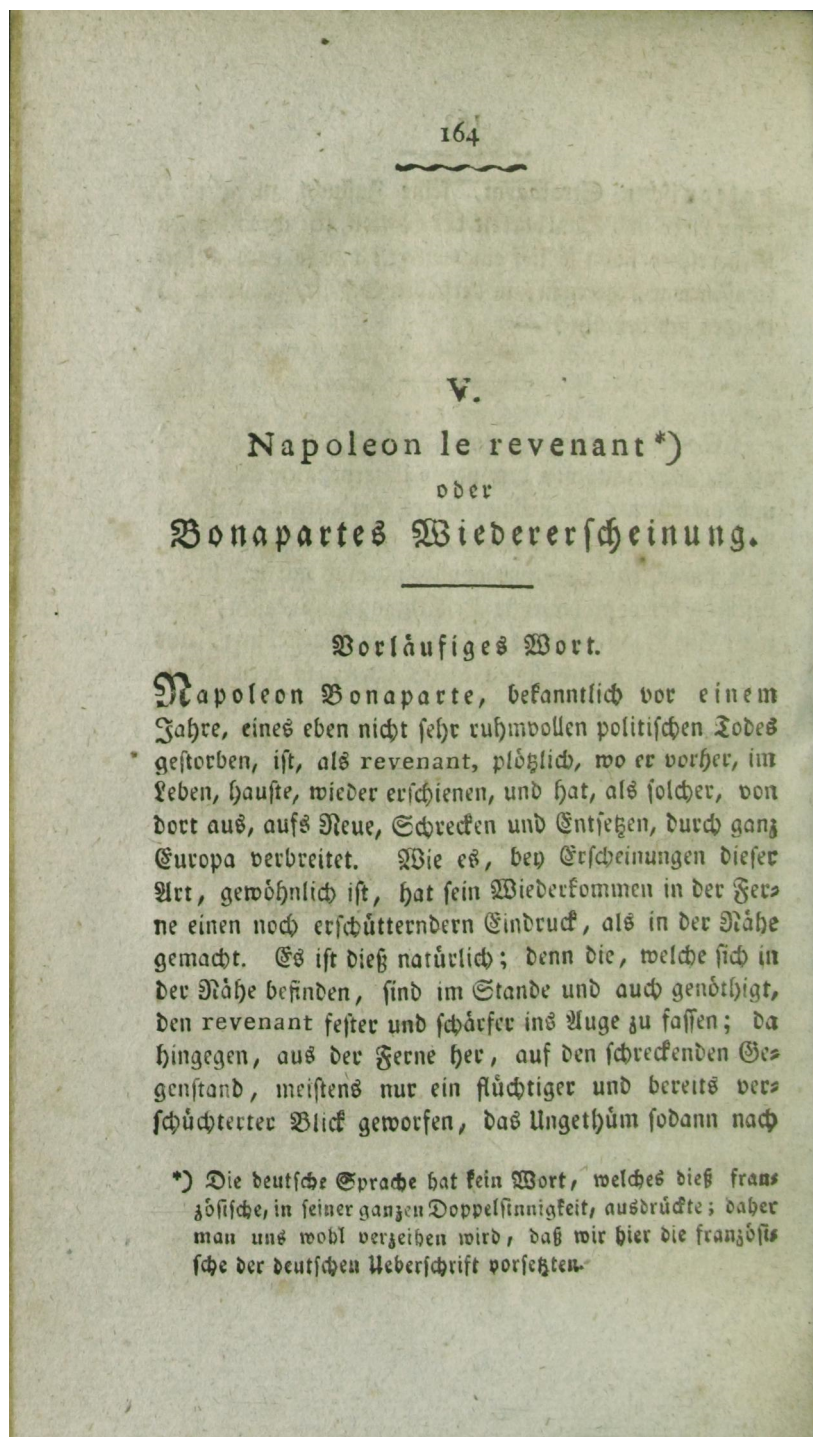


Fig. 7 'Napoleon le revenant or Bonaparte' Reappearance. Preliminary Notes', *Die Zeiten*, 42.4 (April 1815), p. 164. Copy of the SLUB Dresden (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

Rückkehren' was continued without comment at the beginning of 1816 with the re-instatement and return of the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII; the 'terrible *Napoleon*' had long since been 'reduced to his nothingness'.⁸¹ 'The wonderful times give birth to ever more astonishing phenomena', *Die Zeiten* commented.⁸²

Periodicals and Their Present — A Short Résumé

The perspective this article has proposed highlights the connection between periodicals and contemporary history. Three aspects are important here: firstly, the relationship of magazines to the present in the sense of a transfer of the day's history into a periodically more or less structured order; secondly, the linguistic, 'poetic' dimension of this relationship, always carrying both a generating and an interpreting function; and finally, the temporality of the magazine itself, its sometimes ephemeral, sometimes permanent, archive-like character. In this sense, it is less a matter of the historical and philosophical justification of 'present history', as it appears in Koselleck's dictum 'every history is *Zeitgeschichte*, and every history was, is, and will be a history of the present', but rather the description of the concrete medial production of the present, or better, of several presents.⁸³ For this purpose, periodic patterns of order and journalistic continuation logic can be analysed just as revealingly as their disruption. Furthermore, material and praxeological strategies of archiving, updating or, generally, temporalizing, provide clues to chronopoetic 'madness' as well as peritextual and rhetorical ones. Therefore, magazines such as *Die Zeiten*, are not only in a content-depicting and interpreting relationship with the history of their contemporaneous events, but also develop forms of media representation tied to specific modes and possibilities for the periodical's writing and structuring of time as history.

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81 'Regentenwiedereinsetzungen und Rückkehren. (Fortsetzung des, im Märzstücke des v. J. abgebrochenen, Artikels.)', *Die Zeiten*, 45.1 (January 1816), 96–127; 'So ist denn der furchtbare *Napoleon* völlig in sein Nichts reducirt'. 'Uebersicht der Hauptmomente der Geschichte des Tages', *Die Zeiten*, 43.7 (July 1815), 138–48 (p. 148).

82 'Immer erstaunlichere Erscheinungen gebiert die wundervolle Zeit.' *Ibid.*, p. 138.

83 Koselleck, 'Constancy and Change', p. 103.

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