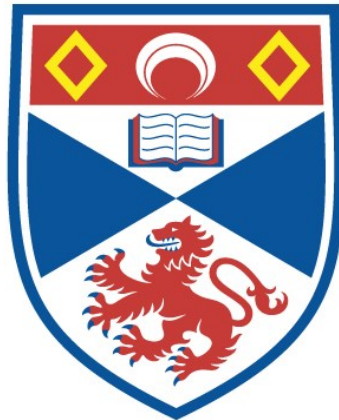


THE DRAMATIC ILLUSION IN THE THEORY AND LATER
PLAYS OF FRIEDRICH SCHILLER

Irene A. M. Quaile-Kersken

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1989

Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:
<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/13346>

This item is protected by original copyright

The Dramatic Illusion in the Theory and Later Plays of

Friedrich Schiller

by

Irene A. M. Quaille-Kersken



A thesis submitted to the University of St. Andrews in 1989

for the degree of Ph.D.

ProQuest Number: 10170675

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10170675

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

TL A938 .

I, Irene Anne McCracken Quaile-Kersken, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D in October 1982; the higher study of which this is a record was carried out in the Universities of St Andrews and Cologne and in the 'Deutsches Literaturarchiv', Marbach am Neckar, between 1982 and 1988.

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

28th December 1988.

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this in application for that degree.

28th December 1988.

(Supervisor)

Abstract

Statements in Schiller's early essays seem to suggest that he adhered to the view of the dramatic illusion as a temporary escape from reality, an experience in which the spectator is encouraged to forget that he is in the theatre and be caught up in a deceptive and convincing illusion.

Analysis of Schiller's dramatic and aesthetic theory and of his correspondence from 1790 onwards, however, shows that the ideas of moral freedom, aesthetic harmony and of the autonomy of art led Schiller to reject the ideal of convincing illusion which was current and popular in his time. In its place he wished to encourage awareness of the illusory nature of the stage action and drama which was obviously different from everyday reality in its subject matter and style.

Analysis of Schiller's plays from Wallenstein to Wilhelm Tell shows that Schiller aimed at illusion of this type in his own practice. With reference to the dramatic illusion, Schiller's views actually come close to those of Brecht, in spite of statements to the contrary in Brecht's Kleines Organon für das Theater.

The detailed analysis of Schiller's theory and of his later plays is preceded firstly by a chapter on problems associated with the topic of the dramatic illusion. Secondly, a background chapter considers influential developments in drama, dramatic theory and in aesthetics from the origins of western drama in Greek classical tragedy to the theatre of Schiller's time, to establish possible influences on Schiller or similarities between his views and existing traditions, and to suggest Schiller's position with regard to his contemporaries and to the historical development of the dramatic illusion.

References and Abbreviations

Except where indicated in the footnotes, references to Schiller's works are to the Nationalausgabe, abbreviated to NA followed by the volume number. Where Schiller's correspondence was not available in the NA references are to the edition by F. Jonas, abbreviated to Jonas followed by the volume number.

Orthography follows the edition used in each case.

As the printer could not generate square brackets, round ones are used to mark insertions or omissions in quotations. Where it is not clear whether the parentheses are part of the original text or have been inserted, the source is indicated in a footnote.

Words underlined in quotations are underlined in the original unless marked 'my underlining' in the corresponding footnote.

References in the footnotes have been reduced to brief title and page. The date is only given where appropriate, as full details are provided in the bibliography at the end of the thesis.

C O N T E N T S

1	<u>Preliminaries</u>	1
1.1	Schiller studies and the question of the dramatic illusion	4
1.2	Drama in the theatre and drama as reading material	9
1.3	Audience response	15
1.3.1	The difficulties of assessing audience response	15
1.3.2	Historical audiences	16
1.3.3	Individuality and common factors in audiences	17
1.3.4	Conclusions	21
1.4	The 'dramatic illusion'	23
1.4.1	Illusion as 'deception'	23
1.4.2	'... eine Art selbstbewußte Illusion'	25
1.4.2.1	Alternation	25
1.4.2.2	'Psychical Distance': involvement and awareness	26
1.4.3	Identification and the dramatic illusion	30
1.4.4	'Willing suspension of disbelief'?	31
1.4.5	Breaking the illusion	32
1.4.6	Illusion and the function of drama	34
1.4.7	Conclusions	36
1.5	The contents and order of the thesis	38
2	<u>Influential developments in drama, dramatic theory and in aesthetics from Greek classical tragedy to the eighteenth century</u>	39
2.1	Greek classical tragedy (Fifth century B.C.)	41
2.1.1	The chorus	41
2.1.2	Aristotle's 'Poetics'	43
2.1.3	The dramatic illusion in Greek classical drama	46
2.1.4	Conclusions	49

2.2	The influence of Greek classical tragedy on Schiller	52
2.3	Drama in Germany before the eighteenth century	57
2.3.1	Drama in the Middle Ages	57
2.3.2	Developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries	58
2.3.3	The dramatic illusion in baroque tragedy	60
2.4	Schiller's knowledge of baroque theatre	64
2.5	French classical tragedy (P. Corneille 1606-1684 and J. Racine 1639-1699)	68
2.5.1	Principal characteristics	68
2.5.2	The dramatic illusion in French classical tragedy	70
2.6	Schiller's attitude towards French classical tragedy	74
2.7	Developments in the eighteenth century	79
2.7.1	Some early eighteenth-century views of art	79
2.7.2	The emotionalist theory of art	84
2.7.3	'Realism' and identification	88
2.7.4	G.E. Lessing	91
2.7.5	Creation, expression and the dramatic illusion	101
2.7.6	The theatre in Schiller's time	105
3	<u>Schiller's view of the dramatic illusion before 1790</u>	113
3.1	'Die Schranken eines Theaterstücks'	113
3.2	A more positive attitude towards the dramatic illusion	120
3.2.1	The senses	122
3.3	The aims of theatre according to Schiller's early theory	125
3.4	The beginnings of aesthetic education	131
3.5	Renewed reservations about the value of the stage for the dramatist	136

4	<u>The dramatic illusion in Schiller's dramatic and aesthetic theory after 1790</u>	139
4.1	The sublime and the dramatic illusion	140
4.2	Aesthetic harmony and the dramatic illusion	148
4.2.1	The 'middle' or 'aesthetic' condition	149
4.2.2	Aesthetic freedom and the theatrical experience	154
4.3	The autonomy of art	164
4.3.1	Schiller's rejection of everyday reality in art	165
4.3.2	Schiller's rejection of external aims	170
4.3.3	Conclusions	174
4.4	Schiller's attitude to the public and to contemporary literature	177
4.5	Two late theoretical pieces	188
4.5.1	'Über epische und dramatische Dichtung'	188
4.5.2	'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie'	195
4.6	The relationship between Schiller's aesthetic theory and his later plays	208
5	<u>The dramatic illusion in the later plays</u>	213
5.1	'Wallenstein'. The Prologue Poem as a bridge from theory to practice	218
5.2	Schiller's choice of verse drama and its significance within his time	224
5.3	Rhyme and artificiality	232
5.3.1	'Wallensteins Lager'	234
5.3.2	'Die Piccolomini' and 'Wallensteins Tod'	235
5.3.3	'Maria Stuart'	238
5.3.4	'Die Jungfrau von Orleans'	252
5.3.5	'Wilhelm Tell'	255

5.4.	Changing verse forms and artificiality	260
5.4.1	Rhythmic variation. 'Maria Stuart' III,1	261
5.4.2	Trimeters	266
5.4.2.1	'Die Jungfrau von Orleans' II, 6-8	267
5.4.2.2	'Die Braut von Messina' IV,8	270
5.4.3	Verse forms in monologues	271
5.4.3.1	'Die Jungfrau von Orleans' Prologue, Scene 4	272
5.4.3.2	'Die Jungfrau von Orleans' IV,1	274
5.4.3.3	'Die Braut von Messina'. Beatrice's Monologue, II,1	280
5.5	Reflection in Schiller's later plays	284
5.5.1	'Choral' characters	284
5.5.2	Reflective monologues	288
5.5.2.1	'Wallensteins Tod' I,4	289
5.5.2.2	'Wilhelm Tell' IV,3	291
5.5.3	Imagery and metaphor	296
5.5.4	Generalising and reflective discourse	300
5.6	The chorus	307
5.6.1	Visual presentation	308
5.6.2	Reflection	309
5.6.3	The division of the chorus into two participant groups	322
5.6.4	Verse forms	325
5.6.5	Compromises for production	332
5.7	Music and songs	338
5.8	Spectacular stage effects	343
5.9	References to the 'future'	347
5.10	Irony and Distance	350
5.10.1	'Wallenstein'	351
5.10.2	'Die Braut von Messina'	358
5.11	Play endings	363
6	<u>Conclusion</u>	365
	Bibliography	368

1 Preliminaries

In his influential work Kleines Organon für das Theater, Bertolt Brecht attacks a distinction between the epic and dramatic genres discussed by Schiller in a letter to Goethe on 26.12.1797. Brecht claims:

Die Schillersche Unterscheidung, daß der Rhapsode seine Begebenheit als vollkommen vergangen, der Mime die seinige als vollkommen gegenwärtig zu behandeln habe, trifft nicht mehr so zu.¹

In the letter to which Brecht refers, Schiller actually writes:

Daß der Epiker seine Begebenheit als vollkommen vergangen, der Tragiker die seinige als vollkommen gegenwärtig zu behandeln habe, leuchtet mir sehr ein.
Ich setze noch hinzu...²

The long passage which follows contains a detailed outline of the limited sense in which this distinction is valid for Schiller, the qualifications which he imposes on this view and the all-important implications which it has for his idea of how the dramatist ought to proceed.³ Brecht takes the sentence in isolation, out of its context and also associates it with the common view of the dramatic illusion which he rejects, here and elsewhere, according to which the actor should try to convince the audience 'daß nicht er, sondern die erdichtete Figur auf der Bühne stehe' and 'daß, was auf der Bühne

¹ Brecht, Bertolt, Schriften zum Theater, ed. Siegfried Unseld, p.155.

² Schiller to Goethe, 26.12.1797, in Der Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe, edited by Emil Staiger (392), p.525.
My references to the correspondence between Schiller and Goethe are to this edition as it is more easily accessible to most readers than the NA. It also contains Goethe's responses, which are frequently of interest to the topics discussed here. From now on the title will be abbreviated to Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger.

³ Schiller's qualifications will be discussed in 4.5.1 below.

vorgeht, nicht einstudiert sei, sondern zum erstenmal und einmalig geschehe'.⁴

Brecht goes on to ascribe to his own 'Epic' theatre the features outlined by Schiller in the same letter as typical of the epic as opposed to the dramatic genre: Brecht's actor should be like the narrator in Schiller's passage, who knows what is going to happen at the end of the play and remains in possession of 'eine ruhige Freiheit'.⁵

Brecht's treatment of Schiller's views creates the impression that Schiller is in favour of a strict distinction between the epic and the drama, on the basis that in the former the subject matter should be treated as being clearly a re-telling of something which happened in the past, while in the latter the audience in the theatre is in the power of the dramatist and there is no 'escape' from the 'illusion' that the action is actually taking place in front of its eyes.

The impression created here by Brecht may be supported by some references made to the dramatic illusion in early Schiller essays. It is not, however, a true reflection of Schiller's views on the nature of the dramatic illusion in 1797, when he wrote the letter quoted. The passage taken in its full context and an examination of Schiller's aesthetic theory and later plays show that the views of the mature dramatist Schiller on this issue are not those which Brecht describes as 'Aristotelian' and in opposition to which he tries to establish his 'epic' or 'anti-Aristotelian' theatre.

In this thesis I intend to demonstrate that Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion are intrinsically related to his aesthetic theory.

⁴ Brecht, ed. cit., pp.154-155.

⁵ Brecht, ed. cit., p.155; Schiller, loc. cit.

As the latter develops, especially during and after his studies of Kant in the 1790s, Schiller's opinion of the most appropriate form for the dramatic illusion progresses from views fairly typical of those of the period to complete rejection of the popular ideal of total illusion, and thus of the view also rejected by Brecht. In this respect Schiller occupies an important position in his time and comes closer to Brecht than the latter, in his Kleines Organon für das Theater, was willing to admit.

Before going any further I wish to consider the position of the dramatic illusion in Schiller research (1.1). A discussion of some particular problems associated with the topic - the dual nature of the drama as a theatre form and as a book (1.2), the difficulties of assessing audience response (1.3), and the concept of the dramatic illusion itself (1.4) - precedes my outline of the contents and order of the rest of the thesis (1.5).

1.1 Schiller studies and the question of the dramatic illusion

'Gerade gegenüber Schiller muß sich die Forschung immer wieder davor hüten, eingefahrene Geleise weiterzufahren, frühere Meinungen ungeprüft zu übernehmen'.¹ Herbert Seidler's insistence on the potential fruitfulness of Schiller's work for contemporary research is as valid now as it was in 1960. With regard to any author, the application of constantly changing methods and insight is always justifiable as it may yield new and interesting results. In the case of a 'classical' author who has been the subject of so much research, the danger of assuming that we know everything about his work is particularly great. The attempt to open up a new perspective is difficult, but rewarding.

In Schillerforschung 1970-1980, H. Koopmann comes to the conclusion that there are certainly areas of Schiller studies which have received too little attention from contemporary research.²

In a 1982 dissertation, Otto Göttlicher claims that what he describes as 'Schillers dichterisches Verhältnis zur Bühne' has been

¹ Seidler, Herbert, 'Schiller's "Braut von Messina"', in Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch, N.F.1, 1960, p.27.

² Koopmann, Helmut, Schillerforschung 1970-1980, p.8. He complains in particular about the 'Verlust umfassenderer Interpretationsperspektiven', the lack of 'Bereitschaft zur großen Darstellung' (p.8) and of research on 'Schiller und die Aufklärung' (p.202). Since 1980 various new research contributions have been made. Many individual contributions are contained in important larger collections, especially: Schiller. Das dramatische Werk in Einzelinterpretationen, edited by Dahnke, H.D., and Leistner, B., Leipzig 1982; Unser Commercium. Goethes und Schillers Literaturpolitik, edited by Barner, W., Lämmert, E. and Oellers, N., Stuttgart 1984; Friedrich Schiller. Kunst, Humanität und Politik in der späten Aufklärung, edited by Wittkowski, W., Tübingen 1982. The latter in particular relates to a topic described by Koopmann as 'under-researched'.

neglected.³ He refers in particular to the differentiation between drama and theatre in Schiller's theory,⁴ and calls for closer attention to the 'Metaphysik der Poesie', contained in Schiller's correspondence.⁵

Research into Schiller's theory has tended to concentrate on aspects such as the beautiful and the sublime, the pathetic, freedom of the human will, modern man's 'alienation' from the original unity of his personality, the restoring of this lost harmony by aesthetic means or the socio-political implications of these themes.⁶ Research

³ Göttlicher, Otto, Der Bühnendichter Friedrich Schiller. Die Wechselbeziehung zwischen Drama und Theater in der deutschen Klassik, p.4. The phrase is italicized in Göttlicher's work.

Göttlicher's statements are based on detailed studies of the bibliographies by Vulpius, Raabe and Hannich Bode. He claims that his criticism is valid 'nicht nur für die unterschiedlichen Biographien, die sich... oft in literaturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen erschöpft haben, sondern auch für die Beiträge zu Fragen der Kunsttheorie, zu einzelnen Dramen sowie zum Problem der Abgrenzung zwischen Drama und Theater'. (ibid)

⁴ Göttlicher, op. cit., p.5, notes that critics' hesitancy may well have been caused by the absence of text editions of the stage versions to assist comparison between stage and book versions. Göttlicher makes use of fresh editions and compiles a detailed comparison, thus making an important contribution towards filling in the gap in Schiller research.

⁵ Göttlicher, op. cit., p.8.
In the same year as Göttlicher's thesis appeared, Axel Gellhaus treated the significance of Schiller's correspondence as a poetic theory for the period between the Braut von Messina and Wilhelm Tell, in 'Ohne der Poesie das Gerügste zu vergeben' in Genio huius loci, ed. Kuhn, D. and Zeller, B., 1982, pp.111-126, thus providing an interesting piece of work on one of the aspects outlined by Göttlicher.

⁶ See e.g. Beyer, W., 'Kant und Schiller - eine Mésalliance? Zum Schiller-Kant Bezug' (1982); Düsing, W., 'Ästhetische Form als Darstellung der Subjektivität. Zur Rezeption Kantischer Begriffe in Schillers Ästhetik' (1975); Gethmann-Siefert, A., 'Idylle und Utopie. Zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion der Kunst in Schillers Ästhetik' (1980); Grimminger, R., 'Die ästhetische Versöhnung. Ideologiekritische Aspekte zum Autonomiebegriff am Beispiel Schillers' (1974); Heuer, F., Darstellung der Freiheit. Schillers transzendente Frage nach der Kunst (1970); Miller, R. D., Schiller and the Ideal of Freedom (1970); Rippere, V., Schiller and 'Alienation' (1981); Voges, R., Das Ästhetische und die Erziehung. Werdegang einer Idee (1979).

on the relationship between the theory and the plays frequently deals with similarities in thematic content.⁷ In an article published in 1982 W. Beyer calls for more research into the consequences of Schiller's Kant studies for his artistic works.⁸

As a productive dramatist as well as a theorist, Schiller was certainly aware of the significance of the dramatic illusion as a central feature of the relation between the drama and the recipient, and discussed it in his essays and letters. Yet Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion have not to date been the subject of any major research.⁹ Isolated references to it are to be found in places, but the close relation between the concept of the dramatic illusion and Schiller's aesthetic theory has not been given the attention which, in my opinion, it deserves. Nor have the implications of this rela-

⁷ See e.g.: Berghahn, K.L., ' "Das Pathetischerhabene". Schillers Dramentheorie' (1971); Finger, E., 'Schiller's Concept of the Sublime and its Pertinence to "Don Carlos" and "Maria Stuart" ' (1974); Hell, V., Schiller. Théories esthétiques et structures dramatiques (1974); Kaiser, G., Von Arkadien nach Elysium (1978); Sautermeister, G., Idyllik und Dramatik im Werke Schillers (1971).

Notable exceptions are: Blesch, R., Drama und wirkungsästhetische Praxis. Zum Problem der ästhetischen Vermittlung bei Schiller (1978); Borchmeyer, D., Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit: Schillers Dramaturgie im Zusammenhang seiner ästhetisch-politischen Theorie und die rhetorische Tradition (1973); Graham, I., Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form. Die Theorie in der Praxis (1974) and Schillers Drama. Talent and Integrity (1974).

Blesch and Graham are particularly interested in how the form of Schiller's plays relates to his aesthetic theory.

⁸ Beyer, op. cit., p.117.
In the article, Beyer deals with the relationship between Kant's philosophy and Schiller's theory.

⁹ As well as the bibliographical sources listed at the back of the thesis, the catalogues of the 'Deutsches Literaturarchiv' in Marbach am Neckar were an invaluable source of information.

tionship for the later plays.¹⁰

Schiller has been described as the 'Antipode' to Brecht as far as the dramatic illusion is concerned.¹¹ Other critics have claimed that Schiller is actually close to Brecht in some respects. Kesting sets Schiller's theatre beside Brecht's as an institution for the moral and social improvement of the spectator.¹² Müller-Seidel and Schrimpf see a similarity to Brecht's views in Schiller's rejection of the type of illusionistic theatre which had come into vogue by the eighteenth century at the latest and has remained popular in Europe amongst many theatre-goers ever since.¹³ A close study of Schiller's aesthetic theory with regard to the implications within it for the dramatic illusion provides a sound basis for this claim. At the same

¹⁰ References are made to the topic for instance in the following: Bennett, B., Modern Drama and German Classicism. Renaissance from Lessing to Brecht; Böhler, M., 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie'; Müller-Seidel, W., 'Episches im Theater der deutschen Klassik'; Göttlicher, O., op. cit.; Schrimpf, H.J., Der Schriftsteller als öffentliche Person; Staiger, E., Friedrich Schiller; Storz, G., Klassik und Romantik.

¹¹ Zmegac, V., 'Einfühlung und Abstraktion. Brecht als Antipode Schillers'. See also Hartung, G., 'Brecht und Schiller'.

¹² Kesting, M., 'Das Theater als eine marxistische Anstalt betrachtet. Ein Vergleich der Theatertheorien Schillers und Brechts'.

¹³ See Müller-Seidel's essay, 'Episches im Theater der deutschen Klassik' and Schrimpf, Der Schriftsteller als öffentliche Person, pp.76-83.

Müller-Seidel's article is concerned with Wallenstein in particular. Schrimpf's interesting statements appear in a brief discussion of illusion and didacticism in the views of Brecht, Schiller, Goethe and Lessing. Their scope is limited by their position within the Lessing-Brecht comparison to which he devotes a chapter of his book. (See op. cit., pp.34-83)

W. Hinck, in the essay which precedes his collection of Goethe texts Goethe - Mann des Theaters, deals with similarities between Goethe and Brecht with regard to the nature of the dramatic illusion. (See especially pp.25-26.) W. Görler in 'Über die Illusion in der antiken Komödie', p.53, makes similar observations.

time it illustrates the difference between Brecht's didactic view of theatre, with the aim of putting across a political message and provoking socio-political reform, and Schiller's rejection of the use of art to serve an external aim.

It seems likely that the lack of direct attention to Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion is to be attributed to the complex nature of the concept, the number and diversity of theoretical and creative works concerned and the difficulties associated with assessing or estimating response to a play.

It is hoped that this investigation into a topic closely connected with the 'theatrical' side of drama and with Schiller's theory and correspondence - including the influence of Kant on it - will make a contribution towards filling the gaps in Schiller research outlined by Göttlicher and by Beyer in 1982. Perhaps it may also make a small contribution towards 'einer neuen integralen Schiller-Deutung, die die Varietät seiner Werke und seiner wechselnden Positionen auf ein überzeugendes Grundverständnis hin zusammenfassen könnte', which Koopmann, in his survey of Schiller literature up to 1980, finds lacking.¹⁴

Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion are of interest not only because of the dimension which they open up with regard to understanding his own plays and the relation between them and his theory. They contribute to an overall view of the development of the theory of the dramatic illusion in the eighteenth century and indeed from the origins of western drama to the present day.

¹⁴ Koopmann, op. cit., p.8.

1.2 Drama in the theatre and drama as reading material

The term dramatic illusion implies a recipient, some sort of 'public' in the widest sense. It may be described as a relationship or series of relationships between a drama and the recipient, and cannot be understood just in terms of the work itself or of the work and its relationship to the author.¹

Although there are critics who claim that 'drama' and 'play' 'may be taken as synonymous conveying the idea of a literary work written... in a form suitable for stage presentation',² plays usually exist as books and are read by many people as well as or instead of being seen on the stage. There are authors who choose the dramatic form but do not intend their works to be staged.

Whether in book form or theatrical form, the drama differs from other literary genres in that the dialogue is presented as coming directly from the characters without any obvious signs of the presence of a narrator.

Käthe Hamburger insists that the concept of 'illusion' is equally applicable to the theatre and to reading, as both present fictitious material. She rejects the traditional³ idea of distinguishing between the epic and dramatic forms on a temporal basis - the epic relates something which is past whereas the drama makes the impres-

¹ This is not intended to question the validity of methods of research which consider only the work itself or those which are concerned with the work of art as an expression of the author's personality or his concern, in general. They may be of value for other topics, but not for the dramatic illusion. For justification of assuming a recipient or 'public' for every work of art, see Frey, D., 'Zuschauer und Bühne', p.152 and Bruford, 'Über Wesen und Notwendigkeit der Publikumsforschung', pp.148ff.

² Nicoll, A., The Theatre and Dramatic Theory, p.11. Nicoll, p.37, does note that some critics would question this definition.

³ The distinction was already present in the theory of Aristotle and taken up again by Lessing, Goethe and Schiller.

sion of happening at the actual moment - on the grounds that we forget the existence both of the stage as a stage and of the pret-erite tense of the novel. She suggests differentiating between epic and dramatic by 'Erzählfunktion', as a measure of the reader's awareness of the narrator's presence. The narrator's function is reduced to zero in the drama where the reader is not conscious of the author.⁴ Yet arguably the 'narrative function' too can be forgotten or ignored by the reader in the same way as the presence of a stage. Nor does this distinction do justice to the obvious differences between the situation of the reader and that of the theatre audience.

In the theatre, there is only a limited time available during which a certain impression can be made on the spectators. They must concentrate and take in the text at one sitting, although some may already be familiar with the text. Normally, the spectator cannot interrupt or 'turn back' if his concentration flags or he misses something. 'There exists... an urgent immediacy in the playhouse lacking in all other arts.'⁵

Even a critic like Nicoll, who is interested in drama as primarily designed for the theatre, admits that:

the drama ... extends in depth beyond the theatre's range. A tragedy such as 'Hamlet' includes within itself so much that no performance, however finely conceived and executed, can give us the whole of its content.⁶

With reference to Shakespeare plays, some critics even suggest that the artistic or literary value of a play varies in inverse proportion to its popularity in the theatre. Certainly, one judges a play in the theatre under different conditions from when one reads it, and one

⁴ See Hamburger, Käthe, Die Logik der Dichtung, especially p.118.

⁵ Nicoll, op. cit., p.16.

⁶ *ibid*, pp.44-45.

does not always apply the same criteria to a performance as one does to a book. The reader can concentrate on minute details of the text of a play and find things which no audience is likely to notice.⁷

Fowler refers to:

... the central paradox of drama: careful reading is seldom if ever an adequate substitute for the experience of an inspired performance in the theatre; while the best individual performance will never exhaust all the imaginative potential of a rich and powerful text.⁸

It seems fair to accept that illusion, as Käthe Hamburger outlines it, is possible to some extent in the drama as a book and indeed in any literary genre, but that the theatre performance of a play, because of its direct, live presentation, is able to establish a degree of illusion which these other genres cannot. In the theatre the action not only has the appearance of happening at the present moment; the characters are presented 'live' to the eyes and ears of the audience.

E. Bullough relates this feature to the danger of a lack of distance between the work of art and the spectator:

There is, of course, no doubt that, speaking generally, theatrical performances eo ipso run a special risk of a loss of Distance owing to the material presentment of its (sic) subject matter. The physical presence of living human beings as vehicles of dramatic art is a difficulty which no art has to face in the same way.⁹

⁷ See Nicoll, op. cit., pp.49ff.
Nicoll's examples are interpretations which concentrate on mythology or imagery. Certainly, the theatre audience can also appreciate imagery, but not always to the same extent or even the same images as the reader.
See also Staiger, E., Friedrich Schiller, p.252.

⁸ Fowler, F.M., 'The Dramatic Image', p.64.

⁹ Bullough, E., ' "Psychical Distance" as a Factor in Art and an Aesthetic Principle', p.97.
I. Graham, too, notes that 'tragedy, enacting before our eyes the awful riddle of destiny, more than any other literary genre tends to imperil the aesthetic distance of the spectator'. Schiller's Drama: Talent and Integrity, p.14.

Reiss, too, argues that illusion takes on particular significance with regard to theatre: '... illusion is built into the theater, and the men of the theater need seek only the precise nature of the illusion they want to foster.'¹⁰ He sees theatre as the art which comes nearest to breaking down the barriers between illusion and reality.¹¹

There has been much discussion about whether Schiller regarded drama as primarily reading or theatrical material, with critics finding evidence to support both theories in different places.¹² As with so many features of Schiller's work, one must distinguish between his

¹⁰ Reiss, T. J., Towards Dramatic Illusion, p.138.

¹¹ *ibid.*

Reiss claims that, although theatre has been given considerable attention by critics of all ages, there were no real attempts to discover 'a complete aesthetic of the theater' until recently. He adds: 'most writings on the theater will contain some insight into the precise way it affects the spectator, but until the eighteenth century these were little more than slight interruptions in treatises on the rules of writing works of art.'

¹² Storz and Staiger are amongst the most noted critics to argue in favour of a theatrical approach. In Friedrich Schiller, p.312, Staiger claims that Schiller's drama aims mainly at 'die Gewalt der Affekte, die von der Bühne herab entfesselt und erst ganz zuletzt beschwichtigt werden.'

Staiger goes as far as to claim: 'zu allem bot er, ohne allzu großen Künstlerkummer, die Hand, wenn nur die Tragödie endlich über die Bretter ging, für die sie gedacht war'. (op. cit., p.37) He attacks 'die deutschen Literaturhistoriker', alleging that they have tended to take a negative view of Schiller's stage intentions, which Staiger regards as praiseworthy in their own right. (*ibid.*)

W. Müller-Seidel considers Wallenstein from a theatrical point of view in 'Episches in der deutschen Klässik'.

Glück opposes the view that Wallenstein in particular is to be considered primarily as a stage work. For a detailed discussion, see Glück, A., Schillers Wallenstein, Chapter XVIII.

views at different times and remember that his attitude to theatre was frequently influenced by particular instances of his own continuing experience of the German stage. Early in his career, Schiller was sceptical towards the theatre and was one of the authors mentioned above who opted for 'book' drama. The 'classical' Schiller, too, was unwilling to write his plays just for theatrical effect:

Soll mir jemals ein gutes Theaterstück gelingen, so kann es nur auf poetischem Wege sein, denn eine Wirkung ad extra, wie sie zuweilen auch einem gemeinen Talent und einer bloßen Geschicklichkeit gelingt, kann ich mir nie zum Ziele machen, noch, wenn ich es auch wollte, erreichen.¹³

Schiller's plays are certainly amongst those which go beyond the scope of the theatre alone. Nevertheless, with regard to the later Schiller, there is much evidence to support Borchmeyer's view that:

die tragische Kunst ist für den 'klassischen' Schiller auf Gedeih und Verderb mit dem Theater verbunden; ihre Gattungsgesetze sind allein im Hinblick auf Bühne und Publikum zu begreifen und befolgen (schließt ihre Definition als Kunst der Affekterregung doch den Theaterzuschauer ein).¹⁴

In a letter to Goethe of 12.12.1797, Schiller refers to

eine gewisse Berechnung auf den Zuschauer, von der sich der tragische Poet nicht dispensieren kann, der Hinblick auf einen

¹³ Schiller to Goethe, 6.7.1802, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (868), p.968.
See also Schiller to Goethe 16.8.1799, *ibid* (640), pp.800-801, on Schiller's awareness of the differences between features suitable for theatre and for the reader.

¹⁴ Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.215.
The definition to which he refers is in Schiller's Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen, XXII. My references to this work are to the edition and translation by Wilkinson, E. M., and Willoughby, L.A., which is more easily accessible than the NA. I shall abbreviate such references to Ästhetische Briefe ed. cit. The definition referred to by Borchmeyer here is on p.156.

Zweck, den äußeren Eindruck, der bei dieser Dichtungsart nicht ganz erlassen wird....¹⁵

On 26.12.1797 he writes:

ich wüßte nicht, was einen bei einer dramatischen Ausarbeitung so streng in den Grenzen der Dichtart hielt', und wenn man daraus getreten, so sicher darein zurückführte, als eine möglichst lebhafteste Vorstellung der wirklichen Repräsentation, der Bretter, eines angefüllten und bunt gemischten Hauses, wodurch die affektvolle unruhige Erwartung, mithin das Gesetz des intensiven und rastlosen Fortschreitens und Bewegens einem so nahe gebracht wird.¹⁶

A study of his theory and correspondence and of the later plays themselves suggests that although the mature dramatist Schiller refused to work just to please theatre audiences, potential theatrical presentation was a major concern of his late works. He was certainly interested in the effect of his plays on spectators in the theatre. His belief in the potential 'danger' associated with vivid appeal to the senses, which led Schiller to reject the realistic, illusionistic ideals of his time, relates to the presentation of drama in the theatre. For these reasons, I shall be treating the topic of the dramatic illusion in the present study as a relationship to be established in the theatre, while bearing in mind that the findings may also be applicable to some extent to the relationship established between the play and its reader.

¹⁵ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (385), p.512.

¹⁶ ibid, (392), p.524.

1.3 Audience response

Schiller's views on the nature of the dramatic illusion and on the effect which he intended his plays to have on the audience are expressed in his theory, correspondence and by the plays themselves. This is the evidence on which most of this thesis is based.

However, as the dramatic illusion involves the reactions of an audience, and as I wish to suggest to some extent the likely effect of aspects of the late plays on the audience in Schiller's time, I shall look now at some problems associated with the factor of audience response to a play.¹

1.3.1 The difficulties of assessing audience response

Experiments have shown that it is extremely difficult to collect information about the actual response of an audience to a particular performance in the theatre. Those who have made attempts to do this with contemporary audiences have encountered problems in ensuring that as many members of the audience as possible actually take part in the experiment and in proving that any one audience may be considered 'typical'.² Experiments which involve asking questions about reactions after the performance have shown that people cannot easily remember details.³ If they are warned about the experiment

¹ In Die Funktion des Publikums im Theater, pp.3-4, Kindermann notes that whereas in the 1950s he and W.H. Bruford had complained of a lack of research into audiences, by 1971 there was a lively interest in research into audience and reception. This research followed two main interests: the history and the sociology of theatre and audiences.

² See Goodlad, J.S.R., A Sociology of Popular Drama, pp.131-135 and Mann, P.H., 'Surveying a theatre audience: methodological problems', especially pp.382-386.

³ See Poerschke, K., Das Theaterpublikum im Lichte der Soziologie und Psychologie, p.68

beforehand or have to use measuring equipment and so react under 'laboratory' conditions, their reactions are likely to be different from under normal circumstances.⁴

1.3.2 Historical audiences

With regard to a historical audience, the researcher is limited to reports of performances. A knowledge of historical and social background is essential to an understanding of a historical audience.⁵ Only with some background knowledge can one judge, for instance, which aspects of a play are likely to have surprised the audience and which were typical of the time. The general purpose served by drama and the public's attitude towards it in a particular period will also influence the typical reaction of the spectators. Their reaction to a play is likely to vary depending on whether they view it as part of a religious festival, as a social event or as a piece of moral or social teaching.

It is not always easy to find first-hand reports on spectator reactions when dealing with a historical audience. Nor is it easy to decide to what extent they are reliable or representative. When reports are available, they are often in the form of theatre criticism. This can, in some cases, provide information about the general expectations of the period, although the opinion of the theatre

⁴ See Goodlad, op. cit., p.134. The research undertaken or reported by Goodlad and Mann was mainly aimed at sociological factors. The problems would be equally difficult if not even more so with attempts to establish the psychological or aesthetic response of the audience.

⁵ See Bruford, W.H., 'Über Wesen und Notwendigkeit der Publikumsforschung', p.148; Kindermann, H., Die Funktion des Publikums im Theater, p.6; Poerschke, K., op. cit., p.2; Schechner, R., 'Performance and the social sciences', p.13.

critic may not represent the typical views of the audience or of the period. Where available, reception studies may provide an interesting indication of the expectations and in some cases the actual reactions of audiences or individuals to particular performances.⁶ Of course such reports can only give either the most general suggestion of audience response, mostly in terms of approval or disapproval, or individual views. The dramatic illusion is not always discussed, although comments on other features, such as acting, may indirectly provide information about audience expectations in this respect. The popularity of certain plays may also give some indication of the expectations of the theatre audience at a particular time in a particular place.⁷

1.3.3 Individuality and common factors in audiences

If one accepts that historical, cultural or social features can affect response, one must assume that individuals of different social and educational backgrounds and with different personalities may also react differently to a play.

Nicoll notes a clear awareness of the differing expectations and capabilities of various sections of the public amongst eighteenth-century English dramatists, who addressed different lines of the

⁶ In my attempt to establish 'typical' views on the nature of the dramatic illusion in the late eighteenth century, I have incorporated relevant material of this sort in this study where available. See especially Chapter 5.

A study of Schiller reception in the theatre in later periods with regard to the dramatic illusion would provide an interesting complement to the findings of this study.

⁷ See Bruford, W.H., 'Über Wesen und Notwendigkeit der Publikumsforschung'.

prologue to different groups.⁸ Nicoll suggests that because dramatists are aware of individual differences in response, 'in the majority of plays, material suited for the differing tastes or perceptive capabilities of the groups within the larger assemblage is freely introduced, although generally as almost separate elements'.⁹ Some dramatists intend aspects of their plays to be understood on a different level by different members of the audience. Schiller certainly shows awareness of the existence of different groups and expectations within the public of his time, even in his earliest essays.¹⁰ Kersting suggests that it was fashionable in eighteenth-century Germany to distinguish between 'Pöbel' and 'Kenner' in the audience and considered in bad taste to play to suit the masses in the gallery.¹¹ Poerschke views the split between the 'Gebildete' and the 'ungebildete Massen' as a typical feature of modern audiences. This split may be bridged in the theatre, but never eliminated, he argues.¹²

If one regarded an audience merely as individuals, each affected only by his own background and personality, and each seeing something completely different in the play, it would seem virtually impossible to draw any generalized conclusions about the nature of audience and

⁸ Nicoll, op. cit., p.56.
cf. also Goethe's Faust, ed. Trunz, E., 11.89-103, p.11.

⁹ Nicoll, op. cit., p.56.
Nicoll's example is the inclusion of 'farcical business' in plays by G.B. Shaw, to entertain those whose attention might be flagging (according to Nicoll). A positive application of the awareness of different groups in the audience is to be found in Shakespeare, Nicoll claims.

¹⁰ See Chapter 3 and 4.4 below.

¹¹ Kersting, K., Wirkende Kräfte in der Theaterkritik des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts (1768-1800), p.28.

¹² Poerschke, op. cit, p.39.

the likely reaction to a play. However, research suggests that there will probably be a degree of unity in audience response.

The attitude of the spectator is likely to be affected to some extent by the fact that he is surrounded by other spectators, although this is not always a conscious reaction. Opinions differ about the extent to which this group feeling can cancel out individuality.¹³ It seems probable that there will always be two conflicting tendencies:

Auf der einen Seite das Hineingehen der Gefühle in den gemeinsamen Strom des Masseseins, auf der anderen der Hang der Individuen zur Individualität, zur Abkehr von rechts und links und zur Hinwendung auf das subjektive geistige Erlebnis, das ihm die Bühne vermittelt.¹⁴

Poerschke criticises what he describes as 'die ältere massenpsychologische Betrachtungsweise', developed at the end of the nineteenth century, claiming that it led to an exaggeration of crowd effect in the theatre and too little emphasis on the individual.¹⁵

At the same time he stresses that it would be wrong to regard the

¹³ See e.g. Kindermann, 'Die Funktion des Publikums', pp.8ff. Kindermann stresses individual rather than common features. J. Bab, in Das Theater im Lichte der Soziologie, p.112, on the other hand, (influenced by the crowd psychology popular at the time - 1931 -), stresses group response.

¹⁴ Poerschke, op. cit., p.48

¹⁵ Poerschke, op. cit., pp.64ff.
Julius Bab, for instance, postulates a 'Kollektivseele':
'In der Kollektivseele verwischen sich die intellektuellen Fähigkeiten und damit auch die Individualität der Individuen. Das Heterogene versinkt im Homogenen und es überwiegen die unbewußten Qualitäten.' (op. cit., p.112)
Bab does qualify this to some extent:
'Dies Rauschhaft-Dumpfe des Theaterzustands tritt natürlich keineswegs immer mit gleicher Stärke auf; es wird auch nicht von jeder Zuschauerschaft mit gleicher Heftigkeit gesucht.' (op. cit., p.118.)

audience just as a collection of individuals.¹⁶ Clearly, a balance has to be struck. Crowd psychology is useful with regard to the theatre audience but has its limitations. The laws of mass behaviour are likely to apply to a great extent, but individual features will never be removed altogether.¹⁷

Nicoll sees the main features of the crowd which are relevant to the theatre audience as a lowered intellectual awareness and a strong emotional sensitivity and susceptibility.¹⁸ Poerschke refers to 'eine intensive Steigerung der Erlebnisfähigkeit der Einzelnen durch die gemeinsame Resonanz', and to 'Nachahmung und Ansteckung'.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the extent to which this group spirit can lead to unity in what the various spectators experience remains uncertain. Poerschke suggests that the inevitable concentration of the individual on the stage works against the sense of community in the audience.²⁰ For P.Pütz, this concentration on one particular 'event' represents a source of unity in theatre reception:

Die Theaterbesucher kommen aus verschiedenen Richtungen, meist nicht in ganz beliebiger Aufmachung, bewegen sich auf einunddenselben Punkt zu, betreten ein Gebäude, einen Raum, lassen sich auf vorbestimmten Plätzen nieder, schauen alle in ein und dieselbe Richtung, warten auf nicht von ihnen selbst bestimmte Zeitpunkte des Anfangs und später des Endes der Aufführung - das

¹⁶ Poerschke, op. cit., p.69. Poerschke, pp.45ff. provides a detailed discussion of the nature of sociological categories into which the audience can or cannot be fitted, 'Gruppe', 'Masse' etc. He argues that the audience does not fit into any traditional sociological category and 'es bleibt somit übrig, das Publikum als ein Gebilde sui generis zu erkennen, das in starkem Grade die Eigenschaften einer Masse aufweist ...' (p.51).

¹⁷ See Poerschke, op. cit., pp.45-51, pp.53-57 or Nicoll, op. cit. The latter provides a useful summary of crowd psychology and its relation to the audience, see op. cit., pp.19-22

¹⁸ Nicoll, op. cit., pp.20-22.

¹⁹ Poerschke, op. cit., p.74; p.65.

²⁰ *ibid*, p.37.

alles und noch vieles andere bindet sie zusammen und macht sie in ihrem Verhalten und in dem, was sie hören und sehen, zumindest vorübergehend zu einer Gruppe mit gleich gerichteten Apperzeptionserwartungen, mit kollektiver Rezeption, unterwirft sie zeitweise einem Herrschaftssystem des Theaters.²¹

It is not the feeling of being in a group that leads to common factors in theatre reception according to Pütz, but concentration on the same play, written by the author with a particular intention and effect in mind.²² The author's intention can provide some justification for assuming a degree of unity in audience response. Schiller himself claimed that seeking to arouse emotions which are universally valid and not limited to particular individuals and circumstances is one means of achieving the desired effect on as many of the spectators, with their individual dispositions and backgrounds, as possible.²³

1.3.4 Conclusions

The features outlined here would suggest that conclusions on the likely nature of audience response must always be to some extent tentative in view of the unknown variables involved. Individuals or groups within an audience may react differently at times, influenced

²¹ Pütz, P., 'Grundbegriffe der Interpretation von Dramen', p.12. Kindermann in Die Funktion des Publikums im Theater, p.11, argues that the dramatist - or the director - intends to unite the individuals in the audience in concentration on a certain event and to endow it with a clear 'meaning'. The stage is usually a focal point. The attention of each member of the audience is directed at the same thing. Of course there are also other forms of theatre where this is not the case.

²² Pütz, op.cit, pp.12-13.

²³ See 'Über Matthissons Gedichte', NA 22, pp.267-269 on this and other techniques outlined by Schiller with the same aim. See also Graham, I., Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, pp.230-231.

by any number of factors such as social or educational background. Different types of audience may react differently to a particular play or to aspects of it. The degree of susceptibility to a group awareness and common response may be affected by the spectator's knowledge of the play, or by whether he knows other members of the group or the actors. This was the case for many of the spectators in Schiller's day in Weimar, where there was a close connection between the theatre and the court.

Yet audience response is not influenced only by these factors, but also by the text itself, the author's intention in writing it and the intentions of the director and the actors involved in a particular production. In the case of Schiller, the researcher has the added advantage that Schiller was closely involved with productions of his plays in Weimar.²⁴ We have some reports both of his own response and of spectators' reactions to these performances and to other contemporary productions of Schiller's later plays. A close analysis of Schiller's views, as he expresses them in his theory and letters, and of intrinsic text features in the later plays, combined with references to contemporary reception, form the basis for my inferences on the nature of the dramatic illusion aimed at by Schiller. In spite of the unknown quantities involved in assessing audience response in general, this combination provides a viable approach to the dramatic illusion.

²⁴ His suggestions for performances in other theatres - especially for Berlin - are also documented to a fair extent in his correspondence.

1.4 The 'dramatic illusion'

The term 'illusion' suggests that there is something involved in the relation created between the audience and the drama which would not be suggested for instance by the term 'experience'. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines illusion as 'deception' or 'delusion'.¹ Yet these definitions do not even suggest the endless nuances of meaning with which the concept of dramatic illusion is endowed by different authors, critics, psychologists and aestheticians. The element of deceit or delusion - whether it be on the part of the spectator or on that of the artist - is not universally accepted as a necessary part of the dramatic illusion. In the broadest terms, 'the dramatic illusion' represents to me a relationship or series of relationships established between a drama and its recipients, in particular where those recipients are members of a theatre audience, as outlined above. Although space allows only relatively summary treatment of different views of the dramatic illusion here, I feel that it is possible to distinguish between three common opinions of the form which this relationship takes.

I shall now outline these views in order to establish some clarity about a concept which could otherwise be misleading. I shall limit myself to the most general features. Salient historical manifestations of the different concepts will be introduced in Chapter 2.

1.4.1 Illusion as 'deception'

According to the theory which views the dramatic illusion in terms of 'deception' the audience is persuaded that what is happening on stage

¹ Sixth Edition, 1967, p.535.

is actually happening, at the present moment.² Although the action is likely to be set in a locality other than a theatre and perhaps even in a different time, for the duration of the performance the audience is not conscious of being in the theatre or of the actors as actors.

Although even today this definition of the dramatic illusion is not entirely discredited, it has long been the subject of dispute. Some have argued that illusion of this sort is not desirable for various reasons.³ Others insist that this type of illusion can never really be achieved.⁴

There have certainly been many reports in the history of theatre of spectators being so carried away that they have tried to prevent some evil action from being carried out on stage or attacked an actor who has played a villain's role. Some twentieth-century critics insist that such anecdotes are limited to 'untutored and naive spectators'.⁵ Bullough even maintains:

² Historically, this view of illusion was adhered to by Gottsched. (See 2.7.1 below.) For some contemporary examples of this view see G. v. Wilpert in Sachwörterbuch der Literatur or A. F. Scott in Current Literary Terms. See also Rudowski's discussion of it in Lessing's Aesthetica in Nuce, p.54.

³ See e.g. Bab, op. cit., p.119; Brecht, as quoted on pp.1-3 of this thesis. Görler, W., op. cit., goes so far as to claim: 'Wenn es dazu kommt, daß das Spiel mit der Wirklichkeit verwechselt wird, so ist das kein leidenschaftliches Spiel mehr, sondern eine psychische Störung... wenn er (der Zuschauer im Theater) das Bühnengeschehen mit der Wirklichkeit verwechselt, dann ist er kein sich einfühlender Zuschauer mehr, sondern ein Genarrter'. (p.52)

⁴ These include Du Bos, Diderot and Lessing historically, (see 2.7.2, 2.7.3 and 2.7.4 below) and also many contemporary critics, amongst them Styan, The Elements of Drama, Poerschke, op. cit., Bain, D., in Actors and Audiences. A Study of Asides and Related Conventions in Greek Drama and E. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby, Asthetische Briefe, ed. cit., Introduction.

⁵ Nicoll, op. cit., p.23.

...surely the proverbial unsophisticated yokel whose chivalrous interference in the play on behalf of the hapless heroine can only be prevented by impressing upon him that 'they are only pretending', is not the ideal type of theatrical audience.⁶

Nicoll suggests that some anecdotes are to be dismissed as 'simply fabricated stories', and argues that no matter how convincing a play is, the audience will never completely lose its awareness of being in the theatre.⁷

1.4.2 '...eine Art selbstbewußte Illusion'

In 1788, with reference to 'Frauenrollen, auf dem Römischen Theater durch Männer gespielt', Goethe explains the pleasure experienced watching such a performance:

Ich dachte der Ursache nach und glaube sie darin gefunden zu haben, daß bei einer solchen Vorstellung der Begriff der Nachahmung, der Gedanke an Kunst immer lebhaft blieb und durch das geschickte Spiel nur eine Art von selbstbewußter Illusion hervorgebracht wurde.⁸

This idea of being conscious of the illusory nature of the stage action as an alternative to the 'deception' view of illusion is held by many critics. They fall into two major sub-categories: those who believe that this awareness alternates with absorption and those who argue that it is always present. Both forms were already in circulation in the eighteenth century.

1.4.2.1 Alternation

According to this theory, the dramatic illusion takes the form of an

⁶ Bullough, E., op. cit., p.92.

⁷ Nicoll, op. cit., p.23.

⁸ In 'Der Teutsche Merkur', November 1788 reprinted in Goethe - Mann des Theaters, ed. Hinck, W., p.75.

alternation, during the performance, between belief in the reality of the illusion and awareness of its artificiality and of one's actual situation, watching a play in the theatre.

This view is subject to the same criticism as the 'deception' theory from those who claim that it is never possible to remove the awareness of illusion completely, even for a short period of time. Nevertheless, it has enjoyed popularity and still does.⁹

A well founded rejection of this view of illusion is given by Wilkinson and Willoughby. They claim that this view of illusion in terms of alternation between involvement - which is emotional - and intellectual activity - in becoming aware of artificiality - is based on 'a faculty psychology which... was already outmoded by the end of the eighteenth century.'¹⁰

1.4.2.2 'Psychical Distance': involvement and awareness

The other popular view of the nature of the dramatic illusion, and the one which seems most acceptable to me, is based on the theory that it is possible at one and the same time to be aware of the artificial nature of the illusion and also to become involved to a greater or lesser extent in the dramatic action.

In this connection, the concept of 'Psychical Distance' outlined by E. Bullough provides an invaluable aid to analysing the aesthetic experience in general and the dramatic illusion in particular. Bullough defines his term as follows: 'Distance... is obtained by separating the object and its appeal from one's own self, by putting

⁹ Wilkinson and Willoughby, in their Introduction to the Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.clix, claim that Brecht adhered to this view.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

it out of gear with practical needs and ends.¹¹

Reiss summarizes Bullough's concept with reference to the dramatic illusion:

This term implies that separation of two parts of the mind - the one objective, the other subjective - which allows a spectator on the one hand to make an intellectual, moral and aesthetic judgement, and on the other to absorb himself emotionally in the spell of the theatrical action. While the subjective mind seems involved in the stage action, the objective looks on from a distance, and judges not only the action but also the viewer's emotion, its effect and significance...¹²

As Reiss points out, the distance between the spectator and the stage may remain at one level throughout a performance or fluctuate. There is probably an endless number of combinations of different degrees of emotional and intellectual effect.¹³ Abrams attributes the usefulness of Bullough's concept to the fact that it:

emphasizes that in aesthetic experience, there is always a felt distinction between the self and the work of art, yet one that permits us to distinguish variable degrees of this distance, along a scale of greater and lesser involvement with the matter that the work represents.¹⁴

In practice, there often seems to be very little difference between descriptions of the theatre experience using the theory of 'psychical

¹¹ Bullough, op. cit., p.91.
The concept is used by E. Wilkinson in J.E.Schlegel. A Pioneer in Aesthetics, by Wilkinson and Willoughby in the Introduction to their edition of Schiller's Ästhetische Briefe and by Reiss in Towards Dramatic Illusion. Reiss's work is perhaps the most closely related to my own through its interest in the dramatic illusion as the relationship established or to be established between a play and an audience.

¹² Reiss, op. cit., p.2.

¹³ ibid, p.3.
This provides the basis for Reiss's analysis of the changing nature of the relationships between spectator and stage in seveneenth-century France.

¹⁴ Abrams, M.H., A Glossary of Literary Terms, p.41.

'distance' and descriptions in terms of the alternation theory; in the latter the level of distance in a play is described as alternating between awareness and involvement without qualification, in the former it may fluctuate between say 5% and 95%.¹⁵ However, the complex psychological state - as Wilkinson and Willoughby describe Bullough's concept - takes developments in psychology and aesthetics into account.¹⁶ It also meets the objections of the sceptics who claim that awareness can never be completely removed.

The relationship between audience and stage, the degree of 'distance', is influenced by the particular audience and individuals within it.¹⁷ In Bullough's terms:

Distance... admits naturally of degrees, and differs not only according to the nature of the object, which may impose a greater or smaller degree of Distance, but varies also according to the individual's capacity for maintaining a greater or lesser degree. And here one may remark that not only do persons differ from each other in their habitual measure of Distance, but that the same individual differs in his ability to maintain it in the face of different objects and of different arts.¹⁸

However, 'the conditions in the work of art which are likely to

¹⁵ See e.g. Styan's description, op. cit., pp.235-236. cf. also Bodmer's eighteenth-century description of the dramatic illusion as Martino, op. cit., p.167, describes it: 'Die Abwechslung der Momente "Illusion" / "Bewußtsein der Illusion" während des Ablaufs der tragischen Darstellung schafft einen emotiven Rhythmus von Schmerz und Lust. Dieser Rhythmus charakterisiert in der Abfolge schmerzhafter und lustvoller Empfindungen die emotive Erfahrung des Zuschauers jeder tragischen Darstellung; jedoch macht es die Rapidität dieser Abfolge emotiver Momente gegensätzlichen Vorzeichens unmöglich, sie in präziser Unterscheidung zu rezipieren; vielmehr bewirkt sie deren Überlagerung und Vermischung im Gemüt des Betrachters.'

¹⁶ See Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.clxviii.

¹⁷ Statements on the effect of a particular play or part of a play are subject to the limitations outlined in 1.3.

¹⁸ Bullough, op. cit., p.94.

affect distance are at least subject to the artist's control',¹⁹ and are also accessible to those interested - as I am in the present study - in establishing the degree of distance aimed at.

Wilkinson and Willoughby claim that Bullough did not develop a new concept, but managed to 'win back' knowledge which had been lost or ignored in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

What Bullough succeeded in doing was to bring together, as reciprocally conditioning factors in a single, if complex, psychical state, responses which nineteenth-century aestheticians had come to envisage as an alternation: a successive alternation in time between empathy and detachment, involvement and alienation (or whatever antithetical terms one chooses.)²⁰

The idea of 'psychical distance' may also be helpful in the discussion of the extent to which the spectator is aware of being in a group in the theatre:

At a theatrical performance the spectators normally remain, so to say, at least dimly conscious of themselves, and, perhaps even more important, of the assemblage in which they are incorporated. Thus we are confronted by a strange, paradoxical duality: while we, as individuals, delight in being portions of a large social unit and thus to a certain extent willingly surrender ourselves for the moment to a mass, we rarely permit this abandoning of ourselves to become total. Not only do we retain our own entities, we can also, if we so wish, shift our attention, withdraw ourselves momentarily from our companions, and contemplate the whole audience objectively, even although we know that, a few seconds later, we shall be prepared once more to let our own personalities slide back into the mass.²¹

When the audience's 'distance' with regard to the action is great, awareness of its actual surroundings is likely to be increased.

¹⁹ Wilkinson, E., J.E.Schlegel, pp.130-131.

²⁰ Wilkinson, Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.clxviii. Wilkinson and Willoughby go on to say that Schiller had achieved the same in his time. See p.139 below.

²¹ Nicoll, op. cit., p.21.

1.4.3 Identification and the dramatic illusion

With an increasing interest in the individual character and in establishing an emotional relation between characters and audience - a feature which became particularly fashionable in the late seventeenth century in France, the eighteenth century in Germany - identification, sympathy and empathy gained in significance with reference to the dramatic illusion. All three terms may be understood as denoting degrees of reduced 'distance' between the stage character and the spectator.²²

If the audience is encouraged to identify strongly with a character on stage, it seems likely that psychical distance to the action as a whole will be reduced. If such identification is not encouraged or if different characters, especially antagonists, receive differentiated treatment by the author, it seems likely that the spectator will not be as inclined to identify uncritically, and psychical distance will be greater.

Poerschke equates 'abgeblaßtes Miterleben' - 'Ihr Träger geht nicht ... in seinem Gegenstande auf, sondern gewinnt eine mehr distanzierte Stellung als rein Betrachtender, der dem Erlebenden "gegenüber" steht' - with 'die seit Goethe und vorher angenommene Form der "selbstbewußten Illusion"'.²³

Styan relates sympathy and lack of distance between audience and stage directly:

There can be strong persuasive moments of strong emotion and

²² Bullough himself suggests such a relationship, op. cit., p.117. There is disagreement as to the exact degree of distance or involvement implied by these various terms and by their German counterparts. For detailed discussion see Poerschke, op. cit., pp.17-23.

²³ Poerschke, op. cit., p.23.

interest when the audience is so in sympathy with a character, or following his reasoning so intently, that there is no theatrical gap.²⁴

1.4.4 'Willing suspension of disbelief'?

The question arises to what extent the audience can influence the nature of the dramatic illusion, whether it is drawn into the dramatic illusion against its will or enters into it willingly. It seems unlikely to me that even the most 'illusionistic' play - by which I mean one designed to reduce the psychical distance of the spectator to a minimum - can ever succeed in capturing the imagination of an unwilling spectator. This brings us to Coleridge's much-quoted 'willing suspension of disbelief'.²⁵ According to this theory, the audience agrees to a sort of unspoken contract with the dramatist.²⁶ It temporarily suspends its awareness that the action is artificial. This view is expressed by many contemporary critics and researchers:

All drama, like any fiction, works by make-believe. The author takes it that the audience will accept, for the time being, something as plausible or possible when all parties know it is unreal: he asks us to ignore improbabilities or impossibilities for the sake of some specially concentrated illustration of the human situation. He gets us to consent to stretch our belief in order to exercise our imagination even in the most realistic of plays. He assumes we will forget the existence of the theatre as soon as the curtain has risen. All audiences have disregarded the form of the play to enjoy its substance; 'convention' is only

²⁴ Styan, op. cit., p.235.

²⁵ A.F. Scott, op. cit., p.138, claims: 'A theatre audience experiences an illusion of reality by a process called by Coleridge a willing suspension of disbelief'. See also Wilkinson and Willoughby's commentary to the Ästhetische Briefe, ed.cit., p.250.

²⁶ This is not the same as the view of 'illusion as conscious self-deception', which Bullough, op. cit. p.117, rejects. There is no real element of deception here.

serviceable when it is taken for granted.²⁷

This view of convention would suggest that the difference between a 'naturalistic' play and a highly stylised one lies in the end simply in the degree to which the audience is asked to stretch its imagination or accept convention or be distracted from outer features in concentration on the action and dialogue. Nevertheless, at many points in the history of the theatre, 'realism' in costume, setting, language etc. have been equated with 'illusion', with creating a play that is as similar to everyday life as possible.

Once the spectator agrees to the pact with the dramatist, the latter has all the devices of plot, language, visual effect and formal or stylistic features, which he may use to influence the dramatic illusion as he wishes. In theory the spectator is free to opt out of the arrangement at any moment. In practice, he is likely to be influenced to some extent by the group attention to the play and by the degree of distance aimed at by the dramatist or director.

1.4.5 Breaking the illusion

Of course there are dramatists whose interest is not in maintaining the illusion to varying degrees, but in breaking it. Frey claims that 'disillusioning' the audience played a role even in primitive cultures and religious customs.²⁸ As possible reasons for this, he sees fear on the actor's part of losing his own personality to the

²⁷ Styan, op. cit., p.188.
Similar views are expressed by Nicoll and Bain in the works already referred to.

²⁸ Frey, op. cit., p.158.
Görler, op. cit., p.52, describes anti-illusionistic features in ancient comedy.

role, a need for the 'seelische Entlastung des Zuschauers'²⁹ and the fact that the idea of the performance is not to actually become part of another world. For Frey, the consciousness created in the spectators by breaking the illusion can stimulate their imagination and give them a more active role in the theatre:

Das Spannungsverhältnis der Realitätsbereiche wird aufgedeckt, die Einstellung des Zuschauers umgestaltet. Gerade dieses Bewußtwerden, sich umschalten zu können, vermag die Einbildungskraft anzuregen und zu steigern. Auf diesen psychologischen Voraussetzungen beruht auch die Wirkung der aufgezeigten Improvisation im Spiele oder der Verwandlung des Szenenbilds bei offener Bühne. Auch hier ist die Desillusionierung künstlerisches Mittel, den Zuschauer zur eigenen 'produktiven' geistigen Aktivität zu veranlassen, ihn so in den Kreis des Bühnenbetriebs mit hineinzuziehen und ihn zum Mitspieler ganz im Sinne des kindlichen Spieles zu machen, indem er damit den 'Spielregeln', dem 'Comment' unterworfen wird.³⁰

Tieck and the Romantics are amongst the 'Moderns' who have been interested in breaking the illusion. Bab outlines their reasons:

Selbstverständlich ist, wie alle Formen, so auch jedes Kunstwerk ein Zwang über die Gemüter. Es ist die Schwäche, die Unlust, Zwang zu ertragen, um derentwillen die Ironie der Romantiker so gerne die Kunstform sprengt. Es ist die gleiche Lust, um derentwillen das Publikum... so gern 'hinter die Kulissen' guckt, so sehr jede Szene' liebt, die Theater auf dem Theater darstellt, und überhaupt den Theaterwitz so schätzt, der immer den Zusammenstoß der Illusion mit einer derben Realität aufzeigt. Auf all diesen Wegen befreit man sich von dem bannenden Zwang der Kunstform.³¹

Bertolt Brecht is perhaps the first dramatist who comes to mind in connection with breaking the illusion. He wished to prevent the audience from being so caught up in the illusion that it is not able to view the stage events with a critical eye and to understand the political message or issue involved in the play. Brecht falls victim to the fiercest criticism of Nicoll and Styan. It is interesting that

²⁹ Frey, op. cit., p.158.

³⁰ ibid.

³¹ Bab, op. cit., p.132.

Nicoll limits his criticism to Brecht's theory, which, he claims, represents:

the imposition of concepts alien to the quality of the stage upon dramatic composition and upon histrionic method. Actually, however, Brecht's own creative method in his best plays contradicts the critical, theoretical precepts.³²

Yet, the emotional appeal at some points in Brecht's plays may be seen as an illustration rather than as a contradiction of his theory. Brecht does not reject the arousal of emotion in the theatre altogether, but the excessive creation of illusion and identification.³³

1.4.6 Illusion and the function of drama

The dramatic illusion tends to be affected by the dramatist's views, or current public opinion, with regard to the function of drama and the relationship between it and the everyday life of the spectators. If the effect of the play is dependent on the audience seeing a 'moral' which it can apply to its own life, the dramatist may well opt for fluctuation between involvement and distance or at least between maximum and minimum psychical distance. If, on the other hand, the effect of the play or the pleasure to be derived from it - itself the ultimate aim in the views of many dramatists - is seen in terms of a broadening of emotional experience, then it is likely that the dramatist will aim at maximum involvement and minimum distance.

³² Nicoll, op. cit., p.78.

³³ In his notes to Die Mutter Brecht claims: 'die nicht-aristotelische Dramatik bedient sich der hingebenden Einfühlung des Zuschauers keineswegs so unbedenklich wie die aristotelische...' (Schriften zum Theater, ed. cit., p.37. My underlining.)
See also 'Verfremdungseffekte in der chinesischen Schauspielkunst' in Schriften zum Theater, p.77, and Kesting, M., Das Epische Theater, pp. 60-61.

Many dramatists and theorists have claimed that the emotions experienced in the theatre are of the same quality as those experienced in real life.³⁴ If they accept that there is any difference, it is only in the intensity of emotion aroused. This difference in degree is often related to the fact that the unpleasant consequences associated with the unpleasant event which arouses emotion in tragedy do not come about, as the action is only illusion.³⁵

This lack of unpleasant consequences provides a basis for differentiating between real and aesthetic experience.³⁶ This is not to say that the aesthetic experience does not represent valid actual experience. However, it is of a different nature from things that happen to us in real life:

The drama, as long as it moves, is real enough to us, but our response to it is of a different nature from the responses of ordinary life. It is different because, though extremely personal, it is yet free of any practical implication for us. Any adequate description of the aesthetic attitude must, then, on the one hand do justice to the magic powers of art to convince and move us with all the force of reality; on the other hand it must take into account that quality in our response which makes it different from all non-aesthetic responses.³⁷

Wilkinson doubts whether the idea of 'illusion' can lead to a true understanding of the aesthetic experience. She suggests that it could be a more fruitful approach to assume the reality of the world of art and to recognize that all experience, whatever its nature, is equally real. A nightmare is different from reality, but can still have an

³⁴ See 2.7.2 below.

³⁵ Nicoll argues that the theatre performance does not, or should not involve a desire or call for consequential action. The audience may experience emotions similar to those of the crowd, but these are based on illusion. (op. cit., p.24)

³⁶ See Bullough, op. cit.; Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, pp.123ff.

³⁷ Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, p.124.

effect on the dreamer.³⁸

Frey views the relationship between audience and stage in terms of 'Realitätssphären'. He distinguishes between the 'Lebensrealität', that is the 'Realität des Lebensraumes und der Umwelt des Zuschauers', and the 'Realität des Schauspiels', which he terms 'ästhetische Realität'.³⁹ The relation between the two spheres of reality can take different forms. The dramatist can bring the two extremely close together or create a wide gap between them. Frey's investigation is an interesting one, but his distinction is difficult to work with: 'Lebensrealität' can mean both the everyday life of the spectators and the present situation in the theatre. Confusion of the former with the 'ästhetische Realität' can make for a high degree of illusion, whereas references to the theatre situation are likely to increase awareness of the illusory nature of the action.

1.4.7 Conclusions

I have chosen the term 'the dramatic illusion' in full awareness of the traditional connotations which it has and the difficulties and misunderstandings associated with it. It represents for me an accepted phrase connoting to the reader the immediacy and peculiarly 'live' nature of the drama as a theatrical form: the sensuous appeal, the vividness of its presentation, and the potential, because of the direct appeal to the senses of the audience, to reduce the psychological distance of the spectator to a minimum which is rarely achieved to the same extent in other literary genres. Even in its written form, the drama differs from other forms through the absence of a narrator, the idea that the dialogue presented is being uttered by the stage

³⁸ Wilkinson, J.E.Schlegel, p.123.

³⁹ Frey, op. cit., pp.166-167.

characters themselves without any interference from a third party. For that reason, the 'dramatic illusion', as opposed to 'the theatrical illusion', is not necessarily limited to the theatre form; but it is in the theatre that the potential to come close to 'illusion' in the sense of 'delusion', is at its greatest.

Within the context of this thesis, then, the term 'dramatic illusion' will connote to the reader the idea of a relationship between the spectator on the one hand and the dramatic action and dialogue on the other. The relationship has numerous potential variations in terms of involvement, from a maximum awareness of being in the theatre to extreme closeness to 'illusion' in the usual accepted sense of the word.

1.5 The contents and order of the thesis

As each chapter of the thesis contains its own introduction, I shall limit myself here to a brief indication of the contents and the order in which the topics will be discussed.

In order to come to an understanding of Schiller's position with regard to the dramatic illusion in its historical context and, to a limited extent, within the history of the concept of the dramatic illusion, Chapter 2 is devoted to a selection of dramatic forms and developments in dramatic and aesthetic theory before and during Schiller's lifetime. The information provided in this chapter demonstrates the existence of 'illusionistic' and 'non-illusionistic' tendencies and suggests Schiller's relationship to the dramatic forms discussed in terms of knowledge, attitude and general similarities or differences.

In order to ascertain Schiller's own views on the dramatic illusion, I shall look at his early views, before his detailed studies of Kant, in Chapter 3. This chapter is based on a study of Schiller's first two published essays, the prefaces to Die Räuber and statements in Schiller's correspondence.

Chapter 4 will deal with the development of Schiller's dramatic and aesthetic theory during and after his Kant studies - from 1790 onwards - and the important consequences for his views on the dramatic illusion. A short discussion of the relation between Schiller's theory and his later plays closes the chapter.

The dramatic illusion in the plays written after the development of Schiller's aesthetic theory - the plays from Wallenstein to Wilhelm Tell - is the topic of Chapter 5.

2 Influential developments in drama, dramatic theory and in aesthetics from Greek classical tragedy to the eighteenth century

I have chosen to begin this chapter with a discussion of Greek classical tragedy (2.1) because it is considered to represent the origins of western drama and so occupies a significant position with regard to the dramatic illusion and the relation between the drama and real life. It was also a major influence on the development of subsequent drama, including that of Schiller.

German mediaeval and baroque drama have been included (2.3) firstly because they represent the early stages of the development of German drama and secondly because they show the existence of a form of theatre which was certainly not 'illusionistic' in the sense which came to be accepted in the eighteenth century and which often dominates our view even today.

French classical tragedy is discussed (2.5) because of its influence on the development of German drama and Schiller's frequent references to it. It also represents a significant turn in the history of theatre towards a closed form in which verisimilitude is to guarantee 'illusion' during the performance, while the difference between drama and real life is emphasised by the high social position of the characters, by style and by presentation.

Each of these sections is followed by a short resume of the extent of Schiller's acquaintance with these forms and the likelihood of influence (2.2, 2.4, 2.6).

Developments in dramatic theory and in aesthetics in the eighteenth century are outlined because of the major contribution they made towards the development of the concept of the dramatic illusion at that time (2.7). As these developments are much closer to Schiller

chronologically, I have not discussed Schiller's knowledge of and attitude towards individual authors or general trends in a separate section, but integrated these aspects in my commentary on Schiller's theory in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 2 closes with a short account of the state of the theatre as Schiller encountered it when he embarked on his career as a dramatist.

As Chapter 2 covers a wide range of authors and topics, it was not possible to refer to primary sources in every case and I have made frequent use of available secondary literature.

2.1 Greek classical tragedy (Fifth century B.C.)

The relation between audience and stage in Greek classical tragedy was largely determined by the religious function of the performances. Actors, chorus and audience were all taking part in a religious festival and so belonged to the same 'sphere of reality'.¹ As the earliest Greek theatres were circular or almost circular in shape, the audience could see not only the actors, but also each other.

A back wall and some sort of scenery were probably in evidence by 458 B.C.² Although this sort of scenery does not imply anything approaching realism,³ such developments suggest that within the history of ancient Greek drama there was a move towards separating the 'spheres of reality' of stage action and audience, suggesting the setting by visual means, and so towards the possibility of creating a scenic illusion.

2.1.1 The chorus

The earliest plays of Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.) were really poems recited or sung by a chorus with one or two 'characters' to illustrate the main themes.⁴ In the plays of Sophocles (496-406 B.C.), a third actor was added and the dramatic action acquired greater importance. It was connected more closely with the chorus as the use of

¹ See Frey, op. cit., p.170, also Kindermann, Heinz, 'Bühne und Zuschauerraum. Ihre Zueinanderordnung seit der Antike', p.1.

² Frey, op. cit., pp.171-172; cf. Aristotle, Poetics, in Aristotle Horace Longinus. Classical Literary Criticism, translated with an Introduction by T.S. Dorsch, pp.36-37, henceforth abbreviated to Poetics, ed. cit.

³ Sophocles, The Theban Plays, translated with an Introduction by E.F. Watling, p.21, henceforth abbreviated to Sophocles, ed. cit.

⁴ ibid, Introduction, p.10.

lyric dialogue increased and the number of stasima diminished.⁵ The chorus played a dual role as actors within the action, representing an average group, and as singers commenting on it.⁶ It was separated from the other actors by its dance movements, its language and its position in the acting area. The chorus songs of Aeschylus and Sophocles at times relate directly to the dramatic context, but at other times go beyond it to include generalized comments. Thus the chorus was to appeal not only to the emotions, but also to the intellect, emotions and sense of morality of the spectators.⁷ In a way, the dual role of the chorus exemplifies the mixture of identification and distanced critical reflection to be aroused in the spectator.⁸ At times, however, the chorus is far closer to the characters than to the audience, which is in possession of some superior knowledge. This is the case in particular when the chorus is used to generate dramatic irony, for example by expressing joy or confidence just before the revelation of a terrible truth.⁹

The chorus can appeal strongly to the audience by songs in the form of conventional ritual utterances, such as hymns, appeals to the gods or laments, with which the audience was familiar in everyday life.¹⁰ On the other hand, the chorus in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles at times steps back from the action, takes up a detached position and provides brief relief from the emotional involvement in the action, diverting the minds of the audience away from the immediate context

⁵ Burton, R.W.B., The Chorus in Sophocles' Tragedies, p.240; Sophocles, ed. cit., Introduction, p.10.

⁶ Burton, op. cit., p.3; Sophocles, ed. cit. , Introduction, p.10.

⁷ Burton, op. cit., pp.2-3, 15.

⁸ Sophocles, ed. cit., Introduction, p.11.

⁹ Burton, op. cit., p.30.

¹⁰ *ibid*, p.3.

towards wider reflection.¹¹

Another means of providing pauses and at the same time maintaining impartiality occurs when the chorus of Sophocles or Euripides steps out of character momentarily during arguments or discussions to make a distanced or even a critical comment on the character with whom it is in sympathy as well as his antagonist.¹²

Whereas Sophocles tends to use the chorus more as actors than as mediators or commentators in his later plays,¹³ the late classical chorus often tends to be quite remote from the activity and discourse on stage.¹⁴ There is a general tendency towards realism in the plays of Euripides.¹⁵ By the time he and Agathon were writing in the late fifth century, the choral ode was perhaps included only as an established tradition. These two dramatists tend to use stasima as interval songs with little or even no connection to the play at all¹⁶, a procedure which Aristotle mentions with disapproval in his Poetics.¹⁷

2.1.2 Aristotle's 'Poetics'

Aristotle's definition of tragedy was to have tremendous influence on the development of drama and aroused particular interest in Germany in the eighteenth century. Aristotle defines poetry as 'mimesis', as

¹¹ ibid, p.8.

¹² ibid, p.35.

¹³ ibid, p.265.

¹⁴ Mastronarde, P. J., Some Conventions of Speech and Acting on the Greek Tragic Stage, p.24, Frey, op. cit., p.172.

¹⁵ Poetics, ed. cit., Introduction, p.9.

¹⁶ Burton, op. cit., p.240, Aristotle, Poetics, ed. cit., p.37. For a different view see Watling, Sophocles, ed. cit., Introduction, p.10.

¹⁷ Poetics, ed. cit., p.37.

'forms of imitation or representation'.¹⁸ Tragedy is 'a representation of an action that is worth serious attention, complete in itself, and of some amplitude'. (pp.38-39) This suggests that the subject matter of tragedy will not be taken from everyday life, and that only significant events are suitable. This is related to the religious origins of drama. The characters are separated from the audience by heroic descent, position and their extraordinary situations.¹⁹ Although subjects were usually taken from history or legend,²⁰ Aristotle stresses that 'it is not necessary... to keep entirely to the traditional stories'. (p.44) He also dedicates a chapter to the difference between poetic truth and historical truth: 'it is not the poet's function to describe what has actually happened, but the kinds of thing that ... could happen because they are, in the circumstances, either probable or necessary.' (p.43) Aristotle's insistence that the language of tragedy should be 'enriched by a variety of artistic devices appropriate to the several parts of the play' (p.39) also supports the idea that the play is not an imitation of everyday life. The presence and treatment of the chorus and the use of the mask in classical Greek tragedy separate it clearly from real life.²¹

Aristotle's distinction between imitation by means of narration and 'representing the characters as performing all the actions dramatically' (p.34) forms the basic criterion for the dramatic form.

Dorsch translates the much-interpreted term 'catharsis', which

¹⁸ Quotations from the Poetics are taken from the translation by Dorsch, cited above, here p.31, and will henceforth be given in brackets after the quotation.

An outline of the philosophical background to Aristotle's concept of imitation is given by Blumenberg, op. cit., pp.14-15.

¹⁹ Menz, op. cit., p.185.

²⁰ See Sophocles, ed. cit., Introduction, p.11.

²¹ *ibid*, p.20.

Aristotle uses to describe the effect of tragedy, as 'purgation' and understands by it the restoration of such emotions as pity and fear (Chapter 6) to the right proportions.²² In order to bring about catharsis, Aristotle argues, the protagonist should not be conspicuous for virtue or for vice. (p.48) Our pity should be aroused 'for the undeserving sufferer' and our fear 'for the man like ourselves'. (p.48)²³

Aristotle does not go into the apparent contradiction between his insistence on events and characters which are so remote from everyday experience and his demand that the hero should in some way be similar to the spectator. The nature of this similarity has been interpreted in various ways, for example as a moral or a social criterion.²⁴ Aristotle also insists that character portrayal should be appropriate, lifelike and consistent (p.51), that the action should be a unified whole (p.45) and that the 'laws of possibility and probability' must be observed (p.44).

22

Poetics, ed. cit., Introduction, p.19.

Recent discussions of catharsis are to be found in R.C.M. Janko, Aristotle on Comedy, London, 1984, and in S. Halliwell, Poetics, London, 1986.

On the changing meaning of 'pity' or 'sympathy' see Kommerell, M., Lessing und Aristoteles. Untersuchung über die Theorie der Tragödie, pp.93-94.

23

On whether Aristotle means 'fear' or 'terror' and whether this emotion is to be felt for the character or for the spectator, see e.g. Martino, A., Geschichte der dramatischen Theorien in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert, p.239, Kommerell, op. cit., p.73.

24

Kommerell, op. cit., p.208.

2.1.3 The dramatic illusion in Greek classical drama

Aristotle does not refer specifically to the dramatic illusion.²⁵ However, the above-mentioned insistence on unity of action and causality in the plot, appropriateness, consistency and motivation in character portrayal and his demand that the hero should be like the spectators suggest that the audience was to be convinced by the action on stage to a great extent.

Yet modern critics disagree about the basic reception attitude of the ancient Greek tragic audience and the nature of the dramatic illusion. Whereas some scholars insist that surprise and curiosity were part of Aristotle's concept of audience response to tragedy, the audience's familiarity with the plot suggests a basic difference in attitude from that associated with a performance which relies on suspense as to the outcome for its effect.²⁶ Burton, working on Sophocles' plays, demonstrates that some may have aimed at suspense, others at a more distanced attitude, and that the number of choral odes varied accordingly.²⁷

Critical opinion varies especially with regard to identification. M. Kommerell considers a central conclusion of Aristotle's Poetics to be that tragedy alone can create the high degree of empathy where the recipient can confuse himself and his situation with the character

²⁵ Görler, 'Über die Illusion in der antiken Komödie', p.42, notes: 'Ein eigenes Wort für den Begriff der dramatischen Illusion gibt es in der antiken Theorie nicht... Daß der Zuschauer das Bühnengeschehen mit der Wirklichkeit verwechselt, wird nirgends angedeutet.- Das Phänomen der Illusion war selbstverständlich bekannt, wird aber auffallend selten erwähnt.'

²⁶ See Barnwell, H.T., in The Tragic Drama of Corneille and Racine, p.221, Moles, J., 'Notes on Aristotle's Poetics 13 and 14', Classical Quarterly, XXIX, 1979, pp.77-94; cf. Sophocles, ed. cit., Introduction, p.12.

²⁷ Burton, op. cit., p.240.

and situation presented.²⁸ E. Menz, by contrast, argues that 'Einführung' is alien to ancient Greek tragedy and to Aristotle's treatise. The audience was to be moved not to 'Mitleid und sanfter Rührung' but to 'Schauer und erschrecktem Mitheulen', Menz argues.²⁹ He criticises Brecht's view that empathy is typical of the receptive attitude of the theatre from the Greeks on, claiming that the emphasis on empathy resulted from eighteenth-century interpretations of Aristotle.³⁰

Menz argues that empathy requires characters and circumstances which the spectators feel are possible for themselves and that this was not a necessary part of the theatre experience for Aristotle. He also claims that in ancient plays there was no depth of character with which one could identify. The characters outline their motives and the audience need not identify with the characters to appreciate the probability of the action.³¹

The extent to which depth of characterization is necessary for identification over and above consistency and motivation is a debatable point. Menz's argument that the characters and circumstances are not possible for the audience of Greek tragedy depends on the level at which the necessary 'similarity' of character and circumstances is fixed. If it is understood in terms of social position or everyday experience, Menz's argument would appear to be valid and 'Einführung' would not apply in Greek tragedy. If, on the other hand, one accepts Kommerell's broader definition in terms of man's subjectedness to fate, the situation is different. Kommerell even goes so far as to

²⁸ Kommerell, op. cit., p.99.

²⁹ Menz, op. cit., pp.183-185.

³⁰ *ibid*, pp.182-183.
See also 2.7 below.

³¹ Menz, op. cit., p.184.

question whether similarity furthers the tragic effect at all. He stresses the importance of the imagination and the power of the dramatic form and suggests that the effect of drama may grow more powerful in proportion to the width of the gap bridged between ourselves and what is presented to us.³²

Formal features, too, have led to claims that ancient Greek theatre was not based on empathy or on the creation of an indestructible illusion. The obviously un-lifelike form and techniques of Greek tragedy have led to claims that the 'alienation effect' and illusion-breaking devices in the theory and plays of Bertolt Brecht, which claimed to be a move away from traditional, 'Aristotelian' drama, actually have parallels in ancient Greek tragedy.³³ The outline of the plot in Euripides' prologues, interruptions by the chorus or reports by messengers are examples of features which have been claimed to be antecedents of Brecht's 'Epic Theatre'.³⁴

D. Bain rejects such claims. He stresses the need to take historical context into account and to remember that theatre involves the use and acceptance of conventions, by means of which things are accepted which are not at all lifelike. He also warns against judging Greek drama merely by the artificiality of its external form. Even in a highly stylised form, drama is still essentially different from the epic, he claims:

Greek drama portrays actions and its actors play at being people involved in real situations. They identify themselves with the

³² Kommerell, op. cit., pp.84-85.

³³ Görler, op.cit., pp.46-47, views Brecht as the first to name and systematically describe artificial means of working against the audience's tendency to seek illusion, which existed even in early Greek comedy.

³⁴ See Menz, op. cit., p.179, Walter Jens, 'Antikes und Modernes Drama' in Eranion, Festschrift für Hildebrecht Hammel, Tübingen 1961, p.45, cf. Görler, op. cit., pp.46-47 on Brecht and ancient comedy.

characters they are playing and speak in the person of those characters.³⁵

By its very nature, according to Bain, drama encourages the audience to sympathise and to let itself be caught up in the events on stage. The fact that Brecht needed an alienation effect supports this theory, he claims.³⁶ He notes that Brecht himself refers to 'die Neigung des Publikums, sich in eine solche Illusion ("die Illusion..., es wohne einem natürlichen, uneinstudierten Vorgang bei") zu werfen'.³⁷

2.1.4 Conclusions

While critics like Menz defend Greek tragedy against the claim that it insists on empathy and the associated form of illusion, Bain and others are anxious to defend it against the opposite view, that it included alienation or anti-illusionistic devices. The two apparently incompatible trends may, perhaps, actually be taken as complementary. Ancient Greek tragedy creates a 'dramatic illusion' in the most basic sense of the term: it represents actions as being carried out by particular characters, as opposed to relating an action by means of narration. The illusion is created by attention to probability and causal relationships in the plot and consistency and motivation in characterization. These are not, however, taken to the extent of 'naturalism', where the details of everyday life are meticulously observed. Aristotle describes poetry as 'more worthy of serious attention' than history because it is concerned with 'universal

³⁵ Bain, op.cit., p.4.

