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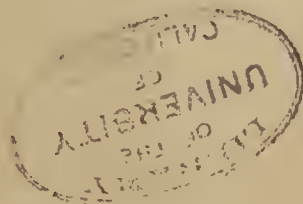
# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORIC DRAMA

ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE:  
A STUDY BASED CHIEFLY ON THE DRAMAS OF ELIZABETHAN  
ENGLAND AND OF GERMANY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES)



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BY

LOUISE MALLINCKRODT KUEFFNER



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The Fourth Part of this study, which will be concerned with the development of the historic drama in its practice, will not be published as part of this dissertation. The whole will appear, as soon as may be, in the form of a book planned not only for the scholar, but also for the general student who is interested in problems of literary evolution.





## INTRODUCTION

Within the last century the drama and the theory of the drama have undergone a complete revolution. If one passes in thought from the classic plays of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, to certain plays of Ibsen, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, and Gorky, one is compelled to confess that the sphere and the technique of the drama have been enormously broadened.

If one were to characterize the development in a word, one could say that it represents one side of the advance of realism, and that, with realism, it is the result of the great movement "toward democracy." Thus we find the interest passing from great kings and heroes, more and more to the middle class, and finally to the most lowly of all, the proletariat. Instead of typical, universally human characterization, we have realistic individualization; in place of a problem of private and individual psychology, we find often the presentation of a great movement that affects whole masses. Instead of plot produced by a few consciously calculating individuals, individuals isolated, powerful, unaffected by an environment or atmosphere, we have a complex resultant of many and not always consciously calculating wills. Motivation from scene to scene and action to action, from character to catastrophe, has become less visibly logical, and is more complex, as well as more subtle in sweep. The conception of the historic drama, in particular, a type never before adequately realized and analyzed, has received new development both in theory and in practice.

The influence of realism on the conception of all literary forms is shown in the case of the historic drama in a growing desire to comprehend and use history honestly, to interpret individuals, their deeds, and events, without alteration for subjective purposes, by giving what has actually been, not the beautiful, or sublime, or supersensual. Events are presented in their natural sequence, and not as fitted into a rationally motivated scheme, such as the old one of guilt and retribution; they are seen to vindicate themselves by actual occurrence according to a large historic necessity, and a causal connection so complex that there is room for what seems like chance. Moreover, the modern genetic conception of history, which has been developed particularly since the French Revolution, and which sees events as the product of complicated mass action, has succeeded the older pragmatic conception which represented an historic event as the clear and direct result of the conscious calculation of a few definitely willing individuals. This new method of interpreting

history is reflected in the drama in the giving of *milieu*, and in the presenting of the plot as the complex product of the diverse willings of many. Definite mass background is given, also, in order to make manifest the inevitable determining of the character of the hero by his environment.

In the writing of history the pragmatic treatment of it has been transformed, and almost absorbed, in the genetic treatment. As regards the writing of historic drama, however, the tyranny of the old type of the Aristotelian "tragedy," or rationalistic individualist character-drama, still prevails, and makes it difficult for men to enter into the conception of the corporate, or historic movement type, with its more epic technique. By individualist character-drama I mean the drama of private interest, of typical characterization, of visible logical motivation, and of the guilt-and-retribution conception of the fate-power. In the corporate type, on the other hand, the main interest and point of departure are not the private psychological, universally human experience of a chief character or two developed according to the guilt, recompense, and *catharsis* formula, but an historic movement, in which large and opposing and equally justified forces clash and produce, inevitably, in accordance with historic necessity, events of wide social concern.

If one calls to mind dramas that deal with historic subjects—dramas, for instance, of Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Kleist, Grillparzer, Grabbe, Hebbel, Ludwig, Ibsen, Hauptmann—one appreciates at once that they are of infinite variety, so that it seems almost impossible to define "historic drama." The great variety has been produced because the interest of the drama lies now more in individual psychology, now in mass movement; because the figures show either typical characterization or definite individualization; because the plot-construction is marked either by simplicity or complexity; and because the dominant mood of the drama is now optimistic, now pessimistic.

One sees at once that the desire to present history in dramatic form has been in constant conflict with the desire to write a "tragedy."

One sees also that the historic dramas of different times have reflected various stages in the understanding of history; that, indeed, they embody the conceptions that men have had of the motive force behind the events of history. In other words, the drama of history has been parallel to, and dependent on, the stages of the philosophy of history.

It is therefore no wonder that historic dramas have shown such great differences. Nor is it a wonder that the function of history in the drama has caused such infinite and contradictory discussion, and that the historic drama has never been adequately comprehended and vindicated as a dis-

tinct species, with origin, nature, purpose, and laws of its own, different, especially in its non-pragmatic, non-individualistic types, from those of the "tragedy."

Almost every writer of historic drama has had his tug with the question, as have also the critics. Especially since Lessing, since the acquaintance of the Germans with Shakespeare, and since Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*, theory and practice, as regards the historic drama, have been abundant.

In the poet's struggle with the problem, the historic interest has too often suffered because the theory existed, and still exists, first, that unless the development of an inner private psychological experience of a few chief characters is depicted, and that unless these characters are presented as human struggling individuals with some kind of a love-interest, and not as political forces, the resulting drama could have no interest; and secondly, because the theory holds that unless the plot, with its catastrophe, a single logically developed action, is seen to be the visible result of conflict of character, the result is not drama. Therefore the task of presenting true history has again and again been relegated to the historian; and again and again, man's inherent interest in definite historic actuality, and his ineradicable desire to see history dramatically presented before his very eyes, has produced ever new attempts at historic drama, and new discussions of its theory.

The following study, which is based chiefly on the dramas of Elizabethan England and of Germany, will

I, examine the theoretic discussion which shows the struggle with the problem, and also the various adumbrations of a conception of a drama honestly historic in aim, adumbrations constantly obscured by the desire to write a "tragedy";

II, give a classification of various types of historic dramas;

III, analyze more particularly the nature and the technique of what I have called the corporate movement-drama, and of the symbolic process-drama;

IV, study the practice of the historic drama with especial reference to these two types.

Inasmuch as writers of historic dramas reflect at every point the various conceptions that men have had of the historic process, it is necessary, before passing to the consideration of the subjects mentioned above, to give a somewhat explicit account of historic method.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an outline of the interpretations of history see especially Ernst Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, and his *Geschichtsforschung und Geschichtsphilosophie*.

The earliest or "recitative" method of writing history is the result of "the naïve interest in remarkable human fatalities, which is characteristic of man in consequence of his curiosity and imagination."<sup>1</sup> The pleasure here is in historic anecdote for its own sake; there is no attempt at accurate causal motivation. This method is found in Herodotus, largely,<sup>2</sup> and in the historic chronicles of the age of Shakespeare.

Although the recitative method will always have a place in the writing of history, it was early overshadowed by the "pragmatic" method. The pragmatic method was characterized by the conception of history as the result of the definite calculation of a few striking personalities; these personalities were represented as being actuated by psychological motives, motives which were personal and at the same time universally human. Moreover, they were apprehended as representative types of human character, not as definite individuals, and this made it possible to deduce lessons for general political action. This is the method brilliantly illustrated in Thucydides<sup>3</sup> and in Tacitus. It found its climax in the age of rationalism. Dilthey says that this pragmatic method regards "individuals as the only empirically deducible causes of events," and that it "considers these striking individuals not from the point of view of forces unconsciously effective in them; but from the point of view of conscious purpose and plan, in short, of rational activity devoted principally to the furthering of personal interests."<sup>4</sup> Lamprecht says, "Inasmuch as it was impossible

*sophie*; Dilthey, "Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und die geschichtliche Welt," *Die deutsche Rundschau* (1901); Giesebrecht, "Entwicklung der modernen deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift* (1859), I, 1-17; Droysen, *Grundriss der Historik*; Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History in France, Belgium, and Switzerland*; Rickert, "Geschichtsphilosophie," in *Die Philosophien im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*; Lamprecht, *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft*; Menckel-Glueckert, *Goethe als Geschichtsphilosoph*. See also Hegel's *Philosophie des Rechts*, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, *Phaenomenologie*, *Aesthetik*. Compare also Poetzsch, *Studien zur fruehromantischen Politik und Geschichtsauffassung*.

<sup>1</sup> Bernheim, *Historische Methode*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Even in Herodotus the Persian War is related as a story of punished pride. See Part I.

<sup>3</sup> In Thucydides the stories of single characters as well as the story of the Peloponnesian War are also fashioned in such a way as to fit into the "tragedy" mold of punished Hybris. See Part I. Compare Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. The pragmatic purpose appears clearly in the words of Thucydides' Introduction: "I shall be satisfied if the facts are pronounced to be useful by those who shall desire to know clearly what has happened in the past, and the sort of things that are likely, so far as man can foresee, to happen again in the future."

<sup>4</sup> *Deutsche Rundschau* (1901).

to show the inter-connection of the entire psychical processes of an age, the tendency arose, to regard the great intellectual phenomena as the result of the activity of a few definite individualities."<sup>1</sup> Bernheim, finally, writes, "'Pragmatics' easily comes to overestimate the power of personal motives in the shaping of history, and thus overlooks the others; . . . so that in the end the fortunes of thrones and nations are imagined to be dependent upon the whims of ladies' maids." He also calls attention to the fact that this method lends itself readily to didactic purposes, and that it has been used particularly for the promulgation of patriotism. He finds that it has flourished chiefly at times when the power and caprice of the single individual, such as an absolute ruler, seem to shape the destiny of nations.<sup>2</sup>

This pragmatic method has given way, since Herder, Goethe,<sup>3</sup> and the German Romanticists of the early nineteenth century, to the "genetic" method of comprehending the processes of history.

The period following the French Revolution represents a new era for historians. Approval and reaction both fed the desire to find a law in this fearful, seemingly unmotivated, cataclysm. The very failure of some of the ideas of the Revolution, which the few, the "rational" individuals, had attempted to foist on the people, caused the defeat of rationalism. The great quarrel concerning the justification of "natural right," which had been proclaimed by the rationalists, or of "traditional right," which was the outcome of slow organic growth, reached its culmination. In spite of reactionism, the will of the great mass of the people was being awakened; peasants were freed from serfdom; soldiers were no longer sold; and slowly came the advance toward constitutionalism. All this helped to transform men's conceptions of history.

Historic process was now seen to be a gradual growth produced by the cumulative, unconscious effort of an infinite number of individuals, as well as by natural, racial, economic, social, cultural, and political causes. It was recognized that in this process the striking personalities, who had formerly been thought to be the real movers of events, counted only as "focalized embodiments" of the forces of the *milieu* that stood behind them. It was clearly seen that the characters and actions of the individuals—the "focalized embodiments" of the forces behind them—were thus determined inevitably, and that they therefore had little power or

<sup>1</sup> Lamprecht, "Ueber die Entwicklungsstufen der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, V, VI.

<sup>2</sup> Bernheim, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Mencke-Glueckert, *Goethe als Geschichtsphilosophi*.

freedom or autonomy in the old sense. The realization of law, of the causal connection of all phenomena, of the absolute continuity of history, a continuity not even disturbed by the irruption of human volition, has permeated, more and more, this genetic conception of the historic process.

Furthermore, the actual operation of this law of continuity could be conceived as taking place in either of two ways. One class of thinkers, as Vico, Montesquieu, the later Goethe,<sup>1</sup> Compté, Lamprecht,<sup>2</sup> accepted causality, but without the accentuation of a conscious teleological aim on the part of a transcendent planner; they endeavored to formulate laws of historic process analagous to the laws discovered for the physical sciences. Another class, Herder, on the whole, Kant, Schiller, and most dominantly, Hegel, viewed the "world-history" as the conscious advance of the "world-spirit."

No conception has had as great an influence in the molding of historic thought as Hegel's, and it is so abundantly illustrated in historic dramas that it is necessary to dwell a little fully on Hegel's thought. Hegel conceived of an historic epoch as a movement, a movement which is the resultant of complex opposing forces that are in each case historically justified. This movement is to him merely a step in the inevitable advance of the "world-spirit" which uses the individuals, the organs of their age, as instruments in the accomplishment of its aim, the growth in the consciousness of freedom. In exposition of this Hegelian or "catastrophic" conception Droysen says that it

shows various forms, tendencies, interests, parties, each with some right on its side, engaged in a battle, wherein the higher thought, whose elements or sides display themselves in the parties contending in the struggle, justifies and fulfils itself by vanquishing and reconciling them.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the individual he writes,

Things take their course in spite of the will, good or bad, of those through whom they come to pass. The continuity of history, its work and its advance, lies in the moral potencies.<sup>4</sup> In these potencies all have part, each in his place. Through them, mediately, even the meanest and poorest participates in the life of history. But even the most highly endowed man, strongest of will and most

<sup>1</sup> Mencke-Glueckert, *Goethe als Geschichtsphilosoph*.

<sup>2</sup> See Bernheim's characterization of Lamprecht's method, Bernheim, *op. cit.*, 660. See also Mencke-Glueckert, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Droysen, 52-53 (in the translation).

<sup>4</sup> By moral potency is meant a conception which is felt by men to have moral value as an ideal, and which consequently acts as an incentive of action and is therefore a determinant of historic development.



exalted in power, is only an element in this movement of the moral potencies, though always, in his place, specially characteristic and efficient. In this rôle only does historic investigation view any man, not for his own sake, but on account of the idea whose bearer he was.<sup>1</sup>

Although Hegel's formula, with its a priori disposition of the moments of concrete history, was overworked, and consequently ridiculed during the reaction against Hegel, still his conception of the manner of the historic march, his recognition of freedom as the greatest of the moral potencies that produce historic advance, and finally, his postulation of a state in which individualism and collectivism, freedom and necessity, should be reconciled, have been essentially rehabilitated. Heinrich Rickert says in his article on the "Philosophy of History" in the volume entitled *The Philosophy of the Twentieth Century*,

For the rest, Hegel's philosophy of history moves entirely in conceptions which grow naturally out of immanent historic life. The great problem with which the philosophy of history of our time must concern itself, is the question as to the possibility of finding, on the basis of the idealism founded by Kant, and with full recognition of the results of modern science, a value or moral potency which can serve as a central conception from which universal history may be treated philosophically. Starting from such a standpoint, one could arrive at a philosophy of history which would take into consideration the historic knowledge of our day, but which would in principle—notwithstanding differences of content—show the same formal structure as the systems of Fichte and Hegel.<sup>2</sup>

These ideas concerning the processes of history imply, moreover, a feeling of fatalism produced by the realization that the individual is determined by heredity, by the influences that come to him from the past and from the present, a feeling of fatalism contained, also, in the belief that the "world-spirit" uses all individuals, good and evil, in the working out of its great aim, and that the evil individuals are necessary to the accomplishment of this purpose. This is the "cunning of Reason," Hegel says, that it lets the individuals, the "passions," work for itself.<sup>3</sup>

The genetic conception of history has entailed, also, an entirely new attitude of historic justice and objectivity. A developed power of imaginative sympathy, and reverence for that which is individual, make it possible to feel the value of each age, of each people; and the rationalist's contempt of every age that had preceded his own age of enlightenment has given way to a Ranke's sympathetic appreciations of all times and peoples. It

<sup>1</sup> Droysen, 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Philosophie im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, 125, 131.

<sup>3</sup> Hegel, *Einleitung zur Philosophie der Geschichte*.

was the early Romanticists of Germany who first insisted that the "historically finite phenomenon should, it is true, be considered in its connection with the whole, but should in no way be robbed of its individual value."<sup>1</sup>

In concluding this sketch of historic method, a few authoritative definitions of present-day writers on the subject are quoted. In these definitions the science of history, which deals with the presentation of concrete historic events, is carefully distinguished from the philosophy of history, which aims to interpret the concrete facts by disengaging their underlying laws.

Rickert says that the true aim of the historian is, not to study events for their typical and pragmatic value, but to endeavor "to grasp a movement in its singleness and never-returning individuality";<sup>2</sup> similarly, he finds that the purpose of the science of history is "the presentation of the development of civilization as it occurs only once."<sup>3</sup> According to Lamprecht, historic life is seen to be the "process by which the potential force of the individual psychology as well as the corporate psychology of large human communities transforms itself into concrete reality."<sup>4</sup> Bernheim, finally, declares "Historic science is the science which studies the evolution of men in their (single as well as typical and collective) activities as social beings, and which presents this evolution in its causal continuity."<sup>5</sup>

Of the aim of the philosophy of history Rickert writes,

One tries to show, first, how large a part history has already embodied of the moral potencies, whose existence as determining factors in the development has been substantiated by philosophic criticism; and secondly, one tries to show which have been the great epochs of such embodiment. In this way one is able to comprehend where, in the march of development, we stand today, and where we must find our problem for the future.<sup>6</sup>

The chief points, then, that are important in the modern conceptions of history are first, the realization of absolute causal connection; secondly, the question of teleology in this causal connection; thirdly, the careful determination of the relations between mass power and individual power in molding events; fourthly, the question of the determinism or of the freedom of the individual; fifthly, the growth of historic objectivity and of the just appreciation of all forms of civilization; and sixthly, the apprehension of historic figures as definite individuals, not as types.

<sup>1</sup> Poetzsch, *Studien zur fruehromantischen Politik und Geschichtsauffassung*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> "Geschichtsphilosophie," *Die Philosophie im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>5</sup> Bernheim, *op. cit.*, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Lamprecht, *Moderne Geschichte*.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, 133.

All of these points are reflected in the various historic dramas, and in the discussions concerning the function of history in the drama. Moreover, although indeed many of the historic dramas show a crossing of influences, yet it is possible to recognize that the chief types of historic drama correspond to the recitative, the pragmatic, and the genetic methods of interpreting concrete history, and to the point of view illustrated in the philosophy of history.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A similar phenomenon can be traced in historic novels. Cf., for instance, the novels of Walter Scott and his followers in Germany, Riehl's *Culturgeschichtliche Novellen*; Viebig's *Das schlafende Heer*; Meyer's *Angela Borgia*; Barthels' *Die Dithmarschen*.

## PART I

### DEDUCTION OF THE CHIEF PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORIC DRAMA ON THE BASIS OF THEORETICAL DISCUSSION ON THE RELATION BETWEEN HISTORY AND THE DRAMA<sup>1</sup>

Greece had no drama in which the historic event or the historic picture or personality were the *raison d'être*. Aeschylus' *Persians*, the only extant play on an historic subject, was not essentially different from non-historic dramas, and presented merely the typical tale of punished pride. Accordingly, Aristotle's dramaturgical program shows no comprehension of the use of history in the drama. Thus he says "that it is not the province of the drama to relate what has actually happened, but what may happen," and that poetry speaks of the "universal," history alone of the "particular."<sup>2</sup>

The drama of Rome is similar to that of Greece; in spite of the *tragoediae pretextae* on subjects such as Cato, Brutus, Nero, Octavia, it produced no play historic in aim, and no new theory. *Octavia*, the only play of this type that is extant, is again, in spite of its references to events of imperial Roman history, only a play whose theme is that of the typical suffering of a typical character; there is no attempt at definite individualization.

The Chronicle History plays that were written in England during the sixteenth century represent the first manifestation of real historic drama. In spirit, as in technique, they differ entirely from the "tragedy." They consciously show a decided interest in events because they were supposed to be "true," especially if they were strange as well as true. Thus many of them are advertised in the titles as being a "true tragedy," or a "true chronicle history," of this or that interesting personality.<sup>3</sup> These plays are always a strange

<sup>1</sup> In the following discussion the endeavor is made to draw conclusions from the theories of the dramatists, not from their practice; hence the lack of congruity between theory and practice is not, where it occurs, taken into consideration. On the other hand, the practice, in so far as it illuminates the theory, is constantly kept in mind.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, ix, xxiii, xv.

<sup>3</sup> For expression of this spirit see the use of the word "true" in titles and advertisements of plays: *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*; *The True Chronicle Historie of King Leir*. As late as 1634 Ford commends *Perkin Warbeck* as a "strange truth." In the case of the legendary Lear, it must be remembered that his story was at that time considered true history.

mixture of historic and pseudo-historic elements; of interest in true historic events, and in romance, adventure, horseplay, passion, and blood and thunder.<sup>1</sup> In this respect they very largely resemble the historic writing of their day, with its recitative, or at most, pragmatic spirit.<sup>2</sup> Hence it is natural that no theoretical discussion accompanied the naïve creation of these plays, that the writers of them had little conception of deeper causal connection or of unified organization of the material, and that their conception of history, as well as of the function of history in the drama, is entirely crude.

For a long time the spirit and technique of the Chronicle play dominated dramatic creation. The epic structure was popularly used in dramatizing antique and foreign, as well as English, history. Such is the case in Marlowe's *Massacre of Paris*, and in Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*. Gradually, however, this structure came to be tabooed, and Ford, when he tried to renew the species in his *Perkin Warbeck*, felt an apology necessary. Thus he defends his use of the Chronicle technique in the words "We cannot limit scenes, for the whole land Itself appeared too narrow to withstand Competitors for kingdoms."<sup>3</sup> The old Chronicle spirit is shown in his advertisement of this play as "A History known, Famous, and true."<sup>4</sup> Ford's interest, however, is a belated phenomenon. The old historic spirit and the epic technique that had been characteristic of the Chronicle Histories became ever rarer.

It is true that after the sixteenth century the custom of making historic personalities the heroes of dramas became very common in every country; but this frequent choice of historic subject, even when taken from contemporary history, as in the case of Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallenstein*, or Gryphius' *Carolus Stuardus*, is no longer due, usually and in the main, to genuine historic interest. It is due, rather, to the tradition, and possibly to the belief, fostered by the example of the supposedly Senecan *Octavia*, and by a misunderstood Aristotle, that the heroes of tragedies should be distinguished personalities whose lives have shown reversals of fortune, reversals merited, usually, in consequence of overweening pride. Thus this theme of punished Hybris, which had seemed to the antique world the essentially tragic theme, and which had acted as a formative principle in

<sup>1</sup> On the English historic drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see especially Schelling, *The English Chronicle Plays*, and *The Elizabethan Drama*. For a fuller discussion cf. below, Part IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Prologue to *Perkin Warbeck*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

the antique arrangement of dramatic as well as of historic writing, became a favorite theme, also, of modern historic writing and of the modern drama.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the Senecan structure, and the dicta of Aristotle that the poet deals not with what has actually happened, but with that which might logically happen; with personalities conceived as types, not as particular individuals; and with the sufferings and fortitude incident upon the reversals of fortune of distinguished individuals—these were universally accepted. Such was the case in France, especially after the example of Corneille, whose *Discours* concerning dramatic technique were written in 1638, and thence in European countries generally. For this reason the discussion of the province of history in the drama is rare before the time of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, a time when a new efflorescence of the drama coincided with the new movement in the conception of history.

Sidney writes in his *Apologie for Poetrie* (1581), "Tragedie is tied to the laws of Poesie, and not of Historie, [and is] not bound to follow the storie, but having liberty . . . to frame the historie to its most tragically convenience." He merely revoices Aristotle.<sup>2</sup> There is no discussion in Ben Jonson's *Timber*, although his *Sejanus* (1603) and his *Catiline* (1611) show conscious effort at archaeological accuracy in the use of facts given by the Roman historians. Chapman, in his "Epistle Dedicatory" to the *Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (1604), says distinctly that historic truth is not his object. "And for the authentic truth of either person or action, who . . . will expect it in a poem whose subject is not truth, but things like truth?" He thinks that the purpose of tragedy is instruction, especially instruction in the virtue of loyalty. Dryden says nothing on the point in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1667), nor in the *Defense*; but in the "Vindication" of his drama *The Duke of Guise*, he remarks that "where the action is remarkable and the very words related, the poet is not at liberty to change them much."<sup>3</sup> In *The Tragedies of the Last Age*, John Rymer (1678) demands that the plots of tragedy should be taken from history. Yet the history given in the heroic plays to which he refers is notoriously false. Addison, in the *Spectator* of 1711, in his discussion of tragedy, does not mention

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Mirror for Magistrates*; Chapman's plays on the *Duke of Byron*, *Bussy d'Ambois*; Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*; Fletcher and Massinger's *Jan van Olden Barnevelt*; Glaphorne's *Albertus Wallenstein*, and many others.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, 35 ff., 64.

