

"Don Carlos"

An Interpretation of Schiller's Transition From Storm  
and Stress to Classicism.

by

Sarah Henriette Hiebert, A.B., Tabor College, 1927

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Approved by:

*E. F. Engel*  
.....  
Instructor in charge.

June, 1930

*H. C. Plummer*  
.....  
Head or Chairman of Dept.

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## PREFACE.

We shall attempt to show how Schiller, who was completely dominated by the "Storm and Stress" movement as his productions illustrate, makes a decided transition in his drama of Don Carlos. We will trace the gradual development that brought on this transition, and furthermore we will prove by the completed production itself that a new artistic conception has taken possession of the young poet. That he has liberated himself from his former pessimism and rebellion and has ascended toward the higher and purer realm of sublime idealism.

This study was made at the suggestion of Professor E.F. Engel, of the German Department. And the writer herewith wishes to express her sincere appreciation to Professor Engel for his constructive criticism and his helpful suggestions that he has so generously given at all times during the preparation of this thesis.

Introduction.

Sketch of Schiller's Life.

After making a close study of Schiller's dramas, his life and character attract our attention, for we are anxious to know how so great a man passed through the world, what he experienced, and how he attained to such a lofty position in his literary career. In making a brief survey of his biography, we will particularly stress Schiller's early life and training, for this will help us to understand the spirit, and to see the development of the young poet from the time of his earliest productions until he published "Don Carlos", the drama of our discussion, which marks such a decided change in Schiller's literary life.

Schiller's forefathers for many generations had lived as respectable citizens in various Swabian villages near Stuttgart. Their occupation had been that of bakers and winegrowers. The poet's father, John Caspar Schiller, was born in Bittenfeld in 1723. Being a son of the master baker and village



mayor, he was to have studied, but his father died too early for carrying out these plans. John Caspar was apprenticed to a baker from whom he also could learn surgery. At the age of twenty-three, he entered the Bavarian regiment and fought the French in Holland. For several years he had a war-like career, such as surgeon, as soldier, as quartermaster and as officer in the army.

After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, John Caspar Schiller mounted his horse and went homeward bound to visit his relatives. In reaching Marbach, he stopped at the "Golden Lion", an inn kept by a prosperous baker, Kodweis. He soon fell in love with the baker's only daughter, Dorothea, a girl of sixteen, to whom he was married a few months later. He now settled down to practice as a surgeon, but the little village of Marbach was too limited for his energies; being restless and dissatisfied he decided to again enter the army. When the Seven Years War broke out in 1756, he took the field with a Wurtemberg regiment to fight the King of Prussia. He began at a low station, but was soon

made an officer, and finally rose to the rank of captain.

During John Caspar Schiller's absence at the wars his young wife remained at Marbach with her parents, who had met with financial disasters. The father through his tactless generosity had become poor, and now had taken up the humble service as a keeper of a town-gate. Eight years after the marriage of John Caspar Schiller to Dorothea Kodweis, their eldest daughter, Christophine, was born; and two years later in November 10, 1759, the poet, Friedrich Christoph, came to gladden their home. Four other daughters were born, only two of whom survived infancy, namely, Louise and Nanette. These were so much younger than the poet that there never existed a very close relationship. But Christophine was his constant friend and companion, and throughout life this affectionate sister was a source of strength and inspiration to the poet.

Captain Schiller was a man of great vigor and independence of character. As a father he ruled

his house like a patriarch; he had his own decided conceptions of life to which the family must conform. But the family life was founded upon strictly religious principles. The prayers and family worship which he conducted show the intensely religious atmosphere that prevailed. In his manner he was so precise and methodical that his children almost feared him. But the father's strict and often perhaps harsh discipline was subdued by the gentle and tender hearted mother. She was tall, lithe, graceful, with light-blue rather weak eyes, reddish hair, and a broad open forehead. She was not beautiful. Yet her sweetness and dignity made her features interesting and attractive. As a boy, the poet clung affectionately to his mother, whom he grew up to resemble in form and feature and in many traits of character. Although Frau Schiller was closely attached to her little world of family cares, she did not allow herself to be entirely wrapt up by her domestic duties. We are told that she was fond of poetry, especially poetry of a religious tendency, such as Uz and Gellert's verses.

She was not an original gay nature as Goethe's mother with the "Lust zum Fabulieren"; yet she too had a creative imagination, which she used to make religious instruction attractive to her children. An incident that illustrates this was told in later years by Christophine, the (1. poet's esteemed sister. "One day", she tells us, "when we children were accompanying our dear mother to our grandparents, we took the road from Ludwigsburg to Marbach across the mountains. It was a beautiful Easter morning and on the way Mother told us the story of how Jesus had joined his disciples on their way to Emmaus. As she went on with the story the words came with deeper and deeper feeling, and when we reached the top of the mountain we were so stirred that we knelt down and prayed. The mountain became to us a second Tabor."

At the close of the war in 1763, Captain Schiller moved to Lorch, where he was stationed  
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1. Voss: Schiller's William Tell. p. IX (Introduction).

as recruiting officer. The village of Lorch was beautifully situated in the valley of the Rems, amongst the ruins of monasteries and the ancestral castle of the imperial Hohenstaufen family. The poet loved to roam with his sister Christophine through the ruined Benedict cloisters, and sometimes the father would join them and explain to them about these relics of the great days of the Hohenstaufen rule. In Lorch the family lived three years, and the poet in his later life looked back upon them as the happiest days of his life.

Schiller received his first instruction in Latin from Moser, pastor and schoolmaster in the village of Lorch; he taught him along with his own son. Under the influence of this sincerely devout teacher Schiller imagined that there was no life so glorious and worthwhile as that of a pastor. It is this pastor, Moser, whom he has commemorated in his earliest drama of "Die Räuber".

In 1766 Captain Schiller was voluntarily relieved of his duties as recruiting officer and was placed with the regiment at Ludwigsburg. The Schillers

moved in the same house with an officer von Hoven, in whose son Schiller found a pleasant companion. Here in Ludwigsburg Captain Schiller devoted much of his time to the planting and nurture of trees. He was so much interested that he wrote an essay on this subject entitled, "Observations Concerning Agricultural Matters", which was published in 1769. The Duke was much impressed by this production which showed the author as a public-spirited and sensible man. Therefore, in 1775, the Duke placed him in charge of the forests and nurseries at the "Castle Solitude", where he was in active service the remainder of his life.

To the sensitive young boy the change from the quaint and quiet village of Lorch to the busy city of pomp and splendor at Ludwigsburg was very effective. Here he received his first impressions of the licentious and lavishing ways of the Duke, and of court life as a whole, as he presents them to us in his early dramas of "Fiesco" and especially "Kabale und Liebe". From here also begins Schiller's first acquaintance with the stage. Captain Schiller

and his family had free admission to the ducal theatre, and young Schiller would occasionally be privileged to go there. Mostly Italian operas were staged, and the boy was completely fascinated by the magnificent splendor of it all, and although he could not follow the text, he would allow his imagination free reign. As a result, he would entertain his mother and sister with mimic tragedies in which important roles were played by figures cut out of paper. Furthermore this interest in the tragedies aroused young Schiller to the early attempts of Biblical dramas when barely thirteen years of age.

In Ludwigsburg Schiller was sent to the Latin school, as plans for the ministry were already settled in the mind of both son and parents. This school was a place where Latin and Religion were taught in a militant way. The pupils were required to recite their lessons verbatim; if they failed to do so, a severe flogging was sure to follow. Schiller was capable and also industrious. He would faithfully memorize his catechism and hymns, and would seriously work on his Latin declensions; still he frequently

received thrashings which he took bravely and without much complaint. But the strict discipline at home and the brutal severity at school left an undesirable effect on the sensitive young boy. We are told that he fell into melancholy moods in which he would complain of his lot and talk much about "the mysterious future". This melancholy brooding also affected his school work considerably, for in 1772 his examiner reported that he was not equal to the pupils in his classes.

In this same year he was confirmed. The day before the occasion his mother saw him carelessly roaming about the streets with some of his comrades. She rebuked him seriously for the unconcerned attitude he displayed in face of the solemn ceremony in which he would so soon participate. This struck home; humbly and silently he returned to his room and poured out verses so "tender and soulful" that it astonished both his parents. According to Schiller's own testimony, this was his first attempt at German (1. \*-----

1. Weltrich: "Friedrich Schiller". p. 80 (footnote).



verse. With such a beginning, we are not surprised that a year later he could be so completely absorbed in Klopstock's "Messiah".

Toward the end of the year 1772 when young Schiller was about to finish his Grammar school, a sudden change took place in the plans of his theological career. The Duke of Wurtemberg, who had in 1770 undergone a change of heart, now turned his interests in establishing a school for the training of builders and gardeners, which he a little later changed into a school for the education of officers, and finally extended so that it could provide a supply of trained officers for all branches of the public service. In 1773 the school was established on its new basis and received the name of "The Military Academy". The Duke, who devoted a great deal of time and attention to the Academy and was seeking for promising pupils, now requested Captain Schiller to send his boy to this newly found institution. The parents, who, with the boy's consent, had given him into the service of the church, objected seriously to this request. But the Duke was so persistent that

Captain Schiller was obliged to grant his desire. The Duke undertook to pay the cost of his education, but in turn required the parents to sign an agreement by which they gave up all authority over the boy.

Young Schiller entered the Military Academy in 1773 and stayed there without interruption until 1781. These eight years at the Academy mark the most important period of Schiller's early life. He had left his home with a tearful farewell to his mother, and a disappointment in his heart, because he realized that his youthful dreams and aspirations for a clerical profession were completely shattered. Under the absolute control of the Duke, Schiller's life now took a decidedly different turn.

There were about three hundred pupils in the school, who were divided into two classes, the Chevaliers and the Eleves. The former were superior in rank and had more privileges. Study was carried on in a strictly mechanical way. There was no chance for individual development. In fact the life of the pupils was as rigidly ordered as that of soldiers in

barracks. When the Duke, who was the supreme authority in large and small matters, gave command, everyone was at his service at once. There were no vacations and only a few holidays. Visits from parents and relatives were forbidden, their letters were censored, and books of contemporary writers were banished from their sight. The Duke's birthday and Franziska's were the great festival occasions, at which he would distribute the prizes in person and permit the winners to kiss his hand if a Chevalier, or to kiss the hem of his garment if but an Eleve. We can readily see that such restraint and mechanism would become repulsive to young Schiller.