³⁶ ibid, p.5.

³⁷ Brecht, Kleines Organon für das Theater, Schriften zum Theater, p.106, quoted here by Bain, op. cit., p.5.

truths' rather than 'particular facts'. (pp.44-45) The performance contains so many features which are unrealistic or unlikelike that the tragedy does not resemble everyday life either in its subject matter or in its form. Greek classical tragedy is a very artificial genre. The illusion must have depended heavily on the audience's acceptance of convention. One must assume that the receptive attitude of the audience included a mixture of identification and detachment. H.J. Schrimpf describes Greek tragedy as 'episierendes Theater' because of the chorus in particular, which leaves the immediate sphere of the action at times to discuss past, present or future. At the same time he describes such features as Aristotelian.³⁸ Aristotle, however, is quite strict in his distinction between epic and dramatic. This suggests that Schrimpf's 'episierend' means something different from 'epic' in the strictest Aristotelian sense. He applies the term to the mediaeval 'Mysterienspiel', the plays of Gryphius and Calderon, of Shakespeare, Lenz, Büchner and Grabbe, as well as to the ancient chorus. The common factor is that none of these plays keep either to the strictness of form imposed for example by the French classicists in the seventeenth century or to the insistence on fidelity to the details of reality which came to be associated with the term 'drama' in the eighteenth century. Both of these principles were propagated in the interests of furthering the dramatic illusion. Neither of them was an essential element of Greek classical tragedy. The use of the term 'epic' to describe features like the chorus results from modern usage. As Menz argues:

...erst wenn das Drama sich auf Spannung und Überraschung, auf augenscheinliches Miterleben, auf den Dialog als Äußerung verengt

³⁸ See Schrimpf, Der Schriftsteller als öffentliche Person, p.55.

hat, erscheinen Prolog, Chor, distanzierte Darstellung als un-
dramatisch und als episch³⁹

It is the framework of presenting an action as if it were happening before the eyes of the audience that provides the central criterion for what is 'dramatic' in the original sense of the word.⁴⁰ Devices which Brecht describes as 'epic' and which may have an anti-illusionistic effect on a modern audience were an intrinsic part of Greek drama, but had a different effect there. As interpretations of 'mimesis' as imitation of real life and the desire to deceive and be deceived in the theatre came into fashion, devices such as the chorus or masks became alien to mainstream drama. Such devices may be described as 'alienating' or anti-illusionistic within the context of Greek drama only in the very limited sense that they made it obviously different from real life and with the reservation that they were accepted conventions. Applied in modern theatre, they are 'alienating' in the further sense used by Brecht because of the tradition of realistic drama we have become used to. Modern authors who have taken up techniques which were conventional in ancient tragedy in the hope of reinforcing awareness of illusion in the modern audience are reacting against the intervening tradition of naturalistic drama.

40 *ibid.*

39 Menz, *op. cit.*, p.179.

2.2 The influence of Greek classical tragedy on Schiller

Schiller's letters and essays make it possible to estimate his knowledge of Greek tragedy and its possible influence on him.¹

Schiller learned some Greek at school, but not enough to enable him to read plays. He wanted to learn more, but did not actually do so.²

In his letters, no mention is made of Greek literature even in translation until 1788.

Schiller's well-known change of opinion on Goethe's Iphigenie³ was brought about by his intensive reading of ancient Greek literature, which began in the summer of 1788. At this time he decided to translate some of Euripides' plays.⁴ On the whole, these translations provide little information on how Greek tragedy influenced his own drama. There is only one reference to Sophocles at this time and a request for some plays, which seem to have been unavailable.⁵

In 1789, Schiller first met Humboldt. The subsequent correspondence between the two was of particular importance for Schiller's relation-

¹ In the sections dealing with background influences on Schiller, I have made extensive use of existing detailed studies: Gerhard, Melitta, Schiller und die griechische Tragödie, Rehm, W., 'Schiller und das Barockdrama' and Göttlicher, op. cit. (on baroque influences), and Bloch, P. A., Schiller und die französische klassische Tragödie.

² See Schiller to Humboldt, 9.11.1795, NA 28, p.100 and NA 28, editor's note, p.448.

³ cf. Schiller's review of Iphigenie, NA 22, pp.211-237, especially pp.211-212, and Schiller to Körner, 21.1.1802, NA 31 (105). See also Gerhard, op. cit., p.5.

⁴ See Schiller to Charlotte von Lengefeld, 16.10.1788, NA 25 (99), p.118; to Crusius, 16.10.1788, NA 25 (100), p.119; to Körner, 20.10.1788, NA 25 (101), p.121; to C. von Beulwitz, 27.11.1788, NA 25 (117), p.147; to C. von Lengefeld and C. von Beulwitz, 4.12.1788, NA 25 (119), p.153; to Körner, 12.12.1788, NA 25 (122), p.158, 9.3.1789, NA 25 (158), pp.221-222, 30.4.1789, NA 25 (179), p.253 and editor's note p.663.

Schiller was probably using a French prose translation.

⁵ See Schiller to Crusius, 16.10.1788, NA 25 (100), p.119 and editor's note, p.558.

ship to Greek tragedy, especially between 1794 and 1799⁶, as was Schiller's friendship with Goethe.

In 'Ueber die tragische Kunst', 1791, Schiller makes several allusions to Greek tragedy. He refers, for instance, to the tradition of interspersing the dramatic dialogue with 'allgemeine Wahrheiten oder Sittensprüche'.⁷ Although Schiller suggests here that the Greeks used this device excessively, his attitude towards it is positive and the device became common in Schiller's own later plays.⁸ One should, however, bear in mind that the 'Sentenz' was also a popular device in German drama before Schiller's time, especially in baroque drama.⁹ One must also remember that Schiller's knowledge of Greek drama was not yet very deep, as is shown by his statements on fate and freedom in Greek tragedy in the same essay.¹⁰

Between 1789 and 1794, Schiller continued to study Greek tragedy, and planned to translate Aeschylus' Agamemnon and other Greek plays.¹¹ Schiller's view of the chorus may have been deeply influenced by this reading of Agamemnon.¹²

Schiller had a deeper knowledge of Greek tragedy at the latest by the time of writing 'Ueber das Erhabene'.¹³ Gerhard suggests that, on the

⁶ Gerhard, op. cit, p.11.

⁷ NA 20, p.158.

⁸ See 5.5.4 below.

⁹ See 2.3.3 below.

¹⁰ See NA 20, p.157 and editors' note, p.180; Gerhard, op. cit., p.65.

¹¹ See Schiller to C. von Lengefeld und C. von Beulwitz, 15.11.1789, NA 25 (228), pp.327-328, editor's note, p.721; to Humboldt, 9.11.1795, NA 28 (84), p.100; to Körner, 24.10.1791, Jonas 3 (581), p.16.

¹² See 5.6 below.

¹³ See NA 21, pp.38-54 and Gerhard, op. cit., p.65. 'Ueber das Erhabene' was first published in 1801 but probably written between 1792 and 1796, see 4.2 below.

whole, Greek tragedy represented a sort of emancipation for Schiller, by providing him with a model which left out many everyday features in favour of the great and impressive.¹⁴ Until he read the Greeks, French classical tragedy was the only model which was similar in this respect, and Schiller objected to many aspects of French tragedy.¹⁵ Schiller explains his admiration for Greek tragedy in a letter to Goethe of 4.4.1797:

Der Neuere schlägt sich mühselig und ängstlich mit Zufälligkeiten und Nebendingen herum, und über dem Bestreben, der Wirklichkeit recht nahe zu kommen, beladet er sich mit dem Leeren und Unbedeutenden, und darüber läuft er Gefahr, die tiefliegende Wahrheit zu verlieren, worin eigentlich alles Poetische liegt.¹⁶

This preference for 'Wahrheit' over 'Wirklichkeit', for the essential over insignificant details of everyday life, was to become a central feature of Schiller's aesthetic theory.

At this time Schiller had been reading plays by Sophocles.¹⁷ He commented approvingly on the Greek characters' tendency to be 'ideale Masken' rather than individuals.¹⁸ This, too, was to have lasting influence on Schiller's theory and on his own dramatic production.

Other features of Greek tragedy which impressed Schiller were the analytical style and use of the oracle in Oedipus Rex, which influenced Die Braut von Messina in particular, and the 'Euripidische Methode, welche in der vollständigen Darstellung des Zustands be-

¹⁴ Gerhard, op. cit., p.111.

¹⁵ See 2.6. below.

¹⁶ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (291), pp.363-364.

¹⁷ See Schiller to Goethe, 4.4.1797, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (291), p.364.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

steht', which he invoked when planning Maria Stuart.¹⁹

References made to Aristotle before 1797 probably derived from Schiller's reading of Lessing.²⁰ H. Reinhard claims that Schiller's reading of Aristotle's Poetics in May 1797 was of more significance than has often been assumed.²¹ Schiller felt his own position to be justified on the whole, but he also modified his views in some respects.²² Schiller approved in particular of Aristotle's emphasis on 'die Verknüpfung der Begebenheiten', and of his claim that there is more 'truth' in poetry than in history.²³ Wallenstein was directly affected by Schiller's reading of Aristotle.

Schiller's reading of Greek drama showed fruits in 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung'²⁴ and in his own poetic creation from 1797 on. At this later stage, according to Gerhard, Schiller preferred Sophocles and Aeschylus to Euripides.²⁵ As was discussed above, the dramatists have different styles and there are, in particular, differences with regard to the rôle of the chorus, perhaps the most

19 See Schiller to Goethe, 2.10.1797, on Oedipus Rex, and 26.4.1799, on Euripides, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (364), p.480 and (591), p.748 respectively.

20 See Reinhardt, H., 'Schillers "Wallenstein" und Aristoteles', p.298.

21 *ibid*, p.283.

22 See Schiller to Goethe, 5.5.1797, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (309), pp.387-390 and to Körner, 3.6.1797, NA 29 (85), p.82 for Schiller's views on his reading of the Poetics and its effect on him.

23 Schiller to Goethe, 5.5.1797, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (309), pp.389-390.

24 See NA 20, p.432.

25 Gerhard, *op. cit.*, pp.14-15. See Schiller to Goethe, 4.4.1797, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (291), pp.363-365. Schiller still remained interested in Euripides. He requested the newest edition of his tragedies in a letter of 13.4.1799, NA 30 (48), p.43.

obvious feature where Greek influence on Schiller may be assumed.²⁶

There is certainly good evidence that Schiller was influenced by Greek classical tragedy. That is not to say that he attempted a straightforward copy of it. In a letter to Süvern of 26.7.1800, he notes:

Ich theile mit Ihnen die unbedingte Verehrung der Sophokleischen Tragödie, aber sie war eine Erscheinung ihrer Zeit, die nicht wiederkommen kann, und das lebendige Produkt einer individuellen bestimmten Gegenwart einer ganz heterogenen Zeit zum Maßstab und Muster aufdringen hiesse die Kunst, die immer dynamisch und lebendig entstehen und wirken muß, eher tödten als beleben.²⁷

Schiller used Greek classical tragedy in an attempt to create a form of tragedy which is valid in his own situation. It was above all the clear difference between the dramatic action and everyday life which attracted Schiller to Greek tragedy. It presented the universal and necessary as opposed to the everyday and contingent; its validity was general rather than particular and individual; it used non-realistic form. These features were to characterize Schiller's aesthetic theory and his later plays.

²⁶ See 5.6. below.

²⁷ NA 30 (215), p.179.

2.3 Drama in Germany before the eighteenth century

During the Middle Ages dramatic forms developed in Germany without any reference to the ancient Greek tradition, which only became relevant in the sixteenth century.

2.3.1 Drama in the Middle Ages

Liturgical drama was the main form of serious drama in Europe between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. As the audience at a Nativity or Passion play was usually familiar with some version of the story, there was no question of suspense as to the outcome.¹

Dramatisation and secularisation increased to such an extent that in the thirteenth century the Church insisted on the plays being moved out of churches on to market squares.² Whether in a church or a market square, these plays were performed in areas which were part of the everyday life of the audiences rather than in an area set aside for 'theatre'. In the earliest phase, people moved through the town to different 'stations' to watch different scenes. The spectators took an active part in the performance by joining in processions, for example. The audience was not to be taken in by an illusion of a stage world. It was involved in a particular ceremony which was part of its own world. By 1581, however, there was a stage near Cologne which represented a closed area with certain locations. This suggests progression towards a more 'illusionistic' stage.³

In the Middle Ages there was also a tradition of less serious drama in Germany, deriving from the secular 'Fastnachtsspiele'. These plays

¹ Sophocles, ed. cit., Introduction, p.12; G.v.Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, p.287.

² Von Wilpert, op. cit., p.287.

³ Frey, op. cit., pp.176-180.

only took on literary form in the course of the fourteenth century.⁴ They were often used for satirical or polemical purposes. The language took the form of rough 'Knittelvers' or doggerel.⁵ The characters usually entered one at a time and spoke to the audience rather than to each other. This type of theatre, too, is clearly different from what we would describe as 'illusionistic' theatre, where the audience is encouraged to believe in the reality of what it sees and to allow itself to be caught up in another world. However, here, once more, steps towards a greater degree of illusion may be traced. By the time this genre reached its high-point in the plays of Hans Sachs (1494-1576), the characters spoke more to each other and the presentation tended to be more realistic.⁶ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, elements of the secular 'Fastnachtsspiele' mingled with liturgical drama, although the two streams of liturgical and secular drama also continued separately.

2.3.2 Developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

There were no public theatres until the late seventeenth century, nor was there any one great metropolis where a cultural elite could have formed. Drama of this period was heterogeneous because of the different social status and environments of audiences and because of geographical differences.⁷

In the course of the sixteenth century, German writers were becoming

⁴ Pascal, German Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, p.57.

⁵ *ibid*, p.36.

⁶ *ibid*, p.60; von Wilpert, *op. cit.*, p.255.

⁷ Pascal, *op. cit.*, p.111.

acquainted with Greek and especially Roman plays.⁸ Unity of action gradually replaced the 'station by station' method. The Roman division into acts was widely adopted. Prologues, epilogues and choruses were introduced.⁹

Jesuit religious drama established the dominant literary tradition of the seventeenth century, combining spectacle, allegorical figures and comic interludes within a framework of more intense action, in which faith was shown to triumph.¹⁰

The first professional German actors, who were touring the country by the end of the 30 Years' War in 1648, used prose. Their plays involved sensationalism and crude farce, and their popularity was later confined to the uneducated.¹¹

The new group of university-educated middle-class officials and professional men, patronized by the courts, was more influential in the development of baroque drama. They wrote plays with religious and didactic functions, mostly for performance at schools or universities, occasionally for courts or churches.¹² Baroque drama was intrinsically related to the courtly-aristocratic culture of European absolutism. The rhetorical style of baroque tragedy was based on a courtly concept of decorum.¹³ A high style of language was con-

⁸ Isler, H., Carolus Stuardus. Vom Wesen der barocken Dramaturgie, p.93; Kommerell, op. cit., p.15.

⁹ Pascal, op. cit., p.57.

¹⁰ *ibid*, p.113.
Pascal also notes (p.25) that Protestant writers like Opitz (1597-1639) or Gryphius (1616-1664) did not hesitate to borrow from the Jesuit tradition.

¹¹ *ibid*, pp.66-68.

¹² *ibid*, pp.111-112.

¹³ See Borchmeyer, D., Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.14, Isler, op. cit., p.67, and Wellbery, D.E., Lessing's "Laocoon": Semiotics and Aesthetics in the Age of Reason, pp.44ff. Wellbery discusses baroque drama in terms of 'performance theory'.

sidered appropriate to the noble characters and significant subject matter of tragedy.¹⁴ The rhetorical style was also designed to put across a particular message. Opitz and other critics in the Baroque demanded that poetry should directly serve morality, a line of thought which continued into the eighteenth century. There was no suggestion that poetic utterance is different in principle from history or from political statement.¹⁵

The verse of baroque tragedy often had a pointedly antithetical style.¹⁶ Literary language became divorced completely from that of real life in the course of the seventeenth century, the century in which opera and oratorio were created and grew to be the most popular of all the dramatic forms.¹⁷

2.3.3 The dramatic illusion in baroque tragedy

The nature of the dramatic illusion in baroque tragedy is related to the general philosophical climate of the age. At a time when reality was broken up dialectically into 'being and appearance', into real phenomena and the impressions they make upon the human mind, a tension between illusion and reality was characteristic both of the mode of thought and of theatre.¹⁸

Appearances, show and illusion were prominent features of real life.¹⁹ Life and theatre were commonly viewed in terms of each other

¹⁴ See Opitz, Martin, Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey (1624), ed. R. Alewyn, p.32.

¹⁵ Pascal, op.cit, pp.82-83.

¹⁶ *ibid*, p.101.

¹⁷ *ibid*, p.123. Pascal notes, however, that some signs of dissatisfaction with this type of entertainment were also to be noted by the end of the century.

¹⁸ Reiss, op. cit., p.181; see also Gaede, op. cit., p.13.

¹⁹ Kommerell, op. cit., p.16.

- a notion expressed by the phrase 'All the world's a stage'.²⁰ The close connection which could exist between the two in the Baroque is demonstrated by the proscenium arch designed for the emperor's theatre in Vienna. While in England the separate worlds of stage and audience appeared to be clearly demonstrated by the introduction of the proscenium stage²¹, in Vienna the arch and space behind it were constructed in such a way as to suggest that the stage was an extra dimension of the audience's reality.²² This reality, of course, was itself permeated by the tension between illusion and reality.

Consciousness of illusion was an essential feature of life and of the theatre experience. Thus, when Harsdörffer, writing in 1648, describes tragedy as 'ein wohlgefälliger Betrug', he does not mean the sort of deception where the audience is encouraged to confuse stage action with reality. He emphasises that the audience should recognise the play as an artistic piece and appreciate the skill of the dramatist, and that the spectator should become aware of 'die Lehre' transmitted by the play.²³

Isler stresses that the basic attitude of spectator and performer differed from that associated with illusionistic theatre. The spectator did not expect to be caught up in the illusion, but sought a message in the play. Author and actor aimed to put across a particular message, by encouraging not emotional involvement, but mental detachment.²⁴

²⁰ Skrine, op. cit., Chapter 1. The quotation is from As You Like It, first performed 1599, published 1623.

²¹ Skrine, op. cit., p.15.

²² *ibid*, p.16.

²³ Harsdörffer, G. P., Poetischer Trichter, (1648), p.83.

²⁴ Isler, op. cit., p.95.

One function of the chorus was to interrupt the action and so prevent the spectator from becoming too absorbed.²⁵ In contrast to the Alexandrines of his main characters, Gryphius used more lyrical metres for the choruses, often in the form of the Pindaric ode.²⁶ The chorus was also used as an instrument of moral didacticism.²⁷ Harsdörffer insists that the chorus songs should sum up the moral message of the play for the spectators.²⁸ The chorus was to encourage the audience to relate the content of the action to their own lives.²⁹ Pascal describes the choruses of Lohenstein, too, as a medium for moralizing comment.³⁰

'Sentenzen' were also used in the service of moral improvement.³¹ Harsdörffer describes them as 'des Trauerspiels Grundseulen' and stresses that they must be spoken by older or noble people or the chorus in order that due attention be paid to them.³² Reiss suggests that maxims were also used to prevent continuous identification and re-assert spectator distance.³³

25 *ibid*, p.90.

26 Pascal, *op. cit.*, p.116.

27 *ibid*, p.57.

28 Harsdörffer, *op. cit.*, pp.73-74.

29 The chorus also serves a practical function: providing a resting pause for the main actor or singer (*ibid*).

30 Pascal, *op. cit.*, p.79.

31 *cf.* 2.2 above and 5.5.4 below.
Gaede, F., in Poetik und Logik, relates the 'Sentenz' to the philosophical basis of baroque poetics, describing it as the literary equivalent of the logical judgement. (p.18)

32 Harsdörffer, *op. cit.*, p.81; see also Isler, *op. cit.*, p.70.

33 Reiss, *op. cit.*, p.49.
Reiss's book deals with French theatre in particular, but he draws many conclusions which are valid for the 'baroque' period in Germany - his views correspond with views expressed by Skrine, Isler and Gaede - and which relate to the history of the dramatic illusion.

Baroque theatre was similar to modern tendentious theatre rather than to 'illusionistic' theatre. Isler regards Gryphius as a prime example, claiming that he intended his plays to be always recognisable as plays in order for his intention - to convert and improve the spectators and make them aware of the eternal - to be fulfilled.³⁴

At the same time Pascal stresses the severe form of Gryphius' plays, with no secondary plots or comic interludes, and constant tension. These plays were so theatrically effective that three of them went over into the repertoire of the 'Wanderbühne'.³⁵

The success of Gryphius shows that awareness of illusion and artificiality did not involve sacrificing theatrical effectiveness in baroque drama. It was not only possible but popular to combine a high degree of dramatic tension with moral didacticism and awareness of the artificiality of the action.

³⁴ Isler, op. cit., p.61.

³⁵ Pascal, op. cit., pp.114-116.

2.4 Schiller's knowledge of baroque theatre

It is not easy to draw conclusions about Schiller's knowledge of baroque tragedy. It is not clear whether he actually read Lohenstein, Gryphius or Haugwitz.¹ The German Baroque had been disparaged by Gottsched before Schiller's time and the real 'rediscovery' of it by the Romantics only took place after Schiller's death. Between these dates German baroque literature was little known or read.² Lessing does not even mention Gryphius or Lohenstein.³

Rehm and Kommerell suggest that, with regard to the thematic content of his plays, Schiller continued, perhaps unconsciously, the baroque line of development in German literature, which was interrupted by Gottsched's insistence on imitating French classical tragedy.⁴

There are some formal similarities, too, between Schiller's later plays and baroque drama, such as the use of verse, the chorus, 'Sentenzen', and the desire not to have the audience caught up completely in the illusion on stage. Rehm also draws attention to the unusual nature of the endings in baroque tragedy. The plays did not usually end with the apotheosis, but went back to the despairing tyrant or a chorus of vengeance or of lamenting women.⁵ This peculiarly German form of baroque drama had no direct successor, Rehm claims. Schiller uses a similar technique in Maria Stuart and in Wallenstein.⁶

The similarities between Schiller's plays and baroque drama despite

1 See Rehm, op. cit., p.318, Göttlicher, op. cit., p.15.

2 Rehm, op. cit., p.318.

3 Kommerell, op. cit., p.16.

4 Rehm, op. cit., pp.319, 325, Kommerell, op. cit., p.34.

5 Rehm, op. cit., p.325.

6 See 5.11 below.

the chronological gap between the two may be partially explained by baroque influences in Schiller's environment. Italian influence had dominated in southern Germany in the seventeenth century and baroque influence lasted well into the eighteenth century there.⁷ Theatre performances at Ludwigsburg which Schiller saw as a child between 1767 and 1773⁸, as well as the 'Karlsschule' and its environment, which played a major role in the early life of Schiller, were still influenced by the Baroque.⁹ In 1782 Schiller saw a performance of J.C.Brandes' Ariadne auf Naxos by a 'spätbarocke Wandertruppe'. It made a great impression on Schiller, whereas his companions found it hilarious. Göttlicher suggests that Schiller was particularly impressed by 'die unverbrauchte Theateratmosphäre... die Affektregie'.¹⁰ Even at the court of Duke Carl August in Weimar baroque influences were still in evidence as well as those of the Enlightenment and the 'Sturm und Drang'.¹¹

On the whole, as information is scarce and comes mostly from 'second-hand' reports, one should not overrate baroque influence on Schiller.¹² Göttlicher claims that Schiller was more decisively influenced by the literary movements and trends of the eighteenth century.¹³ Rehm, on the other hand, stresses that the eighteenth century itself was still influenced by the Baroque and that Schiller was par-

7 See Göttlicher, op. cit., p.15, Rehm, op. cit., p.315.

8 Göttlicher, op. cit., p.18.

9 See Rehm, op. cit., p.315.

10 Göttlicher, op. cit., p.16.

11 *ibid*, p.15.

12 *ibid*, p.27.

13 *ibid*, p.13.

ticularly interested in the period.¹⁴

Schiller follows Lessing in attacking French classical tragedy. If one assumes that Lessing's attacks - directed especially at Corneille - were aimed at baroque style in general, it seems likely that he and Schiller would have been critical of German baroque tragedy if they had discussed it.¹⁵ Yet Schiller's plays are similar to French classical tragedy in some respects, and his attitude towards it did become more positive at a later stage.¹⁶ Rehm suggests that if Schiller had actually studied German baroque tragedy carefully, he would have recognized similarities to his own plays in the inner structure and principles as he did later with the plays of the Spanish baroque dramatist Calderon (1600-1681).¹⁷ Schiller reacted enthusiastically to the first part of A. W. Schlegel's Calderon translation in 1803. He is reported as having said: 'Wie manche Fehlgriffe hätten Goethe und ich uns ersparen können, wenn wir den Calderon früher gekannt hätten'.¹⁸ Rehm refers in particular to 'die von Schiller hernach so bewunderte Art der dramatischen Auflösung'.¹⁹ In a letter to Körner, Schiller writes: 'Indeßen ist im Calderon doch eine hohe Kunst und die ganze Besonnenheit des Meisters zu sehen: selbst was als regellos ins Auge fällt wird von einer großen Einheit zusammengehalten'.²⁰

¹⁴ Rehm, op. cit., p.317. He refers in particular to Don Carlos, Maria Stuart, Wallenstein and Demetrius.

¹⁵ See Rehm, op. cit., p.328, Kommerell, op. cit., p.16.

¹⁶ See 2.6 below.

¹⁷ Rehm, op. cit., pp.328-329.

¹⁸ Petersen, J., Schillers Gespräche, No.398, p.358.

¹⁹ Rehm, op. cit., p.312.
Rehm notes that Hebbel and Grillparzer saw Calderon as the poet to whom Schiller was most closely related.

²⁰ Schiller to Körner, 16.10.1803, NA 32 (92), p. 80.

Of course Calderon cannot be equated with German baroque drama. Nevertheless, if Schiller's opinion of Calderon may be seen as an indicator, then it seems likely that, at least at this very late stage in his life, Schiller would not automatically have objected to being seen in the same line of development as baroque tragedy. The lack of direct evidence in Schiller's theory and correspondence makes it impossible to demonstrate that he was directly influenced by baroque tragedy. Yet there are many similarities between Schiller's later plays and this tradition. In some respects Schiller appears to take up a line of development which had been cut off before his time.

2.5 French classical tragedy (P. Corneille 1606-1684 and J. Racine 1639-1699)

French classical tragedy is of interest to my main topic for several reasons. Firstly, it took on major significance for the development of German drama when it was chosen as a model for the theatrical reforms of Gottsched (1700-1766). Secondly, its stylized form and courtly setting provoked the turn to 'bourgeois' or 'domestic' drama in France, and in Germany especially under the influence of Lessing, in the mid-eighteenth century. Thirdly, Schiller repeatedly referred to French classical tragedy, from his earliest essays up until his last letter to Goethe, and frequently in connection with his own intentions.¹

2.5.1 Principal characteristics

French classical tragedy developed from tragi-comedy and the pastorale from 1640 on.² It was part of a new social and literary era in France. Its audience was not the audience who watched the travelling players, but was made up of 'heruntergekommenem Adel, dem Klerus und einem immer aristokratischer werdendem Bürgertum'³ The more literary classical form represented a turn away from the naive, sensuous theatricality of Burlesque theatre and other spectacular genres. These continued to exist alongside classical tragedy and vied with the latter for prestige and popularity.⁴

The subject matter for French classical tragedy was taken from his-

¹ See Bloch, op. cit., p.76.

² Barnwell, op. cit., pp.217-219.

³ Eder, Klaus, Pierre Corneille und Jean Racine, pp.21,29.

⁴ Bloch, op. cit., p.55, p.59. See also Reiss, op. cit., p.80. On 'similarities' between French classical tragedy and the more spectacular genres, see Barnwell, op. cit., pp. 95ff.

tory or legend, although neither Corneille nor Racine kept strictly to the sources.⁵ The events of French classical tragedy are not those of the everyday experience of the average spectator.⁶ The characters are people of high status. This derives from interpretations of Aristotle and Horace. Corneille explained Aristotle's 'similarity'⁷ by claiming that a king or the average spectator could commit similar errors and suffer similar misfortune.⁸

French classical tragedy is often noted for its extremely high level of stylisation.⁹ It used the verse form of the Alexandrine. At the same time, Corneille and Racine aimed at a completely closed form. The elements of the plot had to be closely related causally. The high language and the strict, concentrated structure were designed to prevent the subject matter from having any appearance of the particular or the arbitrary. Everything in the drama was to make the impression of being significant and necessary, indeed unavoidable and unstoppable.¹⁰ The move away from the 'trivial' events of everyday reality to striking historical or legendary events and the corresponding raising of the level of language and presentation were related to the dramatists' desire to present an instance of universally valid experience. The ability to relate the historical and particular to the universal and significant and the high degree of stylisation distinguish the tragedies of Corneille and Racine from others of the

⁵ See Barnwell, op. cit., p.34.

⁶ *ibid*, p.78. See also Bloch, op. cit., p.55.

⁷ See 2.1.2 above.

⁸ See Phillips, H., The Theatre and its Critics in Seventeenth-Century France, p.57.

⁹ See Bloch, op. cit., pp.56-57.

¹⁰ *ibid*, pp.261-262.

time.¹¹

2.5.2 The dramatic illusion in French classical tragedy

The form and content of French classical tragedy were determined by a set of rules, which purportedly derived from Aristotle's Poetics.¹²

The central rule was vraisemblance.¹³ Vraisemblance cannot be equated with naturalism. Reality was only allowed to be reproduced with limitations, imposed especially by observing 'la bienséance': that which was considered morally and aesthetically appropriate by the spectator.¹⁴ Verisimilitude referred to inner coherence of the plot rather than to any form of mimetic realism.¹⁵

The insistence on verisimilitude and on observing 'la bienséance' was closely related to the creation of a convincing dramatic illusion. In the 1630s and 1640s there was increasing interest in the techniques of illusionistic theatre, especially in the use of perspective in

¹¹ See Barnwell, op. cit., p.69, Bloch, op. cit., p.55. This tendency towards the general and universal was also a feature of Greek classical tragedy. See 2.1 and 2.2 above.

¹² On the extent to which the French classicists' adherence to the 'rules' represents a true understanding and adaptation of Aristotle, adherence to a concept imposed by theorists or some inner necessity deriving from the plays themselves, see Barnwell, op. cit., pp.xvi-xvii, Bloch, op. cit., p.60, Eder, op. cit., p.29, Phillips, op. cit., p.6.

¹³ See Barnwell, op. cit., p.xix, Phillips, op. cit., p.6.

¹⁴ See Barnwell, op. cit., pp.xvi-xvii, p.72, Phillips, op. cit., p.18. Phillips, op. cit., p.23., claims that Corneille was the only writer to strongly oppose the imposition of moral criteria on the dramatist's choice and treatment of his subject matter.

¹⁵ See Barnwell, op. cit., p.xv, Phillips, op. cit., p.18. Although Corneille defended the use of true subject matter which was not 'vraisemblable', Barnwell, op. cit., pp.76, 90, insists that he too was concerned with verisimilitude in the sense of inner coherence.

stage scenery.¹⁶

The convincing nature of the dramatic illusion at this time is demonstrated by many religious moralists' objections to it. They argued that drama induced the spectator, through a sort of psychological enslavement, to become part of a substitute world.¹⁷ Theatre, they argued, leads to total absorption in the actions and emotions of the stage characters, and this impairs our moral and critical senses.¹⁸

At the same time others insisted that theatre was an excellent medium for moral improvement. Theorists argued that it was possible to have a morally improving effect on the spectator by creating an illusion that was so convincing that the spectator was affected to the same extent as if he had witnessed a real event.¹⁹ It was not a case of preaching a moral message directly at the audience and appealing primarily to the intellect, but of teaching via a pleasurable experience.²⁰ Illusionist theorists argued that the more the spectator could believe in the characters and in the stage action, the more he was likely to accept the moral lesson. The spectators were to enter into the characters' feelings as if the action were really happening. This was to widen people's experience to include emotions which they could never experience in real life.²¹

Moral efficacy was not the only argument in favour of a convincing dramatic illusion in French classical tragedy. Corneille, invoking Aristotle and Horace, insisted that pleasure was the first aim of the dramatist and that the laws of art should be separate from the laws

¹⁶ Phillips, *op. cit.*, p.17.

¹⁷ *ibid*, pp.103-4, 109-110.

¹⁸ *ibid*, p.248.

¹⁹ *ibid*, pp.6-7.

²⁰ *ibid*, pp.87-88.

²¹ *ibid*, pp.18-19, 26.

of morality.²² Racine, for the most part, adopted a similar attitude.²³ Whether morality or pleasure was considered the primary aim, the arousal of emotion was an essential feature of French classical tragedy.²⁴

The arousal of emotions is also connected with Aristotle's 'catharsis'. Some commentators limited the emotions of catharsis to pity and fear. Corneille saw 'admiration' rather than pity or fear as the most appropriate tragic emotion.²⁵ He did not always endow this 'admiration' with a moral function, and allowed for the presentation of evil characters.²⁶ Others interpreted catharsis as a purging of all harmful passions. This related to the dramatic illusion at this time in the same way as the idea of moral teaching described above. If the audience was to be purged of harmful passions and to exercise compassion, then it had to be brought by the dramatic illusion, based on vraisemblance, to the necessary degree of identification with the characters involved.²⁷

The essential importance of vraisemblance and the dramatic illusion

²² See Phillips, op. cit., pp.34-35, Barnwell, op. cit., p.82. Certainly, Phillips adds, this did not mean that the dramatist could be immoral, as he had to respect the sensibility of his audience.

²³ Barnwell, op. cit., pp.82-83.

²⁴ See Barnwell, op. cit., pp.24-25, 82-83, Phillips, op. cit., pp.100-102.

²⁵ See Phillips, op. cit., p.67; Barnwell, op. cit., p.81. Phillips, op. cit., p.84, notes that 'l'admiration' was also added to the Aristotelian emotions by Vossius (1647) and Mambrun (1652).

²⁶ See Barnwell, op. cit., pp.221-222; Phillips, op. cit., pp.66ff.

²⁷ See Phillips, op. cit., pp.70-71, p.38. The theorist Chapelain (1595-1674) even went so far as to suggest that catharsis is dependent on the audience's level of belief in the action. (ibid, pp.6-7) For a detailed discussion of Corneille and catharsis see Kommerell, op. cit., pp.63-70, Barnwell, op. cit., pp.220-221, and Phillips, op. cit., pp.42-43.

to the French classical dramatists led to the rejection of features which did not support them. Some dramatists and theorists rejected maxims or aphorisms, for instance, on the grounds that they would undermine the all-important illusion. Others insisted on limitations such as that the maxims must arise from the dramatic action or that the actor must not break the illusion by speaking to the audience.²⁸ Corneille warned against maxims on the grounds that a character in the height of passion would not be able to formulate them. He suggested maxims be used sparingly and always applicable to the case at hand, and that speeches which are too general or prolonged should be avoided.²⁹

The dramatic illusion, then, was a central issue in French classical tragedy. The rules which governed the genre were made in the interests of the dramatic illusion. Its convincing and deceptive nature was the main reason for moral and religious criticism of the theatre. At the same time the dramatic illusion was the weapon with which the champions of theatre argued in favour of its moral value. French classical tragedy was far from being a 'realistic' genre; yet it aimed, within its highly stylized format and distanced courtly setting, at an intense emotional experience and a convincing dramatic illusion.

²⁸ See Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp.33-36.

²⁹ *ibid.*, pp.34-35.
Phillips' source is Corneille, P., Writings on the Theatre, ed. H.T. Barnwell, Oxford 1965, p.4.

2.6 Schiller's attitude towards French classical tragedy

Schiller was very knowledgeable about French thought and literature and made an important contribution to spreading it in Germany.¹ He was familiar with works by Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau and was particularly interested in the conflict between classical dramaturgy and the new aesthetics and plays of Diderot and Beaumarchais.²

From his first published essay on the drama to his last letter to Goethe, Schiller made references to French classical tragedy. On the whole, his attitude was critical. In 'Ueber das gegenwärtige teutsche Theater', in 1782, Schiller describes the heroes of French classical tragedy as 'frostige Behorcher ihrer Leidenschaft - altkluge Pedanten ihrer Empfindung'.³ In the preface to Don Carlos in the Thalia, he attacks French rhyming verse as unnatural.⁴ In a letter to Goethe in 1799, Schiller attacks plays by Corneille, criticising plot, characterisation, language and especially 'die Kälte in den Leidenschaften, die Lahmheit und Steifigkeit im Gang der Handlung, und der Mangel an Interesse ...'. Even Racine, whom Schiller considers superior to Corneille, is said to demonstrate 'alle Unarten der französischen Manier'.⁵ In 1804, the year before his death, Schiller attacks 'das Leere, Halbe, Hölzerne dieser Manier' in Racine's Mithridate.⁶

Two factors should be remembered when assessing Schiller's attitude towards French classical tragedy: firstly, the traditionally criti-

¹ See Bloch, op. cit., pp.53-54.

² ibid, pp.44, 46, 52. See also 2.7.3 below.

³ NA 20, p.82. See also editors' note, NA 20, p.134.

⁴ See Bloch, op. cit., pp.136-137.

⁵ 31.5.1799, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (599), p.754.

⁶ 17.1.1804, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (944), p.1019,

cal approach to it in Germany since Lessing; secondly, the French influence on the literary taste and standards of the time. The Württemberg court was French-oriented to a high degree. At the 'Karlsschule', Schiller had to read Corneille, Racine, Voltaire and others as examples not only of fine literature but also of courtly behaviour. If one bears in mind the circumstances under which Schiller eventually fled the province, it seems understandable that his attitude towards French literature and culture was negative. Schiller read Lessing immediately after his flight from Stuttgart. His ill feeling towards the French-oriented court which had treated him so unfairly may well have made Lessing's criticism of the French particularly attractive to him.⁷

The Mannheim theatre, too, was very dependent on Paris theatre life⁸, and even in Weimar Schiller was to have cause to be angry at the influence of French views on literature and taste. Duke Carl August judged plays by French norms and often tried to influence Schiller in the direction of French tragedy, which he preferred to Schiller's plays. In 1805, just before his death, Schiller translated Racine's Phèdre, which earned him the warmest thanks he ever received from the Duke.⁹

When Mme. de Staël visited Weimar in December 1804, her attempts to convince Schiller of the beauties of French art succeeded only in affirming many differences between French and German art, as far as Schiller was concerned.¹⁰ Yet, in spite of his generally critical attitude, the later Schiller was not completely blind to the positive

⁷ See Bloch, chapters 1 and 2.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp.44, 46.

⁹ *ibid.*, pp.221-228.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, pp.240-241. See also Schiller to Körner, 4.1.1804, NA 32 (109), p.97.

qualities of French classical tragedy. In a letter to Goethe of 8.5.1802, for example, after expressing doubts about the prospect of putting on Schlegel's Alarcos, Schiller suggests that the performance could be improved by adding as much 'von dem Anstand des französischen Trauerspiels' as possible.¹¹

Schiller's friendship with Humboldt played a major role in increasing his appreciation of French classical tragedy. Humboldt provided Schiller and Goethe with information on French theatre.¹²

It was especially Schiller's desire to avoid the 'realistic' and everyday conversational tone of so many popular plays that made the stylised form of French classical tragedy attractive to him during the last years of his life.¹³ At the same time, one should not forget the influence of Greek classical tragedy on Schiller in this respect, which is documented in Schiller's correspondence.¹⁴ Many of the common factors of Schiller's plays and French classical tragedy are also present in Greek classical tragedy.¹⁵ Schiller shares with both genres a desire to give characters a 'true' rather than a 'real' nature, to raise the individual to the ideal sphere, where the individual becomes the symbol for a whole. None of the three understood by 'true' presentation a copy of what is individual and usual, but the representation of something significant and generally valid.¹⁶

¹¹ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (856), p.955.

¹² Bloch, op. cit., p.235.

¹³ On the popularity of 'realistic' plays see also 2.7.6 below.

¹⁴ See 2.2 above.

¹⁵ Bloch, op. cit., pp.284, 288.
See also 2.1 and 2.2 above.

¹⁶ Bloch, op. cit., p.265.
Bloch (op. cit., pp.96-98) points out that the similarities between French classical tragedy and Schiller's plays tended to be viewed in a negative light in German literary criticism until the typological approach to literature developed in the 1930s.

Schiller's translation of Racine's Phèdre may be seen as one of the best indications of Schiller's attitude to the tradition of French classical tragedy.¹⁷ In 1805, Schiller refers to the play, which he is translating, as 'das Paradenferd der französischen Bühne'.¹⁸ He is working on this particular play, he claims, 'weil diese unter allen französischen Trauerspielen sich nicht nur in Frankreich am Längsten in Credit erhalten hat und noch erhält, sondern auch wirklich das meiste dramatische Interesse enthält'.¹⁹ Schiller insists that he has worked on the play with care and affection to produce a fair translation. Yet, in a letter to Körner, his opinion of the play still contains a hint of disapproval. He describes it as 'ein Stück welches viele Verdienste hat, und wenn man einmal die Manier zugiebt sogar fürtrefflich heissen könnte'.²⁰

Schiller's translation was the last work he completed, apart from the Demetrius fragments. He hoped to improve his style by means of his translation. This could suggest increasing stylisation and a continuing move towards the French form on Schiller's part.²¹ At the same time, in the stage directions to his translation, Schiller demands 'mimische Verdeutlichung' by the actor, which suggests that he was still not quite happy with the French style.²²

¹⁷ Bloch, op. cit., p.301.

¹⁸ Schiller to Körner, 20.1.1805, NA 32 (215), p.187.

¹⁹ Schiller to Iffland, 5.1.1805, NA 32 (209) p.182.
In a letter to Goethe of 20.1.1805, Schiller says he chose Phèdre to suit a particular actress. (Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (1987), p.1042)

²⁰ Schiller to Körner, 20.1.1805, NA 32, (215), p.187. My underlining.
See also Bloch, op. cit., p.301 and Borchmeyer, op. cit., pp.55-56.

²¹ Bloch, op. cit., p.317.

²² *ibid*, p.81.

Schiller consistently criticised French classical tragedy for having too much reflection and not enough visible action. He felt it lacked sensuous appeal and theatricality. Yet Schiller's later plays also contain a lot of reflection and are highly stylised. This apparent discrepancy may be explained by Schiller's intention. He wanted his plays to have sensuous appeal, but also included elements of reflection and stylisation to ensure that the audience would not be completely caught up in the dramatic illusion. This is different from the aims of the French classicists, who desired to build up illusion within their artificial framework, as described above.

Schiller's theory of aesthetic education, his desire to have the play affect the spectator's whole being in the theatre - senses and emotions on the one hand, mind and spirit on the other - probably underlies his continued criticism of the abstractness of French classical tragedy.²³ Yet he comes closer to this genre than he was usually willing to admit. The high degree of stylisation and artificial language of his later plays and the choice of subject matter remote from everyday experience undoubtedly put him into the tradition of non-naturalistic and stylised plays to which French classical tragedy also belongs.

²³ This point is also made by Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp.317-318.

2.7 Developments in the eighteenth century

During the eighteenth century, there were important developments in dramatic theory, philosophy and aesthetics which had an influence on the conception of the dramatic illusion. Some of them promoted what came to be the predominant trend towards realism and illusionism. Others show that there was another stream of thought which potentially provided a basis for a non-realistic, autonomous art form, but did not have great influence at the time. I have selected only a few examples to indicate the development of the illusionistic view and the existence of other ideas, some of which were to re-appear in the thought of Schiller and Goethe towards the end of the century.

2.7.1 Some early eighteenth century views of art

When Gottsched attempted to reform the German theatre in the 1720s and 1730s, he adhered to the theory that art should imitate nature. However, for Gottsched, as for his models, the French classicists, this did not involve the portrayal of everyday life. He limited the subject matter to 'beautiful' nature, rejected everyday language and insisted that only noble characters should be presented.¹

Gottsched's imitation theory was designed to promote dramatic illusion. In Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst (1730) he insisted that the poet 'macht die Schreibart der Sache so ähnlich, daß man die Sache selbst zu sehen glaubt'.² He usually judged the success of the illusion by comparison with everyday life. In his theory, Gottsched rejected rhyme on the grounds that it would disturb the illusion, as people do not rhyme in real life. He objected to opera on similar

¹ See Martino, op. cit., p.134, Wilkinson, E., J.E. Schlegel. A German Pioneer in Aesthetics, p.23.

² Quoted by Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, p.25.

grounds.³

German poetics in general at this time saw the source of aesthetic pleasure in the intellectual operation of comparing the poetic imitation with the object imitated.⁴ Gottsched envisaged the comparison as retrospective: he intended his audience to be deceived into believing that the dramatic action was reality - until the end of the performance, when it would discover its mistake and delight in the deceptive skill of the dramatist.⁵ Yet pleasure was not the most important aim of drama for Gottsched. The poet's task was to decide on a particular moral message and think up a story which would illustrate it.⁶ This contrasts clearly with the type of moral improvement described in 2.5 with reference to French classical tragedy. Gottsched apparently was either unaware of or did not share the French classicists' rejection of direct didacticism. For Gottsched, the overall appeal of drama was to the intellect. Aristotle's catharsis, too, was subordinated to overt moral didacticism.⁷

There were dramatists and theorists even at an early stage in the eighteenth century who took a more 'aesthetic' view of art in general and of the drama in particular. At the beginning of the eighteenth

³ *ibid.* Gottsched did not keep to his principle on rhyme in his own plays.

⁴ Preisendanz, 'Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nachahmungsprinzip in Deutschland und die besondere Rolle der Romane Wielands', pp.74-75.

⁵ Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, p.122. Gottsched's views were influential. They were not the only ones. Bodmer, for instance, in 1741, viewed illusion as a more complex alternation of awareness and identification. See Martino, *op. cit.*, p.167; cf. also 1.4 above, p.28, Note 15.

⁶ See Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst, 3. Aufl., Leipzig 1742, reprinted in Deutsche Dramaturgie vom Barock bis zur Klassik, ed. B. von Wiese, pp.4-5, henceforth abbreviated to Deutsche Dramaturgie, ed. v. Wiese.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.4.

century B. Feind was already expressing the view that drama is not to be judged by realistic standards.⁸ In 1708, he defended singing in plays on the grounds that drama is fiction and not reality. Feind also defended the use of verse as an accepted convention.⁹ At this early point in the eighteenth century, Feind actually realised that the effect of the play on the spectator is more important than adherence to everyday notions of probability.¹⁰

Gottsched's contemporary, J.E. Schlegel, actually stressed the difference between art and reality. He showed an interest in non-naturalistic forms of art, and in the specifically aesthetic nature of the effects of art.¹¹ Schlegel noted that a work of art can be more convincing if it is constructed differently from reality, for instance to demonstrate the motives for the various actions.¹² He also insisted that excessive arousal of strong emotions is damaging to the aesthetic effect.¹³ Schlegel even suggested that it is precisely the act of transforming reality into art that brings about the aesthetic experience, whereas pleasure arising from the medium or from the subject is incidental.¹⁴ He defended the use of verse

⁸ Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, p.12.

⁹ *ibid.* See also Pascal, *op. cit.*, p.123.

¹⁰ Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, p.13.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.3.

Wilkinson sees Schlegel as the first in this stream of development, to which she also assigns Mendelssohn. To the other stream, interested in the content of art, or in its subservience to reality, or in genius and the imagination, she assigns Gottsched, Bodmer and Breitingen, Lessing, Klopstock and the 'Sturm und Drang'. She claims that the two streams were merged to some extent in the work of Goethe and Schiller (*ibid.*, pp.3, 5.)

¹² See Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, pp.52ff., 81; Schlegel, J. E., Abhandlung, daß die Nachahmung der Sache, der man nachahmet, zuweilen unähnlich werden müsse (1745), in Deutsche Dramaturgie, ed. v.Wiese, p.8.

¹³ Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp.69-71.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp.120-121.

specifically because it makes the illusion clearly different from reality.¹⁵

Yet neither Feind nor J.E. Schlegel made any significant impact on the theatre of the time, whereas Gottsched was able to establish contact between academic theory and the practical world of theatre, and so to have wide-reaching influence on the development of drama.

A further potential basis for an autonomous art form which would not be dependent on similarity to real life was provided by A.G. Baumgarten's Aesthetica (1750), the work which gave its name to the new discipline of aesthetics.¹⁶ For Baumgarten, aesthetics was the study of 'sensate' cognition,¹⁷ that is 'confused', non-analytical perception, which lay somewhere between the 'clear' and the 'distinct' modes of perception distinguished by Leibniz and Wolff.¹⁸

Baumgarten's theory shifted the emphasis away from the content of the work of art to how we perceive it. He defined beauty not in the Leibnizian form accepted by Wolff and Gottsched as 'sensate cognition of perfection', but as the 'perfection of sensate cognition as such'.¹⁹ Thus, a work of art no longer had to represent something perfect to be beautiful. It had to appeal to the intuition of the observer, not just to his intellect; it was to help man to rediscover

15 See Schlegel, J.E., Schreiben an den Herrn N.N. über die Comödie in Versen (1740), in Deutsche Dramaturgie, ed. v. Wiese, p.8.

16 See Wilkinson's and Willoughby's Introduction to Schiller's Ästhetische Briefe, p.xx, and Nivelle, A., Kunst- und Dichtungstheorien zwischen Aufklärung und Klassik, Part 3.

17 This translation of Baumgarten's 'cognitio sensitiva' (Aesthetica, Section 1, in A.G. Baumgarten, Texte zur Grundlegung der Ästhetik, ed. H.R. Schweyer) is suggested and justified by Wellbery (op. cit., pp.49ff).

18 Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., pp.xx-xxi. See also Gaede, Poetik und Logik, p.106, Nivelle, op. cit., pp.13-14.

19 Wellbery, op. cit., p.49. See also Nivelle, op.cit., p.18.

the fullness of his human nature.²⁰ Baumgarten's definition of beauty meant a rejection of the intellectual concept of art reception, and was also revolutionary in separating the beautiful from the perfect or the good, and so in providing the basis for the autonomy of art vis - à - vis morality.²¹ He made a further contribution towards the aesthetic autonomy of art by demanding aesthetic rather than logical truth of a work of art.²²

However, Baumgarten published little and in Latin, and his main theories only spread with the German publications of his pupil Meier. These were mainly based on early lectures given by Baumgarten and did not include his late aesthetic definition of beauty.²³ Meier's utilitarian definition of beauty as 'die undeutliche oder sinnliche Erkenntnis der harmonischen Übereinstimmung einer Vielfältigkeit' represents a step back in aesthetics as it does not provide a basis for the autonomy of art vis - à - vis morality and logic. Of the two, it was Meier who had more influence and respect.²⁴ Baumgarten's revolutionary ideas, like those of Feind and Schlegel, failed to make any significant impact at the time, but were more in line with the views generally prevailing towards the end of the century.²⁵

²⁰ Wellbery, op. cit., pp.52-53.

²¹ Nivelle, op. cit., pp.30-31.

²² *ibid*, p.32.

²³ See Gaede, op. cit., p.9, Nivelle, op. cit., pp.41-43. Earlier, Baumgarten, too, had adhered to the Leibnizian definition of beauty.

²⁴ Nivelle, op. cit, pp. 43-44. On Meier's contribution to the emotionalist theory of art see 2.7.2 below.

²⁵ See also Wilkinson, op. cit., pp.111-112, 139.

2.7.2 The emotionalist theory of art

The dramatic illusion became closely linked to the emotionalist theory of art in the second half of the eighteenth century, as it became clear that a convincing illusion provided excellent conditions for arousing strong emotions in the theatre.²⁶ The emotionalist theory contributed to dramatic theory and practice even in Schiller's time.

The theory which had the greatest practical effect in bringing about the shift from an intellectual to an emotional view of the effect of art in the eighteenth century was developed in particular by Du Bos in Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture (1719).²⁷ Du Bos's ideas were not new, but he succeeded in setting up a new general aesthetic theory of emotionalism. He stressed that beauty is subjective and is perceived by feeling; not by reason, nor by a sixth or aesthetic sense, nor by taste.²⁸

Du Bos classifies mental activity into meditative or reflective on the one hand, and sensual on the other. The former involves an exertion of the will and eventually leads to mental fatigue. The latter involves surrendering oneself to external experiences which can arouse the emotions. The pleasure which we experience at distressing sights comes, according to Du Bos, from the fact that any exercise of the emotions is pleasurable in itself.²⁹ Du Bos argues that, although art is imitation of nature, aesthetic enjoyment is not related to any comparison with the object imitated. The spectator, he argues, is

²⁶ See Martino, op. cit., p.179.

²⁷ Du Bos's treatise will be referred to as Réflexions from now on.

²⁸ Martino, op. cit., pp.46, 50-51.

²⁹ Rudowski, op. cit., pp.11-12.

usually conscious neither of the imitator nor of the object imitated. Sense reaction is evoked by the imitation as an independent entity.³⁰ The emotional nature of the effect of art limits its subject matter to that which induces an emotional reaction, that is to the sphere of the pathetic.³¹ Tragedy is superior to comedy, as tragic situations evoke a more intense emotional response than comic ones and so are a greater source of enjoyment.³² The theory of emotionalism culminates in the identification of the beautiful with the pathetic.³³ The excellence of a work of art is directly proportional to the force of the impressions created.³⁴ This meant that the best judge of art was no longer the academic or expert but the general public. The intellect no longer played any role in the aesthetic power of judgement.³⁵ Du Bos insisted that the emotions aroused by art should be the same emotions as those aroused in real life, but of a lesser intensity.³⁶ The impression made by aesthetic emotions stops at the threshold of reason, Du Bos argues, as reason always remains conscious of the illusory nature of the experience.³⁷ Since the work of art has no lasting consequences, poetic works can imitate subjects which would have disturbing results in real life. This, according to Du Bos, explains why man prefers to engage the non-reflective area of his mind in the simulated passions of art.³⁸

30 *ibid*, pp.13-14.

31 Martino, *op. cit.*, p.49.

32 Rudowski, *op. cit.*, pp.13-15.

33 Martino, *op. cit.*, p.45.

34 *ibid*, p.15.

35 *ibid*, pp.49-50.

36 Rudowski, *op. cit.*, p.15, Dieckmann, *op. cit.*, p.43.

37 Dieckmann, *op. cit.* p.44.

38 Rudowski, *op. cit.*, p.12; Dieckmann, *op. cit.*, p.44.

Du Bos does not reject the traditional view of moral improvement as the aim of art. He still claims that tragedy should make us hate vice and love virtue, and has difficulty in reconciling this with his theory of emotionalism.³⁹

Du Bos made a further contribution to the development of aesthetics with his theory of signs, which was to become important especially for Lessing. In Réflexions he establishes a distinction between natural and arbitrary signs.⁴⁰ He argues that painting is the superior art form because the eye is closer to the soul than the ear, and the natural signs of painting more forceful than the arbitrary ones of language. Du Bos sees drama as the best among the literary genres, and has to concede that tragic drama can arouse passions more intense than those stimulated by painting. Nevertheless, he insists that painting is superior, firstly because the impression of tragedy diminishes when it is read rather than performed, and secondly because tragedy represents a series of pictures and so is dependent on a cumulative effect, whereas painting keeps to one moment. The vividness of tragedy is brought about, he argues, by the natural signs perceived, not by the arbitrary signs of dialogue.⁴¹

Breitinger's Kritische Dichtkunst (1740) is one of the first well-known German works to show the influence of Du Bos's emotionalist theory.⁴² At times Breitinger actually stresses that an author's main task is to move the hearts of the audience because the desire to be moved is greater than the desire to be taught. However, Breitinger does not relinquish altogether the theory that aesthetic pleasure is of an intellectual nature and derives from some form of comparison

³⁹ Martino, op. cit., pp.109-110.

⁴⁰ See Rudowski, op. cit., p.2; cf. 2.7.4 below.

⁴¹ Rudowski, op. cit., p.17.

⁴² Martino, op. cit., p.70.

between illusion and nature.⁴³

A further step towards an emotionalist theory of art in Germany may be discerned in the work of Meier. He insists that 'Rührung' is the aim of art. The highest degree of this is the pathetic, which for him represents the peak of artistic effect.⁴⁴

J.G. Sulzer's Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste, published 1771-74, may be seen as representing the final and decisive step away from intellectualism in aesthetics.⁴⁵ Sulzer accepts the views of Du Bos to a large extent in his treatise, interpreting them from a Leibnizian point of view, with regard to their suitability for the teaching of wisdom and morality.⁴⁶ Morality and emotionalism were now closely related to each other. Moral education by means of the emotions was considered more effective than moral education by means of the intellect.⁴⁷ 'Empfindung' was considered common to all men - one reason for its attraction, especially in the age of Enlightenment.⁴⁸ Sulzer concentrates on the effect which object and presentation have on us rather than on the nature of the object itself. He moves away from direct didacticism:

Der allgemeine Zweck aller schönen Künste ist... vermitteltst lebhafter Vorstellung gewisser mit ästhetischer Kraft versehener

43 Preisendanz, op. cit., pp.74, 79, Martino, op. cit., p.73.

44 Nivelle, op. cit., p.42.

45 See Martino, op. cit., pp.86-91.
The position of Lessing will be discussed in 2.7.4 below.
Schiller refers directly to Sulzer in 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?' (1784), NA 20, p.90.

46 See Martino, op. cit., p.90.

47 Martino, op. cit., p.117.
This was to become a key element in Lessing's theory, see 2.7.4. below, cf. also 2.5. above.

48 Martino, op. cit., pp.116-117.

Gegenstände, auf eine vortheilhafte Weise auf die Gemüther der Menschen zu wirken.⁴⁹

With this idea Sulzer forms a link in the chain which will lead to Kant and to Schiller's concept of aesthetic education.⁵⁰

2.7.3 'Realism' and identification

As the emotionalist theory of art grew in importance and it was increasingly considered desirable to promote identification in the theatre, closeness to real life characters and situations became a central feature of drama.

The theory of Diderot has been described as the turning point in Aristotle reception which set off the development towards direct imitation of real life. E. Menz argues that Brecht's 'Nichtaristotelisches Theater' should actually bear the title 'Nichtdiderotsches Theater', as the real opponent at which Brecht's theory should have been directed - naturalistic, illusionistic theatre - had its real beginnings here.⁵¹

In his novel Les Bijoux indiscrets, an early work written in 1748, Diderot expressed discontent with the tradition of French classical tragedy. He criticises the genre on the grounds that its artificial dialogue, unlikely, compressed plot and stylised gestures cannot build up a successful illusion.⁵² Illusion is described in this passage as 'l'imitation si exacte d'une action que le spectateur,

⁴⁹ Quoted by Martino, op. cit., p.91.

⁵⁰ This view is also expressed by Lange, op. cit., p.32, and Nivelles, op. cit., p.55.

⁵¹ Menz, op. cit., pp.186-187.
How well Brecht knew Diderot has not been established, says Menz. See also Kommerell, op. cit., p.20; Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., Introduction, p.clxix.

⁵² See Diderot, Les Bijoux indiscrets, in Oeuvres complètes, vol.3, ed. A. Vartanian, p.163.

trompé sans interruption, s' imagine assister à l' action même...'.⁵³ Although Diderot notes that the audience's willing acceptance of the illusion is an essential factor,⁵⁴ his main concern is that the event should be represented as naturally as possible, so that within this conscious suspension of disbelief emotional effect may be attained. This effect is dependent on the spectator being caught up in the illusion. There is an obvious difference between this view and the idea that pleasure derives from some comparison between the imitation and the original.⁵⁵ In his later theory, Entretiens sur le Fils Naturel (1757) and Discours sur la poésie dramatique (1758) Diderot went on to insist that tragedy should deal not with the nobility but with other social classes whose fate he considered to be determined by their social position.⁵⁶ He proposed the introduction of a new dramatic form between tragedy and comedy, which he called 'genre sérieux'. It was to present real life on stage.⁵⁷ Another major contribution to the development of realistic drama in the eighteenth century was made by the philosophy of 'social emotions'.⁵⁸ Shaftesbury polemicized against Hobbes's egoistical philosophy with a theory of 'social emotions', social instinct and sense of community, which involved the identification of the aesthetic with the ethical and social. Art was to arouse and intensify the 'social passions', which included sympathy, and

53 *ibid.*

54 *ibid.*, p.166.

55 See Dieckmann, *op. cit.*, p.163.

56 See Diderot, Les Bijoux Indiscrets, ed. *cit.*, editor's note, p.285, and Martino, *op. cit.*, p.399. Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, pp.43-44, notes that with the theory of Diderot in France poetics came close to social criticism, with the upper classes becoming the subjects of comedy.

57 Lamport, Lessing and the Drama, p.27.

58 The term is from Shaftesbury, quoted by Martino, *op. cit.*, p.195.

aesthetic pleasure was related to this idea.⁵⁹ Sympathy became a central category in the moral philosophy of Hume. His realisation that it is easier for us to sympathise with a person in whom we perceive a strong relation to ourselves gave philosophical backing to those who advocated the emotionalist theory of art.⁶⁰ They had observed that optimal conditions for the sympathy and identification of a reader or spectator with a figure presented were achieved when there was some similarity of social conditions and character.⁶¹

It may be helpful here to call to mind the changes which were taking place in the structure of society, and of the theatre audience in particular, in Germany during the eighteenth century. Although political power in Germany remained mostly in the hands of the aristocracy until the end of the century, the middle class, as in France and England, was becoming more important in society in general and was also becoming the main public for art and literature.⁶² This played a role in bringing about a change in the prevailing attitude towards the subjects of tragedy. People increasingly wanted to see characters on stage who were more like themselves, instead of the remote characters of classical tragedy.⁶³ The traditional division of genres, which allowed only the nobility to appear in tragedy and relegated the middle and lower classes to comedy, was rejected.

⁵⁹ Martino, op. cit., pp.193-195.

⁶⁰ See Hume, David, A Treatise of Human Nature, (1739-40), ed. L.A. Selby-Bigge, p.318.

⁶¹ Martino, op. cit., p.198.

⁶² See Lange, op. cit., p.21, Lampport, op. cit., pp.49-50, Martino, op. cit., pp.1-2.

⁶³ Lampport, op. cit., p.56.
On pp.56-57 he notes that English Elizabethan theatre already had 'domestic tragedies' of ordinary life and that this interest revived in the eighteenth century.

When the first documentation of the 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel' in Germany appeared in 1755, the anonymous author justified the new form on the grounds that the similarity of the social positions of hero and spectator would make it better suited to achieve the desired emotional and moral effects.⁶⁴

The 'bourgeois realism' of the eighteenth century originated in demands for contemporary material, for situations and behaviour which would be familiar to the audience and so further the emotional and moral effect. Sulzer claims, 'Je mehr der Künstler die besonderen Verhältnisse seiner Zeit und seines Orts vor Augen hat, je gewisser wird er die Sayten treffen, die er berühren will...'.⁶⁵ The addition of social class to the historical and geographical similarities stipulated by Sulzer here was considered to provide optimal conditions for total identification and maximum dramatic illusion.⁶⁶

2.7.4 G.E. Lessing

The ideas of similarity, social emotions, the morality and emotionalism link and the social value of drama became most influential in Germany in the eighteenth century in the theory and

⁶⁴ See Martino, op. cit., pp.418ff.
The term 'bürgerlich' was defined here to include the lower nobility but exclude the 'Pöbel'.
Martino, op. cit., p.419, claims that the author of the piece was Pfeil. Pfeil insisted that the subject matter should be taken from the private sphere. Martino notes that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century the term 'bürgerlich' no longer really referred to 'das Bürgertum' at all, but had the sense of 'private' and was even used of the private life of the aristocracy (pp.433-434).

⁶⁵ Sulzer, Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste, quoted by Martino, op. cit., p.362.

⁶⁶ Martino, op. cit., p.363.
He makes the interesting point that Corneille and La Mesnardière had come to this conclusion in 1640 and 1650, but that this had no consequences as the rules dictated high characters for tragedy.

plays of Lessing.

Lessing believed drama should imitate nature, but not in the sense of straightforward reproduction of everyday life.¹ He realized that the key to a successful illusion of reality lay within the play itself, in its 'innere Wahrscheinlichkeit',² produced by consistency in characterization, thoroughness of motivation and strict causality in the progress of the action.³

Although Lessing rejected Gottsched's claim that a drama should provide a direct illustration of a particular moral message,⁴ he still suggested that the aim of drama was moral improvement of a more general sort.⁵ Influenced by the theory of Du Bos, Lessing insisted that art should affect us by means of the emotions rather than the intellect. The dramatist 'will uns täuschen und durch die Täuschung rühren'.⁶ Where Du Bos had had difficulty in establishing a relationship between morality and the emotions⁷, Lessing declared that the exercising of the emotions in the aesthetic experience was itself to bring about some lasting moral improvement in the spectator.

Lessing rejected 'Bewunderung', an emotion which had grown in significance as a reputed effect of tragedy especially since Corneille.⁸

¹ See e.g. Lessing, G.E., Hamburgische Dramaturgie (1767-69), in Werke, ed. Göpfert, Vol.4, No.70, p.557, No. 34, p.387. All references to the Hamburgische Dramaturgie are taken from this edition, vol. 4.

² *ibid*, No.19, p.317.

³ *ibid*, e.g. No.2, p.239, No.30, p.368, No.32, p.377.

⁴ *ibid*, No.12, p.285, No.33, p.383.

⁵ *ibid*, No.34, p.389

⁶ *ibid*, No.11, p.282.

⁷ See 2.7.2 above.
Lessing translated Du Bos's Réflexions between 1745 and 1761. See Martino, *op. cit.*, pp.75-76, *cf.* also p.87 above.

⁸ See Martino, *op. cit.*, pp.242, 269, and 2.5. above.

Lessing claimed that 'Bewunderung' would only encourage the spectator to imitate a particular action in particular circumstances, whereas drama ought to create and develop a general moral sensibility.⁹ 'Bewunderung' also involves super-human behaviour and so creates distance. This does not encourage the emotions which Lessing wished to arouse: 'Mitleid' and 'Furcht'.¹⁰

Lessing discusses these in detail in the Hamburgische Dramaturgie Nos.74 to 79.¹¹ In his interpretation of Aristotle here, Lessing shifts the emphasis from pity and fear to pity as the emotion to be aroused by tragedy. He interprets the fear mentioned by Aristotle as 'das auf uns selbst bezogene Mitleid'. The spectator recognises similarities to himself in the protagonist and fears that he could suffer a similar fate himself.¹²

Critics disagree as to whether Lessing's 'Mitleid' means compassion and is moralistic, or means identification and is an aesthetic concept.¹³ Lessing's statements, especially in the Hamburgische Dramaturgie, seem to me to support the view that for him 'Mitleid' involves a mixture of compassion, identification and ultimately moral improvement.¹⁴ Although Lessing defends moral interpretations of Aristotle's catharsis in the Hamburgische Dramaturgie Nos.77 and 78, the overall effect of moral improvement can only be achieved via the

⁹ See Lessing to Mendelssohn, 18.12.1756, Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel, ed. Schulte-Sasse, pp.79-80.

¹⁰ Kommerell, op. cit., p.89.

¹¹ Hamburgische Dramaturgie, ed. cit., pp.574-601.

¹² Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No.75, p.579.
See also Kommerell, op. cit., p.182, and p.45 above.

¹³ See Lange, op. cit., p.25, Nivelle, op. cit., pp.103ff., Kommerell, op. cit., pp.207-208, J. Schulte-Sasse, Notes to Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel, ed. cit., pp.207-215, Martino, op. cit., pp.226-227.

¹⁴ Similar views are expressed by Lampport, op. cit., p.94, and Martino, op. cit., pp.232-233.

emotions and requires the spectator to identify with the hero.¹⁵ The arousing of 'Mitleid' in the theatre was ultimately to bring about some sort of moral improvement in the everyday life of the spectator. In a letter to Nicolai, Nov. 1756, Lessing writes:

Der mitleidigste Mensch ist der beste Mensch, zu allen gesellschaftlichen Tugenden, zu allen Arten der Großmut der auferlegteste. Wer uns also mitleidig macht, macht uns besser und tugendhafter, und das Trauerspiel, das jenes tut, tut auch dieses, oder - es tut jenes, um dieses tun zu können.¹⁶

Lessing rejected stylised language, arguing, firstly, that it cannot convincingly portray emotion, and, secondly, that while stylised language suited the public nature of ancient Greek tragedy, it was not suitable for the private drama of the eighteenth century, in which the only probable language is that of everyday speech.¹⁷

In Miß Sara Sampson (1755), Lessing used prose. With regard to subject matter, too, he moved away from the level of the nobility to a middle-class setting. Although he retained vestiges of éloignement by having a foreign setting and including formal rhetoric, the language and class setting were revolutionary and represented a major step in the direction of realism.¹⁸

Lessing aimed, then, at a more everyday type of language and subject matter in the interests of closer identification between spectator and stage character. Once more, Aristotle's 'similarity' became a central aspect of dramatic theory. In the Hamburgische Dramaturgie No. 75, Lessing makes it a condition of tragic 'Mitleid'.¹⁹ We must

¹⁵ See Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No.11, ed. cit., pp.281-284; No.1, p.235; No.34, p.389.

¹⁶ Lessing to Nicolai, Nov.1756, Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel, ed. cit., p.55.

¹⁷ See e.g. Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No.59, ed. cit., pp.503-504.

¹⁸ See Lamport, op. cit., p.87.

¹⁹ Hamburgische Dramaturgie, ed. cit., pp.580-581.

feel that the suffering of the protagonist could also happen to us. This is likely if he is no better or no worse than we are, thinks and behaves as we would probably have done under the same circumstances, in short if the protagonist is presented as being 'mit uns von gleichem Schrot und Korne'.²⁰

Modern research suggests that Aristotle's similarity was a moral one.²¹ Lessing's interpretation of similarity also had a social dimension:

Die Namen von Fürsten und Helden können einem Stücke Pomp und Majestät geben; aber zur Rührung tragen sie nichts bei. Das Unglück derjenigen, deren Umstände den Unsrigen am nächsten kommen, muß natürlicherweise am tiefsten in unsere Seele dringen...²²

Although Lessing did not actually insist that the hero should have the same social rank as the average spectator and only uses the term 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel' once in the Hamburgische Dramaturgie (No. 14), on the whole his theory in the treatise points in the direction of bourgeois realism and Diderot.²³ His main concern was to reduce the distance between the spectator and the stage character by any means possible, in order to arouse the 'Mitleid' essential to tragedy.²⁴

Lessing played a major role in introducing Diderot as a dramaturgical authority to the German public. He published a translation of Diderot's plays anonymously in 1760 and prefaced it with the passage

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ See pp.46-47 and 2.7.3 above.

²² Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No.14, ed. cit., p.294. See Schrimpf, Der Schriftsteller als öffentliche Person, p.37.

²³ For a detailed discussion of these aspects, see Schrimpf, *ibid.*, pp.37-38, Martino, *op. cit.*, pp.427-428 and Lampport, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119, 137-138, 146.

²⁴ Lampport, *op. cit.*, pp.137-138.

from Les Bijoux indiscrets discussed above.²⁵ In the preface to a revised second edition in 1781, Lessing acknowledged himself as the translator and also Diderot's influence on himself.²⁶ There has been much discussion about whether Lessing learned from Diderot or vice versa.²⁷ At any rate the two show a common interest in finding dramatic forms suitable for the public of their age and in exerting influence on man's behaviour in society by means of the theatre.

As discussed above, eighteenth-century moves towards 'similarity' in the interests of identification and emotional effect were intertwined with the desire to establish the highest possible degree of illusion.²⁸ The closer the character and his circumstances were to the everyday life of the average spectator, the easier it was for him to be caught up in the 'illusion', enjoy an intense emotional experience and ultimately benefit from it.

In a letter to Mendelssohn of 18.12.1756, Lessing apparently rejects theatrical illusion, claiming '... daß die ganze Lehre von der Illusion eigentlich den dramatischen Dichter nichts angeht...'.²⁹ At this time Lessing and Mendelssohn apparently understood by illusion the type of illusion which is so close to real life that it can virtually be confused with reality.³⁰ Lessing seems to have accepted Du Bos's opinion that a painting or a theatrical performance could never deceive the recipient to the point where he believes he is experiencing reality. Mendelssohn apparently believed that art could

²⁵ See 2.7.3 above.

²⁶ Lamport, op. cit., p.119.

²⁷ *ibid.* See also Nivelles, op. cit., p.118.

²⁸ See 2.7.3 above.

²⁹ Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel, ed. cit., p.85.

³⁰ See Lessing to Mendelssohn, 2.2.1757, Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel, ed. cit., p.101, Rudowski, op. cit., p.54.

deceive completely but was himself interested in a more subtle form of illusion. It is presented in Von der Herrschaft über die Neigungen (1757), which was stimulated by the exchange of ideas with Lessing and Nicolai:

Wenn eine Nachahmung so viel ähnliches mit dem Urbilde hat, daß sich unsre Sinne wenigstens einen Augenblick bereden können, das Urbild selbst zu sehen, so nenne ich diesen Betrug eine ästhetische Illusion.
Der Dichter muß vollkommen sinnlich reden; daher müssen uns alle seine Reden ästhetisch illudiren.³¹

Mendelssohn explains 'aesthetic illusion' as follows: First, the lower or sensual faculties recognise intuitively that the imitated object is similar to the object in reality. Slightly later, the upper or rational faculties of the soul realize that it is not the original, but an imitation. The combination of these two reactions results in aesthetic pleasure.³²

Mendelssohn saw proof of this interplay of the higher and lower faculties in aesthetic response to works depicting things which would evoke unpleasant emotions in real life.³³ He takes up the traditional example of the pleasure associated with contemplating a painted snake. Mendelssohn rejects the idea that the pleasure on discovering it is a painting derives from our being safe from what we thought dangerous. He believes rather that the short-lived fear shows us that the imitation has been successful.

In his letter of 2.2.1757 to Mendelssohn, Lessing offers a detailed criticism of the former's theory of aesthetic illusion. Lessing's alternative explanation of the pleasure on discovering that the snake

³¹ Mendelssohn, M., Gesammelte Schriften, eds. I. Elbogen, J. Guttmann, E. Mittwoch, vol.2, p.154.

³² *ibid.* See also Martino, *op. cit.*, pp.168ff., Rudowski, *op. cit.*, pp.55ff.

³³ Rudowski, *op. cit.*, pp.56-57.

is not real involves 'die Lust, die mit der Leidenschaft, als einer bloßen stärkern Bestimmung unsrer Kraft, verbunden ist.'³⁴ Lessing's reading of Mendelssohn's section on illusion thus brings him to formulate anew Du Bos's view of the pleasure associated with emotional activity and to try to eliminate illusion as superfluous in the aesthetic experience. He rejects the idea of alternation between the activities of the 'upper' and 'lower' faculties in the aesthetic experience and insists that aesthetic illusion is always self-conscious.³⁵

Mendelssohn reformulated his concept of aesthetic illusion, taking Lessing's criticism into account, in Rhapsodie, oder Zusätze zu den Briefen über die Empfindung (1761). He now suggested that in the aesthetic illusion the viewer implicitly recognizes that the aesthetic experience is an illusion, although there are short-lived moments when one can get carried away and believe in the illusion as reality. The artist, he argues, must strive to perfect the imitation and the associated illusion.³⁶

The spectator willingly enters into the deception and agrees to forget - until he chooses to recall them - the features which could remind him that he is watching an illusion.³⁷ This mechanism of abandoning awareness of illusion for as long as it is pleasant and recalling it when displeasure arises requires a certain skill. This, in Mendelssohn's view, is why some people do not enjoy tragedy.³⁸

The development of Mendelssohn's views on illusion in Rhapsodie to a position where he almost accepts that deception of the senses is not

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ Rudowski, *op. cit.*, p.59, Martino, *op. cit.*, pp.172-173.

³⁶ Martino, *op. cit.*, pp.170-172. See also Rudowski, *op. cit.*, pp.59-61.

³⁷ Rudowski, *op. cit.*, pp.59-60.

³⁸ Martino, *op. cit.* pp.170-171

necessary may explain the striking change in Lessing's views from his early rejection of illusion, as outlined above, to his repeated insistence on illusion, for example in the Hamburgische Dramaturgie.³⁹

Illusion became a central dramaturgical concept in Lessing's Hamburgische Dramaturgie as a pre-condition of 'Rührung' and 'Mitleid'.⁴⁰ Lessing's view of illusion is illuminated in Laokoon. Here he claims that whereas the prose writer has only to make his ideas understandable, clear and distinct, the poet:

will die Ideen, die er in uns erweckt, so lebhaft machen, daß wir in der Geschwindigkeit die wahren sinnlichen Eindrücke ihrer Gegenstände zu empfinden glauben, und in diesem Augenblick der Täuschung, uns der Mittel, die er dazu anwendet, seiner Worte, bewußt zu sein aufhören.⁴¹

This view of the aesthetic experience represents a major difference from the group of theories which maintain that one of the main sources of pleasure should be in appreciation of the dramatist's or the actors' skill and methods. Aesthetic pleasure now derives from the imitation itself and from the exercising of the observer's imagination and his emotions. The effect is dependent on the illusion itself without any comparison or reference to reality.⁴² The poetic text leads the reader or spectator to become absorbed in the world represented. The language is transparent and presents its object to the intuition.⁴³

The distinction between natural and arbitrary signs set up by Du Bos

³⁹ See Rudowski, op. cit., p.62.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No.1, ed. cit., (p.235); No.11, (pp.282, 284); No.19 (p.318); No.42 (p.427).

⁴¹ Lessing, Werke, ed. cit, vol.6, p.110.

⁴² Wellbery, op. cit., p.45.

⁴³ *ibid*, p.72.

in his Réflexions⁴⁴ became a key aesthetic premiss for Lessing.⁴⁵ He insists:

Die Poesie muß schlechterdings ihre willkürlichen Zeichen zu natürlichen zu erheben suchen; und nur dadurch unterscheidet sie sich von der Prose, und wird Poesie.⁴⁶

The closer poetry comes to natural signs, the more perfect it becomes, Lessing argues.⁴⁷

In Chapter 14 of Laokoon he insists that every stroke with which the poet gives his object intuitive appeal and makes us more conscious of his object than of his words brings us closer to the degree of illusion which can be attained by a painting.⁴⁸ In his letter of 26.5.1769 to Nicolai, Lessing describes drama as the highest genre, because the words, which imitate human speech, become natural rather than arbitrary signs.⁴⁹ Dialogue must be contemporaneous with the dramatic action if words are to become natural signs. Narrative passages may only be included in drama if they are made into an integral part of the dramatic action.⁵⁰

Although Lessing does not actually resume this discussion in written form, Rudowski claims that the idea remains central to Lessing's thought.⁵¹ It certainly accords with Lessing's later views on the

44 See 2.7.2 above.

45 See Rudowski, op. cit., pp.2-3.

46 Lessing to Nicolai, 26.5.1769, quoted by Rudowski, op. cit., p.7.

47 *ibid.* Rudowski, op. cit., pp.4-5, argues that in Laokoon Lessing appears to restrict the painter to natural and the poet to arbitrary signs, but that this is not the view expressed in his correspondence.

48 Lessing, Werke, ed. cit., vol.6, p.100.

49 See Rudowski, op. cit., p.7.

50 *ibid.*, p.76, Wellbery, op. cit., p.236.

51 Rudowski, op. cit., p.86.

necessity of illusion in drama.

For Lessing, then, the dramatic dialogue and action ideally take on the status of natural signs; they appeal to the reader or spectator directly, by means of the intuition, without any reference to the intellect. Although Lessing rejects illusion in the sense of crude deception of the senses and the possibility of confusing the illusion with real life, his view of the theatre experience is not dependent on any conscious or unconscious comparison with the real world or conscious recognition of similarity. The illusion is to capture the intuitive response of the spectator and affect his emotions during the theatre experience in such a way as - in the longer term - to influence his psychological disposition and his social behaviour.

2.7.5 Creation, expression, and the dramatic illusion

Lessing's insistence on illusion was related to 'Wirkungsästhetik'. This was an influential concept and made a major contribution towards the development of illusionism. Yet it cannot be said to have consistently dominated eighteenth-century dramatic theory. Especially with the 'Sturm und Drang' movement, an alternative emphasis emerged: art as the subjective expression of the views or emotions of its creator.¹

Theoretically, the shift in attention away from the effect of a work of art provided a basis for non-illusionistic forms of drama. The important thing was what the creator wanted to express, not whether his play created an illusion convincing enough to have a powerful emotional effect. In practice, however, the 'Sturm und Drang' dramatists' insistence on freedom from the constraint of 'rules' on

¹ See Martino, op. cit., p.142, Nivelle, op. cit., pp.151ff., Lange, op. cit., p.56, Wellbery, op. cit., pp.44ff. Wellbery describes the development of the 'expression' theory in contrast to the 'performance' and 'representational' theories.

style or subject matter, and their desire to criticise aspects of contemporary society,² frequently resulted in a form of exaggerated naturalism in the theatre, which will be described in more detail below.³

The relation between art and reality was not of primary importance to the 'Sturm und Drang'. The dramatist's choice of material followed his 'inspiration' and 'creative genius', and depended on what he wanted to express.⁴ These dramatists rejected the idea that people should develop 'Empfindsamkeit' and practise pity in the theatre.⁵ Gerstenberg, for instance, rejected the arousal of emotion as the ultimate aim of art altogether and described drama as 'lebendige Bilder der sittlichen Natur'.⁶ The discussion of the moral and emotional function of tragedy lost importance.⁷

Even Lessing's form, which had been designed to replace the formal French classical framework, was too strict, with its causal relationships and closed structure, for the 'Sturm und Drang'.⁸ It favoured an open structure which, it was argued, better reflected the

² See Lange, op. cit., p.65. Theoretical justification of the rejection of set rules is provided by Herder's relativism arguments. See e.g. Shakespear (1773), in Deutsche Dramaturgie, ed. v. Wiese, pp.47ff. See also Nivelle, op.cit., Chapter 3.

³ See Kindermann, Theatergeschichte der Goethezeit, pp.229ff., 469ff.

⁴ See Wilkinson, J.E. Schlegel, p.108, Martino, op. cit., p.121.

⁵ Martino, op. cit., p.236.

⁶ See Gerstenberg, H.W. von, Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur (1766), reprinted in Deutsche Dramaturgie, ed. v. Wiese, p.45. Martino, op. cit., p.238, also notes that correspondence between Lessing and Gerstenberg shows the incompatibility of the latter's views with Lessing's idea of the emotional reaction of the audience based on sympathy (ibid, p.238). See also Lange, op. cit., p.70.