<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless this drama has political purpose, and illustrates the pragmatic tendency to base political intrigue on the love and hate motives of the boudoir. See also Courthope, II, 431 ff.

the point.<sup>1</sup> The only recognition of the historic drama as a distinct species with a distinctive technique is found in Samuel Johnson's criticisms of Shakespeare's Histories in his *Preface to Shakespeare*, written in 1768. He here defines a History as a "series of actions, with no other than chronological succession, independent of each other." He says of the history that, "as it had no plan, it had no limits," and adds that the histories, being "neither tragedies nor comedies, are not subject to any of their laws. . . . The incidents should be various and affecting. No other unity is sought." He remarks that in Shakespeare the line between history and tragedy is not always strictly observed. He also believes that Shakespeare planned his histories as a whole, and that this whole was divided up merely for the purposes of stage presentation. Johnson's liberality of judgment concerning the technique of an historic play is surely without a parallel. But commendable as is this liberality as being the first requisite of the ability to appreciate types of literary form, in this case it is unjust to what Shakespeare really gave, and does not lead on to a true conception of historic drama.

The account of the English discussion concerning the relation between history and the drama is here interrupted because we have now approached the date of Lessing's criticisms. After a brief sketch of the meager French references to the subject, a careful treatment of the very full German discussions will be given, and finally a brief reference to later and likewise meager English theory.

There is not much serious discussion of the problem in France. Corneille, who uses historic personalities and events freely and for poetic illustration of his stoical philosophy, in his three *Discours* of 1638 France says of the writer of historic drama merely, "Il peut bien choquer la vraisemblance particulière par quelque altération de l'histoire, mais non pas se dispenser de la générale, que rarement." His criterion of historic changes is mere probability, hence, if the historic facts are not known to spectators, the changes can be made more freely. He finds a difficulty in crowding the necessarily more numerous events of an historic plot into one day, and counsels a vague time and place. In Corneille's case it is well known that he never aimed at writing real historic drama.<sup>2</sup> Boileau, in his *L'art poétique* (1674), merely speaks of the value of giving accurate local color.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Spectator*, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45.

<sup>2</sup> See Lanson's book on Corneille. Corneille's discussion is found in "Discours du poème dramatique"; "Discours de la tragédie"; "Discours des trois Unités," *Œuvres*, I, 52 ff., 95 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *L'art poétique*, "chant iii, p. 68.

Voltaire seemed to his contemporaries to have given a new type of historic drama in *La mort de César* (1735) and in *Rome sauvée* (1752). Here they found an interest other than that of the conventional love and intrigue that had seemed the indispensable requisite of the drama. This interest was analyzed as "le plaisir d'être témoin . . . d'une révolution qui fait époque dans l'histoire," as opposed to an individualistic interest in a single person or even family. At the same time scorn is expressed for Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and for his English *Histories*, "où il n'y a ni unité ni raison, . . . où l'histoire est conservée jusqu' à la minutie, et les mœurs altérées jusqu'au ridicule."<sup>1</sup> We find here the accentuation of the accuracy of the *mœurs* already suggested in Boileau. Voltaire himself, the pioneer of *Kulturgeschichte*, insisted on this very point in his Preface to *Rome sauvée*:<sup>2</sup> "Les savants ne trouveront pas ici une histoire fidèle de la conjuration de Catilina; ils sont assez persuadés qu'une tragédie n'est pas une histoire; mais ils y verront une peinture vraie des mœurs de ce temps-là." He insists also on the fact that his characters are true, though the events are fictitious. "Tout ce que Cicéron, Catilina, Caton, César, ont fait dans cette pièce n'est pas vrai; mais leur génie et leur caractère sont peints fidèlement." He will feel rewarded if his work "fait connaître un peu l'ancienne Rome." This position of Voltaire's regarding the historical character and the historical actions is not different from Lessing's. He has, however, more genuine historic intention than Lessing. This is shown also in his criticisms of Corneille's *Essex*, and of *Rodogune*, etc. In the matter of *mœurs* Lessing has opposing views. Indeed, as will be developed subsequently, Lessing's discussion is largely aroused by opposition to Voltaire's criticisms of these plays.

In Germany before the time of Lessing one finds in many plays a naïve enjoyment of historic reality similar to that illustrated in the English Chronicle Histories. The problem of the relation between history and the drama is not discussed, not in Germany before Lessing Opitz' *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei* (1624), nor in Gottsched's *Kritische Dichtkunst* (1730). Gottsched gives expression, however, to an idea which points along the line of the later conception of the corporate historic drama. He says, "Die Handlung muss wuchtig sein, das ist, nicht einzelne Personen, Haeuser, oder Staedte, sondern ganze Laender betreffen."<sup>3</sup> In 1767 Klopstock boasts in a letter

<sup>1</sup> "Avertissement des éditeurs de Kehl," written about 1782, *Œuvres de Voltaire*, VI, 341-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 343 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gottsched, *op. cit.*, IV.



referring to his *Bardieten* on *Hermann*, that he has observed historic truth more than "sonst Dichter."<sup>1</sup>

Gottsched and the writers of the *Bremer Beitræge* counseled the choice of national subjects, especially for the purpose of awakening German patriotism. This, of course, reflects the spirit of the pragmatic method of writing history, and is closely connected with the whole rationalistic theory, expressed particularly by Sulzer, that a work of art should aim at moral betterment.

The first critic who endeavored definitely to consider the relation of history to the drama, and its use in dramatic work, who first recognized this matter as a problem to be clarified, and who first gave definite, repeated, and elaborated expression to his theories, is Lessing. He, however, although criticizing the French drama, did not really understand Shakespeare, whom he admired,<sup>2</sup> and so gives only a reinterpretation of Aristotle. Incited to opposition by Voltaire's criticisms on historic dramas such as Thomas Corneille's *Essex* and as *Rodogune*, he declares that Aristotle is as infallible as Euclid,<sup>3</sup> and that he has long ago decided in how far the dramatist should concern himself with history.<sup>4</sup> He says, "Der dramatische Dichter ist kein Geschichtschreiber . . . er erzæhlt nicht was man ehemem geglaubt dass es geschehen, sondern er laesst es nochmals . . . geschehen, nicht bloss der historischen Wahrheit wegen, sondern in einer ganz anderen und hoeheren Absicht; die historische Wahrheit ist nicht sein Zweck, sondern nur das Mittel zu seinem Zwecke."<sup>5</sup> An historic period may be reproduced altogether inaccurately, the real intention being to give a picture of the manners of the writer's own land.<sup>6</sup> Local color is not necessary, and often not even desirable, since, if the comprehensible and customary manners of one's own time are given, it is much easier for the audience to enter into the mood of the drama.<sup>7</sup> That, he thinks, is the reason why the Greeks always reproduced Greek and not barbarian customs, as is especially noticeable in Aeschylus' *The Persians*.<sup>8</sup> He doubts whether the study of history is good for the tragic poet;<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Briefe*, September 15, 1767.

<sup>2</sup> Bulhaupt, II, 9; *M.L. Notes* (June, 1904), pp. 232-49, article by Meisnest.

<sup>3</sup> *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, 100-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 17, 19, 23, 25, 31, 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 17. This he applies particularly to the comedy, *ibid.*, 72, 97. In *Dr.* I he criticizes inaccuracy in an image placed in a mosque contrary to the Mohammedan custom.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 97.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

says that he may invent or minimize historic facts,<sup>1</sup> and that verification of the history given in the drama is futile and uncalled for.<sup>2</sup> He considers the historic fable to be a ready-found labor-saving expedient, to be taken if it fits the poet's intentions;<sup>3</sup> the historic facts, he declares, can be treated with the utmost freedom.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the chief interest is not in the fable but in the character found in history, and history is merely a repertory of names which one has come to associate with certain characters;<sup>5</sup> the historic name is chosen because the historic character coincides with the character that the poet has decided to portray;<sup>6</sup> for this reason the characters chosen are sacred.<sup>7</sup> These characters are to be represented as types, not as specific individuals in whom one is interested because they have actually lived. Therefore he who pictures a Cato, a Caesar, without showing that their individual characteristics flow from their characters as typical, universally human characters common to others besides themselves, is degrading tragedy into history.<sup>8</sup> The drama represents, not what this or that individual has actually done, but what any man of a certain type would do under certain circumstances.<sup>9</sup>

Although Lessing realizes that in the real world of large connections there is divine law in the seemingly accidental, he declares that God alone can see the causal connection in so large a picture. He insists that in the drama the poet, who chooses a smaller section, must give to nature boundaries which she has not in reality,<sup>10</sup> and must construct a whole in which everything is perfectly motivated and arranged in accordance with his purposes.<sup>11</sup> He writes:

In der Natur ist alles mit allem verbunden. . . . Aber nach dieser unendlichen Mannigfaltigkeit ist sie nur ein Schauspiel fuer einen unendlichen Geist.<sup>12</sup> . . . In (dem ewigen unendlichen Zusammenhang aller Dinge) . . . ist Weisheit und Guete, was uns in den wenigen Gliedern, die der Dichter herausnimmt, blindes Geschick und Grausamkeit scheint. Aus diesen wenigen Gliedern sollte er ein Ganzes machen, . . . wo eines aus dem anderen sich erklaeret.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, then, the fact that an undeserved catastrophe has happened to an individual in history is no argument for introducing it into the drama; here

<sup>1</sup> *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, 31, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 21, 31, 33, 97, 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, 34; also 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, 79.

it would seem like blind fate and cruelty.<sup>1</sup> Hence, in order to make a logical connection between his character and his fate, the hero must be guilty of some fault. "Folglich muessen . . . Verdienst und Unglueck in bestaendigem Verhaeltniss bleiben."<sup>2</sup> "Unterdessen ist es wahr, dass an dem Helden ein gewisser Fehler sein muss, durch den er sein Unglueck ueber sich gebracht hat."<sup>3</sup> Referring to dramas in which the catastrophes are unmotivated, he quotes a remark that a certain heroine's cause of death is the fifth act.<sup>4</sup>

Thus the chief points which Lessing has brought to discussion are: (1) the question of historic fidelity as applied to the event, to the character, and to the setting or "mœurs"; (2) the question as to whether the characterization should be typical or individualistic; (3) the question of strict causal motivation, especially the motivation of the hero's catastrophe from a fault or guilt of his, rather than the acceptance of an actual event motivated by a larger, and less visible, historic necessity.

From this time on the theories concerning the historic drama and the dramas themselves reflect the tendencies that found a culmination and a new departure in the French Revolution. Schiller and Goethe never came to understand how this catastrophic outburst was, after all, the inevitable result of complex causes, and they therefore had no real sympathy for the movement. The younger generation however, was deeply affected by the continued advance of democracy. As suggested in the Introduction, an entirely new conception of historic necessity, of fate, of the tragic *motif* inherent in all historic development, grew up. Events might at first seem like chance, inscrutable, uncomprehended—so the death of Louis XVI—but those that looked more deeply felt in it all only the inevitable working out of eternal law manifested in the real historic march of things. Many shuddered at the "Fate" that had shown itself in the mighty "falls of princes"; nature seemed lawless, demonic, a cruel sphynx; this conception found expression in the German fate-tragedies of the time. The great historic thinkers, however, showed that after all fate was reasonable, a fate of historic necessity, advancing in grand strides, comprehended only when whole ages were taken into consideration. The fact that the mass and not the individual is the real master of history was felt by Napoleon himself. He wrote, "I was never my own master, but was always steered by conditions. . . . I was never the master of my actions, because I was never so foolish as to wish to submit events to my system."<sup>5</sup> The insight that

<sup>1</sup> *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, 79.

<sup>3</sup> *An Mendelssohn*, Br. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *An Nicolai*, Br. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Hamb. Dram.* 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Correspondence de Napoléon*, XXXIII, 303.

history is the product of slow organic growth was accompanied by a realization of popular and national consciousness, and a feeling of the sacredness of the state. This again tended toward collectivism; the whole, the mass, society, not the individual, became the chief interest. On one side there is a greater appreciation of the individual; on the other side, the individual, every individual, becomes subordinated to a collective whole.

When young Goethe in Strassburg was filled with enthusiasm for Germany and the German past, his patriotic mood caught fire upon reading Shakespeare's *Histories*, and in his *Goetz von Berlichingen* he not only renewed the species, but instinctively hit upon the only way in which the *Chronicle* type could be organized if it were to be developed along its own line. This he did by selecting as the principle of unity a period of history in which great mass tendencies, representing two epochs, came into conflict; that is, by selecting what Goethe called an important "turning-point" in the "history of nations."<sup>1</sup> The "turning-point" in the case of *Goetz* was the epoch of conflict between the age of robber-knight individualism and individualistic redress of wrong on the one hand, and the new age which stood, however imperfectly, for order assured by codified law on the other hand. Goethe was interested not only in the frank, strong, individualistic *Goetz* and in his love-troubled *Weisslingen*,<sup>2</sup> but in this historic movement broadly conceived, and in the rich historic setting. In later reference to *Goetz von Berlichingen* he realizes himself that in this drama a new species has been created.<sup>3</sup> The choice of *Egmont* showed the same selection of a "turning-point."<sup>4</sup> Goethe analyzed the movement involved in *Egmont*—the conflict between Dutch democracy and Spanish despotism—as "festgegruendete Zustaende die sich vor strenger, wohlberechneter Despotie nicht halten koennen."<sup>5</sup> Having thus selected these two subjects, he even planned more historic plays. He says, "Ich hatte vor, mich von diesem Wendepunkt der deutschen Geschichte [referring to *Goetz*] vor und rueckwaerts zu bewegen."<sup>6</sup> It is significant that Goethe criticizes the "Ritterdramen" because they did not select important movements. He says, "Nach *Goetz* ging man ins Privatleben."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XIX, end, and XIII (Weimar-Ausgabe, XXIX, 162, and XXVIII, 206).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, and Book XX.

<sup>3</sup> Eckermann, *Gespraeche mit Goethe*, III, 209, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XIX, end (W.-A., XXIX, 162).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII (W.-A., XXVIII, 206).

<sup>7</sup> Eckermann, *Gespraeche mit Goethe*, II, 205.

Although in *Goetz von Berlichingen* Goethe's sympathy lies, unhistorically, with the conquered robber-knight individualism, the Hegelian conception of an historic epoch as a movement, or conflict of antithetical forces out of which a higher synthesis follows, is foreshadowed when he speaks of the struggle in *Egmont*. Here the attractive but undisciplined spirit of freedom of the Dutch falls before the hated despotism of the Spaniard; but the final result, Goethe says, will be a third condition, which will meet the desires of all. Thus he speaks of "das Daemonische was von beiden Seiten im Spiel ist, in welchem Conflict das Liebenswuerdige untergeht und das Gehasste triumphirt, sodann die Aussicht, das hieraus ein Drittes hervorgehe, das dem Wunsch aller Menschen entsprechen werde."<sup>1</sup>

Goethe also realized the power of the mass in compelling even the great individual's action, as is suggested in Margarete von Parma's words, "Was sind wir Grossen auf der Woge der Menschheit? Wir glauben sie zu beherrschen, und sie treibt uns auf und nieder, hin und her."<sup>2</sup> This power, he believes, is seen especially in the influence of the environment in molding the individual; he recognizes a constant struggle between individual and *milieu* in the development of character, and being born ten years sooner or later makes a difference.<sup>3</sup> Therefore he consciously gave in *Goetz* a rich and varied picture of the time in which the hero lived; he speaks of having presented him in his "Zeitumgebung."<sup>4</sup> From this point of view he criticizes Shakespeare because his Romans are only Englishmen. He speaks of having aimed to show that the external forces which had produced Goetz's "anarchischen Freiheitssinn" were the result of "jener Zeit-epoche."<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless Goethe's chief interest in these plays was individualistic, not corporate. Goetz and Egmont were singled out as symbolic types in which their respective world-epochs were mirrored.<sup>6</sup> Of Egmont he says, "und als Hauptfigur, um welche sich alle uebrigen am gluecklichsten versammeln liessen, war mir Graf Egmont aufgefallen, dessen menschlich ritterliche Groesse mir am meisten behagte."<sup>7</sup> Similarly, in Goethe's

<sup>1</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XX (W.-A., XXIX, 175 f.).

<sup>2</sup> *Egmont*, I, sc. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Goethe, *Gedichte*, "Urworte Orphisch"; Mencke-Glueckert, *Goethe als Geschichtsphilosoph*, 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XII (W.-A., XXVIII, 123).

<sup>5</sup> Graef, *Goethe ueber seine Dichtungen; Drama*, III, 78.

<sup>6</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XIX, end (W.-A., XXIX, 162).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XX (W.-A., XXIX, 174 f.).

theory of historic advance, the great individual seems to him to be the real mover.<sup>1</sup>

Goethe has some realization of the fact that the structure of the historic drama makes different technical demands than does the "tragedy"; he says that in working on *Goetz* he felt himself driven to the "historische Behandlungsart," and he recognized that this was due to the effort to give the events accurately.<sup>2</sup> He says, "Meine Einbildungskraft dehnte sich dergestalt aus, dass auch meine dramatische Form alle Theatergrenzen ueberschritt und sich den lebendigen Ereignissen zu naehern suchte." He makes quite a point of having desired to give true history. "Meine dramatische Form [suchte] sich den lebendigen Ereignissen mehr und mehr zu naehern."<sup>3</sup> "Ich hielt mich sehr treu an die Geschichte, und strebte nach moeglicher Wahrheit."<sup>4</sup> He says that when he altered *Goetz* to give to this play more unity, he "suchte ihm immer mehr historischen und nationalen Gehalt zu geben, und das, was daran fabelhaft oder bloss leidenschaftlich war, auszuloeschen."<sup>5</sup> He also speaks of having carefully studied the sources of the subjects of the two dramas.<sup>6</sup> Even in treating the mass he demands accuracy of individualization, for he criticizes Shakespeare because "his Romans are only Englishmen."<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless he has no respect for historic character or fact if he is more interested in a certain type of personality. So he changes Egmont, desiring to illustrate in him "Das Daemonische,"<sup>8</sup> and vigorously defends the right to make changes from historic truth.<sup>9</sup>

After *Goetz* and *Egmont*, Goethe lost his interest in the definitely individualized, bewildering manifoldness of historic life, and sought rather a principle that would help him to unify phenomena; so he finds a type, an "Urtypus" which appears in age after age, to be modified, but not changed, by the definite *milieus*.<sup>10</sup> This is, indeed, very different from the rationalist conception of types isolated from an environment, yet it leads him away from the realistic movement-drama, especially as he thinks that individualized history is not poetical.

<sup>1</sup> Mencke-Glueckert, 67, 84; Goethe, *Gedichte*, "Sprueche in Prosa," 272; *Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre* (W.-A.) II, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XIII (W.-A., XXVIII, 197).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Eck., I, 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XIII (W.-A., XXVIII, 200).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XX (W.-A., XXIX, 174).

<sup>7</sup> Eck., III, 226.

<sup>8</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, XX (W.-A., XXIX, 174 f.).

<sup>9</sup> Eck., I, 225.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Mencke-Glueckert.

Es ist gar keine Frage dass wenn die Geschichte das simple Faktum, den nackten Gegenstand hergibt, und der Dichter Stoff und Behandlung, so ist man besser und bequemer dran, als wenn man sich des ausfuehrlicheren und umstaendlicheren der Geschichte bedienen soll; denn da wird man immer genoetigt das Besondere des Zustandes aufzunehmen; man entfernt sich von dem rein Menschlichen, und die Poesie kommt ins Gedraenge.<sup>1</sup>

Not only individuals but also the epochs of history are conceived in their typical significance, as ever-returning stages of a *Kreislauf* in historic development.<sup>2</sup> If, when he speaks of the *Natuerliche Tochter* as a "Kuenstlerversuch, der nach einer Aufloesung einer noch nie geloesten Aufgabe strebte,"<sup>3</sup> one remembers that he meant to represent the genesis of a revolution, it seems as though he were here thinking of it as a representative of the symbolical, typical process-drama, and of this type as a new conception.

Goethe, on the whole, believes in the determinism of the individual, and contrasts himself with Schiller in this respect, saying, "Er predigte das Evangelium der Freiheit, ich wollte die Rechte der Natur nicht verkuerzt wissen."<sup>4</sup> Goethe finds it impossible to solve the problem of the relation between the volition of the individual's given nature, and his volition as determined by environment on the one hand, and the all-compelling laws of external nature on the other hand; he accepts each of these phases as a reality in the molding of man's life. In *Urworte Orphisch* he says under "Daemon," that from birth man develops "nach dem Gesetz wonach du angetreten. So musst du sein, dir kannst du nicht entfliehen." He then says, under "Tyche," "Die strenge Grenze doch umgeht gefaellig Ein Wandelndes, das mit und um uns wandelt; Nicht einsam bleibst du, bildest dich gesellig." Finally, under "Ananke" he writes, "Da ist's denn wieder, wie die Sterne wollten, Bedingung und Gesetz, und aller Wille Ist nur ein Wollen, weil wir eben sollten, Und vor dem Willen schweigt die Willkuer stille." Man's given nature, his "entschiedene Natur," he identifies with fate;<sup>5</sup> he likes best to call it "das Daemonische," and considers it to be a mysterious expression of the all-compelling, uncomprehended laws of nature. Although his "entschiedene Natur" leads man blindly "da oder dorthin," he says concerning "Nature," "Man

<sup>1</sup> An Schiller, August 21, 1799.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mencke-Glueckert.

<sup>3</sup> Eck. I, 256; Graef, *Goethe ueber seine Dichtungen; Drama*, III, 537-55.

<sup>4</sup> In the essay "Einwirkung der neueren Philosophie" contained in the group of essays *Zur Naturwissenschaft im Allgemeinen* in the volume *Naturwissenschaftliches*.

<sup>5</sup> An Schiller, April 26, 1797.

gehört ihren Gesetzen, auch wenn man ihnen widerstrebt; man wirkt mit ihr, auch wenn man gegen sie wirken will. . . . Sie ist listig, aber zum guten Ziele. . . . Alles ist ihre Schuld, alles ist ihr Verdienst."<sup>1</sup> This last point reminds one of Hegel's words on "die List der Vernunft."<sup>2</sup> Again Goethe says, "Nach ewigen, ehernen Grossen Gesetzen Müssen wir alle Unseres Daseins Kreise vollenden."<sup>3</sup> Temporal justice does not characterize this world-law. "Auch so das Glueck Tappt unter die Menge, Fasst bald des Knaben Lockige Unschuld, Bald auch den kahlen Schuldigen Scheitel."<sup>4</sup>

In harmony with these views, Goethe applied no theory of guilt and merited catastrophe to the plot of the drama. In *Goetz* he desired to show just the helplessness and defeat of the "well-meaning" individual.<sup>5</sup> Here, as in *Egmont*, he carries out the idea which is expressed much later, and which has been partially quoted above, that "im Trauerspiel kann und soll das Schicksal, oder welches einerlei ist, die entschiedene Natur des Menschen, die ihn blind da oder dorthin fuehrt, walten und herrschen."<sup>6</sup> Thus Goethe realized the inevitableness of human action as determined by character and environment, and felt the deep tragic quality that lies in historic actuality and necessity, unmodified by any theory of tragic guilt and recompense.

Goethe's knowledge and love of history thus led to the writing of *Goetz*, *Egmont*, *Faust I*, *Die natuerliche Tochter*, and he suggests many points that are of vital importance in the development of the conception of the historic drama; yet he never worked out a definite theory of this species. It must be confessed that his interest in the dominating individuals was greater than his historic interest in movements, and that his interest in them as types of character became so absorbing that he intentionally disregarded and changed known historic fact. Nevertheless, when one compares these three dramas and his theories with those of Lessing, one recognizes easily the gulf that separates the two men; the importance and originality of Goethe's achievement, and his dominating position in the story of the development of the historic drama.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *Zur Naturwissenschaft im Allgemeinen*, the essay "Ueber die Natur."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Goethe, *Gedichte*, "Das Goettliche."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, "Urworte Orphisch."

<sup>5</sup> *Wahrheit und Dichtung* (W.-A., XXVIII, 123).

<sup>6</sup> An Schiller, April 26, 1797.

<sup>7</sup> The fact that Goethe's remarks on *Goetz* and *Egmont* all belong to a much later period, does not, I think, invalidate the conclusions drawn from them. Nor does the fact that his views on the subject of nature and determinism varied at different times affect the present argument.



The chief contributions made by Goethe to the theory of the historic drama are: (1) the discovery that complex historic material in the drama can be unified and organized by conceiving of it as a conflict of opposed historic tendencies; (2) the idea that broad and accurate mass setting is necessary; (3) the substitution of historic inevitableness for narrow logical motivation and for the connection of catastrophe with guilt.