In the first year at the Academy Schiller continued his Greek and Latin studies, and in addition took up French, Mathematics, Geography and History. On foundation day he received a prize for distinction in Greek; this was the only prize he won for six years. In his second year he began the study of law, but made little progress in it, partly because he was not interested, and partly because he was ill

and frequently confined to his bed. Although he advanced slowly in his professional studies, his interest was aroused for literature. Through some unknown source Schiller had obtained a copy of Klopstock's "Messiah", which opened up a new world, and aroused in him a passionate yearning and a restless striving for expansion. In this mood he composed an epic entitled, "Moses", and two tragedies, "Absolom" and "The Christian". In his attempt at literature he was encouraged by several of his friends, who, along with himself, formed a literary club where secretly they read and discussed poetry. Among these friends was Schiller's Ludwigsburg companion von Hoven, his lively friend Petersen, and his weapon-bearer Scraffenstein. All these companions held Schibler in high esteem, for they saw in him qualities and possibilities of future greatness.

In 1775 the Academy was transferred from Solitude to Stuttgart, and the Duke instituted a new department namely, that of medicine. The pupils had the privilege to take up this new study if they

so desired. Schiller was very glad to make the change. Medicine, with its close relation to nature, appealed far more strongly to him than the study of law.

In Stuttgart Schiller came under the instruction of professor Abel, whose lectures on psychology and moral philosophy captivated his attention so much that he almost learned by heart some of the textbooks, especially Ferguson's "Moral Philosophy", with its notes by Garve. Abel also gave Schiller an introduction to Shakespeare in the Wieland translation. Schiller however, could not appreciate Shakespeare at that time. In later years he said (1. "Mehrere Jahre hatte Shakespeare meine ganze Verehrung, und war mein Studium, ehe ich sein Individuum lieb gewinnen konnte. Ich war noch nicht fähig die Natur aus erster Hand zu verstehen." The five years of training under professor Abel gave Schiller a considerable knowledge of philosophy and medical science.

The removal of the school to Stuttgart brought  
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1. Fritz Strich: "Schiller Sein Leben und Seine Werke". p. 29.

with it another advantage for Schiller. He came in closer touch with literary life. Aside from Homer, Virgil and Shakespeare, he became acquainted with the contemporary writers, Lessing, Goethe, Haller, Gerstenberg, Klinger, Leisewitz, Schubart and Rousseau. The latter writer influenced Schiller most. He was so passionately affected by Rousseau's hatred for despotism and conventionality that he longed to be released from the shackles that bound him, for he felt urged to take his part in the coming struggle for freedom. Schiller, who was now completely intoxicated by the "Storm and Stress" spirit, wrote two tragedies, one, "The Student of Nassau", which was based upon a newspaper story of suicide; and the other, "Cosmo del Medici", which according to his friend Petersen, closely resembled Leisewitz's "Julius von Tarent". But both of these after their completion displeased him, and he threw them into the fire. In addition, Schiller also wrote various lyrics, one, "Der Eroberer", was published by the "Swabian Magazine", with a note of caution by the editor Haug; for this poem was a violent outburst against the tyrant rule of

government. With still greater intensity Schiller produced a few occasional poems. One of these was a glorification of emperor Joseph; the other two were birthday greetings to Franziska. These verses were bombastic and full of extravagant praise. Also some school orations he delivered at this time exhibited the same fervor and rhetorical extravagance. It is also quite evident that Schiller already was at work on his "Räuber", but how far he had progressed we do not know.

Schiller's literary enthusiasm had almost carried him off his feet before he realized that he was falling behind in his professional work. He saw that he must attend more seriously to his medical studies, so he dropped his literary pursuits for about two years, and devoted himself fully to the study of science. He made rapid progress and distinguished himself in the classes for anatomy and physiology. When he took his examination in 1778, he was classed in anatomy with the upper class men, and in 1779 he carried off three prizes which were received in the presence of Goethe and the Duke of Weimar. He hoped that he would finish

his course in 1779, but when he submitted his thesis on "The Philosophy of Physiology", it was rejected. The professors found various criticisms, such as obscurity, excessive rhetoric, and worst of all, a disrespectful approach made on an authority such as Haller, but at the same time, they recognized the evidence of remarkable talent. The Duke passed favorable comments on it, and particularly noticed the author's enthusiasm, but the enthusiasm was so fervid that the Duke decided it needed to be subdued by another year of study. With a heavy heart the Eleve Schiller submitted to this decision.

Schiller's last year at the Academy was anything but a happy one. He passionately yearned for freedom, and now that he was restrained to the school for another year, he felt that the whole world had turned against him. He fell into a despondent mood, and longed for death; the thought of suicide was continually before him. To the bereaved father of his friend von Hoven he wrote, "I am not yet twenty-one, but  
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I may freely say that the world has no longer any charm for me. Were my life my own, I should be envious of the death of your son; but it belongs to my mother and my sisters, who without me would be helpless, for my father has gray hairs." Schiller's prospective success appeared rather disheartening, but he was too much of a genius to be enthralled by this desperate gloom for a great length of time. He soon mastered the situation and regained courage and ambition, for we are told that he was given charge of a fellow student who was overcome with hypochondria. When he had made an analysis of the case, he decided that the patient could be cured by medicine and good common sense advice. Furthermore he picked up his professional work, which included the preparation of a new thesis; and at every other available time, he threw himself with life and soul into the work of his tragedy, "Die Räuber". The subject had been suggested to him by an incident recorded in the Swabian Magazine by Schubart in 1775. Some scenes of it were probably written in 1776-1777, but the work as a whole was produced in the last year at the Academy. To find

sufficient time for writing Schiller would frequently retire to the hospital, or remain in his room for a day under the pretense of illness. Thus, secretly and in disguise of a sick man, he would steal away many hours when he worked with feverish energy on his drama. Each scene when completed was read in the inner circle of a few friends, who would encourage him by their hearty applause. One of these friends has left on record that he was at times so excited in his composing that he would "stamp and snort and roar". In such manner was produced the drama that culminated the "Storm and Stress" movement, and which presents to us the intense suffering and melancholy of a burdened soul, or his great "Weltsehmerz".

In December, 1780, a year later than he had hoped, Schiller completed his medical studies and submitted his new thesis, "The Relation of the Animal Nature of Man to his Spiritual Nature". In this thesis he expounded his own philosophy on the knowledge he had acquired under professor Abel's instruction at the Academy.

Schiller was now stationed at Stuttgart as a surgeon with a meagre salary of eight dollars a month.

Although his appointment was not what he had expected, he was glad to be released from bondage. In Stuttgart he again united with his family, from whom he had been involuntarily separated seven long years. Here he also met his three intimate friends, Schraffenstein, now a lieutenant, Petersen, an assistant librarian, and von Hoven, a surgeon, who, like himself, were enjoying the first delights of freedom.

Besides his duties as army surgeon, Schiller now worked with increased energy along literary lines. He wrote for various journals, and with the help of Petersen and professor Abel, he conducted a quarterly called a "Repertorium", which only existed a very short time. He collected his own odes and formed them into an Anthology for 1782. But above all he put his finishing touches on his great drama, "Die Räuber". Unfortunately no bookseller in Stuttgart would undertake to publish the same. Petersen, who had an occasion to go to Mannheim, made an attempt there, but failed. Schiller finally decided to have it printed at his own cost in May, 1781.

The first representation of "Die Räuber" took place at Mannheim on January 13, 1782. Schiller had

secretly come from Stuttgart to witness the performance. The play created great enthusiasm and the author's fame spread rapidly. When Schiller for the second time secretly attended the performance given in the latter part of May, the Duke got notice of this and commanded that he be arrested for two weeks. But a worse thing happened when the Swiss canton complained that Schiller had in his "Räuber" given an insult to their nation. The Duke being aggravated, he now confined Schiller for two weeks in the guard house and forbade his publishing any literature whatsoever. This senseless restraint irritated Schiller beyond control; he therefore determined to leave his native land as a refugee. He made one last visit to his family at Solitude, took an affectionate farewell from his mother, and while the city was in a great turmoil at the arrival of Duke Paul of Russia he stole away to Mannheim on the night of September 22, 1782, in company with his musician friend, Streicher.

In Mannheim, Dalberg had promised Schiller a position as theatre-poet, but fearing the Duke's disapproval, he even refused to accept "Fiesco", a second drama which

Schiller had hoped to see performed soon. The poet, feeling poor and forsaken, found great consolation in his friend Streicher, who stood faithfully by him, and even gave his own traveling money to pay Schiller's expenses. For some time the two wandered about to Darmstadt, Frankfurt and other surrounding places, until they took up their abode in a small village near Mannheim, where they remained for a few months. Here Schiller revised his "Fiesco" and sketched another drama, "Louise Miller", later called "Kabale und Liebe". After finishing the revision of "Fiesco", he presented the remodeled form to Dalberg, who for the second time rejected the play and refused to pay any compensation for his rewriting. The poet again felt desolate and helpless.

In his distress Schiller now turned to his friend, Frau von Wolzogen, the widowed mother of two of his Stuttgart fellow-students, who had previously offered him her home at Bauerbach. Here he stayed for eight months and diligently occupied himself with "Kabale und Liebe", and also formulated plans for the new drama, "Don Carlos". Again Schiller was distracted, for he

fell in love with Frau von Wolzogen's daughter. Seeing that his love was not returned, he was disappointed and left the next summer, and went back to Mannheim.

When Dalberg had made sure that the Duke intended no harm for Schiller, he gave him his desired position as theatre-poet, with a small but assured salary. Schiller contracted to finish "Kabale und Liebe" and one other play during the year. But this agreement soon proved a burden, and in the fall of 1784 he broke the engagement with the Mannheim theatre. Schiller had met various discouraging situations. Soon after his arrival at Mannheim, he was struck down with malaria fever; the presentation of "Fiesco" on the stage was not a success; his former and present debts were a constant annoyance; and above all he had fallen passionately in love with Frau von Kalb, the wife of a French officer. All this had diverted his attention, and the new drama, "Don Carlos", that he had promised to finish, was but merely begun. It was this drama, dealing on the one hand with Don Carlos, son of Philip II of Spain, and his love for his stepmother, Elizabeth of Valois, and on the other with the large world of ideas as embodied in Marquis

Posa, that as we will show in our later discussion, marks such a decided change from Schiller's three plays which preceded.