⁷ Martino, op. cit., p.32.

⁸ See e.g. Goethe, J.W. von, Goethes Sämtliche Werke, ed. cit., vol.6., p.4. See also Lampport, Lessing and the Drama, p.228.

diversity of real life. Continuity and unity were to be found either in the subject matter itself - which tended to be arranged in chronological or episodic order rather than in the form of a plot based strictly on causality - or in what Lenz described as the 'Standpunkt' of the author.⁹ For Lenz, the author's 'viewpoint' was necessary to prevent mere naturalism, a straightforward reflection of images of life.¹⁰

The concept of the dramatic illusion was often referred to in 'Sturm und Drang' poetics. It appears quite often in Herder's Shakespear (1773) and Lenz's Veränderung des Theaters in Shakespear (1776).¹¹ In his Mannheimer Dramaturgie (1780) Gemmingen criticises a performance of Macbeth in the translation by H.L. Wagner:

In der Aufführung hätte ich mehr Fleiß und Aufwand in Nebensachen gewünscht, die, wenn sie schon Nebensachen scheinen, hauptsächlich die theatralische Täuschung befördern; und was ist Schauspiel anders als beständige Täuschung.¹²

Martino suggests that in the 'Sturm und Drang' such references to illusion are merely 'ein Relikt der Aufklärungspoetik, das in einigen Fällen die Entwicklung der neuen "Schöpfungsästhetik" sogar beeinträchtigt'.¹³ Yet at times the illusion was regarded as proof of the power of the creative genius - a contention put forward enthusiastically, for instance, by Gerstenberg in the 20. Literaturbrief:

⁹ Wilkinson, J.E.Schlegel, p.108. Wilkinson points out that this is similar to Lessing's idea of 'mit Absicht dichten', cf. Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No.34, ed. cit., p.389.

¹⁰ Wilkinson, J.E.Schlegel, p.108

¹¹ Martino, op. cit., p.180.

¹² Gemmingen, O.H. von, Mannheimer Dramaturgie, quoted by Martino, op. cit., p.180.

¹³ Martino, op. cit., p.180.

...Diese Kraft, die ich in Beziehung auf uns Trug oder Illusion nenne, ... kann weder durch Kunst, noch durch Fleiß erreicht werden; sie ist einigen, und zwar den wenigsten, Geistern eigentlich; kurz sie ist das Genie.¹⁴

Gerstenberg's full text makes it clear that he is not actually referring to the dramatic illusion in the narrower sense. The wildly enthusiastic reaction can be aroused in narrative, too, he argues, by the true genius.¹⁵

The theory of the work of art as creation or expression certainly shifts the emphasis away from arousing a particular emotional response and provides a basis for a type of theatre which need not be bound by illusion. The illusion of actuality, the inner probability which can make the audience lose awareness of the artificiality of the action, was not always guaranteed or even desired in the 'Sturm und Drang'. The dramatists often used their plays to draw attention to features of society which they wished to change in the hope of inspiring reform.¹⁶ This aim was furthered by bringing the audience to recognize the negative features of society criticised. This in turn did not require a convincing illusion which was complete in itself and encouraged total identification, but rather a degree of critical distance.

Yet although the 'Sturm und Drang' directed emphasis away from the effect of a play, its interest in criticising contemporary society and in breaking established rules on genres, the unities, and the style and subject matter of drama also furthered the trend in theatre towards naturalism, closeness to real life. Lenz's Der Hofmeister had its stage premiere in 1778 under the direction of F.L. Schröder

¹⁴ Gerstenberg, H.W., Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur, ed. von Weillen, No.20.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ See Lange, p. 65, Martino, p.413.

(1744-1816), who is described by H. Kindermann as the pioneer of 'Sturm und Drang' acting. Schröder wished to promote naturalistic acting, real closeness to nature, without any stylisation. He also took up the 'Sturm und Drang' emphasis on individuality, rejecting a typological approach to character portrayal.¹⁷ The trend towards more natural, individualistic character portrayal had first been encouraged by Schröder's rival Ekhof (1720-1778). Although Schröder saw Ekhof's style as outdated and too stylised, today both actors may be seen as different stages in a general development away from stylisation and formality towards natural presentation and a convincing illusion. There are differences in the degree of closeness to real life and in whether illusion is to be created by selective imitation or by closeness to details of everyday language and behaviour, but the general direction was the same.¹⁸

2.7.6 The theatre in Schiller's time

In his study of theatre criticism between 1768 and 1800, Kersting describes the general trend of the period as one of increasing fidelity to real life and increasing illusionism.¹⁹ He gives quotations from periodicals which show that theatre was expected to present everyday life. 'In gleicher Richtung zielt das Bestreben der Kritiker. Fast durchweg gab es nur einen Maßstab, den sie ihrem

¹⁷ Kindermann, Heinz, Theatergeschichte der Goethezeit, pp.229ff., 443ff., 461ff., 633.

¹⁸ ibid, pp.498ff, Satori-Neumann, B.T., Die Frühzeit des Weimarerischen Hoftheaters unter Goethes Leitung, pp.243ff.

¹⁹ Kersting, K., Wirkende Kräfte in der Theaterkritik des ausgehenden Jahrhunderts, 1937. This is not a recent piece of work, but it is interesting because of its specialized nature and detailed study of reviews of the period. A similar view of late eighteenth-century German theatre is expressed by Satori-Neumann, op. cit., p. 220.

Urteil zu grunde legten: das wirkliche Leben'.²⁰ At the same time, 'völlige Täuschung war das Ideal der Zeit'.²¹

Many dramatists were eager to give the audience what it wanted to see:

Vorläufig wurde die Forderung des emporstrebenden Bürgertums, das Theater als Abbild des Lebens zu betrachten, bis in die letzten Konsequenzen verfolgt. Die Dramatiker der Zeit hatten sich dieses Bestreben fast durchweg zu eigen gemacht. Ihre Stücke ermöglichten es dem Zuschauer zumeist das Schicksal der dargestellten Personen bis ins letzte mitzerleben, sich ihnen förmlich gleichzusetzen. Das Ideal der völligen Täuschung war nahezu erreicht.²²

The association between closeness to real life and total illusion had apparently become so close that Kersting does not consider it necessary to draw any distinction between the two.

Satori-Neumann stresses the naturalistic style of acting at this time. He suggests that it was brought about firstly by the repertoire, as the popular plays of the time did not require sensitive declamation, but rather gave the actors the opportunity to represent ordinary situations in appropriate, prosaic, everyday language. He claims this encouraged crass naturalism, as the actors often got carried away in emotion, stopping at nothing to impress the audience by their realism. Satori-Neumann also suggests that the average actor probably was not able to do much more than to present his own individuality on stage.²³

The plays which enjoyed the greatest popularity were those of Gotter (1746-1797), Gemmingen (1755-1831), Iffland (1759-1814) and Kotzebue

²⁰ Kersting, op. cit., pp.41-42.

²¹ ibid, p.43.

²² ibid, p.41.

²³ Satori-Neumann, op. cit., pp.220ff.

(1761-1819).²⁴ Bloch attributes the popularity of these plays to 'die Gedankenarmut, die durchgehende Sentimentalisierung und die sinnliche Theatralik'.²⁵ He, too, notes the close relation between similarity to life, even to the extent of adapting to a particular regional audience, and the attempt to create total illusion:

Dem allgemeinen Ruf nach Naturwahrheit folgend, arbeiteten sie mit romantisch-realistischen Bühnenbildern, die zu einer vollständigen Bühnenillusion führen sollten. Zum geforderten realistischen Darstellungsstil gehörte ebenfalls der Konversationston, der sich im Ausdruck und dialektischer Färbung jeweils dem betreffenden Publikum anpassen konnte und viel zum Triumph der unterhaltsamen Volksstücke beitrug.²⁶

The tendency towards complete illusion was so strong that in 1782 the Theaterjournal für Deutschland recounted that the actor of an 'Intrigantenrolle' had been attacked in the street by someone who actually confused him with the role he had been playing.²⁷

Iffland, Kotzebue and Schröder wrote 127 'Familien- und Ritterdramen' altogether.²⁸ From 1781 on, it was the 'bürgerliche Rührstücke', as many popular plays of Iffland and others at this time were often called, which dominated the theatre.²⁹

It is interesting that the regular dropping of the curtain at the end of each act, which had been abandoned by Gottsched, was reintroduced in Germany by Kotzebue.³⁰ It may be seen as the ultimate means of

²⁴ Bloch, op. cit., p.205. See 2.7.5 above on Genmingen's interest in illusion.

²⁵ Bloch, op. cit., p.205.

²⁶ *ibid.*
Bloch notes that these plays were later performed far more frequently than those of Lessing, Goethe and Schiller together.

²⁷ See Kersting, op. cit., p.45.

²⁸ Göttlicher, op. cit., pp.36, 187.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ Petersen, Schiller und die Bühne, p.138ff.

separating stage and auditorium and creating an illusionistic set. In 1790 J.F.Schink attributed the frequent use of the curtain to the public's desire to have a variety of locations presented convincingly by means of a change in the set.³¹

Schiller's first professional contact with theatre was with the 'Kurfürstliche Hof- und Nationalbühne' in Mannheim, founded by Karl Theodor in 1779. It came to enjoy a good reputation at a time when the art of acting in Germany was apparently in need of reform. E. Scharrer-Santen notes:

Mit Ausnahme von Mannheim und Hamburg befand die Schauspielkunst sich in wilder Vegetation. Pathetische Unnatur und rohester Naturalismus in Spiel und Sprache gingen Hand in Hand, von künstlerischer Disziplin und Einordnung ins Ganze war keine Rede. Ebenso wenig von einer nur einigermaßen angedeuteten Einheitlichkeit der Sprache, woraus sich allenthalben eine dialektische babylonische Verwirrung ergab.³²

The Mannheim repertoire followed the trend outlined above. The most popular plays were those written by Gemmingen, by Iffland or by Gotter, one of the authors to whom Schiller refers with contempt in the suppressed preface to Die Räuber.³³ Dalberg, the director of the theatre, had actually tried to gain Gotter's assistance when he was preparing to open the theatre, and Gotter had recommended Iffland to him.³⁴ In Göttlicher's view, Iffland became the main contemporary representative of realism.³⁵

Dalberg had taken on actors trained by Ekhof.³⁶ At a time when other actors, especially in France, were rejecting unchecked identi-

³¹ See Rudloff-Hille, Schiller auf der Bühne seiner Zeit, p.13.

³² Scharrer-Santen, E., Die Weimarische Dramaturgie, p.8.

³³ See 3.1 below.

³⁴ See Uhde, 'Aus der Jugendzeit der deutschen Bühne', pp.41-57.

³⁵ Göttlicher, op. cit., p.93.

³⁶ Uhde, op. cit., p.41.

fication with a role, most of the actors in Mannheim supported 'das in der Rolle aufgehende, von Laune und Begeisterung getragene Naturspiel.'³⁷ They called themselves 'Menschendarsteller', not 'Schauspieler'. Streicher describes them as 'Künstler... die auch unbedeutende Rollen mit täuschender Wahrheit geben'.³⁸

The Mannheim style was strongly influenced by Schröder, who gave a famous guest performance there in 1779. He made a lasting impression on Iffland with his call for 'Naturwahrheit' and 'Sturm-und-Drang Leidenschaft'.³⁹

Naturalistic tendencies frequently emerged in Iffland's attitude, for instance in his warning that the actor should not pay too much attention to the dance master. Through dance lessons, he argues, the actor may acquire 'ein Aeüßeres..., welches im Leben widrig und auf der Bühne geziert oder einerlei ist.... Sprache, Bild, Blick, Schritt, Hebung des Arms, alles muß in einem Nu! - aus dem Guß eines Gefühls entstehen.'⁴⁰

Iffland followed the idea derived from Herder and Goethe of 'genius'. A great actor should be free from rules and follow his inspiration. Yet the theatre historian Kindermann sees a discrepancy between Iffland's advocacy of the Schröder style in theory, and what he sees as his more moderate practice. Iffland resisted the temptation to be completely carried away by the new, individualistic type of character portrayal and tried to modify the more radical realism of the other

³⁷ Petersen, Schiller und die Bühne, pp.312-313. The French actors had been influenced by a treatise by F. Riccoboni, 'L'art du theatre'. It was written and translated into German in 1750.

³⁸ Streicher, A., Streichers Schillerbiographie, ed. H. Kraft, p.34.

³⁹ Kindermann, Theatergeschichte der Goethezeit, p.229.

⁴⁰ Quoted by Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., p.20.

actors.⁴¹

Contemporary reactions to Iffland's portrayal of Franz Moor in Die Räuber demonstrate that critics looked for and approved total identification between an actor and his role. A. Streicher claimed:

Durch die Art aber wie Iffland die Rolle des Franz Moor nicht nur durchgedacht, sondern dergestalt in sich aufgenommen hatte, daß sie mit seiner Person eins und dasselbe schien, ragte er über alle hinaus, und brachte eine nicht zu beschreibende Wirkung hervor.⁴²

A critic in 'Dramaturgische Blätter', reviewing a performance in Frankfurt in 1788 in which Iffland played Franz Moor, enthused:

Das höchste Ziel theatralischer Darstellung erreichte Herr Iffland in der darauffolgenden Szene Wer glaubte da nicht wirklich das Zagen eines Bösewichts zu sehen, dem die letzten aufwachenden Gefühle (sic) der Menschlichkeit den Arm lähmen.⁴³

Iffland was considered a model of good acting even by Goethe as late as 1796, when Goethe actually tried to get Iffland to succeed him at the Weimar Theatre.⁴⁴

Dalberg's views on 'realism', which are documented in the Protokolle des Mannheimer Theaters, were on the whole more moderate than those of his actors.⁴⁵ The style he advocated differed both from the 'naturalistic' style made famous by Schröder and from the stylised French manner still favoured by the Elector Karl Theodor and the court. The Protokolle show that Dalberg rejected an acting style

41 Kindermann, Theatergeschichte der Goethezeit, pp.229, 505ff.

42 Quoted by Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., p.21.

43 'Dramaturgische Blätter', 2. Quartal 1788, quoted by Rudloff-Hille, op.cit., p.28.

44 Buchwald, R, 'Bühnendrama und dramatisches Gedicht', p.33.

45 Protokolle des Mannheimer Theaters unter Dalbergs Leitung, Hrsg. M. Martersteg (henceforth abbreviated to Protokolle), Petersen, Schiller und die Bühne, p.314, Rudloff-Hille, op.cit., p.20.

which was based merely on strict imitation of nature.⁴⁶ At the same time he disapproved of a style which was too self-conscious or too stylised. He rejected both extremes for the same reason: in the interests of a convincing illusion.⁴⁷ Göttlicher uses the term 'stilisierten Realismus' to describe the style of the Mannheim stage under Dalberg.⁴⁸

The following passage from the Protokolle deals directly with the topic of the dramatic illusion:

Die Handlung auf dem Theater geht auf Brettern, zwischen Leinwand und Pappendeckel, von Lämpchen beleuchtet vor und ist auf gewisse Stunden beschränkt. Theatralische Darstellung erfordert also denselben Maßstab zu ihrer Wirkung, dessen sich der Theatermaler zu seinen Dekorationen bedient: stärkeren Farben-Auftrag, mehr Fresko Malerei als Miniatur und überhaupt starke Lichter und Schatten. Durch diesen stärkeren Auftrag der Farben wird... Täuschung bewirkt.⁴⁹

Dalberg was well aware of the limitations of the theatre performance and did not envisage straightforward imitation of reality. He believed that it was not attention to small details, but concentration on certain striking features which made for effective stage performance. The nature of this performance, of the illusion created in the theatre, is described by Dalberg with the term used by Lessing: 'Täuschung'.⁵⁰ Dalberg, like most of the popular theatre personalities of his time, strives after the ideal of an illusion which encourages the audience not to relate what it sees to reality, but to become carried away by the simulation. The Mannheim Theatre

46 See Protokolle, p.136, Göttlicher, op. cit., p.71

47 See Protokolle, p.58, Göttlicher, op. cit., p.71.

48 Göttlicher, op.cit., p.70.
Kersting, op. cit., p.106, describes Dalberg's ideal as 'der "idealisierte" Naturalismus'.

49 Protokolle, p.394.

50 See 2.7.4 above.

was what Göttlicher describes as an 'Illusionsbühne', where 'man ... beim Zuschauer darauf abzielt, durch Kulissen- und Rollengestaltung eine größtmögliche Lebensnähe zu suggerieren.'⁵¹

⁵¹ Göttlicher, op.cit., p.9.

3 Schiller's view of the dramatic illusion before 1790

It is only once Schiller begins to come to terms with the philosophy of Kant that his views on the dramatic illusion, affected by his own aesthetic theory, take on the form which gives Schiller his unusual and significant position in the age of 'bourgeois realism' and illusionism. Schiller's early theoretical works, however, are of interest both by way of contrast to the later aesthetics, and in so far as they contain the seeds of the latter, which were to be brought to fruition through Schiller's intellectual contact with Kant.

I shall look now at Schiller's theory before his detailed reading of Kant. The discussion here and in Chapter 4 must include some information which does not appear to be directly relevant to the theme of dramatic illusion. Schiller's views on the latter can only be understood with reference to his dramatic and later to his aesthetic theory as a whole.

3.1 'Die Schranken eines Theaterstücks'¹

At an early stage, Schiller emphasises that the drama is not essentially a theatrical form. He repeatedly insists that although he chose the dramatic form for his first published work Die Räuber, it was not intended for the theatre. The reasons he gives for this provide interesting insight into his views on the nature of the dramatic form and on theatre at this time.

Schiller's 'apology' to Dalberg, the director of the Mannheim theatre, for the character of Franz Moor in Die Räuber shows how Schiller differentiates between material designed to be read and works written for the stage:

¹ From Die Räuber, 'Vorrede zur ersten Auflage', NA 3, p.5.

Als ich es Anfangs dachte, und den Plan davon bei mir entwarf dacht ich mir die theatralische Darstellung hinweg - Daher kams, daß Franz als ein raisonierender Bösewicht angelegt worden, eine Anlage, die so gewiß sie den denkenden Leser befriedigen wird, so gewiß den Zuschauer der vor sich nicht philosophirt, sondern gehandelt haben will, ermüden und verdrießen muß... Dazu kommt noch, daß der hinreißende Strom der Handlung den Zuschauer an den feinen Nüancen vorüberreißt, und ihn also um wenigstens den dritten Theil des ganzen Charakters bringt.²

Schiller's views on the typical expectations of the theatre audience are no doubt influenced by the popularity of plays of such as those described in 2.7.6.

In the 'Unterdrückte Vorrede', the preface to Die Räuber which Schiller withdrew at the last moment in favour of a more moderate one, Schiller attacks Corneille on the grounds that his characters go too far in the direction of reflection, which Schiller apparently considers more suited to books than to theatre:

Seine Menschen sind, (wo nicht gar Historiographen und Helden-dichter ihres eigenen hohen Selbsts) doch selten mehr als eiß-kalte Zuschauer ihrer Wuth, oder altkluge Professore ihrer Leidenschaft. (NA 3, p.243)³

French classical tragedy, however, is just one of two extremes criticised by Schiller at this stage. In a letter to Dalberg, Schiller declares his own intention 'zwischen zwei Extremen, Englischem und Französischem Geschmack, in ein heilsames Gleichgewicht zu kommen'.⁴

He is also critical of what he calls the English and German style, in his first published essay on the drama 'Ueber das gegenwärtige

² 6.10.1781, NA 23 (11), p.21.
From now on, references to Schiller's theoretical works in the NA will be given in brackets after the quotation. (Vol.No. and page(s)). References to his correspondence, which require more space, will be given in footnotes.

³ See also 2.6 above

⁴ 24.8.1784, NA 23 (104), p.155.
The same intention is expressed in 'Ueber das gegenwärtige teutsche Theater', NA 20, pp.79-86.

teutsche Theater', which appeared in the Wirtembergisches Repertorium in 1782:

In England und Teutschland (doch auch hier nicht bälde als bis Göthe die Schleichhändler des Geschmacks über den Rhein zurückgejagt hatte) deckt man der Natur, wenn ich so reden darf, ihre Schaam auf, vergrößert ihre Finnen und Leberflecken unter dem Hohlspiegel eines unbändigen Wizes, die muthwillige Fantasie glüender Poeten lügt sie zum Ungeheuer und drommelt von ihr die schändlichsten Anekdoten aus. (NA 20, p.82.)

In this essay, Schiller refers to the drama as a 'good copy of nature', which he wishes to produce by combining elements of the English and French styles:

Zu einer guten Kopie der Natur gehört beides, eine edelmüthige Kühnheit, ihr Mark auszusaugen, und ihre Schwungkraft zu erreichen, aber zugleich auch eine schüchterne Blödigkeit, um die grassen Züge, die sie sich in grossen Wandstücken erlaubt, bei Miniaturgemälden zu mildern. (ibid)

Schiller distances himself, then, from the stylised form of French classical tragedy and from the opposite stream of Sturm und Drang drama, which had influenced his own play Die Räuber. He does not at this point distance himself from the traditional view of drama as imitation of nature. The idea of a scaled-down, selective imitation of nature is in accordance with the views outlined by Lessing.⁵

In the preface to Die Räuber, Schiller outlines reasons for his reservations with regard to the theatre:

Man nehme dieses Schauspiel für nichts anders, als eine dramatische Geschichte, die die Vortheile der dramatischen Methode, die Seele gleichsam bei ihren geheimsten Operationen zu ertappen, benutzt, ohne sich übrigens in die Schranken eines Theaterstücks einzuzäunen oder nach dem so zweifelhaften Gewinn bei theatralischer Verkörperung zu geizen. (NA 3, p.5)

The dramatic form appeals to Schiller because of the possibilities it affords for observation of the psychological motivation of human

⁵ See 2.7.4 above.

behaviour. He is, however, unwilling to submit to the 'limitations' of the theatre. He refers in particular to time limits, i.e. one short evening's performance, and to 'die allzuenge Pallisaden des Aristoteles und Batteux'. (ibid) Schiller is presumably referring in particular to the unities of time, place and action.

Göttlicher expresses a view which is particularly interesting for the topic of the dramatic illusion. He notes that Schiller was reluctant to have the freedom of his imagination limited by the practical considerations of a real stage setting aimed at a 'realistic' illusion of actuality.⁶

The dramatic illusion at this time, then, in the sense in which it was understood in popular eighteenth-century theatre, was a limitation for Schiller, which disturbed him to the extent that he took the option of book drama to avoid it.⁷

The rejection of what Schiller describes as 'so zweifelhaften Gewinn' indicates Schiller's low opinion of the theatre and its audience at this point. He doubts whether the audience in the theatre is really capable of deciding on the merits of a drama. In the suppressed preface to Die Räuber, Schiller had written:

Schließlich will ich nicht bergen, daß ich der Meinung bin, der Applausus des Zuschauers sey nicht immer der Maaßstab für den Werth eines Dramas. Der Zuschauer oft vom gewaltigen Licht der

6 Göttlicher, op. cit., p.13, claims that in Die Räuber Schiller creates an 'imaginäre Bühne', which he explains as 'die poetische Vorstellung..., die Schiller in seiner Phantasie von dem Handlungsort besaß.'

7 It is interesting to compare a letter from Schiller to Großmann, the director of the theatre in Frankfurt, introducing Luise Millerin:
 'Ich darf hoffen, daß es der teutschen Bühne keine unwillkommene Acquisition seyn werde, weil es durch die Einfachheit der Vorstellung, den wenigen Aufwand von Maschinerei und Statisten, und durch die leichte Faßlichkeit des Plans, für die Direction bequemer ist als die Räuber und der Fiesko.'
 (8.2.1784, NA 23 (90), pp.131-132.)

Sinnlichkeit geblendet, übersieht ebensowohl die feinsten Schönheiten als die untergeflossenen Flecken, die sich nur dem Auge des bedachtsamen Lesers entblößen. Vielleicht ist das größte Meisterstück des brittischen Aeschylus nicht am meisten beklatscht worden, vielleicht muß er in seiner rohen scythischen Pracht denen à la mode (verschönerten oder verhunzten?) Kopien von Gotter, Weisse und Stephanie weichen. (NA 3, p.246)

Schiller's low opinion of theatre, then, is based firstly on his distrust of its sensuous appeal. This distrust will gain in significance as his aesthetic theory develops. For the present, Schiller's reasons for this distrust are his fear that the audience will be blinded to the beauty and finer points of the play and also to flaws within it. Secondly, Schiller's attitude towards the theatre and theatre audiences is apparently based on the popular predilection for plays which Schiller considers inferior.

In spite of his overall critical attitude towards the theatre, Schiller still had enough interest in having Die Räuber put on stage in Mannheim to make him agree, albeit grudgingly, to make some changes to the play for performance. In a letter to Dalberg, Schiller expressed regret at having to make sacrifices to 'den Gränzen der Bühne, dem Eigensinn des Parterre, dem Unverstand der Gallerie oder sonst leidigen Conventionen'.⁸ He tried hard for some time to prevent Dalberg from making any major changes to the play.⁹ Another reason for Schiller's preference for the book form rather than for the theatre may well have been his lack of experience in professional theatre, at least in theatre of the Mannheim style.

⁸ 6.10.1781, NA 23 (11), p.20. Schiller's relation to the public was almost always a difficult one. See Wälterlin, O., Schiller und das Publikum and 4.4 below.

⁹ Schiller objected in particular to the setting of the play being put back in time to a late mediaeval setting.

Although Schiller had acted in and directed productions at school¹⁰, he wrote to Dalberg that he was lacking in experience of theatre.¹¹ In a letter written to Körner in 1811, the publisher Schwan also reports:

Er (Schiller) antwortete mir unverzüglich daß er, mit den Regeln der Dramaturgie unbekannt, (zur Umarbeitung) willig und bereit sey, ich möchte nur die Stellen unterstreichen, die uns anstößig wären, und ihm einen Fingerzeig geben, wie gewisse Auftritte für das Costüme des Theaters, so wol als den Regeln der Schauspielkunst gemäß zu verändern und einzurichten wären.¹²

Schiller's views on the difference between book and theatre drama are also suggested by the cuts he made himself. Schiller removed lyrical features such as the songs of Karl and Amalia from Die Räuber for the stage version.¹³ Schiller responded to Dalberg's criticism of this as follows:

Diß einzige kam mir befremdlich für, daß E.E. die poetische Seite des Stücs in der Umarbeitung ungerne vermißen, welche meinem Bedünken nach jederzeit mit Vortheil von einem Theaterstück wegbleiben kann.¹⁴

Schiller's attitude to songs and other 'poetic' and 'lyrical' features was to change significantly with the development of his views on the nature of the aesthetic experience.¹⁵

Schiller's interest in the drama as a theatrical genre increased when

¹⁰ See e.g. Göttlicher, op. cit., p.14, p.32.

¹¹ 3.11.1781, NA 23 (12), p.23, and 12.10.1781, NA 23 (13), pp.24-26. Schiller requested a trip to Mannheim to see the play on stage. Of course it is possible that his insistence was partly due to his desire to get out of Stuttgart for a short while.

¹² Aus dem Schillerarchiv. Ungedrucktes und Unbekanntes zu Schillers Leben und Schriften, ed. J. Minor, vol.I, pp. 12ff.

¹³ See Schiller to Dalberg, 3.11.1781, NA 23 (12), p.23 and editor's (W. Müller-Seidel's) note, p.256.

¹⁴ Schiller to Dalberg, 3.11.1781, NA 23 (12), p.23.

¹⁵ See Chapter 5 below, especially 5.7.

he actually moved to Mannheim and saw the prospect of a contract to work directly with the Mannheim Theatre, guaranteeing him a fixed income and the chance to gain experience of theatre and to become better known.

3.2 A more positive attitude towards the dramatic illusion

Schiller took up a different standpoint in his essay 'Ueber das gegenwärtige deutsche Theater' which appeared in 1782, the same year in which Die Räuber was published. Here he stresses not the limitations but the potential advantages of the theatrical form. The ability of the illusion in the theatre to appeal directly to the senses of the audience, which is presented in the preface to Die Räuber as a dubious phenomenon, is this time described as something potentially positive:

Eine solche Anstalt, möchte man erwarten, sollte die reinern Begriffe von Glückseligkeit und Elend um so nachdrücklicher in die Seele prägen, als die sinnliche Anschauung lebendiger ist, denn nur Tradition und Sentenzen. (NA 20, p.79.)

However, Schiller does write 'sollte'. The essay remains critical towards the theatre of the time. The critical tone is in harmony with the intention expressed by Schiller and the other editors of the Württembergisches Repertorium, in which the essay was published, to criticise faults rather than praise good points in the interest of 'Ausbildung des Geschmacks, angenehme Unterhaltung, und Veredlung der moralischen Sitten'.¹ The theatre, Schiller insists, should be able to have wide-reaching effects, but because of shortcomings on the part of dramatists, actors and audiences, Schiller is pessimistic about its actual effect. His criticism of actors and acting styles in particular provides interesting insight into his views on the nature of the dramatic illusion at this time. One reference to an instance of illusion-breaking is particularly significant:

¹ Württembergisches Repertorium: 'Vorbericht', NA 22, p.73.
The other editors were J.J. Abel, J.W. Petersen and J. Atzel.
(See NA 21, p.133)

Eine abgefeimte Italienische Iphigenia, die uns vielleicht durch ein glückliches Spiel nach Aulis gezaubert hatte, weißt (sic) mit einem schelmischen Blick durch die Maske ihr eigenes Zauberwerk wohlbedacht wieder zu zerstören - Iphigenia und Aulis sind wie weggehaucht, die Sympathie stirbt in der Bewunderung ihrer Erweckerin. (NA 20, p.81)²

Schiller's reaction suggests that he adheres to the illusionistic view of theatre typical of the era. He still considers the 'Sympathie' which is destroyed to be essential to the dramatic effect. Instead of keeping up the illusion to further the moral import of the play, the actress's vanity encourages the audience to pay attention to aspects which Schiller apparently does not consider morally edifying.³

Schiller goes on to deal with the relation between the actor and the figure he is playing. The actor, he claims, must do two difficult and necessary things:

Einmal muß er sich selbst und die horchende Menge vergessen, um in der Rolle zu leben; dann muß er wiederum sich selbst und den Zuschauer gegenwärtig denken, auf den Geschmack des letztern reflektiren, und die Natur mässigen. (NA 20, p.83)

In Schiller's opinion, actors pay too much attention to the second aspect, the presence of the audience. He suggests that the actor should identify more with his role and really try to 'live' it.⁴ Schiller's insistence at this point that the actor must forget his own person and the presence of spectators at times is in clear contrast to statements made by Brecht in his Kleines Organon für das

² The NA editors, NA 21, p.134, note that this refers to Gluck's opera 'Iphigenie in Aulis' (1773). The text was written by Rollet after Racine.

³ See NA 20, pp.79-82.

⁴ The NA editors claim that this view was probably influenced by Du Bos, perhaps via Sulzer. (NA 21, p.137ff) See also 2.7.2, 2.7.3 above.

Theater: 'In keinem Augenblick läßt (der Schauspieler) es zur restlosen Verwandlung in die Figur kommen ... seine eigenen Gefühle (sollten) nicht grundsätzlich die der Figur werden.'⁵ At this early stage, then, Schiller's view of theatre seems to fit in with that criticised by Brecht. Schiller shows no interest in any sort of anti-illusionistic theatre. On the contrary, he describes it as an 'Uebelstand ... wenn der Spieler das Bewußtseyn seiner gegenwärtigen Lage sorgsam und ängstlich unterhält, und das künstliche Traumbild durch die Idee der wirklich ihn umgebenden Welt zernichtet' (NA 20, p.84.).

3.2.1 The senses

In the same essay, Schiller goes on to criticise the stylised form of action which has one gesture for every emotion. He attacks in particular the actors of tragic roles for failing to express emotion adequately and relying merely on shouting and violent activity at one extreme and on monotonous whimpering at the other.⁶ 'Deklamazion ist immer die erste Klippe woran unsere mehreste Schauspieler scheitern gehen, und Deklamazion wirkt immer zwei Drittheile der ganzen Illusion. Der Weg des Ohrs ist der gangbarste und nächste zu unsern Herzen' (NA 20, p.85.).

P. Utz attributes great importance to these statements and relates them to the central discussion of the senses in the eighteenth

⁵ Kleines Organon für das Theater, p.48.

⁶ Göttlicher, op.cit., p.56, says this criticism is directed at Gauß, Schweizer and Reneau, actors in the 'Residenzbühne' in Stuttgart. The editors, NA 21, p.137 note that the idea of criticising language for not being natural enough is also in Sulzer: 'Sie sprechen nicht, sondern sie declamieren, und nichts ist bey ihnen seltener, als eine natürliche Sprache'.

century.⁷ According to the traditional hierarchy of the senses, the eye came first. In this essay, Schiller stresses the importance of the ear. Utz claims that this development runs parallel to a shift in emphasis from the mind to man's sensuous nature. This shift in emphasis to the ear and to the senses in general represents for Utz Schiller's theoretical discovery of the path he takes in the rhetoric of the early plays.⁸ Utz claims that the audience is spell-bound by the rhetoric of the plays. It is only where the rhetoric pauses and the action becomes like a tableau that the eye comes into play as a 'kritische Instanz'.⁹ Utz notes the existence of such pauses in Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua (1783). This interest in a sort of critical distance represents a divergence from the tradition of Schiller's time. 'In diesen Pausen beginnt sich Schillers Dramaturgie von traditionellen Rührstücken sinnlich zu emanzipieren'.¹⁰ Utz's arguments suggest that although Schiller insists on a naturalistic acting style in 'Ueber das gegenwärtige teutsche Theater' and stresses the importance of the sensuous appeal of drama, Fiesco already shows some evidence of a more differentiated approach including some degree of critical distance.

Utz outlines the development of Schiller's dramaturgy in terms of a complex working together of eye and ear which is accompanied, he

⁷ Utz, P., 'Auge, Ohr und Herz. Schillers Dramaturgie der Sinne', p.67.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*, p.68.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

Satori-Neumann, *op. cit.*, p.239, notes that impressive tableaux were traditional during much of the eighteenth century. The results of Utz's study suggest that Schiller may have realised the potential for 'distancing' the audience offered by this traditional device, although there seems to be no suggestion of this in his early theory or correspondence.

claims, by the development of Schiller's concept of 'Herz':

Denn in diese Metapher faßt Schiller das Zentrum seiner sinnlichen Wirkungsästhetik: er will das 'Herz' des Zuschauers ansprechen, durch Auge und Ohr.¹¹

Utz sees in Schiller's choice of the old metaphor 'heart' his insistence on the active, humanly warm perception of the audience in an age when man has been divided into specialized senses.¹² Schiller's interest in appealing to the eye and to the ear represents a striving after wholeness, or at least as close to it as possible within the framework of the 'Guckkastentheater' of the time.¹³

11 *ibid*, p.66.

12 *ibid*.

13 B. v. Wiese, Friedrich Schiller, pp. 67-69, discusses the roots of Schiller's belief in the division of man. He stresses the importance of Schiller's pietistic background and the strong impression made on Schiller by his tutor Pastor Moser. According to the typical pietistic attitude, the 'heart' was of value only as a possible way towards God. In the Enlightenment, a parallelism developed between heart and conscience, between the physical and the spiritual. This dualism forced Schiller later to make opponents of 'Herz' and 'Gewissen', which had been closely associated in his younger pietistic belief. Schiller was constantly concerned to reconcile the two. In his later, classical period, 'Herz' came to be the organ which represented the whole man for Schiller, von Wiese argues.

3.3 The aims of theatre according to Schiller's early theory

To a large extent, the stage was still an instrument of moral improvement for the young Schiller. In the preface to Die Räuber, he outlines his intention 'das Laster zu stürzen, und Religion, Moral und bürgerliche Geseze an ihren Feinden zu rächen' (NA 3, p.5).

In 'Ueber das gegenwärtige teutsche Theater' he describes the stage as a sister of morality and religion.¹ He takes up this idea again in 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken' (1784):

Derjenige, welcher zuerst die Bemerkung machte, daß eines Staats festeste Säule Religion sei - daß ohne sie die Geseze selbst ihre Kraft verlieren, hat vielleicht, ohne es zu wollen oder zu wissen, die Schaubühne von ihrer edelsten Seite vertheidigt.
(NA 20, p.91)

Laws apply to social behaviour, Schiller argues, whereas religion can go further and penetrate right into the hearts of men. However, not every heart is open to religion, whereas the stage can have an effect on everyone, and more so than laws or religion because it makes use of 'Anschauung und lebendige Gegenwart' (NA 20, p.91). The advantages which he now sees in the sensuous appeal of theatre are closely related to the function of moral improvement. The stage can actually show the triumph of virtue over vice, present it before the very eyes

¹ In 'Ueber das gegenwärtige teutsche Theater', Schiller accepts that the degree to which the improving effect of theatre can be achieved varies according to the individual recipient. He notes: 'ein edles, unverfälschtes Gemüth fängt neue belebende Wärme vor dem Schauplatz, beim rohern Haufen summt doch zum mindesten eine verlassene Saite der Menschheit verloren noch nach' (NA 20, p.86). The stage should be able to improve man, but is not having enough success. One reason is the attitude of the audiences. They view the theatre as a pleasant means of passing the time rather than as the school of morality which Schiller feels it ought to be. The problem is a circular one: 'Bevor das Publikum für seine Bühne gebildet ist, dürfte wohl schwerlich die Bühne ihr Publikum bilden' (NA 20, p.82). Reed, T.J., 'Theatre, Enlightenment and Nation: A German Problem', p.146, notes that the problem was also encountered by Lessing.

of the audience. Religion and the law would be strengthened if they joined forces with this sensuously effective institution. 'Die Gerichtsbarkeit der Bühne fängt an, wo das Gebiet der weltlichen Gesetze endigt' (NA 20, p.92).

In this essay Schiller is definitively optimistic about the power of the stage to have a positive effect on audiences. He moves away from the thoroughly critical attitude of 'Ueber das gegenwärtige teutsche Theater', stressing that the shortcomings of particular individuals or works should not be allowed to detract from the overall positive features of the stage as an institution. His formulation of the advantages of the sensuous nature of theatrical presentation is stronger and more optimistic than in the earlier essay: 'So gewiß sichtbare Darstellung mächtiger wirkt, als toder Buchstabe und kalte Erzählung, so gewiß wirkt die Schaubühne tiefer und daurender als Moral und Geseze.' (NA 20, p.93).²

The theatre is effective in fulfilling particular aims which are of value to society.

In 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken', Schiller claims: 'Die höchste und letzte Foderung, welche der Philosoph und Gesezgeber einer öffentlichen Anstalt nur machen können, ist Beförderung allgemeiner Glückseligkeit' (NA 20, p.88). This involves, according to Schiller, the 'ennobling' of human nature by means of education. 'Wer also unwidersprechlich beweisen kann, daß die Schaubühne Menschen- und Volksbildung wirkte, hat ihren Rang neben den ersten Anstalten des Staats entschieden' (NA 20, p.88). The stage, Schiller claims, is 'ein unfehlbarer Schlüssel zu den ge-

² Schiller's presentation of the 'sensuous' features of theatre as a strength is viewed by Reed, op. cit., p.146, as a new argument in this essay. I feel that it was already there theoretically in 'Ueber das gegenwärtige teutsche Theater', but did not emerge clearly because of Schiller's generally critical attitude. See above, p.120 and p.125, Note 1.

heimsten Zugängen der menschlichen Seele' (NA 20, p.95). With such statements, Schiller is following in the tradition of the Enlightenment and in particular of Lessing and Sulzer.³ Schiller actually uses the image of 'enlightenment' later in the essay:

Die Schaubühne ist der gemeinschaftliche Kanal, in welchen von dem denkenden bessern Theile des Volks das Licht der Weißheit herunterströmt, und von da aus in milderen Stralen durch den ganzen Staat sich verbreitet. (NA 20, p.97)

He also follows this tradition by claiming that the stage should spread the 'enlightened' virtues of 'Menschlichkeit' and 'Duldung' (ibid).

Schiller is so eager to stress the usefulness of the stage to the state that he even seems to advocate the use of it for political education in a sense which amounts to little less than political propaganda. Heads of state or governments, he insists, could use theatre in order to correct :

die Meinungen der Nation über Regierung und Regenten ... Die gesetzgebende Macht spräche hier durch fremde Symbolen zu dem Unterthan, verantwortete sich gegen seine Klagen, noch ehe sie laut werden, und bestäche seine Zweifelsucht, ohne es zu scheinen. (NA 20, pp.98-99)

Schiller was later to condemn the use of drama or theatre to influence the minds of the audience in any particular direction.⁴

Schiller tackles the fashionable question of the relation between stage and nation. The stage, he explains, could bring about the agreement in tastes and preferences which would unite Germany into one nation, if poets could agree on a common purpose and work only

³ B.v. Wiese, Friedrich Schiller, p.111, notes the influence of Sulzer and even more of Lessing in general on Schiller's first two essays, especially on this one. See also Jenisch, Das Theater der deutschen Klassik, p.51.

⁴ See especially 4.2.2 and 4.3 below.

with 'Volksgegenstände' (NA 20, p.99).⁵ If the limitations which this would impose on dramatists and on the public occurred to Schiller at this time, either he did not consider them to be negative or he found it convenient not to mention them here.

The theatre experience was also to have an improving effect on the spectator by preparing him to face up to misfortune:

Gewinn genug, wenn unausbleibliche Verhängnisse uns nicht ganz ohne Fassung finden, wenn unser Muth, unsre Klugheit sich einst schon in ähnlichen übten, und unser Herz zu dem Schlag sich gehärtet hat. (NA 20, p.96)

The idea is reminiscent of the stoic view of catharsis rejected by Lessing. Schiller himself does not enter into the discussion of catharsis. His statements here are also close to Sulzer's insistence that tragedy should aim to further 'die Großmuth und die Gelassenheit' in misfortune.⁶

The effect aimed at by Schiller is dependent on the spectator being caught up in the illusion and experiencing the desired emotions as a 'practice' for real life. The idea of being prepared for inevitable strokes of fate was becoming increasingly important for Schiller.⁷ It was to be given a new turn by his studies of Kant and the development of the concept of the sublime.

Schiller certainly had a genuine commitment to improving man. Nevertheless, the strong emphasis on education and moral improvement and the ability of the theatre to achieve them may be partly explained

⁵ cf. similar statements by Sulzer, p.91 above. Schiller refers directly to Sulzer at the beginning of this essay (NA 20, p.90).

⁶ Quoted by Martino, op. cit., p.236.

⁷ See also 'Ueber das gegenwärtige Theater':
'Verdienst genug wenn hie und da ein Freund der Wahrheit ... seinen Muth an Scenen des Leidens erhärtet und seine Empfindung an Situationen des Unglücks übet'. (NA 20, p.86)

by Schiller's new situation. At the beginning of the year in which this essay was written, he had claimed in a letter to his former school-mate Zumsteeg: 'Mein Clima ist das Theater, in dem ich lebe und webe, und meine Leidenschaft ist glücklicherweise auch mein Amt.'⁸ Since September 1783, Schiller had had a one-year contract as 'Theaterdichter' with the Mannheim theatre. His first two plays had been published and staged. Schiller was also planning to write a 'Mannheimer Dramaturgie' on the same lines as Lessing's Hamburgische Dramaturgie. These factors may explain to a large extent Schiller's interest in establishing the advantages and value of the stage for society. It could only be in the interests of the Mannheim theatre author to emphasise the importance and effectiveness of the stage which had become his livelihood.

The very title of the essay suggests that Schiller is going to emphasise the positive features of the stage. The essay was first written as a speech, held on 26.6.1784, when Schiller was inaugurated into the 'Kurpfälzische Deutsche Gesellschaft'.⁹ It seems likely that Schiller wanted to make a positive impression on the influential society by justifying the existence of the stage, and was also interested in securing his own position. Markwardt describes this society as 'aufklärerisch eingestellt'.¹⁰ Dalberg, too, adhered to the tradition of the Enlightenment in stressing the value of the

⁸ 19.1.1784, NA 23 (89), p.130.

⁹ The essay was given the title 'Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet' when Schiller revised it for inclusion in an edition of his works in 1802. At this time, the introduction was taken out (NA 20, pp.87-90).

¹⁰ Markwardt, B., 'Schillers Kunstanschauung im Verhältnis zu seinem Kunstschaffen', p.277.

stage for educative purposes.¹¹ This may well have influenced Schiller's decision to stress the moral efficacy of the stage.

¹¹ May, K., Friedrich Schiller. Idee und Wirklichkeit im Drama, p.81 probably goes furthest in emphasising the influence of external considerations on Schiller's views in this essay: 'in mehrhafter Hinsicht haben die Gedanken der Abhandlung fassadenhaften Charakter. Sie ... enthalten Gewißheiten, die dem Dichter selber weniger bedeutend haben können, als sie ihm erwünscht und brauchbar erscheinen mußten für ein Publikum und für Schauspieler von geringem und unsicherem Bildungsniveau. Streckenweise spricht hier der Dramaturg und Theaterdichter des Hauses, in dem ein Herr von Dalberg seine Reform im Geist eines verspäteten Gottschedianismus durchzuführen versuchte'.

3.4 The beginnings of aesthetic education

Schiller's early views on theatre, then, contain much that is traditional. So far there has been little to suggest that his views on the drama contained anything strikingly different from the traditional selective imitation of nature to form a deceptive illusion in which the audience could forget the real world and ultimately benefit from exercising its emotions and fortifying its courage for the struggles it has to face in everyday life.

However, in 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?' there is also the first hint of the aesthetic theory which was to bring Schiller to reject both the traditional idea of moral improvement as the aim of theatre and the form of illusion which had come to be associated with it. Jenisch notes: '..am Ende seiner Rede sagt Schiller das Neue, das über den geistigen Horizont der Aufklärung hinausweist in Fernen, die erst die Klassik erreichte ...'¹

The first indication of the new idea comes in the introduction to the essay. Schiller distinguishes between two sides of human nature, between 'Thiermensch' and 'Geist' (NA 20, p.88). He expresses the idea that theatre occupies both sides of human nature: 'warum sollte man nicht vor allen Dingen dahin beflissen seyn, die Würde einer Kunst außer Zweifel zu setzen, deren Ausübung alle Kräfte der Seele, des Geistes und des Herzens beschäftigt?' (NA 20, p.89).

Schiller outlines Sulzer's view that the stage originated in 'ein allgemeiner unwiderstehlicher Hang nach dem neuen und außerordentlichen, ein Verlangen, sich in einem leidenschaftlichen Zustande zu fühlen' (NA 20, p.90). Schiller traces this desire back to the division of human nature into two fields:

¹ Jenisch, op. cit., p.5.

Erschöpft von den höhern Anstrengungen des Geistes, ermattet von den einförmigen, oft niederdrückenden Geschäften des Berufs, und von Sinnlichkeit gesättigt, mußte der Mensch eine Leerheit in seinem Wesen fühlen, die dem ewigen Trieb nach Thätigkeit zuwider war. Unsre Natur, gleich unfähig, länger im Zustand des Thiers fortzudauren, als die feinern Arbeiten des Verstands fortzusezen, verlangte einen mittleren Zustand, der beide widersprechenden Enden vereinigte, die harte Spannung zu sanfter Harmonie herabstimmte, und den wechselweisen Uebergang eines Zustands in den andern erleichterte. Diesen Nutzen leistet überhaupt nun der ästhetische Sinn, oder das Gefühl für das Schöne (NA 20, p.90).

L.A. Willoughby claims that this paragraph contains in embryo the whole of Schiller's future aesthetic.² This is the first mention in Schiller's theory of the 'middle condition' and the 'aesthetic sense' which are to become central concepts in his later theory.

One of the most important and effective means of bringing about this condition is the theatre stage, 'die dem nach Thätigkeit durstenden Geist einen unendlichen Kreis eröffnet, jeder Seelenkraft Nahrung gibt, ohne eine einzige zu überspannen, und die Bildung des Verstands und des Herzens mit der edelsten Unterhaltung vereinigt' (NA 20, p.90).

The last section of 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken' is particularly significant:

Die Schaubühne ist die Stiftung, wo sich Vergnügen mit Unter-richt, Ruhe mit Anstrengung, Kurzweil mit Bildung gattet, wo keine Kraft der Seele zum Nachtheil der andern gespannt, kein Vergnügen auf Unkosten des Ganzen geübt wird. (NA 20, p.100)

The traditional aims of 'prodesse et delectare' are included, but so too is the germ of Schiller's later aesthetic theory, that the drama

² Willoughby, L.A., 'Schiller on Man's Education to Freedom through Knowledge', p.165.

must exercise all man's faculties.³ Schiller continues:

Wenn Gram an dem Herzen nagt, wenn trübe Laune unsre einsame Stunden vergiftet, wenn uns Welt und Geschäfte anekeln, wenn tausend Lasten unsre Seele drücken, und unsre Reizbarkeit unter Arbeiten des Berufs zu ersticken droht, so empfängt uns die Bühne - in dieser künstlichen Welt träumen wir die wirkliche hinweg, wir werden uns selbst wieder gegeben, unsre Empfindung erwacht, heilsame Leidenschaften erschüttern unsre schlummernde Natur, und treiben das Blut in frischeren Wallungen. (NA 20, p.100)

Schiller is apparently depicting theatre here as a temporary escape from reality. The audience is encouraged to give way to the dramatic illusion, which is compared to a dream. But Schiller also says 'wir werden uns selbst wieder gegeben'. This 'escape' is also a temporary experience of being whole again, it is an escape from the specialisation of the real world. Man is made aware of the side of his nature which he has come to forget:

Der Unglückliche weint hier mit fremdem Kummer seinen eigenen aus, - der Glückliche wird nüchtern, und der Sichere besorgt. Der empfindsame Weichling härtet sich zum Manne, der rohe Unmensch fängt hier zum erstenmal zu empfinden an. (NA 20, p.100)

The idea of a broadening of experience and development of virtuous characteristics is traditional in drama by Schiller's time.⁴ However, Schiller adds his own ingredient with his insistence that the 'whole' man should take part in the theatre experience, that the latter should exercise that side of his personality which is neglected in everyday life and that the unity of the human persona-

³ The idea of affecting the whole person in the aesthetic experience is also expressed in Baumgarten's theory. (See 2.7.1 above) It is unlikely that Schiller was influenced by Baumgarten at this time. In a letter to Körner, 25.5.1792, Schiller notes that he wishes to read Baumgarten as well as Kant before writing his letters on aesthetic education. See Jonas 3, (608) p.201. To some extent Schiller may have been influenced by Sulzer here, cf. pp.87-88 above.

⁴ See 2.7.2 - 2.7.4 above.

lity should temporarily be restored. Jenisch describes this idea as 'die Keimzelle des Dramas der deutschen Klassik'.⁵

Schiller concludes:

Und dann endlich - Welch ein Triumph für dich, Natur - so oft zu Boden getretene, so oft wieder auferstehende Natur - wenn Menschen aus allen Kraisen und Zonen und Ständen, abgeworfen jede Fessel der Künstelei und der Mode, herausgerissen aus jedem Drange des Schicksals, durch eine allwebende Sympathie verbrüdert, in Ein Geschlecht wieder aufgelöst, ihrer selbst und der Welt vergessen, und ihrem himmlischen Ursprung sich nähern. Jeder Einzelne genießt die Entzückungen aller, die verstärkt und verschönert aus hundert Augen auf ihn zurück fallen, und seine Brust giebt jetzt nur Einer Empfindung Raum - es ist diese: ein Mensch zu seyn. (NA 20, p.100)

Schiller seems to envisage a form of illusion here similar to that of Lessing. The audience is to forget the outside world temporarily. The sympathetic effect is to be heightened by the fact that it is a group experience. The differences between groups or individuals in the audience are to disappear for the time being. Yet Schiller's emphasis is different from that of Lessing. M. Böhler stresses that Schiller has a different view of how art is to affect man:

Der Zweck der Kunst ist auf den Menschen als Einzelwesen gerichtet, in ihm muß eine Veränderung bewirkt werden, während es bei Lessing darauf ankam, daß über und durch die Affekte im Einzelmenschen die negativen Wirkungen sozialer Gebilde aufgehoben würden.⁶

The primary aim which Schiller expresses here is to re-unite man's divided nature. Here, he insists that total illusion is the best means to further this aim. This passage leads to misunderstandings if

⁵ Jenisch, op. cit., p.6.
Jenisch sees this essay as marking the beginning of classical theatre in Germany, Goethe's Regeln für Schauspieler as marking the end of it: 'In jener Ansprache taucht zum erstenmal die Idee auf, welche das klassische Drama bestimmt, in diesen Vorschriften spiegelt sich die Form, in der dieses Drama auf dem Theater seine Verwirklichung gefunden hat' (p.3).

⁶ Böhler, M.J., Soziale Rolle und Ästhetische Vermittlung, p.247.

it is taken as typical of Schiller's views without qualification.⁷ It is the source of Zmegac's insistence that Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion correspond with those rejected by Brecht. Zmegac correctly identifies 'das von Brecht verpönte illusionäre Element' in this passage. He fails to observe - or at any rate to make any reference to - the fact that this is an early essay and that these views are anything but typical of the 'classical' Schiller's views on illusion.⁸

The last paragraph of this essay is striking both as a starting point from which Schiller develops the idea of restoring the lost unity of the human psyche by means of theatre, and at the same time as a position with regard to the dramatic illusion which is representative only of his early views and was to be abandoned with the development of his aesthetic theory.

⁷ See e.g. Leder, Lily, 'Schillers Mitarbeit am Weimarer Theater', p.24. Although she is concerned with Schiller in Weimar, she claims that these lines are 'bezeichnend für seine Einstellung und Beziehung zum Theater; allein von ihnen ausgehend, dürften wir beinahe zu einer umfassenden Einschätzung seiner Theaterarbeit kommen.'

⁸ Zmegac, V., op. cit., pp.518-519.

3.5 Renewed reservations about the value of the stage for the dramatist

Schiller's positive attitude towards the drama as a theatre form diminished in the face of disappointment with performances of his plays in Mannheim and also of lack of support from Dalberg. Dalberg turned down Schiller's request to carry out the plan for a 'Mannheimer Dramaturgie' under the auspices of the Mannheim Theatre and also refused to extend his contract. It must be said that Schiller's Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua had not been as successful as Die Räuber in the theatre, and that after Kabale und Liebe Schiller did not fulfil his contract by producing another play within the one-year time limit. Schiller was also in conflict with some of the actors in the theatre, which made working conditions difficult.

The conflict built up when Schiller saw a performance of Kabale und Liebe in Mannheim in which some of the actors improvised instead of keeping to his text. Göttlicher explains that speaking the author's text was considered only a small part of the actor's art by the Mannheim actors. He quotes an enlightening sentence from the Protokolle:

Es ist eine eigene Kunst des Schauspielers, auf der Bühne die Stelle des Dichters zu vertreten, wenn der Dichter seinen Gesichtspunkt für die Bühne etwas außer Augen gelassen hat.¹

The event prompted Schiller to write a bitter letter to Dalberg, in which he draws the following conclusion:

... ich glaube behaupten zu dürfen, daß biß jetzt das Theater mehr durch meine Stücke gewonnen hat als meine Stücke durch das Theater. Niemals werde ich den Fall sezen, den Werth meiner Arbeit von diesem abhängig zu machen.²

¹ Protokolle, ed. cit., p.310; Göttlicher, op.cit., p.73.

² 19.1.1785, NA 23 (120), p.173.

Göttlicher explains Schiller's disappointment with Mannheim in terms of a failure to combine his plays as independent poetic works with the demands of an illusionistic stage and its actors and audience.³ This is illustrated, Göttlicher claims, by the existence of separate book and stage versions of the early plays:

Vor allem die Bühnenfassungen, die er von den 'Räubern', 'Fiesco' sowie 'Kabale und Liebe' anfertigen mußte, lassen sein vergebliches Ringen erkennen, Sprach- und Illusionsraum, Dramencharaktere und effekthaschende Schauspieler, Eigengesetzlichkeit der dramatischen Dichtkunst und Publikumsgeschmack schöpferisch zu vereinen.⁴

In a letter of 12.10.1786 to Schröder, the director of the Hamburg theatre with whom he is negotiating a possible working arrangement, Schiller expresses his disappointment in the Mannheim Theatre. He writes: 'In Mannheim habe ich vollends, aus Ursachen, die hier zu weitläufig wären, beinahe allen Enthusiasmus für das Theater verloren.'⁵ However, he has not lost all interest or hope in the theatre altogether. He admits: 'mir graut vor der schrecklichen Misshandlung auf unsren Bühnen', but feels that if he had a stage where he could work without having to keep to petty restrictions, he could successfully work with it.⁶

Schiller eventually rejected Schröder's invitation to come to

³ cf. 2.7.6 above.

⁴ Göttlicher, *op.cit.*, p.11. Göttlicher sees Schiller's Mannheim period as the first of three stages in Schiller's dramatic and theatrical development. He describes it as 'Herausbildung eines Verständnisses gegenüber dem Schauspiel', the two following stages as 'Annäherung des Dramatikers Schiller an die Welt des Theaters (Bühne, Schauspieler, Publikum) und Einbeziehung des Bühnenhaften in sein künstlerisches Schaffen.' (*op. cit.*, p.10)

⁵ 12.10.1786, Jonas 1, (174) pp.311-312.

⁶ *ibid.* Schiller would probably have been disappointed with Schröders naturalistic style, if he had gone to Hamburg; cf. 2.7.6 above.

Hamburg as 'Dramaturg'. His reply confirmed that he was unwilling to make concessions to the theatre:

Ausserdem glaube ich überzeugt zu seyn, daß ein Dichter, dem die Bühne, für die er schreibt, immer gegenwärtig ist, sehr leicht versucht werden kann, der augenblicklichen Wirkung den daurenden Gehalt aufzuopfern, Classicität dem Glanze.⁷

Schiller had not lost interest in the dramatic form and retained an interest in having his plays put on stage, but he did not want to become a writer just for the theatre. His experience in Mannheim had, after an original period of euphoria, confirmed for the time being his original distrust of the theatre genre and his belief that there is a degree of incompatibility between drama as a literary form and drama as theatre.

7

Schiller to Schröder, 18.12.1786, Jonas 1, (180), p.320. Schiller had moved to Dresden by this time. It is likely that he also had personal and other reasons for not going to Hamburg.

4 The dramatic illusion in Schiller's dramatic and aesthetic theory after 1790

The further development of Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion is intrinsically related not only to his dramatic theory but to his aesthetic theory in general. From 1790 on, influenced especially by his intensive studies of Kant, Schiller came to adopt ideas which made the traditional view of illusion, which he does not question in his early essays, unacceptable to him. The ideas of the sublime and 'moral freedom' and later those of aesthetic harmony and the autonomy of art were to form the basis for a concept of the dramatic illusion which required art to be obviously different from real life and the spectator to remain aware of the aesthetic nature of the action. Schiller's aesthetic theory led him to a concept of illusion which was essentially the same as the idea put forward by Edward Bullough in our century, and discussed in 1.4.2.2 above.¹ The audience was to remain aware that it was contemplating art and not reality. Schiller was well aware that this awareness varies in degrees in different individuals under different circumstances.² But the important thing was that he became intent on strengthening this awareness. In contrast to the popular dramatists of the time, the later Schiller was not interested in encouraging the audience to forget that it was watching a play and be caught up in an intense emotional reaction similar to reactions aroused by real-life experiences.³ As

¹ See pp.26-29 above. Wilkinson and Willoughby (Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.clxviii) say Bullough in 1912 re-established a theory of aesthetic response which Schiller had established for himself in the eighteenth century, but which had been 'lost' in nineteenth-century aesthetics.

² cf. 1.3.3 and Chapter 3 above and p.144 and 4.4 below.

³ cf. 2.7 above.

his aesthetic theory developed, so too did his concern to promote overall awareness of the aesthetic nature of the stage action.

4.1 The sublime and the dramatic illusion

Schiller was keen to read Kant after visiting the Kant scholar Reinhold in 1787.⁴ By March 1791, he was extremely enthusiastic about Kant's Kritik der Urteilkraft and intent on studying the rest of his philosophy.⁵

Kant's idea of the sublime soon took on key significance for Schiller's theory of tragedy. It is presented in the essays 'Ueber den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen', (1792) 'Ueber die tragische Kunst' (1792), 'Vom Erhabenen' (1793) and 'Ueber das Pathetische' (1793).⁶

The first two of these essays, both based on Schiller's 1790 lectures on the theory of tragedy and published in consecutive issues of the 'Neue Thalia' in 1792, represent a turning point in Schiller's aesthetic and dramatic theory. Although he continues to deal with topics which were part of the 'traditional' discussion of tragedy - such as whether pleasure or moral improvement should be the aim of art, the villain in tragedy, or 'similarity'⁷ - Schiller takes Kant's concept of the sublime and uses it to develop his own, distinctive, theory of tragedy. Whereas in 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigent-

⁴ See Schiller to Körner, 29.8.1787, Jonas 1, (214), pp.396-406.

⁵ See Jonas 3, (563), p. 136; cf. Schiller to Körner 1.1.1792, *ibid*, (594), pp.186-187. See also Hell, Victor, *op. cit.*, p.161.

⁶ For the sake of easier reading, I have avoided repeating these titles in the text wherever possible. They are all in the NA 20: 'Ueber den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen', pp.133-147, 'Ueber die tragische Kunst', pp.148-170, 'Vom Erhabenen', pp.171-195, and 'Ueber das Pathetische', pp.196-221.

⁷ See e.g. NA 20, pp.133-134, 145-146 and cf. 2.7. above.

lich wirken?' Schiller had outlined the relation between the fate of the tragic hero and our own lives in terms of preparing us for brave but resigned and powerless acceptance of physical fate,⁸ in 'Ueber den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen', he presents the attitude of the sublime, which raises man above sensuous nature:

Das Gefühl des Erhabenen besteht einerseits aus dem Gefühl unserer Ohnmacht und Begrenzung, einen Gegenstand zu umfassen, anderseits aber aus dem Gefühl unserer Uebermacht, welche vor keinen Grenzen erschrickt, und dasjenige sich geistig unterwirft, dem unsre sinnlichen Kräfte unterliegen. (NA 20, p.137)

Schiller, here following Kant, argues that the sublime arouses pleasure:

Ein erhabener Gegenstand ist also eben dadurch, daß er der Sinnlichkeit widerstreitet, zweckmäßig für die Vernunft, und ergötzt durch das höhere Vermögen, indem er durch das niedrige schmerzt. (NA 20, p.138)⁹

The sublime is a source of pleasure because it involves our becoming aware of the power of reason to rise above suffering and to transcend the powers of nature, by which Schiller means:

... alles,... was nicht moralisch ist, alles was nicht unter der höchsten Gesetzgebung der Vernunft stehet; also Empfindungen, Triebe, Affekte, Leidenschaften so gut, als die physische Nothwendigkeit und das Schicksal. (NA 20, p.139)

For Schiller, tragedy - the genre that makes use of mixed emotions and delights us through pain - is the art 'welche uns die moralische Lust in vorzüglichem Grade gewährt'.(NA 20, p.140) The association of tragedy with the sublime leads Schiller to postulate two fundamental conditions for tragic art:

⁸ cf. 3.3 above.

⁹ Kritik der Urteilskraft, Section 27, ed. cit., pp.257-260; cf. Section 28, ed. cit., pp.261-262.

Erstlich eine lebhaftere Vorstellung des Leidens, um den mitleidenden Affekt in der gehörigen Stärke zu erregen. Zweytens eine Vorstellung des Widerstandes gegen das Leiden, um die innre Gemütsfreyheit ins Bewußtseyn zu rufen... Darstellung der moralischen Selbständigkeit im Leiden. (NA 20, p.194)

This 'moral resistance', the triumph of reason, the supra-sensuous faculty, manifests itself to the intuition of the observer when the person suffering succeeds - against instinct and physical nature - in rising above his suffering or in deliberately bringing suffering upon himself for the sake of a moral decision. (NA 20, pp.202ff.)

Schiller's desire to make the audience aware of the power of 'moral freedom' determined the relation which he wished to be established between spectator and stage action, and so his view of the dramatic illusion.¹⁰

In the first of his essays written after reading Kant, Schiller stresses that one can only experience pleasure in association with one's own misfortune 'wenn der Schmerz über dasselbe gemäßigt genug ist, um der Lust Raum zu lassen, die etwa ein mitleidender Zuschauer dabey empfindet'. (NA 20, p.138) Thus Schiller distinguishes clearly between the suffering of the person directly concerned and that of an onlooker. Identification does not extend here to actually experiencing the pain as if one were in the position of the other. In 'Ueber die tragische Kunst', he insists that pleasure is normally derived from vicarious emotion rather than from direct emotion. (NA 20, p.149) Although in this essay he re-states Lessing's insistence that a lack of sympathy can prevent the arousal of the tragic emotions, he stresses that if sympathy is allowed to become so strong that vicarious emotion takes on the proportions of direct emotion, pain will outweigh pleasure and there will be no sublime experience. (NA 20, p.158) The dramatist must try to present an instance of

¹⁰ cf. 1.4.7 above.

suffering strong enough to elicit a counter-response from reason, but in such a way that the senses are not drawn into an inappropriately strong response. That, Schiller argues, would be the case:

wenn sich die Vorstellungen des Leidens zu einem solchen Grade der Lebhaftigkeit erheben, der uns keine Möglichkeit übrig läßt, den mitgetheilten Affekt von einem ursprünglichen, unser eigenes Ich von dem leidenden Subjekt oder Wahrheit von Dichtung zu unterscheiden. (NA 20, p.158)

This advice to the dramatist who seeks to arouse the tragic emotions amounts to a rejection of the sort of illusion which encourages the audience to identify completely with the tragic hero.¹¹ In order to maintain the necessary balance between sensuous nature and reason, to promote the audience's awareness of the human capacity for freedom, the dramatist must avoid creating such a strong sense of identification or such a powerful illusion of reality that the audience experiences the suffering as if it were its own, believes that it is truly taking place, or experiences emotions which cannot be differentiated in quality or intensity from a real-life experience.

Schiller makes his point explicitly in 'Vom Erhabenen':

Auch mitten im heftigsten Affekt müssen wir uns von dem selbstleidenden Subjekt unterscheiden, denn es ist um die Freyheit des Geistes geschehen, sobald die Täuschung sich in völlige Wahrheit verwandelt. (NA 20, p.193)

Distance is absolutely essential for the sublime experience.¹² 'Täuschung' is a standard term for Schiller and must be differentiated from illusion-mistaken-for-reality. The dramatic illusion is of the type outlined in 1.4.2.2 above. The audience should remain

¹¹ On the relation between identification and illusion, see 1.4.3 above.

¹² In 'Über Bürgers Gedichte' (1790), NA 22, p.256, Schiller insists that the writer, too, must maintain distance to his subject matter.

aware that it is watching something artificial and maintain a degree of psychological distance even in moments of the strongest emotion.

Of course Schiller recognised that there would be wide differences in individual response. Some people may be able to derive pleasure from moral freedom even when experiencing suffering personally and directly, whereas others cannot experience the sublime, at all.¹³

The pleasure derived from unpleasant emotion is based on our awareness of the human capacity to be 'morally free' from the constraint of nature. The degree of 'freedom' - and so of pleasure in unpleasant emotion - depends, in Schiller's view, on the relation between the senses and the 'moral' side of human nature in different individuals. (NA 20, p.150) Ideally, reason should have the upper hand and we should be able to subdue our sensuous nature. In practice, some of us enjoy greater 'freedom' from physical nature than others, and the enjoyment we gain from unpleasant emotions will vary according to our power to subdue the 'Glückseligkeitstrieb' (NA 20, p.150) in favour of our sense of morality.

In 'Ueber die tragische Kunst', Schiller makes some practical suggestions as to how the dramatist can help prevent sensuous nature from becoming so involved that reason has no chance to assert itself. Nothing is better suited to this task, he claims, than:

der Beystand übersinnlicher, sittlicher Ideen, an denen sich die unterdrückte Vernunft, wie an geistigen Stützen, aufrichtet, um sich über den trüben Dunstkreis der Gefühle in einen heitern Horizont zu erheben. Daher der große Reitz, welchen allgemeine Wahrheiten oder Sittensprüche, an der rechten Stelle in den dramatischen Dialog eingestreut, für alle gebildete Völker gehabt haben, und der fast übertriebene Gebrauch, den schon die Griechen davon machten. Nichts ist einem sittlichen Gemüthe willkommener als nach einem lang anhaltenden Zustand des bloßen Leidens, aus der Dienstbarkeit der Sinne zur Selbstthätigkeit geweckt, und in seine Freyheit wieder eingesetzt zu werden. (NA 20, pp.158-159)

¹³ See NA 20, p.138, pp.149-50.
cf. the quotation from Bullough, on p.28 above.

Schiller thus advocates using the traditional element of 'Sittensprüche' not to put across a particular moral message and plant it firmly in the minds of the audience, but to support his own view of the dramatic experience. They are included in the drama to balance the impact of the direct visual presentation of suffering. Hence they function as a formal device rather than as part of the content.¹⁴

In 'Ueber das Pathetische' Schiller's theory of the sublime as the function of tragedy provides him with a basis for criticising what he sees as two extremes in actual dramatic presentation. Firstly, he attacks French classical tragedy on the grounds that it breaks the first of his two laws for tragic art: the 'Dezenz' of the genre prevents it from adequately representing the suffering which Schiller considers essential to the sublime experience in tragedy. (NA 20, p.197) At the opposite extreme from French classical tragedy, Schiller criticises dramatists who portray excessive emotion. Emotion for its own sake has no aesthetic value. Schiller fixes the limit for the presentation of pathos at the point where it suppresses moral freedom and so prevents the ultimate aim of tragedy from being achieved.

'Die schmelzenden Affekte', Schiller argues, are 'pleasant', but have nothing to do with fine art: 'Sie ergötzen bloß den Sinn durch Auflösung oder Erschlaffung, und beziehen sich bloß auf den äußern, nicht auf den innern Zustand des Menschen'. (NA 20, p.199) This provides the basis for Schiller's criticism of many contemporary novels and plays.¹⁵ He also criticises current taste in music. Modern music,

¹⁴ On the use of 'Sentenzen' in earlier forms of drama, see pp.53, 62 and 72-73 above.

¹⁵ See 4.4 below.

he argues, seems to be mainly concerned with sensuous nature and thus flatters current taste, 'der nur angenehm gekitzelt nicht ergriffen, nicht kräftig gerührt, nicht erhoben seyn will'.(NA 20, p.200) He notes that people suddenly become quiet in a concert at the onset of a 'schmelzende Passage':

Ein bis ins thierische gehender Ausdruck der Sinnlichkeit erscheint dann gewöhnlich auf allen Gesichtern, die trunkenen Augen schwimmen, der offene Mund ist ganz Begierde, ein wollüstiges Zittern ergreift den ganzen Körper, der Athem ist schnell und schwach, kurz alle Symptome der Berausung stellen sich ein: zum deutlichen Beweise, daß die Sinne schwelgen, der Geist aber oder das Princip der Freyheit im Menschen der Gewalt des sinnlichen Eindrucks zum Raube wird. (NA 20, p.200)

This is a significant argument. Here Schiller at the same time reiterates his view that art should strengthen our awareness of human freedom and applies it directly to the effect of an artistic performance on the recipients. Schiller refers to music in particular here, but his conclusion is equally applicable to the 'sensuous extreme' of dramatic presentation. Schiller's insistence on creating or strengthening awareness of moral freedom in the theatre brings him to reject works which appeal only to the emotions and sensuous nature. The direct arousal of instinctive, sensuous responses, without artistic distance and without balanced appeal to the understanding, has no place in Schiller's view of art.

In the preface to Kleines Organon für das Theater, Brecht attacks traditional theatres which have become, he claims, '(ein) Zweig des bourgeois Rauschgifthandels'. He rejects 'der abgeschmackte Kulinarismus geistloser Augen- oder Seelenweiden'.¹⁶ Brecht's idea, even his terminology, is similar to Schiller's here. The type of 'Rausch' which Brecht attributes to illusionistic theatre, and rejects for his own reasons, is the type of experience which Schiller rejects as

¹⁶ Brecht, B., Schriften zum Theater, ed. cit., pp.128-129.

appealing only to the sensuous side of human nature and not to reason, and so depriving the recipient of his freedom.

The ultimate aims of the dramatic illusion for Schiller, according to the essays written in the early 1790s, are to present moral freedom and to promote it in the spectator. This is only possible with a different concept of the dramatic illusion from the one popular at the time. Only if the audience remains aware of the aesthetic nature of the action and retains a degree of psychical distance can awareness of the independence of human reason from physical necessity be created or strengthened. The supreme virtue of this type of illusion is that experiences which in real life would overcome the average mortal, strongly tied to the sensuous side of his nature, but which are productive for moral freedom, become not only bearable but pleasurable when they are thus presented in art.

4.2 Aesthetic harmony and the dramatic illusion

The sublime and moral freedom were not always the main concern of Schiller's aesthetic and dramatic theory. In the course of the 1790s he also became interested in another type of freedom, which he at times describes as 'aesthetic' freedom, and which involves harmony between the sensuous side of human nature and reason.

There has been much discussion about the relationship between moral and aesthetic freedom in Schiller's thought.¹ He was particularly interested in the sublime during the early 1790s and then turned his attention to beauty in the 'Kallias' letters in 1793, and to developing the related concept of aesthetic freedom, especially in the 'Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen', completed in 1795. Yet Schiller's thought cannot be regarded in terms of progression from the sublime to a 'more mature ideal' of harmony.² In 1801, when preparing an edition of his theoretical works, he included for the first time the essay 'Ueber das Erhabene'. Although the essay cannot be dated exactly and may have been written much earlier, evidence suggests that Schiller worked on it after writing the 'Ästhetische Briefe', and after beginning work on 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung'.³ The fact that he included the essay in the 1801 edition and placed the 'Ästhetische Briefe' between it and 'Ueber das Pathetische' suggests that Schiller was still interested in the sublime and did not consider the findings of his

¹ See e.g. Beyer, op. cit., p.120; Blesch, op. cit., pp.346ff.; Finger, op. cit., pp.167ff.; Hell, op. cit., p.224; Koopmann and von Wiese, NA 21, p.330; Miller, op. cit., pp.68, 118-119; Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., Introduction, pp.lixff.

² As suggested by Miller, op. cit., p.98.

³ See Koopmann and von Wiese, NA 21, pp.328-330; Finger, op. cit., p.167; Staiger, E., Friedrich Schiller, p.27; Berghahn, K.L., Vom Pathetischen und Erhabenen, p.126.

earlier essays to be invalid.⁴ The idea of the sublime is also clearly of importance with regard to the thematic content of Schiller's later plays.⁵

The essay 'Ueber Anmuth und Würde' (1793), in which Schiller attacks Kant's moral rigorism, suggests that he saw a weakness in the fact that 'moral freedom' involved the suppression of an essential part of our human nature. The ideal of harmony emerged; but so, too, did the thought that in modern society, harmony is not always possible, and so the sublime remains necessary in certain situations. Evidence here and elsewhere suggests that moral freedom and aesthetic freedom are not mutually exclusive, but are complementary ideas, applicable in different situations in experience.⁶ An analysis of Schiller's theory of harmony or aesthetic freedom will show that its consequences for Schiller's attitude towards the effect of a work of art, and in particular to the dramatic illusion⁷, were similar to those described above in connection with the sublime.

4.2.1 The 'middle' or 'aesthetic' condition

At the end of the essay 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?', Schiller referred to the idea of temporarily

⁴ See Wilkinson, Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.lx; Berghahn, Vom Pathetischen und Erhabenen, p.162.

⁵ See e.g. Schiller to Goethe, 18.6.1799, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (607), p.764; Maria Stuart, NA 9; Die Jungfrau von Orleans, NA 9; Finger, op. cit.; Leistner, B., 'Ich habe deinen edlern Teil nicht retten können', pp.167ff.

⁶ See 'Ueber Anmuth und Würde', NA 20, p. 294, and von Wiese, Koopmann, NA 21, p.230; Ästhetische Briefe, Letter XXIII, footnote, NA 20, p.387, WW, p.166 and Introduction, pp.lix-lx; 'Ueber das Erhabene', NA 21, pp.41-43, 51-53; 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung', NA 21, pp.444ff. See also Finger, op. cit., p.169, Hell, op.cit., p.224, Berghahn, Vom Pathetischen und Erhabenen, p.127, and Düsing, W., 'Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen', ed. with Annotations, p.160.

⁷ cf. p.23 above.

restoring the lost totality of human nature in a 'middle condition', which was to be created in the theatre.⁸ In his review of Bürger's poetry, completed in 1790, Schiller took up the idea again, attributing the dichotomy to civilisation and to the specialisation of modern society, and suggesting that only poetry could re-unite the divided faculties of human nature. (NA 22, p.245) In 'Ueber den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen', Schiller described art as 'ein freyes Vergnügen', in which our faculties should be involved in 'free play' and 'according to their own laws'. However, he did not go into this in detail, but turned his attention to the assertion of moral freedom.⁹

In 'Ueber das Pathetische' Schiller differentiated between a moral judgement and an aesthetic one, in which the object judged is referred to the 'Bedürfnis der Einbildungskraft... sich frey von Gesetzen im Spiele zu erhalten'. (NA 20, p.214) This idea of freedom in play is, however, used only to justify the right to have 'immoral' subjects in tragedy.¹⁰

The different possible relationships between the sensuous and the supra-sensuous sides of human nature are discussed directly in 'Ueber Anmuth und Würde'. Here, Schiller presents three possible variations. Firstly, man can suppress the physical side of his nature in favour of the spiritual side; secondly, he can suppress the spiritual side in favour of the physical side; or thirdly, both parts can be in harmony and man at one with himself. The first option corresponds to the sublime, and Schiller stresses here that it involves the oppression of sensuous nature. In the second case, man

⁸ See 3.4 above.

⁹ See NA 20, p.135, and 4.1 above.

¹⁰ cf. also 'Gedanken über den Gebrauch des Gemeinen und Niedrigen in der Kunst', NA 20, pp. 244-245.

loses or is unaware of his inner independence or 'moral freedom'. The third condition - which Schiller also relates to beauty - occurs when both sides of human nature - 'Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit - Pflicht und Neigung' - are in harmony. (NA 20, p.282) Schiller describes this as the beauty of play. In this essay, Schiller argues in defence of the rights of sensuous nature, which is oppressed in the sublime. Moral perfection can only be evident, he argues, when inclination has a share in a moral action.¹¹ The sense-drive should not be subdued, but in harmony with the power of reason, so that man obeys his reason naturally and with pleasure. (NA 20, pp.283-284) This leads Schiller to develop the idea of the 'schöne Seele', the embodiment of his concept of harmony, 'wo Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft, Pflicht und Neigung harmoniren...'. (NA 20, p.288) This ideal of harmony, with which Schiller moves away from Kant's rigoristic moral philosophy, becomes the ideal for the process of aesthetic education by means of art, which Schiller develops in the 'Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen'.¹²

In this treatise, the ideas of a middle condition, restoring the lost totality of human nature, and 'free play' of all the faculties resulting in the ideal of wholeness are developed and combined in a concept of aesthetic education. Its aim is to restore totality, the freedom of the whole man.

Schiller describes the two basic 'drives' ('Triebe') which he considers to be active in man as the 'sense' drive and the 'form'

¹¹ See the letter from Schiller to Kant, 13.6.1794, NA 27 (11), p.13, on Schiller's attitude to Kant at this time. See also the editors' notes, NA 21, pp.218, 220, and Beyer, op. cit.

¹² From now on, page references to Wilkinson's and Willoughby's edition are marked 'WW' and precede the NA references, which are also given for convenience, in brackets after quotations. The orthography follows Wilkinson's and Willoughby's edition, in which it has been modernised and there is no 'ß'. The Roman numerals preceding the page references refer to the number of the letter quoted.

drive.(XXII, WW pp.78, 80, NA 20 pp.344-346) The ideal relationship between them should be a sort of reciprocal action in which each prevents the other from encroaching on territory which does not belong to it. Schiller describes this situation as an ideal which man can approach, but never actually reach. If there were instances where man could at the same time be conscious of the sensuous and the supra-sensuous sides of his nature, he would temporarily become aware of his human nature in its totality. Such occasions would awaken a new drive, which Schiller calls the 'Spieltrieb' (XV, WW p.96, NA 20 p.353), arguing that the term 'play' is used to define 'alles das, was weder subjektiv noch objektiv zufällig ist und doch weder äusserlich noch innerlich nötig!', (XV, WW pp.103-104, NA 20, p.357) ¹³

This is the case, Schiller argues, when we contemplate the beautiful. However, in Letter XVI Schiller again stresses that the highest ideal of beauty, resulting from the reciprocal action of the two drives, can never be fulfilled in reality. The highest that experience can offer will be an oscillation between the two. Beauty in experience, as opposed to the idea of beauty, will always be one of two types, which Schiller describes as 'eine schmelzende und eine energische Schönheit'. (XVI, WW p.112, NA 20 p.361) ¹⁴ Different people require a different sort of beauty to compensate for the bias of their person-

¹³ For a detailed analysis of Schiller's concept of 'Spiel', see Kowatzki, I., Der Begriff des Spiels als ästhetisches Phänomen von Schiller bis Benn, pp.7-68.

¹⁴ cf. Kant's Kritik der Urteilskraft, Section 29. 'Energizing' is suggested by Wilkinson and Willoughby (ed. cit., p.113) to translate 'energisch' and seems preferable to Miller's 'energetic' (op. cit., p.115).

alities towards one of the two drives in everyday life.¹⁵

Beauty leads sensuous man to form and thought, spiritual man to matter and the world of sense. This is Schiller's basis for arguing that beauty must put us into a 'mittlere Stimmung, in welcher das Gemüt weder physisch noch moralisch genötigt und doch auf beide Art tätig ist...'. (XX, WW p.140, NA 20 p.375)¹⁶ He describes this condition as 'free' or 'aesthetic'.¹⁷ Schiller also presents it as

¹⁵ Schiller claims that this explains the discrepancy which one tends to find in judgements on the influence of beauty and in people's appreciation of aesthetic culture. Schiller says he intends to examine the effects of melting beauty on the tense, energizing beauty on the relaxed, in order to dissolve the two opposites in the unity of Ideal beauty. In fact he does not examine the effects of energizing beauty in this treatise. (See Wilkinson and Willoughby, ed. cit., p.256). Some scholars, including the NA editors, NA 21, p.266, claim that the sublime is identical with energizing beauty and that the information missing here is contained in 'Ueber das Erhabene'. (See NA 21, p.330.) Wilkinson and Willoughby describe the two different views on the topic in their Introduction, ed. cit., p.lviii. See also Kaiser, G., Von Arkadien nach Elysium, p.31, Note 67 and Miller, op. cit., p.116.