Schiller was a historian as well as a poet, and with this equipment comes to his task of writing drama. His conception of history was in the main that of the pragmatist who is interested most in leading individuals,<sup>1</sup> who deduces motives of action from individuals rather than from conditions,<sup>2</sup> and who uses history for the purpose of teaching lessons. He shared with the rationalists the realization of causal connection and teleology, and accepted Kant's formulation of the principle of development. "Unser menschliches Jahrhundert herbeizufuehren haben sich alle vorhergehenden Zeitalter angestrengt."<sup>3</sup> Schiller's attitude toward life determines the nature of his interest in history. He says, "das Leben ist nie fuer sich selbst, . . . nie als Zweck, nur als Mittel zur Sittlichkeit wichtig."<sup>4</sup> So he sees in history a great struggle of the natural forces with one another and with man's moral freedom, a struggle which leads on to a gradual attainment of full freedom.

Die Welt als historischer Gegenstand ist im Grunde nichts anderes als der Conflict der Naturkraefte unter einander selbst und mit der Freiheit des Menschen, und den Erfolg dieses Kampfes berichtet uns die Geschichte.<sup>5</sup> Aus diesem Gesichtspunkte . . . ist mir die Weltgeschichte ein erhabenes Object. . . . Die Weltgeschichte ist desshalb von Interesse weil sie Muster des Erhabenen geben kann.<sup>6</sup>

Thus history seems merely to give examples of distinguished individuals who showed this struggle. It served as "ein Magazin" for his "Phantasie."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An Koerner, April 15, 1786. Schiller enjoys the *Thirty Years' War* because it was a time of great men.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Ueberweg, *Schiller als Historiker und Philosoph*, 114.

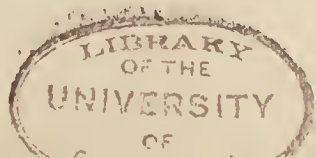
<sup>3</sup> An Koerner, June 7, 1788. Schiller believes that he can find a "Notwendigkeit" in the seeming "Willkuer" of history. Compare Ueberweg, 106. See Schiller's "Was heisst und zu welchem Ende studirt man Universalgeschichte," Bellermann's *Schillers Werke*, Vol. XIII. Ueberweg, 107, says that Schiller came more and more to appreciate the "Vorstufen" as well as the eighteenth-century consummation. This is seen in his essay on the Crusades.

<sup>4</sup> "Ueber den Grund des Vergnuegens an tragischen Gegenstaenden," Bellermann, VIII, 22.

<sup>5</sup> "Ueber das Erhabene," Bellermann, VIII, 430.

<sup>6</sup> "Was heisst und zu welchem Ende," etc.

<sup>7</sup> An Caroline von Beulewitz, December 10, 1788.



To Koerner he writes that history will be the "Magazin woraus ich schoepfe."<sup>1</sup> He found, then, in history, illustrations of "das Erhabene," and this "Erhabene," which was the *raison d'être* of life and human history, is the subject of "tragedy."<sup>2</sup>

More consciously than Goethe, Schiller desired almost always to write a "tragedy." This meant to him the presentation of suffering,<sup>3</sup> in order to awaken pity and fear, especially pity;<sup>4</sup> the deeper purpose is to give an example of the struggle of man's moral nature with his physical nature, in order to show man's "moralische Independenz von Naturgesetzen,"<sup>5</sup> and thereby, since "das Pathetische . . . ist eine Inoculation des unvermeidlichen Schicksals wodurch es seiner Boesartigkeit beraubt . . . wird,"<sup>6</sup> to teach man to transcend the physical compulsion in order to affirm the moral necessity.

This attitude of Schiller's toward history and the drama makes it a matter of course that he agrees with Aristotle and Lessing on the relation between history and the drama.<sup>7</sup> Of Aristotle he says,

Wie er die Poesie und die Geschichte mit einander vergleicht, und jener eine groessere Wahrheit zugesteht, das hat mich . . . gefreut. . . . Es ist gleichfalls recht gescheidt, was er zum Vorteil wahrer historischer Namen bei dramatischen Personen sagt.<sup>8</sup>

He opposes "servile gemeine Naturnachahmung im Drama."<sup>9</sup> Again he says,

Der Neuere schlaegt sich muehselig mit Zufaelligkeiten und Nebendingen herum, und ueber dem Bestreben, der Wirklichkeit recht nahe zu kommen, beladet er sich mit dem Leeren und Unbedeutenden, und darueber laeuft er Gefahr, die tiefliegende Wahrheit zu verlieren, worin eigentlich alles Poetische liegt. Er moechte gern einen wirklichen Fall vollkommen nachahmen und

<sup>1</sup> An Koerner, July 27, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> This reminds one of Fichte's attitude toward the universe as the material of duty.

<sup>3</sup> "Ueber das Pathetische"; "Ueber die tragische Kunst"; "Ueber den Grund des Vergnuegens an tragischen Gegenstaenden"; "Ueber das Erhabene"; also the other philosophical essays, Bellermann, VIII; also many remarks in letters.

<sup>4</sup> In "Ueber die tragische Kunst," especially on pp. 48, 50, 53, 54.

<sup>5</sup> "Ueber das Pathetische," Bellermann, VIII, 119; "Ueber das Erhabene," *ibid.*, 430.

<sup>6</sup> "Ueber das Erhabene," *ibid.*, 432.

<sup>7</sup> "Vorrede" to *Fiesco*, Bellermann, II, 170. Many references in the letters.

<sup>8</sup> An Goethe, May 10, 1797.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1797.

bedenkt nicht, dass eine poetische Darstellung mit der Wirklichkeit, eben darum, weil sie absolut wahr ist, niemals coincidiren kann.<sup>1</sup>

Just so Schiller had sought even in history not the ordinary "historische Wahrheit," but the "philosophische" or "Kunstwahrheit."<sup>2</sup> He writes, "Selbst an wirklichen Begebenheiten historischer Personen ist nicht die Existenz, sondern das durch die Existenz kund gewordene Vermoegen das Poetische."<sup>3</sup> In consequence of this he expects to be a poor source for later historians to refer to, "aber ich werde vielleicht auf Unkosten der historischen Wahrheit Leser und Hoerer finden."<sup>4</sup>

He complains that it is narrow

den Tragoediendichter unter das Tribunal der Geschichte zu ziehen, . . . . der sich schon vermoege seines Namens bloss zu Ruehrungen . . . . verbindlich macht.<sup>5</sup> . . . . Die Tragoedie . . . . ist poetische Nachahmung einer mitleids-wuerdigen Handlung, und dadurch wird sie der historischen entgegengesetzt. Das wuerde sie sein, wenn sie . . . . darauf ausginge, von geschehenen Dingen und von der Art ihres Geschehens zu entwickeln. In diesem Falle muesste sie sich streng an historische Richtigkeit halten, weil sie einzig nur durch treue Darstellung des wirklich Geschehenen ihre Absicht erreichte. Aber die Tragoedie hat einen poetischen Zweck, sie stellt eine Handlung dar, um zu ruehren. . . . Behandelt sie also einen gegebenen Stoff nach diesem Zweck, so wird sie . . . . in der Nachahmung frei; sie erhaelt Macht, ja Verbindlichkeit die historische Wahrheit den Gesetzen der Dichtkunst unterzuordnen und den gegebenen Stoff nach ihrem Beduerfniss zu bearbeiten.<sup>6</sup>

Although he almost always selects the subjects of his dramas from history, he thinks it best

immer nur die allgemeine Situation, die Zeit, und die Personen aus der Geschichte zu nehmen, und alles Uebrige poetisch frei zu erfinden, wodurch eine mittlere Gattung von Stoffen entstuede, welche die Vorteile des historischen Dramas mit dem erdichteten vereinigte.<sup>7</sup>

Thus he openly disclaims wanting to write a real historic drama, as he had already said concerning *Fiesco*.

Der Genueser Fiesco sollte zu dem Fiesco meines Trauerspiels nichts hergeben als den Namen und die Maske; ich bin nicht Geschichtsschreiber, und eine

<sup>1</sup> An Goethe, April 4, 1797. Compare also the discussion in the preface to the *Braut von Messina*. This point of the typical presentation of action and individuals will be discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> An Caroline von Beulewitz, December 10, 1788.

<sup>3</sup> "Ueber d. Path.," B., VIII, 144.

<sup>4</sup> An Car. v. B., December 10, 1788.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "Ueber d. tr. K.," B., VIII, 51.

<sup>7</sup> An Goethe, August 20, 1799.

einzig Aufwallung, die ich durch eine gewagte Erdichtung in der Brust meiner Zuschauer bewirke, wiegt bei mir die strengste historische Genauigkeit auf.<sup>1</sup>

Schiller speaks of his own dramatic form, with its modified history, as a "mittlere Gattung von Stoffen," and contrasts this with the historic drama properly speaking, and with that which is wholly invented.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of such an historic drama would be "von geschehenen Dingen und von der Art ihres Geschehens zu entwickeln. In diesem Falle muesste sie sich streng an die historische Richtigkeit halten weil sie einzig nur durch treue Darstellung des wirklich Geschehenen ihre Zwecke erreichte."<sup>3</sup> An illustration of this type he recognizes in Fust von Stromberg, and he is forced to confess, Auch ist nicht zu laeugnen dass solche Compositionen, sobald man ihnen die poetische Wirkung erlaesst, eine andere, allerdings sehr schaeztbare, leisten, denn keine noch so gut geschriebene Geschichte konnte so lebhaft und so sinnlich in jene Zeit hineinfuehren, als dieses Stueck es tut.<sup>4</sup> . . . So ist mir . . . in dem . . . "Fust von Stromberg" eine ganze und sprechende Vorstellung des Mittelalters entgegengekommen, welche offenbar nur der Effect einer blossen Gelehrsamkeit war.<sup>5</sup>

He feels that "der Umstand dass diese Personen wirklich lebten, und dass diese Begebenheiten wirklich erfolgten" can increase one's pleasure, "aber mit einem fremdartigen Zusatz."<sup>6</sup> His theory of the poetic naturally makes him deny this quality to the species; still he finds in it both value and pleasure. In the critique of *Egmont* he also praises the well-rendered spirit of the historic period pictured, and the accurately reproduced mass.<sup>7</sup> Although Schiller recognizes a type of drama historic in purpose, he never endeavors to think out the full possibilities and value and laws of this species, and never attempts to write one, except perhaps *Wilhelm Tell*, where he feels that he must show the inevitableness of "ein beinahe individuelles und einziges Phaenomen."<sup>8</sup>

Schiller had little joy in political transactions, in what he called "Staatsaktionen," not in history, and not in the drama. When reading Watson's *History of the Netherlands*, the spirit of freedom involved aroused an enthusiasm in him "zu welcher Staatsaktionen nur selten erheben";<sup>9</sup> his

<sup>1</sup> An Goethe, August 20, 1799.

<sup>2</sup> "Ueber d. tr. K.," B., VIII, 51.      <sup>4</sup> An Goethe, March 13, 1798.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> "Ueber d. Path.," Bellermann, VIII, 144.

<sup>7</sup> "Recension ueber Egmont," *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> An Koerner, September 9, 1802.

<sup>9</sup> "Vorrede" to *Geschichte des Abfalls der Niederlande*.

interest in the Thirty Years' War is due to a similar motive, and to the fact that it gives a picture of many great men.<sup>1</sup> Contrasting his own individualistic interest with Koerner's treatment of the Fronde and referring to Koerner's criticism of his *History of the Revolt of the Netherlands*, he says, "wo war ich in der Lage, ich, ein grosses historisches Ganze mit einem reifen Blick zu umfassen?"<sup>2</sup> This inability or unwillingness to apprehend an historic movement as such and as a logically connected whole, was the cause of his dislike of political plots as such. If even in his historic writing he had sought to give chiefly "Kunstwahrheit," he felt this requirement still more in the case of his dramatic writing. The purely historical treatment of the past always seemed unpoetical. This he reiterates over and over. In the critique of *Egmont* he says that it is clear "wie wenig sich Staatsaktionen dramatisch behandeln lassen."<sup>3</sup> The *Wallenstein* material causes him much trouble because it is

im Grunde eine Staatsaktion, und hat, in Ruecksicht auf den poetischen Gebrauch, alle Unarten an sich die eine politische Handlung nur haben kann, ein unsichtbares, abstraktes Object, kleine und viele Mittel, zerstreute Handlungen, einen furchtsamen Schritt, eine fuer den Vorteil der Poeten viel zu kalte trockene Zweckmaessigkeit, ohne doch diese bis zur Vollendung und dadurch zu einer poetischen Groesse zu treiben.<sup>4</sup> . . . Du glaubst nicht, was es . . . kostet . . . eine so duerre Staatsaktion in eine menschliche Handlung umzuschaffen.<sup>5</sup>

It requires a great deal of manipulation before it is "zur Tragoedie qualificirt."<sup>6</sup> "Nur durch eine kunstreiche Handlung kann ich ihn zu einer schoenen Tragoedie machen."<sup>7</sup> Writing about *Maria Stuart*, he is glad that the political part is previous to the play itself;<sup>8</sup> he speaks of his poetical struggle with the history in *Maria Stuart*, how he had to select carefully what could be utilized.<sup>9</sup> Concerning *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* he writes, "das Historische ist ueberwunden und doch . . . in seinem moeglichsten Umfang benutzt."<sup>10</sup> *Wilhelm Tell* also seems difficult to handle because it is a "Staatsaktion."

Ob nun gleich der Tell einer dramatischen Behandlung nichts weniger als guenstig erscheint, da die Handlung dem Ort und der Zeit nach ganz zerstreut

<sup>1</sup> An K., April 15, 1786.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1, 1788.

<sup>3</sup> "Recension ueber Egmont," Bell., XIII, 301.

<sup>4</sup> An K., November 28, 1796.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, July 10, 1797.

<sup>6</sup> An G., November 18, 1796.

<sup>7</sup> An K., November 28, 1796.

<sup>8</sup> An G., April 26, 1799.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 1799.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, December 24, 1800.

auseinander liegt, da sie grossenteils eine Staatsaktion ist und (das Maerchen mit dem Hut und Apfel ausgenommen) der Darstellung widerstrebt, so habe ich doch bis jetzt so viel poetische Operation damit vorgenommen, dass sie aus dem Historischen heraus und ins Poetische eingetreten ist.<sup>1</sup>

Schiller's opposition to definite historic fact is connected also with his acceptance of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. "Was sich nie und nirgends hat begeben, das allein veraltet nie."<sup>2</sup> This is related to his interest in types and in the typical. "Wahrheit" and not "Wirklichkeit" has true existence.<sup>3</sup> "Die poetische Wahrheit besteht nicht darin, dass etwas wirklich geschehen ist, sondern darin, dass es geschehen konnte."<sup>4</sup> Through his study of history he learns to know men, not the individual man, "die Gattung und nicht das sich so leicht verlierende Individuum."<sup>5</sup> In his review of Buerger he says, "Dichter ist wer das Individuelle und Lokale zum Allgemeinen erhebt."<sup>6</sup> To him "Personen sind allgemeine Symbole"; the Greek "idealische Masken" are commended as against the "Individuen" of Shakespeare and Goethe.<sup>7</sup> Shakespeare's treatment of the mass in *Julius Caesar* he praises because it is typical and because he apprehends the mass as "poetisches Abstraktum," not as "Individuen."<sup>8</sup> The fact that the movement involved in *Wilhelm Tell* was individual rather than typical gave him much trouble, "weil hier ein ganzes local-begrenztes Volk, ein ganzes und entferntes Zeitalter, und was die Hauptsache ist, ein ganz oertliches, ja beinahe individuelles und einziges Phaenomen, mit dem Charakter der hoechsten Notwendigkeit und Wahrheit soll zur Anschauung gebracht werden."<sup>9</sup> Thus in theory Schiller is opposed to giving just that which makes the essence of historic reality, namely the individual singleness of a phenomenon. For this reason the most difficult part of his labors, after having selected an historic theme, was the attempt to eliminate everything that was individual in his subject, and the finding of the typical and symbolical meaning of the characters and plots chosen. Whenever he thought that he had at last cut away all political and specific elements and motives, he wrote rejoicingly to Koerner or Goethe. That, after all, he did not succeed in being absolutely typical in his treatment is shown by

<sup>1</sup> An K., September 9, 1802.

<sup>2</sup> "An die Freude."

<sup>3</sup> An Caroline von Beulewitz, December 10, 1788; Preface to *Braut von Messina*; An G., April 4, 1797.

<sup>4</sup> "Ueber d. Path.," B., VIII, 144.

<sup>5</sup> An C. v. B., December 10, 1788.

<sup>7</sup> An Goethe, April 4, 1797.

<sup>6</sup> "Ueber Buerger," Bellermann, VIII.

<sup>8</sup> An G., April 7, 1797.

<sup>9</sup> An K., September 9, 1802. Otto Ludwig's *Werke* (Stern), V, 304.

the possibility of Otto Ludwig's criticism of Wallenstein as "krankhaft individuell."<sup>1</sup>

Lessing had demanded that the drama should not reproduce events as they actually happen to individuals in the real world of history where divine law, if understood in its large connections, could explain even the seemingly accidental; he had demanded that the drama should submit the small section of life chosen to rigid visible logical connection, so that no hero should be visited with an undeserved calamity. Schiller accepts this dictum, and explains his reason for having Fiesco punished by Verrina instead of allowing him to die by accident as he did in reality, in the following words: "Die Natur des Dramas duldet den Finger des Ungefaehrs . . . nicht. Hoehere Geister sehen die zarten Spinnweben einer Tat durch die ganze Dehnung des Weltsystems laufen . . . wo der Mensch nichts als das in freien Lueften schwebende Faktum sieht. . . . Aber der Kuenstler waehlt fuer das kurze Gesicht der Menschheit."<sup>2</sup> Similarly he says that the higher perfection "kann in unserer jetzigen Beschraenkung von uns nicht gefasst werden. Wir uebersehen einen zu kleinen Teil des Weltalls, und die Aufloesung der groesseren Menge von Misstoenen ist unserem Ohr unerreichbar"; the work of art must show the causal connection.<sup>3</sup>

Although Schiller always tabooed chance or accident in the drama, still his idea of the relation between guilt and catastrophe became less elementary. Thus on the one hand, since the tragic existed only when man showed his moral independence of natural law, and his agreement with necessity—"Nehmt die Gottheit auf in euren Willen, und sie steigt von ihrem Weltentron"<sup>4</sup>—he demands in 1792 that the poet should present catastrophes as caused "durch den Zwang der Umstaende,"<sup>5</sup> and writes, "so schwaecht es jeder Zeit unseren Anteil, wenn sich der Unglueckliche, den wir bemitleiden sollen, aus eigener unverzeihlicher Schuld ins Verderben gestuerzt hat."<sup>6</sup> Hence a guiltless hero—as Max in *Wallenstein*—might be visited with a catastrophe. On the other hand Schiller demands that even in the case of the guilty or indifferent hero—as Wallenstein—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ludwig's Werke*, V, 304.

<sup>2</sup> Vorrede to *Fiesco*, B., II.

<sup>3</sup> *Philosophische Briefe*, "Raphael an Julius," letzter Brief.

<sup>4</sup> "Das Ideal und das Leben." Cf. "Der Mensch muss . . . den Begriff der Gewalt vernichten, obgleich er in der Tat leidet" ("Ueber d. trag. Kunst"), and "Die Kuenstler." "Mit dem Geschick in hoher Einigkeit empfaengt er das Geschoss das ihn bedraeut."

<sup>5</sup> "Ueber d. tr. K.," B., VIII. Vischer objected to this; see below.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

the catastrophe should be caused by external circumstances and not by the guilt of the hero. *Wallenstein* was written during the first years of the friendship between Goethe and Schiller, when Schiller was impressed with Goethe's belief that in the drama the hero's given nature, whether moral or not, should drive him blindly hither and thither, and that this given nature is identical with "fate." In this sense Schiller says, "Recht stets behaelt das Schicksal, denn das Herz In uns ist sein gebieterischer Vollstrecker."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Wallenstein, who, he writes, needs "ge:ade so viel moralischen Gehalt als noetig ist um Furcht und Mitleid zu erwecken,"<sup>2</sup> lives out the impulse of his nature without giving the theoretically demanded illustration of "das Erhabene." Like Goethe, Schiller sees that the given character is in part due to the historic environment, and so the guilt is in this case even ascribed, in its larger proportion, to what Schiller calls variously the "unglueckseligen Gestirne,"<sup>3</sup> or "Umstaende," or "Schicksal"; in other words, to the specific historic conditions that determined inevitably the character and the event.<sup>4</sup> Only a small proportion of responsibility is left to the hero in the matter of exhibiting moral freedom. From a similar point of view Schiller in his *Thirty Years' War*, after the brilliantly pragmatic account of Wallenstein as a conscious planner, had ended the account with a splendid historical intuition which later investigation has borne out, "er rebellirte weil er fiel."<sup>5</sup> The relation between guilt and punishment has, then, in the case of Wallenstein become very subtly confused.

This presentation of catastrophe without guilt in the one case, and the shifting of the guilt in the other case, meant the acceptance in the drama as in life of the larger, less obvious motivation rejected for *Fiesco*, and led Schiller to a deeper analysis of simple historic actuality and necessity. The Greek attitude of resignation to fate had seemed to him humiliating "fuer . . . freie . . . Wesen,"<sup>6</sup> but at the same time he had realized that this resignation might consist in the "Ahndung, oder in deutlichem Bewusstsein einer teleologischen Verknuepfung der Dinge."<sup>7</sup> The recognition that Wallenstein rebelled because he had fallen—fall and rebellion and Wallenstein's character being necessary results of conditions—coincided, as previously stated, with his aim to show in tragedy the motive power of "circumstances." When first

<sup>1</sup> *Wallensteins Tod*, I, 7.

<sup>2</sup> An Koerner, July 13, 1800.

<sup>3</sup> "Prolog" to *Wallenstein*.

<sup>4</sup> See following paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte des dreissigjaehrigen Krieges*, Book IV, end.

<sup>6</sup> "Ueber d. tr. K.," Bellermann, VIII, 40.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*



working on *Wallenstein* he writes, "das eigentliche Schicksal tut noch zu wenig, und der eigene Fehler des Helden noch zu viel zu seinem Unglueck."<sup>1</sup> Although he says, "Am Ende mislingt der Entwurf nur durch Ungeschicklichkeit," he also adds that Wallenstein falls in consequence of the much more subtle combination of the "Stimmung der Armee, der Hof, der Kaiser."<sup>2</sup> He is pleased when at last he can say, "Da der Hauptcharakter eigentlich retardirend ist, so tun die Umstaende alles zur Krise, und dies wird, wie ich denke, den tragischen Eindruck sehr erhoehen."<sup>3</sup> In order to show the genetic motivation of Wallenstein's character and catastrophe from circumstances, he gives a picture of the army, as the "Base worauf Wallenstein sein Unternehmen gruendet,"<sup>4</sup> and which "erklaeret sein Verbrechen."<sup>5</sup> Realizing that Wallenstein is "von der Zeiten Gunst emporgetragen," he studies the sources carefully, "denn ich musste die Handlung wie die Charaktere aus ihrer Zeit, ihrem Lokal, und dem ganzen Zusammenhang der Begebenheiten schoepfen."<sup>6</sup> Thus Schiller has here cut loose from the pragmatic, individualist motivation of events. His drama *Wallenstein* is a "character-drama," and at the same time a "*milieu*-drama." It is also a "fate-drama," but in a new and scientific sense.

It is clear that in Schiller, as in Goethe, the demand of Boileau and Voltaire, that the "mœurs" should be accurate, has received a new illumination. This presentation of mass and *milieu*, in order to show how out of these, characters and situations logically and inevitably grow, is Schiller's greatest contribution to the historic drama. This was a problem that received interesting and conscious illustration in Grabbe's work, and the solution of it became Hebbel's chief effort. Lessing's requirement that only the characters need be historically accurate is seen to be inadequate; his belief that the characters can be separated from the corresponding events and from the historic setting, in the demand for historic truth, has been superseded by a deeper comprehension of their necessary connection.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of these interesting developments, however, Schiller in the drama was never quite able to give up his interpretation of events according to his formula of morality. The hero who was unable to rise to a moral agreement with fate felt the full force of punishment; so Wallenstein, who is held responsible for the smaller proportion of his guilt,<sup>8</sup> and falls the

<sup>1</sup> An G., November 28, 1796.