Schiller was requested to read the first act of "Don Carlos" at the Court of Darmstadt in the presence of the Duke of Weimar, who in return, conferred upon him the title of "Court Councilor". This gave Schiller a certain social standing, but it did not relieve him of his financial distress. The experience of Schiller at Mannheim well illustrates the fact that the adversities of men often lead to higher and better things. Had Schiller at this time completed his "Don Carlos", it would have been another drama of revolt, much of the same sort as "Kabale und Liebe", which had been received very favorably by the public. Schiller had a great desire for better opportunities to work on his drama. The fulfillment of this desire suddenly came to him from uncalled for quarters. He at this time received an invitation from some of his literary admirers in Leipzig, which he gladly accepted. With the greatest anticipation of enjoying a new bond of congenial friendship, Schiller changed Mannheim for Leipzig, and in

leaving Mannheim, he also left behind him his melancholy gloom of revolt which had occupied his mind up to this time.

In Leipzig Schiller received a hearty welcome from the small circle of Körner, Huber, and their fiancées, the sisters Minna and Dora Stock, who formed a charming society of freedom and refinement. Here under the pleasant influence of friendship and companionship, Schiller produced his world-famous hymn, "An die Freude", which clearly shows Schiller's deep conception of the ultimate aim in ties of friendship and of love for humanity. Körner was married to Minna Stock in the fall of 1785. They immediately established their home in Dresden where Körner had received a government position. They offered Schiller an abode at their home in Loschwitz. Körner was an ardent student of history and a great enthusiast for philosophy. In intimate fellowship with him, Schiller became greatly interested especially in philosophy. As a result of it he soon published his "Philosophische Briefe", which shows the marked influence of Kant. Schiller's chief concern however, was still "Don Carlos". Four installments of it had been published



at different periods from 1784-1786 in the "Thalia", a journal which Schiller had founded during his last months of his stay at Mannheim.

We must not forget to mention that while in Mannheim, under the influence of Klein and Wieland, Schiller's attention had already been drawn to the value of poetic style, to which he had hitherto paid little or no attention in his productions. Wieland insisted that a perfect drama must be in verse, as Lessing's "Nathan", published in 1799, had so well proven. During his two years stay at Dresden, where, in the intimate association with Korner, Schiller had been brought under the influence of Kant who regarded life as a continuous struggle for perfection, his "Don Carlos" underwent a remarkable change. From a revolting love-tragedy in a royal household, it now became a great political tragedy, representing the height of enthusiasm for friendship, liberty, and love for humanity. The drama was published in 1787, and was received with immediate and universal approval equally among the learned and unlearned classes.

Schiller's work on "Don Carlos" had led him to a

closer study of the revolt of Netherlands against the Spanish rule. As a result he a few months later published his "Geschichte des Abfalls der Niederlande", which was received with great favor, and which, through the influence of Goethe, procured him the professorship of history at the Jena University.

The salary he received was small, but Schiller felt that in addition to his income from other sources this was sufficient to establish his own household. So in February 22, 1790, he married Charlotte von Lengefeld, whom he had met and learned to love three years before while on a visit to Weimar. In her Schiller found a lovable companion with a cheerful disposition, who throughout life was in heartfelt sympathy with his work and plans. In 1791 Schiller suffered severe attacks of illness, and death seemed near, but through Charlotte's careful nursing he regained strength and vigor of life. He gave up his professorship at Jena and diligently devoted himself to his literary career.

Between 1790 and 1792 Schiller wrote "Die Geschichte des dreissig-jährigen Krieges". This led him to dramatize his masterpiece, "Wallenstein", a

grand trilogy, comprising "Wallenstein's Lager", "Die Piccolomini", and "Wallenstein's Tod". This cycle was published in 1799 and received with great favor. Immediately after the completion of "Wallenstein", Schiller wrote in succession the following classical dramas: "Maria Stuart", in 1800; "Jungfrau von Orleans", in 1801; "Die Braut von Messina", in 1803; "Wilhelm Tell", in 1804. During these years he also adapted Gozzi's "Turandot" for the German stage, translated Racine's "Phedre", and gave two comedies by Picard, namely, "Der Parasit", and "Der Neffe als Onkel". Besides the works mentioned, Schiller wrote many poems and ballads, to which in large measure he owes his popularity. His ballads such as "Lied von der Glocke", "Die Kraniche des Ibykus", and "Der Handschuh", are amongst the best ever produced in German literature.

In 1799 he made his permanent abode in Weimar, in order to be nearer to the theatre where his dramas were performed, and to Goethe with whom he had formed an intimate and life-lasting friendship.

In February of the year 1805, Schiller was again taken down with an attack of illness, but he continued

with feverish energy to work on his "Demetrius" in spite of fatigue and great suffering. On the twenty-ninth of April he returned from the theatre in high fever which soon led to exhaustion and delirium. This time the careful and tender nursing of his wife was of no avail. He lingered on a few days with intense but patient suffering. On the evening of May the eighth, when asked how he felt, he answered, "More cheerful, and better all the time". The next morning he became unconscious, and at five o'clock in the afternoon he quietly passed away.

So ended the life of a man who, in spite of bitter struggle with poverty and illness, rose to a lofty position in the literary world. Schiller's untiring devotion to duty and his sincere striving for perfection have made "Don Carlos", as well as his other classical dramas that followed, all representing the ideals of freedom and love for humanity, monuments in German literature, which are and always will be a source of inspiration to mankind.

CHAPTER I.

LITERARY ELEMENTS OF THE STORM AND STRESS MOVEMENT.

Literary Elements of the Storm and Stress Movement.

Before we make an attempt to point out the literary elements that characterize the Storm and Stress movement in Germany, we shall turn back to its neighboring countries, France and England, and investigate the source whence this movement arose and how it finally made its way into Germany.

The French influence had always been prevalent in Germany, but it increased after the Thirty Years' War. The German productions in the eighteenth century were based on the French drama, where the leading character, or hero, was always of noble rank, for, according to Aristotle, only persons of high social standing could possess freedom of action; the lower classes were confined to "Gebundenheit", as Gustav Freitag expresses it. The French writers, Corneille 1606-1684, and Racine 1634-1699 put into practice the Aristotelian rules for the drama, namely, the place remained the same; time must be twenty-four hours; and the purpose of the tragedy must be to arouse pity and fear. In later years Racine and Corneille began to suspect these rules, but

the doubts and misgivings they expressed bore no fruit, for the conditions of France were not favorable to a change in the standards as set by Aristotle.

In England the common people had already acquired social standing; also on political grounds they were recognized. Literary boundaries had never been so rigidly fixed in England as in France. In as democratic a country as England it is not surprising to find plays originating that dealt with the life of the common people. The first one of these plays was Lillo's "George Barnwell" (1732). This drama treats of the moral and physical destruction of a young merchant. The plot is simple; it is a crudely told story of Barnwell, who sacrifices the brightest prospects, including that of marriage with his employer's daughter, for the sake of an unscrupulous, adventurous woman. Through robbery and crime he ends his career on the gallows. There is no development of character in the hero; he remains a weakling--the man in desperate straits between two women. This drama came to occupy a prominent place in English as well as in all European literature.

The tendencies of Lillo were carried on by Samuel

Richardson (1689-1781), the father of English literature, but it is perhaps more accurate to call him the father of sentimental analysis." In his family novels, "Pamela" (1740), "Clarissa" (1742) and "Sir Grandison" (1753), he introduced a new form of writing in letters and essays, as we later find Goethe doing in his "Werther".

The new types of drama dealing with the woes of common-class people soon became popular and made their way into France. The two representatives of this type of French writers were Diderot (1713-1784) and Rousseau (1712-1778) both of whom were influenced by the English movement which had its source in Lillo's and Richardson's productions. Diderot's "Le père de famille", a drama of family life, was in 1760 translated by Lessing into the German. It became widely known and some years later it served as a model for Gemmingen's "Der deutsche Hausvater", whose drama gave Schiller many suggestions for his "Kabale und Liebe".

The work which made the conflict of love and class distinction a popular theme was Rousseau's epistolary  
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1. Dr. Thurnau's Goethe's Seminar Class Notes.



"La Nouvelle Heloise" (1761). In this novel Rousseau expresses a revolt against all prevailing culture with its artificiality and hypocrisy, and preaches a return to nature. All distinctions of class or rank must be abolished, in order that the individual, freed from the fetters of the conventional, can develop independently according to the needs and aspirations of his own heart. This production of Rousseau soon exerted a powerful influence on Storm and Stress writers.

The first family-tragedy in Germany that dealt with ordinary folk was Lessing's "Miss Sara Sampson" (1755). Sara's love-story is in many respects similar to Richardson's "Clarissa", but the influence of Lillo's "George Barnwell" is more prevalent. In both we find the situation of a moral weakling between two women who are diametrical opposites. It is this "love triangle" situation which became extremely popular with Goethe and the other "Storm and Stress" writers.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century much had already been done to revolutionize and re-establish German literature. Klopstock, who sought to regenerate German poetry by a return to ancient national sources

of inspiration, had given new life to lyric and epic poetry by introducing ardent human emotion. Wieland, who, like Klopstock, had turned to ancient sources in search for the art in poetry, had become an advocate of sensuous beauty now made place in literature for the manifold emotions of the erring human heart, thus helping to free the thought and imagination from the restraint which German tradition had so far placed upon them. Lessing, as already mentioned, had set a new fashion by breaking away from the imitation of the old French drama. In addition to these achievements and ideas, Herder in his "Fragmente" (1767) made a decided attack against the conventional rules in literature. He argued that a poet had a right to his inner impulse alone. He says, "the first authors (1. of every nation are poets, and the poets are inimitable". The essence of a nation's poetry reflects the inner life that grew out of peculiar conditions of time and place. Therefore to be effective the poetry of nature must be poetry of the nature that one knows and feels.

The time was now ripe for the revolutionary ideas  
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1. Thomas: German Literature. p. 255-56.

of Rousseau, coupled with the bold doctrine of Herder, to start a mighty fermentation among the young poets of Germany, such as Goethe, Lenz, Klinger, Leisewitz, Wagner, Müller and Schiller. Some of these men had experienced, all had seen the abuse of authority in society, church and state. Being filled with rebellion against all authority they arose with determination to reform social and political life and to regenerate literature. These young poets were sincere in their efforts; they thought they could express true humanity and true poetry if they abandoned all tradition and law and gave themselves entirely to their imagination and feeling.