¹⁶ This middle condition has various layers of meaning within the treatise. The one of interest with reference to the dramatic illusion is its presentation as a way of mediating between the two simultaneously existing extremes of 'sense' and 'form' in contemporary man. This view emerges again in Schiller's explicit references to tragedy in XXII. See also Note 18 below.

¹⁷ On Schiller's choice of the term 'ästhetisch' here, see his letter to Garve, 25.1.1795, NA 27 (96), p.126. On other meanings of 'aesthetic' in the eighteenth century, and on Schiller's flexible attitude to words and their meanings, see Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., pp.303-304.

'diesen Zustand der realen und aktiven Bestimmbarkeit'. (ibid)¹⁸

Aesthetic culture restores to man the possibility to make of himself what he will. Schiller views this as the highest of all gifts, the gift of humanity itself. Aesthetic culture temporarily restores this humanity when it has been lost in a determinate condition, and makes it possible to pass from one condition to an opposite one.

Direct sense experience and intellectual exertion represent bias in the direction of one of our drives. When we enjoy beauty, on the other hand, we are masters of both at the same time, and can turn with equal ease to seriousness or play, rest or movement, abstract thought or the contemplation of phenomena.

The aesthetic object, then, according to the theory of the beautiful which Schiller presents in the 'Ästhetische Briefe', is one which evokes a balanced response from both sides of human nature, a response which Schiller here describes as 'freedom'. Such an object must not appeal primarily either to the sense drive or to the form drive, but must bring about free play of the faculties, in which neither is at an advantage over the other.

4.2.2 Aesthetic freedom and the theatrical experience

Letter XXII is the one which deals most specifically with the

¹⁸ This condition of indeterminacy is viewed both as a state of poise between feeling and thought in general, and from a diachronic perspective with regard to the development of the individual and of the species. At some points in the treatise, Schiller presents the aesthetic condition as an aim, at other times as a means towards morality. Critics' interpretations of the 'different' meanings relate to their views on the status of the treatise as a whole: whether it is complete in itself, contains different stages of Schiller's thought etc. See Wilkinson and Willoughby, ed. cit., pp.xliiiff., xlixff; Düsing's edition, pp.160-164; Borchmeyer, 'Aufklärung und politische Kultur', p.137; Janz, R., Autonomie und soziale Funktion der Kunst, pp.65ff.; Voges, R., Das Ästhetische und die Erziehung. Werdegang einer Idee, pp.15-38; Kaiser, G., op.cit., pp.30-31 and Beyer, op. cit., pp.126-127.

aesthetic condition as the ideal effect of a work of art:

Diese hohe Gleichmütigkeit und Freiheit des Geistes mit Kraft und Rüstigkeit verbunden ist die Stimmung, in der uns ein echtes Kunstwerk entlassen soll, und es gibt keinen sicherern Proberstein der wahren ästhetischen Güte.
(XXII, WW p.152, NA 20 p.380)

If one applies this to the drama, it implies that the audience must not be encouraged to believe in the reality of the action or identify with the characters to the point where the sense drive is more involved than the form drive and the audience loses its freedom as a result of emotional involvement; nor may the intellect of the audience be so active that its emotional participation is prevented and freedom is lost as a result of reflection. Schiller argues that if we feel inclined towards a particular type of action after contemplating a work of art, and disinclined towards another, we have not had a true aesthetic experience.

Each art form, in Schiller's view, has its own particular weakness, when it comes to arousing the ideal effect of art. Music has a very close affinity with the senses.¹⁹ Poetry has to work through the medium of the imagination. Sculpture, by virtue of its conceptual precision,²⁰ borders on science. Thus each art is in danger of being biased in favour of a particular faculty. The more excellent a work of art, the more these particular affinities will disappear and the closer the effects of the different arts will come to each other: 'Die Poesie in ihrer vollkommensten Ausbildung muss uns, wie die

¹⁹ Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe ed. cit., p.265, note that these remarks on music are the fruit of discussions with Körner and Goethe.

²⁰ Wilkinson and Willoughby, *ibid*, pp.154-155, for 'Bestimmtheit des Begriffs'.

Plastik, mit ruhiger Klarheit umgeben'. (XXII, WW p.154, NA 20 p.381)²¹

The artist must overcome not only the limitations imposed by his medium, but also those deriving from the contents of his work. In the 'Kallias' letters, Schiller had made one of the most important distinctions for his view of art: the real object imitated is only the material for a work of art and will always be opposed to the 'form' or the idea which the artist executes using that material. (Jonas 3, pp.294-295) The actual material imitated must be transformed in the final product. Direct imitation of reality will never create a beautiful work of art. In the 'Ästhetische Briefe', Schiller insists:

In einem wahrhaft schönen Kunstwerk soll der Inhalt nichts, die Form aber alles tun; denn durch die Form allein wird auf das Ganze des Menschen, durch den Inhalt hingegen, nur auf einzelne Kräfte gewirkt... nur von der Form ist wahre ästhetische Freiheit zu erwarten. (XXII, WW p.154, NA 20 p.382)

In this treatise, form is presented as a central feature of art. The subject matter, the 'contents' of a work of art, must be completely transformed by the artist. The raw subject matter can endanger the psychical freedom of the spectator. Only through the formal virtues of art, which remove it from the limitations of reality and enable it to work on the spectator as a whole human being, can this danger be removed or at least reduced:

Darin also besteht das eigentliche Kunstgeheimnis des Meisters, dass er den Stoff durch die Form vertilgt; und je imposanter, anmassender, verführerischer der Stoff an sich selbst ist, je eigenmächtiger derselbe mit seiner Wirkung sich vordrängt oder je mehr der Betrachter geneigt ist, sich unmittelbar mit dem Stoff einzulassen, desto triumphierender ist die Kunst, welche jenen

²¹ Schiller applies this idea in his criticism of Klopstock's Messias in 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung', NA 20, pp.455-457.

zurückzwingt und über diesen die Herrschaft behauptet.
(XXII, WW p.156, NA 20 p.382)²²

This passage has been the cause of much controversy because Schiller - the advocate of freedom - here uses images of force: 'zurückzwingt' and 'die Herrschaft behauptet'.²³ It is not clear whether 'jenen' refers to 'der Betrachter' and 'diesen' to 'Stoff' or vice versa. No matter which interpretation is assumed, it seems to be a question of applying some sort of force to the beholder.²⁴ From an early stage Schiller was aware of the dramatist's potential power over the audience, and he again asserted his belief in it at a very late stage.²⁵ It is difficult to reconcile this with Schiller's aim of maintaining the 'freedom' of the spectator by generating balanced appeal to emotion and reason. For Schiller, drama's potential for strong sensuous appeal makes it a 'dangerous' art form.²⁶ If the dramatist exploits his power to enslave the emotions of the spectator and to encourage him to become totally involved in the subject matter, neither moral freedom - the topic of his earlier essays on the sublime - nor aesthetic freedom - his main concern here - can be guaranteed. The dramatist must work to prevent the imbalance in favour of emotional effect which Schiller sees as an inherent disadvantage of the dramatic form, and especially of tragedy. The central idea of the controversial 'Herrschaft' passage in Letter XXII is the

²² See also Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., Introduction, pp.clxxvi f. and Glossary, pp.308-310, 317-320.

²³ See e.g. Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., pp.xxx-xxxi, Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, pp.232-233.

²⁴ See also Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.341.

²⁵ See Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.232. cf. 1.4.7 above.

²⁶ For detailed discussion, see Borchmeyer, *ibid*, pp.232-233.

creation of distance between the beholder and the subject matter. It relates to 'Schiller's characteristic modification of the classical rule of éloignement into a psychological principle'.²⁷ The dramatist's power to enslave the audience in the theatre also bestows upon him the responsibility not to misuse it. He must turn his material into a form which ensures the freedom of the spectator. Schiller states his main concern directly in Letter XXII:

Das Gemüt des Zuschauers und Zuhörers muss völlig frei und unverletzt bleiben, es muss aus dem Zauberkreise des Künstlers rein und vollkommen wie aus den Händen des Schöpfers gehen.
(XXII, WW p.156, NA 20 p.382)

Tragedy, Schiller goes on to point out, is not a 'free' art, as it has to work via the emotions and is 'unter der Dienstbarkeit eines besonderen Zweckes (des Pathetischen)'.(ibid)²⁸ The 'pathetic', in Schiller's sense, involves both strong emotional appeal and the experiencing of the human capacity for moral freedom.²⁹ As tragedy serves the particular aim of promoting awareness of the human faculty for freedom via the presentation of suffering, it is not a 'free' art which aims only to present the beautiful and which evokes a harmonious response from the spectator. Yet this does not detract from the relevance of aesthetic freedom to tragedy, Schiller argues. Precisely because of the likelihood of high audience identification and strong emotion in the tragedy, Schiller is concerned to maintain the audience's 'Gemütsfreiheit' there. The danger of the emotional side of human nature gaining the upper hand is particularly strong in tragedy. However, its highest ideal is attained when, in spite of the

²⁷ Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.341. They argue this point very strongly. cf. also Schiller's insistence on distance in 'Über Bürgers Gedichte', NA 22, pp.255-256.

²⁸ The brackets are in Schiller's text.

²⁹ cf 4.1 above

dangers inherent in the genre, the freedom of the spectator is respected. Tragedy can only make the audience aware of the human capacity for moral freedom if its psychological freedom is maintained in the theatre.³⁰ Schiller's scepticism towards the genre of tragedy was so strong that in 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung' he even argues 'daß die Comödie einem wichtigern Ziel entgegengeht, und sie würde, wenn sie es erreichte, alle Tragödie überflüssig und unmöglich machen'. (NA 20, p.446) If the ideal of harmony could be attained, if man could be free in his totality all the time, there would be no need for tragedy, the genre in which human suffering must be presented and the emotions attacked to reveal moral freedom. But as long as man is a human being, with a dual nature, as long as he finds himself in physical circumstances, there will always be cases in which conflicts will arise, harmony and totality will not be possible and awareness of moral freedom can only be reached at the expense of the physical side of human nature. Nevertheless, Schiller insists here that even tragic material must be handled in such a way that the aesthetic freedom of the spectator is maintained to the highest possible degree:

darum wird wohl kein wahrer Kunstkenner leugnen, dass Werke, auch selbst aus dieser Klasse, um so vollkommener sind, je mehr sie auch im höchsten Sturme des Affekts die Gemütsfreiheit schonen. (XXII, WW p.156, NA 20 p.382)

Once more, Schiller rejects bias not only in the direction of emotional involvement, but equally in the direction of rational or moral influence:

Nicht weniger widersprechend ist der Begriff einer schönen lehrenden (didaktischen) oder bessernden (moralischen) Kunst, denn nichts streitet mehr mit dem Begriff der Schönheit, als dem

³⁰ See also the discussion of 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie' in 4.5.2 below.

Gemüt eine bestimmte Tendenz zu geben. (XXII, WW p.156, NA 20 p.382)

Schiller would, then, have objected to the political theatre of Bertolt Brecht.³¹ Whereas Schiller modified the éloignement principle to a form of 'psychical' distance, which is necessary both between the poet and his creation and between the recipient and the work of art, Brecht considered it necessary to create distance by 'alienation' effects and so free the audience from captivity in emotional involvement. Yet Brecht may be accused of manipulating the minds of his spectators by his desire to put across a particular political message. This type of art is rejected by Schiller, because it does not respect the freedom of the psyche.³²

It could be suggested that Schiller's art is not 'free' either, as it is used in the service of 'aesthetic education'.³³ Schiller certainly saw art as a means of countering the negative effects of the specialisation of modern society.³⁴ Ultimately, he hoped to bring about social change by means of aesthetic education. In Letter IX, he insists: 'alle Verbesserung im Politischen soll von Veredlung des Charakters ausgehen', (IX, WW p.54, NA 20, p.332) and describes art

³¹ cf. Schiller's criticism of Diderot in the letter to Goethe of 7.8.1797, Briefwechsel ed. Staiger (351), p.430.

³² See also the discussion of these points by Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., p.clxix.

³³ For fuller discussion of this topic, see Beyer, op. cit., p.139; Janz, op. cit., pp.64-65; Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, pp.72, 244-245; Wilkinson and Willoughby, Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., Intro, pp.clxxviiff; cf. also Schiller to Goethe, 12.12.1797, Briefwechsel ed. Staiger (385), p.512.

³⁴ See Wölfel, K., 'Zur Geschichtlichkeit des Autonomiebegriffs', pp.571-572.
A contrary view is expressed by Abusch, A., 'Die Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen', pp.95ff, who claims that treatise represents a flight from reality and that it advocates escapism and political inactivity.

as a 'tool' to carry out this refinement of character, restore the totality of the human psyche and ultimately change man's way of living.(ibid) ³⁵ Yet Schiller rejects external purposes for art, and any sort of direct didacticism. Brecht's tendentious theatre perhaps suggests the sense in which Schiller considers aesthetic education to be 'free'. It is not in the service of any particular party or point of view. The only law governing free, beautiful art is that it should engage the totality of human nature, which has been divided by modern society. There is an underlying idea of ultimate individual and social improvement. But Schiller's art does not seek to influence the mind in any one direction, but rather involves the development of the human faculties for the sake of humanity.

When it comes to relating Schiller's theory to reality and to his own practice, one must always bear in mind the distinctions which he makes between the ideal and the real. Ideally, the spectators should leave the theatre in a balanced frame of mind, without having been influenced in any particular direction, and fitted for any sort of activity. In practice, Schiller emphasises, the ideal can never be realized:

Da in der Wirklichkeit keine rein ästhetische Wirkung anzutreffen ist (denn der Mensch kann nie aus der Abhängigkeit der Kräfte treten), so kann die Vortrefflichkeit eines Kunstwerks bloss in seiner grössern Annäherung zu jenem Ideale ästhetischer Reinigkeit bestehen, und bei aller Freiheit, zu der man es steigern mag, werden wir es doch immer in einer besondern Stimmung und mit einer eigentümlichen Richtung verlassen. Je allgemeiner nun die Stimmung und je weniger eingeschränkt die Richtung ist, welche unserem Gemüt durch eine bestimmte Gattung der Künste und durch ein bestimmtes Produkt aus derselben gegeben wird, desto edler ist jene Gattung und desto vortrefflicher ein solches Produkt. (XXII, WW p.152. NA 20, p.380)

In Letter XX Schiller uses the image of the scales with reference to

³⁵ See also Letter II, WW p.8, NA 20 p.312; Schiller to Goethe, 20.10.1794, Briefwechsel ed. Staiger (19), p.57.

the aesthetic condition: 'Die Schalen einer Waage stehen gleich, wenn sie leer sind; sie stehen aber auch gleich, wenn sie gleiche Gewichte enthalten'. (WW p.140, NA 20, p.375) It may also be applied here. If the two sides of human nature are satisfied in equal degrees, the scales will be balanced. In practice, the dramatist is likely to move them too far towards one side at some points, and must restore the balance by adding the same amount to the other side. The balance may also be disturbed in the response of individual spectators. Some will require the 'relaxing' effect, some the 'tensing' effect of beauty. When they watch a play in the theatre, the effect will be more satisfying, more successful in restoring totality for some members of the audience than for others. This idea appears with concrete references to different groups in contemporary society in a letter from Schiller to Goethe, 31.1.1798:

Es ist gewiß, daß dem Aesthetischen, so wenig es auch die Leerheit vertragen kann, die Frivolität doch weit weniger widerspricht, als die Ernsthaftigkeit, und weil es dem Deutschen weit natürlicher ist, sich zu beschäftigen und zu bestimmen, als sich in Freiheit zu setzen, so hat man bei ihm immer schon etwas Aesthetisches gewonnen, wenn man ihn nur von der Schwere des Stoffs befreit, denn seine Natur sorgt schon hinlänglich dafür, daß seine Freiheit nicht ganz ohne Kraft und Gehalt ist. Mir gefallen darum die Geschäftsleute und Philister überhaupt weit beßer in einer solchen spielenden Stimmung als die müßigen Weltleute, denn bei diesen bleibt das Spiel immer Kraft- und Gehaltleer: Man sollte einen Theil in die Oper und den andern in die Tragödie schicken.³⁶

If it is to have the effect of a beautiful work of art on the human psyche, drama must appeal as far as possible to the emotional and to the rational sides of human nature at the same time. The spectators must be allowed to identify, but only in the knowledge that they are watching art and not reality. The mind must be active, but without a coldness or an excess of rationality which would preclude emotional

³⁶ NA 29, (198), pp.198-199.

involvement. The dramatic illusion must be such that the spectators are aware of being in the theatre and able to distance themselves from the emotions they experience, in the knowledge that they are taking part in an aesthetic event, which is distinct from everyday life. This is the 'single if complex psychical state' outlined in 1.4.2.2 above.³⁷ Of course the spectator's distance will vary in degree. But the overall presentation of the subject matter should be such that no illusion-breaking is necessary, as the audience remains aware of the artistic nature of the action.

³⁷ cf. pp.23, 26-29 above.

4.3 The autonomy of art

After moral freedom and aesthetic freedom, the third idea in Schiller's aesthetic theory which has direct consequences for the dramatic illusion is that of the autonomy of art. It is intrinsically related to the ideas of moral and aesthetic freedom, and may even be seen as a consequence which results independently from each of them. If the audience is to become aware of its moral freedom, the aesthetic experience of 'sympathetic' suffering must be clearly different from real suffering, as discussed in 4.1. In real life, it is difficult to become aware of the human faculty for freedom, because only those with an extremely highly developed moral sense can abstract from their own misfortune to the extent where they can take pleasure in being morally free from it. Thus, art must be autonomous with respect to real life so that the distance necessary for this awareness is attained.

In real life aesthetic freedom - understood as the harmony of our physical and our spiritual natures - has been taken away and can only be restored temporarily in art, and perhaps, in the long run, by aesthetic education. Thus art must represent a different experience from reality, in which there is usually a bias towards one side of human nature or the other, as discussed in 4.2.

There is a path, then, from each of these ideas to the demand that art should be autonomous. This demand may be broken down into two main elements. The first is the rejection of actuality and the features of everyday life as far as the subject matter of art is concerned, a requirement which emerged in connection with the sublime in 4.1 above, and in connection with aesthetic harmony in 4.2.¹ The

¹ cf. pp.143-144, 156-157 above.

second is the insistence that art should not be subject to any external aims, which emerged in 4.2 above.²

4.3.1 Schiller's rejection of everyday reality in art

As early as 1788, Schiller emphasises the value of the 'truth' of a work of art as distinct from historical truth on the grounds that the former draws more general conclusions as to how people act in particular situations.³ It may be argued that at this point Schiller is still in the tradition of Lessing's 'Aristotelian' view of the difference between history and fiction. He also keeps to the traditional view that art is useful in helping us to get to know human nature.⁴

In a letter to Körner written two weeks later, Schiller notes that the poet should deal with the ideal rather than the real.⁵ This forms one of the central ideas in Schiller's review of Bürger's poetry, (1790) which has actually been described as an excuse for a programmatic outline of his newly-won view that the artist should

² cf. pp.159-161 above.
The idea of autonomy was present in the theories of J.E. Schlegel and Baumgarten, as discussed in 2.7.1 above. See also v. Wiese, Friedrich Schiller, pp. 399-400, C. Bürger, op. cit., pp.119-120, and Wölfel, op. cit., p.569, on the development of the autonomy theory and the role of Schiller's contemporary K.P. Moritz. Bürger (p.120) notes that when Moritz spent time in Weimar, his aesthetic theory met with general enthusiasm, except on the part of Schiller, in spite of apparent similarities between Moritz's ideas and Schiller's later aesthetic theory.

³ Schiller to C. v. Beulwitz, 10.12.1788, NA 25, (120), p.154. Ilse Graham in Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, pp.234ff., also demonstrates the central significance of the differentiation between poetic and historical truth and Schiller's corresponding rejection of naturalism.

⁴ cf. 2.1.2, 2.7.4 and 3.3 above.

⁵ 25.12.1788, NA 25, (127), pp.166-168.

idealise:⁶

Ihm (dem Dichter) kommt es zu, das Vortreffliche seines Gegenstandes (mag dieser nun Gestalt, Empfindung oder Handlung sein, in ihm oder außer ihm wohnen) von gröbern, wenigstens fremdartigen Beimischungen zu befreien, die in mehrern Gegenständen zerstreuten Strahlen von Vollkommenheit in einem einzigen zu sammeln, einzelne, das Ebenmaß zerstörende Züge der Harmonie des Ganzen zu unterwerfen, das Individuelle und Lokale zum Allgemeinen zu erheben. (NA 22, p.253)

Schiller describes clearly how the work of literature should differ from reality. It is no longer just a case of 'inner' truth instead of real, historical truth, but of moving away from individual and local detail in presentation towards generality and of removing all features which are not essential to the harmony of the whole.

These ideas are taken up again and expounded in Schiller's review of Matthisson's poetry (1794). Schiller emphasises the difference between reality and the 'truth' of a work of art:

In einem Gedicht muß alles wahre Natur sein, denn die Einbildungskraft gehorcht keinem andern Gesetze und erträgt keinen andern Zwang, als den die Natur der Dinge ihr vorschreibt; in einem Gedicht darf aber nichts wirkliche (historische) Natur sein, denn alle Wirklichkeit ist mehr oder weniger Beschränkung jener allgemeinen Naturwahrheit. (NA 22, p.269)

Schiller refers to the poem in particular here, but he considers these statements to be valid for all works of art. Reality, in his view, represents limitation, specific cases rather than the generally valid experience into which it must be transformed by art. This rejection of all particular and contingent features leads Schiller to the concept of 'style': 'Nur in Wegwerfung des Zufälligen und in dem reinen Ausdruck des Notwendigen liegt der große Stil'. (NA 22, p.269)⁷

⁶ See NA 22, editors' note, p.411.

⁷ cf. the detailed discussion of 'Stil' and 'Manier' in the 'Kallias' letter of 28.2.1793, Jonas 3, (646), pp.295ff., also Schiller's letter to Goethe of 23.8.1794, Briefwechsel ed. Staiger, (4), pp.33-35.

In 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung', Schiller again rejects the imitation of reality in poetry, basing his argument on his theory of the triadic development of man. He emphasises that the role of poetry is 'die Darstellung des Ideals'. In modern society, where man's nature is divided, it is no longer possible for poetry to be 'die möglichst vollständige Nachahmung des Wirklichen'. This was its role in the original state of harmony, where the whole of man's nature was expressed in reality. For modern man, poetry means 'der Menschheit ihren möglichst vollständigen Ausdruck zu geben' (NA 20, p.437), and this is not possible by imitating imperfect reality. The 'naive' poet imitates reality. It is a different matter for the sentimental poet:

Dieser reflektiert über den Eindruck, den die Gegenstände auf ihn machen und nur auf jene Reflexion ist die Rührung gegründet, in die er selbst versetzt wird, und uns versetzt. (NA 20, p.441)

In a letter to Herder of 4.11.1795, Schiller claims poetry is as opposed to the business of everyday life as it is to prose. The poetic genius has no option but to withdraw from the prosaic reality of modern society or run the risk of becoming infected by it and so of being destroyed completely.⁸

Schiller illustrates his rejection of closeness to real life with concrete references to the art of acting in the 'Kallias' letters and in 'Ueber Anmuth und Würde'. In 'Kallias', he insists that the actor should present something which appears to be 'natural' - but in the sense of 'self-determined', not in the sense of being a close replica of real life. Schiller argues that if we become aware of the artist's personality, or if his presentation shows us the personality he is

⁸

NA 28, (82), p.98.

N. Oellers, NA 28, p.446, claims this letter shows the main difference between Schiller and Herder: i.e. that Schiller refuses to believe poetry is born of the spirit of the age.

playing as matter, rather than as an 'idea', as artistic form, then there is no beauty.⁹

In 'Ueber Anmuth und Würde' Schiller says we require of the actor '1) Wahrheit der Darstellung und 2) Schönheit der Darstellung'. He explains:

Nun behaupte ich, daß der Schauspieler, was die Wahrheit der Darstellung betrifft, alles durch Kunst und nichts durch Natur hervorbringen müsse, weil er sonst gar nicht Künstler ist; und ich werde ihn bewundern, wenn ich höre oder sehe, daß er, der einen wüthenden Guelfo meisterhaft spielte, ein Mensch von sanftem Charakter ist; auf der andern Seite hingegen behaupte ich, daß er, was die Anmuth der Darstellung betrifft, der Kunst gar nichts zu danken haben dürfe, und daß hier alles an ihm freiwilliges Werk der Natur seyn müsse. Wenn es mir bey der Wahrheit seines Spiels beyfällt, daß ihm dieser Charakter nicht natürlich ist, so werde ich ihn nur um so höher schätzen; wenn es mir bey der Schönheit seines Spiels beyfällt, daß ihm diese anmuthigen Bewegungen nicht natürlich sind, so werde ich mich nicht enthalten können, über den Menschen zu zürnen, der hier den Künstler zu Hülfe nehmen mußte. (NA 20, pp.269-270)

Although Schiller stresses in the 'Kallias' passage that the actor should not allow us to see his own personality, he insists here that the actor should not 'become' his role, but should achieve 'Wahrheit' by artistic means rather than becoming involved with his role as a real person. If we become aware that the actor is playing a role that is not natural to him, Schiller feels that our admiration will even be increased. The actor is required to have natural grace, but not a natural affinity with his role. Here, once more, we find an insistence that art must be separate from reality and content shaped by form.

Schiller saw Shakespeare's Julius Caesar as an example of a successful move away from everyday life in drama. In his presentation of the people, especially in the crowd scenes, Shakespeare must have had 'mehr ein poetisches Abstractum als Individuen im Auge', he claims. His choice of a few individuals to represent the masses is an example

⁹ Schiller to Körner, 28.2.1793, Jonas 3, (646), pp.296-297.

of a move away from the close imitation of nature which Schiller rejects. It is necessary to draw a strict line between reality and poetry, although it is not always easy to see where it runs:

Es geschähe den Poeten und Künstlern schon dadurch ein großer Dienst, wenn man nur erst ins Klare gebracht hätte, was die Kunst von der Wirklichkeit wegnehmen oder fallen lassen muß. Das Terrain würde lichter und reiner, das Kleine und Unbedeutende verschwände und für das Große würde Platz.¹⁰

In a letter to Goethe of 24.8.1798, Schiller relates this theory of separating art from everyday reality to techniques of his own practice.¹¹ He describes his own use of long speeches which are not essential to the progress of the action as an example of a technique to distinguish the artistic nature of the drama from real life. This is in accordance with the symbolic function of his characters, he claims. Schiller regards the ancient Greeks as an example to be imitated in this respect, and derives a 'poetic law' from their method of moving away from reality in the style of language and expression in the drama. The artist must openly depart from reality and draw attention to the fact that he is doing so, Schiller argues.¹² It is clear that these ideas have implications for the dramatic illusion. The aesthetic experience is to serve a function which everyday experience cannot serve. The type of illusion which promotes maximum identification and encourages the audience to experience emotions close to those of real life is not suitable for Schiller's purpose. By its form - including features such as the use of elevated language or extended speeches - and by avoiding subject matter from contemporary reality, the drama is to emphasise deliber-

¹⁰ Schiller to Goethe, 7.4.1797, Briefwechsel ed. Staiger, (293), p.367.

¹¹ Briefwechsel ed. Staiger (490), p.665. The passage is quoted in 5.2 below.

¹² *ibid.*

ately that it is not real life. Schiller is interested in preventing the creation of an illusion which the audience - either consciously or unconsciously, momentarily or for any length of time - can mistake for reality.

4.3.2 Schiller's rejection of external aims

In the letter to Körner of 25.12.1788 mentioned above¹³, Schiller not only claims that the poet should deal with the ideal rather than the real, but also suggests that art should be autonomous in the sense that it should be its own master not governed directly by any external features:

...ich bin überzeugt, daß jedes Kunstwerk nur sich selbst, d.h. seiner eigenen Schönheitsregel Rechenschaft geben darf, und keiner andern Forderung unterworfen ist. Hingegen glaube ich auch festiglich, daß es gerade auf diesem Wege auch alle übrigen Forderungen mittelbar befriedigen muß, weil sich jede Schönheit doch endlich in allgemeine Wahrheit auflösen läßt.¹⁴

In 'Ueber den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen' Schiller rejects in particular the aim of moral didacticism, to which he himself had earlier adhered.¹⁵ He does not deny that art has a moral dimension; he accepts that the involvement of man's mental and moral faculties is an inescapable and natural part of the means by which art creates pleasure. However, morality has apparently become a means rather than an end for Schiller. It plays a necessary role in his view of art, but must not be seen as the aim of art. He goes on to explain why this distinction between means and end is so important

¹³ See Note 5 above.

¹⁴ NA 25, (127), pp.167-168.
In a letter to Körner, 9.2.1789, NA 25, (144), pp.199-200, Schiller describes the influence of Wieland on his rejection of art being in the service of any aim.

¹⁵ See NA 20, p.134; cf. 3.3 above.

for the perfection of art:

Ist der Zweck selbst moralisch, so verliert sie (die Kunst) das wodurch sie allein mächtig ist, ihre Freiheit, und das, wodurch sie so allgemein wirksam ist, den Reiz des Vergnügens.
(NA 20, pp.134-135)

In this essay, Schiller does not quite succeed in his rejection of moral didacticism, as he reverts to the concept of 'moralische Zweckmäßigkeit'.¹⁶

In the 'Kallias' letters, Schiller develops a theory of beauty which provides a deeper basis for the rejection of moral didacticism in art: 'Schönheit... ist nichts anders, als Freiheit in der Erscheinung'.¹⁷ A beautiful object cannot actually be 'free', as Schiller defines freedom as an attribute of practical reason. If however, an object makes the impression of being 'free' - that is, independent and not created to suit a particular purpose - then, according to Schiller's theory here, it is beautiful. Schiller has taken what he sees as the central idea of Kant's moral philosophy: 'Bestimme Dich aus Dir selbst' and applied it to objects, which have no free will. Freedom in appearance, he stresses, is 'nichts anders, als Selbstbestimmung an einem Dinge insofern sie sich in der Anschauung offenbart' (pp.255-256). If an object - or a work of art - appears to be free and self-determined, then it is beautiful to us. If we use it for some obvious external purpose - for instance to

¹⁶ See NA 20, pp.138-139. On the discrepancy between Kant's aesthetic 'Zweckmäßigkeit' (cf. *Kritik der Urteilkraft*, Section 11, ed. cit., p.221) and Schiller's 'moral' interpretation of it, see Borchmeyer, *Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit*, pp.230-231. Miller, op. cit., pp.88, 122-123, argues that Kant himself moves away from the idea of free pleasure towards the reassertion of the moral principle in his treatise, and that Schiller came closer to Kant's original concept of 'free' pleasure in his later aesthetic theory.
See also NA 21, editors' note, p.172.

¹⁷ Since the letters form an uninterrupted sequence, I shall give only page refs. to Jonas 3 in brackets within the main text as far as possible, here p.246.

carry out a moral intention - then there is no beauty.

Attacks on moral didacticism as the aim of art occur frequently in the 'Xenien', devised by Goethe and Schiller and published in 1797:

Lehret! Das ziemet euch wohl, auch wir verehren die Sitte,
Aber die Muse läßt sich nicht gebieten von Euch.
Nicht von dem Architect erwart' ich melodische Weisen,
Und, Moralist, von dir nicht zu dem Epos den Plan.
Vielfach sind die Kräfte des Menschen, o daß sich doch jede
Selbst beherrsche, sich selbst bilde zum herrlichsten aus!¹⁸

In the second of his 'Ästhetische Briefe', Schiller criticises contemporary society's overrating of the concept of usefulness, and stresses the associated disadvantages for art. (WW p.7, NA 20 p.311)¹⁹ It is in this treatise that Schiller's demand for the autonomy of art attains its most detailed and insistent formulation, culminating in Letter XXVI.

Schiller claims that it is delight in semblance,²⁰ the inclination towards ornamentation and play, which marks the savage's entry into humanity. (Letter XXVI, WW pp.191-192, NA 20, p.399) Interest in semblance represents a step towards culture, Schiller argues. It proves an outward freedom from necessity and want, because as long as we are ruled by these the imagination is chained to reality; and it proves an inner freedom, because it lets us see a power which, independent of any externals, has energy enough to ward off the pressure of matter. The semblance of things is the work of man, and a nature which delights in semblance is no longer delighting in what it receives, but in what it does.

¹⁸ 'An die Moralisten', NA I, p.304.
See also NA I, (296), p.310, (324), p.331.

¹⁹ On the extent to which Schiller was part of a general movement reacting against this trend, see Wölfel, op. cit., p.571.

²⁰ This translation for 'Schein' rather than 'appearance' is suggested by Wilkinson and Willoughby to avoid any confusion with 'Erscheinung'. See their edition of the Ästhetische Briefe, Glossary, p.328.

Schiller stresses that he is only referring to aesthetic semblance, which one distinguishes from reality and truth, and not to logical semblance, which one confuses with these.²¹ We love aesthetic semblance because it is semblance, and not because we mistake it for something better than illusion. Only aesthetic semblance is play. Logical semblance is mere deception. It can never harm truth that we attach value to aesthetic semblance, because we are never in danger of seeing it as truth.

Since all semblance derives not from nature as an external force, but from man as the perceiving subject, he has the right to deal with semblance according to his own laws. He may join together things which are separate in nature, or separate things joined in nature, as long as he observes the line separating his territory from the actual existence of things, which is the realm of nature. The more strictly man distinguishes between semblance and reality, form and substance, the more autonomy he is able to give to the former, the more he will not only extend the realm of beauty, but preserve the frontiers of truth.

But man only possesses this sovereign right in the world of semblance, in the realm of the imagination, and only as long as he keeps to certain conditions:

Sie sehen hieraus, dass der Dichter auf gleiche Weise aus seinen Grenzen tritt, wenn er seinem Ideal Existenz beilegt, und wenn er eine bestimmte Existenz damit bezweckt. Denn beides kann er nicht anders zu Stande bringen, als indem er entweder sein Dichterrecht überschreitet, durch das Ideal in das Gebiet der Erfahrung greift und durch die blosse Möglichkeit wirklichen Dasein zu bestimmen sich anmasst, oder indem er sein Dichterrecht aufgibt, die Erfahrung in das Gebiet des Ideals greifen lässt und die Möglichkeit auf die Bedingungen der Wirklichkeit einschränkt. (XXVI, WW p.196, NA 20, pp.401-402)

²¹ Wilkinson and Willoughby, ed. cit., p. 283, note that Schiller is using 'logical' in the Kantian rather than the Aristotelian sense, cf. *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Section 53. They note: 'A "logical illusion" would furnish us with false information about either actuality or truth'.

In this passage Schiller clearly rejects both art which aims to bring about a particular political or social result by didactic means, and naturalistic art, which aims to bring art as close to reality as possible. The two features of autonomy are brought together here. Art must show itself to be clearly different from actuality and refuse to be a tool for any external aims, such as moral or political didacticism.²²

Schiller insists:

Nur soweit er aufrichtig ist (sich von allem Anspruch auf Realität ausdrücklich lossagt), und nur soweit er selbständig ist (allen Beistand der Realität entbehrt), ist der Schein ästhetisch. Sobald er falsch ist und Realität heuchelt, und sobald er unrein und der Realität zu seiner Wirkung bedürftig ist, ist er nichts als ein niedriges Werkzeug zu materiellen Zwecken und kann nichts für die Freiheit des Geistes beweisen.
(XXVI, WW p.196, NA 20, p.402)

Letter XXVI makes it clear that only if the spectator in the theatre remains aware of illusion as such, that is of the theatre as theatre, can the dramatic illusion constitute an aesthetic experience. If the dramatist attempts to deceive the audience into confusing his illusion with real life either by close approximation to people, language or situations from real life, or by making direct reference to real life with a view to carrying out some external purpose, he endangers the freedom of the spectator and steps out of the sphere of the aesthetic.

4.3.3 Conclusions

The idea of autonomy, then, becomes an essential feature of Schiller's aesthetic theory with reference both to the moral freedom which derives from the sublime, and to the aesthetic freedom aroused

²² This point is also stressed by Wilkinson and Willoughby, ed. cit., p.286, and the NA editors, NA 21, p.275.

by beauty. There are some important conclusions which can be drawn about all three of these central ideas with regard to the dramatic illusion.

In 'Ueber das Erhabene', Schiller insists that for the purpose of educating our receptivity to the beautiful and the sublime, although nature offers numerous objects, man is better served by art:

Der nachahmende Bildungstrieb, der keinen Eindruck erleiden kann, ohne sogleich nach einem lebendigen Ausdruck zu streben, und in jeder schönen oder großen Form der Natur eine Ausforderung erblickt, mit ihr zu ringen, hat vor derselben den großen Vortheil voraus, dasjenige als Hauptzweck und als ein eigenes Ganzes behandeln zu dürfen, was die Natur - wenn sie es nicht gar absichtlos hinwirft - bey Verfolgung eines ihr näher liegenden Zwecks bloß im Vorbeygehen mitnimmt. Wenn die Natur in ihren schönen organischen Bildungen entweder durch die mangelhafte Individualität des Stoffes oder durch Einwirkung heterogener Kräfte Gewalt erleidet, oder wenn sie, in ihren großen und pathetischen Scenen, Gewalt ausübt und als eine Macht auf den Menschen wirkt, da sie doch bloß als Object der freyen Betrachtung aesthetisch werden kann, so ist ihre Nachahmerinn, die bildende Kunst, völlig frey, weil sie von ihrem Gegenstand alle zufällige Schranken absondert, und läßt auch das Gemüth des Betrachters frey, weil sie nur den Schein und nicht die Wirklichkeit nachahmt. Da aber der ganze Zauber des Erhabenen und Schönen nur in dem Schein und nicht in dem Inhalt liegt, so hat die Kunst alle Vortheile der Natur, ohne ihre Fesseln mit ihr zu theilen'.
(NA 21, pp.53-54)

In this important passage, Schiller comes back to the idea of the autonomy of art. Schiller is saying here that for both the beautiful and the sublime experiences, it is essential that the subject be aware that he is contemplating art and not reality.

Schiller is stressing once more the importance of transforming the everyday and contingent into the general, the type of idealising discussed above.²³ The psyche is to be 'free' in both experiences, and this is the sort of freedom which derives from awareness that this is art and not reality, freedom from the direct consequences which the real action would have, the freedom which is associated

²³ See 4.3.1 above.

specifically with the autonomous aesthetic nature of the experience. As far as the dramatic illusion is concerned, once more it becomes clear that whether it is a case of the beautiful or the sublime (and whether one believes the latter to be a form of beauty or not)²⁴, art must be clearly different from reality; the aesthetic experience must represent something obviously different from real experience; the dramatic illusion must not attempt to deceive the spectator into believing in its reality or reacting in the same way as in real life. Schiller's whole theory of the effects of beautiful and sublime art is ultimately dependent on this distinction. The lively sensuous appeal of theatre and the strong emotional effect which is the main feature of tragedy represent a danger to moral and to aesthetic freedom and must be tempered if moral or aesthetic freedom is to be achieved. They both involve a rejection of total illusion and closeness to real life, and the retention of a relatively high degree of distance between spectator and tragic action.

²⁴ cf. p.153, Note 15 above.

4.4 Schiller's attitude to the public and to contemporary literature

Schiller's aesthetic theory went against the popular trends of the age and often led him to adopt a critical attitude towards his contemporaries.

His relation to the public was a complex and a difficult one, even at a very early stage. In the 'Unterdrückte Vorrede' to Die Räuber he already makes a distinction between the small group of 'Kenner', which is able to discern the poet's true intention, and 'der Pöbel', amongst whom Schiller counts not only 'die Mistpanscher', but 'manchen Federhut und manchen Tressenrok und manchen weissen Kragen'.¹

In the 'Ankündigung' of the 'Rheinische Thalia', the periodical with which the young Schiller hoped to gain influence on a wider public, he aims at a positive relationship towards the public and stresses its importance for him. (NA 22, pp. 93-98) At the same time Schiller attacks authors who write or act just to please the public, and advocates strict criticism to combat this. This view was to become increasingly dominant in his own attitude towards the public and towards authors who provide 'inferior' material just to suit public taste. The positive attitude towards the public expressed here was soon to change to disappointment, when the 'Rheinische Thalia' lasted only one edition and its successor the 'Thalia' only twelve.²

On the whole, Schiller always wanted to have some sort of improving effect on the public and write for its good, yet at times he was almost driven to despair by its response. As his dramatic and aesthetic theory developed, the ideas discussed in the earlier sections

¹ NA 3, p.245.

² On the later Schiller's and Goethe's attitude towards the public, see also Helmut Brandt, 'Die "hochgesinnte" Verschwörung gegen das Publikum', in Unser Commercium, pp.19-35.

of this chapter came to be the foundation of Schiller's critical attitude towards both the contemporary public and contemporary literature. A cross-section of the views expressed in his essays and correspondence shows that Schiller's criticism was directed mainly at the popularity of 'realistic' subject matter, the prevalent idea that art should be 'useful', and the associated form of the dramatic illusion.

In 'Ueber den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen' Schiller distinguishes once more between two different groups in the audience, 'der große Haufe' and 'eine gewisse Klasse von Kennern'. Schiller criticises the former for being carried away by the content of the play and its emotional effect, without becoming aware of the form. He regards this as one extreme of reception. The other is represented by those who are too cool. They appreciate the dramatist's skill, but fail to experience the effect on the senses. (NA 20, p.147) Neither approach to art and theatre is correct in itself, in Schiller's view. He warns the reader to beware of the bad influences of both trends. Schiller's criticism is based on his desire for an aesthetic experience which will appeal to both sides of human nature and for an audience which will seek such an experience in the theatre.

In 'Ueber das Pathetische' Schiller makes a vehement attack on 'viele unsrer Romane und Trauerspiele, besonders der sogenannten Dramen (Mitteldinge zwischen Lustspiel und Trauerspiel) und der beliebten Familiengemälde'. In his view, their appeal is biased:

Sie bewirken bloß Ausleerungen des Thränensacks und eine wol-lüstige Erleichterung der Gefäße; aber der Geist geht leer aus, und die edlere Kraft im Menschen wird ganz und gar nicht dadurch gestärkt. (NA 20, p.199)

The disparaging terms in which Schiller describes especially the

plays and their effect demonstrate the extent of his dissatisfaction with the popularity of plays which go against all his rules. They appeal one-sidedly to the emotions, even to the instinctive physical reactions of the audience, while providing no nourishment or encouragement for the spiritual side of human nature. The concept of moral freedom is the basis for his rejection of drama which appeals only to the sensuous side of human nature. The spectators are so caught up in the life-like tear-jerking experience that they are unable to go beyond it - and indeed have no interest in doing so.

Schiller's dissatisfaction with the desire of his age for sensuous appeal, for the 'melting' effect of art, is echoed again in a letter to Süvern of 26.7.1800:

Unsre Tragödie, wenn wir eine solche hätten, hat mit der Ohnmacht, der Schlawheit, der Charakterlosigkeit des Zeitgeistes und mit einer gemeinen Denkart zu ringen, sie muß also Kraft und Charakter zeigen, sie muß das Gemüth zu erschüttern, zu erheben, aber nicht aufzulösen suchen. Die Schönheit ist für ein glückliches Geschlecht, aber ein unglückliches muß man erhaben zu rühren suchen.³

Schiller was bitterly disappointed by the reaction of the public to the 'Ästhetische Briefe' and 'Die Horen', in which they first appeared.⁴ In a letter to Fichte, written in 1795, he stresses that it is not his intention to please the public, of which he by now has a very low opinion. Schiller says the spirit of his treatise represents 'eine directe Opposition gegen den Zeitcharakter', which, he insists, can hardly make him the favourite of the public.⁵ Schiller refuses to write the sort of material which would make him attractive to the public at the cost of his own view of the nature

³ NA 30, (215), p.179.

⁴ See Schiller to Körner, 2.11.1795, NA 28 (80), p.96 and to Humboldt, 21.8.1795, NA 28 (28), p.30.

⁵ See NA 28 (20), pp.19-22, the 'Konzept' of Schiller's letter to Fichte of 4.8.1795.

and function of art.⁶ In a letter to Goethe of 15.5.1795, Schiller blames the difficulty in pleasing the public on the divided taste of the nation:

Das Publikum hat nicht mehr die Einheit des Kinder-Geschmacks und noch weniger die Einheit einer vollendeten Bildung. Es ist in der Mitte zwischen beiden, und das ist für schlechte Autoren eine herrliche Zeit, aber für solche, die nicht bloß Geld verdienen wollen, desto schlechter.⁷

Schiller's criticism here is clearly related to the idea of the triadic development of man. Schiller falls victim to a vicious circle of effect. He wishes to 'educate' the public to a restored totality by aesthetic means. However, because there is no totality, his aesthetic treatise meets with much opposition and fails to reach many of those who could be educated by it.⁸

Schiller describes his criticism of modern literature in 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung' as 'dieses jüngste Gericht über den größten Teil der deutschen Dichter'.⁹ He indulges in attacks both on the public and on the literature of his time in terms which leave no doubt as to his scornful attitude towards contemporary taste.

Since 'der gemeine Geschmack' is not able to distinguish between the beautiful and the merely pleasant, Schiller claims, it is easy for mediocre poets to usurp fame. (NA 20, p.447) He attacks in particular the cult of 'Empfindelei' and 'weinerliche Wesen', the appeal of merely 'melting' beauty without any signs of 'das energische Prinzip'. (NA 20, p.460)

⁶ See e.g. Schiller to Goethe, 18.11.1796, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (243), pp.311-312.

⁷ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (64), pp.103-104.

⁸ In 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung', Schiller comes to a similar conclusion about the public, with reference to his observation of two 'types' of people, 'idealists' and 'realists'. See NA 20, p.491.

⁹ To Goethe, 23.11.1795, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (122), p.161.

Imitation of real life is described by Schiller in this essay as a justification for trivial subject matter and an insult to public taste:

... welche Trivialität man in der Poesie gestattet, ja lobpreist, weil sie leider! wirkliche Natur sind... Wehe uns Lesern,... wenn Menschen, die, entblößt von allem, was man poetischen Geist nennt, nur das Affentalent gemeiner Nachahmung besitzen, es auf Kosten unsers Geschmacks gräulich und schrecklich üben. (NA 20, p.477)

The direct presentation of real life is also ridiculed in Shakespears Schatten, a collection of the 'Xenien' written in 1797:

O die Natur, die zeigt auf unsern Bühnen sich wieder,
Splitternackend, daß man jegliche Rippe ihr zählt.
(NA 2 (i), p.306)

In a similar vein:

'Also sieht man bei euch den leichten Tanz der Thalia,
Neben dem ernsten Gang, welchen Melpomene geht?' -
Keines von beiden! Uns kann nur das christlichmoralische
rühren,
Und was recht populär, häuslich und bürgerlich ist.
... man sieht bei uns nur Pfarrer, Kommerzienräthe,
Fähntriche, Sekretairs oder Husarenmajors.
(ibid)

Schiller's attacks on contemporary literature, then, are based mostly on its closeness to reality in its subject matter, characters and language. The contrast to the ideal of poetic, idealised drama which he himself advocates in his theory is clear. Schiller had attempted to come to terms with the form of the 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel' with Kabale und Liebe, but soon rejected it in favour of the traditional tragic form.¹⁰ His option received an aesthetic basis with his theories of moral freedom, aesthetic freedom and the autonomy of art. In 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung', Schiller attacks the 'unsäglichen Platituden' of popular German poetry (NA 20,

¹⁰ See Schiller to Dalberg, 24.8.1794, Jonas 1 (112), p.138.

p.479), and the corresponding features in the drama:

So insipid diese Scherze sind, so kläglich läßt sich der Affekt auf unsern tragischen Bühnen hören, welcher, anstatt die wahre Natur nachzuahmen, nur den geistlosen und unedeln Ausdruck der wirklichen erreicht; so daß es uns nach einem solchen Thränenmahle gerade zu Muth ist, als wenn wir einen Besuch in Spitälern abgelegt oder Salzmanns menschliches Elend gelesen hätten.
(NA 20, p.480)

This type of drama tries so hard and so successfully to be realistic that the spectator has the same sort of emotions as in real life. No aesthetic experience is possible. 'Thränenmahl' shows Schiller's contempt for the sort of one-sided emotional experience which, in his opinion, contemporary dramatists are offering to their audiences. In another polemical passage in this essay, in which Schiller has claimed that he will include examples from experience in order to bring his theory of the nature and function of poetry in modern society closer to a wider public,¹¹ Schiller accuses the public of enjoying emptiness and mediocrity, seeking products of art which involve absolutely no effort, in which they can indulge their emotions without having to think. This time he chooses an incongruous image, mixing Greek mythology with the specialised modern world, to express his opinion of the state of contemporary theatre:

In dem Tempel Thaliens und Melpomenes, so wie er bey uns bestellt ist, thront die geliebte Göttinn, empfängt in ihrem weiten Schooß den stumpfsinnigen Gelehrten und den erschöpften Geschäftsmann, und wiegt den Geist in einen magnetischen Schlaf, indem sie die erstarrten Sinne erwärmt, und die Einbildungskraft in einer süßen Bewegung schaukelt. (NA 20, p.488)

The sensuous nature of the experience suggested accords with the descriptions of theatre attacked by Schiller earlier in the essay, as described above. Schiller is criticising the tendency to regard theatre merely as a playground for the sensuous side of human nature,

¹¹ See Schiller to Humboldt, 7.9.1795, NA 27 (35), p.46.

which is often neglected by the specialisation of modern society. The idea of a sort of 'magnetische(r) Schlaf' is close to the imagery of 'Berausung' used by Schiller in his equally vehement rejection of contemporary illusionistic theatre in 'Ueber das Pathetische'; and so once more Schiller, in what he explicitly rejects, comes close to Brecht, the advocate of 'Epic Theatre' and alienation effects.¹² Such a comparison is also suggested by the following passage from Schiller's letter to Goethe of 17.8.1797:

So viel ist auch mir bei meinen wenigen Erfahrungen klar geworden, daß man den Leuten, im ganzen genommen, durch die Poesie nicht wohl, hingegen recht übel machen kann, und mir dünkt, wo das eine nicht zu erreichen ist, da muß man das andere einschlagen. Man muß sie inkommodieren, ihnen ihre Behaglichkeit verderben, sie in Unruhe und in Erstaunen setzen.¹³

Schiller, like Brecht, wishes to 'alienate' people from the type of illusionistic theatre in which the senses are lulled into an illusion of reality and emotions are indulged for the sake of emotion without thought or effort. Certainly, Schiller's 'alienation' techniques are different from Brecht's, and the ultimate aims of the two writers have little in common. Schiller disapproves of didacticism in art. He rejects the use of theatre to put across a particular political message, and all attempts to establish a direct relationship between the dramatic action and concrete aspects of contemporary and political reality.¹⁴ His aim is to achieve aesthetic totality, and the idea of shocking the public here - an idea he appears not to have pursued - is only an unsatisfactory means of freeing it from the domination of physical nature, to pave the way for this totality:

¹² cf. pp.145-147 above.

¹³ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (355), p.442; cf. Kleines Organon für das Theater, ed. cit., pp.150ff.

¹⁴ See 4.2.2, pp.159-161, and 4.3.2, especially pp.173-174 above.

Freilich ist es wahr, daß die eigentliche schöne und ästhetische Stimmung dadurch noch lange nicht befördert wird, daß sie vielmehr gar oft dadurch verhindert wird, so wie die Freiheit durch die moralische Tendenzen; aber es ist schon viel gewonnen, daß ein Ausgang aus der Empirie geöffnet ist.¹⁵

In a letter of 16.7.1798, Schiller congratulates Goethe on his alterations to the Weimar theatre building, adding: 'Wollte Gott wir könnten dieser äußern Reforme auch mit einer innern im dramatischen Wesen selbst entgegen kommen.'¹⁶ In a letter written a few weeks later, he is more specific about the nature of the reform he wishes to see. Schiller has read that the Hamburg theatre audience has complained about the repetition of Iffland's plays. If one could assume a similar state of affairs in other towns, Wallenstein would arrive at a favourable moment, Schiller suggests:

Unwahrscheinlich ist es nicht, daß das Publikum sich selbst nicht mehr sehen mag, es fühlt sich in gar zu schlechter Gesellschaft. Die Begierde nach jenen Stücken scheint mir auch mehr durch einen Überdruß an den Ritterschauspielen erzeugt, oder wenigstens verstärkt worden zu sein, man wollte sich von Verzerrungen erholen. Aber das lange Angaffen eines Alltagsgesichts muß endlich freilich auch ermüden.¹⁷

Once more Schiller is complimentary neither to the audience nor to the plays of his contemporaries and, again, it is closeness to real life that forms the basis for his criticism.

When Schiller embarked upon the first stage of the reform with a performance of Wallensteins Lager, the reaction - as one might expect in view of the conflicting views held by Schiller and many of his contemporaries - was not one of unanimous appreciation: 'die große Masse staunte und gaffte das neue dramatische Monstrum an, einzelne wurden

¹⁵ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (355), p.443.

¹⁶ *ibid*, (479), p.648.

¹⁷ *ibid*, (497), p.672 (31.8.1798).

wunderbar ergriffen'.¹⁸

Schiller's disappointment in the contemporary public became so strong that in 1798 he felt forced to admit that Körner, Goethe, the Humboldts and his wife were the only people who really appreciated his work.¹⁹ In 1799 he was even prompted to write to Goethe: 'das einzige Verhältnis gegen das Publikum, das einen nicht reuen kann, ist der Krieg'.²⁰

The growing pessimism in Schiller's attitude to the public is accompanied by increasing anxiety about the paths which contemporary literature was taking. Both find expression in a letter to Humboldt of 17.2.1803:

Es ist jetzt ein so kläglicher Zustand in der ganzen Poesie, der Deutschen und Ausländer, daß alle Liebe und aller Glaube dazu gehört, um noch an ein Weiterstreben zu denken, und auf eine bessere Zeit zu hoffen. Die Schlegel- und Tiekische Schule erscheint immer hohler und frazenhafter, während sich ihre Antipoden immer platter und erbärmlicher zeigen, und zwischen diesen beiden Formen schwankt nun das Publicum.²¹

The two extremes which capture public attention are tendencies which Schiller has tried to work against in the interest of the aesthetic education of the 'whole man', advocating a type of drama in which both sides of human nature would be engaged. In the fantastic direction taken by romantic literature and in the adherence to real life in the plays of Iffland or Kotzebue, Schiller sees the extremes of 'idealism' and 'realism' which make him almost despair of ever attaining totality.²²

¹⁸ Schiller to Körner, 29.10.1798, NA 29 (294), p.295.

¹⁹ Schiller to Körner, 15.8.1798, NA 29 (258), p.262. See also 21.8.1798 to Goethe, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (488), p.662.

²⁰ 25.6.1799, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (611), p.770.

²¹ NA 32 (15), pp.11-12.

²² See 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung', NA 20, pp.486-492.

In 1803, especially in his expanding correspondence with Iffland, Schiller shows signs of a renewed interest in writing plays which will please the theatre public,²³ although he repeatedly stresses that this is only possible if theatrical interests correspond with his own artistic and poetic demands.²⁴

Nevertheless, Wilhelm Tell is not only designed to attract the public, but is to be 'ein rechtes Stück für das ganze Publikum'.²⁵ Schiller apparently feels confident that he can solve the old problem of reconciling different tastes within the audience. One of the main likely reasons for Schiller's renewed positive interest in the public is the success of his later plays in the theatre. This not only improved his financial position, but must also have been psychologically stimulating, after the frequent disappointments he experienced with his periodicals and the aggressive criticism directed at his aesthetic theory. A letter written to Humboldt in 1805, shortly before his death, perhaps provides the clearest explanation:

Noch hoffe ich in meinem poetischen Streben keinen Rückschritt gethan zu haben, einen Seitenschritt vielleicht, indem es mir begegnet seyn kann, den materiellen Forderungen der Welt und der Zeit etwas eingeräumt zu haben. Die Werke des dramatischen Dichters werden schneller als alle andre von dem Zeitstrom ergriffen, er kommt selbst wider Willen mit der großen Masse in eine vielseitige Berührung, bei der man nicht immer rein bleibt. Anfangs gefällt es, den Herrscher zu machen über die Gemüther,

²³ See Schiller to Iffland, 22.4.1803, NA 32 (38), pp.31-32; 12.7.1803, NA 32 (64), p.53; 5.8.1803, NA 32 (69), pp.57-58; 9.11.1803, NA 32 (97), p.84; Schiller to W. von Wolzogen, 27.10.1803, NA 32 (93), p.81; Schiller to Charlotte v. Schiller, 6.7.1803, NA 32 (60), pp.48-49. See also Gellhaus, A., 'Ohne der Poesie das Geringste zu vergeben'.

²⁴ See e.g. Schiller to Goethe, 6.7.1802, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (868), p.968; Schiller to Iffland, 22.4.1803, NA 32 (38), pp.31-32; Schiller to Charlotte v. Schiller, 6.7.1803, NA 32 (60), pp.48-49.

²⁵ Schiller to Iffland, 9.11.1803, NA 32 (97), p.84.

aber welchem Herrscher begegnet es nicht, daß er auch wieder der Diener seiner Diener wird, um seine Herrschaft zu behaupten. Und so kann es leicht geschehen seyn, daß ich, indem ich die deutschen Bühnen mit dem Geräusch meiner Stücke erfüllte, auch von den deutschen Bühnen etwas angenommen habe.²⁶

If Schiller has made concessions to the taste of the theatre audience, it is with the ultimate intention of influencing them in the direction he finds desirable. Such concessions are not made at the expense of any major tenets of Schiller's dramatic and aesthetic theory. None of the late plays has contemporary subject matter; all are written in verse and differ tremendously from the popular plays of Iffland and Kotzebue. His opinion of his contemporaries has not improved. In the same letter he insists: 'Um die poetische Production in Deutschland sieht es ... höchst kläglich aus, und man sieht wirklich nicht wo eine Litteratur für die nächsten 30 Jahre herkommen soll.'²⁷

Schiller's critical attitude towards the public and the literature of his time, then, shows that he finds himself at odds with them because of his theory of aesthetic education. This theory requires works of art which clearly and deliberately differ from reality, and which call forth an integrated response from physical and spiritual human nature in the recipient. The dramatic illusion as it was envisaged by the popular dramatists and the audiences of the time is one of the main reasons for Schiller's dissent and is completely unacceptable to him on the grounds of his aesthetic theory.

²⁶ 2.4.1805, NA 32 (237), pp.206-207.

²⁷ *ibid*, p.208.

4.5 Two late theoretical pieces

Schiller's 'theoretical' period came to an end with the completion of 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung' in 1796 and his return to full-time work on his plays. After that date, he did, however, write two short pieces: 'Über epische und dramatische Dichtung' (with Goethe) and 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie'. These two essays are of interest with reference to the dramatic illusion, especially as they were written while Schiller was actively engaged in the writing of plays.

4.5.1 'Über epische und dramatische Dichtung'

The joint essay by Schiller and Goethe 'Über epische und dramatische Dichtung' and the associated correspondence between the two writers represent an interesting point of contact between theory and dramatic production.¹ The essay was written in 1797, while Schiller was working on Wallenstein. It was actually formulated by Goethe - as a summary of his and Schiller's joint views - and sent to Schiller on 23.12.1797. At the beginning of the essay Goethe outlines his basis for differentiating between 'Epiker' and 'Dramatiker' as follows:

Wollte man das Detail der Gesetze, wonach beide zu handeln haben, aus der Natur des Menschen herleiten; so müßte man sich einen Rhapsoden und einen Mimen, beide als Dichter, jenen mit seinem ruhig horchenden, diesen mit seinem ungeduldig schauenden und hörenden Kreise umgeben, immer vergegenwärtigen...²

¹ Lukacs in Goethe und seine Zeit, p.49, sees the uniqueness of the correspondence on the genres in 'die tiefe und innige Verknüpfung hochentwickelter ästhetischer Theorie mit tiefem Eingehen auf die feinsten Details der künstlerischen Praxis'.
On the historical significance of the correspondence, see also Lukacs, Werke, Vol. 6, p.149, and Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.68.

² The essay is reprinted in Staiger's edition of the correspondence between Schiller and Goethe, here p.521.

He enlarges on the 'performance' of the 'Rhapsode' as follows:

....sein Vortrag wird dahin zwecken, die Zuhörer zu beruhigen, damit sie ihm gern und lange zuhören, er wird das Interesse egal verteilen...³

Goethe contrasts with this the performance of the 'Mime':

Der Mime dagegen ist gerade in dem entgegengesetzten Fall, er stellt sich als ein bestimmtes Individuum dar, er will, daß man an ihm und seiner nächsten Umgebung ausschließlich teil nehme, daß man die Leiden seiner Seele und seines Körpers mitfühle, seine Verlegenheit teile und sich selbst über ihn vergesse ... Der zuschauende Hörer muß von Rechts wegen in einer steten sinnlichen Anstrengung bleiben, er darf sich nicht zum Nachdenken erheben, er muß leidenschaftlich folgen, seine Phantasie ist ganz zum Schweigen gebracht, man darf keine Ansprüche an sie machen, und selbst was erzählt wird muß gleichsam darstellend vor die Augen gebracht werden.⁴

This passage could be misleading if taken in isolation and understood as Goethe's and Schiller's view of what drama should be like. They are here trying to establish which features are typical of the two genres. The points which are described here as inherent characteristics of tragedy represent dangers to the aesthetic freedom of the spectator according to Schiller's theory. They have to be countered by some means, if drama in general and tragedy in particular are to have aesthetic value.⁵

³ ibid, p.523.

⁴ ibid, p.524.
The effect which Goethe assumes the recitation of the epic poem will have does not seem to take into account the direct appeal of the poem to the listener or the need to follow without a pause to look back, which accompanies a public performance of any sort. Goethe may have been unconsciously assuming for the ancient 'Rhapsodenkunst' the reception conditions applicable to the read epic of his own time. See Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, pp.211-213. The views of the classicist D. Bain, however, Tend some support to those of Goethe here. See pp.48-49 above. cf. also 1.2 above. Schiller's letter to Humboldt, 27.6.1798, NA 29 (243), p.246, shows that he shares Goethe's views on the nature of the performance of the epic.

⁵ cf. 4.1 and especially 4.2.2 above.

In a letter to Goethe of 21.4.1797, Schiller anticipates the distinction between drama and epic made in the essay. He also sums up the important results of their correspondence on the genres, and relates them to a central term from his aesthetic theory, 'Freiheit des Gemüts':

Die bloße, aus dem Innersten herausgeholte, Wahrheit ist der Zweck des epischen Dichters: er schildert uns bloß das ruhige Dasein und Wirken der Dinge nach ihren Naturen, sein Zweck liegt schon an jedem Punkt seiner Bewegung, darum eilen wir nicht ungeduldig zu einem Ziele, sondern verweilen uns mit Liebe bei jedem Schritte. Er erhält uns die höchste Freiheit des Gemüts, und da er uns in einen so großen Vorteil setzt, so macht er dadurch sich selbst das Geschäft desto schwerer, denn wir machen nun alle Anforderungen an ihn, die in der Integrität und in der allseitigen vereinigten Tätigkeit unserer Kräfte gegründet sind. Ganz im Gegenteil raubt uns der tragische Dichter unsre Gemütsfreiheit, und indem er unsre Tätigkeit nach einer einzigen Seite richtet und konzentriert, so vereinfacht er sich sein Geschäft um vieles und setzt sich in Vorteil, indem er uns in Nachteil setzt.⁶

The epic - as Schiller and Goethe see it - avoids suspense and concentration on the outcome, and is thus potentially more suitable than tragedy to promote aesthetic harmony. The emotional bias of tragedy and its forward movement towards the tragic outcome represent the highest possible danger to psychical freedom and to aesthetic harmony.

Yet it was mainly the direct sensuous appeal of the dramatic genre that made it attractive to eighteenth-century audiences.⁷ When Goethe sent the essay to Schiller, he also sent a letter, in which he criticises popular taste and contemporary writers' willingness to produce works in accordance with it. He regrets in particular the popular desire for everything in art to be 'völlig wahr'.⁸ He continues:

⁶ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (301), pp.375-376.

⁷ cf. 4.1, 4.2.2 and 4.4 above.

⁸ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger, 23.12.1797, (391), p.518

So sieht man auch im Gang der Poesie, daß alles zum Drama, zur Darstellung des vollkommen Gegenwärtigen sich hindrängt.Eben so wollen die Menschen jede interessante Situation gleich in Kupfer gestochen sehen, damit nur ja ihrer Imagination keine Tätigkeit übrig bleibe, so soll alles sinnlich wahr, vollkommen gegenwärtig, dramatisch sein, und das Dramatische selbst soll sich dem wirklich Wahren völlig an die Seite stellen. Diesen eigentlich kindischen, barbarischen, abgeschmackten Tendenzen sollte nun der Künstler aus allen Kräften widerstehen, Kunstwerk von Kunstwerk durch undurchdringliche Zauberkreise sondern,...; aber wer kann sein Schiff von den Wellen sondern, auf denen es schwimmt? Gegen Strom und Wind legt man nur kleine Strecken zurück.⁹

It becomes clear here that Goethe shares Schiller's views on the popular trends towards realism and illusionism.¹⁰ Drama, with its direct appeal to the senses, is the genre best suited to the popular desire to have a portrait of real life in art, which provides maximum emotional appeal with minimum mental effort. Goethe appears to be pessimistic about the possibility of carrying out the task of establishing an autonomous art form in contrast to popular taste and common practice.

Schiller's reply to Goethe's letter and to the essay is of particular interest with reference to the relation between his theory and his practice, especially in the matter of the dramatic illusion. He accepts Goethe's distinction between epic and dramatic:

Die dramatische Handlung bewegt sich vor mir, um die epische bewege ich mich selbst, und sie scheint gleichsam stille zu stehen. Nach meinem Bedünken liegt viel in diesem Unterschied. Bewegt sich die Begebenheit vor mir, so bin ich streng an die sinnliche Gegenwart gefesselt, meine Phantasie verliert alle Freiheit, es entsteht und erhält sich eine fortwährende Unruhe in mir, ich muß immer beim Objekte bleiben, alles Zurücksehen, alles Nachdenken ist mir versagt, weil ich einer fremden Gewalt folge.

⁹ *ibid*, pp.518-519; cf. Schiller to Goethe, 29.12.1797: 'Wenn das Drama wirklich durch einen so schlechten Hang des Zeitalters in Schutz genommen wird, wie ich nicht zweifle, so müßte man die Reforme beim Drama anfangen, und durch Verdrängung der gemeinen Naturnachahmung der Kunst Luft und Licht verschaffen.' (Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (394), p.529)

¹⁰ Lange, *op. cit.*, p.149, notes that from 1797 onwards Goethe was urgently concerned with clear differentiation between art and nature.

Beweg ich mich um die Begebenheit, die mir nicht entlaufen kann, so kann ich einen ungleichen Schritt halten, ich kann nach meinem subjektiven Bedürfnis mich länger oder kürzer verweilen, kann Rückschritte machen oder Vorgriffe tun u.s.f. Es stimmt dieses auch sehr gut mit dem Begriff des Vergangenseins, welches als stille stehend gedacht werden kann, und mit dem Begriff des Erzählens, denn der Erzähler weiß schon am Anfang und in der Mitte das Ende, und so behält er durchaus eine ruhige Freiheit.

Daß der Epiker seine Begebenheit als vollkommen vergangen, der Tragiker die seinige als vollkommen gegenwärtig zu behandeln habe, leuchtet mir sehr ein.¹¹

I have quoted at length because this is the passage on which Brecht, in his Kleines Organon, bases his claim that Schiller's concept of the dramatic illusion is no longer valid; the passage which Brecht uses as an example of the 'Aristotelian' theatre in reaction against which he developed his 'Epic Theatre'.¹² Brecht writes:

Wie der Schauspieler sein Publikum nicht zu täuschen hat, daß nicht er, sondern die erdichtete Figur auf der Bühne steht, so hat er es auch nicht zu täuschen, daß, was auf der Bühne vorgeht, nicht einstudiert sei, sondern zum erstenmal und einmalig geschehe.¹³

The analysis of Schiller's aesthetic and dramatic theory above has shown that Schiller would have agreed with Brecht on this. Although his ultimate aims were different from Brecht's, one of his main intentions was to work against this sort of deception in the theatre. That, however, is not the impression conveyed by Brecht's references to Schiller in the Kleines Organon. He continues:

Die Schillersche Unterscheidung, daß der Rhapsode seine Begebenheit als vollkommen vergangen, der Mime die seinige als vollkommen gegenwärtig zu behandeln habe, trifft nicht mehr so zu.¹⁴

¹¹ 26.12.1797, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (392), pp.524-525.

¹² See pp.1-3 above.

¹³ Kleines Organon für das Theater, ed. cit., pp.154-155.

¹⁴ *ibid*, p.155.

Thus Schiller's statements about the drama in the letter to Goethe are associated by Brecht with deceptive illusion. The features presented by Schiller as typical of the narrator are cited by Brecht as applying to the actor in his own 'Epic Theatre':

Es soll in seinem Spiel durchaus ersichtlich sein, daß 'er schon am Anfang und in der Mitte das Ende weiß' und er soll 'so durchaus eine ruhige Freiheit behalten'.¹⁵

In the same year in which this piece was published, Brecht noted in his 'Arbeitsjournal': 'Schiller sieht erstaunlich deutlich die dialektik (widersprüchliche verknüpfung) in dem verhältnis epos-drama'.¹⁶ Yet at the same time, in the Kleines Organon, Brecht takes Schiller's distinction between 'Rhapsode' and 'Mime' in isolation and exploits it for his own polemical purposes. He fails to mention or discuss the points which follow this in Schiller's letter, where Schiller's dialectical view of the relation between epic and drama is presented. If one reads further in Schiller's letter, it becomes clear that the features which he and Goethe have pin-pointed as being typical of the dramatic genre are regarded by him as dangerous; he concludes that features normally considered typical of the epic genre must be included in the drama if the psychical freedom of the audience is to be maintained.¹⁷ Schiller insists:

Die Tragödie in ihrem höchsten Begriffe wird ... immer zu dem epischen Charakter hinauf streben und wird nur dadurch zur Dichtung. Das epische Gedicht wird eben so zu dem Drama herunter streben und wird nur dadurch den poetischen Gattungsbegriff ganz erfüllen; just das, was beide zu poetischen Werken macht, bringt

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ E. Schumacher, 'Brecht und die deutsche Klassik', pp.84-85, notes that Brecht's attention to Schiller at the time of writing the Kleines Organon (1948) marks a late stage in his interest in the classicists and that his encounter with Schiller at this point was fruitful and his attitude towards him positive. See Arbeitsjournal, Vol. 2, ed. Hecht, W., p.805.

¹⁷ *cf.* pp.227-228 and sections 5.5 and 5.6 below.

beide einander nahe. Das Merkmal, wodurch sie spezifiziert und einander entgegen gesetzt werden, bringt immer einen von beiden Bestandteilen des poetischen Gattungsbegriffs ins Gedränge, bei der Epopee die Sinnlichkeit, bei der Tragödie die Freiheit, und es ist also natürlich, daß das Contrepoids gegen diesen Mangel immer eine Eigenschaft sein wird, welche das spezifische Merkmal der entgegengesetzten Dichtart ausmacht.¹⁸

When taken within its full context, the passage partially quoted by Brecht does not suggest that Schiller is a supporter of that total separation of the epic and dramatic genres which Brecht wanted to abolish with his 'Epic Theatre'; it shows rather that Schiller, too, was interested in preventing the build-up of total illusion, in striving after 'epic' distance, in working against the strong appeal to the senses and emotions of the direct presentation of drama in the theatre.¹⁹ In a letter to Goethe of 26.7.1800, he explicitly states

¹⁸ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger, (392), pp.525-526.
At the beginning of December 1797 Schiller had realised, while working on Wallenstein, the potential advantage of the epic for the dramatist:
'Es kommt mir vor, als ob mich ein gewißer epischer Geist angewandelt habe, der aus der Macht Ihrer unmittelbaren Einwirkungen zu erklären seyn mag, doch glaube ich nicht, daß er dem dramatischen schadet, weil er vielleicht das einzige Mittel war, diesem prosaischen Stoff eine poetische Natur zu geben.'
(To Goethe, 1.12.1797, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger, (379), p.504)

¹⁹ Wilkinson and Willoughby see Schiller's and Brecht's views of the relationship between the spectator and the dramatic action as different stages in the development and transformation of the idea of éloignement which first appeared in classical poetics. (Ästhetische Briefe, ed. cit., Introduction, p.clxvii, cf. pp.158-160 above.)
Zmegac in 'Einführung und Abstraktion. Brecht als Antipode Schillers' and Hartung in 'Brecht und Schiller' are amongst those who fail to recognize any point of contact between the theories of Schiller and Brecht. M. Kesting seems to appreciate the significance of Schiller's statements on the genres in his correspondence with Goethe. (See Das epische Theater, especially I,3.) Yet she does not seem to appreciate the full significance of 'epic' features in Schiller's dramatic practice. In 'Das Theater als eine marxistische Anstalt betrachtet', p.5, she notes Schiller's intention to break through 'eine bestimmte Gefühlsillusion' with the chorus in Die Braut von Messina, yet in her book Das epische Theater, which appeared three years later, she places Schiller firmly in the tradition of 'aristotelisches Theater'.
In his introductory essay to the collection of texts Goethe - Mann des Theaters, p.25, W. Hinck draws attention to similarities between Goethe's idea of 'selbstbewußte Illusion' (see 1.4.2 above) and Brecht's view of the dramatic illusion.

his belief in the flexibility of artistic form: 'Man muß ... sich durch keinen allgemeinen Begriff fesseln, sondern es wagen, bei einem neuen Stoff die Form neu zu erfinden, und sich den Gattungsbegriff immer beweglich erhalten'.²⁰

4.5.2 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie'

Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion are reiterated in the essay 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', which was written as a preface to the book edition of Die Braut von Messina in 1803.

This essay cannot be dismissed merely as a propagandistic exercise aimed at justifying the inclusion of the chorus in the play. In a letter to Goethe, 24.5.1803, Schiller admits both the difficulty which he experiences in writing this piece and at the same time his serious intentions:

Ich habe jetzt auch meine Not mit dem Stoffe anderer Art, denn da ich eben daran bin, ein Wort über den tragischen Chor zu sagen, welches an der Spitze meiner Braut von Messina stehen soll, so drückt das ganze Theater mit samt dem ganzen Zeitalter auf mich ein, und ich weiß kaum, wie ich es abfertigen soll. Übrigens interessiert mich diese Arbeit, ich will suchen, etwas recht Ordentliches zu sagen und der Sache, die uns gemeinsam wichtig ist, dadurch zu dienen.²¹

Goethe's and Schiller's common interest is to reform the German theatre towards an aesthetic art form which is openly and deliberately different from reality and does not pretend to be otherwise.

²⁰ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (751), p.860.
There are similar statements in Schiller's letter to Körner, 28.7.1800, NA 30 (218), p.181.
Borchmeyer, in Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.221, claims that while Schiller does not say in this letter how the genres should be brought nearer to one another, yet still demarcated, the answer is to be found in 'Ueber die tragische Kunst', where Schiller admits that narrative elements and detachment, which he had earlier criticised in French classical tragedy, may form welcome resting places to interrupt tragic emotion and allow the independence of reason to come to life again. See pp.144f. above.

²¹ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (907), p.992.

The reasons which Schiller gives for introducing the chorus are based on his deeply founded views on the nature of art and the form which the dramatic illusion should take.

After a long period during which he produced no theoretical essays, but four plays - one of them a trilogy - Schiller now provides a late piece of evidence that the basic essentials of his aesthetic theory and especially of his dramatic theory, have not been abandoned, but confirmed and deepened by practical experience. This essay deserves particular attention because of its unique position within Schiller's work. As well as being the only late piece of theory, it is also the only essay to be written with close reference to a play. For this reason, it may be seen as the work in which the connection between Schiller's drama and his aesthetic theory is most clearly expressed.²²

With regard to the dramatic illusion, it is one of the most interesting of Schiller's essays, as it deals with the topic explicitly and at length.

Schiller describes the expectations of the theatre-goer as follows:

... der Zuschauer will unterhalten und in Bewegung gesetzt seyn. Das Vergnügen sucht er, und ist unzufrieden, wenn man ihm da eine Anstrengung zumuthet, wo er ein Spiel und eine Erholung erwartet. (NA 10, p.8)

Although Schiller feels that theatre should be 'ernsthafter behandelt', he does not wish to remove the pleasure associated with it, but to provide pleasure of a higher sort: 'Es soll ein Spiel bleiben, aber ein poetisches' (ibid). He is not trying to make

²² My view of the central importance of this essay is shared e.g. by Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.152, who describes this essay as 'ein Konzentrat seiner gesamten Ästhetik'; Atkins, S., 'Gehalt als Gestalt in Schillers "Braut von Messina"', pp.540-541; Burdach, K., 'Schillers Chordrama und die Geburt des tragischen Stils aus der Musik', p.102; Gellhaus, op. cit., pp.115ff.; Prudhoe, J., The Theatre of Goethe and Schiller, p.148 and Heuer, F., Darstellung der Freiheit, p.192.

theatre into an intellectual pursuit. He wishes to raise the level of entertainment offered and the standard of public taste, yet art should remain an enjoyable experience. Schiller takes up the terminology of the 'Ästhetische Briefe' here in describing the aesthetic experience as 'play'. It soon becomes clear that his view of aesthetic play has not changed. He explains his concept of the pleasure to be aroused by art:

Alle Kunst ist der Freude gewidmet, und es giebt keine höhere und keine ernsthaftere Aufgabe, als die Menschen zu beglücken. Die rechte Kunst ist nur diese, welche den höchsten Genuß verschafft. Der höchste Genuß aber ist die Freiheit des Gemüths in dem lebendigen Spiel aller seiner Kräfte. (ibid)

Aesthetic harmony in the free play of the psyche is once more represented as the aim of art.²³ Man's wholeness is to be restored in the aesthetic experience. A work of art should appeal to all the human faculties, not one-sidedly to the emotions or to the intellect.

In this essay Schiller confirms his rejection of everyday reality in art, discussed above in 4.3.1. Everyone expects from art 'eine gewisse Befreiung von den Schranken des Wirklichen, er will sich an dem Möglichen ergötzen und seiner Phantasie Raum geben.' (ibid) But it is not enough if he enjoys this experience as short-lived self-deception, as a temporary escape from the real world to an imaginary one, forgetting the existence of the former:

Aber er weiß selbst recht gut, daß er nur ein leeres Spiel treibt, daß er im eigentlichen Sinn sich nur an Träumen weidet, und wenn er von dem Schauplatz wieder in die wirkliche Welt zurück kehrt, so umgiebt ihn diese wieder mit ihrer ganzen drückenden Enge, er ist ihr Raub wie vorher, denn sie selbst ist geblieben was sie war, und an ihm ist nichts verändert worden. (ibid)

It becomes clear from this passage that Schiller is still of the opinion that the aesthetic experience should have some permanent

²³ cf. 4.2 above.

effect on the everyday life of the recipient, an effect which he believes cannot be achieved by illusion of the sort aimed at in the popular theatre of the time. He continues:

Und eben darum, weil es hier nur auf eine vorübergehende Täuschung abgesehen ist, so ist auch nur ein Schein der Wahrheit, oder die beliebte Wahrscheinlichkeit, nöthig, die man so gern an die Stelle der Wahrheit setzt. (ibid)

Schiller attacks one of the favourite concepts of eighteenth-century theatre here, 'Wahrscheinlichkeit'.²⁴ It is intrinsically related to the deceptive type of illusion in which the audience is encouraged to temporarily forget the illusory nature of the action and be caught up in strong identification and an intense emotional experience.²⁵ Schiller insists that this type of illusion is not compatible with his conception of true art:

Die wahre Kunst aber hat es nicht bloß auf ein vorübergehendes Spiel abgesehen, es ist ihr ernst damit, den Menschen nicht bloß in einen augenblicklichen Traum von Freiheit zu versetzen, sondern ihn wirklich und in der That frei zu machen, und dieses dadurch, daß sie eine Kraft in ihm erweckt, übt und ausbildet, die sinnliche Welt, die sonst nur als ein roher Stoff auf uns lastet, als eine blinde Macht auf uns drückt, in eine objektive Ferne zu rücken, in ein freies Werk unsers Geistes zu verwandeln, und das Materielle durch Ideen zu beherrschen. (NA 10, pp.8-9)

This passage emphasises the importance of two factors common to the concepts of moral and aesthetic freedom discussed above: both concepts require distance from the object and a high degree of activity rather than passivity on the part of the subject. It also suggests how the aesthetic experience - which of course includes the theatre performance - should help man in real life. True art should encourage

²⁴ The editor, S. Seidel, NA 10, p.342, notes some similarities here to Goethe's 'Über Wahrheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit der Kunstwerke', which he sent to Schiller on 24.5.1798. See also Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, pp.228-229.

²⁵ See 2.7.2 - 2.7.4 and 2.7.6 above.

him to take up an 'aesthetic' standpoint; to put himself at an objective distance to what is before him - the work of art itself or, in a wider context, the physical world, with all its suffering, misfortune and external pressures.²⁶ Art cannot help the observer to do this if it encourages the observer to become completely absorbed by it, rather than to keep this distance.

Schiller is aware that his concept of an 'ideal' art form which can be more 'natural' than any realistic presentation is not understood by the majority of his contemporaries. (NA 10, p.9) The reason for this lack of understanding lies in concepts of the 'real' and 'natural' which are too narrow, Schiller argues. People expect close imitation of everyday life in 'natural' art; this is not compatible with 'ideal' presentation. Schiller goes on to describe two extreme forms of artistic presentation, which he examined especially in 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung'.²⁷ Firstly he explains his rejection of the realistic imitation of everyday life and the associated popular ideal of dramatic illusion. 'Ein treuer Mahler des Wirklichen' he argues, can grasp 'die zufällige Erscheinungen', but never 'den Geist' of nature. (ibid) He can present 'den Stoff der Welt' to us, but this can never be 'das freie Product unsers bildenden Geistes' which effects 'die wohlthätige Wirkung der Kunst, welche in der Freiheit besteht'. (ibid) Schiller had insisted in his

²⁶ B. Bennett, op. cit., p.192, claims that this idea of making the audience free by means of art, during the actual aesthetic experience, is not contained in Schiller's earlier essays, but represents a step forward here. I reject - for reasons argued above - his claim that in Schiller's earlier theory, the beneficial effect of theatre in encouraging freedom of the spirit only took place when the audience left the theatre and that it is only in this final essay that 'the very process of watching tragedy somehow liberates us as we sit there' (p.193). His claim that the idea of freeing the audience by the aesthetic experience is foreshadowed to some extent in the 'Ästhetische Briefe' represents, in my opinion, gross understatement.