<sup>2</sup> An K., November 28, 1796.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, July 10, 1797.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, November 28, 1796.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Rud. Lehmann, *Der deutsche Unterricht*.

<sup>8</sup> "Prolog" to *Wallenstein*.

<sup>5</sup> "Prolog" to *Wallenstein*.

<sup>6</sup> An K., November 28, 1796.

victim of a punishing Nemesis. A picture of Nemesis was to adorn the title-page of *Wallenstein*,<sup>1</sup> and concerning him Schiller wrote, "Denn wie jeder waeget, wird ihm gewogen."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, almost all of Schiller's tragedies illustrate the relation of hero to morality.

One other point of Schiller's theory of historic drama needs mention. Gottsched and the contributors of the *Bremer Beitræge* had suggested that poets should choose especially national subjects, as had been done in Greece. With this Schiller disagrees. Poetry does not exist "Nationalgefuehle in den Dichtern zu erwecken," and he exclaims, "Wehe dem griechischen Kunstgeschmack wenn er durch diese historischen Beziehungen in den Werken seiner Dichter erst haette gewonnen werden muessen."<sup>3</sup>

Before passing to the theories of the nineteenth century, a few words must be said concerning the "Ritterdramen" which had been so abundantly written after the publication of *Goetz von Berlichingen*. It is of importance to note that their purpose, fortified by frequent archaeological accuracy, was often consciously historic. As was remarked by Schiller in the case of *Fust von Stromberg*, the writers of these plays thus sometimes succeeded in evoking true historic atmosphere. They missed, however, the larger meanings and conceptions of history, and devoted themselves chiefly to the patriotic presentation of private local history. This was criticized by Goethe in the words quoted above, to the effect that the conflicts here presented were purely private. A. W. Schlegel, Tieck, Grabbe, found fault with these dramas for the same reason.

The "Ritterdramen" could not possibly satisfy the age of historic insight and enthusiasm that was inaugurated by Schelling and the Romantists. The conception that concrete history is the direct expression of the divine mind, that it is the great work of art, the great "tragedy" created by the divine artist, from now on colored all historic and dramatic theory, and produced an entirely new reverence for historic phenomena in their individuality and in their relation to the great historic process.<sup>4</sup> The "tragedy" was felt to be the highest form of human art because it was supposed to mirror the divine historic process. Aristotle, Lessing, Schiller, and even Goethe, had insisted that poetic truth was more philosophic than historic truth; thinkers now felt that both coincided. It was thought that no one could be a historian who was not also a poet and a philosopher; for the chief demand made of him was that he should discover the eternal meaning of concrete history, namely its "idea."

<sup>1</sup> An G., December 1, 1797.

<sup>2</sup> "Thekla."

<sup>3</sup> "Ueber d. Path.," B., VIII, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Poetzsch, *Studien zur fruehromantischen Politik und Geschichtsauffassung*.

Similarly the poet's greatest mission was thought to be the artistic interpretation of real history.

The problem of the relation between the individual and the universe, between freedom and necessity, is made by Schelling and the Romanticists more than ever the central problem of thought. As Poetzsch has shown, Friedrich Schlegel and the early Romanticists are of great importance in the developing of the interest for the individual phenomenon in its singleness as well as in its relation to the whole. They finally broke through the rationalist conception of men as isolated types. They are in contrast, also, with Goethe, to whom single phenomena are ever-varying forms of one "Urtyp" and in whose philosophy and later poetry the chief stress is laid on "das Ewig-Eine," that is, on the eternal, and not the fleeting element to be found in all its individual and temporal embodiments. Inasmuch as they first recognized fully and consciously how much the single individual is bound to the past and to the present, how absolutely he is determined by his race and his age, and because they, unlike Goethe, are impressed by the fleeting and not the eternal elements in the individual phenomena, they lay stress on the fact that the human type of different ages varies, that it is constantly modified by the definite soil of the age and race in which it is rooted, and out of which it grows. The mass back of the individual is seen to be not a mere aggregate of individuals, but an organism, with soul-consciousness, which must be carefully studied. Closely connected with these insights is the deeper comprehension of necessity, the definite realization that the individual is borne along by the great stream of history, that the seeming initiator of an action is only a link in a great chain.

These views led to a fondness for historic subjects, and A. W. Schlegel and Tieck both suggested that dramatists should choose their themes from history. They demanded historic accuracy in the handling of these subjects. Tieck was able to appreciate historic dramas whose aim was not history, whose interest was passionate rather than political,<sup>1</sup> and he elaborately defended the patriotic and unhistorical tendency of Kleist in his *Hermannsschlacht*.<sup>2</sup> Yet he regretted that Schiller had given the fortune of a

<sup>1</sup> Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*, III, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 41. "Kleist hatte nicht die Absicht, jene alte Zeit, ihre Charaktere und Verhaeltnisse auszumalen, sondern, was einem Dichter eben so natuerlich und erlaubt ist: er sah, von der Gegenwart bedraengt, in diesem Spiegel die Vorzeit, er nahm diese nur als Bild seiner Zeit und der naechsten Verhaeltnisse; so knuepfte er seinen persoenlichen Hass und seine lebendige Liebe an alte Namen, und hielt seinen Zeitgenossen das Konterfei ihrer selbst und ihrer Schicksale vor. Diese Art Geschichte zu nehmen, ist am wenigsten am dramatischen Dichter zu tadeln, wenn er nur von seinem Gegenstande auf eine grosse Weise ergriffen . . . ist."

single hero, and not the *Thirty Years' War*,<sup>1</sup> and said that a drama is "um so poetischer und um so groesser, . . . je nacher es sich der Wahrheit halte," and "die Dichtkunst kann schwerlich glaenzender auftreten, als wenn sie auf diese Weise eins mit der wahren Wirklichkeit wird."<sup>2</sup> Solger, also, on the whole, demanded accuracy, and Jean Paul wrote "Wozu . . . geschichtliche Namen, wenn die Charaktere umgegossen werden duerfen?"<sup>3</sup>

The consciousness of the necessity of social background, together with the romantic theory of literature as an expression of infinity, helped to relax the rules of strict logical motivation, and to make the structure of a play more loosely organic than the rationalist drama had been. The intensive study of Shakespeare, particularly of his historic dramas, fed this tendency. Scenes that reflect mood and mere historic environment were now freely accepted. *Wallensteins Lager* was universally hailed as a masterpiece of historic setting, but it was no longer thought necessary to separate from the rest of a drama even so full a study of the environment.

The realization that individuals are the product of conditions of environment caused the Romanticists to prefer a guiltless hero and an unmerited catastrophe. Thus Tieck did not feel that it is necessary to connect downfall with guilt, and A. W. Schlegel took a similar position.<sup>4</sup>

Tieck and Schlegel both advised the choosing of national subjects; and both thought that the subjects chosen should have more than provincial, or sectionally patriotic, interest.<sup>5</sup> Schlegel, inspired by the example of Shakespeare's Histories as Goethe had been when he wrote *Goetz*, suggested especially the period of the Hohenstauffen.

Grillparzer, roused by what he called the "Albernheiten" of "Ludwig Tieck und seine Nachbeter,"<sup>6</sup> and by the modern aesthetic theorists who, he says, recommend history as the only proper subject for tragedy because it is the direct expression of the "Weltgeist,"<sup>7</sup> contends that "der Dichter waehlt historische Stoffe weil er darin den Keim zu seinen Entwicklungen findet."<sup>8</sup> Earlier he had said concerning *Sappho*:

<sup>1</sup> Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*, III, 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 42.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Paul, "Vorschule der Aesthetik," in *Werke*, 2. Auflage 501.

<sup>4</sup> Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*; A. W. Schlegel, *Vorlesungen ueber dramatische Kunst*; Paul Reiff, "Views of Tragedy among the Early German Romanticists," in *Modern Language Notes*, November and December, 1904.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Schlegel, *Vorlesungen ueber dramatische Kunst*, Vorlesung 31; Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*, II, 50.

<sup>6</sup> *Grillparzers saemtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von Sauer, XIX, 108.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 108.

Damals herrschten noch Lessings, Schillers, Goethes, Ansichten in der deutschen Poesie, und dass menschliche Schicksale und Leidenschaften die Aufgabe des Dramas seien, fiel niemand ein zu bezweifeln. Das Antiquarische, Geographische, Historische . . . ward dadurch von selbst zur Staffage und ordnete sich dem Menschlichen unter.<sup>1</sup>

Although he speaks of his thorough studies for *Ottokar* and of the agreement with actual history in this work, he says that he mentions this simply as "Kuriositaet."<sup>2</sup> At the same time he later defends his conception of Ottokar's not noble character as truer to history than the conception of him that Bohemian patriots had.<sup>3</sup> He says also, "Ein historisches Drama in dem Sinn statuiren wollen, dass der Wert desselben . . . in der voellig treuen Wiedergabe der Geschichte besteht, ist . . . laecherlich."<sup>4</sup>

One may ask for the reason why the poet uses history as repertory for his own developments, and Grillparzer answers in a way that suggests the point where he began to feel the need of reconstruction of traditional ideas. He says that the poet does this "um seinen Ereignissen und Personen . . . einen Schwerpunkt der Realitaet zu geben. . . . Namentlich was ueber das gewoehnlich Glaubliche hinausgeht, muss einen solchen Anhaltspunkt haben, wenn es nicht laecherlich werden soll."<sup>5</sup> Whereas Schiller believed in "Kunstwahrheit" to such an extent that an historic fact was rejected if it seemed poetically impossible, Grillparzer accepts the recorded seemingly improbable event, and is glad to be able to hold up to skeptical mankind this security of the truth of the event offered in the drama. "Alexander der Grosse, Napoleon, als erdichtete Personen, wuerden der Spott aller Vernuenftigen sein."<sup>6</sup> "Das wirklich Wahre" in his eyes is not Schiller's typical "Kunstwahrheit," but consists in the apprehension of the motives and developments that produce events, as well as of the events themselves.<sup>7</sup>

Very interesting is his struggle with the problem of the logical motivation of events in nature or history, and in the drama, connected as this is with the problem of fate. Grillparzer had a strong consciousness of the arbitrariness of man's passions and actions and of the interplay of natural forces, and therefore found it difficult to discover law in the seeming unconnectedness of history, "eine umfassende Notwendigkeit des Geschehenen."<sup>8</sup> Man, in spite of the causality and plan that his mind reads into the march

<sup>1</sup> *Grillparzers saemtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von Sauer, XIX, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 92.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>8</sup> *Zur Geschichte im Allgemeinen*.

of history,<sup>1</sup> can succeed in finding plan only in long periods,<sup>2</sup> and even then can never discover all the connecting links.<sup>3</sup> This unexplained residue, or "X,"<sup>4</sup> he calls "Schicksal," or if one will, "Vorsehung."<sup>5</sup> It is identical with the "aeussere Umstaende" that are independent of man's free will,<sup>6</sup> and indeed with natural law or necessity;<sup>7</sup> it is the "Personification der Naturnotwendigkeit," a "Welttropus."<sup>8</sup> The arbitrary specific passion-impulses are then in reality determined ultimately by the "Umstaende" or "Schicksal" or "Naturnotwendigkeit."<sup>9</sup>

Unter dem notwendigen wird hier alles dasjenige verstanden, was unabhängig von der Willensbestimmung des Menschen, in der Natur oder durch andere seinesgleichen geschieht, und was, durch die unbezweifelte Einwirkung auf die untern, unwillkürlichen Triebfedern seiner Handlungen, die Aeusserungen seiner Taetigkeit zwar nicht noetigend, aber doch anregend bestimmt.

Ottokar and Napoleon were "durch Umstaende zur Tyrannei getrieben."<sup>10</sup> This analysis of Grillparzer's seems directly in harmony with Schelling, who wrote that historic writing must aim to show the identity between freedom and necessity "wie sie vom Gesichtspunkt der Wirklichkeit aus erscheint, den sie auf keine Weise verlassen soll. Von diesem aus ist sie aber nur als unbegriffene und ganz objektive Identitaet erkennbar, als Schicksal." Schelling likewise identifies "Schicksal" and "Vorsehung."

Grillparzer at first thinks that the drama should show strict visible causal connection.

Das Wesen des Dramas ist . . . strenge Causalitaet. Im Lauf der wirklichen Welt bescheiden wir uns dass . . . was sich fuer uns in die stetige Kette von Ursache und Wirkung nicht fuegt . . . einen uns unbegreiflichen Zusammenhang habe.<sup>11</sup> . . . Die Aufgabe der dramatischen Poesie gegenueber der Geschichte besteht hauptsaechlich darin, das sie die Planmaessigkeit und Ganzheit welche die Geschichte nur in grossen Partieen und Zeitraeumen blicken laesst, auch in dem Raum der kleinen gewaehlten Begebenheit anschaulich macht.<sup>12</sup>

Hence he has a prejudice against the historic drama because its form is more epic in consequence of the fact that the events are widely separated.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, XV, 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 57.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 101, 93 (1837-79).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 100 (1845).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 100, 101.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 107.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 86.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 109.

The use of "Schicksal" in the drama had meant to him merely the symbol of that causal connection whose missing links he had not been able to find in their entirety. His labor on *Ottokar* and his study of Shakespeare led him to accept the lack of causal connection in the drama as a fault, but a probably necessary fault, "ein Fehler . . . dem man im historischen Drama, wo die Begebenheiten sich draengen, und der Raum mangelt, ueberhaupt schwer entgehen kann."<sup>1</sup> As early as in 1821 he had said "Die Konsequenz der Leidenschaften ist das Hoechste, was gewoehnliche Dramatiker zu schildern, und gewoehnliche Kunstrichter zu wuerdigen wissen, aber erst die aus der Natur gegriffenen Inkonsequenzen bringen Leben in das Bild."<sup>2</sup> Since these are "Inkonsequenzen" of nature herself, the drama can give them as such, if only it fills us nevertheless with a feeling of faith that behind the seeming incongruence is the great incomprehensible causality of nature.<sup>3</sup> So he says finally that the showing of this lack of congruence between cause and effect is the highest mission of the poet, although it is a technique to be attempted only in the historic drama, where

der Weltgeist den Begebenheiten Gewaehr leistet und fuer die Endpunkte einsteht.<sup>4</sup> . . . Wie in der Natur sich hoechst selten Ursache und Wirkung ganz decken, so ist, in der Behandlung eine gewisse Inkongruenz beider durchblicken zu lassen, vielleicht die hoechste Aufgabe, die sich ein Dichter stellen kann.<sup>5</sup> . . . Mich hat schon seit lange ein gewisser Ekel vor dem eng psychologischen Anreihen und Anfaedeln erfasst. Was ich da niedergeschrieben, klingt wohl ein bischen wie Unsinn; ich bin mir aber nur noch nicht klar genug, und will das Ganze einmal in der Folge ausfuehren.<sup>6</sup>

Grillparzer, probably stimulated by Schelling, sees in the drama a conflict between "Freiheit" and "Notwendigkeit," the "Notwendigkeit" being, as shown above, the "Umstaende" or "Schicksal."<sup>7</sup> Without disbelieving in "Freiheit"—he asserts the contrary<sup>8</sup>—he feels so strongly "die Einwirkung dieser aeusseren Triebfedern,"<sup>9</sup> that unlike the "Neueren" who usually give the victory to man's freedom, he like Goethe feels inclined to let the natural passions and their necessity be the victorious force in the production of man's actions, since, he thinks, the pity and fear that are thus awakened purge us from our "naturnotwendige Leidenschaften";<sup>10</sup> if in tragedy wrong is victorious, the morality of the world-order is not

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, XVI, 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 188.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 87.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Selbstb.*, 186.

thereby abrogated. The fall of the righteous and the victory of the unrighteous are a matter of actuality, and this may be reflected in the drama; if the beholder has faith in religion and the race-compensation of history, the lack of visible reconciliation will not prevent his purgation, "so wird euch das zerschmetternde Schicksal . . . erheben."<sup>1</sup>

Grillparzer was a thorough student of history, but like the pragmatist he was interested chiefly in striking individuals,<sup>2</sup> and saw in history the teacher of humanity; for, inasmuch as it gives a picture of man as impelled by his passions, it warns us to avoid being similarly controlled.<sup>3</sup> It was this same lesson that was to be learned from the drama. He believes that human nature remains the same through all the ages, and that the seeming differences lie merely in the external circumstances (cf. *Redlich*, 11 ff.).

Grillparzer has little sympathy for the mass; still he opposes strongly Metternich's belief that history can be made in "Cabinetten abseits von Voelkern,"<sup>4</sup> and he concedes that "In der politischen Geschichte ist das Volk (oder wenn ich die Besten weggenommen habe) der Poebel, nicht ohne Bedeutung."<sup>5</sup>

The traditional laws of motivation and unity of action gave Immermann much trouble. Speaking of his *Friedrich II* (1828), he writes,

Immermann Ich will zugeben, dass nicht jede folgende Handlung sich als aeusserlich greifbares Product einer frueheren ausspricht, ferner, dass manche Scenen und Nebenfiguren den Charakter zu genauer Ausmalung an sich zu tragen scheinen.<sup>6</sup>

He says that the unity is given by Frederick's opposition to the church. In *Alexis* he tries to bring into the foreground "das Interesse," Peter's personal and family catastrophe, and minimizes "die Interessen," the background of the intrigues of the nobles; finally he separates the plot of the nobles from the rest of the drama in the form of an introductory play.<sup>7</sup> As to historic accuracy he says,

Ich muss gestehen, dass ich dem Dichter gern die hoechste Freiheit bei der Behandlung des historisch Gegenbenen bewahren moechte.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, XV, 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Redlich*, *Grillparzers Verhaeltniss zur Geschichte*.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, XVI, 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Politische Studien*.

<sup>5</sup> *Werke*, XVI, 18.

<sup>6</sup> An Beer, June 13, 1828; *Immermanns Werke*, XVII, 157.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 172.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.



However, in speaking of his *Andreas Hofer*, he writes,

Ich schaute nach der Urgestalt der Ereignisse hin, . . . . tilgte die kleintlichen sentimental Motive welche der fruheren Arbeit (*Das Trauerspiel in Tirol*) schadeten, und wagte, das Werk auf ehrliche historische Fuesse zu stellen. Ich halte ueberhaupt viel von der Geschichte, nur steht sie fuer mich kaum zur Haelfte in den Compendien geschrieben.<sup>1</sup>

When Raumer had written his history of the Hohenstauffen (1823-25), Immermann was the first to attempt to carry out Schlegel's suggestion. He planned a cycle of Hohenstauffen, but only wrote a *Frederick II* (1828). He later explained his renunciation in words written at the time when Raupach's endless series almost monopolized the stage at Berlin. It is a mistake to believe, he writes, that

historisch-dramatische Poesie sei dort schon vorhanden, wo nur irgend ein Kapitel der Geschichte treu und unverfaelscht in Dialog und Versen auf den Brettern verhandelt werde. . . . Ein historisches Trauerspiel . . . . kann nur entstehen, wenn der Dichter einen Stoff *der* Geschichte ergreift, welche fuer das Volk Geschichte ist, wenn er von den Ereignissen der Vergangenheit begeistert wird die in den Freuden und Schmerzen der Gegenwart . . . . noch nachklingen. So konnte Shakespeare seine Buergerkriege dichten, weil die Blutflecke kaum gebleicht waren von den Steinen an denen die Haeupter der Parteien ihr Leben veratmet hatten. . . . Ich sage nur noch dass die Geschichte welche unseren Dichtern moeglicherweise Stoffe darbieten kann, erst mit der Reformation und den ihr unmittelbar vorausgegangenen Zeiten beginnen moechte.<sup>2</sup>

In these last remarks he broaches another point connected with the historic drama, namely, the feasibility of choosing subjects from modern and even contemporary history. Although this had been done since the days of Marlowe's *Massacre of Paris*, it happened rarely enough for Immermann to feel that the writing of his *Andreas Hofer* was an entirely new departure. He writes,

Das Wagniss, noch lebende oder juengst verstorbene Personen in poetische zu verwandeln, bewegte mich so, dass ich damals oft in der Nacht von Schreck erwachte und dann die Vorwuerfe der Tiroler und der franzoesischen Befehlshaber zu hoeren vermeinte. Spaeterhin ist diese Kuehnheit oefter geuebt worden, zuletzt von Grabbe in den *Hundert Tagen*.<sup>3</sup>

The same belief that was held by Schiller, that a "Staatsaktion" is not a proper subject for a drama, because unpoetical action in itself can never be interesting, is found in his final reasons for discontinuing the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 472.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorabilien*, II, 20.

<sup>3</sup> "Vorrede zu Schriften," *Werke*, I.

*Hohenstauffen*. "Ihre Kaempfe und Noete gehen fast saemtlich nicht aus den allgemein verstaendlichen, ewig haltbaren Motiven des Hasses, Zorns, der Rache, Eifersucht, Liebe, u.s.w., sondern aus politisch-religioesen Combinationen hervor . . . an denen wir nur noch einen gelehrten Anteil nehmen koennen."<sup>1</sup> This sort of motivation in which Immermann believes is clearly the pragmatic motivation spoken of in connection with the remarks on historic method. As long as dramatists had a prejudice against a different motivation as unpoetical, they would not be likely to write anything but individualistic drama.

Immermann's comprehension of historic method, however—as is shown indeed by the very fact that he comprehended the real motives, at least to some extent, in the case of the *Hohenstauffen*—was in reality far more advanced. He had a strong feeling for the importance of the mass. Writing in 1839-40, he speaks of the fact that the war of liberation from Napoleon in 1813 had been begun and waged by the people, without initiative from above; that there had been no need of a great leading individual because all individuals had devoted themselves to the national cause;<sup>2</sup> and he commends a remark of Niebuhr's that "das Volk . . . regierte in jener Zeit."<sup>3</sup> He then speaks of two methods of writing history, first, the biographical method that had characterized the rationalistic age, and secondly, the new method of his own age which he calls the "Deduction aus Zustaenden." "Denn alles was geschieht, geschieht durch den Helden und durch das Volk. In dem Volke gaehrt eine Unzahl vorbereitender Umstaende, die der Held zusammenfasst, sie mit einem Teil von sich selbst vermischt, und sie dann zur Tat macht. Der Held ist nichts ohne das Volk, das Volk nichts ohne den Helden."<sup>4</sup> He feels that it is difficult to determine the exact relations between hero and mass, and speaks of Niebuhr as having recognized the importance of the mass in Attic and Roman history as it had not been recognized before. He feels that his own age tended to neglect the importance of the individual hero and laid too much stress on the deduction of the hero from the "Zustaende" or the "Volksgeist." This method he notices in Ranke whose best descriptions he found in the case of victims of circumstances, such as Charles V, Philip II, etc. "Der Hegelianismus ist dieser historischen Manipulation guenstig; es scheint aber in ihr auch die Erinnerung an den ausserordentlichen Mann sich zu regen, dem keiner seiner Feinde fuer die Person gewachsen war, und der dennoch dem Volksgeiste erlag."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memorabilien*, II, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

This exposition of the historic theory of the time is almost like a commentary explaining Grabbe's theory and practice. Grabbe was the most passionately enthusiastic historian of all the historic dramatists. Having no theory of "tragedy," he gave himself with whole soul and splendid historic insight to the writing of historic dramas.

Grabbe showed an attitude toward history that is absolutely unique in its *barock* and passionate devotion. His interest in history and his insight were remarkable from childhood.<sup>1</sup> Immermann, who knew him near the end of his life, writes that Grabbe's main interest was history, that he knew it thoroughly, and that he "lebte und litt . . . mit den historischen Personen auf welche eben sein Blick fallen mochte."<sup>2</sup> Grabbe himself in his letters has a mania for mentioning historic anniversaries, and uses the reference to them either in amplification of the date of his letters, or in place of it.<sup>3</sup> He comments frequently on historic events, past and contemporary.<sup>4</sup> He insists also on his historic ability. Several times he speaks of his correct prophecies in *Napoleon*,<sup>5</sup> and says, "Es ist juristisch erweislich das als ich die lieben Ordonnanzen des zehnten Karl las, und . . . die Folgen ahnte, mir die Gicht aus den Fuessen fuhr."<sup>6</sup> Again he writes with pride that *Marius und Sulla* shows "dass der Autor sich vielleicht auf historischen Blick versteht";<sup>7</sup> and in another place he boasts, "Ich kann in geschichtlichen Sachen jedem Stirn bieten,"<sup>8</sup> and "Beim Barbarossa bitte ich nicht zu vergessen, dass ich . . . zum Historiker bestimmt war, und die Geschichte wirklich genau kenne."<sup>9</sup> He is interested also in historians, criticizes some, praises others;<sup>10</sup> and also freely criticizes interpretations of history found in dramas, giving, on these occasions, many good historic *aperçus* of his own. He is conscious that his is an age of historic insight, and says, "die neuere Zeit ist in Philosophie, Wissenschaft, Staatsleben (besonders seit der franzoesischen Revolution) und an Erfahrungen aller Art weiter als das Shakespearische Zeitalter gekommen,"<sup>11</sup> and he reflects in his judgments the fact that his life fell in the age of Hegel, Niebuhr, and Ranke.