The chief form of expression in the "Storm and Stress" movement was the drama. In Herder's conception Shakespeare was "the interpreter of nature in all her tongues", who cared little for dramatic construction or unity of action in comparison with the presentation of living human types and impressive scenes, which he created solely as his inner impulse prompted. The young poets, with this misconception of Shakespeare, now set out to write dramas regardless of dramatic laws

and practical demands on the stage; scenes followed each other in rapid succession and bewildering confusion. The subject matter was intermingled with exaggerations, wild comparisons, broken sentences, repetitions and bombastic exclamations. Absolute unrestraint was considered manly accomplishment; or, stating it more to the point, "Urnatur" was appealed to against "Unnatur".

The first representation of the "Storm and Stress" spirit was Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen mit der Eisernen Hand" (1773). The tragedy represents the will and honest conviction of the individual in conflict with the laws of the state. Although it portrays the time and action of the sixteenth century, it also at once appealed to the poet's own time. Götz, the enemy of princes, but a friend of the poor and oppressed, and a champion of individual freedom and self-reliance in an age of lawlessness, was an ideal that well fitted the author's own time; therefore, the young writers of the "Storm and Stress" hailed it with the greatest applause and at once resolved to join in a fight for literary revolution. The style of the drama was in complete

harmony with its spirit; there was no dramatic unity; the scenes wildly followed one another, and the language was bold and straightforward, even at times rude.

A year later Goethe appeared with "Die Leiden des jungen Werther" (1774), a sentimental novel in letter form, which shows the influence of Richardson and above all, Rousseau, in its love and exaltation of nature. The immediate occasion for this production was Goethe's friends, Kestner and Lotte his betrothed, and the suicide of Jerusalem. In this accidental story Goethe had (1. artistically woven the heart-history of his time in such a remarkable way that it moved all Germany to tears. In "Werther" Goethe portrays a true picture of a human soul. Perhaps no work in all the history of literature has ever been received with greater enthusiasm than "Werther". It was translated into all languages of Europe, and even found its way into the Orient.

Both in "Götz" and "Werther", there is a revolt against the social order, and a longing for a natural state, freed from the conventional, which has caused unhappiness and misery; but Werther resigns himself to the distressing  
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1. Boysen: Goethe and Schiller. p. 43.

conditions in despair, while Götz wages a fierce combat for the ideals of liberty. One is passive, and represents the "Weltschmerz", and the other is active, and represents the desire for power of "Kraftgenie". These opposite tendencies both exemplify the dominant characteristics of the "Storm and Stress" movement.

The group of young writers who actively furthered the literary revolution that was opened with Goethe's "Gotz von Berlichingen", and who may be regarded as the typical representatives of the "Storm and Stress" movement are Klinger, Leisewitz, Wagner, Lenz and Müller. Like Goethe, these writers were preeminently dramatists.

Klinger (1752-1831), the most productive and the most extravagant of them all, is best known for his play, "Sturm und Drang", which gave the name to the movement. Its subject is a love story similar to that of "Romeo and Juliet", with the American Revolutionary War as background. Its language is typical with its broken sentences and bombastic exclamations. Another important drama of his is "Die Zwillinge". It is a tragedy dealing with the hatred between two brothers, and from beginning to end the action sweeps along regardless of psychological probability

or dramatic presentation. It is extremely violent and extravagant.

Leisewitz (1752-1806) wrote a tragedy, "Julius von Tarent", similar to Klinger's "Zwillinge", dealing with the subject of two contrasted and mutually hateful brothers. This tragedy is a forerunner of Schiller's "Räuber".

Wagner (1747-79) wrote two "bürgerliche Trauerspiele", "Die Reue nach der That" and "Die Kindermörderin". His best known tragedy is "Die Kindermörderin", which reminds one of the "Gretchen tragedy" in Faust. The motive that forms the basis of this drama is a social conflict which Wagner pictures with almost repulsive realism.

Lenz (1751-92) wrote two plays of a revolutionary tendency, "Der Hofmeister", which is a modern version of Rousseau's "Heloise", and "Die Soldaten", which shows the soldier as an enemy to society. As mentioned previously, the conflict of love and class prejudice was a popular theme amongst the "Storm and Stress" writers, but it comes out most vividly in Lenz's two dramas, which also are "bürgerliche Schauspiele".

Müller (1749-1825) wrote "Faust" and portrayed him like Goethe, as an "Übermensch" desirous for knowledge

and power beyond human limitations. His best work, however, is his "Ritterdrama" entitled "Golo and Genoveva", which is written with unrestrained enthusiasm, as is typical of all the "Storm and Stress" writers.

The chief aspirations of the "Storm and Stress" writers, as we have tried to show, were to break away from the conventional and all French imitation by which they were hitherto bound; to exalt nature, which according to Rousseau was the antithesis of civilized convention; and to imitate Shakespeare, who according to Herder was the true interpreter of nature. Although the movement was accompanied by much nonsense and eccentricity, it brought forth some favorable results. For in pointing to Shakespeare and the popular ballads as the purest poetic models, it infused a new life into German literature, and fostered an independent spirit among writers of the new generation.



CHAPTER II.

SCHILLER'S "STORM AND STRESS" DRAMAS AS PRECEDENTS  
OF DON CARLOS.

Schiller's "Storm and Stress" Dramas as Precedents  
of Don Carlos.

Goethe gave the first expression to the "Storm and Stress" movement. His "Götz von Berlichingen" and "Werther" in a grand way opened the fight for freedom, power and individuality. Immediately a group of young writers such as Lenz, Klinger, Leisewitz, Wagner, Müller and others, joined him, and carried on the literary fight by their numerous passionate "Storm and Stress" productions. The works of these young enthusiasts fell into the hands of Schiller at the Academy, and carried him with a rush into the mid-current of the literary revolution. With fervid and noble aspirations Schiller too gave himself for the cause of freedom. With his first "Storm and Stress" drama, "Die Räuber", the movement was brought to a culmination, and with his "Kabale und Liebe" it finally came to a grand close.

To the group of Schiller's "Storm and Stress" tragedies belong the three dramas, "Die Räuber", "Die Verschwörung des Fiesco", and "Kabale und Liebe".

These three plays stand related to each other in regard to their form and nature as well as their time. They all breathe the spirit of revolt against established order and social conventions, which was due to the general conditions of the time, and especially to the sufferings and restraints at the Academy, as well as the bitter trials of a fugitive which Schiller had himself experienced.

"Die Räuber", although the first, is the most remarkable of Schiller's early plays. The scene of the play is not laid in a foreign country, as was usually the case in the German dramas of the "Storm and Stress"; nor is it laid in the historic past like Goethe's "Götz", but it is taken from the life of its own time. In the same way its characters and motives reflect the condition of the time.

Schiller took the main incident for the plot of his "Räuber" from the story, "Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens", told by the Swabian poet Schubart. Here he also got his first conception of the two hostile brothers. In Schubart's drama the hero portrays no bold and passionate action; he weakly pardons an abominable crime. Such a meek and forgiving spirit did not harmonize with Schiller's

mood of indignation. He therefore changed the story into a real tragedy by turning the hero into a terrible avenger of mankind.

The motive of hostility between brothers as we find it in Schiller's "Räuber" had become popular in English literature in the sentimental movement introduced by Richardson and later carried on by the French writer Rousseau. This motive also was a favorite one with the German dramatists of the "Storm and Stress". We find it in Klinger's "Zwillinge", and Leisewitz's "Julius von Tarent", both of which served as models for Schiller's "Räuber". In both of these plays we have an old father whose dynastic hopes center in a much esteemed son, who is envied by his younger brother; and in both, the brothers are in love with the same girl. In these dramas the emotions are portrayed by means of conversation; there is very little that actually happens; we sense the dramatic situations to some extent, but they are not vivid enough so we can clearly see them.

In Schiller's "Räuber" we also have an old father whose favorite son is envied by his younger brother; and

here too, the brothers are in love with the same girl. (1. But according to Kühneman, Klinger and Leisewitz chose their brothers for the sake of strong effects. In their tragedies the murder of the brother and the judgment by the father are the climax to which all tends, while Schiller shows us the full horror and significance of the family tragedy by letting the different characters work out one another's ruin. Schiller transforms the contrasting brothers of his predecessors into opposite poles of the moral world. His tragedy goes far beyond all the former struggle for love and mastery. When Franz the villain carries out his dreadful acts and deceives Karl the "edle Räuber" who innocently falls into criminal follies, Schiller most forcibly portrays a tragic situation with great pathos in which situation the interests of humanity are at stake. The real family tragedy, the real contrast between the brothers, is clearly and completely expressed.

Of the two hostile brothers in "Die Räuber", Schiller makes Karl the sentimentalist who, as a mouth-piece of Rousseau, revolts against the evils of society and politics;  
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1. Kühneman: Schiller. pp. 136-140.

and preaches the necessity of a return to nature. Schiller at the same time portrays Karl as a man of action and a self-helper, who like Goethe's "Götz" is an enemy of the prince but a friend of the oppressed. As a champion for freedom Schiller's hero bids absolute defiance to all laws and authority, while Goethe's "Götz" is at heart a loyalist who in resisting his enemies does not revolt against authority itself, but against the abuses of authority carried on by subordinates who by their action have disgraced the emperor. Schiller makes Karl the incarnation of all that is heroic; as a champion for freedom, he has the courage to renounce a degenerate society and by his own endeavors he seeks to found a new humanity. His whole nature expresses the glowing desire of pure and noble aspirations. He may well be called "ein edler Räuber". In all his robbings, burnings and plunderings he does not become debased like his fellow-men, for he imagines all the time that he is fighting for a just cause, and that God is on his side. While he fervently gives his life and soul for the sake of lifting humanity, he becomes an enemy of it. We detest his conduct, but we deeply sympathize with his

erring wanderings in the dark.

When we recall Schiller's restrained life at the Academy where he fell into a despondent and melancholy mood, because he passionately yearned to participate in the fight for freedom and individuality which was carried on by the young enthusiastic writers of his time; we feel justified to state that in portraying the hero of his "Räuber" he portrayed his own aspirations and desires. The moods of Karl Moor undoubtedly were moods of Schiller intensified and brought into fervid action. When Karl with burning eloquence cries out, "Das Gesetz hat zum Schneckengang verdorben was Adlerflug geworden ware. Das Gesetz hat noch keinen grossen Mann gebildet aber die Freiheit brütet Kolosse und Extremetäten aus", Schiller seems to be speaking straight from his own rebellious heart.