²⁷ See NA 20, p.491; cf. pp.114-115, 155, 185 above.

earlier theory that it is 'Form', not 'Stoff', which should be the concern of the artist.²⁸ If the observer is presented only with the matter of the real world, if, in the theatre for example, he is led to identify closely and uncritically with realistically portrayed individuals and to be carried away in emotion, he will be unable to assert the distance which is essential to experience freedom. 'Wir sehen uns durch die Kunst selbst, die uns befreien sollte, in die gemeine enge Wirklichkeit peinlich zurück versetzt'. (ibid) At the same time Schiller rejects what he sees as the other extreme in art. The artist must leave reality, but not just to let his imagination run riot and continually surprise the subject 'durch phantastische und bizarre Combinationen'. He sums up:

Phantastische Gebilde willkürlich aneinander reihen, heißt nicht ins Ideale gehen, und das Wirkliche nachahmend wieder bringen, heißt nicht die Natur darstellen. (ibid)²⁹

Schiller insists that presenting 'nature' in his wider sense, and becoming ideal, are in fact the same thing, 'daß die Kunst nur dadurch wahr ist, daß sie das Wirkliche ganz verläßt und rein ideell wird'. (NA 10, pp.9-10) He goes on to explain the term 'Natur' as he understands it in this essay:³⁰

Die Natur selbst ist nur eine Idee des Geistes, die nie in die Sinne fällt. Unter der Decke der Erscheinungen liegt sie, aber sie selbst kommt niemals zur Erscheinung. Bloß der Kunst des Ideals ist es verliehen, oder vielmehr es ist ihr aufgegeben, diesen Geist des Alls zu ergreifen, und in einer körperlichen Form zu binden. Auch sie selbst kann ihn zwar nie vor die Sinne, aber doch durch ihre schaffende Gewalt vor die Einbildungskraft

²⁸ See pp.156-158 above.

²⁹ F. Heuer, op.cit., p.191, quotes this sentence as an example of 'die terminologische Klarheit der Vorrede...' which, he claims, 'dürfte als spätes Resultat endgültiger Abklärung anzusehen sein'.

³⁰ On Schiller's different uses of the term, see e.g. Wilkinson and Willoughby, *Ästhetische Briefe*, ed. cit., Glossary, pp.322-326 and Meier, Albert, 'Der Grieche, die Natur und die Geschichte'.

bringen, und dadurch wahrer seyn als alle Wirklichkeit und realer als alle Erfahrung. (NA 10, p.10)

The 'nature' which art, according to Schiller, should evoke, is not physical nature as we can see, hear or touch it, but the general laws and principles which our minds can derive from it. Any single occurrence or manifestation from reality is limited and cannot in itself be 'nature', in Schiller's sense here. By presenting a work of art in which elements from reality are raised to an ideal, general level and devoid of their particularity and individuality, the artist can assist us to use our minds and powers of imagination to come to a truer perception of 'nature':

Es ergiebt sich daraus von selbst, daß der Künstler kein einziges Element aus der Wirklichkeit brauchen kann, wie er es findet, daß sein Werk in allen seinen Theilen ideell seyn muß, wenn es als ein Ganzes Realität haben und mit der Natur übereinstimmen soll. (ibid)

From the viewpoint of the practising dramatist, this means that everyday speech, for instance, has no place in drama. Nor has the realistic imitation of real-life individuals and events. Everyday probability, real-life psychology, cannot satisfactorily or justifiably be applied as criteria in judging works of art, according to Schiller's theory. It is precisely by virtue of the fact that the elements of a play are raised to an ideal level, different from everyday life, that the work can satisfy Schiller's requirements for aesthetic art.

The dramatic illusion is one of the main areas of discrepancy between Schiller's ideal aesthetic and popular taste:

... von der Poesie und von der dramatischen insbesondere verlangt man Illusion, die, wenn sie auch wirklich zu leisten wäre, immer nur ein armseliger Gauklerbetrug seyn würde. (ibid)

At this late stage in his career, after a long period of practice as

a dramatist, Schiller reasserts an essential element of his earlier aesthetic theory: the vehement rejection of a deceptive dramatic illusion.

The dramatic illusion is also the field in which Schiller attacks the French classical tragedians in this essay. He criticises their stringent attitude to the unities, an attitude maintained in the interest of the dramatic illusion as they understood it. It was based on a concept of verisimilitude which Schiller, with his wider concept of nature, found much too narrow.³¹

So haben die Franzosen, die den Geist der Alten zuerst ganz misverstanden, eine Einheit des Orts und der Zeit nach dem gemeinsten empirischen Sinn auf der Schaubühne eingeführt, als ob hier ein anderer Ort wäre als der bloß ideale Raum, und eine andere Zeit als bloß die stetige Folge der Handlung. (NA 10, p.10)

Schiller had been reading French plays in January 1803 at the suggestion of Duke Carl August without finding anything he particularly liked or wished to use.³² He had been reading plays by Corneille, Racine and Voltaire in May and June 1799 and had at that point re-read Lessing's Hamburgische Dramaturgie.³³ His criticism of French classical tragedy in the Braut von Messina preface still follows Lessing. Yet in some respects the aesthetic theory on which Schiller's objections to French classical tragedy are based is opposed to Lessing's theory. In 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', Schiller repeatedly stresses his intention to make the events of tragedy public by means of the chorus³⁴, to raise it from the domestic level which had become popular and correspondingly to elevate the language from everyday speech to verse: in other words to

³¹ cf. 2.5 above.

³² cf. 2.6 above.

³³ See NA 10, editor's note, pp.343-344.

³⁴ See e.g. NA 10, p.11.

restore features which Lessing had played a major role in removing.³⁵ Whereas Schiller wants to break the power of the emotions by the introduction of the chorus as a 'public' on stage, Lessing insists that the characters should be surrounded only by others involved in the action, in order to intensify emotion.³⁶ With regard to the high position of the protagonists, the public and more general nature of the subject matter and the stylization of the language, Schiller is re-approaching not only Greek tragedy, but also French classical tragedy.³⁷ At the same time he rejects the idea on which both the French attitude to the unities and Lessing's rejection of it were ultimately based: in spite of the differences between them, French classical tragedy and Lessing's domestic tragedy both aimed to encourage absorption in the action. The first step towards the re-introduction of a more 'poetic' tragedy, Schiller argues, has been the use of metrical language; but 'das herrschende Vorurtheil' against the allegedly unnatural verse form has not been overcome by the success of a few verse plays.

Schiller would like to overcome this 'prejudice' at its very roots. Verse should not be tolerated as 'eine poetische Freiheit', but must be acknowledged as 'das Wesen aller Poesie'. (NA 10, p.11)

The final step towards poetic tragedy, he argues, would be the introduction of the chorus:

... und wenn derselbe auch nur dazu diene, dem Naturalism in der Kunst offen und ehrlich den Krieg zu erklären, so sollte er uns eine lebendige Mauer seyn, die die Tragödie um sich herumzieht,

³⁵ cf. 2.7.4 above.
The importance of the idea of making tragedy public is the main topic of Borchmeyer's Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit. His discussion is anticipated to some extent in Lukacs, G., 'Schillers Theorie der modernen Literatur' in Goethe und seine Zeit, pp.78-109.

³⁶ See Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.155.

³⁷ On Schiller's attitude towards French classical tragedy see 2.6 above.

um sich von der wirklichen Welt rein abzuschließen, und sich ihren idealen Boden, ihre poetische Freiheit zu bewahren. (ibid)

This is a miniature of the later Schiller's view of the nature of art. His rejection of 'naturalism' is so strong that he is willing to go to the extreme of introducing a chorus to render drama obviously different and separate from real life. The chorus is perhaps the boldest and the most unusual device used by Schiller to work against naturalism and illusionism.

In this essay Schiller also elaborates on the idea of appealing to the whole human being in drama, to the sensuous and to the intellectual side of human nature:

Alles was der Verstand sich im allgemeinen ausspricht, ist eben so wie das, was blos die Sinne reizt, nur Stoff und rohes Element in einem Dichterwerk, und wird da, wo es vorherrscht, unausbleiblich das Poetische zerstören; denn dieses liegt gerade in dem Indifferenzpunkt des Ideellen und Sinnlichen. Nun ist aber der Mensch so gebildet, daß er immer von dem Besondern ins Allgemeine gehen will, und die Reflexion muß also auch in der Tragödie ihren Platz erhalten. Soll sie aber diesen Platz verdienen, so muß sie das, was ihr an sinnlichem Leben fehlt, durch den Vortrag wieder gewinnen, denn wenn die zwey Elemente der Poesie das Ideale und Sinnliche nicht innig verbunden zusammen wirken, so müssen sie neben einander wirken, oder die Poesie ist aufgehoben. Wenn die Waage nicht vollkommen inne steht, da kann das Gleichgewicht nur durch eine Schwankung der beiden Schaaalen hergestellt werden.
(NA 10, pp.12-13)

Schiller has repeatedly emphasised that appeal to the senses alone cannot produce an aesthetic work. Now he insists that reflection must be included, but that it, too, alone, in its straightforward, logical form, is not satisfactory. The image of the scales used in the 'Ästhetische Briefe'³⁸ appears again here, and is used to express what one may describe as the compromise of the practising dramatist. In theory, the work of art and each of the elements within it should appeal at the same time to both sides of human nature without any obvious separation. In practice, some situations will tend to

³⁸ See pp.161-162 above.

appeal more to the senses and emotions, passages of reflection more to the intellect. The former should be stylized to lend them more intellectual appeal, the latter presented in language which appeals to the senses. Where this is not always possible, there should be equal appeal to both sides of human nature spread over the play as a whole. In Schiller's view the chorus represents an example of balanced appeal to the reflective faculty and to the sensuous side of human nature. It is not an individual but 'ein allgemeiner Begriff', he claims, but it manifests itself 'durch eine sinnlich mächtige Masse, welche durch ihre ausfüllende Gegenwart den Sinnen imponiert' (NA 10, p.13). Schiller the experienced dramatist provides in this theoretical preface a concrete example of how drama can appeal to the 'whole man' without allowing the spectator either to be completely caught up emotionally in the action, or to be too distanced by cold, one-sided appeal to the understanding.:

Der Chor verläßt den engen Kreis der Handlung, um sich über Vergangenes und Künftiges, über ferne Zeiten und Völker, über das Menschliche überhaupt zu verbreiten, um die großen Resultate des Lebens zu ziehen, und die Lehren der Weisheit auszusprechen. Aber er thut dieses mit der vollen Macht der Phantasie, mit einer kühnen lyrischen Freiheit, welche auf den hohen Gipfeln der menschlichen Dinge wie mit Schritten der Götter einhergeht - und er thut es von der ganzen sinnlichen Macht des Rhythmus und der Musik in Tönen und Bewegungen begleitet. (NA 10, p.13)³⁹

The chorus is to prevent total illusion in the theatre in another way, too. It is to have a calming, retarding effect on the action:

Denn das Gemüth des Zuschauers soll auch in der heftigsten Passion seine Freiheit behalten, es soll kein Raub der Eindrücke seyn, sondern sich immer klar und heiter von den Rührungen scheiden, die es erleidet. (NA 10, p.14)

Here, Schiller takes up once more the idea of retaining the psychical freedom of the audience discussed especially in the twenty-second of

³⁹ On Schiller's interest in having the chorus accompanied by music, see 5.6.5 below.

his 'Ästhetische Briefe'.⁴⁰ While he accepts that the spectator's emotions will inevitably become involved to some degree, he is concerned to limit this involvement severely; it is never to become dominant. Hence he reiterates his conviction of the absolute necessity for distance between the spectator and the action:

Wenn die Schläge, womit die Tragödie unser Herz trift, ohne Unterbrechung auf einander folgten, so würde das Leiden über die Thätigkeit siegen. Wir würden uns mit dem Stoffe vermengen und nicht mehr über demselben schweben. Dadurch, daß der Chor die Theile aus einander hält, und zwischen die Passionen mit seiner beruhigenden Betrachtung tritt, giebt er uns unsre Freiheit zurück, die im Sturm der Affekte verloren gehen würde.
(NA 10, p.14)

He states explicitly the relation between the distancing function of the chorus and the dramatic illusion:

Was das gemeine Urtheil an dem Chor zu tadeln pflegt, daß er die Täuschung aufhebe, daß er die Gewalt der Affekte breche, das gereicht ihm zu seiner höchsten Empfehlung, denn eben diese blinde Gewalt der Affekte ist es, die der wahre Künstler vermeidet, diese Täuschung ist es, die er zu erregen verschmäht.
(NA 10, p.14)

This is perhaps Schiller's clearest statement of his rejection of illusionism in the theatre. That it is not just a defence of Die Braut von Messina is demonstrated by the correspondence between the views expressed here and those expressed in his earlier theory, as discussed above. One-sided emotional appeal, unrestrained identification, any major reduction of psychological distance - these features are not compatible with Schiller's view of the aesthetic experience. The psychological freedom of the spectator, his aesthetic distance to the action, is endangered by the directness of dramatic presentation and the emotional content of tragedy, and must be care-

⁴⁰ See 4.2.2 above.

fully preserved. He must not be allowed to surrender completely to emotion and forget that he is contemplating art and not reality.⁴¹

⁴¹ Schiller's attitude in 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie' is strikingly similar to Brecht's idea of 'Verfremdung'. (cf. Kleines Organon für das Theater, ed. cit., p.153). See also Berghahn, K., "Das Pathetischerhabene". Schillers Dramentheorie', p.238; Schimpf, Der Schriftsteller als öffentliche Person, pp.75-83. Of course there are obvious differences in the ultimate aims of Schiller's theatre and Brecht's, as indicated above (p.183). Schiller's method of maintaining psychical distance and rendering the play as a whole different from reality by means of non-contemporary and non-realistic subject matter and stylization also differs from Brecht's shock tactics, his concept of acting technique and his interest in critical detachment. Nevertheless, the similarity in the two attitudes towards the illusion is striking, bearing in mind the gap in time between the two and the allegedly revolutionary nature of Brecht's method. (See Kleines Organon für das Theater.) V. Zmegac, op. cit., p.524, dismisses the idea of distance in 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', claiming that it does not cancel out 'Einfühlung'. He adheres to the view of illusion presented by Schiller in 'Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?' - a view rejected long before the preface was written - as typical of Schiller's views on illusion and as proof of the stark contrast between his attitude and Brecht's with regard to illusion. See also pp.192ff. above.

4.6 The relationship between Schiller's aesthetic theory and his later plays

The chronological discrepancy between Schiller's 'theoretical' period and the writing of the later plays makes it difficult to establish a clear relationship between Schiller's theory and the plays themselves. Some critics claim that the theory and the plays must be treated completely separately as Schiller's return to writing plays represents a move away from theory altogether.¹ Others insist that the theory aids understanding of the plays² or that the theory can only be fully understood by referring to 'illustrations' in the later plays.³ Statements are to be found in Schiller's correspondence which emphasise the advantages of his theorizing for his poetic practice and, conversely, of his practical experience for his work on

¹ See e.g. v. Wiese, Friedrich Schiller, p.679; Bennett, op. cit., p.194; Storz, G., Der Dichter Friedrich Schiller, p.13. Storz's position is attacked by Blesch, R., Drama und wirkungsästhetische Praxis. Zum Problem der ästhetischen Vermittlung bei Schiller, p.180 and Hartung, G., 'Struktur und Sinn der Dramen Schillers', p.307. In a later work (1972), Klassik und Romantik, pp.49-50, Storz stresses the importance of the concept of 'Spiel' for the development of the 'Klassik', and the direct relation between Schiller's aesthetic theory and his rejection of 'Wirklichkeitsnachahmung' and 'die Wirklichkeitsillusion'. See also the discussion of the relationship in Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, pp.290-291.

² See e.g. Blesch, op. cit., p.180; Heuer, Darstellung der Freiheit, pp.4-5; Stahl, E.L., 'The Genesis of Schiller's Tragedy', pp.403-404; Göttlicher, op. cit., pp.145-146; Lily Leder, 'Schillers Mitarbeit am Weimarer Theater', p.25. Siekmann, A., Drama und sentimentales Bewußtsein. Zur klassischen Dramatik Schillers, p.1, argues that 'das theoretische Selbstverständnis' expressed by Schiller mostly between 1792 and 1796 may be considered valid for the later plays as long as the plays themselves do not contradict this.

³ See e.g. Hell, op. cit., pp.9, 134. I. Graham provides an interesting discussion of various critical approaches to the theory-practice relationship in Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, III,2, Note 5, pp.174-176. Graham rejects both the approaches of Stahl and others on the one hand and those of von Wiese and Storz on the other (pp.174ff.) and suggests 'die vorsichtige Auslegung der Theorie im Lichte der Praxis' (pp.178-179).

aesthetic theory.⁴ There are also statements which stress his difficulties in reconciling poetic and philosophical tendencies, and the disadvantages of theorizing for his dramatic practice.⁵ One must always bear in mind the influence of particular difficulties and circumstances encountered at a given moment when using isolated utterances in letters to try to establish the theory-practice relationship.

In the later years, in which Schiller occupied himself with the writing of plays, there are certainly many instances in which he appears to reject aesthetic theory and philosophy in favour of practical experience.⁶ In a letter to Humboldt of 27.6.1798 he writes:

Sie müssen sich nicht wundern, lieber Freund, wenn ich mir die Wissenschaft und die Kunst jetzt in einer größern Entfernung denke, als ich vor einigen Jahren vielleicht geneigt gewesen bin.

7

Yet this letter does not support the view that Schiller rejects the validity of his own aesthetic theory. Schiller goes on to note that he repeatedly discovers 'wie wenig der Poet durch allgemeine reine Begriffe bei der Ausübung gefördert wird'.⁸ The poet cannot work by

⁴ See e.g. 25.5.1792 to Körner, Jonas 3 (608), pp.201-202; 9.2.1793 to Augustenburg, *ibid*, (641), pp.248-249; 9.8.1793 to Humboldt, NA 28 (21), p.23.

⁵ See e.g. 31.8.1794 to Goethe, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (7), pp.42-44; 4.9.1794 to Körner, NA 27 (29), p.38; 2.1.1798 to Goethe, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (396), p.531.

⁶ See e.g. 2.1.1798 to Goethe, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (396), p.531; 27.6.1798 to Humboldt, NA 29 (243), p.245; 10.12.1804 to Körner, NA 32 (201), pp.173-174; 2.4.1805 to Humboldt, NA 32 (237), p.208.
See also the detailed discussion in Siekmann, *op. cit.*, pp.IV-XI.

⁷ NA 29 (243), p.245. See also Borchmeyer's discussion of this letter, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.71.

⁸ NA 29 (243), p.245.

rules, but must be able to create flexibly. Schiller himself stresses the limited, temporary quality of his doubts on the value of aesthetic theory:

ich ... wäre in dieser Stimmung zuweilen unphilosophisch genug, alles was ich selbst und andere von der Elementarästhetik wissen, für einen einzigen empirischen Vortheil, für einen Kunstgriff des Handwerks hinzugeben.⁹

The working dramatist discovers that practical experience and techniques are essential and cannot be replaced by any amount of theoretical knowledge.¹⁰ No doubt these moods arise particularly when Schiller is seeking the answer to some particular problem which he encounters in the writing of his plays. This letter demonstrates his insistence on the freedom of the dramatist to develop his own methods and create his works without being dictated to by any theoretical rules. It was written in answer to Humboldt's interpretation of Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea. Schiller insists on the limited validity of criticism influenced by a particular theory of art. A work of art cannot be adequately judged according to particular concepts. Schiller does not reject 'die Metaphysik der Kunst' as such, but rather its direct application as 'ein praktisches Werkzeug',¹¹ as a criterion by which to judge the validity of a work of art in a manner which restricts the flexibility and creative genius of the

⁹ *ibid*, p.245. My underlining. In their Introduction to the Ästhetische Briefe, ed.cit., p.xxix, Wilkinson and Willoughby stress the same point.

¹⁰ In the Introduction to his edition of Maria Stuart, W. Witte claims:
'For all his philosophical bent, Schiller was too much of an artist to write to a fixed formula; not all his later plays fit comfortably into the framework of his own theory.' (p.xlii)
At the same time Witte insists that the ideas set out in Schiller's essays on tragedy 'are reflected, to a greater or lesser extent, in every one of Schiller's plays'. (p.xl)

¹¹ NA 29 (243), p.245.

artist.¹²

Further clarification of the sense in which Schiller 'rejects' theory is to be found in a letter to Humboldt, written on 2.4.1805:

Die speculative Philosophie, wenn sie mich je gehabt hat, hat mich durch ihre hohle Formen verscheucht, ich habe auf diesem kahlen Gefild keine lebendige Quelle und keine Nahrung für mich gefunden; aber die tiefen Grundideen der Idealphilosophie bleiben ein ewiger Schatz und schon allein um ihrentwillen muß man sich glücklich preisen in dieser Zeit gelebt zu haben.¹³

Schiller is reacting against trends in contemporary philosophy with which he cannot identify.¹⁴ His continued adherence to the basic ideas of Idealist philosophy shows that he is not abandoning his own aesthetic theory or denying its basic validity. At the end of his life, Schiller reasserts his belief in the ideas of the sublime and of aesthetic autonomy, which he had taken up from Kant's philosophy and from which his concept of the dramatic illusion was developed.¹⁵

The concept of the aesthetic experience expressed in Schiller's theory also emerges from analysis of the later plays. I do not claim

¹² Schiller admits to having worked in a similar fashion himself in his reviews of Bürger's and Matthisson's poetry and essays for the 'Horen'. (ibid, p.248) He expresses the same attitude towards art criticism in a letter to Körner, 10.12.1804, NA 32 (201), pp.173-174.

¹³ NA 32 (237), p.208.

¹⁴ cf. Schiller to Goethe, 20.1.1802, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (833), p.930. In this letter Schiller rejects a review of Die Jungfrau von Orleans by J.A. Apel in which Schelling's philosophy is applied to the play.

¹⁵ A similar view is expressed by Borchmeyer in Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.71. See also Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, pp.166-167.

Siekmann, op. cit., pp.X-XI, claims that Schiller does not reject his aesthetic theory at the end of his life, but that his turn to drama is related to his ideal, according to which 'Kunstmäßigkeit' should become 'Natur' for the sentimental poet (p.X). Siekmann argues that Schiller wished his aesthetic theory to become 'praktisch'; 'besteht doch gerade darin, die Vermitteltheit der Reflexion zur Unmittelbarkeit der Poesie umzuformen, das innerste Wesen des sentimentalischen Dichters' (p.XI).

that Schiller was putting his theory into practice in the later plays, or that all aspects of the plays correspond with Schiller's theory. I do, however, believe that the concept of the dramatic illusion which was a necessary consequence of Schiller's aesthetic theory remained valid for Schiller as he wrote the later plays. This view is supported by Schiller's explicit statements on the nature of the dramatic illusion in the preface to Die Braut von Messina: his last piece of theory and one written in direct connection with a play, as discussed above. It is also supported by statements in Schiller's correspondence and by the later plays themselves.¹⁶ In the plays, Schiller employs techniques designed to ensure that the plays are clearly different from real life, that the audience maintains a high degree of psychological distance and that the aesthetic experience involves not only the emotions but all the human faculties.

¹⁶ Gellhaus, op. cit., pp.121-126, demonstrates with reference to Schiller's correspondence and to the play itself that the ideas in the Braut von Messina preface are also still relevant to Wilhelm Tell. S. Seidel in 'Neue Positionen in der Theorie Schillers während der Arbeit am "Wallenstein"', p.75, also stresses the continuity of theoretical statements in Schiller's later correspondence.

5 The dramatic illusion in the later plays

The views on the dramatic illusion which Schiller developed in his philosophical and aesthetic theory are reflected in his plays from Wallenstein onwards. A study of these plays shows that Schiller aimed at a type of experience which was obviously different from real life and during which the spectators were to remain aware of the artificiality of the performance. In connection with Maria Stuart, Schiller expressed his desire to arouse 'ein freies Gefallen', 'an einer reinen Handlung, ohne Interesse für einen Helden', to combine 'eine reine und schöne Form mit dem affectionierten Interesse des Stoffs'.¹ Although he realised the difficulties of arousing this sort of reaction in the contemporary audience, the plays themselves reflect this intention. Schiller tried to retain freedom of the psyche in the spectators by a balanced appeal both to the emotions and to the intellect, by transforming the subject matter into an overall aesthetic 'form'. He wished his spectators to enjoy the experience of seeing something happening before their eyes which, at the same time, is acknowledged as artificial and where the associated pleasure is related to that very awareness and to the artistic form of the illusion. This experience differs both from the intensity of emotional experience during an actual performance and from the retrospective pleasure associated with admiring the closeness to real life attained by the performance, which were aimed at in the more realistic, illusionistic theatre popular in Schiller's time.

The scale of psychical distance certainly does not remain constant within any one of Schiller's later plays. As I have noted in Chapter 4, Schiller was well aware of the dramatist's power to domi-

¹ Schiller to Körner, 5.10.1801, NA 31 (71), p.61.

nate the emotions of the audience; he understood the inherent 'dangerous' tendency of the dramatic form to involve the spectator to an extent which goes beyond the boundaries of truly aesthetic experience. There are moments of emotional intensity within some of Schiller's later plays at which he arguably comes close to this extreme. Yet he stresses in his theory - and reiterates in his last theoretical piece 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', written in the light of the practical experience of writing four major plays - that the aesthetic balance of the psyche is an ideal which is seldom and only fleetingly reached. In practice, the dramatist will almost inevitably move too far in the direction of emotional involvement, or, when he tries to avoid this, in the opposite direction of abstraction. The overall balance must be achieved by an equal appeal to all the human faculties.² Ideally, moments of the greatest passion should be removed to a distance by some formal means, and abstraction clothed in a form which provides it with sensuous appeal. In practice, the spectator may, for a moment, identify with a character at the cost of distance, or become distanced at the cost of involvement. The extent of involvement will also depend to some extent on the individual spectator. On the whole, however, these variations should occur only within an overall awareness of the artificial nature of the theatre experience.

Although Schiller's interest in theatrical effectiveness and in adapting to public taste increased towards the end of his career, as discussed in 4.4, it is wrong to interpret this as a move towards illusionistic theatre.³ Theatricality does not necessarily mean illusion. Although Schiller did employ some sensational theatrical

² cf. 4.2 and 4.5.2 above.

³ This view is suggested by Göttlicher, *op. cit.*, p.242. My contrasting view is shared by Gellhaus, *op. cit.*, p.123.

effects,⁴ he did not renounce his intention of maintaining awareness of artificiality, and he retains features which were not attractive to popular contemporary taste, as is shown by some contemporary criticism of the plays.⁵

I have chosen to discuss features of the plays from Wallenstein to Wilhelm Tell. Wallenstein is the first play in which Schiller may be said to have consciously applied the views developed during his theoretical period⁶, and Wilhelm Tell is the last complete play.

There is certainly no evidence to suggest that Demetrius would have represented a change in direction as far as Schiller's views on the dramatic illusion are concerned.⁷ However, as the play remains a fragment, I considered it unsatisfactory to examine isolated features contained in it without being able to consider the overall impact of the finished product.

It is not possible to trace a chronological development in a particular direction with reference to illusion in Schiller's later plays.

⁴ Such as the thunder in Die Jungfrau von Orleans Act IV or Gessler's appearance on horseback in Wilhelm Tell. See also 5.8 below.

⁵ This will be discussed in the coming sections with reference to particular techniques and effects.

⁶ I do not accept the view expressed by B. Bennett in Modern Drama and German Classicism, p.199, that Schiller has not yet brought the idea of the central importance of the 'artificiality of the artistic vision' to bear on Wallenstein, and that this idea only takes effect in Maria Stuart. Certainly, Wallenstein occupies a position of transition; its relation to Schiller's theory is complex because of its long genesis and because of its position within Schiller's work as a whole. Nevertheless, there are features within it which reflect Schiller's intention to retain awareness of artificiality and to work against total identification and illusion, even if it may arguably be described as more 'realistic' and less obviously artificial than some of the later plays.

⁷ Schiller seems to have continued in the direction of effective theatricality with Demetrius, but there are no indications that he moved in the direction of illusionism, as suggested e.g. by Göttlicher, op. cit., pp.249ff.

Schiller's method was to take each play as a separate entity, to find the appropriate 'form' for each subject:

Wenn man die Kunst so wie die Philosophie als etwas das immer wird und nie ist, also nur dynamisch und nicht wie sie es jezt nennen atomistisch betrachtet, so kann man jedem Product gerecht seyn ohne dadurch eingeschränkt zu werden.⁸

Nevertheless, it seemed wise to avoid a play-by-play approach, as it is not possible to treat each play exhaustively within the present framework. Nor is it my intention to offer a general interpretation of the plays. In spite of Schiller's experiments with different forms, his views on the ideal nature of the illusion remain the same. I shall now adopt the approach which I consider most fruitful, and discuss the most striking features employed by Schiller in one or more of the later plays to establish a relationship of the sort described above between audience and stage action. Different stylistic features and methods of presentation are used to a different extent and with varying degrees of success in individual works. This chapter cannot provide a complete survey of every feature which influences the dramatic illusion. It will, however, draw attention to the most important devices by means of which Schiller attempts to maintain an awareness of artificiality and to avoid total identification and a deceptive, realistic illusion of reality. Although this method requires the separation for analysis of features which Schiller took great pains to integrate into an overall form, it must always be remembered that, in the theatre, they work together to create an overall impression.

5.1 deals with the Prologue Poem to Wallenstein as marking a link between theory and practice at a point where Schiller turns from the

⁸ Schiller to Körner, 21.1.1802, NA 31 (105), p.90.

former to the latter. 5.2 to 5.4 discuss the significance for the dramatic illusion of Schiller's choice of verse in general, particular features of his verse, and his use of language. 5.5 is concerned with the reflective element in the plays. The chorus in Die Braut von Messina is treated separately in 5.6 as it may be seen as a combination and culmination of the elements of verse and reflection which form the topics of the preceding sections. 5.7 to 5.11 deal with other elements which influence the nature of the dramatic illusion: the use of music and song, stage effects, prophecies and references to the future, irony and play endings.

5.1 'Wallenstein'. The Prologue Poem as a bridge from theory to practice

The Prologue Poem, which Schiller wrote for the re-opening of the Weimar Theatre with a performance of Wallensteins Lager on October 12th 1798, represents a direct point of contact between Schiller's aesthetic theory and dramatic practice.

The poem cannot be treated merely as an occasional piece. It contains what may be seen as a brief summary of Schiller's views on the nature of the drama as an aesthetic experience developed in his theory, forming a prelude to the play which represents the new beginning of his career as a dramatist at the end of his long dedication to theory.¹ The re-opening of the Weimar Theatre after extensive refurbishing also marks the start of Schiller and Goethe's campaign to reform the German theatre. In this context, parts of the Prologue Poem may be seen as a miniature manifesto of their programme.²

¹ Although the poem was written after most of the trilogy and the latter may be understood without it, the poem nevertheless contains important information and serves an important function. This point is stressed by W. Müller-Seidel in 'Episches im Theater der deutschen Klassik', p.348. It becomes clear from the correspondence at this time between Schiller and Goethe that Schiller wished the poem to have wider relevance than just to Wallenstein, whereas Goethe wished to stress the connection to the play 'für die Rezitation' on this particular occasion (Goethe to Schiller, 6.10.1798, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (520), p.690). Goethe's amended version has not been preserved. Schiller kept to his own version, with its more general relevance, for print.

² See 4.4 above, especially pp.184-185. See also Schiller to Goethe, 31.8.1798, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (497), p.672, and Goethe, 'Weimarisches Hoftheater', reprinted in Hinck, W., Goethe - Mann des Theaters, p.44, originally printed in Journal des Luxus und der Moden, 3.3.1802. G. Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., p.109, notes: 'Was dieser Eröffnungsabend für Weimar und darüber hinaus für das deutsche Theater bedeutete, ist nirgends besser ausgesprochen worden als in Schillers Prolog, den Heinrich Voß im Kostüm des Max Piccolomini vortrug. Als theatergeschichtliches Dokument darf er nicht übersehen werden'. See also Banerjee, N., Der Prolog im Drama der deutschen Klassik, p.56 and Satori-Neumann, op. cit., p.167.

In lines 50-60 Schiller describes the new era which he hopes the re-opening of the Weimar Theatre will introduce:

Die neue Ära, die der Kunst Thaliens
 Auf dieser Bühne heut beginnt, macht auch
 Den Dichter kühn, die alte Bahn verlassend,
 Euch aus des Bürgerlebens engem Kreis
 Auf einen höhern Schauplatz zu versetzen,
 Nicht unwert des erhabenen Moments
 Der Zeit, in dem wir strebend uns bewegen.
 Denn nur der große Gegenstand vermag
 Den tiefen Grund der Menschheit aufzuregen,
 Im engen Kreis verengert sich der Sinn,
 Es wächst der Mensch mit seinen größern Zwecken. (11.50-60)³

This passage expresses once more Schiller's intention to move away from the middle-class settings which were so popular in his time towards historical subjects of wider human import.

He also stresses that the aim of the theatre experience is not merely to provide an evening's entertainment:

Noch einmal laßt des Dichters Phantasie
 Die düstre Zeit an euch vorüberführen,
 Und blicket froher in die Gegenwart
 Und in der Zukunft hoffnungsreiche Ferne. (11.75-78)

The drama may be set in distant history, but the aesthetic experience, as Schiller has stressed in his theory, is ultimately to affect the audience in such a way that its everyday life benefits from it.

In the last ten lines of the poem, Schiller reiterates his views on the essential difference between art and reality:

... Und wenn die Muse heut,
 Des Tanzes freie Göttin und Gesangs,
 Ihr altes deutsches Recht, des Reimes Spiel,
 Bescheiden wieder fordert - tadelts nicht!
 Ja danket ihrs, daß sie das düstre Bild
 Der Wahrheit in das heitre Reich der Kunst
 Hinüberspielt, die Täuschung, die sie schafft,

³ In this chapter, I shall quote by line number to facilitate the location of quotations in the various editions. My quotations are taken from the NA in the case of Wallenstein, Vol. 8.

Aufrichtig selbst zerstört und ihren Schein
 Der Wahrheit nicht betrüglich unterschiebt,
 Ernst ist das Leben, heiter ist die Kunst.

(ll. 129-138)

These lines echo ideas developed in the Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen, especially the idea of the difference between reality and artistic play and Schiller's insistence on the honest quality of aesthetic illusion.⁴ The subject matter must be completely transformed in order to become art, and the audience must remain aware of the artificial nature of the illusion. Schiller refers here to one technique by means of which he effects such a transformation and reminds the spectator of it. Rhyme is an agent of artificiality, which renders the subject matter 'heiter' and obviously different from reality.⁵ The same may be said of verse in general, if to a lesser extent.⁶

The Prologue Poem itself is a reminder of the artificiality of the theatre experience. Müller-Seidel claims that both in this poem and in Wallensteins Lager 'geht es um bestimmte epische Strukturen, um Formen der Distanz, die eine bestimmte Einstellung des Zuschauers vorbereiten'.⁷ The poem does not merely provide the audience with background information and so serve the purpose of exposition to some extent, but also suggests a somewhat negatively biased view of war and of Wallenstein. Thus a form of distance is created between the

⁴ See 4.3.2 above.

⁵ Schneider and Blumenthal, in their Notes to the Prologue Poem, NA 8, p.474, note: 'Die Täuschung, das heißt die Illusion der Wirklichkeit, wird zerstört durch die poetische, gereimte und somit geflissentlich wirklichkeitsferne Diktion. Die spielerisch-heitere Form mildert den Ernst des Lebens'. See also 5.3.1 below.

⁶ See 5.2 below. A similar view is expressed by I. Graham in Schiller, ein Meister der tragischen Form, p.109 and by E. Staiger in Friedrich Schiller, p.199.

⁷ Müller-Seidel, op. cit., p.349.
 P.Utz, op. cit., p.76, also adheres to this view.

audience and the action - and the main character in particular - before the play even starts.

Schiller points out to the audience in the Prologue Poem that what it is about to see is, even at its most absorbing, the work of the 'Dichter'. (ll.75-76, ll.79-80) The audience should remain aware that it is watching theatre, controlled by the dramatist, who is presenting his picture of particular events set in a historical context.

The background provided in lines 79-90 does not present an attractive picture. The audience is told of the cruelty and destruction of the Thirty Years' War. It is against this background that the figure of Wallenstein will appear. Indeed Wallenstein owes his high position to war. From a moral point of view, he is criticised indirectly in this harsh presentation of war and the army in the Prologue Poem. But Schiller's criticism goes even further. The description of Wallenstein given in lines 91-118 is neither neutral nor positive. Wallenstein's action is described as 'ein Unternehmen kühnen Übermuts' (l.92) and later as 'sein Verbrechen' (l.118), and he himself as 'ein verwegener Charakter' (l.93). The lines which follow do not present a better image. Müller-Seidel notes that an introduction of this sort will hardly win the audience over to Wallenstein's side. On the contrary: 'Wir werden hellhörig gegenüber dem, was uns angekündigt wird und verhalten uns reserviert ... Der Abstand, der damit geschaffen wird, ist unverkennbar'.⁸

Schiller himself points out in the Prologue Poem the difficulty of coming to a 'true' assessment of the historical character of Wallenstein:

⁸ Müller-Seidel, op. cit., p.350

Von der Parteien Gunst und Haß verwirrt
Schwankt sein Charakterbild in der Geschichte, (11.102-103)

Nevertheless, he tells the audience:

Doch euren Augen soll ihn jetzt die Kunst,
Auch eurem Herzen, menschlich näherbringen. (11.104-105)

This suggests that some human, more positive features of Wallenstein's character will also be revealed to the audience. The dramatist wishes to present Wallenstein's character from various angles. The critical view already expressed is likely to be enough to work against any initial tendency in the spectator to identify uncritically with the protagonist, the most likely danger to aesthetic freedom inherent in the dramatic form. The fact that Schiller states his intention here is, once more, a reminder to the audience of the artificial nature of what it is about to see.

The audience is left in no doubt as to the outcome of the play. Wallenstein is described in the prologue as 'der unbezähmten Ehrsucht Opfer' (1.101). Thus, even spectators not familiar with the story are informed at the very beginning that Wallenstein will fall, and a particular type of suspense is potentially eliminated.

The actual effectiveness of the Prologue Poem in influencing audience reaction to the last two plays in the trilogy is, however, brought into question when one remembers that the trilogy was rarely performed in one evening. On October 12th 1798, the poem preceded only the first play of the trilogy, Wallensteins Lager. Furthermore, the evening's programme also included Kotzebue's Die Korsen, which Rudloff-Hille describes as 'eine Geschichte voller Rührung nach den Rezepten von Trennung, Verwechslung und Wiedererkennen der aus Korsika nach Ungarn verschlagenen Angehörigen einer Familie'.⁹ She

⁹ Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., p.108.

sees in this performance a concession to the public predilection for 'das Alltagsgesicht'.¹⁰ This evening marked only the beginning of a long campaign. In spite of all the good intentions expressed in the Prologue Poem, Goethe and Schiller still consider it wise to make some concessions to popular taste. The public can only be 'educated' step by step, and must first be lured into the theatre - even by a play of the type Schiller despised and wished to replace by a more poetic and artificial form of drama.¹¹

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.109. The term is taken from Schiller's letter to Goethe, 31.8.1798, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (497), p.672.

¹¹ Walter Hinck, in Goethe - Mann des Theaters, p.14, notes: 'Von den 601 Produktionen zwischen 1791 und 1817 entfällt ein Fünftel allein auf Stücke von Kotzebue und Iffland. Die romantischen Schicksalsdramen sind offensichtlich sehr willkommen; die Aufführung von Zacharias Werners 'Der vierundzwanzigste Februar' (1810) gilt Goethe sogar als besonders gelungen. Es läßt sich nicht leugnen, auch im 'klassischen' Weimar hält die Trivialdramatik ihre Bastionen.'
Göttlicher, *op. cit.*, p.185, claims that as there were 127 'Familien - und Ritterdramen' by Iffland, Kotzebue and Schröder compared with only 24 plays by Goethe, Schiller and Lessing, the latter were actually performed twice as frequently between 1798 and 1805.

5.2 Schiller's choice of verse drama and its significance within his time

The use of verse is perhaps the most obvious technique by means of which Schiller renders his plays obviously different from everyday reality and poeticises his subject matter, thus working against any realistic illusion. The use of verse as opposed to prose is a formal device, and one of its most important purposes is to sustain awareness of the aesthetic illusion.¹ The formal qualities of the verse, the rhythm and metre and any obvious changes in them, are striking to the ear; they can evoke particular moods and atmospheres, and so are of direct relevance to a discussion of the illusion in the theatre. Schiller wrote a version of Don Carlos in verse, as early as 1784. Even at this stage, he was drawn away from the subject matter and style of the 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel', with which he had experimented in Kabale und Liebe. In a letter to Dalberg of 24.8.1784, he writes:

Ich kann mir es jetzt nicht vergeben, daß ich so eigensinnig, vielleicht auch so eitel war, um in einer entgegengesetzten Sphäre zu glänzen, meine Phantasie in die Schranken des bürgerlichen Kothurns einzäunen zu wollen, da die hohe Tragödie ein so fruchtbares Feld, und für mich möcht ich sagen, da ist... froh bin ich, daß ich nunmehr so ziemlich Meister über den Jamben bin. Es kann nicht fehlen, daß der Vers meinem Karlos sehr viel Würde und Glanz geben wird.²

Schiller's decision to change to the verse form at this point was closely related to his growing interest in historical subject matter with a courtly setting. He was attracted by 'die hohe Tragödie', of which verse was an intrinsic feature.³ It seems likely that he was

¹ See e.g. 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', NA 10, pp.10-11.

² NA 23 (104), p.155.

³ cf. 2.1 and 2.5 above.

also influenced by Dalberg, who admired French classical tragedy, although it was not on the repertoire at Mannheim.⁴ At this time, Schiller seems to have regarded verse as a device traditionally associated with 'high' tragedy.⁵ He realised that it could add a certain type of appeal to a play of this sort, 'Würde' and 'Glanz', which were not conferred by prose. But at this time Schiller was not yet essentially concerned with form; he was preoccupied with the subject matter, the plot and ideas of his tragedy.⁶ He later realised that his attitude towards the play and its characters had been changing as he wrote it, and admitted that it did not really represent a coherent whole.⁷ It may be seen as a stage in Schiller's development in which he took up verse as a traditional element of high tragedy and, perhaps, intuitively felt attracted to a formal device which his later theory was to show to be an essential feature of a truly aesthetic experience.⁸

Schiller's reasons for choosing the verse form for his later plays emerge most clearly in his correspondence at the time of writing

4 See Koopmann, Helmut, Friedrich Schiller. Sämtliche Werke in 5 Bänden, Anmerkungen, pp.921ff.

5 Koopmann stresses the relation between the change to the verse form and a change in Schiller's attitude towards the play. Whereas he seems to have envisaged it more as a family tragedy in a courtly setting at the beginning, the friendship between Posa and Carlos and the associated philosophical problems seem to have become more important to Schiller as he worked on the play. See Koopmann's notes to Friedrich Schiller. Sämtliche Werke in 5 Bänden, pp.921-925,

6 See Koopmann, *ibid*, and Schiller's Briefe über Don Carlos, NA 22, pp.137-177.

7 See Briefe über Don Carlos, NA 22, especially pp.138-139; see also Schiller to Körner, 8.8.1787, Jonas I, pp.374-375.

8 cf. p.123 above, especially Note 10, and Ilse Graham's comment on reflection in 5.6.2, Note 9 below. On the differences between Schiller's use of blank verse in the later plays and his use of it in Don Carlos, see Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, pp.372ff.

Wallenstein. In letters written in November and December 1796, Schiller expressed his intention to write Wallenstein in prose to suit theatre audiences and also to fit the prosaic nature of his material.⁹ He wrote a prose version which, however, was not preserved.¹⁰ In November 1797, Schiller finally opted for the blank verse form of the final version, 'um auch die letzte Forderung zu erfüllen, die an eine vollkommene Tragödie gemacht wird'.¹¹ Schiller explains his reasons in more detail in a letter to Goethe:

Seitdem ich meine prosaische Sprache in eine poetisch-rhythmische verwandle, befinde ich mich unter einer ganz anderen Gerichtsbarkeit als vorher, selbst viele Motive, die in der prosaischen Ausführung recht gut am Platz zu stehen schienen, kann ich jetzt nicht mehr brauchen; sie waren bloß gut für den gewöhnlichen Hausverstand, dessen Organ die Prosa zu sein scheint, aber der Vers fodert schlechterdings Beziehungen auf die Einbildungskraft, und so mußte ich auch in mehreren meiner Motive poetischer werden. Man sollte wirklich alles, was sich über das Gemeine erheben muß, in Versen wenigstens anfänglich konzipieren, denn das Platte kommt nirgends so ins Licht, als wenn es in gebundener Schreibart ausgesprochen wird.¹²

Prose belongs to everyday reality. Verse is more suited to evoke the aesthetic reaction which is the aim of Schiller's drama. He requires more of the spectators than that they follow his play as they would an everyday conversation. They are to use their imagination and rise above common everyday experience. The necessary distance and the ability to rise to a higher plane are furthered by the poetic verse form. At the same time, the subject matter is cleansed of trivial details, which reveal themselves as such when Schiller attempts to present them in verse. He goes on to discuss the function of rhythm

⁹ See the letters to Körner, 28.11.1796, NA 29 (15), and to Goethe, 16.12.1796, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (259), p.332.

¹⁰ See NA 8, pp.359-360.

¹¹ Schiller to Cotta, 14.11.1797, NA 29 (159), p.157.

¹² Schiller to Goethe, 24.11.1797, in Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (374) p.497.

in particular:

Der Rhythmus leistet bei einer dramatischen Produktion noch dieses Große und Bedeutende, daß er, indem er alle Charaktere und alle Situationen nach Einem Gesetz behandelt und sie, trotz ihres innern Unterschiedes, in Einer Form ausführt, dadurch den Dichter und seinen Leser nötigt, von allem noch so Charakterisch-Verschiedenen etwas Allgemeines, rein Menschliches zu verlangen.¹³

The particularity from which Schiller wishes to move away by means of rhythm tends to be closely related to identification. The new unity and generality aimed at by Schiller discourage the reader or spectator from straightforward identification and encourage a special reaction from him, one specific to the aesthetic illusion as distinct from everyday reality. He is not to apply everyday probability and psychology in his appreciation and judgement of the play, but to view it from an aesthetic point of view, treating it as a work of art with general, not particular, validity.

Within this verse framework, Schiller's plays also differ from realistic presentation in that the characters frequently say more than would be likely in real life or necessary just to further the tragic action. He justifies this in a letter to Goethe of 24.8.1798:

Ich lasse meine Personen viel sprechen, sich mit einer gewissen Breite herauslassen ... Es ist zuverlässig, man könnte mit weniger Worten auskommen, um die tragische Handlung auf- und abzuwickeln, auch möchte es der Natur handelnder Charaktere gemäßer scheinen. Aber das Beispiel der Alten, welche es auch so gehalten haben und in demjenigen was Aristoteles die Gesinnungen und Meinungen nennt, gar nicht wortkarg gewesen sind, scheint auf ein höheres poetisches Gesetz hinzudeuten, welches eben hierin eine Abweichung von der Wirklichkeit fodert. Sobald man sich erinnert, daß alle poetische Personen symbolische Wesen sind, daß sie, als poetische Gestalten, immer das Allgemeine der Menschheit darzustellen und auszusprechen haben, und sobald man ferner daran denkt, daß der Dichter so wie der Künstler überhaupt auf eine öffentliche und ehrliche Art von der Wirklichkeit sich entfernen und daran erinnern soll daß ers tut, so ist gegen diesen Gebrauch nichts zu sagen. Außerdem würde, dünkt mir, eine kürzere und lakonisere Behandlungsweise nicht nur viel zu arm und trocken ausfallen, sie würde auch viel zu sehr realistisch, hart und in heftigen Situationen unausstehlich werden, dahingegen eine

13 *ibid.*

breitere und vollere Behandlungsweise immer eine gewisse Ruhe und Gemütlichkeit auch in den gewaltsamsten Zuständen, die man schildert, hervorbringt.¹⁴

Schiller clearly relates the ideas of the autonomy of art and of maintaining a high degree of detachment in the theatre, even when presenting highly emotional material, to the non-realistic style of his plays here.

Schiller's decision to write in verse was in conscious opposition to theatre practice and popular taste in his time, as discussed above.¹⁵

Goethe suggests the state of affairs in contemporary theatres when he writes:

Und welche Zufriedenheit wird es uns nicht gewähren, wenn wir unser Theater von der fast allgemeinen Rhythmophobie, von dieser Reim- und Taktscheue, an der so viele deutsche Schauspieler krank liegen, bald werden geheilt sehen.¹⁶

The Weimar enterprise was designed to develop a stylized, artificial form of acting in conscious opposition to the realistic manner influenced by Schröder.¹⁷ The verse plays repeatedly presented difficulties for actors used to aiming at as natural and conversational a tone as possible.¹⁸ Goethe's Regeln für Schauspieler show the extreme degree of stylization and artificiality required in declamation and movement, and also suggest the extent to which this differed from the popular acting styles of the time, including that cultivated by Iffland in Berlin.¹⁹ Rudloff-Hille notes: 'die Berliner Ausdrucks-

14 Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (490), p.665; cf. p.169 above.

15 See 2.7.6 and 4.4 above.

16 in E. Scharrer-Santen, Die Weimarische Dramaturgie, p.158.

17 *ibid*, p.8; cf. 2.7.6 above.

18 The actors often had their roles written out in prose. See Satori-Neumann, *op. cit.*, p.221.

19 The rules are reprinted in Scharrer-Santen, *op. cit.* and also in Hinck, Walter, Goethe - Mann des Theaters, pp.81-88.

weise kam von der Schröderschen "Natürlichkeit" her, war durch Mannheim modifiziert und stand in bewußtem Gegensatz zur Weimarer idealisierenden Überhöhung'.²⁰ She draws attention to a review in the periodical 'Berlin'. Iffland, in the role of Octavio in Wallenstein, had thrown a chair into the air; this is described in the review as an excellent piece of acting. Rudloff-Hille comments:

Die malende Mannheimer Ausdrucksweise hat sich also erheblich vergrößert und wird dennoch besonders gelobt. Anscheinend vereinigte sie sich in Berlin mit einem realistischen Ausdrucksbedürfnis, dem das bürgerliche Schauspiel mehr entgegenkam als das klassische Drama aus Weimar.²¹

The difference between the style approved by Schiller and Goethe and the style popular in Berlin also emerges in a letter in which Schiller describes a guest performance in Weimar given by Friederike Unzelmann, from Iffland's theatre, in the role of Maria Stuart:

Die Unzelmann spielt diese Rolle mit Zartheit und großem Verstand; ihre Deklamation ist schön und sinnvoll, aber man möchte ihr noch etwas mehr Schwung und einen mehr tragischen Stil wünschen. Das Vorurtheil des beliebten Natürlichen beherrscht sie noch zu sehr, ihr Vortrag nähert sich dem Conversationston, und alles wurde mir zu wirklich in ihrem Mund; das ist Ifflands Schule und es mag in Berlin allgemeiner Ton seyn.²²

The popular preference for prose plays and realistic performance, and some disappointing productions which attempted to adapt Schiller's own plays to suit this fashion, tempted Schiller once more, in 1801, to write in prose:

²⁰ Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., p.121; cf. 2.7.5 and 2.7.6 above.

²¹ *ibid*, p.123.

²² To Körner, 23.9.1801, NA 31 (68), pp.58-59. On this guest performance, see also Schiller to Iffland, 23.9.1801, NA 31, (69), p.60, and Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., p.135. On Schiller's relationship to Iffland at this time, see Schiller to Goethe, 24.4.1798, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (497), p.672, and Gellhaus, 'Ohne der Poesie das Geringste zu vergeben'.

Alles zieht zur Prosa hinab, und ich habe mir wirklich im Ernst die Frage aufgeworfen: ob ich bei meinem gegenwärtigen Stücke, sowie bei allen, die auf dem Theater wirken sollen, nicht lieber gleich in Prosa schreiben soll, da die Declamation doch alles thut, um den Bau der Verse zu zerstören, und das Publicum nur an die liebe bequeme Natur gewöhnt ist. Wenn ich anders dieselbe Liebe, welche ich für meine Arbeit nothwendig haben muß, mit einer Ausführung in Prosa vereinigen kann, so werde ich mich wohl noch dazu entschließen.²³

However, Schiller found himself unable to combine inclination with the desire to please the public, and kept to his own theory in this central issue. Five weeks later, he wrote to Körner:

Sorge nicht, daß ich dem Jamben entsagen werde. Ich würde es thun, wenn ich an Erfindungen zu Theaterstücken fruchtbarer und in der Ausführung behender wäre: denn der Jambe vermehrt die theatralische Wirkung nicht, und oft geniert er den Ausdruck. Solche Stücke gewinnen oft am meisten, wenn sie nur Skizzen sind. aber, wie gesagt, ich finde mich zu diesem Fach nicht berufen und weder fähig noch geneigt. Ich will daher meinen alten Weg fortsetzen, und mit meinen dramatischen Herren Collegen nicht um den erbärmlichen Marktpreiß streiten.²⁴

Schiller continued to write non-naturalistic verse plays and so to move away from the popular ideals of closeness to real life and of language which could come deceptively close to everyday dialogue. In the sections which follow, it should be remembered that Schiller aimed to promote in the spectator an overall awareness that he is in the theatre viewing a work of art, an awareness that varies in degree and does not preclude a certain amount of involvement in the dramatic action.²⁵ He used formal devices in his plays as part of a comprehensive strategy to retain a high degree of psychical distance and to promote 'die Freiheit des Gemüts' in the spectator by balanced appeal to all the human faculties. Verse, rhyme and other techniques discussed below were weapons in Schiller's struggle against

²³ To Körner, 5.10.1801, NA 31 (71), p.61.

²⁴ 16.11.1801, NA 31 (81), p.71.

²⁵ See 1.4.2.2, pp.139-140, 143-144, 162-163, 169-170, above

naturalism.²⁶ When the effects of these devices are described in this chapter as 'reminders' of awareness, it is not my intention to suggest that Schiller was 'breaking the illusion' in the sense commonly associated with Brecht.²⁷ Schiller, like Brecht, rejected illusionism. But for Schiller, psychological distance involved response from the emotions and from the intellect within an overall awareness that the stage action is art and not reality. 'Awareness' is thus awareness of the aesthetic illusion, not a stimulus to link aspects of the dramatic fiction with features to be criticised in contemporary real life. Of course this awareness can vary widely in degree in different individuals and at different points in the performance.²⁸ The 'reminders' that this is art will function without necessarily being consciously recognised as such by the spectator. Rhyme and other formal features work individually and collectively to render the play as a whole essentially and unmistakably different from real life and to promote a type of aesthetic pleasure which relates specifically to the non-real nature of the experience.²⁹ Audience reactions are to occur within the subtle framework of the 'complex psychological state' discussed in 1.4.2.2 above.³⁰

²⁶ See pp.203-205 above.

²⁷ See pp.160, 183-184, 206-207 above.

²⁸ cf. 1.3.3, 1.4.2.2 and 4.4 above.

²⁹ cf. pp.35-36, 81-82 (on J.E. Schlegel) and pp.175-176 above.

³⁰ See especially pp.27-29 above.

5.3 Rhyme and artificiality

Rhyme has several different functions in Schiller's later plays, including reinforcing awareness of the artificiality of the performance.¹ In a letter to Humboldt of 21.3.1796, Schiller writes:

Uebrigens bin ich mit Ihnen überzeugt, daß der Reim mehr an Kunst erinnert, und die entgegengesetzten Silbenmaaße der Natur viel näher liegen: aber ich glaube, daß jenes Erinnern an Kunst, wenn es nicht eine Wirkung der Künstlichkeit oder gar der Peinlichkeit ist, eine Schönheit involviert, und daß es sich mit dem höchsten Grade poetischer Schönheit (in welchen naive und sentimentale Gattung zusammenfließen) sehr gut verträgt.²

It becomes clear from this letter that rhyme is one means of creating true and honest aesthetic illusion, which does not pretend to be reality.³ It is a device which appears in all of the later plays, but to a different extent and with different results. Rhyme is not used consistently throughout any one of Schiller's plays, apart from Wallensteins Lager, and so tends to be noteworthy when it does occur. At times rhyme is introduced as a reminder of artificiality at moments of strong emotional interest, when the 'danger' of excessive involvement inherent in the dramatic form is particularly strong. At other times rhyme is introduced as a more obtrusive medium than the standard blank verse when Schiller wishes to reassert the psychical distance of the audience to further its perception of some significant point, or of the general relevance of particular aspects of the action or of the action as a whole.

¹ Staiger, E., Friedrich Schiller, p.375, Utz, P., op. cit., p.87 and Sautermeister, G., "Maria Stuart". Ästhetik, Seelenkunde, historisch-gesellschaftlicher Ort', p.202, share this view.

² NA 28, (158), pp.202-203.

³ cf. 'Ästhetische Briefe', Letter XXVI and 4.3.2 above. Schiller defends the use of rhyme once more in a letter to Goethe, 18.6.1796, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (170), p.207.

I shall discuss examples from each of the plays except for Die Braut von Messina, in which rhyme is not particularly striking as Schiller experiments with so many different verse forms and the chorus becomes the main instrument for stressing artificiality.

At times Schiller uses rhyme to mark the close of an act or a scene, or to mark the exit of a character in a theatrically effective manner.⁴ This type of rhyme is used to great effect in Wilhelm Tell, the play with which Schiller was most interested in achieving theatrical effect. Rhyme is frequently used to provide a resounding ending and to arouse a sense of excitement which is theatrically effective, but at the same time different from real life.⁵ Although he is not consistent in this use of rhyme, it does seem to me to be reminiscent of Shakespeare⁶ and to be too 'conventional' to warrant discussion within the present context. I have selected only occurrences of rhyme which are more unusual and relevant to

⁴ See e.g. the closing lines of Die Piccolomini and Max's final words in Wallensteins Tod, ll.2422-2427. See also Maria Stuart I,8, ll.971-974 (Maria's exit), ll.1075-1076 (end of Act), II,4, ll.2071-2072 (end of Act), III,8, ll.2639-2640 (end of Act). Acts IV and V do not end in rhyme.

⁵ See e.g. Wilhelm Tell, I,3, ll.442-445 (Tell's exit), IV,1, ll.2299-2302, (scene end), V,1, ll.3085-3086. Particularly striking examples are to be found in the 'Rütli' scene, II,2, and at the end of the play.

⁶ In a letter to Goethe of 2.2.1800, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (714), p.844, Schiller notes that he has received a copy of Shakespeare in the English original and wishes he had had it all along. From this date at the latest, then, he was familiar with the verse form and the use of rhyming couplets in the original.

our topic.⁷

As with all matters related to the dramatic illusion, it must be remembered that the function of rhyme in actual performances will be subject to the interpretation of the director and the actors, and that the potential distancing effect is also influenced to some extent by the spectator's attitude towards the performance.⁸

5.3.1 'Wallensteins Lager'

Schiller chose 'Knittelvers' for Wallensteins Lager: 'Das Vorspiel ist in kurzen gereimten Versen, etwa wie Goethes Puppenspiel und sein Faust'.⁹ He considered that he was using a verse form 'nach dem Geist des Jahrhunderts in welchem die Geschichte spielt'.¹⁰ This was not, however, the only reason. The Prologue Poem's reference to rhyme no doubt justifies in particular the use of 'Knittelvers' in this play.¹¹ Schiller uses this particularly artificial form to prevent any illusion of reality from arising. It enables him to present the

⁷ Petersen, in Schiller und die Bühne, p.448, views Schiller's use of rhyme in terms of a chronological development in Schiller's style:

'Der Reim tritt ... zuerst am Aktschluß auf; dann aber auch beim Szenenschluß (zuerst 'Tod', V,2), dann am Schluß eines Auftritts beim Abgang (zuerst 'Maria Stuart', I,7) und schließlich bei allen Stellen, wo die Sprache einen lyrischen Schwung annimmt, z.B. bei den leidenschaftlichen Reden Mortimers ... Der Schlußreim verstärkt das Zusammenklingen von Vers und Satzrhythmus, das Schiller späterhin am Ende einer langen Periode als Bedürfnis empfand'.

This approach does not satisfactorily explain Schiller's use of rhyme in other places, which is more complex than this passage suggests.

In his recent article (1985) Utz, op. cit., p.87, notes that little attention has been paid to the numerous places where Schiller uses rhyme in his plays.

⁸ See 1.3 above.

⁹ To Iffland, 15.10.1798, NA 29 (287), p.289.

¹⁰ To G.H. Nöhden, 5.6.1799, NA 30 (62), p.55.

¹¹ See 5.1 above.

coarseness and cruelty of camp life without any fear of endangering the aesthetic distance of the spectator.¹²

The central importance which Schiller attributed to the verse form is shown in his insistence in negotiations with the theatres in Berlin and in Stuttgart that the play must be presented in 'Knittelvers' and not spoken in prose.¹³

H. B. Garland relates the verse form to Schiller's distance from the figures who appear in the play:

Schiller appears as the manipulator, who directs and moves his puppets. His relationship to them is not that of the passionate participant who identified himself with his Carlos. Instead he is the cool, collected creator and controller. This distance from his figures, the source of irony which infuses Wallensteins Lager as it has pervaded no earlier work of Schiller, is intimately linked with the form of verse which Schiller has chosen for the play.¹⁴

Schiller's new distanced attitude towards his characters has a parallel in the relationship which he wishes to establish between audience and characters. The spectator, too, is put at a distance to the action, especially by the unusual verse form, and encouraged to view it 'aesthetically' as the artificial presentation which it is.

5.3.2 'Die Piccolomini' and 'Wallensteins Tod'

There are few occurrences of rhyme in these two plays, but it is interesting that rhyme is introduced several times in passages which contain some idea which is not essentially limited to the action but

¹² A similar view is expressed by H. B. Garland in Schiller: The Dramatic Writer, pp.139-140, by Wilkinson and Willoughby in the Introduction to their edition of Kabale und Liebe, p.289, and by Schneider and Blumenthal, NA 8, p.474.

¹³ See Schiller to Iffland, 15.10.1798, NA 29 (287), p.289, and Schiller to Cotta, 19.10.1798, NA 29 (289), p.292.

¹⁴ Garland, op. cit., p.139.

presents a more general comment.

A speech in the sonnet form by Thekla in Die Piccolomini III,9, is one example of this:

Es geht ein finstrer Geist durch unser Haus,
 Und schleunig will das Schicksal mit uns enden.
 Aus stiller Freistatt treibt es mich heraus,
 Ein holder Zauber muß die Seele blenden.
 Es lockt mich durch die himmlische Gestalt,
 Ich seh sie nah und seh sie näher schweben,
 Es zieht mich fort, mit göttlicher Gewalt,
 Dem Abgrund zu, ich kann nicht widerstreben.
 O! wenn ein Haus im Feuer soll vergehn,
 Dann treibt der Himmel sein Gewölk zusammen,
 Es schießt der Blitz herab aus heitern Höhn,
 Aus unterirdschen Schlünden fahren Flammen,
 Blindwütend schleudert selbst der Gott der Freude
 Den Pechkranz in das brennende Gebäude! (11.1899-1912)

The unusual rhyming verse matches the uncanny content of Thekla's premonition. This speech is separated off from the preceding dialogue by its form as well as its content. Both together create an atmosphere of foreboding. The regularity of the rhyme scheme strengthens the impression of the inevitability of fate and imposes a sense of finality.¹⁵

A similar type of general comment from Wallenstein is marked by rhyme in Wallensteins Tod, I,7, at the end of the act:

... Frohlocke nicht!
 Denn eifersüchtig sind des Schicksals Mächte.
 Voreilig Jauchzen greift in ihre Rechte.
 Den Samen legen wir in ihre Hände,
 Ob Glück, ob Unglück aufgeht, lehrt das Ende. (11.659-663)

In a play which often threatens to draw the audience into its sphere to an extent dangerous to aesthetic freedom, Schiller seems to be using rhyme as a device to remind the audience of the artificial

¹⁵ cf. also Thekla's speech in Wallensteins Tod, IV, 12, 11.3161-3180. It too is rhymed, and it too contains a more general comment: ' - Das ist das Los des Schönen auf der Erde!'

nature of the action and direct its attention to general comments. Wallenstein does not step out of his role here, but his words suggest a perspective which is not directly limited to the action. By drawing attention to these lines by the use of rhyme, Schiller does not wish to encourage the spectator to accept the content of the lines, for instance the view of fate presented by Wallenstein; indeed the gap between Wallenstein's perspective and that of the spectator, who has superior knowledge of Wallenstein's true position, promotes an ironical understanding of these lines. Schiller wishes to reinforce the spectator's awareness of his own position as an aesthetic observer, from which he can draw his own conclusions and go beyond the perspective of the stage characters.¹⁶

III,11 ends with a general comment on the situation by Wallenstein himself and, once more, it is in rhyme:

Es ist entschieden, nun ists gut - und schnell
 Bin ich geheilt von allen Zweifelsqualen,
 Die Brust ist wieder frei, der Geist ist hell,
 Nacht muß es sein, wo Friedlands Sterne strahlen.
 Mit zögerndem Entschluß, mit wankendem Gemüt
 Zog ich das Schwert, ich tats mit Widerstreben,
 Da es in meine Wahl noch war gegeben!
 Notwendigkeit ist da, der Zweifel flieht,
 Jetzt fecht ich für mein Haupt und für mein Leben. (II.1740-1748)

¹⁶ A more obviously ironical passage in which once more a general comment by Wallenstein has deeper relevance for the audience with its superior information is in II,3; once more, it is spoken in rhyme:

'Des Menschen Taten und Gedanken, wißt!
 Sind nicht wie Meeres blind bewegte Wellen.
 Die innre Welt, sein Mikrokosmos, ist
 Der tiefe Schacht, aus dem sie ewig quellen.
 Sie sind notwendig, wie des Baumes Frucht,
 Sie kann der Zufall gaukelnd nicht verwandeln.
 Hab ich des Menschen Kern erst untersucht
 So weiß ich auch sein Wollen und sein Handeln.' (II.953-960)
 At these points, Schiller draws attention to the content of the words and to the distance between the audience in the theatre and the stage character by means of rhyme.
 On the relation between irony and distance, see 5.10 below.

This is a central passage as far as understanding Wallenstein's motives and the interpretation of the play is concerned. Schiller draws attention to it, even to the ears of the theatre audience, by the use of rhyme. At a point of high tension he also, by means of the artificial verse form, provides a brief reminder of artificiality.¹⁷

5.3.3 'Maria Stuart'

Some of the most interesting instances of rhyme for our topic occur in Maria Stuart. P.Utz maintains: 'Gerade in diesem Drama wäre zu verfolgen, wie durch die Künstlichkeit des Reims der Zuschauer zum Gesagten Distanz gewinnen soll'.¹⁸ The first particularly striking and unusual occurrence of rhyme is in Mortimer's monologue, II,6. The first thirteen lines of the monologue (NA 9, 11.1632-1644) are written in the usual blank verse form. Then there is a marked change to rhyming verse and variation in the rhythm pattern:

Wer bist du Ärmste, und was kannst du geben?
 Mich locket nicht des eiteln Ruhmes Geiz!
 Bei ihr nur ist des Lebens Reiz -
 Um sie, in ewgem Freudenchore, schweben
 Der Anmut Götter und der Jugendlust,
 Das Glück der Himmel ist an ihrer Brust,
 Du hast nur tote Güter zu vergeben!
 Das eine Höchste, was das Leben schmückt,
 Wenn sich ein Herz, entzückend und entzückt,
 Dem Herzen schenkt in süßem Selbstvergessen,
 Die Frauenkrone hast du nie besessen,
 Nie hast du liebend einen Mann beglückt! (11.1645-1656)

The new form will surely strike the ear as unusual. The rhyming of 'Reiz' (l.1647) with 'Geiz' (l.1646) is rendered particularly obvious by the change in rhythm from the usual five to four stresses. The

¹⁷ The last line, like the closing line of I,7 (l.663) provides the sort of commentary on the situation which becomes characteristic of the chorus in Die Braut von Messina, see 5.6 below.

¹⁸ Utz, op. cit., p.87.

enjambement between lines 1648 and 1649 make the contrasting impression of an unusually long unit, which, once more, is followed by a rhyme in the next line ('Brust', '-lust'). The stress on the first syllable 'du' in line 1651 marks the contrast between Maria and Elisabeth in terms markedly obvious to the ear, similarly, the opening of line 1656 with the stress on 'nie'. If the spectator has become used to the blank verse, he will here be reminded of the artistic and non-real nature of the action. He is likely to become aware of the sudden introduction of rhyme and variations in rhythm, and also more aware of the contrast between Maria and Elisabeth in Mortimer's view because of the verse forms. The unusual rhyming verse may make it clearer to the spectator that Mortimer is the filter through which the queens are viewed here.

In line 1657, as Mortimer's thoughts return to the intrigue in which he has become involved, he returns to the use of normal blank verse - once more, a development obvious to the ear. His speech closes with a resounding couplet: rhyme of the more conventional sort. (ll.1660-1661)

One of the most interesting occurrences of rhyme in connection with our topic occurs in III,6. This is a scene in which emotions run high. Mortimer declares his love for Maria and his desire to possess her. It seems likely that Schiller wished to mitigate the emotional and sensuous appeal of the stage action by the intermittent use of rhyme here. This formal device is designed to work against an overbalance towards the sensuous-emotional side by raising the visual, physical to a higher, poetic level, by making the audience aware of the artificial nature of the action in order to make a potentially 'dangerous' scene morally and aesthetically acceptable. In a letter to Goethe of 24.11.1797, Schiller notes:

Es scheint, daß ein Teil des poetischen Interesse in dem Antagonismus zwischen dem Inhalt und der Darstellung liegt: ist der Inhalt sehr poetisch-bedeutend, so kann eine magre Darstellung und eine bis zum Gemeinen gehende Einfalt des Ausdrucks ihm recht wohl anstehen, da im Gegenteil ein unpoetischer gemeiner Inhalt, wie er in einem größeren Ganzen oft nötig wird, durch den belebten und reichen Ausdruck poetische Dignität erhält.¹⁹

Rhyme is one poetic means of transferring necessary but 'dangerous' or potentially distasteful subject matter - such as Mortimer's approaches to Maria - into an acceptable form. As the physical action becomes increasingly captivating in this scene and threatens the aesthetic freedom of the psyche with emotional intensity, the style level is correspondingly raised to a higher level of artificiality to compensate.

The first instance of rhyme here is accompanied once more by a shortening of the line:

Was kann er (Leicester) tun, und was bedarf man sein?
Ich will dich retten, ich allein! (11.2491-2492)

Once more this strikes the ear, whether consciously or unconsciously, as surprisingly different. After six lines of the usual blank verse, Mortimer expresses his enthusiasm once more in a rhyming couplet:

Für alles werde alles frisch gewagt,
Frei müßt Ihr sein, noch eh der Morgen tagt. (11.2499-2500)

By contrast, Mortimer's factual account of the preparations for the planned attack on the castle contains no rhyme, (11.2502-2516), nor does the exchange between Mortimer and Maria which follows it. In line 2525, however, once more Mortimer switches to rhyme:

Und müßt ich auch die Königin durchbohren,
Ich hab es auf die Hostie geschworen. (11.2525-2526)

¹⁹ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (374), p.497.

The crass juxtaposition in rhyme of two such incongruous ideas may well distance the reader, at least from Mortimer and so, arguably, indirectly from the action as a whole. Certainly, one should beware of paying too much attention to individual rhymes, as the action moves on and the audience has little time to consider the effect of individual instances. At this point in the action, Maria herself is drawn into the play of rhyme:

MARIA: Nein, Mortimer! Eh so viel Blut um mich -

MORTIMER: Was ist mir alles Leben gegen dich
 Und meine Liebe! ... (11.2527-2529)

The inconsistency in the verse form, the use of enjambement, the irregular alternation of rhyming and non-rhyming verse is strikingly artificial within a play which is otherwise written in regular blank verse.

Schiller's technique of rhyming words which express incongruous ideas is used again in lines 2537-2539 after four lines of ordinary blank verse from Mortimer and Maria:

MORTIMER: Man schleife mich nach Tyburn, Glied für Glied
 Zerreiße man mit glühnder Eisenzange,

(indem er heftig auf sie zugeht, mit ausgebreiteten Armen)

Wenn ich dich, Heißgeliebte, umfange -

The relating of the images of instruments of physical torture with Mortimer's ardent passion for Maria is almost bizarre here, and, once more, this distancing feature is rendered more obvious by the use of rhyme.

From line 2549 onwards, Maria, too, is once more drawn into the rhyming verse:

MORTIMER: ... Ich schwörs, ich will dich auch besitzen.

MARIA: O will kein Gott, kein Engel mich beschützen!
 Furchtbares Schicksal! Grimmig schleuderst du
 Von einem Schrecknis mich dem andern zu.
 Bin ich geboren, nur die Wut zu wecken?
 Verschwört sich Haß und Liebe, mich zu schrecken.

(11.2548-2553)

As the emotional content rises to a peak, the verse form seems to become increasingly artificial.

In the speeches of Mortimer which follow, sensuous imagery is related to death imagery in a grotesque fashion by means of rhyme:

Sie wollen dich enthaupten, diesen Hals,
 Den blendend weißen, mit dem Beil durchschneiden.
 O weihe du dem Lebensgott der Freuden,
 Was du dem Hasse blutig opfern muß.

(11.2555-2558)

Die schöne Locke, dieses seidne Haar,
 Verfallen schon den finstern Todesmächten,
 Gebrauchs, den Sklaven ewig zu umflechten!

(11.2561-2563)

It is interesting that in scenes III,7 and III,8 there is no rhyme, apart from a couplet from Mortimer which closes the act. Rhyme is often used in Mortimer's speeches, but not consistently. When it appears, it evokes a particular mood and draws attention to the verse medium as an antidote to the risk of excessive uncritical involvement.

In Mortimer's last scene, IV,4, in which he has been betrayed by Leicester, rhyme is once more introduced, and for the only time in Act IV:

Ha, Schändlicher - Doch ich verdiene das!
 Wer hieß mich auch dem Elenden vertrauen?
 Weg über meinen Nacken schreitet er,
 Mein Fall muß ihm die Rettungsbrücke bauen.
 - So rette dich! Verschlossen bleibt mein Mund,
 Ich will dich nicht in mein Verderben flechten.
 Auch nicht im Tode mag ich deinen Bund,
 Das Leben ist das einzige Gut des Schlechten.

(Zu dem Offizier der Wache, der hervortritt, um ihn gefangen zu nehmen)

Was willst du, feiler Sklav der Tyrannei?
 Ich spotte deiner, ich bin frei!

(11.2798-2807)

Schiller is preparing the way for Mortimer's suicide. The significance which he attaches to the incident is marked by a reminder of artificiality in the use of rhyme. At this point, where the likelihood of a high degree of involvement is given, Schiller once more employs a distancing feature to remind the spectator that this is art. He should not react to Mortimer's behaviour as he would to a real-life event, but from an aesthetic standpoint, as the observer of a work of art. He should consider the significance of this incident from this point of view. Mortimer arguably rises morally in stature with his decision not to incriminate Leicester, and the poetic form deemed adequate for this closing speech is rhymed verse. He ends with four lines of rhyme, in which Maria is closely identified with the Virgin Mary and Mortimer's words become a prayer:

Geliebte! Nicht erretten konnt ich dich,
 So will ich dir ein männlich Beispiel geben.
 Maria, heilge, bitte für mich!
 Und nimm mich zu dir in dein himmlisch Leben! (ll.2817-2820)

The next instance of rhyme is in V,7, the scene in which Maria confesses to Melvil and receives communion. This is a scene which Schiller considered extremely important.²⁰ It is also, once more, a scene with a high degree of emotional interest, and one in which the religious subject matter ran the risk of upsetting members of the audience, especially in the case of realistic presentation.

Beginning with line 3686, Maria's confession is spoken in rhyming verse.²¹ With this unusual and artificial verse form, Schiller is reinforcing the distance necessary for an emotional scene to have a balanced effect on the spectator and for the spectator to grasp the import of the words spoken. In lines 3714-3715, Melvil too takes up

²⁰ See NA 9, p.375.

²¹ ll.3686-3687, 3690-3691, 3693-3700.

rhyme, as he puts a question which is of central significance to the problem of Maria's guilt and the justice of her execution:

Du sagst mir nichts von deinem blutgen Anteil
An Babingtons und Parrys Hochverrat?
Den zeitlichen Tod stirbst du für diese Tat,
... (11.3713-3715)

Maria's reply to the question is, once more, spoken in rhyme, which draws attention to it and strengthens the impression of a significant and deliberate statement:

Ich bin bereit zur Ewigkeit zu gehn,
Noch eh sich der Minutenzeiger wendet,
Werd ich vor meines Richters Throne stehn,
Doch wiederhol ichs, meine Beichte ist vollendet. (11.3717-3720)

The dialogue which follows contains another instance of rhyme in the words of Melvil (1.3726) and an interesting instance of word play using 'zeugen':

MELVIL: So hätten deine Schreiber falsch gezeugt?

MARIA: Wie ich gesagt, so ists. Was jene zeugten,
Das richte Gott!

MELVIL: So steigst du, überzeugt
Von deiner Unschuld, auf das Blutgerüste? (11.3731-3734)

The deliberately non-realistic nature of this piece of dialogue is unmistakable. B. Bennett even goes so far as to describe this whole scene as 'an obvious authorial intrusion'.²² He justifies it on the grounds of Schiller's theory of aesthetic freedom:

But at this point in the play a sense of authorial intrusion is perhaps appropriate, for the aim is to provide the spectator with a sense of his own creative freedom relative to the vision; the author's intrusion reminds us of the play's createdness, hence of

²² Bennett, op.cit., p.227.

our own part in its creation.²³

When Melvil speaks the essential words of absolution, once more rhyme is used (11.3739-3746). The artificial form marks the significance of the symbolic words and also the ceremonial nature of the scene. The absolution is followed by the communion ceremony, which caused so much upset at the time. This too, closes with rhyme:

Wo keine Schuld mehr sein wird, und kein Weinen,
Ein schön verklärter Engel, dich
Auf ewig mit dem Göttlichen vereinen. (11.3755-3757)

Melvil's words are moving. The use of rhyme, however, emphasises that they are different from everyday speech. Rhyme encourages the actor towards a more declamatory and rhetorical presentation, and endows the dialogue with a more measured pace. It is interesting that Körner relates the common rejection of the communion scene to popular opinions of the art of acting:

Es ist kein Grund vorhanden, religiöse Gegenstände vom Gebiete der dramatischen Kunst auszuschließen; und daß man so etwas auf dem Theater nicht verträgt, beweist bloß die herrschenden unwürdigen Begriffe von der Schauspielkunst.²⁴

G. Sautermeister sees rhyme as one element of the overall style and structure of the preparations for Maria's death, designed to distance the spectator from them and to mitigate the emotional effect:

Aber der Kunstcharakter der Todesszene - ihr sinnliches Gepränge, ihre musikalische Erweichung des Verses durch Reime, ihre sakrale Gebärdensprache und feierlichen Sprachgebärden - hält die Trauer in Grenzen, fängt sie im Medium des ästhetischen Spiels auf, bewahrt den Zuschauer vor emotionaler Identifikation mit der Hauptfigur. So würde denn das Drama Schillers paradoxem Ideal gerecht, wonach gerade 'Künste des Affekts, dergleichen die Tragödie ist (...) um so vollkommener sind, je mehr sie auch im

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ NA 9, p.375.

höchsten Sturme des Affekts die Gemütsfreyheit schonen.'²⁵

The reception of Maria Stuart by Schiller's contemporaries - in particular reactions to some of the scenes in which Schiller uses rhyme - indirectly support the contention that Schiller wished to increase distance and heighten awareness of artificiality by means of rhyme, in order to make potentially 'dangerous' scenes aesthetically acceptable. The reactions demonstrate the existence of the 'dangers' which Schiller apparently anticipated, and also that he was not always successful in his attempts to combat them. The editors of the 'Nationalausgabe' note: 'Die meisten zeitgenössischen kritischen Beurteilungen der Maria Stuart erheben sich nicht über die Ebene einer bürgerlich-"moralischen" Betrachtungsweise'.²⁶ III,6 (in which Mortimer declares his love for Maria) and V,7 (the communion scene) are amongst those attacked from a moral point of view.²⁷ It is significant that in these two troublesome scenes, Schiller uses artificial verse forms. The fact that this did not apparently succeed in making the scenes acceptable to all the members of the audience may be attributed to the conventional views of many spectators and to the fact that they were so concerned with moral issues that they were unable to abstract from a moral point of view to appreciate Schiller's aesthetic art form. The existence of such negative reactions demonstrates to the modern reader the prime concerns of many members of the eighteenth century audience, which Schiller was trying to influence in the direction of a more aesthetic viewpoint. The evidence suggests why Schiller considered it advisable to use innova-

²⁵ Sautermeister, ' "Maria Stuart" ' p.202. The parentheses are in Sautermeister's text. The quotation is from the 'Ästhetische Briefe' XXII, cf. p.159 above.

²⁶ NA 9, p.378.

²⁷ *ibid.* See also Kindermann, Theatergeschichte der Goethezeit, pp.654-655.

tory formal devices in order to draw attention away from the moralistic perspective to the artificial and peculiarly aesthetic nature of drama, and shows that Schiller had taken upon himself an extremely difficult task.²⁸

There is another interesting occurrence of rhyme at the end of what may be described as a controversial speech by Maria to Leicester. After confession, communion and an apparently sublime farewell and acceptance of her fate, Maria has collapsed at the sight of Leicester and apparently cannot resist reminding him of the opportunity which he has missed in choosing Elisabeth rather than herself. The speech takes the form of an apparent confession of the worldly desires and aims which she has now renounced. She closes:

Mög Euer Lohn nicht Eure Strafe werden!
Lebt wohl! - Jetzt hab ich nichts mehr auf der Erden!

(11.3837-3838)²⁹

Although this could well be placed under the category of conventional use of rhyme to mark exits, it deserves more attention here because of its context. The whole speech by Maria may arguably be seen as establishing a distance between her and the spectator. At any rate it endows the 'sublimity' of her last appearance with a degree of ambiguity. The closing couplet represents little more than a final sally aimed at Leicester and at Elisabeth herself. Without wishing to go into an interpretation of the play, it certainly seems to me that Schiller is providing at least some members of the audience with material for thought here, and includes the potential for different views on the spirit in which Maria departs, even for a high degree of critical distance.