<sup>1</sup> Ziegler, *Grabbes Leben*.

<sup>2</sup> *Immermanns Werke, Memorabilien* II, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Grisebach's *Grabbe*, IV, 220, 243, 288, 314, 339, 396, 424, 442, 460, 485, 492; *Duesseldorfer Theater, ibid.*, IV, 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Grabbe*, IV, 223, 301, 311.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 205-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 294, 301, 320.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 344.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 301.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 280.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 268, 465, 332, 397, 438, 473, etc.; *Shakespearomanie*, I, 453.

<sup>11</sup> *Gr.*, I, 467.

Grabbe felt that the aim of the historic drama was the presentation of true history. He conceives of his dramas as set not upon the stage but in the confines of the whole world in its actual terms and dimensions.<sup>1</sup> Having, at the suggestion of Immermann, given the scenes in *Hannibal* not numbers, but merely the headings with the names of the places of actual occurrence, he commends this "treffliche Haupteinteilung,"<sup>2</sup> and in the *Hermannsschlacht* carries the idea still farther, dividing the play not into acts, but into three nights and days, thus gradually removing every vestige of stage suggestion, and placing before us the actual scene. For his dramas he always made thorough preparatory studies.<sup>3</sup> He says of *Marius und Sulla*, "Der Verfasser von *Marius und Sulla* hat . . . mehr wie die meisten uebrigen historischen Dramatiker sich genau an die Geschichte zu halten gesucht."<sup>4</sup> "Der Dichter ist vorzugeweise verpflichtet, den wahren Geist der Geschichte zu entraetseln."<sup>5</sup> He criticizes Shakespeare for anachronisms, "welche man endlich einmal recht tuechtig tadeln sollte, und zwar aus dem einfachen Grunde weil das Bessere besser ist."<sup>6</sup> He also criticizes him for misinterpreting Caesar's character,<sup>7</sup> and regrets that in *King John* the Plantagenets and the nobility are not characterized as "Halbfranzosen und Normannen," and the lower classes as Angles and Saxons.<sup>8</sup> He says that if Schiller had studied the signature of Mary and Elizabeth more carefully, he would have pictured the "naïve galante Maria," "die eherne Elisabeth," more correctly.<sup>9</sup> He commends Babo for having conceived Philip of Schwaben correctly in his *Otto von Wittelsbach*, in spite of the incorrect conception given in Raumer's *Hohenstauffen*.<sup>10</sup> He accentuates the fact that he himself has given an accurate picture of the Archbishop of Mainz,<sup>11</sup> of Cato,<sup>12</sup> and of the history in *Henry VI*.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand Grabbe does demand some freedom in the treatment of history,<sup>14</sup> but this freedom must not be the result of seeking for effect,<sup>15</sup> nor should the changes show lack of knowledge on the part of the poet, nor should he falsify history.<sup>16</sup> He explains changes of dates as necessary.

<sup>1</sup> Gr., IV, 292, 330, 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 407.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 276, 289, 313, 350, 354, 360, 370, 429, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 431.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 272.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 453. See also 455.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 356.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 452.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 287.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 41.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 2, 80, 69; I, 431.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 450.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 80.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 111.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Der Verfasser der *Marius und Sulla* hat zwar mehr als die meisten uebrigen historischen Dramatiker sich genau an die Geschichte zu halten gesucht, und dennoch ganze Jahre versetzen muessen, [but adds] wenn das der Leser als einen Missklang bemerkt, so ist es ein Fehler.<sup>1</sup> Der Dichter ist vorzugsweise verpflichtet, den wahren Geist der Geschichte zu entraetseln. So lange er diesen nicht verletzt, kommt es bei ihm auf eine woertlich historische Treue nicht an.<sup>2</sup>

On occasion, when it is a question of appreciating a play like Calderon's *Life Is a Dream*, he is willing to give up this point of view entirely, and says, Ihr Historico-Tragico-Kenner bedenkt: wozu Dichtkunst, lehrt sie nur auf Umwegen Geschichte? . . . . der Dichter, . . . . nimmt aus der Welt, die ihm nur Material zu seiner Production ist, das was ihm zur Vollendung seines Werkes noetig scheint, setzt aus seinem Geist hinzu, was ihm geziemend duenkt, blickt dann nicht weiter um sich. Er bittet: nur zu beurteilen, ob seine Schoepfung an sich schoen? nicht aber sie nach Tatsachen und Schoepfungen ausser ihr zu kritisieren.<sup>3</sup>

It is true, also, that Grabbe's work is not always quite free from satirical purpose. Thus Runkel is introduced into the *Hermannsschlacht*,<sup>4</sup> and Uechtritz into *Hannibal* as Prusias.<sup>5</sup> Adelina and the Sultanin in *Napoleon* are portraits of his one-time bride.<sup>6</sup> This latter sort of delineation and invention is of course perfectly legitimate, as it does not touch the essence of the history involved. Thus we see that with slight exception Grabbe insists far more consciously and definitely and consistently than any previous dramatist on historic truth and reality.

Grabbe demands both of historians and historic dramatists historic insight;<sup>7</sup> he commends Schiller's "tiefen Blick in die Weltgeschichte,"<sup>8</sup> and the unraveling of the spirit of history,<sup>9</sup> by which he means not only the true conception of characters and conditions, but in particular, the conceiving of history as a movement of larger bearing produced by historic necessity. Not every period seems to him worthy of presentation in historic drama. Thus he gives up the *Hohenstauffen* because the interests and heroes seem too petty.<sup>10</sup> He demands "von dem Poeten, sobald er Historie dramatisch darstellt, eine concentrische, die Idee der Geschichte wiedergebende Behandlung,"<sup>11</sup> that is, he seeks the world-law manifested in events

<sup>1</sup> Gr., I, 431.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 268, 465, 332, 397, 473, 488; praises Niebuhr, I, 453.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 497.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 431.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 403.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 392.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 412.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 313.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 457.

and in history, and conceives of the sum of events as a movement. From this point of view he criticizes Shakespeare's Histories, and calls them "poetisch verzierte Chroniken,"<sup>1</sup> without "Mittelpunkt," "Catasrophe" or "poetisches Endziel."<sup>2</sup> He says that *Julius Caesar* lacks this unity.<sup>3</sup> His analysis of *Coriolanus*,<sup>4</sup> of his own *Marius und Sulla*;<sup>5</sup> his remarks on Schiller's *Maria Stuart*<sup>6</sup> show how he conceives of the history there involved as a movement directed by historic necessity.

This conception is Grabbe's most interesting contribution to the theory of the historic drama. The realization that historic necessity directs the advance of big historic movements involves historic justice in the treatment of the individuals on both sides, and thereby makes impossible the old demand of unity of hero; this conception of historic necessity involves also the neglect of the idea of poetic justice or retribution. The historic movement, which is to Grabbe the unifying principle of the drama,<sup>7</sup> and which is what Goethe meant by "turning-point," is conceived as a synthesized result of a conflict between great antithetical mass tendencies.<sup>8</sup> He says that Shakespeare did not understand "was der Kampf der Patricier und Plebeier eigentlich sagen wollte, wie dieser Kampf aus der aeussersten Notwendigkeit, aus dem innersten Leben sich entwickelte."<sup>9</sup> Although he excuses this in Shakespeare because "die neuere Zeit ist in Philosophie, Wissenschaft, und Staatsleben . . . weiter als das Shakespearische Zeitalter gekommen,"<sup>10</sup> he demands it of present writers. He criticizes Schiller's *Maria Stuart* as failing to bring out the historic compulsion in Elizabeth's actions, "dem Dichter hat's beliebt nicht die grossen Notwendigkeits- und Weltverhaeltnisse, welche Elisabeth leiteten, zum Hebel seiner Tragoedie zu machen," and as confining the plot to petty intrigue and jealousy.<sup>11</sup> Of his *Marius und Sulla* he says, that the Roman world has "weder auf der Erde noch in der Religion einen festen Hauptpunkt mehr, dass wenn sie nicht auseinander fallen soll, nur der Despotismus sie noch zusammen halten kann. Darum mussten Maenner wie Marius und Sulla erscheinen, und das werden was sie geworden sind."<sup>12</sup> Of "Barbarossa" he boasts,

*Barbarossa* ist ein ernstes Schicksalsdrama in der besseren Bedeutung. Die Verhaeltnisse sind gegeben, Welf und Waiblinger sind jeder zu gross um beide

<sup>1</sup> Gr.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 452.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 453.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 409.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 95-96.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 457 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 95-96; I, 453.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 453.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 457.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 95-96.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 409.

nebenher zu bestehen, der Kaiser und der Loewe sind Freunde, aber sie muessen doch, durch die Lage der Dinge gezwungen, sich bekaempfen, ebenso wie auch der Papst Alexander, der in seiner ganzenhistorischen Groesse dasteht, dem Kaiser nicht aus gemeiner Feindschaft und Niedrigkeit entgegentritt, sondern auch mit dem Blick auf Umstaende.<sup>1</sup>

In speaking of Napoleon's life and action, he deduces them as the inevitable product of the Revolution and its life, calling him "das Faehnlein an deren Maste" "kleiner als die Revolution," of which he says, "sie lebt noch."<sup>2</sup> This finding in an historic movement an illustration of a natural fate-tragedy is a great and new insight, and well illustrates the Hegelian conception of history.

In this last quotation one finds not only an expression of historic inevitability, but an important conception of the power of mass movement. The Revolution is felt as a great movement and impulsion, strong because it represents the collective will of an infinite number of individuals, bearing along with it irresistibly even the seemingly striking hero, a tremendous fate-power. Thus Napoleon, who never knew "wohin er strebte," is borne to success by it.<sup>3</sup> Before this all-compelling fate-power, which is the product of the complicated network of cause and effect due to the countless varied will-impulses of many, even the unusual individual who plans consciously is helpless. Such a victim Grabbe finds in Peter the Great. Speaking of Immermann's *Alexis*, he writes, "Dieser Wurm von Vater, der aus den Faeden des Schicksals (welches wir so wenig kennen als uns, weil wir auch dazu gehoeren) Seide spinnen wollte, ward mit Recht uebersehen, als die ehernen Knoten selbtherrschend sich loesten, ausbreiteten, eine gewaltige, doch suehnende Hand." Thus also, Sulla, who is trying to reform Rome by individualistic measures, is doubtful "ob bei der Versunkenheit der Menge seine Anordnungen lange bestehen wuerden."<sup>4</sup>

Although Grabbe feels that the mass is composed of very average individuals, "dennoch pflegt im Volk als Gesamtheit stets die richtige Ansicht, das wahre Gefuehl vorzuherrschen." He criticizes Shakespeare for having represented the mass in *Coriolanus* as "Poebel."<sup>5</sup> The treatment in *Julius Caesar* he finds superficial.<sup>6</sup>

In order adequately to present an historic movement, the scale and canvas chosen must be large and comprehensive; must present masses. He aims to make his dramas not "buehnengerecht," but "weltgerecht."<sup>7</sup> Grabbe says that the theater must be made "weit

<sup>1</sup> Gr., IV, 273.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 425.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 289.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 453.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 330.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. Napoleon's words above.

einfacher und doch weit grossartiger,"<sup>1</sup> and "Meines sei die Welt."<sup>2</sup> From the first he was proud of his "Massenscenen." Speaking of those in *Marius und Sulla* he says, "Selbst Shakespeare hat nie trefflichere Volksscenen gezeichnet."<sup>3</sup> Again he says, "Die Volksscenen [in *Napoleon*] werden koestlich, besser als im *Sulla*."<sup>4</sup> He is especially proud of great battles in which whole nations are opposed to one another.<sup>5</sup> He also prides himself on his excellent individualization of the masses. He commends what he has done in this regard in *Marius und Sulla*,<sup>6</sup> and speaks of the art he has shown in the picturing of the Saxons and Suabians.<sup>7</sup> To guilds of people he purposely gives a family resemblance, saying, "Ich habe die preussischen Jaeger mit Willen conform gemacht."<sup>8</sup> Shakespeare he had criticized for not characterizing justly the French whom he hated,<sup>9</sup> and for not characterizing the English in *King John* as Anglo-Saxons in contrast to the Norman nobility.<sup>10</sup> Uechtritz he criticizes for not having differentiated "die slavischen Gepiden und die germanischen Langoarden."<sup>11</sup>

Grabbe has full joy in the varied life of the mass, but is often also discouraged by a seamy side of the petty mass. "Die Menge ist ein Hund, je mehr Pruegel, je folgsamer."<sup>12</sup> He is a liberalist, but despises the pettiness of so much of the revolutionary agitation as "ein notwendiges Uebel,"<sup>13</sup> deplores the despotism of the many that followed Napoleon's fall,<sup>14</sup> or the despotism of democracy made possible by the constitutional life, and says, "Ich liebe die Despotie eines Einzelnen, nicht vieler."<sup>15</sup> The nature of the prevailing liberalism makes him almost desire despotism back again.<sup>16</sup> This power of the petty mass he illustrates in *Hannibal*, where Hannibal the strong hero falls before the pettiness of small business men.<sup>17</sup>

Yet, with all his realization of the mass, with all his elemental instinct for the universal, for the most democratic individualism, with all his consciousness of the power of the multi-headed mob, he has just as elemental an instinct for the great individual, for the Titan. "Ich liebe Despotie

<sup>1</sup> Gr., IV, 319.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 292; cf. also 300 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 296.

<sup>5</sup> Immermann, *Mem.*, IV, xxxiii; Gr. IV, 271.

<sup>6</sup> Gr., IV, 205-6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 228.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 273.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 315.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 306.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 361.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 453.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 473.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 361.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 419 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 398.



eines Einzelnen";<sup>1</sup> "dieser Liberalismus koennte mich Despotie zurueckwuenschen lassen."<sup>2</sup> He likes Titans so well that he associates several with one another, and in his dramas he cannot endure to have everything pivot around one hero, "nichts ist mir fataler als wo alles sich um einen Goetzen dreht," and so plans to bring Scipio into prominence by the side of Hannibal.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it is just the conflict of one Titan with another that he admires.<sup>4</sup> The height of the tragic seems attained when the great Titan falls before the petty mass as illustrated in Hannibal.<sup>5</sup>

We find, then, in Grabbe an individualism that causes him to appreciate the autonomous life of the mass better than any preceding dramatist, its power for good, but also its cruel power in curtailing the very individualism which is the source of its own free life, when this individualism rises before it in high potency in a Titanic hero. He illustrates the difficult problem of the interrelation between hero and mass.

Grabbe has no fear of the "Staatsaktion" as such. He does not believe that in order to make an historic drama interesting it is necessary to transform political into passionate motives, and indeed seeks to present just the political motives and "Umstaende,"<sup>6</sup> and the public rather than private interests. So he criticizes Schenk's *Belisar* as being "buergerlich,"<sup>7</sup> Kleist's *Kaetchen von Heilbronn* as giving "blosse Bewegungen des Herzens,"<sup>8</sup> and Schiller's *Maria Stuart* as hinging on petty intrigue and jealousy.<sup>9</sup>

Grabbe is increasingly conscious of the individuality of his work. He is proud of his conception of historic movement and historic necessity, and of his mass treatment. The excellence of the historic insight in *Barbarossa* and *Heinrich der Sechste*, the wealth of true individual characterization, are an unceasing delight to him.<sup>10</sup> He works on *Napoleon* with joy in having seized a modern period, and prides himself on the mass scenes.<sup>11</sup> *Hannibal*, he thinks, is much better than *Napoleon*.<sup>12</sup> Finally of the *Hermannsschlacht*, into which he puts with frantic consecration his dying strength and effort, which he feels is sapping his last blood,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gr., IV, 473.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 356.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 390, 398.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 267 and in various letters of this period.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 294, 296.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 376.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 273.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 60.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 101.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 95-96.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 463, etc.

he says, "die *Hermannsschlacht* ist gegen den *Hannibal* ein Coloss";<sup>1</sup> and "ein Coloss auf durchaus neuen Wegen schreitend, ist das Stueck."<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is clear that Grabbe consciously sought to write an historic drama of large purport, to give true history, to give it treated as a movement, the product of the conflict of large and complex forces, and to give this movement conceived in the terms of a large historic necessity. He represents a decided, important, and interesting step in the development of the theory and practice of the historic drama, and throws an entirely new light on the corporate type.<sup>3</sup>

Georg Buechner, who follows somewhat the inspiration of Grabbe, wrote:

Der dramatische Dichter ist . . . nichts als ein Geschichtsschreiber, steht aber ueber Letzerem dadurch dass er uns die Geschichte zum zweitenmal erschafft, und uns gleich unmittelbar, statt eine trockene Erzaehlung zu geben, in das Leben einer Zeit hineinversetzt, uns statt Charakteristiken Charaktere . . . und statt Beschreibungen Gestalten giebt. Seine hoechste Aufgabe ist, der Geschichte, wie sie sich wirklich begeben, so nahe als moeglich zu kommen.<sup>4</sup>

He realized to the full the shifting of weight from hero to mass.

Ich studirte die franzoesische Revolution. Ich fuehlte mich wie zerruettet unter dem graesslichen Fatalismus der Geschichte. Ich finde in der Menschen-natur eine entsetzliche Gleichheit, in den menschlichen Verhaeltnissen eine unabwendbare Gewalt, allem und keinem verliehen. Der Einzelne nur Schaum auf der Welle, die Groesse ein blosser Zufall, die Herrschaft des Genies ein Puppenspiel, ein laecherliches Ringen gegen ein ehernes Gesetz, es zu erkennen das Hoechste, es zu beherrschen unmoeglich.<sup>5</sup>

This conception permeates *Dantons Tod*.

Wer wird der Hand fluchen, auf die der Fluch des Muss gefallen?<sup>6</sup> Das Schicksal fuehrt uns die Arme, aber nur gewaltige Naturen sind seine Organe.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gr., IV, 485.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 502.

<sup>3</sup> It may seem surprising that Grabbe's theory has been given in such detail, and has been taken so seriously when compared with Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Hebbel. Grabbe has however undoubtedly aimed to do a different thing than they, and has largely succeeded. Apart from his hopeless faults, he has achieved something that the other much greater and saner dramatists never aimed to do. His sometimes overwhelming self-confidence and self-praise have a real and justified origin in this realization, and one can understand how under the stress of the originality of his own conception he forgets what he lacks.

<sup>4</sup> *Buechners Werke*, 354.

<sup>6</sup> *Dantons Tod*, 50.

<sup>5</sup> Einleitung to *Dantons Tod*, lxxv.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

The close connection of this conception of the historic drama as an expression of the Hegelian interpretation of history with the conception of tragedy as a formula for metaphysical experience, found at this time in almost all the writers and critics of the tragedy, is seen definitely in Griepenkerl's words. He wrote in 1846, "Tragisch ist diejenige Konstellation wo das individuelle Dasein auf der Spitze einer universellen Tataeusserung vor der Macht des Unendlichen, Goettlichen, in Staub sinkt." It is a great thing he, thinks, to realize

dass das einzelne nur einseitig berechtigt sein kann weil es endlich bedingt ist, dass es aber in seinem Falle mitten in seiner Einzelheit zu offenbaren vermag, dass es der Herrlichkeit des Allgemeinen gedient, dass es gelebt der Idee und stirbt fuer die Idee. . . .<sup>1</sup> Diese dritte, diese letzte und hoechste Stufe des Tragischen als des Kampfes zwischen einseitig berechtigten Maechten, resultirt aus dem innersten Wesen der Geschichte. Die ganze Geschichte vollzieht ihren Fortschritt unter der Fahne dieser Idee des Tragischen. Ja, man kann sagen, von des Buergerlebens engem Kreis bis hinauf in die hoechste Sphaere des Staats- und Voelkerlebens ist es dieser Streit einseitig Berechtigter, der als Angelpunkt des Prozesses und Progresses der Geschichte anerkannt werden muss . . . . und in allen grossen Ereignissen der Weltgeschichte, wie in den scheinbar kleinsten Beziehungen dazu wird der . . . . Beobachter . . . . diesen Kampf einseitig berechtigter Gegensaezte entdecken und darauf, auf diese Idee, den Fortschritt der Geschichte bauen muessen.<sup>2</sup>

Griepenkerl's idea of a corporate historic drama is shown in his conception of what he thinks Schiller has done.

Wo er seine tragische Schlacht schlaegt, da sind es die Hauptknoten der welthistorischen Entwicklung wo es sich nicht um die Wohlfahrt einzelner, sondern um die grossen Interessen der Voelker handelt, wo Masse gegen Masse wirkt, und die Gewaltigen der Erde zittern.<sup>3</sup>

Hegel had been the first to formulate the process of history as the struggle of "einseitig Berechtigter," and had insisted that each party although justified was also guilty. The guilt consisted in the attempt of each force to affirm itself at the expense of the other equally justified force, an attempt that was on each side the necessary consequence of life itself; hence the guilt is itself justified. The result of the conflict, the result in history, consisted in a forced compromise between the two, so that neither side was absolutely victorious or absolutely annihilated. "Die Einseitigkeit die auf der Berechti-

<sup>1</sup> *Kunstgenius der deutschen Literatur des letzten Jahrhunderts in seinen geschichtlichen organischen Entwicklung*, 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

gung des anderen nicht achtet ist die Schuld." "Am Schluss werden die beiden Einseitigkeiten aufgehoben."<sup>1</sup> His conception of life as of the drama meant the double dualism of the struggle of justified finite forces against one another, and the inevitable struggle of the individual will, in so far as it is finite, against the infinite or world-will.

Vischer discusses the "Tragische des sittlichen Konflikts" explained by Hegel, and finds it illustrated especially in revolutionary conflicts, such as the conflict between feudalism and kingdom in England, as the conflict between individualism and the police-state in Germany in the sixteenth century, and as the French Revolution. When speaking of this in connection with the drama, he thinks of the Revolution chiefly as a good background for a representative private conflict such as is found in *Antigone*, and not indeed of a conflict between revolutionary masses; nevertheless the suggestion leads along that line.<sup>2</sup>

Hegel had insisted on a guilt inherent in the justification of the conflicting force; this view Vischer accepts for this the highest form of the tragic, "das Tragische des sittlichen Konflikts," but finds it inadequate to explain catastrophes that have not even the basis of this kind of guilt.<sup>3</sup> Although he found fault with Schiller for having preferred the compulsion of "Umstaende," and a guiltless hero,<sup>4</sup> he none the less analyzes this form of the tragic as "das Tragische als Gesetz des Universums."

Das Uebel kommt nicht vom verletzten sittlichen Willen, sondern vom Zufall . . . vom Naturgesetz, nicht vom beleidigten Sittengesetz. Das absolute Subject erscheint in Form einer blinden Macht, welche ein Beispiel aufstellt, dass das Einzelne zu Grunde gehen muss weil es Einzelnes ist.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the tragic guilt of the individual is now felt to be contained in the mere fact that he is a finite individual who, as such, is necessarily opposed to the world-spirit. The individual's inevitable rebellion against the world-spirit is interpreted to be the same thing as the Greek Hybris; and the Greek "Neid der Goetter," which he says destroys "das Schoene," "das Glueck" even where there has been no Hybris, no guilt, is felt to have been merely a symbol for the uncomprehended world-spirit.

This formulation of Vischer's goes a step forward in the analysis of causality, since he sees the fate-compulsion as a network of mere cause and effect, so complex that the direct causes of events cannot always

<sup>1</sup> Hegel, *Aesthetik*, III, 325 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vischer, *Aesthetik*, I, 316.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 123.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 300.

be traced, and since he accepts this lack of congruence especially as regards the connection between guilt and catastrophe for the drama. This is the conception that was suggested in Goethe, Schiller, Grillparzer, and which was naïvely illustrated in Grabbe, who thought less of tragic and dramatic theory than of the presentation of actual history, and which was developed most fully by Hebbel.