We shall now turn our attention to Karl's brother Franz who appeals very little to our sympathies. In Franz we find a full-blooded Shakespearean villain. The first soliloquy of Franz reminds us of Edmund in "Lear"; both of these villains lust after the wealth and position of the favorite brother, and both in their scheming make  
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1. Schiller: Die Räuber. Act I, Scene IV.

use of forged letters. But there are also similarities between Franz and Richard III. Both of these villains rebel against nature, and decide to make use of the power of deception. For them no moral ideas exist in man. Schiller learned from Shakespeare how to create villains, but he gives to them the coloring of his own time. The way he uses Franz as a tool of destruction for Karl is also Shakespearean, although he makes it wholly his own.

What a contrast in the two brothers! As Karl is the incarnation of all that is good and noble, so Franz is the incarnation of all that is evil and debased. Schiller portrays Franz as a scoundrel who, although endowed with philosophical and physiological knowledge, has become skeptical; therefore he sees no reason why man should be virtuous. Again we are reminded of Schiller's life at the Academy. It is quite evident that Schiller had wrestled with the same skeptical ideas in moments of solitary gloom. But Franz's skepticism goes still deeper; he has lost all natural feeling of family love; this sacred love means nothing but base and selfish desire to him. Franz against Karl, is, as Kühneman states so well, "Personified evil striving against personified good; but



the good has gone astray". Fritz Strich says, (1. "Mit Schiller erst kam der geniale Dramatiker, der dem in seiner Art dramatischen Erlebnis des Sturms und Drangs die organische Kunstform gewann. Alle Stürmer und Dränger wiesen auf Shakespeare zurück. Erst Schiller wurde mit Recht als der deutsche Shakespeare begrüsst. Nicht darum weil der Franz Moor in dessen grosse Bösewichter Richard III, Iago und Edmund, seine Vorgänger hat, weil Hamlet-Stimmungen in Karl legendig werden und manches noch von der Wirkung dieses Geistes zeugt, sondern weil hier ein geborener Dramatiker das Gesetz der Notwendigkeit in dem Schicksal eines grossen Menschen enthüllt und die Gegenpole der Menschheit zusammenfasst, wie es Shakespeare tat".

The other characters in the drama are drawn less successfully. The father is not given any definite portrayal. The heroine Amalie is presented to us as a weak and quite unreal character. All the subordinate characters are rather shadows than real human beings; not one of them is brought to a clear focus either by the words they utter or by the action they participate in.

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1. Fritz Strich: Schiller Sein Leben und Werke. p. 73.

We have previously discussed in how far the writings of Goethe, Klinger, Leisewitz, Rousseau and Shakespeare influenced Schiller's production of "Die Räuber". But we must not forget to mention another strong factor of influence, and that is the Bible. In the first place, we know that the story of The Prodigal Son has affected the whole plan of the play. We also notice that he biblically portrays the last judgment. But above all we find that Schiller lays tremendous stress upon the question of right and wrong. The presence and power of God is sensed throughout the action of the drama. The idea that God is an avenger who will bring to judgment every unrighteous thing is clearly understood; at the same time we find references to Him as the Father, which Schiller presents in a most tender and childlike manner. In this we are naturally reminded of his pietistic home influence, especially the religious training of his mother, and of the sincere and benevolent example of Pfarrer Moser.

The language and style of the drama is "Storm and Stress" intensified. Of his extravagant style Goethe says, "Er hatte zu viel auf den Herzen und zu viel zu

sagen als dass er es hatte beherrschen können". (1. The violent exaggerations, the broken sentences, the bombastic expressions, the crudities and rhetorical outbursts which we find especially in Karl's and Franz's monologues are characteristic of the "Storm and Stress" in general, although Schiller's own despondent moods and the time of its origin added to the intensity of it all. The Bible and Klopstock have also influenced the style. The diction is quite filled with biblical expressions, and much of the sentimentality of thought and expression remind us of Klopstock's "Messiah". Although various influences can be traced in "Die Räuber", yet Schiller shows a style of art and tragedy in his drama that is quite his own. (2. Bulthaupt says, "the real German tragedy arose with "Die Räuber"; the tragic style which was created, remodelled in one way or another, has remained the dominant one in Germany until the present day.

Schiller's "Räuber" has been severely criticized by various literary authorities, but no one was more  
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1. Goethe to Eckerman, March 17, 1830.
2. H. Bulthaupt: Dramaturgie des Shauspiels. p. 257.

conscious of its shortcomings than the author himself. In giving his own criticism on the drama he says (1. "Die Sprache und Dialog durften sich gleicher bleiben, und un ganzen weniger poetisch sein. Hier ist der Ausdruck lyrisch und episch, dort gar metaphysisch, an einem dritten Ort biblisch an einem vierten platt. Franz sollte durchaus anders sprechen. Die blumige Sprache verzeihen wir nur der erhitzten Fantasie, und Franz sollte schlechterdings kalt sein. Das Mädchen hat nur zu viel im Klopstock gelesen. Wenn man es dem Verfasser nicht an den Schönheiten anmerkt, dass er sich an seinen Shakespeare vergafft hat, so merkt man es desto gewisser an den Ausschweifungen. Das Erhabene wird durch poetische Verblümung nie erhabener, aber die Empfindung dadurch verdächtiger."

"Die Räuber" is one of the outstanding works of the eighteenth century. In spite of its lack of good taste and its crudeness, it was more hailed by the audience in the theatre than any of Schiller's later dramas. Perhaps no literary work of the century except "Werther" made such a strong and lasting impression on the German mind.

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1. Willoughby: Schiller's Räuber. p. 37.

Schiller's next "Storm and Stress" production, "Die Verschwörung des Fiesco", which was his first attempt on the historical drama, was written in the summer and fall of 1782. The task on this play was a far more difficult one than that which he had so successfully carried out in "Die Räuber". In "Fiesco" Schiller attacked a theme with which he had not yet become familiar. The first conception for this undertaking he received from a passage in Rousseau, where Fiesco is compared to the heroes of Plutarch. The manly power of the hero fascinated Schiller so much that he decided to dramatize this episode of Genoese history and present his hero as a high-minded patriot conspiring to deliver his country from the clutches of a tyrant. Before starting on his drama he consulted the French historian De Retz's "Conjuration du Comte de Tresque" and found that Fiesco was a modern Brutus whose highest ambition was his country's welfare.

But upon further investigation of the subject in Robertson's "Charles the Fifth", he found that Fiesco was an ambitious revolutionist who sought to overthrow the Dorias only in order that he might make himself

the master of Genoa. Here Fiesco is shown as a Catiline instead of a Brutus. After receiving these two conceptions of the hero, Schiller was perplexed which of these two motives to choose in order to bring out the best dramatic effects. He for some time wavered between the two conceptions. So he decided to let the interest of the play be turned to the hero's mental struggle between selfish ambition and true patriotism. In his book-version of "Fiesco" the Catiline conception, however, is the prevalent one.

After making himself master of the Genoese Republic the Fiesco of history met with a sudden death by drowning. Schiller maintained that in drama pure accident should have no part by motives of personal ambition. As this Catiline conception required an avenger, Schiller gave this role to the character of Verrina, whom he pictures to us as a man of pure republican interests. Verrina is the real Brutus. Fiesco at first gives us the impression that his serious ambition is to free Genoa, but we soon become aware of the fact that his one ambition is to rule, and to have the satisfaction that Genoa owes everything to him. When

Fiesco has succeeded in his conspiracy, Verrina pleads with him to finish his task by establishing a perfectly free government, but he refuses to do so. Verrina avenges the cause of liberty by throwing him into the sea. In this action a tragic motive is produced; but it is at the expense of the hero, who, having debased himself as a Catiline conspirator, can no more be called the champion of freedom.

"Fiesco" is an advance over "Die Räuber" in as much as Schiller attempts to depict historical characters and conditions, and to conceive an ideal of political freedom. But on the other hand Schiller does not justify sufficiently either the action of the play as a whole, or the acts of individual characters. Fiesco himself is indistinctly drawn and fails to arouse enthusiasm. Furthermore Schiller progressed since his "Räuber" in depicting women; they still appear somewhat conventional, yet none is so colorless as Amalia in his first play.

Schiller's historical drama of "Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua" was not a success. He had not been able to bring himself into perfect sympathy with the subject. This evidently was due to the fact that Schiller

at this time had not accumulated sufficient historical knowledge on the Italian Renaissance to grasp the full spirit of it. We notice that as a whole the ideas he presents are rather abstract and far-fetched.

In "Kabale und Liebe", Schiller's last and best drama of the "Storm and Stress", he chose a more congenial theme. This tragedy like that of "Die Räuber" is actual and not historical, reflecting the author's inner life of passion and revolt. In his first tragedy he revolts against the conventional obstructive rules of society; while here he raises his voice in a drastic manner against class feeling as a factor in the social order. He makes his point emphatic by presenting to the reader the base and scandalous things that flourished beneath the glamour of court-life in the eighteenth century. Schiller's first impressions of the lavishing and licentious life at the court as he saw it in Ludwigsburg, and the selfish and tyrannical sovereignty exercised by the Duke, certainly has left its mark on the drama of our discussion.

Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe" is a "bürgerliche Tragödie". The literary forerunners of this type of dramas such as Lillo's "George Barnwell" and Richardson's



"Clarissa and Pamela" of England; Rousseau's "La Nouvelle Heloise" and Diderot's "le pere de famille" of France; and Lessing's "Miss Sara Sampson" of Germany, we have discussed in our previous chapter. All these had a partial influence on all the burgerliche Tragodie" of the "Storm and Stress" as well as on Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe". But it was Lessing's "Emilia Galotti" (1772) which first introduced the antithesis of vice and virtue in the representatives of aristocracy and bourgeoisie. It is this particular type of drama that is most clearly exemplified in Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe". Kühneman claims that without (1. "Emilia Galotte" "Kabale und Liebe" could never have been written. The plot itself has little resemblance to it, but the characters' language and technique have had a striking influence on it.

The characters of "Kabale und Liebe" that are most similar to those of "Emilia Galotte" are Miller and his wife who show the same contrast as do Odoardo and Claudia. In both cases the women must bear their husbands' stern reproaches for their foolish ambitions they portray.

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1. Kühneman: Schiller. p. 289.

President Walter and his tool, Wurm, stand in similar relation as Lessing's Prince and Marinelli. Also Lady Milford and Orsina serve the same purpose; from both we see the influence of their benevolence in the midst of all the life of sin and evil. Although Louise is in a lower social standing than Emilia, we see some very similar traits in the two. Both are pious and religious; both are kept under their parents' absolute control; both owe their training chiefly to their father, and both are very conscientious.