²⁸ On Schiller's awareness of such difficulties and his attitude towards the public, see 4.4 above. On his attempts to retain the communion scene in spite of all opposition, see NA 9, p.375.

²⁹ cf. 11.3761-3762 and 3815-3816.

The last occurrence of rhyme in Maria Stuart is in Leicester's monologue, V,10. At this point, Maria's final speech and her departure have affected Leicester with remorse. Lines 3847-3851 of his speech are written in rhyme with a very irregular scheme:

- Wo ist mein Vorsatz hin, mit dem ich kam,
Des Herzens Stimme fühllos zu ersticken?
Ihr fallend Haupt zu sehn mit unbewegten Blicken?
Weckt mir ihr Anblick die erstorbne Scham?
Muß sie im Tod mit Liebesbanden mich umstricken?

The triple rhyme of 'ersticken', 'Blicken' and 'umstricken' and the longer length of lines 3849 and 3851 attract attention and lend emphasis to the content of the words. Leicester continues:

- Verworfenener, dir steht es nicht mehr an,
In zartem Mitleid weibisch hinzuschmelzen,
Der Liebe Glück liegt nicht auf deiner Bahn,
Mit einem ehrnen Harnisch angetan
Sei deine Brust, die Stirne sei ein Felsen! (11.3852-3856)

The irregularity of the rhyme scheme with the unexpected rhyme in line 3855 and the enjambement into 3856 express a sense of disruption. Leicester continues with two resolute couplets like those often used by Mortimer:

Willst du den Preis der Schandtät nicht verlieren,
Dreist mußt du sie behaupten und vollführen!
Verstumme Mitleid, Augen, werdet Stein,
Ich seh sie fallen, ich will Zeuge sein. (11.3857-3860)

Utz views these lines as exposing 'eine Pose männlicher Härte'.³⁰ Of the last two he claims:

In diesem Satz versteinert die offene Augen-Zeugenschaft zur Renommierpose. Der Reim indiziert dem Zuschauer die Künstlichkeit, mit welcher Leicester sie sich abzwängt. Im Reim zur Reflexion aufgefordert, erkennt der Zuschauer das Defizit dieser erzwungenen Haltung ... Es ist ein Defizit an warmer Mitleidensfähigkeit, aber auch an kritischer, offener Augen-Distanz. Aus

³⁰ Utz, op. cit., p.87.

diesen zwei Seiten bestünde die richtige Zeugenschaft des Zuschauers, seine Fähigkeit zur 'Rührung' in Schillers Sinn.³¹

Leicester's third couplet expresses the collapse of his resolution. He stops on his way to the door:

Umsonst! Umsonst! Mich faßt der Hölle Grauen,
Ich kann, ich kann das Schreckliche nicht schauen. (11.3861-3862)

This is the last instance of rhyme. As Leicester's deliberation and attempt to come to terms with events are brought to a close by the sounds of the execution, the artificial rhyming verse gives way to a more realistic form in his telescopic description of the execution taking place below. Syntax breaks down to a large extent, the sense units become shorter in the last thirteen lines. This passage is certainly not rhetorical and artificial. The emotional nature of these lines is likely to encourage the audience to identify with Leicester and imagine clearly the execution. Within the blank verse form, the language comes close to prose:

Die Stimme des Dechanten - Er ermahnet sie -
Sie unterbricht ihn - Horch! - Laut betet sie -
Mit fester Stimme - Es wird still - Ganz still! (11.3870-3872)

The enjambement between the last two lines of Leicester's speech as Maria prepares to kneel for execution heightens the emotional intensity of the description:

... Der Schemel wird
Gerückt - ... (11.3874-3875)

Has Schiller given in to the temptation to enjoy the dramatist's potential power over the emotions of the audience? Aesthetic distance certainly seems to be drastically reduced at this point.

³¹ *ibid*, p.87.

Leicester's collapse and the rising sound of voices from below heighten the emotional intensity here.³²

High points of emotional intensity are also to be found in the scenes involving Maria's farewell in V,6 and her last requests in V,8 and 9, which contain few instances of rhyme.³³ In a letter to Goethe of 18.6.1799 Schiller wrote in connection with Maria Stuart: 'das Pathetische muß mehr eine allgemeine tiefe Rührung als ein persönlich und individuelles Mitgefühl sein'.³⁴ Yet there seems to be truth in E. Staiger's claim that 'unser Mitgefühl für Maria (steigert) sich gegen das Ende sogar zu einer bis an die Grenze des Erträglichen reichenden Rührung'.³⁵ Staiger considers the possibility that Schiller was so enthusiastic about the presentation of the sublime in Maria's acceptance of her fate 'daß er sich nicht versagen könne, bei der dichterischen Gestaltung vorbehaltlos mitzuschwingen, also stoffartig zu interessieren und unmittelbar durch den Triumph der Tugend, das Publikum hinzureißen'.³⁶ Staiger rejects this view, basing his argument on Maria's desire to receive absolution by a representative of the church. This, he claims, shows that she is not truly morally 'free' in Schiller's sense and that 'das Miterleiden Schillers mit seiner Heldin ist immer noch begrenzt'.³⁷ The close of V, 9, as discussed above, also suggests some distance between Schiller and his heroine and intended distance between Maria and the spectator.

³² Petersen and Schneider, NA 9, p.377, report that the 'Herzog' in Stuttgart was so upset by this scene that it had to be omitted in a second performance.

³³ With the exception of lines 3576 and 3578.

³⁴ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (607), p.764.

³⁵ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.319.

³⁶ *ibid*, p.321.

³⁷ *ibid*, p.322.

Staiger claims that Schiller's intention, as it emerges from the play itself, is to prevent the audience from being carried away by the subject matter and to encourage it to participate in the 'Sieg der dichterischen Formkraft über das Stoffliche'.³⁸ Yet Staiger admits to sensing a strong emotional bias towards the end of the play, with the result that the effect in the theatre will not always correspond with Schiller's intention. He concludes: 'Er hat vielleicht doch, in seinem Bemühen, die Sympathie mit Maria Stuart zu sichern,' - a necessary element of the overall tragic effect - 'des Guten zuviel getan, oder, was auf dasselbe hinausläuft, wir sind wieder einmal zu weich; wir sind, mit Goethe zu reden, "viel zu armselig und irdisch für ihn" '.³⁹ Perhaps Schiller overestimated the power of verse and of the overall formal structure of the play in general - and of the teichoscopic description of an unseen event in particular in the case of V,10 - to counter emotional appeal to the average spectator. Yet he was well aware of the limitations of his audiences. Alternatively, he may have been deliberately exploiting the opportunity for strong emotional effect towards the end of the play.

It is perhaps significant that the audience is not allowed to dwell on moving events. V, 6 is followed by the ceremonial and stylized Melvil scene, with the intermittent use of rhyme. The end of V, 8 has an occurrence of rhyme and potentially distancing material, as discussed above. After V,10 there is an immediate shift to the palace and Elisabeth. Is Schiller, having reduced psychical distance to a minimum barely acceptable, even within the overall artificiality of the structural framework, according to his own theory, restoring the balance by a shift in emphasis to the coldness of the court here?

38 *ibid.*

39 *ibid.*

The sublime, the pathos of tragedy, he has argued in his theory, prevents it from being a completely free art. He certainly moves very far towards the extreme of emotional involvement at some points in Act V of this play.

5.3.4 'Die Jungfrau von Orleans'

Unlike Maria Stuart, Die Jungfrau von Orleans does not have a strict, symmetrical form. This play includes unrealistic occurrences and many striking passages of rhymed and unrhymed verse. Within this framework, individual instances of rhyme tend to be less obvious than in Maria Stuart. I shall draw attention only to a few instances of rhyme which are particularly interesting for my topic.

The play is subtitled 'eine romantische Tragödie'.⁴⁰ The threshold of probability has been raised to the level of the romantic, the legendary. It will not be accepted as satisfactory if judged by the everyday criteria of likelihood or probability, but only if viewed as the artificial, artistic piece as which it is intended. Rhyme, as Schiller stated in the letter to Humboldt quoted above, reminds the audience of artificiality and so may be seen as an important device with regard to the aesthetic acceptability of this play.

In I,1, rhyme is used in a speech by the king, who has been told that the treasury has no money to reward a singer:

So schaffe welches. - Edle Sänger dürfen
Nicht ungeehrt von meinem Hofe ziehn
Sie machen uns den dürren Zepter blühen,
Sie flechten den unsterblich grünen Zweig

⁴⁰ Kaiser, G., in Von Arkadien nach Elysium, p.109, notes:
' "Romantisch" im Wortgebrauch des 18. Jahrhunderts heißt romantisch, miraculös; im Wortgebrauch der Romantik bezeichnet es die Aufhebung des Endlichen im Unendlichen, des Diesseits im Jenseits; bei Schiller kann es die Überführung des Ideals ins Leben meinen, wie sie im Wunder der Vollendung des Menschen gegeben ist.'

Des Lebens in die unfruchtbare Krone,
 Sie stellen herrschend sich den Herrschern gleich,
 Aus leichten Wünschen bauen sie sich Throne,
 Und nicht im Raume liegt ihr harmlos Reich,
 Drum soll der Sänger mit dem König gehen,
 Sie beide wohnen auf der Menschheit Höhen! (11.476-485)

The king's homage to singers in this apparently idyllic passage is in stark contrast to the true situation. This contrast and the illusory nature of the king's views are underlined by the rhyming verse, which is considered appropriate to the presentation of impractical minstrelsy. Schiller's portrayal of the king in this scene seems to approach caricature. In the opening speech of I,1, Dunois has already paved the way for a distanced attitude towards the king:

Den König denk ich kriegerisch gerüstet
 An seines Heeres Spitze schon zu finden,
 Und find ihn - hier! umringt von Gaukelspielern
 Und Troubadours, spitzfindige Rätsel lösend
 Und der Sorel galante Feste gebend, (11.445-449)

The gulf between the king's illusions and the true state of affairs is underscored by the more obviously poetic rhyming language.⁴¹ Indirectly, the audience is thus also made more aware of France's dire predicament and so Johanna's appearance will be all the more wondrous.

In I,10, rhyme is used in connection with the miraculous at the end of the 64-line speech in which Johanna recounts her vision:

'Gehorsam ist des Weibes Pflicht auf Erden,
 Das harte Dulden ist ihr schweres Los,
 Durch strengen Dienst muß sie geläutert werden,
 Die hier gedienet, ist dort oben groß.'
 Und also sprechend ließ sie das Gewand
 Der Hirtin fallen und als Königin
 Der Himmel stand sie da im Glanz der Sonnen,

⁴¹ The almost comical or at least ironical elements in the portrayal of the king in this scene give way to a more positive portrayal in the course of the play. Too much distance to the king would no doubt weaken the cause of Johanna.

Und goldne Wolken trugen sie hinauf
Langsam verschwindend in das Land der Wonnen. (11.1102-1110)

The poetic, non-realistic language of this speech culminates in rhyme. The style reflects the supernatural quality of the content. Rhyme is used in connection with the miraculous again in I,10 lines 1120-1127:

JOHANNA: Der Hohen Demut leuchtet hell dort oben,
Du beugtest dich, drum hat er dich erhoben.

KARL: So werd ich meinen Feinden widerstehn?

JOHANNA: Bezwungen leg ich Frankreich dir zu Füßen!

KARL: Und Orleans sagst du, wird nicht übergehn?

JOHANNA: Eh siehest du die Loire zurücke fließen.

KARL: Werd ich nach Reims als Überwinder ziehn?

JOHANNA: Durch tausend Feinde führ ich dich dahin.

This rhymed stichomythia is an instance of obviously artificial dialogue. Once more, the unusual verse form reflects the wondrous nature of the content. Both content and form are clearly different from a typical real-life occurrence. It is also interesting that the ideas, which appeal to the intellect, are clothed in language which is pleasing to the ear, and so Schiller aims at a truly aesthetic effect on the whole person in the sense described in his aesthetic theory.

Another interesting use of rhyme in this play is in II,10, in which Johanna persuades Burgund to join the king's camp:

Doch jetzt, da ichs bedarf dich zu bewegen,
Besitz ich Einsicht, hoher Dinge Kunde,
Der Länder und der Könige Geschick
Liegt sonnenhell vor meinem Kindesblick,
Und einen Donnerkeil führ ich im Munde. (11.1794-1798)

Once more, the unusual rhyming verse corresponds to the supernatural

content of Johanna's speech and lends a magical charm to her words, which are to persuade the hard warrior Burgund against all odds to make peace with the king. The 'miraculous' conversion of Burgund to Johanna's cause is marked by the use of rhyme in his speech too:⁴²

Wie wird mir? Wie geschieht mir? Ists ein Gott,
 Der mir das Herz im tiefsten Busen wendet!
 - Sie trägt nicht diese rührende Gestalt!
 Nein! Nein! Bin ich durch Zaubers Macht geblendet,
 So ist durch eine himmlische Gewalt,
 Mir sagts das Herz, sie ist von Gott gesendet. (ll.1799-1804)

The seven lines from Johanna which close the scene are, significantly, not spoken in rhyme. Johanna declares that Burgund has been won over to the king's side. The wondrous conversion has been completed, and the strikingly artificial and poetic rhyming language gives way to more 'usual' verse. Once more rhyme has been used to draw attention to a significant passage within the play, reflecting the supernatural nature of Johanna's power and the aesthetic nature of the play.

5.3.5 'Wilhelm Tell'

In Wilhelm Tell, a play in which rhymed verse is the exception rather than the rule, the use of rhyme by Rudenz and Bertha at some points in III,2 is unusual and striking to the ear. Rudenz begins:

Fräulein, jetzt endlich find ich euch allein,
 Abgründe schließen rings umher uns ein,
 In dieser Wildniß fürcht' ich keinen Zeugen,
 Vom Herzen wälz' ich dieses lange Schweigen - (ll.1586-1589)

S. Seidel comments: 'Endreime, um die Bedeutung der Aussage zu er-

⁴² cf. the use of rhyme in Goethe's Faust II, ed. Trunz, pp.282ff., Act III, 'Innerer Burghof'. Trunz, pp.582-583, notes that Goethe started Act III in 1800, but that the scene 'Innerer Burghof' was written later.

höhen'.⁴³ In my opinion this is not the only or even the main function of rhyme here. The new verse form evokes a different atmosphere from the usual blank verse. It is more obviously artificial and potentially light-hearted. Rudenz's lines express the isolated geographical location of the scene. The rhyme underlines the separation of this scene from the main action. Staiger relates the rhyme in Rudenz's four lines to 'der Hochflug seiner Gefühle', Bertha's non-rhyming response to the revelation that his euphoria is based on illusions.⁴⁴

Rhyme is taken up by Bertha in lines 1662-1672:

Hofft nicht durch Oestreichs Gunst mich zu erringen,
 Nach meinem Erbe strecken sie die Hand,
 Das will man mit dem großen Erb vereinen.
 Dieselbe Ländergier, die Eure Freiheit
 Verschlingen will, sie drohet auch der meinen!
 - O Freund, zum Opfer bin ich ausersehn,
 Vielleicht um einen Günstling zu belohnen -
 Dort wo die Falschheit und die Ränke wohnen,
 Hin an den Kaiserhof will man mich ziehn,
 Dort harren mein verhaßter Ehe Ketten,
 Die Liebe nur - die Eure kann mich retten!

Bertha's declaration of her true situation and of Rudenz's power to rescue her by means of his love is both given attention and put on a different plane from the main plot by means of the more obviously poetic rhyming language. Rhyme is not used consistently throughout this scene, but it is more frequently used and for longer periods than elsewhere in the play. Staiger stresses the similarity to opera of this scene, which he describes as 'ein eigentliches Duett!'.⁴⁵ Schiller was attracted to opera because of its artificiality and

⁴³ NA 10, p.510.

This is the only function of rhyme to which Seidel refers in his Notes.

⁴⁴ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.387.

⁴⁵ ibid, p.389.

obviously non-realistic form.⁴⁶ Staiger relates this to Rudenz and Bertha's scene in particular:

Die Rede ist nicht nur dazu bestimmt, eine Phase des äußeren und inneren Geschehens möglichst eindrucksvoll zu erhellen; die klanglichen Elemente fügen sich selber wieder in ihrem Wandel, in ihren Steigerungen und Diminuendi zu einem dem Ohr auch unabhängig von einem Sinn vernehmlichen künstlichen Gebilde zusammen, wie in der lyrischen Dichtung, aber absichtsvoller, auf große Distanz berechnet: es ist Theatermusik.⁴⁷

The isolated situation of the country which Rudenz was previously so keen to leave takes on a clearly idyllic character in the course of the scene:

Kein flüchtiges Verlangen hab ich mehr
Hinaus zu senden in des Lebens Weiten -
Dann mögen diese Felsen um uns her
Die undurchdringlich feste Mauer breiten,
Und dieß verschloßne sel'ge Thal allein
Zum Himmel offen und gelichtet seyn! (ll.1684-1689)

The isolated location emphasised by Rudenz in the first rhymed lines of the scene has widened into the setting of the play as a whole, and has obviously idyllic features. Through Bertha, Rudenz has come to identify with his Swiss countrymen. The idyllic view of Switzerland is expressed once more in a lyrical passage of rhyming verse in lines 1692-1699:

Fahr' hin, du eitler Wahn, der mich bethört!
Ich soll das Glück in meiner Heimat finden.
Hier wo der Knabe fröhlich aufgeblüht,
Wo tausend Freudespuen mich umgeben,
Wo alle Quellen mir und Bäume leben,
Im Vaterland willst du die Meine werden!
Ach, wohl hab ich es stets geliebt! Ich fühls,
Es fehlte mir zu jedem Glück der Erden.

The lines which follow present an idyllic vision of the homeland

⁴⁶ See Schiller to Goethe, 29.12.1797, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (394), p.529 and 5.7 below.

⁴⁷ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.390.

as Elysium and, once more, the artificial and most obviously poetic form deemed suitable is rhyming verse:

Wo wär die sel'ge Insel aufzufinden,
 Wenn sie nicht hier ist in der Unschuld Land?
 Hier, wo die alte Treue heimisch wohnt,
 Wo sich die Falschheit noch nicht hingefunden,
 Da trübt kein Neid die Quelle unsers Glücks,
 Und ewig hell entfliehen uns die Stunden.
 - Da seh ich Dich im ächten Männerwerth,
 Den Ersten von den Freien und den Gleichen,
 Mit reiner freier Huldigung verehrt,
 Groß wie ein König wirkt in seinen Reichen. (ll.1700-1709)

The transformation in Rudenz's attitude has been amazingly fast and also, arguably, motivated by personal, even selfish reasons. It seems to me that this scene is one of those into which Schiller has consciously put material which may strike different spectators in different ways. His theory and correspondence show that he was well aware of different levels of appreciation in different individuals and groups within any one audience.⁴⁸ This particular passage may strike the uncritical, 'romantically' inclined spectator as a beautiful idyllic passage and declaration of love. Rudenz's swift change of heart is based on his love for Bertha and requires no further motivation within the framework of a play which is avowedly non-realistic and makes no claim to realistic everyday probability. The more critical spectator may sense a level of irony.⁴⁹ The scene seems almost too-good-to-be-true and positive to the extent of being in direct conflict with the state of affairs in the real world.

⁴⁸ See 4.4 above.

⁴⁹ In this connection, see the interpretation of the play by W.F. Mainland in his edition of the play, and the interpretation of Wallenstein by A. Glück. Staiger in Friedrich Schiller, pp.296-297, claims: 'Der "Wilhelm Tell" is eben deshalb ein unvergleichliches Werk, weil er den strengsten ästhetischen Anspruch ebenso befriedigt wie die Wünsche des einfachen Mannes, der im Theater nichts Eiligeres zu tun hat, als Kunst und Leben zu vermengen'.

Schiller's intentions of pleasing the 'whole public' with this play certainly leaves scope for a degree of critical irony while on the surface providing a play which will appeal to the masses.⁵⁰ Rhyme is fitting to the romantic and idyllic context. Whether one considers it to relate to the deliberate inclusion by Schiller of an ironical level of understanding depends on whether one accepts the scene as a straightforward idyllic piece or views it in a more critical manner.

Rudenz continues his vision in rhyme:

Da seh ich dich, die Krone aller Frauen,
 In weiblich reizender Geschäftigkeit,
 In meinem Haus den Himmel mir erbauen,
 Und, wie der Frühling seine Blumen streut,
 Mit schöner Anmuth mir das Leben schmücken,
 Und alles rings beleben und beglücken!

(11.1710-1715)

Then, suddenly, the rhyme stops. As the dialogue returns from declarations of love and idyllic visions to the actual situation in the country, the verse reverts to the standard form.

⁵⁰ See Schiller to Iffland, 9.11.1803, NA 32 (97), p.84 and 4.4, p.186 above.
 Staiger, in Friedrich Schiller, pp.295-296, discusses performances of the play especially in Switzerland, where people delight in confusing the present with old times and the pleasure associated with the performance derives from confusing 'den Schein der Kunst' and reality. He suggests that Schiller's doubts about having made some concessions to the public with this play may have represented anticipation of such attitudes.

5.4 Changing verse forms and artificiality

As well as rhyme, Schiller also uses changes in verse form to reinforce awareness of artificiality.¹ Even within the overall framework of a verse play, he employs variations in rhythm and metre to prevent verse from being accepted as a convention and its existence forgotten by the spectator. By using different verse forms in different situations and to create different moods, he refuses to allow verse to become predictable and so furthers his aesthetic aims.² He also repeatedly offers new delights to the ear which balance the frequent appeal of ideas to the intellect.

In 1795 Schiller describes himself with regard to 'Versbau' as 'der roheste Empiriker, denn außer Moritz kleiner Schrift über Prosodie erinnere ich mich auch gar nichts, selbst in Schulen, darüber gelesen zu haben'.³ Content and imagery, he insists, are often more important than scansion.⁴

During the writing of Maria Stuart in 1799, he expresses renewed interest in different verse forms, influenced by his reading of Greek tragedy:

Ich fange in der Maria Stuart an mich einer größern Freiheit oder vielmehr Mannigfaltigkeit im Silbenmaß zu bedienen, wo die Gelegenheit es rechtfertigt. Diese Abwechslung ist ja auch in den griechischen Stücken, und man muß das Publikum an alles gewöhnen.

¹ See also Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.390.

² Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.386, notes: 'Der Stil bestimmt sich nach den Anforderungen der Szene, und zwar in einem Ausmaß und auf eine Art, die uns bei keinem anderen begegnet'.

³ To Humboldt, NA 28 (94), 29.11.1795, p.116.
See also Albertsen, L., 'Klassizismus und Klassik in der Metrik', pp.121-122.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ To Goethe, 3.9.1799, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (650), pp.812-813.
See also Schiller to Goethe, 26.9.1800, quoted in 5.4.2 below.

In the preface to Die Braut von Messina Schiller offers a detailed explanation and justification of the use of lyrical verse forms in tragedy:

Aber ebenso wie der bildende Künstler die faltige Fülle der Gewänder um seine Figuren breitet, um die Räume seines Bildes reich und anmuthig auszufüllen, um die getrennten Parthien desselben in ruhigen Massen stetig zu verbinden, um der Farbe, die das Auge reizt und erquickt, einen Spielraum zu geben, um die menschlichen Formen zugleich geistreich zu verhüllen und sichtbar zu machen, eben so durchflieht und umgiebt der tragische Dichter seine streng abgemessene Handlung und die festen Umrisse seiner handelnden Figuren mit einem lyrischen Prachtgewebe, in welchem sich, als wie in einem weitgefalteten Purpurgewand, die handelnden Personen frei und edel mit einer gehaltenen Würde und hoher Ruhe bewegen.⁶

Die Braut von Messina is the play in which Schiller goes furthest in his experimentation with verse forms and lyrical passages.

5.4.1 Rhythmic variation. 'Maria Stuart' III,1

One of the most interesting examples of the use of changing verse forms in Maria Stuart is to be found at the opening of Act III, the central act of the symmetrical structure. In this scene, Schiller employs freer rhythms at times in the speech of Maria.

The scene opens with two lines of the usual blank verse from Hanna, which re-introduces the audience to this form after the break at the end of Act II:

Ihr eilet ja, als wenn Ihr Flügel hättet,
So kann ich Euch nicht folgen, wartet doch! (11.2073-2074)

Maria replies in a rhyming verse form with a completely different rhythm:

⁶ NA 10, p.12.

Laß mich der neuen Freiheit genießen,
 Laß mich ein Kind sein, sei es mit!
 Und auf dem grünen Teppich der Wiesen
 Prüfen den leichten, geflügelten Schritt.
 Bin ich dem finstern Gefängnis entstiegen,
 Hält sie mich nicht mehr, die traurige Gruft?
 Laß mich in vollen, in durstigen Zügen
 Trinken die freie, die himmlische Luft.

(11.2075-2082)

The new metre reflects Maria's sense of freedom, her temporary escape. It expresses her mood. At the same time, the rhyming verse and the new rhythm will surely strike the audience in the theatre and reassert awareness of artificiality. The introduction of this new verse form is very obvious within a play which is on the whole strict and regular. The change draws attention to the fact that the play is written in verse, a fact which may be forgotten if the audience is allowed to become too used to the usual blank verse form to the extent where it can lose awareness of it.

When Kennedy reminds her that she is not really free and that the imprisoning walls are just hidden by trees, Maria once more replies in rhyme:

O Dank, Dank diesen freundlich grünen Bäumen,
 Die meines Kerkers Mauern mir verstecken!
 Ich will mich frei und glücklich träumen,
 Warum aus meinem süßen Wahn mich wecken?
 Umfängt mich nicht der weite Himmelschoß?
 Die Blicke, frei und fessellos,
 Ergehen sich in ungemessenen Räumen.
 Dort, wo die grauen Nebelberge ragen,
 Fängt meines Reiches Grenze an,
 Und diese Wolken, die nach Mittag jagen,
 Sie suchen Frankreichs fernen Ozean.

(11.2087-2097)

Maria realises her true situation, but wishes to indulge her imagination and pretend to be free. The freer rhythms evoke the impression of freedom and space, as do the images of sky and mountains. At the same time the unusual, surprising rhyme scheme and the changing rhythms, especially as they are contrasted with Kennedy's sober five-foot reminders of the real situation, are likely to strike the audience and reinforce the overall impression of a poetic work which is

clearly not to be confused with everyday reality. Storz writes of 'Annäherung des Dramendialoges an Formen der Oper' in this scene: 'So wirkt jene Eröffnungsszene nicht mehr als Gespräch, sondern eher wie ein Duett, in dem Arie und Rezitativ miteinander kontrastieren'.⁷

The passage which directly follows is even more obviously lyrical:

Eilende Wolken! Segler der Lüfte!
 Wer mit euch wanderte, mit euch schiffte!
 Grüßet mir freundlich mein Jugendland!
 Ich bin gefangen, ich bin in Banden,
 Ach, ich hab keinen andern Gesandten!
 Frei in Lüften ist eure Bahn,
 Ihr seid nicht dieser Königin untertan. (11.2098-2104)

There is direct evidence of the 'alienating' effect which this passage had on Schiller's contemporaries. Von Wiese and Blumenthal note: 'Die Anapäste "Eilende Wolken" usw. haben die Kritik der Zeitgenossen herausgefordert'.⁸ Tieck, for example, is said to have commented:

Wo man Handlung erwartet, tritt die Rede ein und lyrische Ergüsse, die an sich sehr schön sind, aber nicht an ihrer Stelle. So sind mir in der Maria Stuart im Anfange des 3. Actes die Anapästen 'Eilende Wolken' usw. stets wie ein Stich durchs Herz gegangen.⁹

Caroline Schlegel wrote to A.W. Schlegel in a similar vein:

Die wenigen lyrischen Stellen sind hübsch - o ja - aber mit dem Ganzen schlecht verbunden. Das Interesse für Maria ist durchgehends zu sehr geschwächt, es sieht aus, als sollte das objektiv gemeint sein, aber es ist nichts Echtes damit, bloß nachgemachte Patent-Objektivität.¹⁰

These passages show the novelty of Schiller's conception of drama in

⁷ Storz, G., Der Dichter Friedrich Schiller, p.340.

⁸ NA 9, p.371.

⁹ *ibid*, pp.371-372.

¹⁰ *ibid*, p.380.

his time, and how it was often misunderstood. His attempts to discourage total identification in favour of a higher degree of aesthetic distance are misunderstood as unsatisfactory portrayal of character. His interest in widening the concept of drama and in moving away from the strict closed form is interpreted as a fault. Most of his contemporaries did not share his positive view of lyrical or epic elements in drama and of stressing the artificiality of the action. This impression is supported by another comment from Otto Ludwig:

Die Stelle 'Eilende Wolken' usw. ist ja ein reines Lied. Das war überhaupt der Grundzug und das Ziel Schillers und Goethes, dem Drama etwas Pomphaftes, Opernartiges zu verleihen; da war die Pracht der Sprache, der Klang des Verses die Hauptsache.¹¹

Such critics did not understand that Schiller and Goethe were aiming to create drama which would have an aesthetic effect on the whole person and which had to be obviously poetic and different from real life in order to have this effect. The difference between Ludwig's view of drama and Schiller's emerges further in the next stage of his criticism of Maria Stuart. The criterion by which he judges it is realistic imitation of real-life conversation:

Diese Menschen halten Reden aneinander, sie sprechen zueinander, aber nicht miteinander. Das wirkliche Gespräch ist allerdings auch unendlich schwer zu bilden.¹²

Such critics no doubt share Hanna Kennedy's view of Maria's lyrical outburst. She interrupts:

Die langentbehrte Freiheit macht Euch schwärmen. (1.2106)

Once more, Maria's lyrical outburst is audibly contrasted with Hanna's more usual verse. However, Maria continues to express her

¹¹ *ibid*, p.372.

¹² *ibid*, p.384.

dream of freedom in dactylic lines containing the image of the poor fisherman who could rescue her and be rewarded with riches (11.2107-2114). Yet again, Hanna interrupts with four down-to-earth five-foot iambic lines, reminding Maria that they are being watched and kept isolated from anyone they might otherwise have chanced to meet. This time Maria, too, returns to the normal metre:

Nein, gute Hanna. Glaub mir, nicht umsonst
Ist meines Kerkers Tor geöffnet worden (11.2119-2120)
...
Lord Leicesters mächtgen Arm erkenn ich drin.
Allmählich will man mein Gefängnis weiten... (11.2124-2125)

Maria's thoughts apparently return here to the 'reality' of the situation. She actually seems to believe in the possibility of rescue, and this return to her situation in the real world is marked by a return to the usual verse form. Hanna's inability to understand why they have been allowed to come out and perhaps also the contrast between Maria's view of the situation, expressed in rhyming verse, and her own, includes an ambiguity with her use of the word 'reimen':

Ach, ich kann diesen Widerspruch nicht reimen! (1.2129)

On hearing the horn of the hunt, Mary once more breaks out in rhymed verse:

Hörst du das Hifthorn? Hörst dus klingen,
Mächtigen Rufes, durch Feld und Hain?
Ach, auf das mutige Roß mich zu schwingen,
An den fröhlichen Zug mich zu reihn!
Noch mehr! O die bekannte Stimme,
Schmerzlich süßer Erinnerung voll.
Oft vernahm sie mein Ohr mit Freuden,
Auf des Hochlands bergigten Heiden,
Wenn die tobende Jagd erscholl. (11.2134-2142)

The change in verse form is used to express Maria's nostalgic memories and imaginative vision of freedom.

This scene is one in which Schiller takes an opportunity to delight

the ear with lyrical verse which serves a function with relation to the content of the words in expressing Maria's thoughts and mood; at the same time, the unusual verse forms used for the first time within this very regular play are strikingly artificial and raise the level of the action to an aesthetic plane.

With the arrival of Paulet, marking the start of scene 2, the dialogue returns to the usual verse form.

5.4.2 Trimeters

In Die Jungfrau von Orleans and in Die Braut von Messina Schiller introduces trimeters. In both cases the new verse form is strikingly different from the usual form and obvious to the ear.

Schiller's attention was drawn to this form by Goethe's Faust. In a letter to Goethe, 26.9.1800, he notes: 'Ihre neuliche Vorlesung hat mich auf die Trimeter sehr aufmerksam gemacht und ich wünschte in die Sache mehr einzudringen'.¹³ In the same letter Schiller expresses his intention to learn more Greek in order to be able to understand Greek metrics and requests a book on metrics in order to learn more about verse forms.¹⁴ In Faust II trimeters are used by Helena in Act III. Trunz notes:

... sie spricht in dem Versmaß, das die deutsche Entsprechung des altgriechischen Trimeters ist, in sechsfüßigen Iamben (im Deutschen also ein Sechstakter mit Auftakt). Dieses Maß klingt feierlich, gehoben.¹⁵

¹³ Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (767), p.877.

¹⁴ ibid.
In their Notes to Die Jungfrau von Orleans, II, 6-8, von Wiese and Blumenthal, NA 30, p.430, note that Schiller studied the third act of Goethe's Faust II with the help of Hermann's Handbuch der Metrik.

¹⁵ Goethe, J.W. von, Faust, ed. E. Trunz, p.585.

Schiller was obviously impressed by the effect of the longer line and decided to experiment with it.

5.4.2.1 'Die Jungfrau von Orleans' II, 6-8

Schiller uses trimeters to present Johanna's encounter with Montgomery. Von Wiese and Blumenthal claim:

In den Montgomeryszenen, 6. bis 8. Auftritt, erreicht der 2. Aufzug seinen ästhetischen Höhepunkt. Auch sprachlich sind diese Auftritte, der 7. hat sein Vorbild in der Begegnung Achills mit dem jungen Lykaon im 21. Gesang der Ilias, durch die Verwendung der antiken Trimeter besonders herausgehoben.¹⁶

Scene 6 opens with trimeters from Montgomery:

Wo soll ich hinfliehn? Feinde rings umher und Tod!
Hier der ergrimte Feldherr, der mit drohndem Schwert
Die Flucht versperrend uns dem Tod entgegentreibt. (ll.1552-1554)

The slower, more deliberate form slows down the action and draws attention to the significance of these scenes. The audience must be affected, consciously or unconsciously, by the change in metre. Trimeters were uncommon in German verse at the time and will have

16

NA 9, p. 430.

B.v. Wiese in Friedrich Schiller, pp.728ff. and N. Gabriel in "Furchtbar und sanft." Zum Trimeter in Schillers Jungfrau von Orleans are amongst those who stress the importance of these scenes for the play as a whole. Gabriel provides a detailed analysis of the use of trimeters in these scenes.

Petersen, on the other hand views them as 'poetische Verschwendung, denn das Prachtgewand entspricht keineswegs der dramatischen Bedeutung dieser Episode, sondern verstärkt eher ihren antik-epischen Charakter' (Schiller und die Bühne, p.425).

In my opinion, the use of trimeters both draws attention to the significance of the episode for Johanna's character and her mission and lends an 'epic' quality to the scene. The two are not incompatible but fit together in the light of Schiller's aesthetic theory.

been unfamiliar to most audience members.¹⁷

The choice of the classical, solemn trimeter emphasises the importance of these scenes for the play as a whole; they represent an important stage in the development of Johanna's character and her perception of her mission. Where strictly handled, the trimeters underscore her cold determination and the awe which she inspires in Montgomery. At the same time their unfamiliarity and formality add an aesthetic gloss to scenes which are, once more, dangerous to aesthetic freedom because of their emotional content and their potential to be distasteful to sensitive members of the audience. The verse form is pleasing to the ear and at the same time removes the subject matter to a distance, lending it a form which appeals to the audience as art, with general rather than particular significance. In another form, the audience might be encouraged to identify with Montgomery and be shocked by his death. Scene 7 in particular has strong emotional appeal, with references to the young man's mother, fiancée, and home. Human compassion, however, is not the object of drama for Schiller. This encounter has a higher function within the context of the play, and this must be perceived by the spectator.

Gabriel suggests that Schiller was attracted by the dual nature of the trimeter:

Der korrekt gebaute Trimeter hat auch im Deutschen den Charakter architektonischer Strenge, würdevoller Statik, doch kann er auf die Dauer ermüdend und eintönig wirken. Leicht kann der Trimeter auch, wenn beim Zeilensprung syntaktische Einheit und Versschluß nicht zusammenfallen, wenn der Satz weiterströmt, für das Ohr die Zeileneinheit verlieren, der Vers wird, wie W. Kayser pointiert formuliert, breit, ja gar ein wenig redselig.¹⁸

¹⁷ See Gabriel, *op. cit.*, p.125.

¹⁸ *ibid*, p.126.

Some examples of the enjambement which can lead to Gabriel's second characteristic are to be found in lines 1568-1569, 1569-1570 and 1570-1571:

Aus Brandes Flammen, düster leuchtend, hebt sie sich,
 Wie aus der Hölle Rachen ein Gespenst der Nacht
 Hervor. - Wohin entrinn ich! Schon ergreift sie mich
 Mit ihren Feueraugen, wirft von fern
 Der Blicke Schlingen nimmer fehlend nach mir aus. (ll.1567-1571)

These five lines include - in l.1570 - one of the breaks in metre which are few, but significant in these scenes.¹⁹ The combination of enjambement and the irregularly short line here mitigates the impression of regularity and solemnity and allows Montgomery's fear and horror to become evident.²⁰

Johanna's opening line at the beginning of scene 7 also breaks out of the trimeter form:

Du bist des Todes! Eine britische Mutter zeugte dich. (l.1580)

In the lines which follow, there are six others which do not fit into the regular pattern.²¹ Apart from line 1570 they are all spoken by Johanna. Gabriel argues convincingly that the conflict between Johanna's human instincts and the cruelty demanded of her by her divine task can be sensed in these metre breaks.²²

The conflict is expressed by Johanna herself in lines 1680-1686:

¹⁹ These breaks in metre form the main topic of Gabriel's article.

²⁰ Gabriel, op. cit., pp.127-128, claims that Johanna fascinates Montgomery, and that although she frightens him, she holds an attraction and charm for him, as he becomes temporarily aware of her divinity. Gabriel views the break in the verse form here as an expression of this and so, paradoxically, of Johanna's divinity.

²¹ ll.1598, 1633, 1661, 1676, 1682, 1685.

²² Gabriel, op. cit., pp.130ff.

In Mitleid schmilzt die Seele und die Hand erbebt,
 Als bräche sie in eines Tempels heiligen Bau,
 Den blühenden Leib des Gegners zu verletzen,
 Schon vor des Eisens blanker Schneide schaudert mir,
 Doch wenn es not tut, alsbald ist die Kraft mir da,
 Und nimmer irrend in der zitternden Hand regiert
 Das Schwert sich selbst, als wär es ein lebendger Geist.

These seven lines contain two of only eight irregular lines in these scenes. This formal device certainly seems to relate to Johanna's inner conflict. The scene closes with a trimeter. For the moment, divine inspiration triumphs. The overall impression of the scene is dominated by the unusual verse form, which expresses Johanna's steadfastness in her mission, the superhuman nature of her inspiration and the unreal basis of the action as a whole.

5.4.2.2 'Die Braut von Messina' IV,8

In this scene, Schiller chooses trimeters for the speeches of Don Cesar and the chorus. Don Cesar opens the scene:

Das Recht des Herrschers üb ich aus zum letztenmal,
 Dem Grab zu übergeben diesen theuren Leib,
 Denn dieses ist der Todten letzte Herrlichkeit. (11.2589-2591)

It seems likely that Schiller chose the trimeter form here because of the characteristics outlined in 5.4.2. They are to lend an atmosphere of importance, dignity and solemnity to the funeral preparations and to Don Cesar's decision to commit suicide.²³ The trimeters enhance the atmosphere of finality, inevitability and ceremony associated with this scene. The audience is put at a ceremonial distance to the event and encouraged to view it as an aesthetic piece rather than a real-life event.

Once more, there are some interesting breaks in the verse form:

²³ Atkins, op. cit., p.562, views the trimeters as expressive of 'die vorübergehende Gefäßtheit Cesars'.

Die Todtenklage ist in diesen Mauren kaum
 Verhallt und eine Leiche drängt die andre fort
 Ins Grab, daß eine Fackel an der andern sich
 Anzünden, auf der Treppe Stufen sich der Zug
 Der Klagemänner fast begegnen mag. (11.2597-2601)

Don Cesar's resolve threatens to give way to emotion. This is expressed in the enjambement, which directly underlines the sense, and in the shorter, irregular line 2601. Similarly, when Don Cesar's general and impersonal attitude to the situation gives way to more personal, selfish considerations, the trimeter form gives way to shorter lines at the close of the scene:

Den Verbrecher fürchte, den der Flüche schwerster drückt,
 Das Haupt verehere des Unglücklichen,
 Das auch den Göttern heilig ist - Wer das erfuhr,
 Was ich erleide und im Busen fühle,
 Giebt keinem Irdischen mehr Rechenschaft. (11.2652-2656)

With the arrival of Isabella, Schiller returns to the usual verse form.

Within this play, the trimeter is just one of many verse forms with which Schiller experiments. Like the other forms used, the trimeters are designed not only to arouse a certain mood or impression, but also to promote awareness of artificiality and the psychical freedom of the reader or spectator.

5.4.3 Verse forms in monologues

The monologue presented a problem to most eighteenth-century theorists of drama, who judged plays according to the criteria of imitation and probability.²⁴ The monologue is clearly not a naturalistic device. At the same time it was a traditional convention in drama

²⁴ See Petersen, Schiller und die Bühne, p.456, also 2.7.1, 2.7.2, 2.7.4 and 2.7.6 above.

and presented a fine opportunity for the actor to display his skills. It came to be considered as acceptable at a point of high emotion.²⁵ The number of monologues decreases from play to play in Schiller's work. Wilhelm Tell only has two monologues.²⁶ This is not a development influenced by naturalistic considerations. On the contrary, at times the monologue becomes an exhibition of the artificial and artistic nature of the drama in Schiller's later plays. He uses it at times as a sort of operatic aria, in which verse forms are varied and the actor's speech becomes a concert piece, beautiful in its own right. The reason for the reduction in the number of monologues in the later plays, Petersen notes, lies 'in der wachsenden Ausdehnung und Bedeutung des einzelnen Monologes, der zu einem poetischen Höhepunkt wird und deshalb nicht verschwendet werden darf'.²⁷ Schiller goes beyond the boundaries of the strict dramatic form with some of these monologues, moving, once more, in the direction of opera and artificiality. I shall now look briefly at three of these monologues, two from Die Jungfrau von Orleans, the first of which also throws light on the role of the Prologue, and one from Die Braut von Messina.

5.4.3.1 'Die Jungfrau von Orleans' Prologue, Scene 4

Johanna's monologue at the end of the Prologue takes up fifty lines (11.383-432) and is altogether a very artificial piece.

The first two stanzas of the monologue express Johanna's farewell to

²⁵ See Petersen, op. cit., p.457.

²⁶ This point is also made by Petersen, op. cit., p.459.

²⁷ *ibid.*

her surroundings;²⁸ the third, fourth and fifth deal with her mission, the sixth with the helmet as a sign that she should go to war. The first stanza is only partly rhymed, the others have the ottava rima scheme a b a b a b c c. This poetic form must have struck the contemporary audience as extremely unusual within a drama.

In this monologue, Johanna's mission is revealed and contrasted with her home environment. At the close, while still physically situated in the latter, she is carried away by the former:

Den Feldruf hör ich mächtig zu mir dringen,
Das Schlachtroß steigt und die Trompeten klingen. (11.431-432)

By presenting the conflicts which will dominate the play in a Prologue and summing them up in this artificial, operatic, lyrical monologue, Schiller draws attention to the aesthetic nature of the action which will follow and indicates the level at which it is to be viewed. Von Wiese and Blumenthal describe the monologue as the high-point within the Prologue of 'die von Schiller gewollte ästhetische Stimmung':

Es kommt Schiller darauf an, Johanna weder nur vom Übersinnlichen aus zu motivieren noch rein menschlich zu relativieren, sondern in jener schwebenden Mitte zwischen Menschlichem und Heiligem, zwischen Irdischem und Göttlichem zu halten, die der ästhetischen Stilisierung bedurfte, um den geschichtlichen Vorgang von vornherein ins Märchenhafte und Legendäre zu heben.²⁹

By means of the operatic monologue at this early stage, the audience is discouraged from looking for a realistic historical play and, at least ideally, raised to the level of appreciation which Schiller deemed appropriate.

²⁸ The NA editors, v. Wiese and Blumenthal, p.424, note: 'Der Monolog ist dem Sophokles nachgebildet, dem Abschied Philoktets von der Insel Lemnos. Boxberger weist außerdem noch auf Ossians Karrik-Thura hin: "Lebt wohl, ihr Felsen von Arden! Ihr Hirsche! Ihr Ströme der Berge, lebt wohl...".

²⁹ NA 9, p.422.

5.4.3.2 'Die Jungfrau von Orleans' IV,1

One of the most strikingly artificial lyrical pieces is to be found in Johanna's monologue, which opens Act IV and is accompanied by music in the background. This accompaniment is in itself an operatic feature. The music has some 'realistic' justification in that a celebration is supposedly taking place off stage. Yet it is arranged in such a way as to reflect the moods governing the various parts of Johanna's monologue.

The monologue takes up 96 lines (ll.2518-2613). It is arranged in stanzaic units of different length. Of course these divisions are not always obvious to the ear as stanzas. Nevertheless, the breaks on the printed page divide up separate units of sense, metrical or rhyme pattern, and I shall adhere to them to facilitate reference here.

This monologue has been described as an aria in words.³⁰ It is certainly a 'solo' piece of recitation for the actress playing Johanna. It contains a wealth of different rhythms and rhyme schemes.

The first two stanzas contain a general statement of the present situation; there is a lull in warfare, rejoicing at the triumph of the king, and unity amongst the French. This is reflected in the regularity of the verse and rhyme schemes: eight-line stanzas with five-beat iambic lines:

Die Waffen ruhn, des Krieges Stürme schweigen,
Auf blutige Schlachten folgt Gesang und Tanz, (II.2518-2519)

Once more, Schiller uses the ottava rima scheme.

The same metre and rhyme scheme is used for the third stanza, in which Johanna expresses her own state of mind and this is contrasted to the general atmosphere, ending:

³⁰ Göttlicher, op. cit., p.207.
See also Storz, G., 'Kunst und Wirklichkeit im Klassizismus', p.46.

Und aus der Freude Kreis muß ich mich stehlen,
Die schwere Schuld des Busens zu verhehlen. (11.2540-2541)

Perhaps Schiller chose the ottava rima scheme to exploit the potentially surprising effect on the ear of the last two lines in each stanza when the a b rhyme scheme becomes c c. The stress on the last word in each line is also different from the preceding alternate lines. Although this is a traditional regular rhyme scheme, it occurs unexpectedly within the context of theatre and may well have had this effect on the audience. The change in rhyme and rhythm in the last two lines of each stanza perhaps suggests that something is troubling Johanna. The extra unstressed syllable at the end of the last line in each case makes the line sound longer, more pensive and melancholy. The preceding act ended with Johanna wishing to die. The audience is aware of her pessimistic mood.

At any rate, the use of this regular metre and rhyme scheme makes it difficult for this monologue to be read as prose, as actors often tended to do at the time. Schiller thus works against the fashion of the time by making it exceptionally difficult for actors to speak in an everyday manner. The punctuation here corresponds to the metre and rhythm, with a break at the end of each line and no enjambement, so that the impression of formality is increased.

The first three stanzas are retarding. They represent a clear pause in the action. Stanza three still fits into the rough, general metre and rhyme scheme, but with some differences:

Doch mich, die all dies Herrliche vollendet,
Mich rührt es nicht das allgemeine Glück,
Mir ist das Herz verwandelt und gewendet. (11.2534-2536)

The break after 'mich' in 1.2534 and the opening of the following two lines with stressed syllables is out of pattern with the rest and draws attention to Johanna and to the contrast expressed.

In stanza 4 the metre and the rhyme scheme change. The verse is more lyrical, reflecting the highly emotional content:

Ich meines Landes Retterin,
Des höchsten Gottes Kriegerin,
Für meines Landes Feind entbrennen! (11.2546-2548)

This is followed by two four line stanzas with a different metre and shorter lines:

Wehe! Weh mir! Welche Töne!
Wie verführen sie mein Ohr!
Jeder ruft mir seine Stimme,
Zaubert mir sein Bild hervor! (11.2551-2554)³¹

With these lines, Schiller's stage directions read: 'die Musik hinter der Szene geht in eine weiche schmelzende Melodie über'.

The second of these four-line stanzas has a different rhyme pattern:

Daß der Sturm der Schlacht mich faßte,
Speere saugend mich umtönten
In des heißen Streites Wut!
Wieder fänd ich meinen Mut! (11.2555-2558)

The changes reflect Johanna's moods and inner conflict. There is no danger of monotony, as far as Schiller's verse forms in this monologue are concerned. The audience is not allowed to be lulled into acceptance of verse as a conventional medium with a regular pattern. It cannot easily lose consciousness of the lyrical, poetic nature of the language and follow the action as it would a real-life situation. The next stanza has five lines and, once more, a different rhythm and

³¹ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.368, sees in lines 2551-2563 reminders of the 'romantische Welt' of Tieck's Genoveva. In the change from the regular 'Stanzas' to these trochaic rhythms Staiger sees Spanish 'Tonfall' and vocabulary reminiscent of 'romantischen Zauber'. He sees in this an attempt by Schiller, 'durch die Erinnerung an vorgeformte Stile den Kunstcharakter dessen, was auf der Bühne geschieht, uns noch entschiedener einzuprägen'.

rhyme pattern:

Diese Stimmen, diese Töne,
 Wie umstricken sie mein Herz,
 Jede Kraft in meinem Busen
 Lösen sie in weichem Sehnen
 Schmelzen sie in Wehmuts-Tränen! (11.2559-2563)

The failure to provide the expected rhyme with 'Herz' in l.2562, the repetition of the rhythm pattern in lines 2562 and 2563 with the rhyme in the latter match the build-up in emotion expressed by the content.

In lines 2564-2581, Johanna analyses her own action and compares it with the killing of Montgomery. The verse comes closer to prose:

Sollt ich ihn töten? Konnt ichs, da ich ihm
 Ins Auge sah? Ihn töten! Eher hätt ich
 Den Mordstahl auf die eigne Brust gezückt! (11.2564-2566)

The sense of the words overrides the metre, making for a more natural sound. But this is a short-lived feature. With lines 2573-2574, Schiller once more introduces rhyme:

Arglistig Herz! Du lügst dem ewgen Licht
 Dich trieb des Mitleids fromme Stimme nicht!

Again, music is used to match the mood of the verse: 'Die Flöten wiederholen, sie versinkt in eine stille Wehmut'. The last four stanzas form a regretful lament by Johanna at having had to give up her simple existence for her present one. She wishes she had never been chosen. The rhythm stays roughly the same in each of these stanzas, but the rhyme scheme is different in each one.

This lyrical presentation of Johanna's situation, with the variations in verse form and underlined by the music, is a thoroughly non-naturalistic device. Körner perhaps offers the best contemporary understanding of Schiller's intention in this and similar instances within the play:

Die Stenzen und der geänderte Versbau bei den wichtigsten Situationen sind von köstlicher Wirkung für den höheren Kunstsinn - oft da am meisten, wo sie der gemeinen Täuschung zu trotzen scheinen.³²

Even Carl August, who preferred French tragedy to Schiller's plays, seems to have appreciated the aesthetic verse forms of Die Jungfrau von Orleans as Schiller intended them to be received:

Die betrübte deutsche Sprache ist in die schönste Melodie gezwungen, deren sie fähig ist, und die der deutschen Muse angeborene Herzlichkeit hat Schiller so veredelt wirken lassen, daß man zwischen Erhabenheit und Herzlichkeit schwebt, wenn man dieses Gedicht liest...³³

However, Carl August had a personal interest in preventing the play from having its premiere in Weimar. This no doubt plays a role in the qualifying remarks which follow this praise. He says he cannot imagine Die Jungfrau von Orleans other than:

... als wie ein Heldengedicht..., das durch seine dialogisierte Form den Vorzug erhalten hat, zu den unkörperlichen Sinnen zu treten, welche öfters durch bloße Empfindungen aufgehalten, erkältet und ermüdet werden. Sobald aber dieses Heldengedicht in die alles so sehr beschränkende Bretter und Vorhänge erscheint und die fatale Reise durch unkünstliche ungebildete Organe machen muß, alsdann fällt gewiß die schöne Blüte der Dichtung ab, und oft möchte uns ein kahler Baum dabei einfallen.³⁴

Yet it was Schiller's intention to appeal to all sides of human nature not only by means of the written form but also by presenting the play in the theatre. Carl August's fears about actors' difficulties with reciting the lyrical verse forms were justified by the state of contemporary theatre, as outlined above.³⁵ His fears with regard to the limitations of theatrical performance also seem to be

³² To Schiller, 9.5.1801, NA 9, p.443.

³³ To Caroline von Wolzogen, April 1801, NA 9, p.442.

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ See 2.7.6 and pp.228-229 above.

justified by subsequent accounts of performances, including some reactions from Schiller himself.³⁶ Problems arose when illusionistic theatres tried unsuccessfully to present the lyrical, legendary play realistically. Nevertheless, the play was a theatrical success. A contemporary report of the Berlin premiere is sharply critical of the production and the acting in the play as distorting Schiller's masterpiece. Yet Gentz, the writer of the report, still recognised the 'heilige Melodie dieser unübertrefflichen Verse'.³⁷ Whether his overall appreciation of the play is based on features Schiller would have approved of is another question. Gentz admits that 'obgleich seine Indignation von der ersten Szene an erwachte, (er) bis ans Ende des vierten Akts ohne Unterlaß geweint habe'.³⁸

The verse forms, like those in Maria Stuart as described in 5.4.1, provoked disapproval especially from the 'Romantic' circle. Tieck wrote:

Die großen Monologe in der 'Jungfrau von Orleans' werden ihm ebenso zu isolierten Deklamations- ja man kann sagen Musik- und Konzertstücken. Gerade hierin hat Schiller viele Nachahmer gefunden, die sein rhetorisierendes Pathos aufgriffen, ohne seinen Genius zu haben, und am Ende nur seine Fehler nachzuahmen vermochten.³⁹

Schiller's intention was either misunderstood or rejected by many of his contemporaries.

³⁶ See e.g. Schiller to Körner, 5.10.1801, NA 31 (71) and p.228 above.

³⁷ NA 9, p.444.

³⁸ *ibid*, pp.443-444.

³⁹ *ibid*, p.447.

5.4.3.3 'Die Braut von Messina'. Beatrice's Monologue, II,1

The first appearance of Beatrice in the play takes the form of a monologue which, like those discussed in the last two sections and like the chorus speeches in Die Braut von Messina, includes different metrical and rhythmical patterns. It is another of the operatic show-pieces with which Schiller introduces obviously artificial and non-realistic lyrical elements into the later plays.

The first three stanzas of the monologue are written in lines with five beats and the same ottava rima scheme in each.⁴⁰ In these three stanzas, Beatrice expresses her doubts and fears, now that she has left the convent with Don Manuel and he has failed to return to her although sunset is approaching.

There is a change of metre in line 1005:

Wo waren die Sinne?
 Was hab ich gethan?
 Ergriff mich bethörend
 Ein rasender Wahn?
 Den Schleier zerriss ich
 Jungfräulicher Zucht,... (11.1005-1010)

One then expects this rhythm and rhyme scheme to continue, but Schiller, once more, surprises us with:

Die Pforten durchbrach ich der heiligen Zelle (1.1011)

The next line has a rhyme, if slightly imperfect:

Umstrickte mich blendend ein Zauber der Hölle? (1.1012)

This vestige of regularity does not last:

⁴⁰ The rhyme scheme is ottava rima, although some of the rhymes are impure, e.g. 'Spiel' (981), 'Ziel' (983), 'Gefühl' (985), 'Streichen' (982), 'schleichen' (984), 'Schweigen' (986), 'Wehr' (989), 'Meer' (991), 'her' (993).

Dem Manne folgt ich,
 Dem kühnen Entführer in sträflicher Flucht.
 O komm mein Geliebter! (11.1013-1015)

Line 1015 is set off from the others in the printed text, which shows that Schiller wished it to get particular emphasis.

Schiller goes on to use irregular rhyme, repetition and enjambement to give poetic, lyrical expression to Beatrice's confused emotions:

Wo bleibst du und säumest? Befreie, befreie
 Die kämpfende Seele! Mich naget die Reue,
 Es faßt mich der Schmerz
 Mit liebender Nähe versichre mein Herz. (11.1016-1019)

With line 1020 the language returns to the regular five beat line, but with rhyme. The rhythm and rhyme patterns of the first three stanzas are taken up again for another two stanzas. This is followed by ten lines of similar verse, but with feminine rhyme throughout rather than the alternation of feminine and masculine endings which marked the first six lines of each of the eight-line groups before.

Once more, it must be remembered that the stanza divisions will not be as clear to the audience as they are on the written page, although the signal of the rhyming couplet combined with the end of a sentence and train of thought can be recognized by the ear. For the listener, the sound pattern at the latest becomes inescapably irregular in line 1051. Then, there is a build-up with three rhyming lines followed by two rhyming lines, the second of which has a short pause within it, is shorter than the others and ends with the stress on 'dir':

Nicht kenn ich sie und will sie nimmer kennen,
 Die sich die Stifter meiner Tage nennen,
 Wenn sie von dir mich mein Geliebter trennen,
 Ein ewig Räthsel bleiben will ich mir,
 Ich weiß genug, ich lebe dir! (11.1052-1056)

This shows Beatrice's determination and decision.

When she thinks she hears voices, another change in rhythm and metre

occurs:

Horch der lieben Stimme Schall! (1.1057)

In line 1062, we find the first instance of a type of exclamation which becomes more frequent in the play from now on:⁴¹

Weh mir! Weh mir! Wo er weilet?

These exclamations are non-realistic and artificial, but certainly atmospheric. The heavy, melancholic trochaic rhythm continues:

Mich umschlingt ein kaltes Grausen! (1.1063)

The atmosphere of foreboding is heightened in the following lines, using the device of repetition:

Immer tiefer
Sinkt die Sonne! Immer öder
Wird die Oede! Immer schwerer
Wird das Herz - Wo zögert er? (11.1064-1067)

On the whole, in this monologue, verse is used to express Beatrice's emotions and state of mind in a poetic and strikingly artificial fashion.⁴² Once more, the variety of verse forms avoids monotony and holds the attention of the audience, preventing it from being lulled

⁴¹ 'Weh(e)' is used by Beatrice and the chorus 25 times, see the editor's note, NA 10, p.350. The repetition of words and phrases is another feature which Schiller uses at times to make the dialogue obviously different from everyday language and at the same time achieve theatrical effect. See e.g. *Maria Stuart*, I, 6, ll.643-648 and 654-659 or *Wilhelm Tell*, II, 2, the 'Rütli' scene.

⁴² I. Appelbaum-Graham in 'Element into Ornament: The Alchemy of Art', pp.47-48, relates the changing moods and structures of this monologue to her theory that the characters in this play are related to particular elements, Beatrice to water: '... her expository speeches themselves (II,1) with their irregular fluid structure, their constant shift of mood and metre, each following upon the other with a fleeting finality, most insistently suggest by purely formal means that she is of the sea and partakes of the labile fluidity of this element.'

into total identification and forgetting the aesthetic nature of the play. The rest of the monologue has irregular rhyme schemes. Assonance is also widely used. At the close of the monologue (ll.1102-1108), the short lines once more come closer to prose:

Stimmen im Garten!
 Er ists, der Geliebte!
 Er selber! Jetzt täuschte
 Kein Blendwerk mein Ohr,
 Es naht, es vermehrt sich!
 In seine Arme!
 An seine Brust!

As was mentioned earlier, Schiller's interest in using changing patterns was influenced considerably by his reading of Greek tragedy in translation.⁴³ Seidel draws attention to the fact that this monologue is written after the manner of Euripides.⁴⁴ In her study of the relation between Schiller and Greek tragedy, however, M. Gerhard stresses that the use of rhyme makes Schiller's passages intrinsically different metrically from the Greek ones. 'Der Anklang an das griechische Vorbild gilt nur für die Tatsache, daß wechselnde Rhythmen eintreten, nicht für die Art, wie sie gebaut sind'.⁴⁵ After receiving the impulse from Greek tragedy and also from Goethe, Schiller used changing verse forms where possible to make his play obviously different from a naturalistic presentation of reality and to achieve aesthetic effect.

43 See the introduction to 5.4 above.

44 NA 10, p.349.

45 Gerhard, Schiller und die griechische Tragödie, p.55.
 See also Albertsen, op. cit.

5.5 Reflection in Schiller's later plays

In Schiller's later plays there is a strong reflective element, which plays a major role in elevating the action from the level of the particular and individual to the general level which Schiller considered appropriate to art. At the same time, it increases the distance between the work of art and everyday life, and helps to maintain the psychological freedom of the spectator by working against the tendency to identify uncritically.¹

At times characters reflect on their own actions or on the action in general, at other times reflection goes beyond the framework of the immediate action to draw more general conclusions. I shall now look at some of the different forms in which this reflective element emerges.

5.5.1 'Choral' characters

The strain of general reflection was one of the features of Greek classical tragedy which most appealed to Schiller.² Reflecting on the action and drawing general conclusions valid even outside its framework were amongst the tasks of the chorus in particular.³ Die Braut von Messina is the only play in which Schiller actually introduced a chorus. Yet the 'choral' tendency to step back from the action and observe, comment and draw conclusions is evident in Schiller's plays.

¹ cf. pp.219-220, 4.7 (especially Note 21) and especially Schiller's treatment of reflection in 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', discussed in 4.5.2 above. Ilse Graham in Schiller's Drama: Talent and Integrity, p.14 also argues that the strain of reflectiveness in Schiller's plays is not, as often claimed, Schiller the philosopher intruding, but a dramatic technique to prevent the audience from being completely caught up in emotion and losing its 'freedom' as onlookers.

² See 2.2 above.

³ See 2.1.1 and 4.5.2 above.

At times this choral role seems to have been given to particular characters.

Gordon in Wallensteins Tod is often described as a 'choral' character.⁴ Schiller himself is said to have said 'daß er im Gordon eine Art Chor in das Stück einführen wollen' (sic).⁵ Gordon makes his first appearance in Act IV, scene 2. In this scene, he functions both as participant and as commentator. The former role emerges in his telling Buttler that he has opened the fortress to Wallenstein as Buttler ordered. It soon becomes clear that it is his function also to reflect and comment:

... O was ist Menschengröße!
 Ich sagt es oft: das kann nicht glücklich enden,
 Zum Fallstrick ward ihm seine Größ und Macht
 Und diese dunkelschwankende Gewalt.
 Denn um sich greift der Mensch, nicht darf man ihn
 Der eignen Mäßigung vertraun. Ihn hält
 In Schranken nur das deutliche Gesetz
 Und der Gebräuche tiefgetretne Spur. (ll.2480-2487)

This is Gordon's commentary on Wallenstein's 'fall'. The rhetorical 'O' occurs frequently in Gordon's speech.

'Reflexieren und Mahnen als leidenschaftslose Person ist seine Bestimmung', writes Paul Cassel.⁶ These tendencies certainly emerge in his first appearance. Whether he is still 'leidenschaftslos' at the end, when he begs Wallenstein to repent, is another matter.

Gordon lends a degree of calm and reflection to the action by considering whether Wallenstein deserves the treatment planned by Buttler, by recalling his past behaviour, not only his dangerous longing for power, but also his generosity and his role in helping Gordon to his present position. Even at this late stage, the

⁴ See e.g. Cassel, P., 'Schillers "Braut von Messina"', p.253, Glück, A., op. cit., p.129.

⁵ in Petersen, J., Schillers Gespräche, No. 286, pp.287-288.

⁶ Cassel, P., op. cit., p.253.

exposition continues. Gordon provides information about Wallenstein's past which was not available to the audience before, thus not only retarding the action, but also providing ideas to be considered. Gordon claims that, through his present action in seeking a crown, Wallenstein 'stürzt in unermeßliches Verderben' (1.2577). His statements alert the audience to the wider implications of Wallenstein's actions, and encourage it to consider the meaning of the play from a more distanced position rather than to be caught up uncritically in what happens on stage.

As the play goes on, Gordon's tendency to generalise increases. Most of his lines in IV,6 are very general aphorisms, in which, this time, Buttler's murder plans are condemned:

Das wäre Mord und nicht Gerechtigkeit, Denn hören muß sie auch den Schuldigsten.	(11.2705-2706)
Ein Wort nimmt sich, ein Leben nie zurück.	(1.2710)
Zu Henkers Dienst drängt sich kein edler Mann.	(1.2712)
Das Leben wagt der Mut, nicht das Gewissen.	(1.2714)

This is anything but realistic dialogue. It is rather like a battle of principles. Gordon, who has condemned Wallenstein's action, now reacts against Buttler's, attempting to maintain some sort of neutrality in the cause of justice and changing sides in a manner which is reminiscent of the Greek chorus.⁷

In a letter to Schiller of 9.4.1799, Körner compared Talbot in Maria Stuart to the Greek chorus, on the grounds that he is neutral, or at any rate biased towards Maria only on the grounds of justice.⁸

In II,3, Talbot tells Elisabeth:

⁷ See 2.1.1 above.

⁸ See Glück, op. cit., p.129.

Du kannst das Urteil über die nicht sprechen,
Die dir nicht untertänig ist. (11.1318-1319)

He also draws general conclusions on the limitations of Elisabeth's powers and the changing face of public opinion:

Nicht Stimmenmehrheit ist des Rechtes Probe,
England ist nicht die Welt, dein Parlament
Nicht der Verein der menschlichen Geschlechter.
Dies heutige England ist das künftige nicht,
Wie's das vergangene nicht mehr ist - Wie sich
Die Neigung anders wendet, also steigt
Und fällt des Urteils wandelbare Woge. (11.1323-1329)

Talbot's words here may be seen as distancing, as his reference to future response to Elisabeth's action corresponds to the critical view of Schiller himself and no doubt many of his 'enlightened' contemporaries.⁹

It is Talbot, too, who reflects on the childhoods and fates of the two queens in II,3, lines 1377-1397.

Although figures such as Gordon and Talbot may be described as choral in some respects, detailed analysis of the plays shows that the reflective and generalising tendencies of the chorus are by no means limited to these characters. Melitta Gerhard notes:

Wichtiger aber als die Anklänge solcher Einzelpersonen an den Chor ist der gewissermaßen unsichtbare Chor, den wir immer wieder in Schillers späten Stücken empfinden; die ganze Redeweise der Personen ist so angelegt, daß stets aufs neue von dem dargestellten Geschehen fort auf das darin enthaltene allgemeine Menschenschicksal gewiesen wird.¹⁰

In Schiller's later plays, the reflective element is spread over many characters, including the protagonists. Die Braut von Messina is the only play in which Schiller claims to have aimed at separating

⁹ See Schiller to C. von Lengefeld, March 1788, NA 25 (22).

¹⁰ Gerhard, Schiller und die griechische Tragödie, p.118.

reflection from the action.¹¹

5.5.2 Reflective monologues

Reflection on the part of the hero is one means of reasserting the essential degree of difference between the dramatic action and a real-life event, and at the same time the distance between the hero and the spectator in the theatre. Ilse Graham maintains:

In the contemplative nature of the hero, maintaining himself at an aesthetic distance from the events that assail him, Schiller found the formal - indeed he would have said the epic - counterpoise to the immediacy of the tragic action.¹²

At times the reflective tendency takes the form of a monologue. I am referring now not to the operatic, lyrical monologues of the type discussed in 5.4.3, but to monologues with a more 'traditional' appearance. They are written in the blank verse form and closely related to the action. Yet they do not represent outbursts of emotion, as was often demanded if monologues were to be considered acceptable from the point of view of probability in the eighteenth century.¹³ They serve an important function with regard to supporting a dramatic illusion of the aesthetic type envisaged by Schiller. He exploits the very feature of the monologue - its non-naturalistic character - which posed a problem for the more realistic theatre of the day. These monologues provide a pause in the dramatic action and allow the audience to take up a more distanced position. I wish to discuss as examples two of these monologues, Wallensteins Tod I,4 and Wilhelm Tell, IV,3.

¹¹ See NA 10, p.13 and 4.5.2 above.

¹² Graham, I., Talent and Integrity, p.67.

¹³ See p.272 above.

5.5.2.1 Wallensteins Tod, I,4

M. Kesting views this monologue as an example of the 'traditional' sort of reflection, which she contrasts to the reflection of the 'modern' - a term which she apparently limits to the twentieth century - 'Ansager' or 'Erzähler', especially in Brecht's 'Epic Theatre'. It is certainly true that Wallenstein's monologue is one of those which appear 'als Ruhe- und Entscheidungs-, ja meist Drehpunkte der Handlung'.¹⁴ It is also true that it is spoken by Wallenstein in his role and does not break out of the framework of the action.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the relevance of the monologue content is not limited to the action, and this monologue does not only have its purpose in motivating or furthering the action, but is also a formal device which serves an important function with regard to the psychological distance of the spectator - a function of which Kesting's theory takes no account.

This monologue is spoken at a point of high tension and excitement. Sisin has been captured, Illo is urging Wallenstein to act and keen to call in the Swedish messenger. This is a situation in which the spectator is in danger of being caught up in the various intrigues and involved in the dramatic illusion to an extent where he might lose his critical distance to the play. The monologue retards the action. Wallenstein takes up a contemplative stance and considers the situation and what has led up to it, providing a breathing space for the audience. The spectators can now contemplate with him, and agree or disagree with his view of the situation.

¹⁴ Kesting, M., Das epische Theater, pp.49-50.

¹⁵ Kesting establishes a rule that 'epic' reflection is not built into the action. Yet she apparently does not exclude Brecht's Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe from the category of 'Epic Theatre' although, as she notes herself, 'die Betrachtung ist in die Handlung eingebaut' - a feature which she presents as typical of 'das aristotelische Weltanschauungstheater' (p.51, cf. p.77).

In line 139, Wallenstein asks himself:

Könnt ich nicht mehr, wie ich wollte?
Nicht mehr zurück, wie mirs beliebt? (11.139-140)

The audience may well ask itself whether Wallenstein really wants to turn back, or why. Does he have a guilty conscience, or is he just afraid because Sestin has been captured and things might not work out as Wallenstein had planned? Wallenstein insists:

... Es war nicht
Mein Ernst, beschloßne Sache war es nie. (11.146-147)

Yet he has already taken steps, collected signatures, made contact with the Swedes. He says:

Und sah ich nicht den guten Weg zur Seite,
Der mir die Rückkehr offen stets bewahrte? (11.153-154)

This possible escape route was based on an illusion. The court was being informed of Wallenstein's plans all along, and, as Wallenstein sent a messenger, the risk was always there that he would be caught and Wallenstein's plans revealed.

Ilse Graham describes speeches of this sort as 'filters'.¹⁶ The audience does not see direct action for some time and is thus prevented from being caught up in it completely. Wallenstein's own 'distance', his reflection on the situation, presents ideas to the audience and encourages it to reflect on Wallenstein's plans and actions up to now from a more distanced position.

Wallenstein considers aloud the question of his own 'guilt'. The audience is thus also encouraged to do so. He is not only deciding what to do next, but also reflecting upon past action, an 'epic' type

¹⁶ Graham, Ilse, Schiller's Drama. Talent and Integrity, p.67.

of feature, creating a clear pause in the dramatic action.¹⁷
 In lines 192-218, a more general dimension is added to Wallenstein's reflection. Rebellion, he considers, would mean attacking the old established order:

... das ewig Gestrige,
 Was immer war und immer wiederkehrt,
 Und morgen gilt, weils heute hat gelolten! (11.208-210)

Thus the wider sphere of the problems associated with tradition and rebellion is introduced and this specific historical incident put into a more general context. Wallenstein admits the difficulties associated with attacking the old order:

Weh dem, der an den würdig alten Hausrat
 Ihm rührt, das teure Erbstück seiner Ahnen!
 Das Jahr übt eine heiligende Kraft,
 Was grau für Alter ist, das ist ihm göttlich.
 Sei im Besitze und du wohnst im Recht,
 Und heilig wirts die Menge dir bewahren. (11.213-218)

This ironical comment on traditionalism arguably helps to portray Wallenstein's rebellion in a more favourable light. At any rate, the reference is widened from this particular instance to general consideration of the problems associated with acceptance of convention and rebellion. Schiller is certainly providing the spectator with plenty of food for thought, and encouraging him not to be caught up in the dramatic action uncritically.

5.5.2.2 'Wilhelm Tell', IV, 3

Perhaps the most striking example of a reflective monologue is Tell's, which takes up ninety lines. It was one of the features of Wilhelm Tell most frequently criticised by Schiller's contemporaries.

¹⁷ See 4.5.1 above.

The monologue is divided into nine stanzas. Tell begins by describing his plan to shoot Geßler (ll.2560-2567). In the second stanza, (ll.2568-2576) he justifies his plan by claiming that he has been forced out of his peaceful existence by Geßler forcing him to shoot at his son. The unselfish and social nature of Tell's motivation is stressed further in the third stanza (ll.2577-2589). It is given religious justification by reference to Tell's oath. That Geßler has exceeded his brief provides further justification (ll.2590-2596). Tell even views himself as an instrument of divine justice:

Es lebt ein Gott zu strafen und zu rächen. (l.2596)

The monologue contains an obviously artificial and lyrical stanza addressed to Tell's bow (ll.2597-2608). It is probably based on the Iliad.¹⁸ This is followed by Tell's comparison of his 'business' with that of passing travellers (ll.2609-2621) and a melancholic stanza expressing his regret at having to exchange his usual innocent life for murder (ll.2622-2634). The latter contains the only occurrence of rhyme within the monologue, as Tell asserts his intention to defend his children:

... Euch zu vertheidigen, eure holde Unschuld
Zu schützen vor der Rache des Tyrannen
Will er zum Morde jetzt den Bogen spannen! (ll.2632-2634)

The rhyme marks a high-point in Tell's resolve, and also plays a part in the process of raising the somewhat unsavoury decision in favour of murder to a non-realistic, poetically, aesthetically acceptable level. Staiger refers to:

Reime, die den Spiel- und Scheincharakter, der schon im Blankvers liegt, um einige Grade erhöhen und so mit einem Licht, das

¹⁸ See NA 10, p.515.

noch unwirklicher ist, den notgedrungen widernatürlichen Anblick mildern.¹⁹

In the last two stanzas, Tell compares Geßler to prey and a hunter's prize.

The monologue serves the essential function of providing social and unselfish motivation for Tell's murder of Geßler. His act is raised from an individual act of revenge to an action which involves some sacrifice on Tell's part, and to which he has been compelled for the good of others. Once more, Körner was one of the few contemporaries who understood and appreciated Schiller's intention:

Daß Tell seinen Feind nicht im offenen Kampfe tödtet, sondern auf der Straße auf ihn lauert, macht an sich einen fatalen Eindruck, und Du hast Alles in dem vorhergehenden Monolog aufgeboten, um diese Situation zu heben. Besonders ist es Dir sehr gelungen, Tells Widerwillen gegen einen solchen Mord auf eine Art anzu-
deuten, die seinen Charakter nicht schwächt. Ueberhaupt ist die biedere Anspruchslosigkeit in Tell sehr glücklich mit seinem Heroismus gemischt.²⁰

Apart from this moral justification of Tell's action, the long monologue is non-naturalistic and establishes a pause in the dramatic action, with effects similar to those described in 5.5.2.1. Again the audience is given food for thought and encouraged towards critical reflection rather than straightforward identification and absorption in the action. Criticism of this monologue from Schiller's contemporaries demonstrates once more the gap between Schiller's aim of aesthetic education by means of appeal to the intellect, especially the reflective faculty, as well as to the senses and emotions in the theatre, and the desires of the contemporary audience, even in Weimar. Siegfried Seidel describes the views expressed by Henriette von Knebel, a lady-in-waiting at the Weimar court, as

¹⁹ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.387.

²⁰ To Schiller, 17.3.1804, NA 10, p.521.

'einen Reflex der Stimmung der Weimarer Hofgesellschaft'.²¹ In a letter to her brother written on 22.3.1804, after the Weimar premiere of Wilhelm Tell, she writes: 'Fragst Du endlich nach den Dialogen, so muß ich mit Seufzen antworten: Zu lang, viel zu lang!...' ²² She concludes a critical and ironical account of features from the play with an attack on Tell's monologue:

Und zuletzt wäre es doch schade gewesen, wenn Tell, dessen starker Charakter ziemlich gut gehalten war, da er nur handelt und wenig spricht, nicht auch noch ein langes Monolog halten sollte, woraus, wie aus allem, nur Schiller spricht und nicht der Mann selbst.²³

Clearly, H. v. Knebel feels that drama should involve action rather than reflection. Thus a feature which represented an essential element of aesthetic drama for Schiller was, once more, considered inappropriate to a play by his contemporaries.

One of the most interesting discussions of the monologue is to be found in the exchange between Schiller and Iffland, who sent Schiller a questionnaire in order to find out which changes he might make to the play for his production in Berlin. This exchange is one of the most valuable pieces of evidence related to our topic. Tell's monologue was one of the major sources of disagreement between Iffland and Schiller. Iffland describes his impression of it as follows:

Als ich im Lesen an den Monolog Tells kam, ward ich sehr gespannt, als ich auf die zweite Seite gerieth, verlor sich diese Spannung; und da der Monolog zu Ende war, bemeisterte sich meiner

²¹ NA 10, p.522.
It should, however, be remembered that the theatre had been very full and uncomfortably hot. These factors no doubt influenced the negative reaction to the play. H. v. Knebel also admits later that she enjoys reading the play and that her disapproval was influenced to some extent by the voices of the Weimar actors. (See NA 10, pp.522-523.)

²² *ibid.*

²³ *ibid.*

eine wunderbare Empfindung. Das Bildnis Tells hatte den lieblichen Schimmer verloren, die Vernunft konnte den langsamen, festen Vorsatz des Mordes begreifen; aber ich weiß nicht, was sich inwendig regte und mir zuflüsterte: so lange sollte Tell vor dem Morde nicht da stehen und mit sich allein dabei reden.²⁴

Iffland was concerned primarily with theatrical effect. This could be heightened by the very 'Spannung' which he sensed was broken in the course of the monologue. The appeal to 'die Vernunft' and the dispersal of the 'lieblichen Schimmer' went against the view of the dramatic illusion popular at the time and influenced greatly by Iffland himself. What he describes as 'eine wunderbare Empfindung' - perhaps to flatter the poet and make him more disposed to accepting the proposed alterations - is considered acceptable in the book form, but disadvantageous in a theatre production. He objects to the length of the speech and to the fact that Tell speaks 'mit sich allein'. The former breaks the suspense and interrupts the action; the latter is obviously non-naturalistic. These features are faults in Iffland's view, but represent aesthetically essential elements for Schiller. Schiller's response highlights the difference between his concept of theatre and Iffland's, and the depth of Schiller's conviction that his was the right one:

Gegen Empfindungen läßt sich durch Argumente nicht streiten. Tells Monolog, das beste im ganzen Stück, muß sich also selbst erklären und rechtfertigen. Gerade in dieser Situation, welche der Monolog ausspricht, liegt das Rührende des Stücks, und es wäre gar nicht gemacht worden, wenn nicht diese Situation und dieser Empfindungszustand, worinn Tell sich in diesem Monolog befindet, dazu bewogen hätten. Uebrigens ist dieser Monolog bei der Vorstellung von einer sehr hohen und allgemeinen Wirkung gewesen, und kein Theil der Rolle war für den Schauspieler so belohnend.²⁵

The 'Rührung' at which Schiller aims is not the empathic emotion born

²⁴ NA 10, pp.457-458.

²⁵ *ibid.*

of uncritical identification sought by the popular theatre of the time. It is the distanced, aesthetic effect which he described as 'eine tiefe allgemeine Rührung' in connection with Maria Stuart.²⁶ He stresses the elevated, general nature of the effect. It is a rewarding monologue for the actor, not as a high-point of emotion, but as an aesthetic piece, with which he can appeal to the sensuous and to the intellectual faculties of the audience. The central significance which this monologue had for Schiller is conclusively demonstrated in his refusal to have it omitted in performance.²⁷

5.5.3 Imagery and metaphor

The reflective element is not always markedly separated off from the rest of the dialogue as in these monologues, but may be interwoven in the characters' discourse; often it takes the form of elaborate imagery or metaphor. It is not my intention to discuss the appropriateness or significant connotations of particular images, but to draw attention, by looking at a few examples, to the formal function of imagery in general in making the language of the plays clearly different from everyday dialogue.²⁸

In Maria Stuart I,1, even a character with a relatively minor function like Paulet uses imagery to describe what he views as Maria's treachery:

Doch wußte sie aus diesen engen Banden
Den Arm zu strecken in die Welt, die Fackel
Des Bürgerkrieges in das Reich zu schleudern. (11.64-67)

²⁶ See p.250 above.

²⁷ See Schiller to Iffland, 14.4.1804, NA 32 (149), p.124. Schiller also notes here that Goethe is of the same opinion.

²⁸ For a detailed discussion of imagery and related features, see e.g. I. Graham, Talent and Integrity, or E. Staiger, Friedrich Schiller.

The image of a burning torch is expressive and effective, but not likely in everyday speech.

In II,8, Leicester, at a point of high emotion, describes his situation as a shipwreck and the appearance of Mortimer with a message from Maria as 'ein Brett' which could rescue him (II.1805-1807).

In II,4, Talbot advises Elisabeth:

Wie eines Engels Lichterscheinung steige
In ihres Kerkers Gräbernacht hinab - (II.1548-1549)

The image of light is used to describe Elisabeth again by Leicester in II,9 (II.2039).

Images such as these would be unlikely in a realistic play. Apart from any function they may serve in lending a deeper level of meaning to the plays, they help to raise the diction to the poetic, non-real and more general level which Schiller desired.

In the Prologue to Die Jungfrau von Orleans, Johanna compares herself to the harvester, her English enemies and their pride to the crop to be cut:

Vor Orleans soll das Glück des Feindes scheitern,
Sein Maß ist voll, er ist zur Ernte reif.
Mit ihrer Sichel wird die Jungfrau kommen,
Und seines Stolzes Saaten niedermähn. (II.304-307)

She goes on to use bird imagery to describe the situation:

Es geschehn noch Wunder - eine weiße Taube
Wird fliegen und mit Adlerskühnheit diese Geier
Anfallen, die das Vaterland zerreißen. (II.315-317)

Both sets of images are artificially contrived, deliberate in their artificial nature. With the bird comparison, Schiller renders his image more strikingly unusual by exploiting the characteristics traditionally attributed to certain birds - the dove as a bird of peace, vultures as birds of prey - and turning them around to express

the miraculous nature of the change in events.