Lack of congruence between guilt and catastrophe is demanded aggressively by Schopenhauer<sup>1</sup> because he believes that Schopenhauer tragedy should aim to present just the inadequacy and nothingness of life.

Roetscher, one of the most influential of the critics of this time, believes that the aim of the poet must be the true presentation of the historical world-process, and says,

da der Weltgeist selbst der Schoepfer der geschichtlichen Begebenheiten ist, und die geschichtlichen Charaktere seine Traeger sind, so wird auch in allen grossen Phasen der Weltgeschichte die geschichtliche Wahrheit mit der poetischen zusammenfallen. . . .<sup>2</sup> Der dramatische Dichter kann durch die treue Darlegung des geschichtlichen Geistes, durch die reine Widerspiegelung der geschichtlichen Bewegung, ohne subjektive Zutaten, den Prozess des goettlichen Geistes am reinsten vor uns auslegen.<sup>3</sup>

He believes in giving typical rather than individual truth, and allows changes from historic fact if they are in harmony with the higher historic meaning.<sup>4</sup> He thinks that the characters presented should, in their essential attributes, be true to history because they are the organs of the world-spirit.<sup>5</sup>

Similar views are held by Melchior Meyr in Roetscher's *Jahrbuecher fuer dramatische Kunst*, but he lays less emphasis on philosophic significance, and more on realistic fidelity.

Ulrici's conception of the historic drama also shows the Hegelian influence. He speaks of the "idea" of history, and says that the "idea" of an epoch is the formative principle of the drama; that the unity is one of "idea," not of hero or action. He says that the epic element naturally preponderates, that the historic drama must give an essentially unaltered picture, but can change unessentials, and that a tragic ending is not necessary.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, I, 286 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Roetscher, *Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung*, 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 49 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Ulrici, *Shakespeares dramatische Kunst*, 33, 175 ff.

Gervinus thinks that whereas the historian can give merely the facts, it is the poet's function to find the motives behind the facts, to present events as a chain of cause and effect, and to transform the "Staatsaktion" into a human story, preferably a tragedy according to the Aristotelian formula.

Je freier und kühner er hierbei verfährt, wie Shakespeare in Richard III, desto poetisch ansprechender wird seine Behandlung der Geschichte werden, desto mehr wird sie aber auch historischen Wert verlieren; je wahrer und der Wirklichkeit näher er bleibt, wie in Richard II, desto mehr wird seine Dichtung an geschichtlichen Sinn gewinnen und an poetischem Sinn einbüßen.<sup>1</sup>

He demands exhibition of poetic justice in the drama as a reflection of the justice which he finds in the natural order, and believes that man is "Schmied seines eigenen Schicksals."<sup>2</sup> On the whole, he speaks of Shakespeare's form as a "neue Gattung," and acknowledges that since the events and actions have not a private personal but a larger political result, a severe formal concentration is impossible, and that greater epic breadth of construction is entailed.<sup>3</sup>

The realization of the fact that there are various types of historic dramas is shown in Gutzkow's attempt at classification in the "Anmerkung" to his *Wullenweber* (1848). He feels strongly that writers of historic drama have not recognized the various points of view that are possible with regard to historic subjects. Hence he finds an enormous body of tragedies "die zwischen dem entweder rein biographischen oder rein geschichtlichen, dem epischen, curiösen oder novellistisch-romantischen Standpunkt hin und her schwanken." This leads him to divide historic dramas into such as give "das historische Genrebild," and those that are "rein historisch-dramatische."<sup>4</sup>

Thinking of this latter type, he demands "das historische Drama muss wirklich Geschichte geben, und Geschichte nur als solche." His discussion of Schiller shows that he also demands the choice of an important period in the "Voelkergeschichte," with "weite geschichtliche Fernsichten"; he praises Schiller for having introduced us into "die grossen Hallen der Weltgeschichte, nicht in ihre dunkeln Seitengaenge." The great danger of this type is the "anecdotic," which, he says, Schiller usually avoided, but which was characteristic of Goethe, who, indeed, was thereby well able to reproduce the type and tone of an historic epoch as a whole, but who could never rise to the higher historic drama.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gervinus, *Shakespeare*, 319 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 235 f.

<sup>4</sup> "Anmerkung" to *Wullenweber*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 218 ff.

He understands the reason why the historic dramas of his time have shown political "Tendenz," but thinks that "Tendenz" is the greatest foe that the real historic drama has.<sup>1</sup> He believes in the presentation of true history, except in so far as the laws of the drama demand changes. He is glad that he is able to explain that Wullenweber, though not guilty of "Ueberhebung," has not been able to keep his hands absolutely clean, and so is not guiltless of his Nemesis.<sup>2</sup>

Laube has no original conception of the historic drama. In his introduction to *Struensee*, he says briefly, "Sie [gewesene Wirklichkeit] ist untergeordnet neben der Wahrheit die im Kunstwerke selbstaendig herrschen soll. Das Nichtgeschehene kann wahr sein durch die Kunst des Poeten . . . und das Geschehene kann unwahr werden." Of his changes from historic truth he says, "Es bedarf dies . . . von meinem Standpunkte aus keiner Verteidigung."<sup>3</sup> In his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* he says that the historic drama should not make the manners of an age its subject, but that it should show the "Fortschritt des handelnden Weltgeistes."<sup>4</sup>

Hebbel was always unwilling to have his theories identified with those of Hegel and others, but it is nevertheless easy to see that they are an expression of the same philosophic and historic thought. His preoccupation with the subject of the function of history in the drama began about 1839 after he had read Lessing's words on the subject. He writes, "das Verhaeltniss zwischen Tragoedie und Geschichte kann etwas inniger sein."<sup>5</sup> In his "Vorwort" to *Judith* he says,

Die Poesie hat, der Geschichte gegenueber, eine andere Aufgabe, als die der Graeberverzierung und Transfiguration. . . . Im uebrigen werden mir die historischen und traditionellen Ueberlieferungen, die dem Fachgelehrten in den Sinn kommen moegen . . . so viel gelten, als sie dem Dichter, der das Wesen des Geschichtsprozesses erfasst hat . . . naemlich nichts.

In "Mein Wort ueber das Drama" he writes, "Die Geschichte ist fuer den Dichter ein Vehikel zur Verkoerperung seiner Anschauungen, nicht aber ist umgekehrt der Dichter der Auferstehungengel der Geschichte." Similarly, he writes in the "Vorwort" to *Maria Magdalena*:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Anmerkung" to *Wullenweber*, 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>3</sup> Laube, "Einleitung" to *Struensee*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, III, 225.

<sup>5</sup> Hebbel, *Tagebuecher*, I, 335.

<sup>6</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 152 ff.

. . . . die Geschichte, insofern sie nicht bloss das allmaelige Fortruecken der Menschheit in der Loesung ihrer Aufgabe darstellen, sondern auch den Anteil, den die hervorragenden Individuen daran hatten, mit Haushaelterin-Genauigkeit spezifiziren will, ist wirklich nicht viel mehr, als ein grosser Kirchhof mit seinem Immortalitaetsapparat; . . . . so kann die Aufgabe des Dramas, doch unmoeglich darin bestehen, . . . . einen zweifelhaften Galvanisirungsversuch anzustellen, und der neuchterne Lessingsche Ausspruch in der Dramaturgie . . . . wird verbleiben."

Although he always asserts that the concrete facts of history need not be accurate, he insists on the correctness of historical atmosphere. He says of the difference between poetry and history,

Wenn der Historiker jeden Einzelnen wie eine Bombe betrachtet, deren Schwingungen und Wirkungen er zu berechnen, um deren Entstehung er aber sich wenig zu kuemmern hat, so ist es Sache des dramatischen Dichters . . . . die Geschichte zu ergaenzen, zu zeigen, wie der Charakter, den er sich zum Vorwurf macht, geworden ist, was er ist.

This is the point which is Hebbel's chief contribution to the theory of the historic drama, namely, the demand of this profounder treatment and utilization of *mœurs*, which had been first given by Schiller in his handling of *Wallensteins Lager*. Much of his theory throughout his life concerns this point. "Das Werden der Charaktere," not their deeds, interests him.<sup>1</sup>

Charaktere die nicht im Volksboden wurzeln, sind Topfgewaechse. . . .<sup>2</sup> Wie jede Crystallisation von gewissen physikalischen Bedingungen abhaengt, so jede Individualisirung menschlichen Wesens von der Beschaffenheit der Geschichtsepoche, in die es faellt. Diese Modificationen der Menschennatur in ihrer relativen Notwendigkeit zur Anschauung zu bringen, ist die Hauptaufgabe, die die Poesie der Geschichte gegenueber hat.<sup>3</sup> . . . .

Woher entspringt das Lebendige der echten Charaktere im Drama und in der Kunst ueberhaupt? Daher, dass der Dichter in jeder ihrer Aeusserungen ihre Atmosphaere wiederzuspiegeln weiss, die geistige, wie die leibliche, den Ideenkreis, wie Volk und Land, Stand und Rang, dem sie angehoren.<sup>4</sup> . . . . Der dramatische Individualisirungsprozess ist vielleicht durch das Wasser am besten zu versinnlichen. Ueberall ist das Wasser Wasser und der Mensch Mensch; aber wie jenes von jeder Erdschicht durch die es stroemt oder sickert, einen geheimnissvollen Beigeschmack annimmt, so der Mensch ein Eigentuemliches

<sup>1</sup> Scholz, *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 336.

<sup>2</sup> *Hebbels Briefe*, VI, 233.

<sup>3</sup> *Tagebuecher*, III, 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.



von Zeit, Nation, Geschichte, und Geschick.<sup>1</sup> . . . . Um die bedeutendsten Lebensprozesse darzustellen, muss man die Atmosphaere der Zeiten darstellen.<sup>2</sup>

He thus desires to picture the individual's growth out of his historic *milieu*, and to explain and justify his personality and his conflict by this social background.

In *Mein Wort ueber das Drama*,<sup>3</sup> he writes:

In welchen Verhaeltniss steht das Drama zur Geschichte, und inwiefern muss es historisch sein? Ich denke, so weit, als es dieses schon an und fuer sich ist, und als die Kunst fuer die hoechste Geschichtsschreibung gelten darf, indem sie die gross artigsten und bedeutendsten Lebensprozesse gar nicht darstellen kann, ohne die entscheidenden historischen Krisen, welche sie hervorrufen und bedingen . . . . mit einem Wort, die Atmosphaere der Zeiten zugleich mit zur Anschauung zu bringen. . . . . Dann . . . . wird man aufhoeren, mit beschraenktem Sinn nach einer gewissen Identitaet zwischen Kunst und Geschichte zu forschen, und gegebene und verarbeitete Situationen miteinander zu vergleichen, . . . . und man hat erkannt, dass das Drama nicht bloss in seiner Totalitaet, . . . . sondern dass es schon in jeden seiner Elemente symbolisch betrachtet werden muss.

Thus, although Hebbel opposes abstract and finished characters in the drama, and although he recognizes the importance of the *milieu* that determines the characters, he believes in typical, rather than individualistic, characteristization. Theoretically he aims at a harmony between these two principles. In treating an historic personality, he demands always that his typical significance should be disengaged, and that the merely temporal should be obliterated. Hebbel holds a middle ground between the rationalists who believed in eternal, unchangeable, isolated types, and the naturalists who efface the typical significance; he believes in the recurrence of types as modified by successive *milieus*.<sup>4</sup>

If one disregards the often rather invisible guilt of Hybris postulated with the very fact of human individuation,<sup>5</sup> which Hebbel accepts, his dramas often show catastrophes not merited by striking guilt. He was much troubled by critics who missed the traditional reconciliation in his dramas, the visible victory of the moral order,<sup>6</sup> and he worked out his

<sup>1</sup> *Tagebuecher*, III, 447.

<sup>2</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 100; *Werke*, XI, 279.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, XI, 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 145 (654); 209 (960); 314 ff.; 330 f.; 366 (1630); 395 (1768); II, 256, (2730); 95 (2260); 127 (2407); 131 f.; III, 102; IV, 37 (5328); 129 (5647); *Werke*, X, 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 74, 98, 108; *Werke*, XI, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 96, 106.

ideas more and more clearly, asserting that his reconciliation of conflicts was found, not in the individual, but that the "Dialektik"—the play of "Zwiespalt" and "Versoehnung"—was placed in the "Idee selbst."<sup>1</sup> This reconciliation was suggested visibly in Hebbel's dramas, beginning with *Herodes und Mariamne*; he himself contrasted them with his earlier dramas in this respect. Like Grillparzer, he at first accepts Lessing's views that the drama should be logical in every step.<sup>2</sup> He says "Zwar sollen die Charaktere den Blitzstrahl an sich ziehen," and demands that the catastrophe be inevitable.<sup>3</sup> History seemed at first "nur weil sie kein System hat, keine rechte Tragoedie. . . . Dies schliesst den Zufall nicht voellig aus, nur aber werde er dann als Stoff behandelt, dem der ordnende Geist des Ganzen Form und Physiognomie erteilt." "Freilich mag auch ein Zufall Providenz sein, doch ist es eine Providenz die wir nicht zu fassen vermoegen."<sup>4</sup> Accordingly he blamed Schiller for allowing Max and Thekla to die without guilt.<sup>5</sup> Later Hebbel, although he still insisted on inevitableness, conceived the principle of inevitableness more broadly, and demanded that both dramatist and historian see the ever-present "Dualismus des Rechts,"<sup>6</sup> in accordance with which he realized, speaking particularly of the French Revolution, "dass es keinen Moment giebt, wo irgend ein Recht sich durchsetzen koennte, ohne irgend ein Unrecht zu begehen . . . dass es sich . . . nicht . . . um definitive, gewissermassen chemische Scheidungsprocesse handelt."<sup>7</sup> Since the individual must always fall before the inevitably successful self-affirmation of the "Idee," it seemed immaterial to him "ob der Held an einer vortrefflichen oder an einer verwerflichen Bestrebung scheitert."<sup>8</sup> Although in Hebbel's conception, as in Hegel's and Vischer's, there is an insistence upon the guilt of the guiltless, the actual illustrations seem rather to be examples of the tragic as "Gesetz des Universums." Thus the imperfect justice symbolized in the old Greek fate and suggested in Schiller receives metaphysical justification as in Hegel and Vischer. For, no matter how unjust and incomprehensible fate, the "Idee," appears to human eyes, it is, as it was with the Greeks, the "Silhouette Gottes, des Unbegreiflichen und Unerfassbaren."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 96, 98, 108, 117; "Vorwort" to *Maria Magdalena*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tagebuecher*, III, 245 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, I, 330.

<sup>5</sup> *Hebbels Werke*, XI, 208.

<sup>6</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 196; *Werke*, XII, 328 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 344; *Werke*, XII, 328 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 98; *Werke*, XI, 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Tagebuecher* I, 224.



Accurate as Hebbel is in the motivation by historic environment, this is, however, only the means and first step in the accomplishment of a non-historical purpose. He says, to be sure, "Die Dichtkunst, die hoechste, ist die eigentliche Geschichtsschreibung die das Resultat der historischen Prozesse fasst und in unvergleichlichen Bildern festhaelt, wie zum Beispiel Sophocles die Idee des Griechentums,"<sup>1</sup> but he means something very far removed from concrete historic drama. He says, "Das Drama soll den jedesmaligen Welt- und Menschenzustand in seinem Verhaeltniss zur Idee darstellen," and demands that it should help to solve "die weltgeschichtliche Aufgabe."<sup>2</sup> The "Individualisirung," the "Werden der Individualisirung," the "Darstellung des Wiederstreites zwischen Weltwillen und Einzelwillen," the presentation of the "Kampf des Individuellen mit dem Universum,"<sup>3</sup> are his chief interest, and not the historic matter. His not specific, but typical and symbolical, conception of the historic drama, and indeed of the whole "Wesen des Geschichtsprozesses," which parallels his contempt of "die materielle Geschichte,"<sup>4</sup> is seen distinctly in his "Vorwort" to *Maria Magdalena*, "das Drama schon an und fuer sich (ist) historisch."<sup>5</sup> He even says, "dass ein reines Phantasiegebilde, selbst ein Liebsgemaelde . . . historisch sein kann."<sup>6</sup> From this point of view he says, "die Menschheit . . . lebt, nur fuer und durch ihre Geschichte, und Shakespeare . . . ward nur ein grosser Dramatiker weil er ein grosser Geschichtskundiger war."<sup>7</sup> To make a drama historic in this sense it is only necessary first to choose a period of social revolution, then to present this revolution as an historically accurate *milieu* which is felt to be the inevitable result of the previous ages and which shows the process of breaking an outworn form and of finding a new form, and finally, with this *milieu* as a background, to picture the conflict between "Einzelwillen" and "Weltwillen," this "Lebensprozess an sich," as he calls it.<sup>8</sup> Thus when Hebbel says, "Die Geschichte ist fuer den Dichter ein Vehikel zur Verkoerperung seiner Anschauungen, nicht aber ist umgekehrt der Dichter der Auferstehungengel der Geschichte,"<sup>9</sup> it is clear that from the point of view of the present study, which desires especially to trace the evolution of that type of historic drama whose mission it is to give a true, living, concrete embodiment of a political movement of corporate interest, Hebbel

<sup>1</sup> *Tagebuecher*, II, 57.

<sup>2</sup> "Vorwort" to *Maria Magdalena*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 89, An Madame Stich.

<sup>4</sup> *Werke*, XI, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 58.

<sup>6</sup> "Mein Wort ü. d. Drama."

<sup>7</sup> *Tagebuecher*, I, 164.

<sup>8</sup> "Mein Wort ü. d. Drama."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

undoubtedly uses history as a "Vehikel."<sup>1</sup> He chooses, it is true, periods of revolution for his backgrounds; however, not the revolutions themselves in their corporate bearing are made the subjects of his dramas, but individualistic problems, which, like the characters in whom they are illustrated, grow inevitably out of these backgrounds.

Hebbel's conception of the drama, which is a formula into which one's theory of history, of the universe, must be fitted,<sup>2</sup> illustrates and explains the typical, symbolical process-drama, not the corporate movement-drama.<sup>3</sup> To the conception of the symbolical process-drama he is brought by the consideration

dass der Ausscheidungsprozess, der das Bedeutende von dem Unbedeutenden sondert, sich immer steigern, dass er die Nomenclatur dereinst einmal bis auf die Alexander und Napoleone lichten, das er noch spaeter nur noch die Voelker-Physiognomien, und dann wohl gar nur noch die durch die Phasen der Religion und Philosophie bedingten allgemeinsten Entwicklungsepochen der Menschheit festhalten . . . . wird.<sup>4</sup>

He believes that historic writing should present, not individuals and material events, but "das allmaelige Forttruecken der Menschheit in der Loesung ihrer Aufgabe."<sup>5</sup> He feels that the law that underlies the drama lies also at the root of the life of the universe, "Denn das Drama ist nur darum die hoechste Form der Kunst und der Tragoedie . . . . weil das Gesetz des Dramas dem Weltlauf selbst zu Grunde liegt, und weil die Geschichte sich in allen grossen Krisen immer zur Tragoedie zuspitzt."<sup>6</sup> Hence he demands that the drama should absorb this "hoechsten Gehalt der Geschichte,"<sup>7</sup> and demands of the dramatist that he apprehend correctly "das Wesen des Geschichtsprozesses." So he says definitely,

Es ist ein Drama moeglich, das den Strom der Geschichte bis in seine geheimnissvollsten Quellen, die positiven Religionen, hinein verfolgt, und das, weil es in dialektischer Form alle Konsequenzen der diesen zu Grunde liegenden innersten Ideen an den zuerst bewusst oder unbewusst davon ergriffenen Individuen veranschaulicht, ein Symbolum der gesamten historischen und gesellschaftlichen Zustaende, die sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte daraus entwickeln mussten, aufstellt.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Koch, *Drama und Geschichte bei Hebbel*, 17. He holds the opposite view.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, XII, on Gervinus, 324-34; Scheunert, *Pantragismus*. See also Hebbel's remarks on his *Dithmarschen*; he considers the Dithmarschen as the tragic "collective hero."

<sup>3</sup> See chaps. ii and iii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 328-29.

<sup>4</sup> *Werke*, XI, 55.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 60.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>8</sup> *Palaestra*, VIII, 105.

This drama should present merely the few characters "die die Jahrhunderte, ja die Jahrtausende als organische Uebergangspunkte vermitteln." The *Moloch* fragment was an attempt to illustrate this type.

Hebbel's theory of giving *milieu* brought with it much mass-presentation, and in his early days he even attempted a corporate drama of the *Wilhelm Tell*, *Hermannsschlacht*, and *Andreas Hofer* type, namely his *Dithmarschen*. At that time (1840) he wrote,

Das ganze Volk teilte sich in die Viktorie, kein Einzelner trat hervor, aber ein Drama aus lauter Volksscenen—ich weiss nicht ob das existiren darf. . . . Doch, wenn das Stueck auch nur eine recht sinnliche Darstellung alter Volkszustaende giebt, so hat es immer einen gewissen, obgleich nur untergeordneten, Wert.<sup>1</sup>

In 1849 he discusses Gaertner's *Andreas Hofer* and says,

Sein Drama ist fast planlos, und deshalb kaum zu entwickeln; allein das war das Ereigniss das er darstellte, ebenfalls. . . . Es fehlt an einem Helden im gewoehnlichen Sinn, der als erste Traeger der Handlung im Mittelpunkt steht . . . denn Hofer giebt keineswegs einen solchen ab.<sup>2</sup>

Still later, in 1859, when discussing Fischer's *Masaniello*, he is certain that a corporate drama is impossible. He writes,

Das Volk ist der ewig Kranke . . . der oft in dem ungeschickten Arzt den er erwuergt, das Fiber, das in seinen Knochen schleicht, zu toeten waehnt. . . . Das Volk ist in seiner kuehnsten Erhebung nichts, als ein fliegender Fisch, der von dem Element, dem er entfliehen will, seine ganze Schwungkraft entlehnt; den fliegenden Fisch malen, heisst das Fliegen parodiren. Wer es mit dem Volk gut meint, sollte es nicht zum Gegenstand einer kuenstlerischen Darstellung machen.<sup>3</sup>

Although he realizes that in his age the mass rather than the individual "sich geltend macht,"<sup>4</sup> he says in the same remarks on *Masaniello*, "Ein Volk kann den Kampf um die Freiheit nicht eher beginnen, als bis es in einer hervorragenden Individualitaet ein Centrum gefunden hat." He expresses the opinion that no mass representation has ever shown the mass to advantage; such is the case in *Egmont*, and in the dramas of Shakespeare, "den man doch nicht aristokratischer Vorliebe bezuechtigen will." (!) In Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* the mass does not seem so despicable, he says; but this fact he ascribes to Schiller's use of the "bengalische Flamme."

Hebbel also makes some statements with regard to the periods of history from which choice of material should be made or not made. As

<sup>1</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, X, 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, XI, 280.

<sup>4</sup> *Hebbels Dramaturgie*, 44.

a general rule he demands that the periods and persons chosen should still be a living possession in thought and feeling, that one should not present "das uns voellig Abgestorbene."<sup>1</sup> The "Hohenstaufenbandwuermer" he despises because the imperial struggles were "ausgangslos."<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare's Histories, however, are well chosen, for "mit einem grossartigen Blick in das wahrhaft Lebendige . . . stellte er dar, was noch im Bewusstsein seines Volkes lebte, weil es noch daran zu tragen und zu zehren hatte, den Krieg der roten Rose mit der weissen, die Hoellenausgeburt des Kampfes und die . . . aufdaemmernden Segnungen des endlichen Friedens."<sup>3</sup> In spite of this strict demand he nevertheless was sometimes able to appreciate living incorporation of the past even when removed in thought and feeling, as in the case of Uhland's *Herzog Ernst* and *Ludwig der Baier*.<sup>4</sup> Modern subjects, such as Frederick the great and Napoleon, he considers permissible, but since he believes in typical characterization, he thinks such a subject difficult to handle. The closeness of modern historic personalities to us makes the exact determination of their typical significance, and the necessary simplifying and idealizing, especially difficult.<sup>5</sup>

Hebbel, having the idea that every epoch shows some stage in man's development, and that the drama should picture this stage, thus being "zeitgemaess,"<sup>6</sup> goes still farther along this line when he says that the dramatist who

dereinst der schaudernden Menschheit an einem erschöpfenden Beispiel wird veranschaulichen wollen, welch ein aeusserstes in der Welt moeglich ist, so lange sie unbedingt von der unumschraenkten Willkuer eines Einzelnen, jeder menschlichen Schwaeche unterworfenen und nicht einmal gegen Wahn und Bloedsinn geschuetzten Individuums abhaengt, wird er den Schatten Struensees heraufbeschwoeren.<sup>7</sup>

A picture would be given of self-destroying absolutism, and he thinks that such a drama would fight "fuer die liberalen Ideen."<sup>8</sup> On the other hand he does not approve of using dramas as a vehicle of "Tendenz," the custom so common since the preachings of the "Junge Deutschland,"<sup>9</sup> and criticizes Bauernfeld, and especially Prutz for this fault.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, XI, 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 372. Koch, *Drama und Geschichte bei Hebbel*, 42, makes this point.