There are certain passages in "Kabale und Liebe" (1. that show a striking verbal resemblance to "Emilia Galotti"; in some instances they are so similar that they practically become quotations. It also has numerous passages which closely correspond to Lessing's "Sara Sampson" and "Nathan".

Schiller in his "Kabale und Liebe" contrasts two worlds by means of living types, types of human longing and types of human indifference, of love and of intrigue. These stand in clear contrast, and the influence that each exerts upon the development of the action of the  
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1. Bellerman: Schiller's Draman, I. pp. 217-19.

play is clearly expressed. We are quite in sympathy with the action of the characters, for they appear real and true to life. In the simple story of Louise, the musician's daughter, Schiller pictures a universal struggle, and he clearly brings out the great significance of the same. The influence of the technique of "Emilia Galotti" upon Schiller's play appears particularly in the independent action taken by associates in the opposition. Although "Kabale und Liebe" is viewed from a social and "Emilia Galotti" from a political standpoint, yet the conception is the same; in both we have social superiority on the one hand, and simple uprightness on the other. For instance, Miller and his wife present the same contrast as do Odoardo and Claudia.

As far as plot is concerned, Gemmingen's play "Der deutsche Hausvater" was taken as a model for Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe". Gemmingen's poor artist, Wehrmen, became the poor fiddler, Miller, and the daughter Lotte was changed to Louise. Gemmingen's aristocratic lover Karl was named Ferdinand von Walter, and Amaldi was transformed into Lady Milford. The subordinate character, Dromer, in Gemmingen's play, who goes about making

compliments to everybody appears in Schiller's play as the clever tale-bearer and esteemed ladies' man, Chamberlain von Kalb. Furthermore we see the similarity of the two plays in Ferdinand and Karl who are both in love with the daughter of a worthy plebeian to whom they have gone to private lessons. In both cases they meet with the father's opposition because of their social superior standards.

As further models of the "bürgerliche Tragödien" besides Lessing's "Emilia Galotti", Schiller took hints from Klinger's "Kindermörderin". In both plays we find the same contrast of a strict sensible father and a foolish indulgent mother. A significant parallel is also noticed in Klinger's other drama "Die Reue nach der Tat" to Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe" in the conflict between love and filial duty and in the motivation for the tragic ending throughout this conflict. Of the noble lovers of the "Storm and Stress", the hero of Leisewitz's "Julius von Tarent" is most like Ferdinand in his defiance of the conventional and reckless determination to remove all obstacles that separate him from his beloved.

The similarity in characters and motivation between the various works just mentioned and "Kabale und Liebe" shows the strong impression they made on Schiller's mind. But his play is far in advance in exposition, development of plot and dramatic effect than any of the "Storm and Stress" dramas that influenced him. In "Kabale und Liebe" Schiller already shows a trend of idealism which became so characteristic in his later productions; but with this idealism also disappears much of the coarseness and boldness of the "Storm and Stress" expressions. We find no touch of vulgarity in Louise's love, such as Wagner, Leisewitz and Gemmingen had portrayed in their heroines.

In "Kabale und Liebe" Schiller has pictured to us once more as in "Die Räuber" the events of his own time and the protests thereof. But in this play his protests are not fantastically expressed as in "Die Räuber", but with the greatest realism. He also succeeds in giving us a vivid picture of society which he attempted to do in his previous play of Fiesco, but failed. In none of Schiller's other works do we find such forceful realism expressed as in "Kabale und Liebe". Hettner says "Nie

ist eine revolutionärere Tragödie geschrieben (1. worden. Jeder Zug ist ein Dolchstich." Here as in "Die Räuber" the motive of revolt runs through the whole drama but it is far more powerful. Although the protests are uttered in a more temperate language they have a far greater significance than in any of the other dramas.

With his last drama of the "Storm and Stress", Schiller had shown his superiority to his contemporaries in the art of reflecting in his work the ideas of his time and giving to these ideas a universal significance.

With "Kabale und Liebe", Schiller also raised (2. the drama of the "Storm and Stress" from a merely tendenz-production to the standards of a social drama which belonged to the nineteenth as well as the eighteenth century. After the publication of "Kabale und Liebe", Germany may well have hoped that they soon would be in possession of a real national drama. But this prospect was deceiving. A great change came over young Schiller from the time he published his "Kabale und Liebe" until he completed his next drama. In the meantime his impulse  
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1. Hettner, III. p. 321.

2. John G. Robertson: Schiller After a Century. pp. 36-41.

had reasserted itself to seek expression for new ideas, and, as we will show in our later discussion of "Don Carlos", he abandoned his former youthful methods only to bring about a new type of drama wherein he ascended towards the higher and purer realm of idealism and brought forth his first classical production of "Don Carlos", the type in which his genius finally fixed its permanent abode.

CHAPTER III.

COMPOSITION OF DON CARLOS.



Composition of Don Carlos.

1.  
Sources and Other Influences.

We have seen in Schiller's three previous dramas that he was completely absorbed by the influence that the "Storm and Stress" writers had exerted. His "Räuber", "Fiesco" and "Kabale und Liebe" were saturated with the spirit of revolt and rebellion against the evils of society, for Schiller keenly felt the great injustice of the condition that prevailed, and with a fervid and sincere zeal he bodies forth in his works a warfare against the conventional. We might say of these dramas that tragedy and pathos of destruction were their leading motives.

In "Don Carlos" Schiller takes a different attitude; here the wild enthusiast gradually becomes the enlightened moralist, that feels the conditions as existing, but endeavors to find out their remedy. His mind is now turning to the good and sublime and becomes constructive rather than destructive. Furthermore the drama gives us a clear picture of how Schiller freed himself from rebellion and pessimism and how he gradually rose to the

higher realms of love and idealism. This change in Schiller's view of life gave rise to his new dramatic poetry.

It is important for us to note that Schiller's "Don Carlos" was not produced in a short time of passionate fervor like his former dramas, but that it was under construction for five long years, and published as fragments beginning with the early months of 1783 until in the summer of 1787 when the complete drama was finally given to the public. In view of this fact we naturally would expect a maturer and loftier piece of work; yet it is interesting to observe how Schiller during this time has made use of the opportunities to extend his knowledge of men, and the art of composition and study of purer models in literature. Before we go on to discuss the process of development which marks Schiller's transition from the "Storm and Stress", we shall stop and consider the sources from whence he drew his material for his first classical drama of "Don Carlos".

The subject was suggested to him in the early part of the summer, 1782, as we learn from a letter written to Dalberg dated July 15, 1782, where he says, "Die

Geschichte des Spaniers Don Carlos verdient allerdings den Pinsel eines Dramatikers und ist vielleicht eines von den nächsten Subjects das ich bearberten werde".

The historical Don Carlos was born in 1545. His mother Mary of Portugal then only eighteen years of age died a few days after the birth of her ill-fated son. Don Carlos was self-assertive and willful, but very generous and in his early years showed precocious talent. His father Philip II was absent in the Low Countries and England until his son was fourteen years old. On the king's return to Madrid he found his son as a youth of a wild and headstrong temper which became aggravated by disease. The father regarded his heedless excesses with an unsympathetic eye and treated him harshly which soon led to a bitter aversion between the two. Don Carlos wished to be sent to Flanders and when his father refused him and sent Alba instead he planned a rebellious scheme against his father. In 1567 Don Carlos resolved to flee from Spain to the Netherlands. When king Philip was informed of his son's intentions he without hesitation had him arrested and submitted his case to the investigation of a tribunal, who declared

him insane and confined him to prison. Here in this gloomy solitude his youthful vigor faded away rapidly and a few months later he died a mysterious death.

On this history of Don Carlos, the French Abbe St. Real had built his fictitious "Don Carlos nouvelle historique", which first appeared in Paris, 1672, and a century later was the most important source for Schiller's drama, especially the first sketch of it was largely influenced by the same, and even in the completed drama traces of this French model appear. St. Real tells his narrative in an interesting way. He takes the historical facts and fills in according to his fancy such motives that he knows will fascinate the reader. He dwells mainly on the love episode of Carlos and his step-mother Elizabeth of Valois, which was the very element that first attracted Schiller's attention to it; as a dramatist he found in this motive a wealth of material.

We shall now relate the principal motives of St. Real's "nouvelle historique". Don Carlos who is betrothed to the charming princess Elizabeth of Valois and is happily looking forward to their marriage is shortly

informed that his father Philip II has determined to take the beautiful princess for his own wife. This message is an awful blow to the young prince; he falls into a melancholy mood and for some time completely withdraws from society. King Philip suspects this action of his son as a secret plan to obtain the favors of the court and to succeed him in his reigning power.

Meanwhile the beautiful princess comes to Madrid and in all splendor is married to the white-haired King Philip, who is so preoccupied with his ambitions of extending his political powers that he gives little time and attention to his young bride. She soon wins all the hearts at the Spanish court and is treated most royally, yet in the presence of her husband she feels keenly his formal attitude instead of whole-hearted affection. Her heart longs for true devotion such as Don Carlos in every way shows to her, but she does not respond for she is a truly virtuous woman and remains loyal to the king.

St. Real now weaves into his novel another motive, namely, that of princess Eboli, wife of Gomez, who is a pretty and attractive woman, but without moral scruples. She tried to win the king's love and favor but failed.

She next makes advances to the prince, who at first appreciates her friendship, but when his eyes are opened to her intentions, he frankly declares that he can never love her. She is much aggravated and immediately plans a revenge.

Don Carlos who also has made enemies at the court by his open criticism of the action of the Inquisition leaves Madrid to be sent to the University of Alcala. Soon after he arrives there, he falls from a horse and seems fatally injured. Through his friend Posa he sends a last farewell message to the queen, who responds so kindly and sympathetically that the prince immediately recovers. On his return to Madrid he seeks to continue a close friendship with the queen, but is hindered by the slighted princess Eboli, who has succeeded in arousing mistrust for Carlos in Don Juan of Austria, who as a former admirer and lover of the queen, is watching Carlos with a jealous eye. Having already drawn upon himself the hatred of the court as mentioned above, the powerful Duke of Alba and Ruy Gomez conspire together against Carlos to arouse the king's suspicion.