In III,6 Talbot, about to die, addresses 'die Bäche meines Bluts' (1.2311) - an image used again in Die Braut von Messina (11.2414, 2434). Once more, it is not likely in Talbot's situation, but lends a poetic dimension to his final speech.

In Die Braut von Messina, imagery is widely used, especially imagery related to fire and to the volcano Mount Etna, and to the sea. As mentioned above, this is on the whole a strikingly artificial play, B. Bennett even describes it as 'almost aggressively artificial'.²⁹ Imagery is one of many instruments of artificiality.

Isabella's speech in I,4 contains six lines of volcanic imagery,³⁰ in which she goes to great lengths to compare the rift between her sons to a volcanic eruption:

- Wer möchte noch das alte Bette finden
Des Schwefelstroms, der glühend sich ergoß?
Des unterirdschen Feuers schreckliche
Geburt ist alles, eine Lavarinde
Liegt aufgeschichtet über dem Gesunden,
Und jeder Fußtritt wandelt auf Zerstörung. (11.398-403)

The imagery is atmospherically effective, but at the same time obviously and deliberately non-naturalistic.

In I,4 rhyme is used with imagery in another speech by Isabella:

Leben um Leben tauschend siege jeder
Den Dolch einbohrend in des Andern Brust,
Daß selbst der Tod nicht eure Zwietracht heile,
Die Flamme selbst, des Feuers rothe Säule,
Die sich von eurem Scheiterhaufen hebt,
Sich zweygespalten von einander theile,
Ein schauernd Bild, wie ihr gestorben und gelebt. (11.453-459)

The artificial verse form and the unusually long last line reflect

²⁹ Bennett, op. cit., p.227.

³⁰ For a detailed interpretation of this volcanic imagery see Appelbaum-Graham, I., 'Element into Ornament. The Alchemy of Art' and Atkins, op. cit., especially pp.555ff.

the bizarre and alienating image evoked.

Rhyme and imagery are combined again in lines 1695-1705, which close Act II. In this contemplative commentary, they mark a high degree of distance to the action and to her own fate on the part of Isabella herself:

Wann endlich wird der alte Fluch sich lösen,
 Der über diesem Hause lastend ruht?
 Mit meiner Hoffnung spielt ein tückisch Wesen,
 Und nimmer stillt sich seines Neides Wut.
 So nahe glaubt ich mich dem sichern Hafem,
 So fest vertraut' ich auf des Glückes Pfand
 Und alle Stürme glaubt' ich eingeschlafen,
 Und freudig winkend sah ich schon das Land
 Im Abendglanz der Sonne sich erhellen,
 Da kommt ein Sturm aus heitrer Luft gesandt
 Und reißt mich wieder in den Kampf der Wellen!

Isabella seems to step back from the action for a moment and to view it from a distance.³¹ The audience too is urged to remain at a distance to the action and to view it from an aesthetic vantage point. In I,7 the words of Don Manuel contain an example of reflective imagery:

Das Morgen wird dem schönen Heute gleichen,
 Nicht Blitzen gleich, die schnell vorüber schießen,
 Und plötzlich von der Nacht verschlungen sind,
 Mein Glück wird seyn, gleichwie des Baches Fließen,
 Gleichwie der Sand des Stundenglases rinnt! (11.663-667)

This lyrical, metaphorical language once more elevates the diction to a higher, more general and obviously poetic level. The last line may well be ironic as the 'Stundenglas' runs regularly, but marks the inevitable passing of time.

Die Braut von Messina also contains frequent imagery involving

³¹ cf. 'Vom Erhabenen', NA 20, pp.194-195.

ancient Greece.³² This is mainly related to Schiller's desire to write a tragedy in the Greek manner. As outlined above, Greek tragedy was stylized and obviously different from the everyday lives of the spectators - features which attracted Schiller to it.³³ This tendency reaches a high-point within Schiller's plays in Die Braut von Messina. The references to Greek mythology are one device by means of which Schiller tries to achieve his aims.³⁴

Schiller's wide use of imagery and metaphor in the dialogue of his plays was in marked contrast to the language of popular plays at that time. Petersen notes 'Damals war nun bei der platten Diktion der Modedramen die Bildersprache Schillers ganz ungewohnt'.³⁵ It must have struck many members of the audience as unusual and un-lifelike, emphasising the contrast between real life and the aesthetic illusion.

5.5.4 Generalising and reflective discourse

The reflective strain in Schiller's later plays sometimes takes the form of expressing particular features or actions in the play in general terms, or drawing general conclusions from them. Thus the impression is created that what happens within the play is of more general significance and has wider validity than that of a random individual occurrence. Once more, this device works against the

³² e.g. 1.445 'Hausgott', 1.450 'wie das Thebanische Paar', 1.1191 'Penaten', 1.1195 'Hebe', 1.1196 'Victoria', 1.1205 'Gürtel der Anmuth', 1.1990 'Der Themis Töchter', 1.2011 'Furien', 1.2012 'Orestes'.

³³ See 2.1 and 2.2 above.

³⁴ Staiger in Friedrich Schiller, views this, like the use of certain verse forms in Die Jungfrau von Orleans, as a means of drawing attention to the artificiality of the action. See p.276, Note 31 above.

³⁵ Petersen, Schiller und die Bühne, p.287

particularisation which is closely related to identification with an individual character.

In Die Jungfrau von Orleans II,2, in the midst of a serious argument, Talbot 'generalises' his own particular attitude:

Wir wissen den getreuen Freund zu ehren.
Dem falschen wehren ist der Klugheit Pflicht. (11.1335-1336)

Burgund replies in similar terms:

Wer treulos sich des Dankes will entschlagen,
Dem fehlt des Lügners freche Stirne nicht. (11.1337-1338)

Once more, the non-realistic nature of the exchange is underlined by the use of rhyme.

A similar impersonalised exchange is to be found in Wilhelm Tell, IV,3:

STÜSSI: Ja wohl dem, der sein Feld bestellt in Ruh,
Und ungekränkt daheim sitzt bei den Seinen.

TELL: Es kann der Frömmste nicht im Frieden bleiben,
Wenn es dem bösen Nachbar nicht gefällt.

(11.2680-2683)

Die Braut von Messina contains a wealth of generalisation, frequently in the words of Isabella. In her opening monologue, she draws a general conclusion from the actions of her deceased husband:

... Der Starke achtet es
Gering, die leise Quelle zu verstopfen,
Weil er dem Strome mächtig wehren kann.

(11.44-46)³⁶

The image relates to the play, but also has wider applicability.

Isabella's warning to her sons against trusting the chorus members similarly takes the form of a more general observation:

³⁶ cf. also 11.1553-1556.

Glaubt mir! Es liebt ein jeder, frei sich selbst
 Zu leben nach dem eigenen Gesetz,
 Die fremde Herrschaft wird mit Neid ertragen. (11.344-346)

These examples show that Schiller does not limit general reflection to the chorus in this play, as he claims in the preface. Nor is Isabella the only main character to generalise in this fashion. In the words of Don Manuel in I,7, for instance, general conclusions are drawn from his particular situation:

Wie süß ists, das Geliebte zu beglücken
 Mit ungehoffter Größe Glanz und Schein!
 Längst spart' ich mir dieß höchste der Entzücken,
 Wohl bleibt es stets sein höchster Schmuck allein,
 Doch auch die Hoheit darf das Schöne schmücken,
 Der goldne Reif erhebt den Edelstein. (11.627-632)

The artificial technique of de-personalising individual characters into concepts and giving individual experience the appearance of a general rule is combined with the artificial rhyming verse form here to emphasise the aesthetic nature of the speech.

At times, the general validity of conclusions drawn within the plays reaches a level where the passages are not only non-essential to the action, but could stand alone out of context. Don Manuel, in lines 650-654, for instance, claims:

Geflügelt ist das Glück und schwer zu binden,
 Nur in verschloßner Lade wirds bewahrt,
 Das Schweigen ist zum Hüter ihm gesetzt,
 Und rasch entfliegt es, wenn Geschwätzigkeit
 Voreilig wagt, die Decke zu erheben.

Don Manuel is drawing his own, personal conclusion, justifying his own action, but he expresses it in such a way that it has the appearance of a general statement.

In Wilhelm Tell, Melchthal's speech on self-defence goes far beyond what would be necessary to make his point for the needs of the action and is also understandable out of context:

... Jedem Wesen ward
 Ein Nothgewehr in der Verzweiflungsangst,
 Es stellt sich der erschöpfte Hirsch und zeigt
 Der Meute sein gefürchtetes Geweih,
 Die Gemse reißt den Jäger in den Abgrund -
 Der Pflugstier selbst, der sanfte Hausgenoß
 Des Menschen, der die ungeheure Kraft
 Des Halses duldsam unters Joch gebogen,
 Springt auf, gereizt, wezt sein gewaltig Horn,
 Und schleudert seinen Feind den Wolken zu.

(11.645-654)

Once more this is an obviously artificial and non-realistic passage, which helps to raise the play to the general level specified by Schiller's aesthetic theory.

Another speech with this level of general applicability is made by Stauffacher in lines 1275-1288:

Nein, eine Grenze hat Tyrannenmacht,
 Wenn der Gedrückte nirgends Recht kann finden,
 Wenn unerträglich wird die Last - greift er
 Hinauf getrost den Muthes in den Himmel
 Und hohlt herunter seine ewigen Rechte,
 Die droben hangen unveräuserlich
 Und unzerbrechlich wie die Sterne selbst -
 Der alte Urstand der Natur kehrt wieder,
 Wo Mensch dem Menschen gegenüber steht -
 Zum letzten Mittel, wenn kein andres mehr
 Verfangen will, ist ihm das Schwert gegeben -
 Der Güter höchstes dürfen wir vertheidigen
 Gegen Gewalt - Wir stehn vor unser Land,
 Wir stehn vor unsre Weiber, unsre Kinder!

The speech is closely related to the action of the play, yet it is also a general justification of the use of violence. The use of general terms such as 'Tyrannenmacht', 'der Gedrückte', 'der alte Urstand' or 'der Güter höchstes' lends the speech universal appeal. The poetic, artificial nature of the play is underlined by the device of repetition in lines 1276 and 1277, and by the choral repetition of the last line by the others present (1.1289).

The opening lines of Melchthal's speech in I,4 form an ode to the gift of sight:

O eine edle Himmelsgabe ist
 Das Licht des Auges - Alle Wesen leben

Vom Lichte, jedes glückliche Geschöpf -
Die Pflanze selbst kehrt freudig sich zum Lichte. (11.589-592)

This is a highly emotional speech and directly provoked by the revelation of Melchthal's father's fate. Yet, once more, it is lent universal interest and given an obviously artificial form by the generalising introduction. Staiger compares it to an aria in opera.³⁷

The reflective element in Schiller's plays often takes the form of 'Sentenzen', once more, an element which Schiller observed in Greek tragedy.³⁸ Blesch sees a direct relationship between Schiller's theory of aesthetic education by appealing to the whole man and:

...die sentenziöse Dialoggestaltung ... die das handelnde Subjekt hinter die poetische Form zurücktreten läßt und der Handlung und den dargestellten Konflikten den Charakter eines über den Inhalt hinausweisenden intellektuellen Vollzugs verleiht.³⁹

The 'choral' characters discussed in 5.5.1 often use this form of general statement. Schiller's use of the device reaches a high-point in Wilhelm Tell.

In the opening scene of Wilhelm Tell, we find the first example of an antithetical exchange of the type frequently used in Greek tragedy,⁴⁰ including aphorisms from both speakers:

TELL: Der brave Mann denkt an sich selbst zulezt,
Vertrau auf Gott und rette den Bedrängten.

RUODI: Vom sichern Port läßt sich's gemächlich rathen,
Da ist der Kahn und dort der See! Versuchts!

(11.139-142)

The argument is of essential interest to the action, but at the same

³⁷ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.384.

³⁸ See pp.53, 62 above.

³⁹ Blesch, op. cit., p.362.

⁴⁰ See pp.42-43 above.

time the first line of each pair contains a general piece of advice which is understandable out of context. Pieces of everyday wisdom are intertwined with the action and given a new nuance of meaning with reference to this particular situation. At the same time the relevance and validity of the dialogue are raised to a more general level.

A similar pair of antithetical aphorisms is to be found in I,2:

Ertragen muß man, was der Himmel sendet,
Unbilliges erträgt kein edles Herz. (II.316-317)

Such exchanges are not only general, but pointedly artificial.

At the end of I,3 there is an interesting stichomythic dialogue between Stauffacher and Tell. Tell's responses in particular are sententious:

Die Schlange sticht nicht ungereizt. (I.429)
Beim Schiffbruch hilft der Einzelne sich leichter. (I.433)
Ein jeder zählt nur sicher auf sich selbst. (I.435)
Der Starke ist am mächtigsten allein. (I.437)

The stichomythia places the dialogue on a markedly artificial level. Wilhelm Tell contains some of the best known proverbial lines from Schiller's drama:

Früh übt sich, was ein Meister werden will. (I.1481)
Die Axt im Haus erspart den Zimmermann. (I.1514)

Once more, these lines are provoked by occurrences within the play, but so general that they are understandable on their own. M. Gerhard claims that Schiller's use of 'Sentenzen' differs in this respect from that of Greek tragedy, which she describes as follows:

Die antithetisch aufeinanderfolgenden Sentenzen drängen den Dia-

log und damit indirekt die Handlung vorwärts, sehr viel stärker prägt sich der Eindruck des Antithetischen als der des Sentenziösen ein; die Sentenzen haben ihre Hauptbedeutung im Zusammenhang der Komposition und wollen nicht für sich gelten.⁴¹

This is not applicable to Schiller's use of aphorisms. Gerhard's comparison of Schiller's and the Greeks' use of this device supports the view of their function outlined above. With Schiller, according to Gerhard, the overall effect is different:

Bei Schiller bestehen die Sentenzen viel mehr als selbständige Betrachtungen, sind leichter lostrennbar von ihrer Umgebung... Sie dienen eben der Aufgabe, den dargestellten Einzelfall ins Licht des Allgemeinen zu rücken... Schillers Sentenzen sind in viel höherem Grade rein gedanklich als die der griechischen Tragödie. Ein ausgesprochen reflektiver Charakter herrscht in ihnen.⁴²

Aphorisms or maxims, like the other reflective elements in Schiller's plays, serve the function of maintaining a degree of psychological distance between the spectator or reader and the action:

Seine sentenziösen Betrachtungen sind Barrieren für ihn wie fürs Publikum, um das Entgleisen ins Stoffliche zu verhüten. Und sie erfüllen diese Aufgabe auch durchaus: selbst der stofflichste Leser wird in Schillers Dramen immer wieder gewaltsam angehalten und, ob er will oder nicht, mit aller Energie darauf gestoßen, daß es sich nicht um die unterhaltende Darstellung irgendeines aufregenden oder rührenden Ereignisses handelt, sondern daß Gesetze und Zusammenhänge des Lebens sich dabei aufrollen.⁴³

⁴¹ Gerhard, Schiller und die griechische Tragödie, p.120

⁴² ibid, pp.120-121.

⁴³ ibid, p.121.

5.6 The chorus

In Die Braut von Messina Schiller introduces a chorus, an element which he had planned to use in Die Maltheser as early as 1795.¹

In the chorus, the reflective strain and experimentation with different verse forms are combined in a device which represents the culmination of Schiller's desire to stress the aesthetic, non-realistic nature of the dramatic action and so to inhibit a deceptive dramatic illusion.²

Once more it was Greek classical tragedy in particular that inspired Schiller to attempt this innovation. The introduction of the ancient chorus was a daring experiment in Schiller's time, when popular taste sought realistic drama set in a more private sphere.³ Schiller put the question of public taste aside to carry out his own experiment at the risk of failure on the stage:

Es ist freilich nicht im Geschmack der Zeit, aber ich habe den Wunsch nicht bezwingen können, mich auch einmal mit den alten Tragikern in ihrer eigenen Form zu meßen, und zugleich die dramatische Wirkung des alten Chors zu erproben.⁴

¹ See Schiller to Körner, 5.10.1795, NA 28 (62), p.74; to Humboldt, 5.10.1795, NA 28 (60), p.72; to Goethe, 8.12.1797, Briefwechsel ed. Staiger, (383), pp.507-508; to Körner 13.5.1801, NA 31 (41), pp.35-36.

² See also e.g. Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.172; Graham, I., Talent and Integrity, p.82; Schrimpf, Der Schriftsteller als öffentliche Person, pp.78-79.

³ The experimental nature of Die Braut von Messina has earned the play much adverse comment, yet also makes it interesting even to the modern day theatre. In the programme to his production of the play in Essen in January 1987, H.G. Heyme writes: 'Wieder ein selten gespieltes Stück des Schillerschen Spätwerkes. Was kann uns daran reizen? Daß Schiller hier am deutlichsten experimentiert' (p.4).

⁴ NA 32 (41) p.34.
On Schiller's presentation of the chorus and problems associated with the 'Rezeptionsverhalten' of the eighteenth-century audience, see Böhler, M., 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', pp.277-280.

The chorus seemed to Schiller to be the ultimate device by means of which he could fulfil his concept of aesthetic tragedy.⁵

5.6.1 Visual presentation

The stylized and non-realistic presentation of the chorus is emphasised by Schiller's instructions for presenting it visually. In a stage direction, he describes its first appearance as follows:

Er besteht aus zwey Halbchören, welche zu gleicher Zeit, von zwey entgegengesetzten Seiten, der eine aus der Tiefe, der andere aus dem Vordergrund eintreten, rund um die Bühne gehen, und sich alsdann auf derselben Seite, wo jeder eingetreten, in eine Reihe stellen. Den einen Halbchor bilden die ältern, den andern die jüngern Ritter, beide sind durch Farbe und Abzeichen verschieden. (NA 10, p.25)⁶

The emphasis is on symmetry. The chorus's entrance is described in terms of dance-like movements. Schiller tries to imitate the Greek chorus in visual terms which underline its purely artistic and non-realistic function.⁷

In the 'Augsburger Schema', Schiller emphasises these aspects with reference to the position and movements of the chorus throughout the play: 'Die Stellung des Chors muß soviel möglich symmetrisch, seine Bewegungen langsam und abgemessen und durchaus kein Hin- und Herlaufen seyn'.⁸

5 See 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie' and 4.8 above.

6 cf. the opening of IV,5, after 1.2437: 'Beim Eintritt des Don Cesar zertheilt sich der Chor in fliehender Bewegung vor ihm, er bleibt allein in der Mitte der Scene stehen.'

7 Marietta Kuntz in Schillers Theaterpraxis notes that Schiller also exploited other visual aspects of the stage, such as the limitations imposed by 'perspective' scenery on a shallow stage, to emphasise the unreal nature of the action (p.48).

8 NA 10, p.327. The 'Augsburger Schema' is a manuscript which includes copies of a 'Disposition' by Schiller, a 'szenische Gliederung' and 'eine Aufteilung von Chorrollen'. According to Seidel, evidence suggests that this document is the same as the 'Schema' which Schiller sent to Cotta on 13.3.1803 for a production in the Stuttgart theatre (NA 10, p.321).

Obviously Schiller wanted to emphasise the non-naturalistic features of the chorus and to separate it off from the other characters by means of position and movement.

5.6.2 Reflection

One of the major functions of Schiller's chorus is to provide the general reflection which is spread over many characters in the other plays. It is concentrated in the chorus in Die Braut von Messina, although not exclusively limited to it, and not always separated from the action, as Schiller suggests in the preface.⁹ The chorus reflection is never completely detached or irrelevant to the subject matter. Sometimes it takes topics from the action, at other times it relates the action to wider themes.

At times the chorus draws some universal rule or conclusion from a particular event or feature of the action, as in I,3:

Aber wenn sich die Fürsten befehlen,
Müssen die Diener sich morden und tödten,
Das ist die Ordnung, so will es das Recht. (11.178-180)

The theme of the existing social order appears frequently in the speeches of the chorus.¹⁰

The transience of human life with its hopes and plans is another topic which frequently enters into the generalising reflection of the chorus, as in Act III, scene 5:

Was sind Hofnungen, was sind Entwürfe,

⁹ See NA 10, p.13: 'Der Chor reinigt das tragische Gedicht, indem er die Reflexion von der Handlung absondert...' With regard to the discussion of reflection in the preface, I. Graham says Schiller here provides an explanation of a practice he had intuitively adopted from the start (Talent and Integrity, p.85).

¹⁰ See e.g. 11.1230-1253, 1781-1786.

Die der Mensch, der vergängliche baut? (ll.1961-1962)¹¹

These lines appear to be directed at the audience; they are spoken within a 99-line (ll.1929-2027) piece spoken only by members of the chorus, with the main characters all off stage. The device of repetition with rhyme and variation in line length to support it is used to enhance the artificiality of this section and to draw attention to the relation between the action and a more general theme:

Was sind Hofnungen, was sind Entwürfe,
Die der Mensch, der flüchtige Sohn der Stunde,
Aufbaut auf dem betrüglichen Grunde? (ll.1970-1972)

The reference to 'der Mensch' illustrates Schiller's tendency to lend the particular and individual exemplary validity. As Ilse Graham describes it:

Seine Funktion, 'die individuell auf uns eindringende Wirklichkeit von uns entfernt zu halten', erfüllt der Chor dadurch, daß er auf verschiedene Weise den Gattungscharakter des Menschen betont: denn der Mensch - in diesem seinem generischen Wesen - ist der Gegenstand der Tragödie.¹²

At times the reflective tendency of the chorus appears in the form of a commentary on the action:

Krieg oder Frieden! Noch liegen die Loose
Dunkel verhüllt in der Zukunft Schoose!
Doch es wird sich noch eh wir uns trennen entscheiden,
Wir sind bereit und gerüstet zu beiden. (ll.324-327)

This commentary, too, appears to be directed at the audience. Although the chorus does not step out of character here, it appears to be stepping back to a more detached position to comment on the

¹¹ See e.g. also lines 1970-1972.

¹² Graham, Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, p.238.
Her quotation is from Schiller's letter to Goethe of 26.12.1797.

action. The non-realistic nature of the commentary is underlined by the use of rhyme. Böhler claims that the chorus is here signalling to the audience that it should carry out the process of 'Horizontverschmelzung'; it should relate the action to the past and to the future - an element of reception commonly attributed to the epic rather than to the drama.¹³

This type of commentary is used especially in the last act of the play. In IV,3, when Beatrice is hailed by Isabella as her daughter, the chorus comments:

Ein seltsam neues Schreckniß glaub ich ahndend
Vor mir zu sehen, und stehe wundernd, wie
Das Irrsal sich entwirren soll und lösen. (11.2194-2196)¹⁴

It is interesting to call to mind here the parallel drawn by Watling between the position of the chorus and that of the audience in ancient Greek tragedy. The chorus represents a 'public', a group of spectators on stage - a feature to which Schiller attributes particular importance in his preface.¹⁵ This promotes the psychical distance of the spectator in two ways. Firstly, as Ilse Graham claims: 'Durch seine kontemplative Gegenwart mildert der Chor die Gewalt, mit der die Handlung den Zuschauer ergreift'.¹⁶ It functions as an additional distancing factor. At this point it seems to provide a sort of ironical understatement of what the theatre audience is likely to be feeling and thinking. This chorus response is interposed between the action and the audience, emphasising the artificial nature of the drama and discouraging identification.

¹³ Böhler, 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', p.288.

¹⁴ See also 11.2802-2805, 2818-2821.

¹⁵ See 2.1.1 and pp. 202-203 above, and 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', NA 10, pp.12-14.

¹⁶ Graham, Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, p.239.

Secondly, the presence of the chorus as a 'public' affects the behaviour of the main characters. This idea emerges clearly from - indeed it is almost formulated explicitly in - the chorus commentary in lines 2260-2263:

Es naht sich! Es wird sich mit Schrecken erklären,
 Sei stark Gebieterin, stähle dein Herz.
 Mit Fassung ertrage, was dich erwartet,
 Mit männlicher Seele den tödlichen Schmerz!

This anticipation of a potentially disturbing scene steels Isabella to face it, exhorts her to be aware of its onset and to deal with it in a manner which Schiller himself might have described as 'free'. Schiller's chorus here fulfils one of the main functions which he claims for it in the preface. Schiller insists there that:

Die Gegenwart des Chors, der als ein richtender Zeuge sie vernimmt, und die ersten Ausbrüche ihrer Leidenschaft durch seine Dazwischenkunft bändigt, motiviert die Besonnenheit, mit der sie handeln, und die Würde, mit der sie reden. Sie stehen gewissermassen schon auf einem natürlichen Theater, weil sie vor Zuschauern sprechen und handeln, und werden eben deßwegen desto tauglicher vor dem Kunst-Theater zu einem Publikum zu reden.¹⁷

His arguments here echo - probably unwittingly - baroque arguments justifying the use of verse and stylized language on the grounds of the public and important nature of the action; they also, and perhaps not unwittingly, call to mind Lessing's arguments rejecting the use of such features in realistic, domestic tragedy as improbable and unlife-like.¹⁸

The example presented in Die Braut von Messina, lines 2260-2263, illustrates this claim, as the chorus deliberately encourages Isabella to act in a manner which Schiller presents as desirable in the preface. Ilse Graham formulates the relationship, which forms a

¹⁷ NA 10, p.14.

¹⁸ cf. 2.3.2 and 2.7.4 above; Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No. 59, ed. cit., pp.503-504.

key argument in her own interpretation of Schiller's plays, as follows:

Durch sein Dasein werden selbst die Leidenschaften der Charaktere von allen gröbereren Elementen geläutert. Er versetzt sie sozusagen in die Lage, ihr eigenes Ich aus der Distanz zu betrachten. Dabei werden sie vorübergehend selbst zu ästhetischen Wesen und vermögen deshalb direkt die dem Kunstwerk angemessenen, ästhetisch getönten Emotionen im Zuschauer auszulösen.¹⁹

In the example quoted, the chorus's warning of something which is about to happen is motivated by its knowledge of the murder of Don Manuel. At other times such warnings go beyond the boundaries of what is probable from a realistic point of view. The chorus then takes up a position reminiscent of an omniscient narrator, for example in lines 2376-2379:

Weh! Wehe! Was sagst du? Halt ein, halt ein!
 Bezähme der Zunge verwegenes Toben.
 Die Orakel sehen und treffen ein,
 Der Ausgang wird die Wahrhaftigen loben!

The chorus's caution is motivated to some extent by the knowledge it possesses drawn from events within the action, which Isabella does not have. Yet it also takes on a prophetic role here. It seems to be presenting the tragic outcome as a foregone conclusion. It also takes upon itself the role of defending the oracles and emphasising the inevitability of fate. Its basis appears to be more solid than that of superstition. It hints at knowledge which as mere participants in the action it could not have. In the chorus, Schiller has introduced an element which is 'epic' according to the usual criteria of eighteenth-century genre theory.²⁰ From the point of view of Schiller's later aesthetic theory, this is not a fault, but a positive feature, which works against the limitations and inherent

¹⁹ Graham, Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, p.240.

²⁰ See pp.49-51 above.

'danger' of the potentially emotionally charged and illusionistic dramatic form.²¹ In Borchmeyer's words:

Indem der Chor sich so über die beschränkte dramatische Handlung erhebt, soll er zugleich dem Zuschauer ermöglichen, von der allzu intensiven affektiven Teilnahme an derselben Abstand zu gewinnen.²²

The chorus takes up this detached position to comment on the action as the representation, the acted event as which Schiller wishes it to be acknowledged.

In IV,5, lines 2484-2489, the chorus again adopts a distanced, superior position, when Don Cesar has revealed the truth to Isabella. The chorus asserts the correctness of its prophecy and draws a general moral conclusion from the events:

Es ist gesprochen, du hast es vernommen,
Das schlimmste weißt du, nichts ist mehr zurück!
Wie die Seher verkündet, so ist es gekommen,
Denn noch niemand entfloh dem verhängten Geschick.
Und wer sich vermißt, es klüglich zu wenden,
Der muß es selber erbauend vollenden.

The first two lines provide the obvious commentary on the action. The last four point once more to the position of the chorus as a commentator who goes beyond the action, relating it to some general rule or principle, here the leitmotif of powerlessness to change fate. This is not to be confused with a central 'message'. Schiller did not write the play to convince the reader or spectator that he should not try to change the course of events decreed by fate.²³ This view of the play would not only conflict with Schiller's philosophical theory, but would also be to misunderstand his aesthetic concept of

²¹ See 4.5.1 above.

²² Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.222.

²³ See p.53, especially the references in Note 10, on Schiller's attack on the Greek concept of fate in 'Ueber die tragische Kunst'.

the work of art and its function. In Böhler's words, the role of the chorus is 'den Zuschauer so zu führen, daß er auch wirklich eine selbsttätige, produktive Rezeptionshaltung einnimmt und nicht auf einer affektiven identifikatorischen Konkretisationsstufe verharret'.²⁴ The spectator must be encouraged to reflect on the action rather than to be caught up in it. This reflection is set in motion by the chorus, but its course is not dictated by it. Didacticism is as unaesthetic to Schiller as illusionism or realism. The ideas expressed in the play are formal elements, material to interest the understanding, and also part of Schiller's intention to create a tragedy in the Greek style.²⁵

This applies equally, perhaps even more so, to the choral reflection which forms the closing lines of the play:

Erschüttert steh ich, weiß nicht, ob ich ihn
 Bejammern oder preisen soll sein Loos.
 Dieß Eine fühl ich und erkenn es klar,
 Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,
 Der Uebel größtes aber ist die Schuld. (11.2835-2839)

Thematically, the last three lines relate to the topics of guilt and atonement, to which the chorus has frequently related the events of the play, and draw what could be taken as a moral from the events of the action. Don Cesar's suicide is often interpreted as a sublime act, in which he willingly takes upon himself the sacrifice necessary to atone for the guilt of his parents and break 'die Kette des Geschicks' (1.2641) which has persecuted his family. Yet his motives include selfish ones, which are not ideally suited to the sublime

²⁴ Böhler, M., 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', p.281.

²⁵ See also E. Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.408. S. Atkins also rejects the view that ideas contained in the choral reflection represent any sort of message (op. cit., p.552).

hero.²⁶ If Schiller had wanted to illustrate this theme, he could have made Don Cesar's reasons more convincing. This was not his intention. Schiller was engaging in a dramatic experiment, trying to achieve aesthetic effect by imitating the form of ancient Greek tragedy, which he considered to correspond closely with his own concept of art. This closing 'motto' will linger in the minds of the audience. Thus the spectators leave the theatre not exclusively emotionally moved by the death of Don Cesar, but with ideas on which to reflect.²⁷ The chorus once more in a way exemplifies and draws attention to the position of the spectator and encourages him to reflect on what he has seen.

At times the chorus, alone on stage, engages in lengthy general reflection on topics with widely varying degrees of relevance to the action. As well as the functions already outlined, these odes or songs also provide a pause in the action in a manner similar to that of the reflective monologues described above.²⁸ These choral odes are perhaps the pieces in Die Braut von Messina where reflection is most clearly separated from the action.

The chorus itself draws attention to this retarding function in lines 194-196. A parallel can be established between the significance of the passage for the chorus members in their roles as supporters of the brothers within the play, and its significance for the spectator in the theatre. The chorus announces:

26 The ambivalence of Don Cesar's suicide is also noted e.g. by Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.408 and Atkins, op.cit., p.133.

27 Böhler in 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', p.133, claims: 'So entläßt der Chor den Zuschauer in die Unbestimmtheit einer völlig offenen Text- und Sinnstruktur - und damit in die Mündigkeit einer emanzipierten Literaturpraxis - als ein Propädeutikum zur politischen Emanzipation'.

28 See 5.5.2 above.

Wir haben uns in des Kampfes Wut
Nicht besonnen und nicht berathen,
Denn uns bethörte das brausende Blut. (11.194-196)

Such unthinking involvement is disadvantageous to the chorus as characters and to the audience observing it. The pause in the hostilities allows the chorus to consider its situation and provides the audience with a reflective pause necessary to the aesthetic effect. The chorus's discussion of its own situation gives way to reflection of a more general sort:

Ungleich vertheilt sind des Lebens Güter
Unter der Menschen flüchtigem Geschlecht,
Aber die Natur, sie ist ewig gerecht. (11.228-230)

The explanation of the justice of nature which follows culminates in a warning that pride comes before a fall - a warning which at the same time anticipates the inevitable tragic outcome of the play and represents a return to the direct subject matter of the action. In this way, directly relevant and more general reflection are interwoven in such a way that the action appears to illustrate general rules and principles of life. The audience is encouraged to see the action from a more distanced point of view; it should not identify uncritically with the characters - admittedly a development less likely in this play than in most of Schiller's others - but consider the relation between the action and general features of life.

A strikingly lyrical and artificial choral ode is to be found in lines 2267-2308. Once more, its subject matter is relevant to the action, but also has more general validity. The chorus emphasises the inevitability of misfortune and death (1.2267-2280), thus endowing the events of the action with a universally relevant dimension. Even the unnatural and monstrous murder of a young man, which the chorus contrasts with the normal course of nature, takes on general significance as a warning - apparently directed straight at the spectator -

that unpleasant surprises lurk around every corner:

Nicht an die Güter hänge dein Herz,
 Die das Leben vergänglich zieren,
 Wer besitzt, der lerne verlieren,
 Wer im Glück ist, der lerne den Schmerz. (11.2305-2308)

Here again the chorus functions as a pointer to rules or mottos which can be drawn from the action, relating it to the general principles and ideas of life, raising the thoughts of the audience above the narrow - and highly improbable - events of the play to a more general plane. The unlikely events are rendered universally relevant not in their own right but by the contrived, illustrative comments of the chorus. It might be argued that the need for frequent comment and explanation by the chorus reflects the improbable nature of the invented plot. But Schiller's chorus commentaries are not intended to put across a moral message. Their function is to support the overall aims of his aesthetic theory, which include especially the creation of distance between the drama and real life and between the main characters and the reader or spectator.

One of the most obvious and effective pauses, with the farthest-ranging subject matter is the choral song in lines 861-980, which forms the close of Act I in the book version.²⁹ As usual, the reflection is set in motion by an event in the action. Again the fact

²⁹ Schiller did not originally intend to use the traditional division into acts and scenes, but to divide the play by the chorus pieces. The act division was only added later for convenience. Rudloff-Hille notes that in the first book edition of Die Braut von Messina there was still no act division, only four open scene changes. The play was divided into four acts for performance, she claims, including a break after the announcement of the disappearance of Isabella's daughter, which formed the end of the second act. Rudloff-Hille's comment suggests that she is not fully aware of Schiller's intentions or at least judges the play by traditional theatrical standards which Schiller himself, on the evidence of his preface and his aesthetic theory, would not have accepted:
 'Der Einschnitt zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Akt hemmt den Fluß der Handlung an einer Stelle, an der der Zuschauer nicht aus der Spannung gerissen werden dürfte' (op. cit., p.158).

that this break in the events of the action represents a pause for contemplation - with parallel implications for the chorus within the action and for the audience in the theatre, as described above - is reflected in the words themselves:

Sage, was werden wir jezt beginnen,
Da die Fürsten ruhen vom Streit,
Auszufüllen die Leere der Stunden,
Und die lange unendliche Zeit? (11.861-864)

The pause is filled by reflection on the general advantages and disadvantages of war and peace. It is rich in imagery and metaphor and includes 'Sentenzen' - devices often used by Schiller to render dramatic speech obviously un-realistic and generalised.

This passage contains material in which the degree of direct relevance to the action reaches a minimum. It takes the themes of war, peace and indirectly associated questions - and expounds upon them with few or no consequences for the course of the action.

The wide-ranging reflection here eventually returns to the common topic of the fickle nature of fortune and so to the concrete events of the action. The chorus expresses doubts about the peace and about the propriety of Don Manuel's secret relationship and the abduction of Beatrice, drawing the general conclusion:

Denn das Gute liebt sich das Gerade,
Böse Früchte trägt die böse Saat. (11.958-959)

This maxim is illustrated by some late exposition - the chorus reveals dubious events in the family history - which leads on to the deriving of a general moral:

Ja es hat nicht gut begonnen,
Glaubt mir und es endet nicht gut,
Denn gebüßt wird unter der Sonnen
Jede That der verblendeten Wut.
Es ist kein Zufall und blindes Loos,
Daß die Brüder sich wüthend selbst zerstören,

Denn verflucht ward der Mutter Schooß,
 Sie sollte den Haß und den Streit gebären. (11.969-976)

Here again the chorus takes up a detached, omniscient position and relates the events of the action to the evil deed of the past. The inevitability of the tragic action is suggested and motivated. The chorus closes by entering into a sort of implicit pact with the audience, emphasising shared superior knowledge and thus creating distance between the chorus and spectators on the one hand and the main characters on the other:

- Aber ich will es schweigend verhüllen,
 Denn die Rachgötter schaffen im Stillen,
 Zeit ists, die Unfälle zu beweinen,
 Wenn sie nahen und wirklich erscheinen. (11.977-980)

Schiller's views on the function of the chorus are, of course, influenced by the ancient Greek model, as he perceived it. Arnoldt, who examines this topic in some detail, maintains that in regarding the chorus as the final step towards excluding naturalism, separating tragedy from real life and keeping its ideal basis, its poetic freedom, Schiller is essentially in line with eighteenth-century scholarly opinion on the Greek chorus.³⁰

Schiller's idea of using the chorus for more generalised reflection and to provide relief from the emotional tension of the action is strikingly similar to the use of the chorus in Sophocles's Ajax, one of the plays which Schiller read in his preparations for Die

³⁰ Arnoldt, Richard, Über Schillers Auffassung und Verwertung des antiken Chors in der 'Braut von Messina', p.6.
 Schiller's statements on the chorus certainly show some similarities to the views of Humboldt, who was an important influence on Schiller's attitude: 'Sein Zweck ist, den Stoff zu intellektualisieren, d.h. er ist dazu da, die gleichsam physische Gewalt der Empfindung des Zuschauers da, wo sie eben zur blossen Teilnahme an den handelnden Personen als wirklichen Wesen herabsinken will, auf einmal zu brechen und sie, auf ein unermessliches Feld geschleudert, mit künstlerischer und daher doppelt ergreifender Stärke zu der in dem Kunstwerk symbolisierten Idee zurückzuführen.' (Quoted in Arnoldt, p.6).

Braut von Messina. The chorus in Ajax at times stands back in a detached position, like Schiller's chorus, to provide relief from emotional activity with more general reflection.³¹

This device is more common in the plays of Aeschylus, which Schiller was also reading at the time.³² The relevance - at times remote, but always there - of Schiller's reflective passages to the action shows his closeness to these two dramatists rather than to the later Euripides. The purpose of detached reflection in the plays of Sophocles was to appeal to the audience's understanding and sense of morality as well as to the emotions.³³ This is one of the main functions which Schiller outlines in 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie'.³⁴

Not all readers or spectators accepted the play as Schiller would have liked. The extent of the 'alienation' effect which it had on some of his contemporaries exceeded Schiller's own expectations and wishes. F.H. Jacobi regarded the play as a didactic piece with an absurd moral, and even compared it with Schlegel's Alarcos, which had caused a scandal by provoking laughter in the Weimar theatre:

Welches Glück hat beim Lesen die Braut von Messina unter Euch gemacht? Uns hier hat sie, einige schöne Tyrische Stellen ausgenommen, ungefähr so gefallen wie der Alarcos, und nicht viel weniger zu lachen gemacht. Alle Personen in diesem Stück handeln nicht, sondern werden gehandelt; ein grauses Schicksal thut

³¹ cf. 2.1.1 above.

³² In a letter to Körner, 7.1.1803, NA 32 (1), p.1, Schiller requests the return of plays by Aeschylus, which he had sent him. The NA editor, A. Gellhaus, p.247, notes that the reference is to four plays translated by F.L. Grafen, 'Prometheus', 'Sieben gegen Theben', 'Die Perser', 'Die Eumeniden'.
In 1791 Schiller had been working on a translation of Sophocles's Agamemnon, which contains many odes involving reflection. See Gerhard, Schiller und die griechische Tragödie, p.28.

³³ See 2.1.1 above.

³⁴ See 4.5.2 above.

alles. Wir lernen: Der Mensch ist lauter Wahn, und es giebt keinen Weg für ihn, weder zur Wahrheit noch zur Tugend. Wie könnte es auch einen Weg geben zu etwas, das überall nicht ist? Alles ist nur Gestalt, nicht der Sache, sondern der Gestaltung. Welch ein ekelhafter Spuk aus zusammengemischter Hölle und Himmel diese ganze Braut!³⁵

This piece of criticism demonstrates the application of criteria which Schiller himself did not consider relevant to the work of art. It shows a common way of misunderstanding the play - a misunderstanding perhaps fostered by Schiller's strong emphasis on moral features in the choral reflection. The 'message' - by virtue of its content not in itself attractive to an 'enlightened' audience - is viewed as the central point. It has made the most impact on readers, whereas the 'Gestalt', which was central to Schiller's view of art, is regarded as a fault, as it cannot further 'Wahrheit' or 'Tugend'.

5.6.3 The division of the chorus into two participant groups

The introduction of the chorus - on which, in Schiller's opinion, 'die Hauptwirkung der Tragödie' depended³⁶ - was one of the most common reasons given by contemporary critics for rejecting the play.³⁷ It was not just the presence of the chorus as such but Schiller's presentation of it that upset many of these critics. The chorus is not purely commentator, but also takes part in the action. It is also at times divided into two groups.³⁸

³⁵ F.H. Jacobi to Elise Reimarus, Eutin, 10.10.1803, NA 10, p.359

³⁶ Schiller to Iffland, 24.2.1803, NA 32 (18), p.20.

³⁷ See NA 10, p.355.

³⁸ In I,3, when the chorus first appears, it speaks as participants and is divided into two groups. In I,7 Don Manuel's chorus seems to function as a confidant. In lines 1174-1210, the chorus again functions as participants. Don Cesar's supporters are evident in lines 1254-1259. The meeting of the two groups in III,1 represents a high-point in the chorus's participation in the action. The chorus also functions as participants in lines 1905ff., IV,3 and in IV,8, where they prepare the burial of Don Manuel.

Reflection is not eliminated when the chorus is actively taking part in the action. It is concentrated in speeches of the type described above, but much of the dialogue is interspersed with reflective utterances.

Schiller justifies his division of the chorus in the preface:

Ich habe den Chor zwar in zwey Theile getrennt und im Streit mit sich selbst dargestellt; aber dieß ist nur dann der Fall, wo er als wirkliche Person und als blinde Menge mithandelt. Als Chor und als ideale Person ist er immer eins mit sich selbst.³⁹

He provides a detailed explanation of his presentation of the chorus both as actors and as commentators in a letter to Körner:

Wegen des Chors bemerke ich noch, dass ich in ihm einen doppelten Charakter darzustellen hatte; einen allgemein menschlichen nämlich, wenn er sich im Zustand der ruhigen Reflexion befindet, und einen specifischen, wenn er in Leidenschaft gerät und zur handelnden Person wird. In der ersten Qualität ist er gleichsam ausser dem Stück und bezieht sich also mehr auf den Zuschauer. Er hat als solcher eine Überlegenheit über die handelnden Personen, aber bloss diejenige, welche der Ruhige über den Passionierten hat, er steht am sichern Ufer, wenn das Schiff mit den Wellen kämpft. In der zweiten Qualität als selbsthandelnde Person soll er die ganze Blindheit, Beschränktheit, dumpfe Leidenschaftlichkeit der Menge darstellen, und so hilft er die Hauptfiguren herausheben.⁴⁰

Schiller's portrayal of the chorus as participants and commentators is in accordance with Aristotle's view of the chorus and chorus presentation in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles.⁴¹ There are also some plays which have a double chorus.⁴² With regard to Schiller's division of the chorus, Seidel notes that Ajax is the only Greek tragedy which has such a division, and it only has it in one

³⁹ NA 10, p.15.

⁴⁰ 10.3.1803, NA 32 (26), pp.19-20.

⁴¹ See 2.1.1 above

⁴² Aeschylus' Suppliants and Euripides' Hippolytus.

short scene.⁴³ Again, this could suggest direct influence on Schiller.

Arnoldt claims that Schiller's explanation of the chorus to Körner shows a deeper understanding of the ancient chorus than was usual at the time. Schiller's chorus was often wrongly criticised as being unlike the Greek one because of its participation in the action. A passage from Süvern shows a source of this misunderstanding:

Der Chor ... muss sich auch ebenso über die Handlung erheben, als das Drama selbst über dem Kreise des gewöhnlichen Lebens steht. An der Handlung darf er nicht teilnehmen; denn er bewegt sich frei und bleibend, trotz des Wechsels und Endes, in ihrer Mitte, er stellt Vereinigung, nicht Trennung dar. Er ist von keiner Partei, sondern fasst beide zusammen und macht ihre Reflexe.⁴⁴

Schiller's practice in Die Braut von Messina, with the chorus participating in the action and at times divided within itself, clearly conflicts with two of Süvern's tenets. The division into the two conflicting groups is a point criticised by Humboldt in a letter to Schiller, 22.10.1803. He emphasised his agreement with the view of the chorus in Schiller's preface, but criticised the division of it in the play and the corresponding lack of absolute neutrality and harmony within itself.⁴⁵

It must certainly have been confusing for many spectators to have not only a chorus introduced, but also one which represented two different concepts. The chorus would not satisfy those who sought psychological realism or consistent character portrayal, nor the classical scholars who sought a chorus completely detached from the

⁴³ NA 10, p.341.

⁴⁴ From Süvern's book on Schiller's Wallenstein, quoted by Arnoldt, op. cit., p.6.

⁴⁵ See NA 10, p.356.

action.⁴⁶

Schiller wrote the preface to the play partly to justify his experimental introduction of the chorus in the face of criticism aroused by theatre performances. The play was more of a success in the theatre than he had expected. Nevertheless, Schiller stresses the difference between his concept of art and popular taste in the preface. The excessive reflection, the pauses, the 'epic' tendency to detached comment - features which were central to Schiller's theory - frequently gave rise to criticism. Charlotte von Schiller writes to Fritz von Stein, 31.3.1803:

Von nur wenigen Menschen wird es hier verstanden, und ich habe mir die gebildeten Mitglieder der Gesellschaft viel zu vorurtheilsfrei gedacht. Es ist doch wirklich eine Epoche es wagen zu können, nach 1500 Jahren wieder einen Chor aufs Theater zu bringen.⁴⁷

H. von Knebel is one of those who did not understand it. She writes: 'Es war mir wie eine sehr tragische Geschichte mit Bemerkungen über das Schicksal, und ich konnte mich immer nicht drin finden, daß es dramatisch ist.'⁴⁸

5.6.4 Verse forms

The chorus is also a centre of Schiller's experimentation with different verse forms and other linguistic devices. Rhythmic variation, rhyme, imagery, metaphor and the repetition of one or more lines are

⁴⁶ Böhler, 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', p.290, regards the division of the chorus as a deliberate technique to reduce the likelihood of the spectator identifying with it.

⁴⁷ NA 10, p.356.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, p.358.

common features in the speech of the chorus.⁴⁹

Non-standard verse forms often coincide with general reflection and with the chorus's detached commentary on the action. A few examples must suffice to illustrate the concentration of deliberately non-realistic devices in the chorus's general commentary and wider-ranging reflection.

The metaphorical description of the path of the ruling classes in I,3 is an impressive example of Schiller's combination of imagery, rhyme and anomalous rhythm within a general commentary by the chorus:

Jene gewaltigen Wetterbäche,
 Aus des Hagels unendlichen Schloßen,
 Aus den Wolkenbrüchen zusammen gefloßen,
 Kommen finster gerauscht und geschoßen,
 Reißen die Brücken und reißen die Dämme
 Donnernd mit fort im Wogengeschwenne,
 Nichts ist, das die gewaltigen hemme.
 Doch nur der Augenblick hat sie gebohren,
 Ihres Laufes furchtbare Spur
 Geht verrinnend im Sande verloren,
 Die Zerstörung verkündigt sie nur. (11.242-252)

Each of the two sets of triple rhyme evokes a sense of build-up and culmination which matches the imagery of the swelling stream. The repetition of 'reißen' (1.246) with the stress on each heightened by the dactylic metre, evokes an impression of a force which cannot easily be stopped. Yet at the same time the opening of 1.243 with the monosyllabic 'aus', the start of 1.244 with the same monosyllable but a longer line and different rhythm, the end-stopping of lines 242,

⁴⁹ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.368, feels that Schiller goes too far with this experimentation and that the constantly changing verse forms make us so aware of 'die gewollte künstlerische, um nicht zu sagen, künstliche Schöpfung' that 'alle Freiheit des Spiels, die Schiller doch selbst als erster verlangt, dabei verloren zu gehen droht. Das bedenkliche Wort, das hin und wieder in seinen ästhetischen Schriften fällt, es habe die Form den Stoff zu vertilgen, bewährt sich in aller Fragwürdigkeit'. Atkins, op. cit., p.561, attributes an additional function to the metrical variety of the play claiming that 'die krankhafte Unordnung des Wertesystems dieser Tragödie' is reflected in it.

243, 244 and 245, combine to suggest a sense of deliberateness and artificiality in these lines, maintaining an awareness of their functionality in the service of a particular aim and almost anticipating the qualification which will be imposed on the violent path of the 'river' in the following lines. Its flow is interrupted by a line which could be read as a pentameter and misleadingly suggest to the listener a return to blank verse; at any rate it is a line which heralds a change to cross rhyme.⁵⁰ Schiller refuses to let verse forms become too set or predictable and uses opportunities offered by the subject matter - at this point natural imagery as a metaphorical presentation of the fate of characters in the play - to introduce different rhythms and rhyme schemes. His aim is to prevent the audience from being lulled into forgetting the use of verse and so the artistic or aesthetic nature of the play. At the same time the element of reflection is rendered interesting to the ear as a sense organ as well as to the understanding.

The chorus's warning of just revenge on the murderer in lines 1984 to 1993 provides another striking example of verse in choral commentary:

Aber wehe dem Mörder, wehe,
 Der dahin geht in thörigem Muth!
 Hinab hinab in der Erde Ritzen
 Rinnet, rinnet, rinnet dein Blut.
 Drunten aber im Tiefen sitzen
 Lichtlos, ohne Gesang und Sprache,
 Der Themis Töchter die nie vergessen,
 Die Untrüglichen, die mit Gerechtigkeit messen,
 Fangen es auf in schwarzen Gefäßen,
 Rühren und mengen die schreckliche Rache.

Horrorific imagery, rhyme, rhythm and the repetition of words are combined in a reflective piece, in which the particular act of Don Cesar is related in an atmospherically evocative fashion to the more general theme of revenge via references to Greek mythology, providing

⁵⁰ On 'prosodic ambiguity' in German verse, see Chisholm, David, 'Prosodische Aspekte des Blankversdramas', p.145.

material for the ear, the imagination and the faculty of abstraction. The long piece in which the chorus discusses the merits and disadvantages of war and peace (ll. 861-980) is rich in examples of play with rhythms and rhyme.⁵¹ As discussed above, this represents a pause in the action. It contains reflection, which Schiller considered essential for reasons outlined above, but which involves the danger that the emotional and sense responses could be under-involved. Variation in verse form in such instances may thus be seen as compensating for the lack of action. Schiller considers reflective pauses essential for aesthetic effect, but they must as far as possible be made to appeal to the whole man, not just to the understanding. The chorus's use of freer rhythms is not limited to its role as commentator. Its first entrance, in which it is divided into two groups and obviously functioning as actors within the play, provides an example of this:

Dich begrüß ich in Ehrfurcht
Prangende Halle,
Dich meiner Herrscher
Fürstliche Wiege,
Säulengetragenes herrliches Dach. (ll.132-136)

The language of the chorus is in clear contrast to everyday language from the very beginning, even when it is a participant in the action. By the short lines Schiller indicates how he means the lines to be read, stressing the difference from the popular conversational tone. The truly 'choral' nature of the groups emerges when the lines :

Aber treff ich dich draußen im Freien,
Da mag der blutige Kampf sich erneuen,

⁵¹ See e.g. the particularly striking play with alliteration and dactylic rhythms in the third stanza:
'Mir gefällt ein lebendiges Leben,
Mir ein ewiges Schwanken und Schwingen und Schweben
Auf der steigenden, fallenden Welle des Glücks.' (ll.881-883)

Da erprobe das Eisen den Muth

(11.169-171)

spoken by the 'Erster Chor' are repeated by the whole chorus in lines 172-174. Lines 184-186 are similarly repeated (11.187-189). This strongly non-realistic technique, surprising to an eighteenth-century drama audience, can be theatrically effective in an operatic way.⁵² The chorus's lament for Don Manuel is a striking example of lyrical rhythms and is clearly within the framework of the main action.⁵³ It takes the form of solo and chorus, in which three voices take turns at declaiming, interspersed with passages spoken by the whole chorus.⁵⁴ This lament is not only atmospheric, but arguably emotionally moving, for example in the comparison between the planned wedding and the death of Don Manuel:

Schwer und tief ist der Schlummer der Todten,
Nimmer erweckt ihn die Stimme der Braut,
Nimmer des Hifthorns fröhlicher Laut,
Starr und fühllos liegt er am Boden!

(11.1957-1960)

Borchmeyer views this lament as an illustration of another chorus function in Greek tragedy. He argues: 'in den großen Pathoszenen des griechischen Dramas ist der gewaltig tönende Ausdruck des Leidens und der Affekte des Helden gerade durch die Resonanz des Chors bedingt'.⁵⁵ Borchmeyer argues that Schiller was not consciously aware of this function, but that it still emerges in the scenes where the chorus laments over Don Manuel's death, in which the chorus functions

⁵² Lines 2411-2414 are similarly repeated in lines 2431-2434, and with some variation in lines 2455-2458.

⁵³ Although the reflection is not solely limited to the action.

⁵⁴ The division of lines in general is discussed in 5.6.5 below.

⁵⁵ Borchmeyer, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit, p.156.

'als Resonator des tragischen Leidens'.⁵⁶ It is certainly true that Schiller does not mention this function in 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie'. Borchmeyer claims: 'Ein Element der künstlerischen Erfahrung Schillers ist also, so scheint es, nicht in sein theoretisches Bewußtsein vorgedrungen'.⁵⁷ Yet one must bear in mind Schiller's dual conception of the chorus. As actors, like any other characters in the play, the chorus members are entitled to show emotion and to arouse it in the audience - and it is primarily as a group of characters that the chorus functions in lamenting the death of Don Manuel. This type of ritual lament would also be more unusual and artificial to the eighteenth-century audience than to the ancient Greek spectators, who were familiar with such a ceremony in real life. It seems unlikely to me that Schiller, a master of theatrical effect, was unaware of the power of presenting characters obviously moved by the fate of other characters to move the theatre audience. The fact that he does not explicitly discuss it in his theory may be attributable to the fact that emotional effect represented a feature, even a 'danger', inherent in the dramatic form. This potential effect did not need to be described explicitly or justified. It certainly did not represent a desirable function in the interests of aesthetic freedom, and so had no place in theory concerned with such. Of course a degree of emotional involvement within the spectator's overall awareness of the artificiality of the work of art was not only inevitable but also a desirable part of the overall effect. By means of this formalised lament, emotion is ritualised and distanced and so prevented from becoming too severe. Böhler views the 'implizite Verbalisierung von Emotionen durch den Chor' as a rhetorical device 'zum Abzug affektiver Energien des Zuschauers vom Bühnengeschehen und

⁵⁶ *ibid*, p.157.

⁵⁷ *ibid*.

damit eine Entlastung von Leidensdruck'.⁵⁸

In some places, the freer rhythms of the chorus contrast directly with the blank verse of other characters. In IV, 9, for example, Isabella, Don Cesar and Beatrice use blank verse, whereas the chorus at times uses different rhythms and rhyme:

Entschlossen siehst du ihn, festen Muths,
 Hinab zu gehen mit freiem Schritte
 Zu des Todes traurigen Thoren.
 Erprobe du jezt die Kraft des Bluts,
 Die GewaTT der rührenden Mutterbitte.
 Meine Worte hab ich umsonst verloren. (11.2666-2671)

In the closing lines 2835-2839 and in lines 2802-2805 the chorus uses the usual iambic pentameter, whereas in lines 2818-2821 it uses four-beat lines. Obviously, in a framework where the other characters are using regular blank verse, such inconsistency is striking.

The chorus also uses blank verse in other places in the play. In I,7, in dialogue with Don Manuel, it speaks in standard verse and seems to have the role of confidant and advisor.⁵⁹ One has the impression that the lines could equally well be spoken by a single character.⁶⁰ At such points the chorus loses the characteristic of general reflection and that of the 'sinnliche Masse' which Schiller claims for it in the preface, and comes to resemble the French confidant Schiller wished to replace by it.⁶¹

At times the chorus's verse forms are stylized by the use of

⁵⁸ Böhler, 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', p.255.

⁵⁹ See 11. 751-752, 11.789-792.

⁶⁰ On the division of chorus lines between individuals, see 5.6.5 below. In the 'Augsburger Schema' for performance, Schiller himself suggests that Cajetan 'führt in dieser ganzen Scene immer das Wort für die übrigen' (NA 10, pp.321ff.).

⁶¹ See 'Ueber den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie', NA 10,p.11.

stichomythia.⁶² The conflict between the two groups in III,2 is conducted in rhymed stichomythia.⁶³ Thus this high-point of the chorus's 'participant' role is stylized and rendered less emotionally gripping by an artificial verse form.

A detailed analysis of the play, from which only these few examples could be quoted here, shows that Schiller does not consistently use rhythmic variation or other devices either to characterize the chorus, or to differentiate between the two groups or between the chorus as actors and the chorus as commentators, or to mark general reflection or particular recurring situations. Nor are lyrical language and changing verse forms restricted wholly to the chorus.⁶⁴ There is certainly more freedom and variation in the verse forms of the chorus than anywhere else in Schiller's plays. Yet, at times, it uses ordinary blank verse. Schiller uses verse form and associated devices here more obviously than anywhere else to stress the difference between reality and art and to prevent the creation of a deceptive dramatic illusion.

5.6.5 Compromises for production

In the preface to Die Braut von Messina Schiller stresses that his play is not suited to the theatre of the time:

Nur die Worte giebt der Dichter, Musik und Tanz müssen hinzukommen, sie zu beleben. Solange also dem Chor diese sinnlich mächtige Begleitung fehlt, solange wird er in der Oekonomie des Trauerspiels als ein Aussending, als ein fremdartiger Körper und als ein Auffenthalt erscheinen, der nur den Gang der Handlung unterbricht, der die Täuschung stört, der den Zuschauer erkältet.

⁶² e.g. 11.739-776.

⁶³ Stichomythia is not limited to the chorus, see e.g. 11.466-523, 1628-1641.

⁶⁴ See 5.4.3.3 and 5.5.3 above.
A different view is expressed by Garland, op. cit., p.233.

Um dem Chor sein Recht anzuthun, muß man sich also von der wirklichen Bühne auf eine mögliche versetzen.⁶⁵

In existing theatres, the chorus could only partly fulfil the role which it should ideally carry out. Schiller's ideal would require a theatre which acknowledges itself as non-realistic, which would not be tied by expectations of illusion, in which the features he outlines in this passage would be taken for granted and balanced by the appeal to the senses of music and movement. Schiller was interested in having his choral odes accompanied by music. In a letter to Zelter, he expresses disappointment that the composer has not come to Weimar and so put an end to Schiller and Goethe's plan:

Wir hielten es nicht für unmöglich, die lyrischen Intermezzos des Chors, deren fünf oder sechs sind, nach Gesangsweise recitieren zu lassen und mit einem Instrument zu begleiten ...
Vielleicht aber interessieren Sie Sich doch für diese Arbeit und Sie überraschen uns einmal mit einer musikalischen Ausführung derselben.⁶⁶

In the absence of music, Zelter himself suggested accompanying the play by 'gedämpfte Paukenschläge' to keep the rhythm.⁶⁷

In fact, in practice, Schiller was forced to move in the opposite direction by separating the choral pieces into lines for different actors. Even in Weimar, where the audience was used to stylized productions, critical voices with a narrow concept of what was natural and probable made themselves heard, not least important that of Carl August himself. He urged Goethe to persuade Schiller to make changes to the play. The verse forms are the first feature which he

⁶⁵ NA 10, p.7.

⁶⁶ 28.2.1803, NA 32 (21), pp.16-17.
In a letter to Goethe of 8.7.1804, NA 32 (125), pp.107-108, Schiller expresses interest in a report of a performance of Euripides' 'Helena' in a verse translation by Wieland in which the chorus was to be accompanied by a flute.

⁶⁷ Zelter to Goethe, July 1803, NA 32 p.273.

attacks:

... eines sollte man ihn doch einzureden suchen, das ist die revision der Verse, in denen er sein Werck geschrieben hat; denn hie und da kommen mitten im Pathos comische Knittel Verse vor, dann unausstehliche Härten, undeutsche Worte und endlich solche Wortversetzungen, die poetische Förmelchens bilden, deren Niederschreibung auf Pulverhörner gar nicht unpaßend gewesen wären.⁶⁸

Secondly, Carl August attacks the chorus from the point of view of probability:

Da nun das Chor eigentlich ein Corps unter den Waffen darstellt, so kan man die Personen deßelben für nichts, als für bewafnete Poeten ansprechen, eine neue Masque für die Bühne; denn die, meistens ganz unnütze bilderreiche Schwülstigkeit, in der dieses Corps den Zuschauer von einer Szene zur andern führt, und noch dazu sehr langsam, kan ohnmöglich für Kriegsknechte paßen, da die Prinzen, zu denen jene Leute gehören, sich viel natürlicher ausdrücken.⁶⁹

Die Braut von Messina certainly has its faults. At the same time the criteria applied by Carl August show the extent to which Schiller had to struggle against realistic and unaesthetic concepts of drama, even in Weimar. He did not make major changes to the verse forms or to his portrayal of the chorus. He was, however, prepared to compromise to some extent on how the choral passages could be spoken. Genast reports:

Die Trochäen, Daktylen, Spondeen usw. machten den Schauspielern viel zu schaffen. Erst war es die Absicht Schillers, selbst die größern Reden des Chors Unisono sprechen zu lassen; er überzeugte sich aber sehr bald daß dadurch eine sehr große Undeutlichkeit fühlbar wurde und daß der strenge Rhythmus nicht eingehalten

⁶⁸ 11.2.1803, NA 10, p.357.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*
Such criteria were not limited to Schiller's time. Atkins, *op. cit.*, p.529, claims:
'Ohne allzu stark zu vereinfachen, kann man die negativen Urteile, die auch in vielen eingehenden und vernünftigen Untersuchungen über die 'Braut von Messina' gefällt werden, auf den einen Vorwurf reduzieren, daß diesem Drama die Illusion psychologischer Wahrscheinlichkeit fehlt'.

werden konnte. Man beschränkte sich demnach auf kleinere Perioden.⁷⁰

The arrangement suggested by Goethe for the meeting scene in the third act - alternation between single voices, two or three voices and the whole chorus - kept a fair amount of 'choral' effect.⁷¹ It is interesting that this stylized manner is used at a high-point in the physical action.

The Weimar premiere was a huge success.⁷² Yet Schiller reports to Körner:

Ueber den Chor und das vorwaltend lyrische in dem Stücke sind die Stimmen natürlich sehr getheilt, da noch ein großer Theil des ganzen Deutschen Publikums seine prosaischen Begriffe von dem Natürlichen in einem Dichterwerk nicht ablegen kann. Es ist der älte Streit, den wir beizulegen nicht hoffen dürfen.⁷³

Goethe's position on the same side as Schiller in the 'old quarrel' with naturalism is demonstrated in his Regeln für Schauspieler, in which the examples of poetic language are taken from Die Braut von Messina.⁷⁴

For other theatres where Schiller could expect even less understanding for his highly artificial play, he had to make more compromises. He only considered it possible to have the play performed in Dresden under the condition that the theatre director was not even told of the presence of the chorus:

Es ist nichts nöthig, als daß ich den Chor, ohne an den Worten das geringste zu verändern, in 5 oder 6 Individuen auflöse, womit

⁷⁰ Quoted in Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., pp.157-158.

⁷¹ The arrangement is reported by Genast and quoted in NA 10, pp.315-316.

⁷² See Schiller to Körner, 28.3.1803, NA 32 (33), p.25.

⁷³ 28.3.1803, NA 32 (33), p.25.

⁷⁴ See also NA 10, p.355.

ich mich jetzt eben beschäftige... Sie sollen mir das Stück spielen ohne nur zu wissen, daß sie den Chor der alten Tragiker auf die Bühne gebracht haben.⁷⁵

To render the play feasible for the theatre in Stuttgart, Schiller produced a division of the chorus lines between various characters, to whom he gave names, to suit the requirements of actors, and gave up any idea of a musical accompaniment.⁷⁶ In one plan for the division of the chorus roles, Schiller adds a reminder which he no doubt did feel to be necessary:

Es braucht wohl nicht erinnert zu werden, dass die Reden des Chors nicht im Conversazionston zu sprechen sind, sondern mit einem Pathos und einer gewissen Feierlichkeit, doch ja nicht in singendem Ton recitirt werden müssen.⁷⁷

Iffland accepted the play claiming that he would put it on out of respect for 'eine erhabene Dichtung' but did not expect the audience to share his enthusiasm.⁷⁸ In fact this performance too was highly successful.⁷⁹ It seems likely that the production had not been as big a risk as Iffland suggested in his letter to Schiller, but that the successful theatre manager trusted in the reputation of Schiller to attract audiences, even to a play which went against the popular trend. This is supported by a letter from Zelter to Goethe, written

⁷⁵ To Körner, 6.2.1803, NA 32 (10), pp.8-9.

⁷⁶ See Schiller to Cotta, 13.3.1803, NA 32 (29), p.23.

⁷⁷ 'Augsburger Schema', NA 10, p.327.
There are similar statements in a letter to Iffland, 24.2.1803, NA 32 (18), pp.20-21.
Rudloff-Hille, op.cit., p.160, notes that the chorus became no more than the 'Gefolge' of the brothers in a performance in Hamburg on 6.5.1803. The speeches were divided between them. 'Der Hamburger Wirklichkeitsstil konnte dem Werk auf andere Weise nicht gerecht werden.' In 1812 the roles were even written out in prose.

⁷⁸ To Schiller, 8.4.1803, NA 10, p.319.

⁷⁹ See Iffland to Schiller, 18.6.1803, NA 32, p.334 and Schiller to Iffland, 12.7.1803, NA 32 (64), p.53.

after the third performance of the play in Berlin:

Unser Publicum im Vertrauen auf des Verfassers großen Namen, läßt keine Gelegenheit vorbeÿ, die Artisten durch lauten und oft anhaltenden Beyfall für die gute Sache zu ereifern, und es scheint den Durst nach dem Bessern, Höhern, nicht länger verhehlen zu wollen.⁸⁰

In spite of the artificiality and alienating features which irritated many critics, Die Braut von Messina was a theatrical success. Admittedly, this was only possible thanks to a degree of compromise with modifications to the central feature of the chorus.

⁸⁰ NA 32, pp.272-273.

5.7 Music and songs

Although Schiller did not succeed in having his chorus accompanied by music, he does use music in Die Braut von Messina and in other plays with various effects.¹

In a letter to Goethe of 20.12.1797, Schiller throws light upon his intentions with the use of music in describing the positive features of opera:

Ich hatte immer ein gewisses Vertrauen zur Oper, daß aus ihr wie aus den Chören des alten Bacchusfestes das Trauerspiel in einer edlern Gestalt (sich) loswickeln sollte. In der Oper erläßt man wirklich jene servile Nachahmung, und obgleich nur unter dem Namen von Indulgenz könnte sich auf diesem Wege das Ideale auf das Theater stehlen. Die Oper stimmt durch die Mächte der Musik und durch eine freiere harmonische Reizung der Sinnlichkeit das Gemüt zu einer schönern Empfängnis, hier ist wirklich auch im Pathos selbst ein freieres Spiel, weil die Musik es begleitet, und das Wunderbare, welches hier einmal geduldet wird, müßte notwendig gegen den Stoff gleichgültiger machen.²

Freedom from demands for naturalism and from the danger of direct and potentially illusionistic visual appeal are the main advantages which Schiller sees in opera and in music.

The introduction of music in Schiller's later plays usually has some degree of motivation within the framework of the action; having introduced it for some 'realistic' reason, he goes on to use it to create moods and to heighten awareness of artificiality at times.

The 'Trauermarsch' which is heard in the distance at the end of Die Braut von Messina IV, 3 and obviously heralds the arrival of Don Manuel's body, and the 'Chorgesang' after line 2821 in the last scene

¹ Schiller and Music is the topic of a book by R.M. Longyear. P.J. Branscombe's 'Schiller and Music' provides additional information as well as a critical review of Longyear's book. Longyear and Branscombe disagree about the extent of Schiller's knowledge of and interest in music.

² Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (394) p.529.
The insertion in parentheses is Staiger's.

represent examples of the most 'realistic' use of music in Schiller's later plays.

Towards the end of I,2 in the same play, a stage instruction reads: 'Man hört in der Ferne blasen' (NA 10, p.25). The music comes closer. From a realistic point of view, it is motivated by the impending arrival of the brothers, which it signals. At the same time, Schiller uses it as a background march to accompany the highly stylized entrance of the chorus and underline the artificial, dance-like presentation.³

In Die Jungfrau von Orleans, battle music is used in a similar way. At the end of III,5, for instance, it signals a change to the battlefield. It is used not only to reflect the war-like nature of the new scene, but as background music to accompany the open scene change in a manner which makes no pretence at an illusion of reality, but emphasises the aesthetic framework:

Trompeten erschallen mit mutigem Ton und gehen, während daß verwandelt wird, in ein wildes Kriegsgetümmel über, das Orchester fällt ein bei offener Szene und wird von kriegerischen Instrumenten hinter der Szene begleitet.
Der Schauplatz verwandelt sich in eine freie Gegend, die von Bäumen begrenzt wird. Man sieht während der Musik Soldaten über den Hintergrund schnell verziehen. (NA 9, pp.255-256)⁴

This sort of musical accompaniment to a visual feature outwith the dialogue seems to reach a high-point in Wilhelm Tell, especially at the close of the 'Rütli' scene (II,2):

Indem sie zu drei verschiedenen Seiten in größter Ruhe abgehen, fällt das Orchester mit einem prachtvollen Schwung ein, die leere Scene bleibt noch eine Zeitlang offen und zeigt das Schauspiel der aufgehenden Sonne über den Eisgebirgen. (NA 10, p.192)

Music ceases to have any motivation in the action here. It has the

³ See also 5.6.1 above.

⁴ See also 5.4.3.2 above on the use of music in IV,1.

function of enhancing the atmosphere of hope which has been raised in the preceding scene and the symbolic nature of the visual presentation of the rising sun, which anticipates the happy turn of events to come later.⁵

As well as orchestral music, Schiller also uses songs in the later plays. Petersen notes that this was unusual in the eighteenth century and that songs were often cut in performances of Schiller's earlier plays Die Räuber and Don Carlos.⁶

Wallensteins Lager closes with a song from the soldiers. There is some realistic motivation of a song in which soldiers in camp sing of their way of life, yet this song differs from naturalistic use of song in various ways. A stage direction explains how the song is to be presented: 'Die Soldaten aus dem Hintergrund haben sich während des Gesangs herbeigezogen und machen den Chor' (NA 8, p.52). This is closer to an operatic instruction than to a naturalistic one. The song is clearly being sung for the audience, not just for the pleasure of the singers. It is not merely a realistic part of the camp scene. In the course of the play it has been emphasised that those who now sing are from different regiments and backgrounds. From a naturalistic perspective, it is not likely that they would know the same song. Schiller's use of music differs from truly naturalistic usage.⁷

In a way, the soldiers' song in Wallensteins Lager typifies Schiller's method of making unpleasant material admissible by clothing it in an obviously artificial form. Negative features of the

5 Music is used in an analogous way at the end of the play.

6 Petersen, Schiller und die Bühne, p.452. See also 3.1, p.118 above.

7 cf. e.g. G. Hauptmann's introduction of the 'Blutgericht' song in Die Weber. Its presentation is motivated and it becomes a sort of anthem.

soldier's philosophy are presented in this apparently light-hearted musical piece. The themes of war, peace and freedom in their many forms, which will also emerge in the main action, are anticipated here.

In Wilhelm Tell IV,3, Schiller includes a song from the 'sechs barmherzige Brüder' (NA 10, p.255). Once more, the ceremonial presentation of this song is noteworthy. The brothers 'schließen einen Halbkreis um den Todten und singen in tiefem Ton' (ibid). The song has its place within the framework of the action, as it is sung over Geßler's body.⁸ It contains general reflection similar to that discussed in 5.5 and 5.6 above, emphasising the short nature of life and the unexpected nature which death can have. Schiller expresses his intention in including the song in a letter to Iffland, 12.3.1804:

Ich habe rathsam gefunden den ...4ten Akt mit einer Gesangs-Strophe, welche von den barmherzigen Brüdern in unisono gesungen wird, zu beschließen... Besonders wünschte ich das Letzte ausgeführt, weil es dem 4ten Akt einen feyerlichen Schluß giebt.⁹

Schiller is interested primarily in achieving a theatrical effect, in evoking a particular mood with the song. There is no question of close realistic motivation.

In the same play Schiller also uses songs to set the theme of what is to come. This technique is introduced at the very beginning of the play. Music is again combined with visual effects, even before the dialogue opens:

Noch ehe der Vorhang aufgeht, hört man den Kuhreihen und das harmonische Geläut der Heerdenglocken, welches sich auch bei

⁸ cf. the chorus's lament for Don Manuel in Die Braut von Messina, discussed in 5.6 above.

⁹ NA 32 (137), pp.114-115.

eröffneter Scene noch eine Zeitlang fortsetzt. (NA 10, p.131)

This is followed by three songs, variations on the melody of the 'Kuhreihen', which deal both with idyllic features of nature and with implicit danger in it.¹⁰ Schiller is creating a Swiss background for the spectator and at the same time suggesting the theme of danger even in this calm, beautiful nature, and anticipating the storm which is on its way - literally and metaphorically.¹¹

Schiller makes use of music and songs, then, in a manner which is not realistic, but rather stresses the artificial and symbolic nature of the dramatic action.

¹⁰ The song by the 'Fischerknabe' (11.1-12) has a boy falling asleep and awaking surrounded by water, that of the 'Hirte' (11.13-24) has a melancholy farewell to the high pastures, the song of the 'Alpenjäger' (11.25-36) deals with the dangerous existence of the hunter in the mountains.

¹¹ See also the opening of Act III with a song from *Walther Tell*, which deals with the hunter and his bow and arrow.

5.8 Spectacular stage effects

Schiller's rejection of a deceptive, realistic illusion is reflected in his employment of stage effects which are clearly symbolic and artificial and at times even deliberately strain the credulity of the spectator. This tendency is to be seen especially in Die Jungfrau von Orleans and in Wilhelm Tell, plays in which legend and history mingle.

In Die Jungfrau von Orleans, the stage effects are frequently related to the 'supernatural' basis of Johanna's powers. Criteria of realism cannot be applied, as the events are acknowledged as miraculous and acceptance of the whole play is essentially related to acceptance of it as representing legendary material, not events of real life.¹

The appearance of 'der schwarze Ritter' is one instance of an impressive theatrical effect. The knight all in black, with his mysterious warnings, increases suspense and evokes a change in mood which to some extent anticipates Johanna's 'fall'. The exit of the knight is particularly spectacular. With his closing 'Töte, was sterblich ist!' (1.2445), the stage direction stipulates: 'Nacht, Blitz und Donnerschlag. Der Ritter versinkt'. This is an operatic effect. It would have been unthinkable in the realistic domestic plays popular in Schiller's time.

Thunderclaps are used again, and once more in a symbolic fashion, in IV,11. In response to Dunois' 'Wer wagts, sie eine Schuldige zu nennen?' (1.3020) there is a terrific clap of thunder. More follow when Thibaut challenges Johanna to refute his accusations (NA 9, p.289). One might accuse Schiller of resorting to crude theatre effects here. Yet one must remember the overall framework of the

¹ See 5.3.4 above.

'romantische Tragödie'. Schiller is not offering a 'realistic' presentation of a storm but trying to underscore the symbolic importance of events in a manner which is also theatrically effective.

The most unlikely of Schiller's 'crude' theatrical effects in this play, the one which would perhaps be least acceptable by criteria of realism and probability, and which demands most indulgence from the audience, is the breaking of Johanna's chains in V,11. This can only be accepted as a 'miracle' within the non-real structure of the play as a whole.

Contemporary comments on these 'miraculous' effects confirm these views. In a letter to Charlotte Schiller, Fritz von Stein stresses the contrast between the 'höhere Sphäre dieser Dichtung' and the usual 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel'. His understanding for the poet's demand that we should believe in miracles increases, he adds, when he realises 'daß dieses Stück nicht den bescheidenen Namen eines Trauerspieles, sondern den einer dramatisierten Epopöe verdient'.²

Yet, the miracles remained controversial. F.L. Schröder suggested to Schiller that he might yet remove the miracles from the play and so improve it.³

In spite of such criticism of the miracles, the play was a great success on the German stage.⁴ Schiller himself received thunderous applause when he was present at a performance of the play in Weimar.⁵ Yet he was disappointed by some performances of the play in other

² 30.10.1801, NA 9, p.440.

³ 1.8.1801, NA 9, p.440.

⁴ See NA 9, pp.438-439.

⁵ *ibid.*

theatres.⁶ Rudloff-Hille attributes Schiller's dissatisfaction to unsuccessful attempts to present the battle scenes adequately:

Die Szenen, in denen Gefechte und ganze Kriegsheere vorkommen, würden nie ganz ihr armseliges Ansehen verlieren, wenn man sich nicht auf Andeutungen beschränkte.⁷

Schiller could only be disappointed with theatres' attempts to produce his 'romantische Tragödie' in the realistic style to which they were accustomed.

Accounts of the performances of Die Jungfrau von Orleans in Berlin and Hamburg also show that the audiences were interested in show and splendour, the 'stoffartiges Interesse' which Schiller wished to modify. Iffland had two hundred people in the coronation procession; the costume of the archbishop was so extravagant that it received a spontaneous burst of applause.⁸ Schiller certainly goes to some length in the description of the procession (NA 9, p.278). However, such stage effects must not be allowed to distract the audience from the significance of the action as a whole. Schiller is said to have criticised Iffland during a performance: 'Sie erdrücken mir ja mein Stück mit dem prächtigen Einzug'.⁹ The glorious procession contrasts with Johanna's state of mind and represents only one element of the overall work. It loses in aesthetic value for Schiller if it comes to be enjoyed just for its own sake, as a splendid show of costumes. For Wilhelm Tell, Schiller sent detailed instructions for scenery to

⁶ See Schiller to Körner, 5.10.1801, NA 31 (71), p.61 and pp.229-230 above.

⁷ Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., p.140.
She refers to a review of the Leipzig production in the 'Journal des Luxus und der Moden' in September 1801.

⁸ See Rudloff-Hille, op. cit., pp.147ff.

⁹ in Schillers Gespräche, ed. Petersen, No. 427, p.202.

Iffland. This shows his increasing interest in theatrical effects.¹⁰ He demanded: 'ein Theil des Sees muss beweglich sein', and requested 'ein Mondscheingemälde' and light effects which would be able to create the impression of a sunrise.¹¹

In the 'Rütli' scene, the spectator is presented with 'ein Regenbogen mitten in der Nacht!' (1.975). The symbolic nature of this effect is stressed by one of the characters themselves: 'Das ist ein seltsam wunderbares Zeichen!' (1.977). These effects are not designed to make a realistic impression, but to draw attention to the symbolic nature of events. Göttlicher describes such effects as 'poetische Überhöhung der Bühnenszenerie'.¹² Visual effects of this kind, like the use of music, he claims, were designed to reflect the 'Sprachraum' of Schiller's later works in a theatrically effective manner. These combinations show the aesthetic unity which drama and theatre have reached for Schiller by this stage. 'Schiller ist bei den Auführungen gelungen, die innere und äußere Handlungsebene wechselseitig zu erhellen'.¹³

The use of spectacular stage effects occurs for Schiller in the service of creating a work of art which is successful in the theatre, but not in a manner which encourages the audience to confuse it with reality or to be caught up in illusion. The effects are not realistic but symbolic, and achieved only within the context of an aesthetic work of art which is acknowledged as being different from real life.

10 See also Schiller to Körner, 12.4.1804, NA 32 (148), p.123.

11 Schiller to Iffland, 5.12.1803, NA 32 (101), p.90.

12 Göttlicher, op. cit., p.208.

13 *ibid.*

5.9 References to the 'future'

Occasionally Schiller includes references in the speech of his characters to people or events familiar to the spectator as belonging to his own time, or at least to a later period than that in which the action is set. This is another device particularly notable in the 'legendary' plays, Die Jungfrau von Orleans and Wilhelm Tell.

The dramatic illusion may be disturbed, or awareness of artificiality heightened - at least amongst members of the audience possessing the relevant historical knowledge - by prophecies made by Johanna in III,4 relating to events which had actually happened by Schiller's time.

In lines 2090-2101 Johanna claims that the King will unite France under his rule and have many illustrious descendants. His family will rule, as long as it keeps the love of the people:

Der Hochmut nur kann ihn zum Falle führen,
Und von den niedern Hütten, wo dir jetzt
Der Retter ausging, droht geheimnisvoll
Den schuldbefleckten Enkeln das Verderben! (II.2098-2101)

This is an obvious reference to the French Revolution, which was no doubt still firmly in the consciousness of most spectators at the turn of the century.

Johanna's prophecy for Burgund (II.2109-2118) will probably have had a more limited effect, as the relation between him and the Habsburgs was probably not common knowledge.¹

Johanna's prophecy of the discovery of the New World (II.2117-2118) is likely to have been recognisable as such to most audience members. Von Wiese and Blumenthal emphasise the relation between these prophecies and the supernatural quality of Johanna's mission:

¹ See NA 9, p.431.

Johannas Prophezeiungen ... sind für Schiller ein ästhetisches Mittel, um die Sendung der Jungfrau zu unterstreichen und sie in jene Sphäre des Übersinnlichen zu heben, die zwar nicht eigentlich geglaubt, aber doch ästhetisch gerechtfertigt werden sollte.²

The audience's reaction to 'miraculous' events certainly depends on its acceptance of the work as an aesthetic piece based on legendary material, as discussed above.³ The fact that Schiller does not use fictitious material for the prophecies, but events with which the audience is familiar, suggests the further aim of recalling to the audience its position in the theatre and the artificial nature of the action.