<sup>5</sup> *Werke*, X, 122; *Tagebuecher*, IV, 129; Koch, 45.

<sup>6</sup> *Werke*, XI, 48.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 291.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 301, 302.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 341-42.

Finally, Hebbel is one of the first to distinguish types of the historic drama. His theory considers every drama, every real drama, historic in a big typical sense as representative of the stages of the world-process;<sup>1</sup> he acknowledges, however, a drama which is "subjectiv-individuell," and one which is "partiell-national," like his *Dithmarschen*.<sup>2</sup>

Hebbel marked the culmination of the movement which tried to incorporate pure philosophy of history in the drama. From now on, dramatists and critics show a different spirit.

In a feeling of opposition against the philosophic treatment of the historic "idea" in the drama, Hettner writes, "Der instinktive Drang der heutigen Poesie geht darauf, ganz dem realistischen Wesen der Zeit gemaess, in realistischer Individualisirung die grossen objektiven Maechte und Interessen der Geschichte darzustellen."<sup>3</sup> He holds very strongly the view that the historic drama should be transformed into a character-tragedy. He thinks that the historic material, which may be handled freely, should be arranged subservient to one chief character, and that the "Chronicle" technique, which he says the mature Shakespeare repudiated, is not to be followed. He opposes very strongly the idea disseminated by Romanticists that epic breadth is necessary in this type of drama. He commends the fact that Shakespeare makes the fall of Coriolanus the result not of political necessity, but of the circumstance that pride made him a traitor. "Was geht uns in der Poesie die Geschichte als Geschichte an?"<sup>4</sup>

Freytag believes that the historic drama seeks "das wirklich Geschehene so zu verstehen . . . wie es tatsaechlich in die Erscheinung getreten war."<sup>5</sup> He recognizes types of historic dramas according as the poet gives either an interesting character, or "das Schlagende des wirklichen Geschicks," or "interessante Zeitfarbe."<sup>6</sup> Freytag's lack of real historic seriousness, however, is seen in the permission that he gives the poet to invent, if his invention is not felt by his contemporaries as in contradiction to historic truth. He warns against presenting political history and believes only in pragmatic motivation of events. Only one chief historic action or at most a few actions should be taken and used as background.<sup>7</sup> Logical connection between the character of the hero and his catastrophe should be visible, and the antique fate that is

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Die romantische Schule in ihrem Zusammenhange mit Goethe und Schiller*, 190 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hettner, *Das moderne Drama*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Freytag, *Technik des Dramas*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

symbolic of the "Naturordnung" is not permissible.<sup>1</sup> The mechanical, utilitarian, and superficial nature of most of the hints of this Philistine critic is flagrantly apparent when he acknowledges that an audience delights in seeing numerous personalities in an historic drama. But he warns against this practice because of the difficulty of finding enough actors for these parts, and because the possible illness of the actors might make difficult the repetition of a drama thus abundantly stocked.<sup>2</sup>

A prince of reactionaries, who defines, analyzes, and elaborates his position, is Ludwig. Ludwig feels himself in intuitional and theoretical opposition to the metaphysical theories of tragedy, and to all post-Shakespearean developments in Germany. Back to Shakespeare is his call, to Shakespeare interpreted according to the principle of Aristotle and Lessing and—Ludwig. History in his eyes is a repertory of personalities who illustrate not political but psychological problems. Hence history may only be given as background.<sup>3</sup> The action taken from history should be transformed from a "Staatsaktion" to a plot of character and passion,<sup>4</sup> should not be "nackte Historie" of outer events without informing soul as he finds it in Schiller.<sup>5</sup> When a dramatist is not intending to write a real historic drama, he has the right to make changes, even serious changes, such as letting a man die who is known to have continued to live.<sup>6</sup>

Ludwig believes in finding the typical significance of the individual.<sup>7</sup> He opposes Schiller for having given, as he thinks, in *Wallenstein*, the "einzelnen Fall."<sup>8</sup> "Krankhaft individuell" he calls Wallenstein.<sup>9</sup> He believes in giving "nicht was einmal ohne Unwahrscheinlichkeit geschehen konnte, sondern wie es immer geschieht, wie es die Regel ist."<sup>10</sup> . . . . Auch bei der Tragoedie ist es die Hauptsache, den Typus im Stoffe zu sehen.<sup>11</sup> . . . . alle schlechthin individuellen Zuege muessen entfernt werden."<sup>12</sup> Time and place should be vague and not individualized.<sup>13</sup> If Hebbel desired above all things to show the connection between the individual and the individualized *milieu*, Ludwig, in conscious opposition to this, says, "Der

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Technik des Dramas*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig, *Shakespeare Studien* (Heydrich's ed.), 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Werke* (edited by Stern), V, 191, 313-14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 67 ff., 254 ff., 417, 449 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 304; "zufaellig individuell," *ibid.*, 225.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 449.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 473, etc.



Dichter hat einen einzigen Typus herauszunehmen (aus der Geschichte), alle Seitenwurzeln abzuschneiden, ihm vollstaendig von vorn, von hinten, und nach allen Seiten abzuschliessen und zu isoliren, und dann den vollstaendigen Verlauf des Typus vor unser koerperliches und geistiges Auge zu bringen."<sup>1</sup>

The chief interest of the poet in Ludwig's eyes is the character, the passion, and the development of the character.<sup>2</sup> Causal connection must be visible, although not pedantically so.<sup>3</sup> Hence, since the conflict of the tragic character is the chief interest, all epic breadth and detail must be eliminated. The passion and character of the hero, not the "Umstaende," must be the cause of the catastrophe.<sup>4</sup> "Der Held darf nicht unschuldig leiden."<sup>5</sup> Early in the drama the hero, in consequence of his passion and character, should with free will do some deed, some deed of guilt, the inevitable consequence of which entails the catastrophe.<sup>6</sup> Hence Ludwig opposes Schiller's insistence on the importance of the "Umstaende,"<sup>7</sup> that is, his determination of the catastrophe by the particular historic constellation.<sup>8</sup> He criticizes strongly Schiller's "Bemaentelung der Schuld." "Schiller sagt, mein Held kann kaum anders."<sup>9</sup> He says that in Schiller

leidet der Held nicht die Folge seiner eigenen Handlungen die sich raechend gegen ihn wenden, sondern er leidet ohne Schuld; das Schicksal ist Zufall; die Fuegung, das Goettliche, ist eine dumpf grausame Naturkraft, die eine Schadenfreude hat, das Schoene in den Staub zu treten, das Erhabene zu erniedrigen.<sup>10</sup>

He opposes also Hegel, Hebbel, and those dramatists who show the hero "als Opfer der materiell maechtigeren Gegenpartei,"<sup>11</sup> who shift his guilt upon the shoulders of the age, and who try to show the right of the wrong, and the wrong of the right.<sup>12</sup> Concerning Hebbel he says emphatically, "Das Schicksal ist bei Hebbel mehr ein Ergebniss der Zeit, in der seine Menschen leben, als das ihres eigenen Tuns. Sie leiden nicht was ihre eigene Natur, sondern was die Denkart der Zeit, ihnen auferlegt, die in ihnen handelt."<sup>13</sup> Thus it is clear that Ludwig has no conception either

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig, *Werke* (edited by Stern), VI, 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 449.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 104, 105, 254 ff., 320, 446, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Heydrich, 12; see also Ludwig, *op. cit.*, V, 260 f., 424, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig *op. cit.*, V, 416-17.

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig, *op. cit.*, V, 321.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>9</sup> Heydrich, 54, 55.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 358 f.

of a corporate historic drama, or of the modern scientific comprehension of *milieu* determination of character, conflict, and catastrophe.

In interesting contrast to these latter views is the historic drama as found in Ibsen's *Emperor and Galilean*. The thoroughly Hegelian conception of the march of the "Weltgeist," of the "List der Idee," found and expressed in the drama, is seen to have been a conscious attitude when one compares with the drama the following words written to Brandes:

Ibsen  
 Waehrend der Beschaeftigung mit Julian bin ich in gewisser Weise Fatalist geworden; aber dieses Stueck wird doch eine Art Fahne. Haben Sie uebrigens keine Angst vor irgend welchem Tendenzwesen; ich sehe auf die Charaktere, auf die sich kreuzenden Plaene, auf die *Geschichte*; und gebe mich nicht mit der "Moral" des ganzen ab—vorausgesetzt dass sie unter der Moral der Geschichte nicht ihre Philosophie verstehen: denn dass eine solche als das endgueltige Urteil ueber Kampt und Sieg zum Vorschein kommen wird, versteht sich von selbst.<sup>1</sup>

Coming to the criticisms of the present, one still finds differences of opinion, and it is only necessary to make a few representative quotations.

Lothar  
 Rudolph Lothar holds the traditional view that the historic drama should be character-drama, but demands truth of character and event, and growth of both out of *milieu*.<sup>2</sup>

Gustav Welthly says,

Der moderne Dichter sucht nicht mehr seine persoenliche Weltanschauung, sein sittliches Empfinden, in laengst entschwundene Zeiten hineinzutragen, sondern er sucht, mit dem Microscop der Quellenforschung  
 Welthly  
 bewaffnet, vergangene Milieus zu rekonstruieren, um dann aus denselben die Menschen nicht nur im historisch echten Mantel, sondern von historisch echtem Blut belebt erstehen zu sehen.<sup>3</sup>

Borinski says that it is the poet's "Bestreben die Raetsel menschlicher Geschichte und Charaktere aus den tatsaechlichen Ereignissen der Weltgeschichte zu erklaren und verstehen"; but also, "Die Geschichte dient dem Dichter nur als das erhoechte, allen sichtbare Geruest, auf dem an weltbekannten Ereignissen die ewigen Fragen des Geistes und Herzens, durchaus keine politischen oder dergleichen Abhandlungen zum Austrag kommen."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibsen, *Briefe*, September 24, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> Rudolph Lothar, *Das Drama der Gegenwart*, 310 f.

<sup>3</sup> Gustav Welthly, *Dramen der Gegenwart*, 127.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Borinski, *Das Theater*.

Hans von Gumpenberg, in his *Einleitung* to *Koenig Konrad I*, says that he aims to give a "dramatische Verlebendigung der deutschen Vergangenheit," "einen ganzen Zeitabschnitt, nicht bloss enge Familienschicksale."

Von der Pfordten is the only one who tries to give an extended account of the nature of the historic drama. He defines it as being the result of a true historic as well as poetic interest; he insists on historic insight, and demands that an historic drama give a true picture of the past reality. He recognizes the necessity of an epic technique, and upholds a broad conception of unity. His chief interests seem to be the giving of national history for patriotic edification, and the vivifying of history by presenting the soul-life of the personalities involved. He demands individualistic, not typical, characterization. On the whole, his idea of historic drama is pragmatic rather than corporate. He has no conception of historic movement and necessity.<sup>1</sup>

The conception of the corporate historic drama, whose gradual development has been followed, receives interesting, although brief and partial, definition and analysis in Lublinski, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, and in Richard M. Meyer's *Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Lublinski, when interpreting the work of Schiller, especially *Wallenstein*, speaks of a "Causalitaetsdrama," which he says was Schiller's undefined and subconscious aim; and Meyer, when interpreting Grabbe and Hauptmann, calls this same type of drama the "realistisches Historiendrama grossen Stils," and "historisches Volksdrama grossen Stils." Lublinski believes that the hero, whose character is the inevitably determined response to the need of the age, should fall as the victim of the "Zeitverhaeltnisse."<sup>2</sup> R. M. Meyer is especially impressed by the corporate interest of this type, and says that the corporate life of the mass in its breadth and varied life, after having served as background for the historic fact in *Wallenstein* and *Wilhelm Tell*, has become in Grabbe the chief object. The wars of Napoleon and Hannibal, he thinks, are merely the means by which the continued and solely important life of the market-place of Carthage and the street of Berlin is made possible. He insists that only a "Collectivheld," not a single hero, can serve as "Traeger der Handlung." Nevertheless Grabbe and Hauptmann, he believes, have not given sufficient importance to the striking individual or leader, whom

<sup>1</sup> Otto von der Pfordten, *Werden und Wesen des historischen Dramas*; see critique of the book by L. M. Kueffner, *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Lublinski, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 13 ff.

he thinks the mass needs to have before it can act. "Das grosse Volksdrama der Zukunft braucht beides: das Volk als Traeger der Handlung, den Einzelnen als Traeger des Gedankens." This condition, he says, would be fulfilled by a "realistisch gehaltenen Tell."<sup>1</sup> He does not discuss the problems of historic march and necessity.

#### LATER ENGLISH CRITICISM

Before summarizing the results of the previous discussions a brief reference must be made to English criticisms. In English literature the Coleridge character and passion-type transformations of the epic historic drama have held sway to the exclusion of the corporate type, and the theories have not gone much beyond this conception. Even a critic of Coleridge's reputation knows of no better definition of the historic drama than the following: "An historic drama . . . is . . . a collection of events borrowed from history but connected together in respect of cause and time, poetically and by dramatic fiction." He thinks that the object of the historic drama is "to familiarize people to the great names of their country," and to teach "love of just liberty, respect for institutions."<sup>2</sup>

Miss Woodbridge, who has adapted the Lessing-Freytag criticism, says, National issues . . . cannot be handled . . . except as they touch upon individual human lives. They may, indeed, have a certain large unity, they Elizabeth are as truly controlled by laws, and as open to philosophic Woodbridge treatment as is the life of a single man, but the drama cannot handle them.<sup>3</sup> . . . The drama should show inevitable law more than life.<sup>4</sup>

A broader conception of historic drama is found in Vaughn in connection with his criticism of Goethe and Schiller. He writes,

In what does the originality of the historic drama consist? In what sense can it be said to offer a type of play distinct in kind from either classical or Elizabethan tragedy? It can, I think, claim to do so if it brings the Vaughn corporate, as distinct from the individualist life of man upon the stage; if in the personages of the drama it embodies, more or less completely, some aspect of the national, political, or social conflicts of humanity.

He conceives of this corporate interest as symbolically embodied in a striking individual who is presented as a type.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 810; cf. 160 ff., 808 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Coleridge, *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and Other English Poets*, 253.

<sup>3</sup> Woodbridge, *The Drama, Its Law and Technique*, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>5</sup> Vaughn, *Types of Tragic Drama*, 199 ff., 211.

## SUMMARY

The chief points of dramatic theory discussed in the foregoing are:

1. The aim to reproduce accurately characters, events, and social background.
2. The desire to comprehend an event in its political import apart from merely human motivation and interest.
3. The desire to select those parts of history that represent great turning-points, revolutions, or movements in the advance of history.
4. The effort to present this movement in its larger corporate interest represented by masses rather than by single individuals, giving a large "section" and a complex rather than a single plot.
5. The realization of the counter-reactions between individual and mass or *milieu*.
6. The willingness to accept events as they actually happened by an historic necessity of subtle sweep, and not as fitted into a logical retribution-scheme.
7. The endeavor to reflect in the construction or "inner form" of the historic drama the philosophically comprehended process of inevitable historic advance.

It is clear that in the subjects that have thus come successively into the plane of discussion there is a visible advance from the simple and elementary points discussed in an age of naïve creation—an age that had little grasp of a philosophy of history, and that had not yet dreamed of a metaphysical interpretation of the dramatic form—to the deepest and most complex problems suggested by philosophical and historical speculation, as well as by deductions from the experiences of an ever-growing democracy and empiricism.

It can be said, in summary, that there has been a growth in honest historic interest, a growth in the ineradicable desire to present the true history of single individuals that have actually lived, of their characters, and of their actions apart from the romance of love-passion, and more particularly, the desire to present truthfully an historic event of political import in its broad effects, and unfalsified by national or partisan feeling. The unhistorical nature of the types of the drama in which history is used merely as the means of furnishing dramatists with trappings or as a repertoire of characters, fatalities, and passions, from which they may choose at will, is recognized. On the other hand there has been a distinct development of an interest for types whose purpose is entirely or almost entirely historic. While the predilection for mere individualistic character-drama has remained, the conception of a complex, corporate, political drama,

corresponding to the modern form of "historic science" discussed above, has gradually been evolved. This type, which is necessarily more epic in its structure, has struggled for development since its birth in the days of the English Chronicle Histories. The present thesis aims to prove that it is a legitimate type, and that it need not necessarily have been transformed into the character-tragedy, or the romantic comedy, or the comedy of manners, or the romantic tragedy of passion as was the case in England. Although most writers on English literature affirm that this was the only possibility, the effort will be made to show that it did actually develop otherwise in Germany, where was found the same love of actual historic adventure that had been found in England; where this historical sense, stimulated by the repertoire of the English comedians, was kept alive through all the crudity of the "Haupt- und Staatsaktionen"; and where Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*, definitely stimulated by Shakespeare's Histories, but containing in itself the germ of a new conception of unity, became the first drama in a whole new development. On the other hand, the conceptions of the philosophy of history, applied to the drama, produced a form of drama that can best be called the symbolical, typical process-drama.

PART II  
THE CHIEF TYPES OF THE HISTORIC DRAMA

I

The confusion concerning the conception and dramaturgy of the historic play, and the uncertainty as to the function of history in the drama, have been due to the fact that ever since the birth of the historic drama in the days of Shakespeare, two conflicting tendencies have been at work to produce a mixed type of tragedy, to which almost all serious dramas belong.

On the one hand, the authority and example of antique, especially Senecan, "tragedy" fed man's interest for the individual psychological conflicts of a few chief characters. The conflicts usually illustrated the reversals of fortune of known personalities of high rank. The interest, however, centered not in the historic experiences of definite individuals, but in the sufferings and fortitude of these personalities conceived as universally human types. The historic names of the heroes were mere survivals and accident, and they entailed no historic definiteness of any kind. Simplicity of structure and strict observance of the unities were demanded.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, another type of drama, the "historic," had been developed as the result of an interest for broader historic movements such as conspiracies, riots, rebellions, civil and national wars, and for the strange and marvelous fates of definite individuals who had taken part in these struggles, and who likewise illustrated so largely the "falls of princes." In those days of dramatic enthusiasm, the accounts in the numerous chronicles of what was believed to be true history were freely translated into the dramatic form that had characterized the "Mysteries." There was no thought of restricting the play to the presentation of one crisis or of a single action, no thought of showing logical connection between the events.

For a number of years the two types of drama lived amicably side by side. The *First Folio* classified Shakespeare's serious plays as "tragedies" or as "histories." It is true that the thought in making this classification was probably due to the fact that the plays called "histories" treated of English history, and not to the fact that they treated of history as such, or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Die Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragoedie*; Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*; Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, II.

because one felt that they were characterized by a broader technique, and that this broader technique was a consequence of the historic subject. Thus *Antony and Cleopatra*, which largely suggests the Chronicle form, was called a "tragedy,"<sup>1</sup> while *Richard II*, with its more concentrated structure, was called a "historie." Nevertheless the distinction was made, and was felt strongly enough by the English comedians for them to advertise their repertoire in Germany on the oldest German theatrical announcement, that of Nuernberg, in the words, "Es werden agirt Tragoedien . . . Historien."

However, as early as 1581 Sidney had quoted the Aristotelian remarks that poetry is higher than history, and that historic material should be fitted into the mold of "tragedy"; he had expressed the doctrine of the observance of the unities, and had suggested that much of the action of a play should be related, not represented.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the subsequent development of the "historie" type, and in spite of the achievements of Shakespeare, these structural demands were urged ever more insistently. These teachings, and the examples given in the plays of Seneca, caused a fusion of the two types of drama, and of the interest in typical themes and characters on the one hand, and in definite conflicts and individuals on the other hand. Yet it was less a fusion than a victory of the "tragedy." It was thought that the epic "chronicle history" was an impossible type, and that it had to be transformed into the typical "character-tragedy," as had been the case in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, and still more in *Macbeth*. The result of this demand was the development of the mixed type of drama called "tragedy," in which the historic interest is found in varying proportions of definiteness and conscientiousness, and in which the severe Aristotelian structure is again and again broken, because pictures are often given in these plays of broader historic movements and backgrounds. In England, and especially in France, the proportion of historic interest was small. In Germany, however, since the days when Shakespeare's "histories" became known, the historic interest has struggled for recognition more and more, until some critics and writers have at last realized that the historic drama represents a definite type of drama, and that it cannot possibly be made to conform even to modified Aristotelian rules except in rare cases of individualist character presentation.

In this mixed type, then, called "tragedy," to which belong the greater number of serious dramas that have been written, the hero is a great historic

<sup>1</sup> Indeed the word "tragedie" was used descriptively of all reversals of fortune. Thus the older *Richard III* had been called a "true tragedy."

<sup>2</sup> Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, Westminster, 1901.



person. His conflict, however, whether historically attested or invented, is a private psychological experience, passionate, not political, in nature. This passionate psychological experience in its logical connection with the typical character that is presented is the main interest; hence this drama is, after all, private, not historic. The question of historic fidelity matters little, for the historic setting is mere scenery and decoration; simplicity of plot and of hero is an advantage; and the guilt and recompense formula may be applied to the historic reality as much as the poet wishes. The less these plays are given of specific definiteness, the more typical and mythical they can be made, the more perfect they will be as "tragedies." Almost the whole body of "tragedy" generated by the Senecan example and by the Aristotelian influence must be classed here. The type includes such extremes as Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Coriolanus*, as Corneille's *Cinna*, as Schiller's *Maria Stuart* and *Wallenstein*, and as Goethe's *Egmont*. The historic interest that is revealed in the last two tragedies is so great that one is almost unwilling to confess that they are not true historic dramas. In Goethe and Schiller the desire to write a "tragedy" was in conflict with an inborn instinct for historic life and breadth; the latter caused them to transcend the narrow traditional bounds of tragedy-structure and tragedy-theme.

In spite of the submersion of the historic interest, this mixed type nevertheless contained in itself the possibilities of true historic drama, of the individualist as also of the corporate type.

Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen* had presented much real historic material, and had produced a whole series of similar "Ritterdramen." These led Schiller to a recognition of the historic drama as a distinct type, and he contrasted it with his own "mittlere Gattung."

A new chapter in the development of the historic drama opened when, in consequence of the belief that history is the progressive self-revelation of the world-spirit, the Romanticists advised the writing of historic dramas, and the observance of accuracy in the presentation of movements and individuals. "Historic drama" and "tragedy" were still felt to coincide, but in an entirely novel sense. The tragic mold was now regarded merely as a formula that expressed the nature of historic experience, and the historic experience itself was the chief interest. One group of writers, those that were under the influence of Shakespeare's historical plays, aimed, like Grabbe, at truthful representation of concrete history. Hebbel, who represents the metaphysical group, apprehended the world-process and its epochs in universalized and not specific terms, and consequently recognized the possibility of having a symbolic type of drama which he calls "das Drama,"

in addition to the older types which he calls "subjektiv-individuell," and "partiell-national."<sup>1</sup>

Koch, in his book, *Drama und Geschichte bei Hebbel*, rewords Hebbel's classification, and calls the types "welthistorisch-symbolisch," "psychologisch-historisch," and "national-historisch." He adds to this a type which he calls "historisches Idcendrama," which he says is a "typische Abart" of the drama which Hebbel called "subjektiv-individuell," and which he himself termed "psychologisch-historisch."<sup>2</sup>

Hettner, who voiced a reaction against the philosophical and realistic tendencies, maintained sternly that the epic historic drama is not an independent type. He recognized only the character-tragedy or mixed type.<sup>3</sup>

Gutzkow distinguishes the "historisches Genrebild," and a drama which he calls "rein historisch-dramatisch."<sup>4</sup>

Freytag finds three types of historic dramas: one which aims to give a true presentation of an historic personality, one which aims to give "Zeitfarbe," and one which pictures "das Schlagende des wirklichen Geschicks."<sup>5</sup>

Von der Pfordten speaks of dramas concerning historic personalities as being either "zeitlos," "halbhistorisch," or "historisch."<sup>6</sup>

R. M. Meyer, finally, speaks of a "reales Historiendrama einer neuen Zeit," or "historisches Volksdrama."<sup>7</sup>

It is evident, then, that there has never been a serious attempt to classify carefully the existing historic dramas. Although comparatively few of them are wholly honest in historic purpose, although few emancipate themselves completely from the mixed type, and although the historic interests found in them are infinitely varied in their nature and points of view, yet it is possible to disengage tendencies that point to the existence of several distinct varieties. These tendencies correspond in the main, first, to the recitative and pragmatic, or individualist conception of history; secondly, to the philosophical; and thirdly, to the genetic conception of history. When once it is clearly recognized that those types of historic drama which are the product of a conscientious effort to comprehend and present actual political or social processes are totally distinct in aim and method from

<sup>1</sup> Hebbel, *Werke*, XI, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Koch, *Drama und Geschichte bei Hebbel*, 38 ff., 51.