When two ambassadors of Flanders arrive at the Spanish

court to negotiate between King Philip and the nobility of Flanders, Don Carlos asks to be commissioned to go to the rebellious provinces of the Netherlands. The king half-heartedly grants his request, but hesitates to let him leave Madrid. While he is waiting the king becomes ill, during which time Carlos communicates with the queen through his friend Posa, who also admires the charming queen. The court which succeeds in arousing the king's suspicion of Carlos, now whispers suspicion of Marquis Posa into his ear. While on a tournament given in honor of the queen, where Posa is fighting, the king is overpowered with jealousy and he orders that Marquis Posa be assassinated that same night.

Don Carlos makes another strong appeal to go to the Netherlands, but this time the king absolutely refuses, and sends the Duke of Alba instead. From this time forth Don Carlos resolves to act independently, and thus he starts a negotiation with the Netherlands, and is planning to go there soon. He is closely watched by his enemies who report him to the king. Just when he is ready to leave Spain he is arrested and given over to the Inquisition which gives him the death verdict. Don Carlos chooses to

end his miserable and disappointed life by opening a vein while bathing. While gazing at the picture of his beloved queen, he breathes his last; thus the life of this ambitious youth ends.

Soon after, the queen dies a mysterious death and princess Eboli becomes the king's betrothed. But very soon she, as well as the other conspirators, suffers a downfall, and all meet with "poetic justice". There is no sign in St. Real's narrative of the discovery of the prince's innocence, nor of the catastrophe of "Don Carlos". The whole production is a novel of love in high life which is filled with political intrigues.

Schiller was also influenced by some other historical works. He made a close study of Robertson's history of Charles V for the general historical background of his drama. It is also evident that he drew some of his material from two other historical productions. From (1. Watson's History of the Reign of Philip II he made use of in his third act, very likely he has taken the descriptions of the audience scene with the Admiral of the Armada, of the storming of St. Elmo, and the manner in which he re-

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1. See Lieder's Introduction to Schiller's Don Carlos. p. XXIX.



corded the deeds of his nobles from Watson's report. Likewise in the same act in the great tenth scene in which Philip grants Posa an interview, Schiller draws on some of the political ideas given by the French Montequien in his "L'Esprit des Louis". In a letter to his friend (l. Reinwald dated March 27, 1783, he asks for the collections of historical biographies by Brantome on Philip II and Don Carlos, but in how far Schiller was influenced by Brantome we do not know.

Coming now to the literary influences upon Schiller's Don Carlos, we will begin by quoting his own words.

"Karlos hat von Shakespeare's 'Hamlet' die Seele--Blut und Nerven von Leisewitz's Julius, und den Puls von mir".

But let us bear in mind that Schiller said this when he began to formulate his first Bauerbach outline, while he was still dominated by the "Storm and Stress" spirit.

After reading the drama of Leisewitz's "Julius von Tarent" and comparing it with Schiller's "Don Carlos" we admit that there are some striking outward resemblances in the two dramas. For instance we find the heroes of both in a similar situation. Carlos like Julius is  
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1. Schiller's Briefe 1 p. 115. Letter to Reinwald. Apr. 14, 1783.

disappointed in love, and both revile the laws of religion which sanction the vows of a nun and the vows of marriage. Also Aspermonte stands in similar relation as Carlos to Posa, but Schiller's hero rises above himself and renounces, while Leisewitz's remains a sentimental "Storm and Stress" weakling to the end.

Schiller certainly made a great advance in his conception of art when he studied "Hamlet" to create a Carlos. In comparing the two dramas we note that there is an evident similarity in the situations of the heroes. Both are presented to us as laconic and gloomy, which causes both of them to be a mystery to the king and court. Both apparently are besieged by spies, and both find refuge in a confidential friend. But we find Schiller's Carlos yet lacking in the manly strength and vigor with which Shakespeare's Hamlet is endowed.

Another drama which is brought to our minds when reading Schiller's "Don Carlos" is Shakespeare's "Othello". In "Don Carlos" numerous parallel passages to those of "Othello" are an evidence of the fact that this play left a strong mark on Schiller's mind. And, furthermore, how obvious the relative position of Elizabeth and Carlos to

that of Desdemona and Cassio!

Besides the literary works already mentioned we know that Lessing's "Nathan der Weise" also stood model for Schiller's "Don Carlos" especially as far as language is concerned, but this we will talk about in a later discussion.

In connection with the sources and influences, it may be well to recall to our mind the fact that Schiller's "Don Carlos" was composed at the time when most of the enlightened rulers of Europe were still on the throne. It seems but natural that the enlightened ideals would fascinate Schiller's progressive mind. Goethe, like Schiller, believed in an enlightened despotism to be for their own time the best possible form of government. Goethe in his "Götz von Berlichingen" had already given hopes for a future liberal and idealistic state. Also Schiller in his previous drama of "Fiesco" had sounded forth a note of enthusiasm for republican ideals, which to his disappointment proved unsatisfactory and inconsistent. But by the time he is working on his "Don Carlos" his ideals of political liberty are gradually taking on a maturer more finished

form. In his completed drama, Schiller through the mouth of Posa proclaims the message of freedom and humanity which becomes a poetic expression of political enlightenment just the same as "Nathan der Weise" is an expression of enlightened religious views.

2.  
The First Plan and Outline.

Having discussed the sources that were at Schiller's command when he composed his "Don Carlos" drama, let us now see from the letters that are on record how the (1. poet approached his work and how he himself viewed his subject-matter. In the first of these letters which was written to his friend Reinwald dated March 27, 1783, we learn that it is the opportunity for strong effects and pathetic situations that grips his imagination and arouses his interest. In this same letter he makes us more acquainted with the tragic situation as it struck his mind; he says " Der Charakter eines feurigen grossen und empfindenden Jünglings der zugleich der Erbe einiger Kronen ist und einer Königin, die durch den Zwang ihrer Empfindung ber allen Vorteilen ihres Schicksals verunglückt, eines eifersüchtigen Vaters und Gemahlo, eines grausamen heuchlerischen Inquisitors und barbarischen Herzog von Alba sollten mir nicht wohl mislingen". The touching pathos of these situations Schiller planned would prove highly interesting and very effective for his drama.

Schiller's interest in his "love tragedy" steadily  
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1. Schiller's Briefe I. P. 108.

increased. He was completely fascinated and filled with enthusiasm for his work while he was shaping his first outline of the drama, in the summer home at Bauerbach, as we see from a letter written to Reinwald in April 14, 1783. From this letter we gain some valuable information. In the first place we learn of the poet's personal relation to his hero. In speaking of him he says, "Ich muss Ihnen gestehen das ich ihn auf meinen Busen--ich schwarme mit ihm durch die Gegend um Bauerbach herum". How entirely absorbed the poet has become in his Carlos! In this intimate relation to his hero as he tells us in the same letter, he acknowledges the influence of Leisewitz who was not only a painter but also a friend of his Julius von Tarent. Schiller who here is still the passionate "Storm and Stress" lover, figures his Karlos to be very similar to the one he is modelled after. He says, "Wenn er einst fertig ist, so werden Sie mich und Leisewitz an Don Carlos und Julius von Tarent abmessen. Nicht nach der Grösse des Pinsels, sondern nach dem Feuer der Färber, nicht nach der Stärke auf dem Instrument sondern nach dem Ton, in welchen wir spielen".

Another important statement he makes in the previously mentioned letter is that he has conceived the intention of also making his drama a satire against the inquisition and all other kinds of clerical oppression.

From the time the poet wrote the first letter to his friend Reinwald on March 27, until he wrote the one which we have just discussed, he had worked on his drama with great enthusiasm and had promised to read the first act to Reinwald before the end of April. But he was interrupted by being called on to prepare his "Kabale und Liebe" for the stage. Henceforth we hear nothing of "Don Carlos" until almost a year later when Schiller has been in Mannheim for some time. How much he wrote on his drama while in Bauerbach we do not know, but we know that the sketch he made was in prose. According to what is recorded, he accomplished only two things; one was to fall in love with the hero and the other, to draw up an outline of the "Don Carlos" theme as he then conceived it. This outline is usually referred to as "Der Bauerbacher Entwurf". (1. It is divided into five steps which correspond to the division into acts, yet we can hardly imagine the actual  
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1. Found in *Samtliche Schriften* III. P. 180.

scenes much less the inner development step by step.

In the first two steps Schiller follows the St. Real conception very closely; in the third step he adds three important points to his source: first, Carlos' ambition awakens and begins to overshadow his love passion; second, Posa sacrifices for Carlos and turns the king's suspicion upon himself; third, both the prince and queen renounce and rise above their passions. In the fourth step he continues according to St. Real. Then in the last step, the final catastrophe, which is entirely different from the completed version, is brought on by proving the prince's innocence with his dying statement. And at the end we have a grief-stricken father who now takes revenge on the originator of his terrible deception.

This outline which was formed in the emotional freedom of Bauerbach gives prospect for a drama very similar to "Kabale und Liebe" which Schiller had just completed. Only instead of a tragedy of common life, it was to be (1. "a family picture in a royal household". Of the great political ideas which make the drama so outstanding, we find not the slightest indication, nor do we hear anything  
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1. Schiller's Briefe I. P. 192. Letter to Dalberg June 7, 1784. "Carlos würde nichts weniger sein als ein politisches Stück sondern ein Familiengemälde in einem fürstlichen Hause".



of the Inquisition. Posa is only a very loyal friend and not yet the ambassador of all mankind. There is no reference to an historical significance of a struggle for human interests but instead everything is centered in Carlos' great love tragedy.

3.  
Change of Conception.

Schiller left Bauerbach and went to Mannheim before he finished his first act of "Don Carlos". We hear nothing of the drama for some time, and when he again takes up his work on it a decided change has come over him.

Here in Mannheim Schiller came under the influence of the French ideals of dramatic art by such literary men as Anton von Kleist and Wieland. The former, who was a very staunch advocate of the laws of correct taste as exemplified in the French tragedy, had sent Schiller a very sharp criticism on his "Räuber", but at the same time he had encouraged him to continue his work on "Don Carlos", for he assured him that Gotter, the greatest supporter of the French classic drama in Germany, had been well pleased with the plot and had pronounced it "great". Anton von Kleist eagerly sought to get the "Storm and Stress" poet interested in the intrinsic value of noble poetic style to which Schiller hitherto had paid little or no attention in his productions. Shakespeare as the interpreter of nature had been authority for Schiller as well as all other writers of the "Storm and Stress". But in Mannheim which was known for its French tastes and where French literature

was widely read, Shakespeare was not popular. Under the influence of Kleist Schiller began to see that the French drama had many things in its favor. He informs Dalberg (1. that he has been spending his time in reading French works and that he has enlarged his knowledge on the drama and has enriched his imaginations.