A similar technique is used in Wilhelm Tell. In III,3, Leuthold refers to Tell's shot:

... Das war ein Schuß! Davon
Wird man noch reden in den spätesten Zeiten. (11.2038-2039)

Rudolf der Harras repeats for emphasis:

Erzählen wird man von dem Schützen Tell,
Solang die Berge stehn auf ihrem Grunde. (11.2040-2041)

Of course, as the spectator realises, that is just what has happened. The legendary nature of the material becomes the topic of the dramatic dialogue. 'Epic' irony seems to be generated here by the introduction of a perspective which indirectly places the spectator in his own times by stimulating his sense of real history. Schiller is, perhaps, ironising not only his own subject matter, but also his conces-

² NA 9, p.431.

³ See p.252 (5.3.4) and p.343 above.

sions to public taste in choosing it.⁴ At any rate, these statements are likely to have at least a mildly alienating effect, drawing the spectator's attention once more to the fact that he is watching the dramatic presentation of a legend in the theatre.⁵

In V,1 Schiller refers directly to 'Johannes Müller' (1.2948). The historian Johannes Müller (1752-1809) had been in Weimar in 1804. Seidel notes that Schiller wished to honour him by including his name here. At the same time, the mention of it - a common name though it may be - may well have struck a familiar chord and so provided an additional reminder of the artificial nature of the play, at least for members of the Weimar audience.

⁴ cf. the interpretation of the play by Mainland in his edition and pp.258-259 above.

⁵ There is also a prophecy about the future of Switzerland by Attinghausen in IV, 2, ll.2430-2451, but it would probably only be recognised by Swiss spectators or those with a good knowledge of Swiss history.

5.10 Irony and distance

In Wallenstein and in Die Braut von Messina a particular type of irony represents a potential source of distance between the spectator and one or more characters on stage. It is the type of irony which arises when the spectator is in possession of some knowledge which the character does not have, which allows him to observe that the character has a false view of the situation or that the character's words have some significance of which the character is not aware.¹ W. Müller-Seidel differentiates between 'die dramatische oder tragische Ironie' - where the actions of a character have a different effect from the one intended - and 'epische Ironie' which, he claims, creates a type of distance which can be compared to that created in epic poetry, and arises from 'ein Mehrwissen des Zuschauers'.² Irony within drama is, of course, an old and traditional device,³ not always used to distance the spectator. Irony, especially of the 'dramatic' or 'tragic' type distinguished above, can encourage suspense as to the outcome or empathic concern for the fate of the unwitting hero. It can, also, however, widen the gap between spectator and hero, for example when the spectator perceives it as excessive - regardless of whether the dramatist intended such a perception - or when the hero's blindness is portrayed as a negative

¹ In 'Episches im Theater der deutschen Klassik', pp.355ff. Müller-Seidel discusses the complex nature of the term 'irony', which is applied by different people to different processes.

² *ibid*, p.357.
Müller-Seidel's term is taken up and used in the same way by Utz in 'Auge, Ohr und Herz', p.76.

³ See e.g. 2.1.1 above.

attribute, largely self-induced.⁴

5.10.1 'Wallenstein'

In Wallenstein the hero himself adheres to a false view of his situation in spite of frequent information which could suggest to him that he is dangerously wrong. The spectator is aware at a fairly early stage of the true situation; thus a gap is established between his perspective and Wallenstein's which is a potential source of critical distance.⁵

Although Wallenstein himself does not appear until Die Piccolomini, Act II, the audience is made aware in I,3 that he is being deceived by Octavio.⁶

Questenberg comments:

Ganz unbegreiflich ist, daß er den Feind nicht merkt
An seiner Seite... (11.345-346)

In the course of the play, Wallenstein's repeated failure even to investigate warnings about Octavio may lead the spectator to the same conclusion. At this point, it emerges that Wallenstein's blind trust

⁴ Wilkinson and Willoughby discuss similar ideas in connection with Kabale und Liebe:
"To know less than the characters fills us with a kind of detective-story suspense about what is going to happen. To know more leaves us free to concentrate on how it will happen, and may be a most effective way of evoking compassion with a character who heads for a disaster which we see as inevitable, but to which he seems blind. But if the dramatist goes too far in this direction and unduly prolongs our state of superior knowledge, it is at the risk of compassion overbalancing into impatience at the hero's obtuseness". (Introduction to Wilkinson's and Willoughby's edition of Kabale und Liebe, pp.xxxix-xl)
On the relation between identification and illusion, see also 1.4.3 above.

⁵ Glück, op. cit., pp.118-120, draws up a detailed table in which he compares Wallenstein's view of the situation and the real state of affairs at different points in the play.

⁶ See especially lines 340-343.

of Octavio is based mostly on a dream - probably a dubious basis for trust in the eyes of the 'enlightened' audience of Schiller's day, as well as for the modern reader or spectator.

Wallenstein expresses his confidence in Octavio in II,6.⁷ At this point the audience may forgive his mistake, as there has been no evidence that Octavio's behaviour has given any grounds for suspicion. In lines 884-885, however, Terzky issues a warning against trusting Octavio. Wallenstein replies:

... Lehre du
 Mich meine Leute kennen. Sechzehnmal
 Bin ich zu Feld gezogen mit dem Alten,
 - Zudem - ich hab sein Horoskop gestellt,
 Wir sind geboren unter gleichen Sternen- (II.885-889)

Wallenstein's trust of Octavio, based on a long friendship, provides a basis for sympathy. At the same time his refusal to listen to advice from others may be seen as a characteristic which is not particularly attractive.⁸ Astrology as the reason for his trust, like the dream, may function as an alienating feature in itself.⁹

⁷ See especially II.882-883.

⁸ A similar almost arrogant insistence on his capabilities to judge character with a repeated heavily ironical effect on the audience is to be found in Wallensteins Tod lines 959-960.

⁹ Astrology may play a similar role in distancing the audience from Wallenstein in Wallensteins Tod, I,1, see pp.494-495 below. Schiller described the pentagram 'oracle' which was later replaced by the present astrological scene, now Wallensteins Tod I,1, as 'eine lächerliche Fratze' (to Goethe, 4.12.1798, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger (543), p.708). He also described the new scene as 'eine Fratze' and claimed that the resulting 'Mischung des Törichten und Abgeschmackten mit dem Ernsthaften und Verständigen' would always remain 'anstößig' (ibid, p.709). This suggests a somewhat cynical attitude towards astrology and it seems highly unlikely that he wished to encourage identification by means of it, as is suggested e.g. by Schneider's and Blumenthal's interpretation (NA 8, p.293). Schiller was aware of the distance between his contemporaries and the astrological belief which he considered typical of the historical Wallenstein's time. (See Schiller to Goethe, 4.12.1798, Briefwechsel, ed. Staiger, p.709) Even Körner and Humboldt did not really understand the purpose of the astrological features. For further discussion, see Müller-Seidel's article, pp.359ff. and Glück, op. cit., pp.49ff. Glück also provides a brief summary of existing research into the astrological motif in Wallenstein.

Staiger views 'Wallenstein's 'Vertrauen' vis à vis Octavio as a weakness so firmly anchored in Wallenstein's personality that he does not lose out on spectator sympathy because of it.¹⁰ There are certainly moments when Wallenstein's trust of Octavio may encourage us to feel compassion for him and be able to identify with the feeling of being let down by a friend.¹¹

Yet there are so many hints which Wallenstein fails to heed, that it is difficult to avoid becoming impatient with him in the course of the two plays. Audience sympathy for a man betrayed by such an old friend is surely undermined by Schiller's emphasis on the missed opportunities where Wallenstein could break out of his illusion and recognize the truth.¹²

The ironical presentation emerges powerfully in Wallensteins Tod,

¹⁰ Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.304.

¹¹ See especially Die Piccolomini, V,1: Octavio reveals the depth of the discrepancy between Wallenstein's view of the situation and the true state of affairs to Max and so emphasises it yet again to the audience. (See especially lines 2468-2474.) For the moment, the audience's distance may be encouraged to turn into suspense as it is countered by Max's refusal to give up hope in Wallenstein, with which the play ends.

See also Wallensteins Tod, II.672-674:

'Ich weiß, daß dir ein Dienst damit geschieht,

In diesem Spiel dich müßig zu verhalten.

Du rettetest gern, so lang du kannst, den Schein;'

The reader familiar with Schiller's aesthetic theory will be encouraged to further intellectual activity by the coincidence of two of Schiller's key aesthetic terms 'Spiel' and 'Schein' occurring within the framework of 'play', of aesthetic illusion here. The spectator will at least be struck by the heavy irony of the words: Octavio certainly likes to keep up 'den Schein', but not as Wallenstein thinks. He comes close to a true view of Octavio's behaviour here, but fails to relate it to the recent developments which have led to his own dangerous situation. Critical spectator responses here are mitigated by Wallenstein's interest in doing Octavio a favour.

¹² See e.g. Wallensteins Tod, II,3, repeated warnings from Illo and Terzky, including a warning based on concrete information (II.888-889).

Again, the dream is the unsatisfactory basis for Wallenstein's continued trust. See especially lines 946-947.

See also III,7, 1615-1616.

I,1, the astrological tower scene. There is a crass contrast to the audience between Wallenstein's claim that he has seen the 'glückseligen Aspekt' (I.9) and the knowledge - which Wallenstein of course does not yet have - that Sesin has been captured. The stark nature of the contrast is heightened by the abrupt arrival of Terzky with the news in I,2. The ironical perspective of the audience may well increase the critical distance between audience and 'hero' here. In Müller-Seidel's words, 'die Unwissenheit Wallensteins und sein blindes Vertrauen gegenüber Octavio sind der Grund unserer kritischen Distanz'.¹³

The distance is emphasised by the juxtaposition of scenes at this point. The following scenes show Octavio preparing to leave, then winning Isolani and Buttler over to his side.

The relationship between Octavio and Wallenstein ultimately leads to a form of distance in the theatre. Although Schiller includes features which at times, especially in the early stages, make Wallenstein's trust of Octavio understandable and compatible with identification, the continual ignored warnings and belief in dreams and astrology are likely to reduce this sympathy to a large extent. When Wallenstein's illusion is finally broken in III,8, the spectator's identification may have been reduced to such an extent that he will tend not to sympathize too much with Wallenstein, feeling that he has only himself to blame.

A similar process may be traced in Wallenstein's trust of Buttler. In III,4 we are informed that Buttler has declared himself on Wallenstein's side. At this point there is still plenty of room for suspense as the audience waits and hopes that Wallenstein will realise the truth in time, seeing the danger that he may not, as Buttler cunningly presents himself as a friend. However, even in this

¹³ Müller-Seidel, 'Episches im Theater der deutschen Klassik', p.359.

scene, irony appears again. Wallenstein tells Illo that he gets a strange feeling when Buttler is present. Yet he decides to suppress this feeling:

Und dieser Redliche, vor dem der Geist
 Mich warnt, reicht mir das erste Pfand des Glücks. (II.1454-1455)

As Glück points out, 'Worte tragischer Ironie sind in Wallensteins Tod gehäuft fast bis zum Übermaß'.¹⁴

In III,9, even after the bitter experience of Octavio's treachery, the tragic irony of Wallenstein's relationship to Buttler is reflected in visual form, as Wallenstein unwittingly embraces his would-be murderer.¹⁵ In III,6 Buttler loses Wallenstein the support of the 'Pappenheimer'. The irony operates on a dual level as Wallenstein - ironically - refers to Buttler as his 'böser Dämon' (I.2003), a term which obviously has a different meaning to the spectator in the theatre. It would seem reasonable to expect Wallenstein to become at least mildly suspicious at this point. The fact that, once again, he fails to do so and ignores warnings, works against identification.

Glück describes the process of ironical effect in Wallenstein as follows:

Die ironische Dialektik übt auf den Zuschauer einen intellektuellen Anreiz aus, sich in die voraussetzungsreichen dramatischen Situationen zu versetzen. Und sie ent-täuscht den Zuschauer: sie hält ihn ab, sich auf die Hoffnungen der dramatischen Personen einzulassen und reißt ihn heraus, wenn er der Magie des Scheins verfiel.¹⁶

The audience sees Buttler announcing his plans to Gordon. In Act V the positioning of scenes reveals the discrepancy between the true

¹⁴ Glück, op. cit., p.160.

¹⁵ See also Wallenstein's words in II.1707-1709.

¹⁶ Glück, op. cit., p.161.

situation and Wallenstein's view of it. In scene 3 Wallenstein is offered further warnings by the 'Gräfin' and fails to take them. In scene 4 he pays no attention to the breaking of the chain, which has symbolic significance to the audience, aware of Wallenstein's danger. Gordon's warnings, too, are ignored; so are those of the astrologer Seni. There is certainly scope here for the audience to take up a critical stance and to avoid being entirely caught up in emotion and identification. 'Wir sollen uns in den Bannkreis des Dramas begeben. Aber dem Geschehen sollen wir uns deshalb nicht blindlings überlassen.'¹⁷ The audience is encouraged to sympathize with Wallenstein at times, but on the whole it will retain a certain distance. It is almost always provided with information about the true state of affairs before it hears Wallenstein's view. Where suspense is created, it is soon broken again or overlaid with heavy irony. Altogether the portrayal is to lead to a mixture of 'identification' and critical distance on the part of the audience. Tragic irony is one technique by means of which Schiller encourages this complex relationship.

Several critics stress the importance of the gap between Wallenstein's illusions and the spectator's knowledge of the true situation for the overall aesthetic effect of the play.¹⁸

In Glück's opinion, the 'irony' created by Wallenstein's false view of the situation is used in the service of a 'satirical' presentation, in the sense of Schiller's theory, according to which

¹⁷ Müller-Seidel, 'Episches im Theater der deutschen Klassik', p.356.

Müller-Seidel even goes so far as to insist: 'An keiner Stelle im Verlauf der Handlung werden wir im Sinne der sogenannten aristotelischen Dramatik überredet, uns mit Wallenstein oder irgendeiner anderen Figur der Tragödie zu identifizieren' (ibid).

¹⁸ See e.g. Glück, op. cit., pp.163ff.; Blesch, op. cit., pp.370ff.; Graham, Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, p.25; Utz, op. cit., pp.76-77.

the 'satirist' places 'die Wirklichkeit als Mangel dem Ideal als der Höchsten Realität gegenüber'.¹⁹ The 'ausgesprochenes Ideal' in Wallenstein is 'die Selbstbestimmung', and the 'verneinte Wirklichkeit die Selbsttäuschung'.²⁰ According to Glück, Schiller wishes to help the audience towards 'Selbstbestimmung' in its own life not by showing an example to follow, but by showing how Wallenstein does not achieve it. A direct presentation of the ideal, Glück argues, would endanger the autonomy of the spectator:

Das Prinzip Selbstbestimmung erfordert, daß die Möglichkeit der Freiheit nicht wie ein Lehrsatz vorgelegt und nicht wie ein Resultat übernommen wird. Der Zuschauer soll seine Freiheit verwirklichen, sich selbst bestimmen und nicht sich bestimmen lassen.²¹

Blesch draws attention to the much-discussed problem of defining:

Wie sich die tragische Finalisierung der Konflikte mit der Idee von Selbstbestimmung verträgt, d.h. wie sich die poetischen Gesetze klassischer Dramaturgie mit dem praktischen Gesetz der Reflexionsphilosophie vereinen lassen.²²

In the spectator's recognising the gap between Wallenstein's illusions and the real situation, Blesch sees the answer to this question. Wallenstein's intentions and the reality of his action never become identical. Blesch claims that 'der inhaltlich-stoffliche Vollzug einer tragischen Vermittlung von Idee und Wirklichkeit' is not to be found in Wallenstein's failure to attain moral freedom, but in the poetic form, which combines the contradiction of 'Unbestimmtheit' and actual 'Bestimmtheit' dialectically, dramatically,

¹⁹ See 'Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung', NA 20, p.442, and Glück, op. cit., p.163.

²⁰ Glück, op.cit., p.163.

²¹ *ibid*, p.166.

²² Blesch, op. cit., p.370.

and makes it the object of aesthetic contemplation. In this respect Wallenstein represents a turning point in Schiller's dramatic creation, Blesch argues.

Both these interpretations establish a relationship between the aesthetic effect described in Schiller's theory, and the aesthetic effect of one of his later plays, avoiding the temptation to look merely for ideas from the theory in the content of the play and seeking the aesthetic effect in how the spectator is encouraged to regard the work of art. They come to different conclusions, but have in common the insistence on the importance of the critical distance which is established between protagonist and spectator, without which the aesthetic aim cannot be achieved.

5.10.2 'Die Braut von Messina'

In Die Braut von Messina, irony is extremely complex, as it operates on various different levels, and is so frequent and heavy that it seems to govern the whole play.

Firstly there is irony similar to that in Wallenstein, which arises when a character on stage has a false view of the situation and his words thus have a different meaning for the spectator as, for instance, when Isabella appeals to the 'queen of heaven' to help her not to indulge in 'Uebermuth' (1.296):

Denn leicht vergäße sich der Mutter Freude,
Wenn sie sich spiegelt in der Söhne Glanz,
Zum erstenmal, seitdem ich sie gebohren,
Umfaß ich meines Glückes Fülle ganz.

(11.297-300)

Isabella is not conscious of any irony or of any impending danger. The audience, on the other hand, has heard the chorus's prophecy of the fall of the great. As yet, it was only a prophecy, but enough to

provide a degree of irony in its understanding of these words.

The irony is heavier and the distance potentially greater in I,5, when Isabella responds to Don Manuel's announcement that he has chosen a bride:

An meine Brust will ich sie freudig schließen,
 Die meinen Erstgebohrnen mir beglückt,
 Auf ihren Pfaden soll die Freude sprießen,
 Und jede Blume die das Leben schmückt,
 Und jedes Glück soll mir den Sohn belohnen,
 Der mir die schönste reicht der Mutterkronen! (II.1404-1409)

The audience knows that Don Cesar loves the same girl and has placed his servants on guard. This whole scene is heavy with irony. The rhyme in both these quotations and the attractive language and imagery in the second one contrast with the danger of the real situation, which Isabella is unable to see.²³

If irony were restricted to this type, one might argue that it tends to increase sympathy with Isabella, who does not have the frequent opportunities offered to Wallenstein to recognise the true situation and avert disaster, and tends to increase suspense.²⁴

²³ For further examples of this sort of irony in the words of Isabella and also in those of Diego, see e.g. II.2042-2043, 2058-2059, 2073-2075, 2319-2325.

At times the chorus draws attention to the ironical nature of the speeches, as in its 'Weh! Wehe' in line 2325 after Isabella has unwittingly put a curse on her own son.

²⁴ This seems to be the view accepted by Seidel in his Notes to NA 10. He draws attention to an interpretation in which Kohm (1901) established Schiller's predilection for 'Antithesen', after the model of Sophocles. He quotes Kohm:

'Das Wesen aller dieser Antithesen liegt in dem Widerstreite von Wirklichkeit und einzelnen Gefühlen, so von Furcht, Glaube, Hoffnung und Erwartung, indem in der Regel das Gegenteil von dem eintritt oder bereits geschehen ist, was erwartet, gefürchtet oder geglaubt wird.'

Seidel himself claims: 'Widersprechende Gefühle werden auch beim Leser oder Zuschauer ausgelöst, denn Hoffnung, Wunsch, Furcht und Mitleid wechseln miteinander ab und halten ihn in beständiger Erregung' (NA 10, p.352).

This, however, would be to reckon without the peculiar perspective and obvious distance imposed on the action by the chorus. The Greek chorus, especially in the plays of Sophocles, sometimes functioned as 'a powerful instrument of dramatic irony'.²⁵ Schiller's chorus, too, serves this function in a number of ways. Not only is it frequently the source of the audience's superior knowledge. It also lays the foundation for an ironic perspective by relating the action to certain ideas, such as the relation between the ruling classes and the natives of the island, or to the 'justice' and inevitability of fate.²⁶ By suggesting some moral inadequacies of the behaviour of the rulers of Messina, the chorus puts another layer of distance between them and the spectator. The audience could, for instance, be tempted to sympathize with the mother who saves her daughter from death. However, her 'hybris', her proud and at times arrogant attitude is put into perspective by the chorus. H. Kraft discusses this type of irony in particular:

Die Präsentation enthält Ironie und Verfremdung als Methode. Als die Leidgeprägte erscheint die Fürstin Isabella auf der Bühne, aber das Mitleid wird unsicher, wenn es sich als Recht anderer eingefordert sieht...²⁷

Kraft regards social criticism as the main point behind the ironical presentation here - a view which in my opinion is not justified by Schiller's aesthetic theory nor by an interpretation of the play as a whole.²⁸ Yet Kraft notes the central idea that Isabella's point of

²⁵ See 2.1.1, p.42 above.

²⁶ See 5.6.2 above.

²⁷ In Kraft, H., Um Schiller betrogen, p.256.

²⁸ In the wildly enthusiastic response to the play in the Weimar theatre and in Carl August's reprimanding of the audience member responsible for a 'Vivat' to Schiller, Kraft sees evidence that the play was recognised as critical of the existing social situation (op. cit., pp.258-263).

view is relativised by the comments of the chorus, and so any tendency to sympathize uncritically with her is eliminated by the ironical perspective imposed by the presence of choral reflection. In lines 1427-1430, for example, Isabella is seen to 'count her chickens' - the audience, from its detached position, in possession of superior knowledge, recognises the danger of jumping to positive conclusions and implicitly viewing oneself as favoured by the gods:

Dreimal gesegnet sei mir dieser Tag,
 Der mir auf einmal jede bange Sorge
 Vom schwerbeladenen Busen hebt - Gegründet
 Auf festen Säulen seh ich mein Geschlecht.

Another instance may be seen in lines 2066-2069, Isabella comments:

Wohl mir! Auch diese Donnerschwere Wolke,
 Die über mir schwarz drohend niederhieng,
 Sie führte mir ein Engel still vorüber,
 Und leicht nur athmet die befreite Brust.

From its perspective of ironical distance, the audience may refer this to the earlier prophecy that pride comes before a fall. Isabella is rejoicing too soon.

In a third type of irony, the chorus makes statements to other characters on stage which clearly conflict with a point of view it has expressed - in confidence as it were - to the audience elsewhere. This type of irony is peculiarly related to the position of the chorus as actor and commentator, as discussed above.²⁹ In lines 255-258, for instance, the chorus hails Isabella:

Preis ihr und Ehre,
 Die uns dort aufgeht,
 Eine glänzende Sonne,
 Knieend verehr ich dein herrliches Haupt.

These lines are spoken after the passage in which the chorus has

²⁹ See 5.6 above.

warned of the transience of power and the impending fall of the great. Obviously, the irony will strike the audience, and not in a way that is likely to make it identify strongly with Isabella and hope that she will escape her fate.

In the same scene, the chorus takes up the topic of transience again in the presence of Isabella herself:

Völker verrauschen,
Nahmen verklungen ... (11.283-284)

This time, however, it does not carry on, as the audience might expect, to warn Isabella against pride and the dangers of power, but embarks on an ode to the rulers which - to the listener who has heard the reflective pieces earlier on - is heavy with irony:

Aber der Fürsten
Einsame Häupter
Glänzen erhellt,
Und Aurora berührt sie
Mit den ewigen Strahlen
Als die ragenden Gipfel der Welt. (11.288-293)³⁰

The complex system of ironic layers which operate in Schiller's Braut von Messina could only be indicated here. It is hoped that these examples will suffice to show the potential distance which irony of this sort can create, and how it can work against identification and straightforward involvement with the action in the theatre.

³⁰ cf. lines 370-373, 1174-1210.

In the oscillating point-of-view of the chorus, at times presenting itself as a loyal servant and at other times stressing the transience of power, Böhler sees a parallel to the behaviour of the spectator. Like the chorus, he argues, the spectator has strong but temporary external pressure on his emotions, but retains awareness of the continuity of his own 'Person', the feeling of inner independence. He also sees the ambiguity and indecisiveness of the chorus as a device to prevent the spectator from identifying with the chorus ('Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', p.291).

5.11 Play endings

In Wallenstein and in Maria Stuart Schiller rounds off the aesthetic form by means of an ending which does not leave the audience deeply moved by the death of the protagonist, but moves on to present the consequences of it for the antagonist.

Wallensteins Tod ends with Octavio being addressed: 'Dem Fürsten Piccolomini' (1.3867). Thus the audience is encouraged to reflect not simply on the justice or injustice of Wallenstein's fate, but on Octavio's behaviour and situation. The title of 'Fürst' calls up ideas of Octavio's intentions and of the loss for him that Max's death implies. Emotions which may have been aroused by the murder of Wallenstein are not allowed to gain the upper hand and form the final impression.

The ending of Maria Stuart is similar. The spectator is not left to dwell upon Maria's execution. The dangerously high level of emotional appeal is forced to give way as the scene changes to Elisabeth's palace and it becomes clear that she has been abandoned by Leicester. Rehm notes a similarity to baroque tragedy with respect to this sort of ending.¹ Staiger draws attention to similar endings in ancient Greek tragedy: 'das Handlungsschema, nach dem die meisten griechischen Tragödien gebaut sind, erfüllt sich auch hier: die Tote, Besiegte feiert einen posthumen Triumph'.² Staiger sees a sort of 'revenge' and 'reinstatement' in the painful consequences of the deaths of Wallenstein and Maria for their antagonists. The shift in emphasis also represents a restoration of balance in favour of the

¹ Rehm, op.cit., p.325, see also 2.4 above. Werner, R.M., in 'Schiller und Gryphius', p.60, discusses similarities between Maria Stuart and Katharina von Georgien by Gryphius.

² Staiger, Friedrich Schiller, p.358.

reflective faculties.³ The fates of Octavio and Elisabeth are not without emotional appeal. Yet, as the 'victors', the deserts they receive do not move us to the same extent as the deaths of their opponents.⁴

³ cf. the end of Die Braut von Messina discussed on pp.315-316 above.

⁴ The spread of interest over two or more characters in Schiller's later plays may in itself be seen as a means of working against one-sided identification. I. Graham sees a central aesthetic effect of Schiller's plays in the contrast between the 'hero' who lives under the illusion that he is free, and an antagonist, in whom the real determined nature of the hero is presented. See Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form, p.258.

6 Conclusion

When Schiller made his first contact with professional theatre in the early 1780s, the popular view of the dramatic illusion was one involving closeness to reality in subject matter and style, and convincing inner probability - features which had been influenced by the theories of emotionalism, the social value of art and by the associated idea that 'similarity' was necessary to promote identification. Drama was to appeal to the intuition of the spectator with the power of a real-life experience - an idea developed in Germany especially by Lessing.

A study of Schiller's dramatic and aesthetic theory shows that his views on the dramatic illusion changed from early acceptance of these conventional ideas to a position which was strikingly opposed to prevailing attitudes. His rejection of deceptive and convincing illusion in favour of an experience which involved awareness of the artificiality of the stage action and a high level of spectator distance brings Schiller close to twentieth-century theories of anti-illusionistic theatre.

Schiller's unconventional views were based on his aesthetic theory, strongly influenced, in the first instance, by Kant. The idea of moral freedom led him to believe in the necessity of distance in the theatre, of awareness of the illusory nature of the action. Schiller's interest in aesthetic freedom or harmony of the human personality - an idea anticipated in the theory of Baumgarten and expounded in Kant's Kritik der Urteilskraft - as well as his insistence on the autonomy of art - an idea partially anticipated in the theories of J.E. Schlegel and Baumgarten - were completely incompatible with the popular view of the dramatic illusion.

Schiller's later plays are clearly different from everyday reality in

their subject matter and in their stylized form. The use of different verse forms and other linguistic techniques, the reflective element in the dialogue, the chorus in Die Braut von Messina, the use of music and spectacular and symbolic stage effects all contribute to an artistic product which is clearly different from everyday life. The use of irony and occasional prophecies which the audience will recognize as having been fulfilled help to maintain the psychical distance of the spectator and work against the direct and uncritical identification associated with the popular ideal of 'total' illusion.

Schiller's ideal of a dramatic experience which would be clearly different from everyday life and recognized by the spectator as such, which would present the general and significant rather than the individual and particular, brings him close to Greek classical tragedy - a genre which he admired and accepted as a model with regard to these features. Another ancestor of Schiller's non-realistic and anti-illusionistic form of drama may be traced in German mediaeval and especially baroque drama. With regard to techniques, too, similarities may be seen in Greek tragedy, German baroque tragedy and the later plays of Schiller. All three types of drama at times used verse, antithetical dialogue, 'Sentenzen' and a chorus.

Schiller may be seen as taking up - probably unwittingly - the discontinued German baroque tradition with respect to these features. He differs from it in his rejection of didacticism, based on his insistence on the autonomy of art.

The idea of éloignement in the rejection of subject matter from everyday life and in stylization also associates Schiller with French classical tragedy, although, on the whole, his attitude towards it was critical. A major difference between this genre and Schiller lies in the French classicists' interest in strong emotional effect and in

maintaining a convincing dramatic illusion within the stylized framework. The rules of French classical tragedy were derived from social convention and the application of everyday probability - features unacceptable according to Schiller's theory of the autonomy of art. Schiller's attitude towards illusion bears strong similarities to that of Bertolt Brecht, in spite of statements to the contrary made by Brecht in his Kleines Organon für das Theater. In rejecting deceptive illusion and total identification, in insisting on spectator distance and on appeal to the reflective faculty as well as to the emotions, and in advocating a flexible theory of genres according to which the drama must take on features of the epic to come closer to artistic perfection - a theory for which Brecht expressed admiration in his less public 'Arbeitsjournal' - Schiller anticipates elements of Brecht's theory. Although there are essential differences in other respects between Schiller's theory and Brecht's, it must be acknowledged that, with regard to the dramatic illusion, the two authors fall into the same category of those interested in preventing total identification and deceptive dramatic illusion.

The development of Schiller's aesthetic theory led him to a position which represents an important stage in the development of a concept of drama which does not involve deception and works against any tendency to confuse the theatre experience with real life or to identify uncritically with any of the stage characters. His later plays show that these ideas remained valid for him. In spite of the difficulties associated with maintaining a position which did not accord with public taste, in his dramatic practice Schiller attempted to achieve the form of the dramatic illusion, the type of relationship between spectator and stage which his theory had shown to be the basis for an aesthetic experience.

B I B L I O G R A P H YAbbreviations used:

DVS - Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geisteswissenschaft

JDSG - Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft

JEGP - Journal of English and Germanic Philology

FMLS - Forum for Modern Language Studies

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bode, Ingrid, 'Schiller-Bibliographie 1966-1969 und Nachträge', in JDSG, 14, 1970, pp.584-636.

Hannich-Bode, Ingrid, 'Schiller-Bibliographie 1970-1973 und Nachträge', in: JDSG, 18, 1974, pp.642-701.

Hannich-Bode, Ingrid, 'Schiller-Bibliographie 1974-1978 und Nachträge', in JDSG, 23, 1979, pp.549-612.

Hannich-Bode, Ingrid, 'Schiller-Bibliographie 1979-1982 und Nachträge', in JDSG, 27, 1983, pp.493-551.

Hannich-Bode, Ingrid, 'Schiller-Bibliographie 1983-1986 und Nachträge', in JDSG, 31, 1987, pp.432-512.

Pick, R. (ed.), Schiller in England 1787 - 1960. A Bibliography, Leeds, 1961.

Raabe, Paul, Bode, Ingrid, 'Schiller-Bibliographie 1959-1961', in JDSG, 6, 1962, pp.465-553.

Schaefer, Friedegard, Friedrich Schiller (Bibliographie), Berlin, 1980.

Vulpus, Wolfgang, Schiller Bibliographie 1893-1958, Weimar, 1959.

Wersig, Peter, Schiller Bibliographie 1964-1974, Berlin, 1977.

SCHILLER'S WORKSCollected Works:

Schillers Werke. Nationalausgabe. Hrsg. im Auftrage der Nationalen Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur in Weimar (Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv) und des Schiller-Nationalmuseums in Marbach von Norbert Oellers und Siegfried Seidel, 43 vols. (incomplete), Weimar, 1943 - .

Sämtliche Werke, eds G.Fricke and H.G. Göpfert, 5 vols., Munich, 1965-1967.

Friedrich Schiller. Sämtliche Werke in 5 Bänden mit einer Einführung von Benno von Wiese, vol.1, Anmerkungen von Helmut Koopmann, Munich, 1968.

Individual Works:Theory:

On the Aesthetic Education of Man. Edited and translated by E.M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby, Oxford, 1967.

Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen, ed. with Annotations by Wolfgang Dusing, Munich, Vienna, 1981.

Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung, ed. with an Introduction and Annotations by William F. Mainland.

Vom Pathetischen und Erhabenen, ed. K.L. Berghahn, Stuttgart, 1970.

Plays:

Kabale und Liebe, ed. E.M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby, Oxford, 1944.

Maria Stuart, ed. William Witte, 4th edition, Basingstoke, London, 1972.

Die Braut von Messina, ed. F.George, London, Edinburgh, 1956.

Wilhelm Tell, ed. William F. Mainland, London, Melbourne, New York, 1968.

Correspondence:

Briefe, ed. F. Jonas, 7 vols., Stuttgart, 1892.

Der Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe, ed. Emil Staiger, 2 vols., Frankfurt/Main, 1977.

OTHER PRIMARY SOURCES

- Aeschylus, Tragödien und Fragmente, edited and translated by Oskar Werner, Munich, 1959.
- Aristotle, 'Poetics', in Aristotle, Horace, Longinus: Classical Literary Criticism, translated by T.S. Dorsch, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp.7-75.
- Baumgarten, A.G., Texte zur Grundlegung der Ästhetik, translated and edited by H.R. Schweyer, Hamburg, 1983.
- Brecht, Bertolt, Arbeitsjournal, 2 vols., ed. W. Hecht, Frankfurt/Main, 1973.
- Brecht, Bertolt, Schriften zum Theater, ed. Siegfried Unseld, Frankfurt/Main, 1974.
- Corneille, Pierre, Theatre complet, 2 vols., ed. by Lièvre, Caillois, Paris 1961-1962.
- Diderot, D., Les Bijoux indiscrets, in Oeuvres complètes, Paris, 1975- , (incomplete), vol. 3, ed. Aram Vartanian, 1978.
- Euripides, Alcestis and Other Plays, translated with an Introduction by Philip Vellacott, Harmondsworth, 1965.
- Genast, Eduard, Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit. Erinnerungen eines alten Schauspielers, ed. K.Kohlrusch, Stuttgart, 1904.
- Gerstenberg, H.W., Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur, with an introduction by Alexander von Weillen, Heilbronn, 1888-1890.
- Goethe, J.W. von, Goethes Sämtliche Werke. Jubiläumsausgabe, 40 vols., ed. E. von der Hellen, Stuttgart, Berlin 1902 - 1912.
- Goethe, J.W. von, Goethes Werke, (Hamburger Ausgabe), vol.3, Faust, ed. E.Trunz, 10th edition, Munich, 1976.
- Goethe, J.W. von, Goethe - Mann des Theaters, (collected texts), ed. Walter Hinck , Göttingen, 1982.
- Harsdoerffer, G.P., Poetischer Trichter, Reprograf. Nachdruck, (original edition 1648), Darmstadt, 1969.
- Humboldt, W. von, Über Schiller und den Gang seiner Geistesentwicklung, ed. Schiller Nationalmuseum, Marbach, 1952.
- Hume, David, A Treatise of Human Nature, ed. L.A. Selby-Bigge, Oxford, 1896.
- Kant, Immanuel, Kant's gesammelte Schriften, Bd. V, ed. W. Windelband, Berlin, 1913.
- Lessing, G.E., Werke, 8 vols., ed. H.G. Göpfert, Munich 1970-1979.
- Lessing, G.E., Mendelssohn, M.M., Nicolai, F., Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel, ed. Jochen Schulte-Sassen, Munich, 1972.

- Martersteg, M., ed, Protokolle des Mannheimer Theaters unter Dalbergs Leitung, Mannheim, 1890.
- Mendelssohn, Moses, Gesammelte Schriften, vols.1-3, ed. I. Elbogen, J. Guttman, E. Mittwoch, Berlin 1929.
- Opitz, Martin, Buch von der deutschen Poeterey, 1624, ed. R. Alewyn, reprinted Tübingen, 1963.
- Petersen, Julius (ed.), Schillers Gespräche. Berichte seiner Zeitgenossen über ihn, 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1911.
- Schlegel, A.W., 'Allgemeine Übersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustands der deutschen Literatur (1802)', in Schlegel, A.W., Über Literatur, Kunst und Geist des Zeitalters, ed. Finke, Stuttgart, 1964.
- Sophocles, The Theban Plays, translated with an Introduction by E.F. Watling, Harmondsworth, 1982.
- Wiese, B. von, Deutsche Dramaturgie vom Barock bis zur Klassik, 2nd edition, Tübingen, 1962.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

- Abrams, M.H., A Glossary of Literary Terms, 3rd edition, New York, Chicago, 1971.
- Abusch, A., 'Die Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen', in Schiller in unserer Zeit. Beiträge zum Schiller-Jahr 1955, ed. Schiller Komitee, Weimar, 1955.
- Albertsen, L.L., 'Klassizismus und Klassik in der Metrik', in Barner, W., et. al. (eds), Unser commercium, Stuttgart, 1984, pp.107-129.
- Albrecht, W., 'Der freie Tod nur bricht die Kette des Geschicks: "Die Braut von Messina oder Die feindlichen Brüder"', in Dahnke, H. D., Leistner, B. (eds), Schiller. Das dramatische Werk in Einzelinterpretationen, Leipzig, 1982, pp.218-247.
- Anders, Elisabeth, Der dramatische Ansatzpunkt bei Schiller und Brecht. Eine vergleichende Studie unter Berücksichtigung der Schriften Schillers zur Ästhetik, Arbeit zur wiss. Prüfung für das Lehramt an Volks- und Realschulen, Darmstadt, 1963, (manuscript: Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach).
- Appelbaum-Graham, Ilse, 'Element into Ornament: The Alchemy of Art', in Deutsche Beiträge, 4, 1961, pp.41-63.
- Appelbaum-Graham, Ilse, 'Schillers "Wilhelm Tell": Dankgesang eines Genesenden', in Neophilologus, 44, 1960, pp.307-322.
- Appelbaum-Graham, Ilse, 'Struktur der Persönlichkeit in Schillers dramatischer Dichtung', in JDSG, 4, 1960, pp.270-303.
- Arnoldt, Richard, Über Schillers Auffassung und Verwertung des antiken Chors in der "Braut von Messina", Königsberg, 1883.

- Atkins, Stuart, 'Gehalt als Gestalt in Schillers "Braut von Messina" ', in DVS , 33/4, 1959, pp.529-564.
- Bab, Julius, Das Theater im Lichte der Soziologie, 1931, reprinted with an introduction by A. Silbermann, Stuttgart, 1974.
- Bain, David, Actors and Audiences. A Study of Asides and Related Conventions in Greek Drama, Oxford, 1977.
- Banerjee, Nandakishore, Der Prolog im Drama der deutschen Klassik, Munich, 1970.
- Barner, W., Grimm, R. et al. (eds), Lessing: Epoche, Werk, Wirkung, 4th completely revised edition, Munich, 1981.
- Barner, W., Lämmert, E., Oellers, N. (eds), Unser commercium. Goethes und Schillers Literaturpolitik, Stuttgart, 1984.
- Barnouw, J., 'Das Problem der Aktion und Wallenstein', in JDSG, 16, 1972, pp.330-408.
- Barnwell, H. T., The Tragic Drama of Corneille and Racine , Oxford, 1982.
- Beck, Adolf, 'Schiller. "Maria Stuart" ', in Beck, A., Forschung und Deutung, Frankfurt/Main, 1966, pp.167-187.
- Bennett, Benjamin, Modern Drama and German Classicism. Renaissance from Lessing to Brecht, Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1979.
- Bentley, E. (ed.), The Theory of the Modern Stage, London, 1968.
- Berghahn, K.L. , 'Ästhetik und Politik im Werke Schillers', in Monatshefte, 66, 1974, pp.401-421.
- Berghahn, K.L. (ed.), Friederich Schiller. Zur Geschichtlichkeit seines Werkes, Kronberg/Ts., 1975.
- Berghahn, K.L., Formen der Dialogführung in Schillers klassischen Dramen, Münster, 1970.
- Berghahn, K.L., 'Zum Drama Schillers', in Hinck, W. (ed.), Handbuch des deutschen Dramas, Düsseldorf, 1980, pp.157-173.
- Berghahn, K.L., ' "Das Pathetischerhabene". Schillers Dramentheorie.', in Grimm, R. (ed.), Deutsche Dramentheorien, vol. 1, Frankfurt/Main, 1971, pp.214-241.
- Berghahn, K.L., Grimm, R. (eds), Schiller: Zur Theorie und Praxis der Dramen, Darmstadt, 1972.
- Bergman, Alfred, 'Zwei unbekannte Berichte über die Uraufführung der "Braut von Messina" ', in Dichtung und Volkstum, 35, 1934, pp.501-507.
- Berthel, Klaus, 'Im Spiegel der Utopie: "Wilhelm Tell" ', in Dahnke, H. D., Leistner, B. (eds), Schiller. Das dramatische Werk in Einzelinterpretationen, Leipzig, 1982, pp.248-267.
- Best, Alan, 'Alpine Ambivalence in Schillers "Wilhelm Tell" ', in German Life and Letters, 37, 1983/84, pp.297-306.

- Beyer, Waltraud, 'Kant und Schiller - eine Mesalliance? Zum Schiller-Kant Bezug', in Impulse, 5, 1982, pp.111-148.
- Binder, Wolfgang, 'Ästhetik und Dichtung in Schillers Werk', in Zeller, B. (ed.), Schiller. Reden im Gedenkjahr, Stuttgart, 1961, pp.9-36.
- Binder, Wolfgang, 'Die Begriffe "Naiv" und "Sentimentalisch" und Schillers Drama', in JDSG, 4, 1960, pp.140-157.
- Blesch, Rainer, Drama und wirkungsästhetische Praxis. Zum Problem der ästhetischen Vermittlung bei Schiller, Diss., Mannheim, 1978.
- Bloch, P.A., Schiller und die französische klassische Tragödie, Düsseldorf, 1968.
- Blumenberg, 'Wirklichkeitsbegriff und Möglichkeit des Romans', in Jauß, H.R. (ed.), Nachahmung und Illusion, 2nd edition, Gießen, 1969, pp.9-27.
- Böhler, Michael, Soziale Rolle und ästhetische Vermittlung. Studien zur Literatursoziologie von A.M. Baumgarten bis Fr. Schiller, Berne, Frankfurt/Main, 1973.
- Böhler, Michael, 'Die Zuschauerrolle in Schillers Dramaturgie', in Wittkowski, Wolfgang (ed.), Friedrich Schiller. Kunst, Humanität und Politik in der späten Aufklärung, Tübingen, 1982, pp.273-294.
- Boghardt, Martin, Der iambische Trimeter im Drama der Goethezeit, Hamburg, 1973.
- Borchmeyer, Dieter, 'Aufklärung und praktische Kultur. Schillers Idee der ästhetischen Erziehung', in Brackert, Wefelmeyer (eds), Naturplan und Verfallskritik, Frankfurt/Main, pp.122-147.
- Borchmeyer, Dieter, Tragödie und Öffentlichkeit: Schillers Dramaturgie im Zusammenhang seiner ästhetisch-politischen Theorie und die rhetorische Tradition, Munich, 1973.
- Borchmeyer, Dieter, Die Weimarer Klassik, 2 vols., Königstein/Ts., 1980.
- Braemer, E., 'Schillers romantische Tragödie "Die Jungfrau von Orleans"', in Braemer, E., Wertheim, U. (eds), Studien zur deutschen Klassik, Berlin, 1960, pp.265-296.
- Brandt, Helmut, 'Die "hochgesinnte" Verschwörung gegen das Publikum', in Barner, W., et al. (eds), Unser Commercium, Stuttgart, 1984, pp.19-35.
- Brandt, Helmut, 'Sozialkritischer Umgang mit dem Erbe: Bertolt Brecht', in Richter, H. (ed.), Schriftsteller und literarisches Erbe, Berlin, 1976, pp.211-283.
- Branscombe, P.J., 'Schiller and Music' in FMLS, IV,4, 1968.
- Braun, J.W. (ed.), Schiller und Goethe im Urtheile ihrer Zeitgenossen. Zeitungskritiken, Berichte und Notizen, Schiller und Goethe und deren Werke betreffend, Leipzig, 1882.

- Brinkmann, Henning, 'Der Prolog im Mittelalter als literarische Erscheinung', in Wirkendes Wort, 14, 1964, pp.1-21.
- Brown, Hilda.M., 'Der Chor und chorverwandte Elemente im deutschen Drama des 19.Jahrhunderts und bei Heinrich v. Kleist', in Kleist-Jahrbuch, 1981/82, pp.240-261.
- Bruford, W.H., Culture and Society in Classical Weimar (1775-1806), Cambridge, 1962.
- Bruford, Walter H., Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany, London, 1950.
- Bruford, W.H., 'Über Wesen und Notwendigkeit der Publikumsforschung', in Maske und Kothurn, 1, 1955, pp.148-155.
- Buchwald, R., 'Bühnendrama und dramatisches Gedicht', in Buchwald, R., Untersuchungen über das Theater der Goethezeit, Stuttgart, 1974, pp.20-33.
- Buchwald, R., 'Schiller zwischen "Don Carlos" und "Wallenstein" ', in Buchwald, R., Das Vermächtnis der deutschen Klassiker, new, revised edition, Frankfurt/Main, 1962, pp.193-216.
- Bürger, Christa, Der Ursprung der bürgerlichen Institution Kunst im höfischen Weimar, Frankfurt/Main, 1977.
- Bullough, Edward, ' "Psychical distance" as a Factor in Art and an Aesthetic Principle', in British Journal of Psychology, 5, 1913, pp.87-118.
- Burdach, Konrad, 'Schillers Chordrama und die Geburt des tragischen Stils aus der Musik', in Deutsche Rundschau, 36, 1910, pp.91-112, pp.399-443.
- Burton, R.W.B., The Chorus in Sophocles' Tragedies, Oxford, 1980.
- Cassel, Paulus, 'Schillers "Braut von Messina" ', in Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, 5, 1905, pp.246-276.
- Chisholm, David, 'Prosodische Aspekte des Blankversdramas. Eine Untersuchung zu sechs Dramen von Goethe, Schiller, Kleist, Grillparzer und Hebbel', in Kreuzer, H., Viehoff, R. (eds), Literaturwissenschaft und empirische Methoden, 1981, pp.142-159.
- Colberg, Klaus, 'Wie inszeniert man heute Klassiker?', Schiller-Tage in Mannheim', in Neue Züricher Zeitung, 30.4.1980, p.37.
- Dahnke, H.D., 'Schillers Wallenstein und die Aktualität der Geschichte', in Weimarer Beiträge, 27, 1981, Heft 2, pp.5-26.
- Dahnke, H.D., 'Das politische Spiel und die Menschheitssache: "Wallenstein" ', in Dahnke, H. D., Leistner, B. (eds), Schiller. Das dramatische Werk in Einzelinterpretationen, Leipzig, 1982, pp.122-166.
- Dahnke, H. D., Leistner, B. (eds), Schiller. Das dramatische Werk in Einzelinterpretationen, Leipzig, 1982.
- Dannenberger, H., 'Schillers "Braut von Messina" ', in Die Scene, 11, 1921, pp.111-116, pp.129-131.

- Descotes, Maurice, Le Public de theatre et son histoire, Paris, 1964.
- Dieckmann, H., 'Die Wandlung des Nachahmungsbegriffs in der französischen Ästhetik des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Jauß, H.R. (ed.), Nachahmung und Illusion, 2nd edition, Gießen, 1969, pp.28-59.
- Distel, Theodor, 'Zur ersten Aufführung der "Braut von Messina" in Lauchstädt', in Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, 5, 1905, pp.350-356.
- Donnenberg, Josef, 'Schiller: Die Jungfrau von Orleans und Brecht: Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe. Zur Interpretation', in Weiss, Gerlinde (ed.), Festschrift für Adalbert Schmidt zum 70. Geburtstag, Stuttgart, 1976 pp.257-287.
- Düsing, Wolfgang, 'Ästhetische Form als Darstellung der Subjektivität. Zur Rezeption Kantischer Begriffe in Schillers Ästhetik', in: Berghahn, K.L. (ed.), Friedrich Schiller. Zur Geschichtlichkeit seines Werkes, Kronberg/Ts, 1975, pp.197-239.
- Dürrenmatt, Friedrich, 'Friedrich Schiller, eine Rede', in Zeller, B. (ed.), Schiller. Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959, Stuttgart, 1961, pp.37-52.
- Eder, Klaus, Pierre Corneille und Jean Racine, 2nd edition, Velber, 1974.
- Ehrlich, Lothar, 'B. Brecht und die deutsche Klassik', in Sinn und Form, 26, 1974, pp.221-227.
- Ehrlich, Lothar, 'Zur Interpretation von Schillers "Maria Stuart" ', in Weimarer Beiträge, 27, H.8, 1981, pp.31-43.
- Eisler, Hans, 'Über Brechts Lektüre und verwischte Spuren', in Eisler, H., Gespräche, Munich, 1970, pp.146-166.
- Fambach, O. (ed.), Schiller und sein Kreis in der Kritik ihrer Zeit. Die wesentlichen Rezensionen aus der periodischen Literatur bis zu Schillers Tod, 2 vols., Berlin, 1957.
- Finger, Ellis, 'Schiller's Concept of the Sublime and its Pertinence to "Don Carlos" and "Maria Stuart" ', in JEGP, 79, 1980, pp.166-178.
- Flaherty, Gloria, The Influence of Opera on Eighteenth-Century German Critical Thought, Princeton, 1978.
- Flashar, Hellmut, 'Aristoteles und Brecht', in Poetica, 6, 1974, pp.17-37.
- Flügel, Heinz, 'Demetrius - zwischen Sein und Schein', in Flügel, H., Konturen des Tragischen, Stuttgart, 1965, pp.117-133.
- Fowler, Frank M., 'Sight and Insight in Schiller's "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" ', in Modern Language Review, 68, 1973, pp.367-379.

- Fowler, Frank M., 'Storm and Thunder in Gluck's and Goethe's "Iphigenie auf Tauris" and in Schiller's "Die Jungfrau von Orleans"', in Publications of the English Goethe Society, NS 43, 1973, pp.28-56.
- Fowler, Frank M., 'The Dramatic Image. Observations on the Drama with Examples from Schiller and Lessing', in Magill, C.P., Rowley, B.A., Smith, C.J. (eds), Tradition and Creation. Essays in Honour of E.M. Wilkinson, Leeds, 1978, pp.63-76.
- Frey, Dagobert, 'Zuschauer und Bühne. Eine Untersuchung über das Realitätsproblem des Schauspiels', in Kunstwissenschaftliche Grundfragen, Vienna, 1946, pp.151-223.
- Gabriel, Norbert, ' "Furchtbar und sanft." Zum Trimeter in Schillers "Jungfrau von Orleans" ', in JDSG, 29, 1985, pp.125-140.
- Gaede, F., Poetik und Logik. Zu den Grundlagen der literarischen Entwicklung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Berne, Munich, 1978.
- Garland, H. B., Schiller: The Dramatic Writer, Oxford, 1969.
- Geissner, H., 'Schillerparodien Bertolt Brechts', in Deutschunterricht für Ausländer, Jg.10, 1960, pp.129-135.
- Gellhaus, Axel, 'Ohne der Poesie das Geringste zu vergeben. Zu Schillers Dramenkonzeption auf dem Weg von der "Braut von Messina" zum "Wilhelm Tell" ', in Kuhn, D., Zeller, B. (eds), Genio huius loci, Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1982, pp.111-126.
- Gerhard, Melitta, ' "Ästhetische Erziehung" und Zukunftsausblick. Zu Goethes und Schillers Stellung gegenüber ihrer Epoche', in Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts, 1980, pp.169-176.
- Gerhard, Melitta, Schiller und die griechische Tragödie, reprinted, Hildesheim, 1978
- Gerhard, Melitta, Schiller, Berne, 1950.
- Gethmann-Siefert, Annemarie, 'Idylle und Utopie. Zur gesellschaftskritischen Funktion der Kunst in Schillers Ästhetik', in JDSG, 24, 1980, pp.32-67.
- Girshausen, Theo, 'Schillers "Wallenstein", Regie: Ulrich Brecht, Essen', in: Theater Heute 23, H.1, 1982, pp.53-54.
- Gleichen-Russwurm, Alexander von, 'Zur Braut von Messina', in Gleichen-Russwurm, A. von, Schiller und der Weimarer Kreis, Baden-Baden, 1947, pp.102-111.
- Glück, Alfons, Schillers Wallenstein, Munich, 1976.
- Görler, W., 'Über die Illusion in der antiken Komödie', in Antike und Abendland, 18, 1973, pp.42-57.
- Golz, Jochen, 'Der Traum von Harmonie. "Die Heilige Jungfrau von Orleans" ', in Dahnke, H.D., Leistner, B. (eds), Schiller. Das dramatische Werk in Einzelinterpretationen, Leipzig, 1982, pp.193-217.
- Goodlad, J.S.R., A Sociology of Popular Drama, London, 1971.

- Göttlicher, Otto, Der Bühnendichter Friedrich Schiller. Die Wechselbeziehung zwischen Drama und Theater in der deutschen Klassik, Diss., Frankfurt/Main, 1982.
- Graham, Ilse, Schiller. Ein Meister der tragischen Form. Die Theorie in der Praxis, Darmstadt, 1974.
- Graham, Ilse, Schiller's Drama: Talent and Integrity, London, 1974.
- Graham, Ilse, 'Zweiheit im Einklang. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller and Goethe', in Goethe Jahrbuch, 95, 1978, pp.29-64.
- Grimm, Reinhold, 'Ideologische Tragödie und Tragödie der Ideologie', in Sander, V. (ed.), Tragik und Tragödie, Darmstadt, 1971, pp.237-278.
- Grimm, Reinhold, 'Verfremdung. Beiträge zum Wesen und Ursprung eines Begriffs', in Revue de Literature Comparee, 1961, pp.207-236.
- Grimminger, R., 'Die ästhetische Versöhnung. Ideologiekritische Aspekte zum Autonomiebegriff am Beispiel Schillers', in Müller-Seidel, W. (ed.), Historizität in Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Munich, 1974, pp.579-597.
- Günther, Johannes, 'Schiller und der Schauspieler', in Theater der Zeit, 10, 1955, pp.7-9.
- Gumbel, H., 'Die realistische Wendung des späten Schiller', in Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts, 1932/33, pp.131-162.
- Guthke, Karl S., 'Der Parteien Gunst und Haß in Hamburg. Schillers Bühnenfassung des "Wallenstein"', in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 102, 1983, pp.181-200.
- Hamburger, Käthe, Die Logik der Dichtung, Stuttgart, 1957.
- Hartung, Günther, 'Brecht und Schiller', in Sinn und Form, Sonderheft I, 1966, pp.743-766.
- Hartung, Günther, 'Zum Publikumsverhältnis des epischen Theaters', in Sommer, D. (ed.), Probleme der Kunstwirkung, Halle, 1979, pp.97-101.
- Hartung, Günther, ' "Struktur und Sinn der Dramen Schillers". Zu einem Buch von G. Storz', in Weimarer Beiträge, 8, 1962, pp.291-319.
- Hecker, M., Petersen, J. (eds), Schillers Persönlichkeit. Urtheile der Zeitgenossen und Dokumente, 3 vols., Weimar, 1904-1909.
- Heinze, Thomas, Theater zwischen Wirklichkeit und Möglichkeit. Theorie und Praxis sozialwissenschaftlicher Theaterforschung, dargestellt am Beispiel einer Expertenbefragung, Cologne, Vienna, 1973.
- Hell, V., Schiller. Theories esthetiques et structures dramatiques, Paris, 1974.
- Hensen, Sigrid, Schillernähe-Schillerferne, Mannheim, 1984.

- Hermand, Jost, 'Zwischen Tuismus und Tümllichkeit. Brechts Konzept eines "klassischen" Stils', in Brechtjahrbuch, 1975, pp.9-34.
- Heselhaus, Clemens, 'Wallensteinisches Welttheater', in Der Deutschunterricht, 12, 1960, pp.42-71.
- Heuer, Fritz, Darstellung der Freiheit. Schillers transzendente Frage nach der Kunst, Cologne, Vienna, 1970.
- Heuer, F., Keller, W. (eds), Wallenstein, Darmstadt, 1977.
- Hinck, Walter (ed.), Handbuch des deutschen Dramas, Düsseldorf, 1980.
- Hinderer, Walter (ed.), Schillers Dramen. Neue Interpretationen, Stuttgart, 1979.
- Hinderer, Walter, 'Wallenstein', in Hinderer, W. (ed.), Schillers Dramen. Neue Interpretationen, Stuttgart, 1979, pp.126-173.
- Hinderer, Walter, 'Ist das epische Theater etwa eine "moralische" Anstalt? Bemerkungen zu Brechts kritischer Aneignung von Schillers Dramaturgie', in Bennett, B., Kaes, A., Lillyman, W.J., (eds), Probleme der Moderne, Tübingen, 1983, pp.459-475.
- Hinderer, Walter, 'Wieland und das deutsche Drama des 18. Jahrhunderts', in JDSG, 27, 1984, pp.117-143.
- Hippe, Robert, 'Forschungsbericht Goethezeit', in Wirkendes Wort, 31, 1981, pp.205-212.
- Isler, H., Carolus Stuardus. Vom Wesen der barocken Dramaturgie, Diss., Basel, 1966.
- Janz, Rolf-Peter, Autonomie und soziale Funktion der Kunst. Studien zur Ästhetik von Schiller und Novalis, Diss., Berlin, 1972.
- Jauß, H.R., Literaturgeschichte als Provokation, 3rd edition, Frankfurt/Main, 1973.
- Jauß, H.R. (ed.), Nachahmung und Illusion, 2nd edition, Gießen, 1969.
- Jenisch, Erich, Das Theater der deutschen Klassik, Würzburg, 1947.
- Juncker, Walther, 'Illusion im Theater. Der Kontakt zwischen Bühne und Publikum', in Die Besinnung, 20, 1965, pp.185-187.
- Jäger, H.W., 'Gegen die Revolution. Beobachtungen zur konservativen Dramatik in Deutschland um 1790', in JDSG, 22, 1978, pp.362-403.
- Kaiser, G., Von Arkadien nach Elysium, Göttingen, 1978.
- Karasek, Hellmuth, Bertolt Brecht. Der jüngste Fall eines Theaterklassikers, München, 1978.
- Karbjinski, Birgit, 'Brechts Verhältnis zur aristotelischen Dramatik', in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität Rostock, 29, H.3/4, 1980, pp.36-37.
- Kayser, W., Das sprachliche Kunstwerk, 4th edition, Berne, 1956.

- Kayser, W., Kleine deutsche Versschule, 20th edition, Berne, Munich, 1980.
- Kerry, Stanley S., Schiller's Writings on Aesthetics, Manchester, 1961.
- Kersting, Kurt, Wirkende Kräfte in der Theaterkritik des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts, Berlin, 1937.
- Kesting, Marianne, 'Brecht im Klassikerhimmel', in Brecht Jahrbuch, 1978, pp.169-174.
- Kesting, Marianne, Das epische Theater. Zur Struktur des modernen Dramas, Stuttgart, 1959.
- Kesting, Marianne, 'Das Theater als eine marxistische Anstalt betrachtet. Ein Vergleich der Theatertheorien Schillers und Brechts', in Augenblick, 2, H.4, 1956, pp.4-6.
- Kindermann, Heinz, Bühne und Zuschauerraum, Vienna, Graz, Cologne, 1963.
- Kindermann, Heinz, Die Funktion des Publikums im Theater, Vienna, 1971.
- Kindermann, Heinz, 'Notwendigkeit und Aufgaben der Spielplanforschung', in Maske und Kothurn, 1, 1955, pp.156-200.
- Kindermann, Heinz, Theatergeschichte der Goethezeit, Vienna, 1948
- Klotz, Volker, Offene und geschlossene Form im Drama, Munich, 1962.
- Kluge, Gerhard, ' "Die Braut von Messina" ', in Hinderer, W. (ed.), Schillers Dramen. Neue Interpretationen, Stuttgart, 1979, pp.242-270.
- Knopf, Jan, Bertolt Brecht. Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht. Fragwürdiges in der Brechtforschung, Frankfurt, 1974.
- Kohlrausch, Robert, 'Schillers "Braut von Messina" und ihr Schauplatz', in Deutsche Rundschau, Bd.12, 1905, pp.118-127.
- Kommerell, Max, Lessing und Aristoteles. Untersuchung über die Theorie der Tragödie, Frankfurt/Main, 1957.
- Koopmann, Helmut, Friedrich Schiller, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1966.
- Koopmann, Helmut, Schillerforschung 1970-1980, Marbach, 1982.
- Koopmann, Helmut, 'Schillers "Wallenstein". Antiker Mythos und moderne Geschichte. Zur Begründung der klassischen Tragödie um 1800', in Allemann, B., Koppen, E. (eds), Teilnahme und Spiegelung, Berlin, 1975, pp.263-274.
- Korff, H.A., Geist der Goethezeit. Versuch einer ideellen Entwicklung der klassischen-romantischen Literaturgeschichte, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1922-1953.
- Kowatzki, Irmgard, Der Begriff des Spiels als ästhetisches Phänomen von Schiller bis Benn, Berne, Frankfurt/Main, 1973.

- Kraft, H., Um Schiller betrogen, Pfullingen, 1978.
- Kraft, H. (ed.), Streichers Schiller Biographie, Mannheim, Vienna, Zürich, 1974.
- Kuckhoff, A.G., 'Schiller auf der Bühne. Schillers Werke und die moderne Bühnenpraxis', in Weimarer Beiträge, 5, Sonderheft, 1959, pp.210-230.
- Kuntz, Marietta, Schillers Theaterpraxis, Zürich, 1979.
- Lampport, F.J., Lessing and the Drama, Oxford, 1981.
- Lampport, F.J., 'The Silence of Wilhelm Tell', in Modern Language Review, 76, 1981, pp.857-868.
- Lange, Victor, The Classical Age of German Literature 1740-1815, London, 1982.
- Latzel, Sigbert, 'Zu Schillers Vernunftauffassung', in Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch, 13, 1972, pp.41-69.
- Leder, Lily, 'Schillers Mitarbeit am Weimarer Theater', in Theater der Zeit, 11, H.3, 1956, pp.24-29.
- Leistner, Bernd, ' " Ich habe deinen edlern Teil nicht retten können". Zu Schillers Trauerspiel "Maria Stuart" ', in Zeitschrift für Germanistik, 2, 1981, pp.166-181.
- Longyear, R.M., Schiller and Music, North Carolina, 1966.
- Lukacs, Georg, Goethe und seine Zeit, Berne, 1947.
- Lukacs, Georg, Werke, vols. 5 and 6, Neuwied, 1964.
- Mann, P.H., 'Surveying a Theatre Audience: Methodological Problems', in British Journal of Sociology, 17,4, 1966, pp.380-387.
- Mann, Thomas, Versuch über Schiller, Berlin, Frankfurt/Main, 1955.
- Mann, Thomas, 'Versuch über das Theater', in Mann, Thomas, Rede und Antwort, Berlin, 1922, pp.18-66.
- Mann, Thomas, 'Ansprache im Schillerjahr 1955', in Mann, Thomas, Schiller in unserer Zeit, Weimar, 1955, pp.5-22.
- Markwardt, B. 'Schillers Kunstanschauung im Verhältnis zu seinem Kunstschaffen', in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität Greifswald, 4, 1954-5, pp.259-283.
- Martini, Fritz, 'Demetrius', in Hinderer, W. (ed.), Schillers Dramen. Neue Interpretationen, Stuttgart, 1979, pp.316-347.
- Martini, Fritz, ' Wilhelm Tell, der ästhetische Staat und der ästhetische Mensch', in Der Deutschunterricht, 7, H.2, 1960, pp.90-118.
- Martino, Alberto, Geschichte der dramatischen Theorien in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert, Tübingen, 1972.

- Mastrorade, D.J., Some Conventions of Speech and Action on the Greek Tragic Stage, Berkley, 1979.
- Matt, Peter von, 'Das literarische Gespenst "klassisches Drama" ', in Merkur, 30, 1976, pp.732-733.
- May, Kurt, Friedrich Schiller. Idee und Wirklichkeit im Drama, Göttingen, 1948.
- Mayer, Hans, Bertolt Brecht und die Tradition, Pfullingen, 1961.
- Mayer, Hans, 'Johanna oder die Vernunft des Herzens. Über die Jeanne d'Arc Stücke von Schiller, Shaw und Brecht', in Theater heute, 9, 1968, pp.22-27.
- Mayer, Hans, 'Dem Wahren, Guten, Schönen . Epilog zur Schiller-Feier 1959', in Zeller, B. (ed.), Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959, Stuttgart, 1961, pp.159-169.
- McMillen Conger, Syndy, 'Hans Robert Jauß's "Rezeptionsästhetik" and England's Reception of eighteenth-century German Literature', in The Eighteenth Century, 22, 1, 1981, pp.74-93.
- Meier, Albert, 'Der Grieche, die Natur und die Geschichte. Ein Motivzusammenhang in Schillers Briefen "Über die ästhetische Erziehung" und "Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung" ', in JDSG, 29, 1985, pp.113-124.
- Mendelsohn, E., Seidel, M. (eds), Homer to Brecht. The European Epic and Dramatic Traditions, New Haven, London, 1977.
- Menz, Egon, 'Nichtaristotelisches Theater?', in Fruchtblätter, Berlin, 1977, pp.171-192.
- Middell, Eike, Friedrich Schiller. Leben und Werk, 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1982.
- Miller, R.D., Schiller and the Ideal of Freedom, Oxford, 1970.
- Minor, J., (ed.), Aus dem Schillerarchiv. Ungedrucktes und Unbekanntes zu Schillers Leben und Schriften, vol. 1, Weimar 1890.
- Mittenzwei, Werner, 'Brecht und die Probleme der deutschen Klassik', in Sinn und Form, 25, 1973, pp.135-168.
- Mittenzwei, Werner, 'Über den Sinn der Tradition im welt-revolutionären Prozeß: Brechts Verhältnis zur Tradition', in Brecht Heute, 3, 1973, pp.1-18.
- Moore, W.G., 'A New Reading of "Wilhelm Tell" ', in German Studies presented to Professor H.G.Fiedler, Oxford, 1938, pp.278-292.
- Müller, Gerd, 'Brechts "Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe" und Schillers "Jungfrau von Orleans". Zur Auseinandersetzung des modernen Theaters mit der klassischen Tradition', in Orbis Litterarum, 14, 1969, pp.182-200.
- Müller, Joachim, 'Dramatisches und episches Theater', in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich Schiller Universität Jena, 8, 1958-9, pp.365-377.

- Müller-Seidel, Walter, 'Episches im Theater der deutschen Klassik. Eine Betrachtung über Schillers Wallenstein', in JDSG, 20, 1976, pp.338-386.
- Müller-Seidel, Walter, Die Geschichtlichkeit der deutschen Klassik. Literatur und Denkformen um 1800, Stuttgart, 1983.
- Müller-Seidel, Walter (ed.), Historizität in Sprach-und Literaturwissenschaft. Vorträge und Berichte der Stuttgarter Germanistentagung 1972, Munich, 1974.
- Müller-Seidel, Walter, 'Die Idee des neuen Lebens: Eine Betrachtung über Schillers "Wallenstein" ', in Ganz, P.F. (ed.), The Discontinuous Tradition. Festschrift for E.L. Stahl, Oxford, 1971, pp.79-98.
- Muschg, Walter, Studien zur tragischen Literaturgeschichte, Berne, Munich, 1965.
- Neuland, Brunhild, 'Bemerkungen zur Funktion der Parodie in Brechts "Heilige Johanna" ', in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich Schiller Universität, 23, 1974, pp.119-123.
- Nicoll, Allardyce, The Theatre and Dramatic Theory, London, 1962.
- Nivelle, Armand, Kunst- und Dichtungstheorien zwischen Aufklärung und Klassik, Berlin, 1960.
- Norman, F. (ed.), Schiller Bicentenary Lectures, London, 1960.
- Oellers, N. (ed.), Schiller - Zeitgenosse aller Epochen. Dokumente zur Wirkungsgeschichte Schillers in Deutschland, Teil 1, (1782 - 1859), Frankfurt/Main, 1970.
- Ognjanov, Ljubomir, 'Brecht und das klassische Erbe', in Weimarer Beiträge, 9, H.1, 1963, pp.141-149.
- Pascal, R., German Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, London, 1968.
- Peacock, R., 'Drama and the Moral Connection', in Modern Language Review, 1983, pp.xxii-xxxii.
- Pellegrini, Alessandro, 'Theater und Chor', in Maske und Kothurn, 1, 1955, pp.268-274.
- Petersen, Julius, Schiller und die Bühne, Berlin, 1904.
- Phillips, Henry, The Theatre and its Critics in Seventeenth-century France, Oxford, 1980.
- Piedmont, F., 'Tendenzen moderner Schilleraufführungen 1965-1975', in JDSG, 11, 1977, pp.247-273.
- Poerschke, Karl, Das Theaterpublikum im Lichte der Soziologie und Psychologie, Emsdetten, 1951.
- Preisendanz, W., 'Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nachahmungsprinzip in Deutschland und die besondere Rolle der Romane Wielands', in Jauß, H.R. (ed.), Nachahmung und Illusion, 2nd edition, Gießen, 1969, pp.72-95.

- Prudhoe, John, The Theatre of Goethe and Schiller, Oxford, 1973.
- Pütz, Peter, 'Grundbegriffe der Interpretation von Dramen', in Hinck, Walter (ed.), Handbuch des deutschen Dramas, Düsseldorf, 1980, pp.11-25.
- Puknat, Siegfried B., 'Brecht and Schiller: Non-elective Affinities', in Modern Language Quarterly, 26, 1965, pp.558-570 .
- Rasch, W., 'Schein, Spiel und Kunst in der Anschauung Schillers', in Wirkendes Wort, 10, 1960, pp.2-13.
- Reed, T.J., 'Theatre, Enlightenment and Nation: A German Problem', in FMLS, 14, 1978, pp.143-164.
- Rehm, W., 'Schiller und das Barockdrama', in DVS 19, (1941), pp.311-353.
- Reinhardt, Hartmut, 'Schillers "Wallenstein" und Aristoteles', in JDSG, 20, 1976, pp.278-337.
- Reiss, T.J., Towards Dramatic Illusion, New Haven, 1971.
- Reuter, Hans-Heinrich, 'Die deutsche Klassik und das Problem Brechts', in Sinn und Form, 25, H.4, 1973, pp.809-824.
- Rippere, Vicky, Schiller and 'Alienation', Berne, Frankfurt/M., 1981.
- Rohrmoser, Günter, 'Zum Problem der ästhetischen Versöhnung', in Euphorion, 53, 1959, pp.351-366.
- Rothmann, Kurt, Kleine Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, 4th edition, Stuttgart, 1981.
- Rudloff-Hille, Gertrud, Schiller auf der deutschen Bühne seiner Zeit, Berlin, Weimar, 1969.
- Rudowski, V.A., Lessing's Aesthetica in Nuce, Chapel Hill, 1971.
- Rühle, Günther, 'Immer wieder Schiller?', in JDSG, 28, 1984, pp.483-498.
- Rühle, Günther, 'Das verkommene Verhältnis zu Schiller. Über die Verachtung seiner klassischen Stücke durch das deutsche Theater', in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 5.5.1982, p.25.
- Sallmann, Klaus, 'Schillers Pathos und die poetische Funktion des Pathetischen', in JDSG, 27, 1983, pp.222-234.
- Satori-Neumann, Bruno, Die Frühzeit des Weimarer Hoftheaters unter Goethes Leitung, Berlin, 1922.
- Satori-Neumann, Bruno, Die Weimarer Uraufführung der "Braut von Messina" nach den Quellen dargestellt, Berlin, 1929.
- Sauder, Gerhard, 'Die Jungfrau von Orleans', in Hinderer, W. (ed.), Schillers Dramen. Neue Interpretationen, Stuttgart, 1979, pp.217-241.

- Sautermeister, G., Idyllik und Dramatik im Werke Friedrich Schillers, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne, Mainz, 1971.
- Sautermeister, G., ' "Maria Stuart". Ästhetik, Seelenkunde, historisch-gesellschaftlicher Ort', in Hinderer, W. (ed.), Schillers Dramen. Neue Interpretationen, Stuttgart, 1979, pp.174-216.
- Schadewaldt, Wolfgang, 'Antikes und Modernes in Schillers "Braut von Messina" ', in JDSG, 13, 1969, pp.286-307.
- Schaefer, Kurt, ' "Demetrius" - pessimistische, ironische Wende bei Schiller?', in Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, 65, 1984, pp.84-102.
- Scharrer-Santen, Eduard, Die Weimarer Dramaturgie, Berlin, Leipzig, 1927.
- Schechner, R., 'Performance and the Social Sciences', in The Drama Review, 17, No.3, 1973, pp.3-24.
- Scherpe, Klaus, Gattungspoetik im 18. Jahrhundert. Historische Entwicklung von Gottsched bis Herder, Stuttgart, 1968.
- Schrumpf, Hans Joachim, 'Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet', in Günther, V.J., Koopmann, H. (eds), Untersuchungen zur Literatur als Geschichte. Festschrift für Benno von Wiese, 1973, pp.351-372.
- Schrumpf, Hans Joachim, Der Schriftsteller als öffentliche Person, Berlin, 1977.
- Schultz, H., 'Moralisch unmöglich', in Günther, V.J., Koopmann, H. (eds), Untersuchungen zur Literatur als Geschichte. Festschrift für Benno von Wiese, Berlin, 1973, pp.85-91.
- Schulz, Gerhard, 'Schillers "Wallenstein" zwischen den Zeiten', in Hinck, W. (ed.), Geschichte als Schauspiel, Frankfurt/Main, 1981, pp.116-132.
- Schulz, Gudrun, 'Klassikerbearbeitungen Bertolt Brechts. Aspekte zur "revolutionären Fortführung der Tradition" ', in Text und Kritik, Sonderband Bertolt Brecht II, 1973, pp.138-151.
- Schulz, Gudrun, Die Schillerbearbeitungen Bertolt Brechts. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Bezüge im Hinblick auf Brechts Traditionsbegriff, Tübingen, 1972.
- Schumacher, Ernst, 'Brecht und die deutsche Klassik. Zu einigen Aspekten des theoretischen Verhältnisses', in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, 18, H.1, 1969, pp.77-92.
- Scott, A.F., Current Literary Terms, 6th edition, London, Basingstoke, 1980.
- Seidel, Siegfried, 'Neue Positionen in der Theorie Schillers während der Arbeit am "Wallenstein" ', in Weimarer Beiträge, 5, (Sonderheft), 1959, pp.74-97.

- Seidler, Herbert, 'Schiller's "Braut von Messina" ', in Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch, N.F.1, 1960, pp.27-52.
- Sengle, Friedrich, ' "Die Braut von Messina" ', in Sengle, Friedrich, Arbeiten zur deutschen Literatur, Stuttgart, 1965, pp.94-117.
- Sharpe, L., Schiller and the Historical Character, Oxford, 1982.
- Siekmann, Andreas, Drama und sentimentales Bewußtsein. Zur klassischen Dramatik Schillers, Frankfurt, 1980.
- Silz, Walter, 'Chorus and Choral Function in Schiller', in Frey, F.R. (ed.), Schiller 1759-1959, Urbana, 1959, pp.147-170.
- Skrine, P., The Baroque. Literature and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Europe, London, 1978.
- Sokel, W.H., 'Brechts marxistischer Weg zur Klassik', in Grimm, R., Hermand, J. (eds), Die Klassikerlegende, Frankfurt/Main, 1971.
- Stahl, E.L., 'The Genesis of Schiller's Tragedy', in German Studies Presented to Professor H.G.Fiedler, Oxford, 1938, pp.403-423.
- Stahl, E.L., Friedrich Schiller's Drama: Theory and Practice, Oxford, 1954.
- Staiger, Emil, Grundbegriffe der Poetik, Zürich, 1946, reprinted 1971.
- Staiger, Emil, Die Kunst der Interpretation, 2nd edition, Zürich, 1955.
- Staiger, Emil, Friedrich Schiller, Zürich, 1967.
- Stockum, Th.C. von, 'Deutsche Klassik und antike Tragödie. Schillers Braut von Messina, ein gelungener Versuch der Neubelebung der antiken Tragödie', in Stockum, Th.C. von, Von Fr. Nicolai bis Thomas Mann, Groningen, 1962, pp.118-135.
- Storz, Gerhard, Der Dichter Friedrich Schiller, Stuttgart, 1959, 3rd edition, 1963.
- Storz, Gerhard, ' "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" ', in Wiese, B. v. (ed.), Das deutsche Drama, Interpretationen, vol. 1, Düsseldorf, 1964, pp.322-358.
- Storz, Gerhard, 'Kunst und Wirklichkeit im Klassizismus. Betrachtungen zu Schillers "Jungfrau von Orleans" ', in Frankfurter Hefte, 1, H.6, 1946, pp.42-50.
- Storz, Gerhard, 'Schillers Weg zur Klassik,', in Storz, G., Klassik und Romantik, Mannheim, 1972, pp.72-74.
- Stubenrauch, H., 'Schiller und die Schauspieler ', in JDSG, 2, 1958, pp.43-59.
- Styan, J.L., The Elements of Drama, 2nd edition, London, 1967.
- Subiotto, A., 'Bertolt Brecht and the Dialectic of Tradition', in FMLS, 2, 1966, pp.123-140.

- Swearingen, James, 'Philosophy, Hermeneutics and the Renewal of Tradition', in The Eighteenth Century, 22, 3, 1981, pp.191-221.
- Teller, J., 'Sturz vom letzten Gipfel. "Demetrius" ', in Dahnke, H. D., Leistner, B. (eds), Schiller. Das dramatische Werk in Einzelinterpretationen, Leipzig, 1982, pp.268-296.
- Thalheim, Hans-Günter, 'Schillers Dramen von Maria Stuart bis Demetrius', in Weimarer Beiträge, 20, H.1, 1974, (Teil 1), pp.5-33, in Weimarer Beiträge, 20, H.2, 1974, (Teil 2), pp.99-130.
- Turk, Horst, 'Wirkungsästhetik: Aristoteles, Lessing, Schiller, Brecht. Theorie und Praxis einer politischen Hermeneutik', in JDSG, 17, 1973, pp.519-531.
- Ueding, Gert, ' "Wilhelm Tell" ', in Hinderer, W. (ed.), Schillers Dramen. Neue Interpretationen, Stuttgart, 1979, pp.271-293.
- Uhde, A., 'Die Jugendzeit der deutschen Bühne', in Grenzboten II, 35, 1876, pp.41-57.
- Utz, Peter, 'Auge, Ohr und Herz. Schillers Dramaturgie der Sinne', in JDSG, 19, 1985, pp.62-97.
- Utz, Peter, Die ausgehöhlte Gasse. Stationen der Wirkungsästhetik von Schillers "Wilhelm Tell", Königstein/Ts., 1984.
- Voges, Rosemarie, Das Ästhetische und die Erziehung. Werdegang einer Idee, Munich, 1979.
- Wälterlin, Oskar, Schiller und das Publikum, Diss., Basel, 1918.
- Waldeck, M.L., 'Further Thoughts on the Genesis of a Key Concept in Schiller's Aesthetic Thinking', in FMLS, 12, 1976, pp.304-313.
- Wellbery, D.E., Lessing's "Laocoon": Semiotics and Aesthetics in the Age of Reason, Cambridge, 1984.
- Wellek, R., A History of Modern Criticism 1750-1950, 2 vols., New Haven, 1955.
- Wells, George A., 'Astrology in Schillers Wallenstein', JEGP, 68, 1969, pp.100-115.
- Wells, George A., 'Fate, Tragedy and Schiller's "Braut von Messina"', in JEGP, 64, 1965, pp.191-212.
- Werner, Richard Maria, 'Schiller und Gryphius', in Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, 5, Erg. Bd., 1905, pp.60-63.
- Werner, Richard Maria, 'Maria Stuarts Abschied von Leicester', in Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, 5, Erg.Bd., 1905, pp.63-68.
- Wiese, B. von, 'Bemerkungen über epische und dramatische Strukturen bei Schiller', in JDSG, 2, 1958, pp.60-67.
- Wiese, B. von, Der Dramatiker Friedrich Schiller und sein Verhältnis zur Bühne, Münster, 1955.

- Wiese, B. von, Friedrich Schiller, 3rd edition, Stuttgart, 1963.
- Wiese, B. von, ' "Wallenstein" ', in Wiese, B.v., Das deutsche Drama vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart, vol.1, Düsseldorf, 1964, pp.271-306.
- Wilkinson, E.M., 'Friedrich Schiller und die Idee der Aufklärung', in JDSG, 4, 1960, pp.42-59.
- Wilkinson, E.M., J.E.Schlegel. A German Pioneer in Aesthetics, Oxford, 1945.
- Wilkinson, E.M., 'Über den Begriff der künstlerischen Distanz von Schiller und Wordsworth bis zur Gegenwart', in Deutsche Beiträge zur geistigen Überlieferung, 3, Berne, 1957, pp.66-88.
- Wilkinson, E.M., Willoughby, L.A., ' "The Whole Man " in Schiller's Theory of Culture and Society. On the Virtue of a Plurality of Models', in Praver S., Thomas R., Forster L. (eds), Essays in German Language, Culture and Society, London, 1969, pp.177-210.
- Willoughby, L.A., 'Schiller on Man's Education to Freedom through Knowledge', in Germanic Review, 29, 1954, pp.163-174.
- Wilpert, Gero von, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, 5th revised edition, Stuttgart, 1969.
- Winckler, Lutz, 'Einschüchterung durch die Klassizität', in Faust Blätter, 33, 1977, pp.1310-1314.
- Wittkowski, Wolfgang (ed.), Friedrich Schiller. Kunst, Humanität und Politik in der späten Aufklärung, Tübingen, 1982.
- Wittkowski, W., 'Octavio Piccolomini. Zur Schaffensweise des Wallenstein - Dichters', in JDSG, 5, 1961, pp.10-57.
- Wittkowski, W., 'Theodizee oder Nemesistragödie? Schillers Wallenstein zwischen Hegel und politischer Ethik', in Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts, 1980, pp.177-237.
- Wölfel, S., 'Zur Geschichtlichkeit des Autonomiebegriffs', in Müller-Seidel, W. (ed.), Historizität in Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Munich, 1974, pp.563-577.
- Wellheim, Richard, 'Art and Illusion', in British Journal of Aesthetics 13, 1963, pp.15-37.
- Zeller, B. (ed.), Schiller. Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959, Stuttgart, 1961.
- Zmegac, Viktor, 'Einfühlung und Abstraktion. Brecht als Antipode Schillers', in Sinn und Form, 17, 3-4, 1965, pp.517-528.