<sup>3</sup> Hettner, *Das moderne Drama*, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Einleitung to *Wullenweber*.

<sup>5</sup> Freytag, *Technik des Dramas*, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Von der Pfordten, *Werden und Wesen des historischen Dramas*.

<sup>7</sup> R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in the interpretations of Grabbe and Hauptmann.

those types of historic drama that are concerned with individualist themes of passion or character, then it will be recognized that these types do not interfere with one another. Then the legitimacy of pure historic drama—in particular, of the corporate movement-drama—may come to be more generally conceded, and the future may bring it to interesting and valuable fruition.

## II

It must be borne in mind constantly that in making the following classification there is no thought of making the classes absolute, but merely an effort to define predominating tendencies. Dramas whose aim is primarily historic show an individualistic, a symbolic, and a corporate type. In illustration of these types many dramas will be mentioned that are not free from unhistoric elements and intentions. They are considered because they do illustrate, more or less perfectly, lines along which the pure historic drama is developing.<sup>1</sup>

### THE INDIVIDUALISTIC CHARACTER-DRAMA

Here one can have (1) a variety in which the conflict is the personal, individual experience of a few chief characters; the result of the conflict is a true historic event which produces far-reaching effects, or which is, at least, publicly interesting. The motivation of the action is personal and passional. Here the interest is both historic and psychological, for it consists in the desire to fathom the individually psychological origin of some real public action. The plot merely suggests the broader results of the action or event. The determining environment may be meager, or full and detailed. In its ideal form this variety would be free from distortion of known fact either for the purpose of making motives more humanly comprehensible, or to fit the plot into the guilt and recompense formula.

Browning's *Strafford* would seem to belong here. *Strafford's* fall is demanded by the "public weal," as represented especially by Pym; we see somewhat of the complexity of the opposing power, as well as of *Strafford's* party, yet the chief interest is the analysis of the passional motives that had determined *Strafford's* actions. Ibsen's *Kongsemne*, Hebbel's *Agnes Bernauer*, Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*, if indeed we did not know of the fictitiousness of the conflict between Elector and Homburg, likewise seem to illustrate this type. Biographical plays like the Elizabethan *Sir Thomas More* can also be classed here. The pragmatic tendency to teach lessons of loyalty to kings, or of patriotism, or of the sacrifice of the

<sup>1</sup> The illustrative examples are merely mentioned at this juncture, not explained.

individual to the needs of the whole is illustrated in such plays as Chapman's, as Collin's *Regulus*, as Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*, as Grillparzer's *Juedin von Toledo*, or as Hebbel's *Agnes Bernauer*.

One can have (2) a modification of this type. When a full picture of the determining background is given, when this background is conceived as a conflict of races or ages, when the individual psychological conflict in the foreground is felt to express symbolically the larger conflict, and when, finally, the conflict of epochs in the background is felt as a stage in the development of the world-spirit—then we have the type which is illustrated in Hebbel's *Judith* and in his *Herodes und Mariamne*. This type coincides with the first variety of the symbolic drama which is discussed below.

It is possible to have (3) a variety of the individualistic historic drama which corresponds to what Gutzkow called "historisches Genrebild." Here the setting and background reproduce a definite past time and place; the plot is either real or invented, and is a psychological, individual experience of private result and bearing. The interest here too is in part historic and in part psychological. The historic background must be true, and the plot historically possible. A picture is given of an epoch of civilization. This type seems analogous to such efforts as Riehl's *Kulturgeschichtliche Novellen*, or as some of the *Ahnen* of Freytag. Kleist's *Kaethchen von Heilbronn* can be classed here, and one can even extend the type so as to include Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* and Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*. It may be thought, perhaps, that the conditions of membership to this type have been made amply liberal, so inclusive as to make the division meaningless. Yet, in a sense, a social drama whose environmental tendencies are true to actuality, whether past or present, is historical in the sense used by Hebbel in his "Vorwort" to *Maria Magdalena*, and a classification of historic dramas can well include such plays where they have aimed to give a true picture of actual social tendencies. At any rate, it is clear that the bounding line of this type is very elusive.

#### THE SYMBOLIC PROCESS-DRAMA

The symbolic process-drama is the result of the human tendency to direct the attention to the general rather than to the specific qualities of objects and processes. This tendency helps us in the matter of finding our bearings in the midst of the distracting variety of things among which we are placed. Epochs of history, conceived as typical stages in the life-story of "Mankind"—or of the "Absolute"—are themselves the subjects of these dramas. In some of them the Infinite is represented as a principle that fills and directs the Finite; the cosmic powers speak visibly

through human embodiments. This type does not exclude passional character-presentation.

Here one can have (1) a variety where the conflict of epochs is given as a revolutionary background illustrated in the foreground by a representative individual conflict, a conflict which is seen to be a result of the larger conflict. This is the type described also as the second variety of the individualistic drama. Most of Hebbel's dramas belong here.

We come (2) to a type of symbolic drama where the conflicting ages and tendencies are not given merely as backgrounds of illustrative conflicts, but where the great cultural movements themselves furnish the action of the foreground. This is done by embodying in a few symbolic human representatives the cultural forces which are the bearers of the action. The cultural movement is conceived typically as a universally human movement which can occur now in one race, and now in another. Goethe's *Natuerliche Tochter*, that is, the trilogy, if it had been completed, Grillparzer's *Libussa*, and especially Hebbel's *Moloch*, illustrate this type.

This brings us (3) to a type in which the theme is likewise the revolutionary conflict itself. This time, however, the conflicting forces are concretely represented by many or fewer known historic individuals, together with an interested and determining environment. This type is illustrated by Ibsen's *Julian*, and to some extent by Hebbel's *Judith* at one end, and by Grabbe's *Hermannsschlacht* at the other end. At this end it is identical with the corporate movement-drama wherever the latter presents the historic movement with a philosophic consciousness of its larger cosmic significance.

#### THE CORPORATE MOVEMENT-DRAMA

This is the species which was foreshadowed by the English Chronicle Histories, but which was distorted under the influence of the "tragedy"; it is the species that has again and again struggled for freer life and development. It is the drama which R. M. Meyer has, it seems to me, in mind when he speaks of a "reales Historiendrama einer neuen Zeit," or of "historisches Volksdrama grossen Stils." In some of its forms it is identical with the third variety of the symbolic type.

Here, then, a large picture of far-reaching historic events is given, in which the interest for the individual's private problem recedes before the interest in the problem of the masses; the aim is to give a true historic picture in its broad effects, to represent concrete historic movements of large importance. The interest is in many persons and in the whole of which they are a part; it is political or social, not passional or private. The mass, including its greater individuals, not the predominating great Individual,

is the hero of the drama. The individuals that appear, the conflicts, the determining conditions, and the events, are presented in particular and not in typical terms. Instead of poetic justice, of guilt and retribution, we find the acceptance of events as vindicated by mere occurrence.

This type is illustrated, more or less perfectly, in such plays as Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, as Goethe's *Goetz and Egmont*, as Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, as the various plays concerning the *Hermannsschlacht* and *Andreas Hofer*, as Grabbe's *Napoleon*, as Hauptmann's *Florian Geyer* and *Die Weber*.

The historic movements that have offered themselves as subjects for dramas of this kind have usually been conflicts such as international wars of conquest or struggles for liberation; or conflicts such as class struggles of all kinds, uprisings of oppressed classes, liberations from tyranny, conspiracies, revolutions, and civil wars generally. From these struggles subjects of historic dramas have again and again been taken; yet, as has been previously developed, they have rarely been adequately dramatized as movements, because men believed that dramas ought to deal with individual psychological experiences; and because, not understanding the genetic interpretation of history, they were naturally more interested in these individual problems. It would seem as though an inexhaustible field were here waiting for dramatic reinterpretations in the light of modern social sympathy and in the light of modern historic comprehension.

### PART III

#### THE NATURE AND THE TECHNIQUE OF THE CORPORATE MOVEMENT-DRAMA

All the types of historic drama, except the corporate movement-drama, will, on the whole, be constructed along the lines that have been found effective for the "tragedy." There will be, it is true, a stricter observance of historic accuracy; characterization will be specific rather than typical; and logical motivation from scene to scene and from character to catastrophe will be somewhat less rigid; yet the differences of technique will not necessarily be radical. It is quite otherwise in the case of the corporate movement-drama. The old dicta concerning unity of plot and of hero, concerning logical motivation, concerning the connection of guilt with catastrophe, and concerning typical characterization, are not at all applicable to this type.

On the basis of my study of historic dramas, and of the theories concerning the relation between history and the drama, I offer the following exposition of what seems to me a legitimate type of historic drama, a type which evolution is tending more and more to differentiate and to perfect. In connection with the discussion of the various points the reader is referred constantly to the opinions concerning these matters quoted in Part I. In Part IV existing historic dramas will be studied with reference to their contribution to the evolution of this type.

The CORPORATE MOVEMENT-DRAMA, then, is a type of drama that presents and interprets historic movements in the terms of dramatic impersonation and representation. It gives a picture of numerous interests, of personages, events, and circumstances that are historic, colored and determined by the definite time and place depicted; its prime intention is specific and realistic. Moreover, it presents them, not as private and individually interesting fates or facts—be it of adventure or of a universal human conflict realized in an historic individual—but only in so far as they manifest the mighty life of a great whole; they have interest chiefly in their relation to the realization of important world-values. In other words, an historic epoch is presented as a movement of comprehensive interests and relations, in which large masses and society as a whole are affected, and inside of which private contingencies and tragedies of course play their part. This move-

ment is seen to be a conflict between inevitably produced antithetical mass tendencies which are reflected in all the individuals; therefore the collision itself is inevitable; everything is the product of historic necessity. If one defines "fate" as the symbol of the compulsion due to the influence of natural necessity, of heredity, and of environment, in the determining of characters and actions, then it is clear that in a deep and interesting sense the corporate movement-drama is a fate-drama.

On the basis of the preceding definition, several important technical deductions must be made.

## I

First, it is frankly avowed that the interest is political or social, not passionnal. It is therefore not necessary to convert into character-tragedies the political actions or "Staatsaktionen" which Schiller and so many others had thought were unfitting subjects for the drama.

## II

Inasmuch as the subject is a big movement that affects whole masses, the old conceptions of unity of plot and unity of hero are broadened. The principle of unity is given by the philosophic comprehension of the historic movement. Inasmuch as this movement results from the conflict of complex forces, the drama is very likely to have a multiple plot and a multiple hero or heroes, often mass against mass, or mass plus individuals against mass plus individuals. The mass itself is the collective or corporate hero. The striking individuals have meaning only in their relation to the mass out of which they rise, and with which they either quarrel or co-operate. Thus one of the main aims of this historic drama is to give a full picture of the mass in its complex life, influence, and volition. The individual is seen to be only one of the mass, influenced, demanded, molded by it, as well as influencing it; however mighty his individualism, he leads no insular existence, he is the product and even the instrument of his *milieu*; and he can do nothing without being either aided or hampered by it.

### NOTE TO II

Aristotle (*Poetics*), Lessing (*Hamburgische Dramaturgie*), Freytag (*Die Technik des Dramas*), and the rank and file everywhere had demanded that the action center about one main hero. Franz (*Aufbau der Handlung in den klassischen Dramen*), Weitbrecht (*Das deutsche Drama*), Bulthaupt (*Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*), and others, broaden this conception very slightly when they analyze plays like *Wilhelm Tell*. Ulrici, in his discussion of Shakespeare's historic plays, demands unity of idea rather than of hero. Von der Pfordten (*Das Werden und Wesen des historischen Dramas*) demands greater freedom.



Hauptmann's *Die Weber*, like Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, has helped to make critics see that it is possible to have a collective instead of a single hero; this point is made by R. M. Meyer (*Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*) and by others.

### III

Since the corporate political movement and the complex forces that take part in the conflict are the main interest, neither the plot nor the individuals involved need be "distinguished" or "interesting" in the old sense. It is the mass, just the rank and file in its corporate significance, that interests us.

#### NOTE TO III

Aristotle demands that the characters of a tragedy should be above the common level (*Poetics*, chaps. 15, 13, and also 9). This law was universally accepted, and is upheld also by Volkelt (*Die Aesthetik des Tragischen*, chap. v, ed. of 1897); concerning the singly uninteresting weavers in Hauptmann's drama, he says, "Wohl aber tritt durch die Webermasse als Masse der soziale Hintergrund und Zusammenhang als etwas Neues hinzu, und von hier aus eben stammt das Hinauswachsen ins Grosse."

### IV

The method of characterization is specific, not typical, because the very word "historic" refers to phenomena and personalities as they occur only once.

#### NOTE TO IV

This point has been fully illustrated in Part I. Von der Pfordten emphatically demands specific characterization, in conscious opposition to the earlier view.

### V

Moreover, outer visible happening takes the place of inner transformation and development; thus there may be much vulgar clash of arms, much presentation of actions that do not appear to be clearly and psychologically motivated as the results of individual passion and character; yet, if the dramatist has grasped the psychology of the movement, under it all will be felt the real pulse of history, which indeed could not be presented in any other way. Actions must, of course, not be in disharmony with character, but psychological motivation confines itself chiefly to showing that all the individuals are determined by their age and environment.

### VI

Nor need the action or plot show constant logical dramatic advance, for the necessary presentation of many threads, and the giving of *milieu*,

as also the definite individualization of personalities, involve much epic breadth; there may be scenes that add little or nothing to the advance of the action.

## NOTE TO VI

Von der Pfordten asserts the necessity of epic breadth.

## VII

This liberality in the matter of logical motivation applies especially to the motivation of the catastrophe. Catastrophes are accepted as the product of a large historic necessity, even where they cannot be interpreted as punishment for guilt, where it is not possible to connect them with a fault, or misstep, or any action of the various persons, or where the causes are not in any way visible. On the other hand, catastrophes which appear as the result of the individual's action, or as punishment for inadequate guilt or for adequate guilt, are, of course, often found in this type of drama, as they are in life. This broad and all-inclusive principle of historic necessity takes the place of the old principle of tragic necessity, of poetic justice, or of retribution for guilt. The historic movement presented in this drama is the inevitable resultant of conflicting mass tendencies, the individual and his *milieu* are both organs of the age and its necessities; and the age itself is the result of previous ages. There is an unavoidable fatality in the great historic march of things, a larger, perhaps incomprehensible, causality in all the seeming play of chance and arbitrary will. Each individual and the mass act only by historic compulsion, and produce, by organically necessary and justified conflict, the historic result so inevitably different from the endeavor of either. Thus the question of guilt and punishment vanishes; the grandeur of fate can manifest itself even in an untimely cutting off by disease or accident. In place of humanly conceived justice, one has here the premonition of an eternal will beyond human comprehension, a causality beyond the narrow human vision. The reconciliation is transcendental, and is a matter of religious intuition.

## NOTE TO VII

Thus Schiller had spoken of the "Ahndung . . . einer teleologischen Verknuepfung der Dinge" (*Ueber die tragische Kunst*, Vol. VIII, p. 49). Similarly Hebbel had spoken of Fate as "die Silhouette Gottes, des Unbegreiflichen und Unerfassbaren" (*Tagebuecher*, I, 224). Cf. also Grillparzer's words quoted above.

This question as to whether the reconciliation should be immanently manifested within the limits of the drama, or whether one's scientific, philosophic, and religious faith ought to make one willing to accept a lack of visible reconciliation in the drama, is a much-discussed problem. Lipps (*Der Streit*

ueber die Tragoedie) strongly opposes this latter view, but it seems to me that Volkelt is correct when he opposes the absolute barring of "Weltanschauung" from the drama (*Die Aesthetik des Tragischen*, p. 30).

As was fully shown in Part I, this question of the motivation of the catastrophe has been a bone of contention for ages. The chief possible attitudes concerning the question are the following:

(1) Aristotle, basing his analysis chiefly on Sophocles, had said that the hero, great in the main, must fall through some fault of his, and thus awaken pity and fear. This view was accepted by Lessing. Here the first requirement was that there should be logical connection between the catastrophe and the person to whom it happens. As a result of this requirement of logical connection it appeared to Aristotle and to Lessing that, as said above, the hero, good in the main, must have a decided fault, preferably some form of Hybris or over-assertion of himself against other individuals or against the moral Law. The fault, however, is, on the whole, felt to be inadequately proportioned to the catastrophe or punishment. The guilt may be either conscious, and freely committed, or it may be an act compelled by "conditions," or by their symbol "fate."

(2) Closely related to this view is the view that the fault need be merely an action by the hero, which in some way causes the catastrophic result. This view, held by Bellermann (*Schillers Dramen*), is accepted now by most students of tragedy. Lipps, in this connection, calls attention to the fact that the catastrophe is the result, as well, of the situations and characters of those who prepare the hero's ruin (33, 75).

(3) On the other hand, a number of rigorous moralists—as Ulrici, as Ludwig—demanded that in every case catastrophe should depend on guilt, and that the guilt should be adequately proportioned to the catastrophe. They believed that the beneficent moral Power which they postulated at the helm of the universe should appear visibly victorious within the limits of the drama. This form of the tragic is accepted as one form by Lipps; but he insists that the tragic *motif* lies in the fact that the guilty hero is compelled to acknowledge the victory of a moral order. Volkelt also sees that this is one form of the tragic.

(4) Another group of theorists has insisted that guilt is necessarily inherent in the very fact of "individuation" ("Vereinzelung"). The hero's guilt here lies inevitably in the necessary effort of the individual to assert itself as an individual, against other individuals and against the Absolute. This is the view discussed in Part I, especially in connection with Hegel and Hebbel. Consequently the guilt actually committed is often trivial or even invisible. When Hebbel says that the case is particularly tragic if the individual is wrecked in consequence of a "vortreffliche Bestrebung" (*Werke*, XI, 40), he approaches very closely the following form.

(5) This form is illustrated in *Antigone* and in *Max Piccolomini*. Here a guiltless, aggressively moral hero chooses consciously the performance of a difficult duty, knowing that this will lead to ruin. This phase of the tragic is upheld by Dueboc (*Die Tragik vom Standpunkt des Optimismus*).

(6) Guiltlessness was demanded also by philosophers like Schopenhauer (*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*); not, however, in order to glorify the moral order, but on the contrary, in order to expose what seemed to him a complete lack of moral order in the world; in order to flaunt before us, indeed, just the irrationality of the world-will, teaching us, thereby, the absolute worthlessness of all living, and the desirability of the negation of the "will to live."

(7) Guiltless heroes and unmotivated or imperfectly motivated catastrophes can be found, together with guilty heroes and deserved catastrophes, in Shakespeare, in Goethe, in Grillparzer, in Grabbe, and in dramatists generally whenever they have allowed their situations to develop naturally, or whenever they have frankly accepted given historic facts, without trying, in either case, to fit the plots and passions of the small section of life chosen for the drama into the artificial mold which they thought was demanded by tragic theory. Whenever they have done this they have approached the principle of historic necessity. Volkelt (*Die Aesthetik des Tragischen*) sees that there are many sources of tragic effect, and distinguishes "Das Tragische des einfachen Ungluecks" and "Das Tragische des verdienten Ungluecks." He admits catastrophes that seem to be the result of chance if at the same time the drama gives one the feeling that this chance is somehow the work of a mysterious fate-agency. Elster (*Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft*, 26), believes in frankly accepting "den wirklichen Verlauf der Welt."

Thus we find that theory has distinguished (1) the tragic of inadequate guilt; (2) the tragic of mere causal connection between the character or action of the hero and his catastrophe; (3) the tragic of adequate guilt; (4) the tragic of the guilt of individuation; (5) the tragic of moral valor; (6) the tragic of guiltlessness; and (7) the tragic of actuality, which may, or may not, illustrate guilt or moral valor, obduracy or repentance.

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Closely connected with the discussion of the motivation of the catastrophe is the discussion of the nature of the victorious force that causes the catastrophes to occur. The possibilities are the following:

(1) The power can be presented in the drama as a visibly uncomprehended power, or fate, uncomprehended, but worshiped nevertheless. This is the case in the antique drama.

(2) The victorious force can be represented as a visibly reasonable fate-power, as supreme justice which metes out carefully its catastrophes only to those who deserve them.

(3) The fate-power can be conceived as reasonable taken in its broadest sense, as mere enchainment of cause and effect. This enchainment may be either strictly visible in the small section chosen for the drama, or its existence may be accepted in spite of a seeming lack of congruence between cause and effect. This last is the principle of historic necessity.

## VIII

It is possible, and even necessary, to treat the opposing forces with historic objectivity, and to show the justification of all the parties in that for which they individually struggle.

This objectivity is entailed by Hegel's conception of history, as discussed in the Introduction.

## IX

The historic result as a whole being the one reality, it sweeps in its destructive track individuals and revolutionary bodies. Yet individual men continue to live and mate, and a new mass takes the place of the old mass; the species is eternal. Hence scenes indicating this life that is to continue give an idyllic relief to the dramatic march, and show the nothingness of even the greatest upheavals as against this eternal survival.

## X

The language of this type of historic drama is a language and a rhythm more true to the expression of the people concerned than the conventionalized language and the regular meter of the "tragedy."

## XI

It is also manifest that the presentation of an historic movement in this way needs a larger and freer stage than ours as it is, and that one of the main difficulties of the historic dramatist is the adaptation of his play to the stage. A return to something of the bareness and vagueness of the Elizabethan stage would be a great advantage. However, inasmuch as most "acting" plays, even, are far more generally read than seen, and as the standard of "actability" varies so enormously with age, race, and class, the thought of adaptation to the demands or tastes of our present stage and to our ordinary audiences ought not to be too much considered in the writing of an historic drama conceived in this form.

## NOTE TO XI

Even Aristotle had said "Tragedy . . . produces its effect without action; it reveals its power by mere reading, . . . it has vividness of impression in reading as well as in representation" (*Poetics*, chap. 26). (Cf. also Hebbel, *Werke*, XI, 53.)

## XII

The question of historic truth demands a moment's consideration. It is clear that the necessity of handling so large a section compels the rearrangement of history. Rigid historic literalness can sometimes be

sacrificed if the dramatist does not thereby falsify history. His first aim is always to give a true picture of the movement chosen. This excludes dramas of "tendency," for their aim is political, not historic.

## NOTE TO XII

This subject has been fully illustrated in Part I.

## XIII

It must be noted, finally, that this type of drama is not necessarily a tragedy. Historic events and movements are not always catastrophes except from the point of view of the defeated party, and our sympathetic attention is often concentrated upon the victorious party from whose point of view the action has chiefly been developed. Within the limits of the comprehensive world-picture which is given, there is room for tragic and non-tragic figures and conflicts.

Such, then, are the chief features which characterize the CORPORATE MOVEMENT-DRAMA. If existing plays are studied from the point of view which results from this conception of the historic drama, much interesting light will fall on dramas that have been criticized for lack of unity and motivation. Willing forgetfulness of traditional theory, together with large-hearted openness in the matter of apprehending new aesthetic values, will make possible not only the appreciation of dramas in which this type has in the past struggled for existence, but may lead, in the future, to interesting and valuable developments.

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For purposes of comparison historic dramas of Lope de Vegas, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Byron, Tennyson, Browning, Ibsen, and others have been considered.





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