But a more decided influence upon Schiller's interest in the French drama was Wieland, who at this time was an established literary authority in Mannheim. He had published a series of "Letters to a Young Poet" which were a great inspiration to Schiller. Here he challenges the public to exhibit any German drama that could possibly compare with the works of Racine, Corneille or Moliere. Furthermore, he also expresses his strong opinion on classic tragedy; he says, "A tragedy in prose is like a heroic poem in prose. Verse is essential to poetry. So the ancients thought and so the greatest of the modern have thought; and one who is able to write a tragedy or a comedy in beautiful verse will hardly ever be so careless of his fame as to prefer prose". He also declares  
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1. Schiller's Briefe I. P. 207. Letter to Dalberg, Aug. 24, 1784.
2. Found in "Teutsche Merkur" for October, 1782.

that rhyme is an absolute necessity. We are not surprised that Schiller soon was won over to the French ideals of the Mannheim theatre. He began to make an intensive study of the French drama, and in a letter to Dalberg dated August 24, 1784, he expresses his high aspirations; he says, "Ich nähre insgeheime eine kleine Hoffnung der deutschen Bühne mit der Zeit durch Versetzung der klassischen Stücke Corneilles, Racines und Voltaire auf unserem Boden eine wichtige Eroberung zu verschaffen."

Through Wieland's influence Schiller's aspirations as a poet prevailed over his ambitions as a playwright. He began to dream of a lasting fame. He felt that his proper field was historical tragedy, and according to Wieland's demand he decided to write his "Don Carlos" in verse. But he did not agree with him on the question of rhyme; in this point Schiller preferred to follow the example of Lessing. The fact that Lessing had written his great drama of "Nathan der Weise" in the unrhymed iambic pentameter and so had established that meter as a medium of dramatic expression determined Schiller to write his "Don Carlos" in blank verse.

With great zeal Schiller started to write "Don Carlos"

in verse form, but he soon met with difficulty, for the meter caused him much trouble and distress. The passionate outbursts of his former mode of expression were not so easily subdued and changed into a calm rhythmical flow of thought. With much pleasure he tells Dalberg that he has finally become master of the iambic form, and that he (1. feels confident that the verse will add great splendor and dignity to his Karlos.

The significant change of Schiller's "Don Carlos" in abandoning prose and adopting poetry also brought with it an evolution in the contents of the drama. In addition (2. to the former love theme of Carlos and the queen he now turns his attention to the political theme which involves King Philip and Alba. Schiller had his eyes opened to the fact that the situation of Carlos and the queen was not so pathetically tragic as he had formerly conceived it to be. He also realized that his original love, Carlos, who gave free reign to his natural passions and wasted his life and energy on behalf of an unlawful, loathsome love for his stepmother, was not an inspiring character to be  
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1. Schiller's Briefe I. P. 208. Letter to Dalberg, Aug. 24, 1784.
2. Schiller says, "Vier grosse Charaktere, beinahe von gleichem Umfang Karlos, Philip, die Königin und Alba öffnen mir ein unendliches Feld".

the hero of a great historical tragedy as he was planning his drama to be. In his preface to the "Thalia" he says (1. "If this tragedy is to have an emotional effect, this must happen through the situation and through the character of King Philip. Upon the interpretation of him rests perhaps the weight of the tragedy". Here we see that the center of interest was beginning to shape itself into a political theme. And instead of making it a love tragedy as originally planned it took on more and more the aspect and character of a political tragedy.

With delight in his new artistic experiment Schiller eagerly worked on his "Don Carlos", and before the end of the year he was able to read the first act in the Darmstadt court in the presence of the Duke of Weimar, who was much pleased and expressed his satisfaction and respect by conferring on him the title of "Rat". The declaration that the Duke took an interest in his efforts made the poet hopeful for a successful undertaking. He now resolved to write "no verses that could not be submitted to the (2. best heads of the nation". Schiller who had great faith in the public decided to publish his drama as fragments  
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1. See Appendix 4. Vorrede in der Rheinische Thalia.
2. Thomas: Life of Schiller. P. 184.

in the "Thalia", a paper which the poet edited at this time. Schiller who expected a great interest in his piece-meal drama hoped to be benefited by the various criticisms it would receive from the public.

In the first number of the "Thalia", he published the first act of his Don Carlos drama with its dedication to the Duke, Karl August. After a short time the second number of the "Thalia" brought the scenes between Posa and Carlos from the second act; and two months later the third number of the "Thalia" appeared, which contained the scenes of the Princess Eboli, and the following scenes between Alba and Domingo. Then there followed a long intermission of almost a year, after which Schiller published the last fragment in the fourth number of the "Thalia", which started with the important Posa and Carlos scene, and goes on to what in the completed version is Act III, scene 5, ending with the audience scene.

Schiller had given little consideration to the theatrical value when he composed the part of his "Don Carlos" that he published piece-meal in the "Thalia". The neglect of his stage restrictions brought him into difficulty, for the total of the Thalia fragments contained more than four

thousand verses, and Schiller realized that at this rate his tragedy would become an impossibility on the stage. His publication of the drama had not received the recognition he had anticipated, for very little help and encouragement had come from literary circles. When his trust in the public failed so utterly, the poet became disheartened and melancholy.

It was not until Schiller came into the sympathetic circle of Körner and his friends that his life blossomed anew with courage and enthusiasm. Körner, who had invited Schiller to come to Leipzig, was deeply interested in his welfare and attempted to remove all petty cares from his mind, so that the poet could live his own ideal life, and thus accomplish his great poetic aspirations. But Körner did not only show himself as a sacrificing friend, but also as an understanding critic. He helped Schiller to develop in his artistic taste and also aroused in him an enthusiasm for friendship and love of humanity. That the poet was receptive to Körner's influence he clearly illustrates in his beautiful poem "An die Freude" which he composed at this time. Professor Royce so well characterizes the existing relation between Körner and Schiller in these



words, "Körner's place in Schiller's early development (1. was one of quiet and kindly opposition. When Schiller is in despair, Körner encourages him. When he jumps to conclusions, Körner invites him to study philosophy and to trust more to his understanding. When he plunges into hard study, Körner reminds him of his vocation as a poet. And so throughout, with a curious mingling of affection, criticism, reverence and advice, Körner gives his great friend just the stay the perplexed soul needed".

Körner's inspirational influence and his love for Kant's philosophy of freedom wrought a very decided and significant change in Schiller's view of life. Just as Goethe rose from the pessimism in "Werther" to the optimistic humanity in "Iphigenia", so Schiller in his "Don Carlos" purifies and frees himself from his destructive rebellion and takes on the constructive ideals of humanity and freedom.

When Schiller left Mannheim he looked to Körner to (2. help him out of his perplexity in finishing his Don Carlos drama and this time he was not disappointed. In his contented  
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1. Wilma: Philosophy of Schiller. P. 75. "
2. In Feb. 22, 1785, Schiller writes to Körner in Leipzig, "Den Don Carlos bringe ich in meinem Kopfe nähmlich zu Ihnen mit in Ihrem Zirkel will ich froherin meine Laute greiffen Seien Sie meine begeisternden Musen, lassen Sie mich in Ihrem Schosse von diesem Lieblings kinde meines Gerstes entbunden werden".

life at Leipzig he revised his first three acts that he had published in the "Thalia" and wrote the remaining two with Posa as the exponent of Schiller's new point of view. The various changes of plan had increased the difficulty of bringing the tragedy to a satisfactory conclusion. When Carlos, the former hero, lost favor in Schiller's eyes and Posa, the representative of liberal ideas who sacrifices for his friend, comes into the foreground, the whole character of the tragedy is affected. Already in his earlier form of the work the intrigues were unnaturally complicated, but the complications increased far more when the play's center of gravity shifted from Carlos to Posa and its interest from love intrigue to political intrigue. Schiller made a serious attempt to link together the motives of the first three acts with those of the last two, but in this he was not altogether successful as he readily admits in his "Briefe über Don Carlos". He writes, "Wenn nicht überall der zweite Plan dem ersten auf die glücklichste Art angepasst ist, so dient mit zu eigener Beruhigung, dass es einer geschicktern Hand, als der meinigen, nicht viel besser <sup>'</sup> würde gelungen sein." Lex, the German critic says that it would

be impossible ever for the most perfect artist to (1. change the tragic situation of the first Don Carlos plan into a theoretic one, because the first originated from an experience and the second from speculation. In the second part Schiller has finally completely yielded to the ideal, and as we mentioned previously, that is the reason why the Don Carlos drama holds a particular place in German literature.

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1. See Lex, "Die Idee im Drama". P. 149.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CLASSICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE DRAMA.

The Classical Development in the Drama.

1.  
Plot and Structure.

The completed drama of Schiller's Don Carlos has suffered by its long period of construction, as the poet himself admits, "it is not a blossom of a single summer as a drama ought to be". Many things had changed in the poet during these years. New ideas that came into his mind had crowded out the old ones and so it came about "that he brought a very different heart to his last two acts of his drama". But the first three acts were already in the hands of the public before he worked out the last two, and thus the plan of the whole could not be recast. The poet was obliged to either suppress the production entirely or fit the last part into the first, and he chose to do the latter.

In order to understand the development of the plot we must bear in mind that there are really two separate dramas included, namely, the love and the political tragedy. Although Schiller has not succeeded altogether in holding the unity of the plot, he has with a master hand merged the former into the latter, so that at the

end we have a consistent outcome of the conditions set forth in the first act.

Here like in "Kabale und Liebe" Schiller uses the method of contrast, but he treats the contrasting characters much more calmly and impartially. On the one hand we have the court, the tyrant and the church, which are represented by Domingo, Duke Alba, King Philip and the Inquisitor; these stand for the unyielding powers that are enemies to all that is new and progressive. On the other hand we have the longing for freedom and human happiness; these are represented by Carlos, Posa and the noble queen.

The action of the play occurs in Aranguez, a little city thirty-one miles south of Madrid on the Tajo, in one of the most beautiful valleys of New Castile. Here was the location of the pleasure palace where the Spanish court lived during the spring months. The time is shortly after the American Revolution and two years before the outbreak of the French Revolution. The play occupies five days. The scenes take place in the king's garden in Aranguez; the king's palace; the queen's waiting room; Carthusian monastery; king's bedchamber; Eboli's room;

gallery and in the prison cell. There are changes of scenes. The fourth act performs in seven different places.

Don Carlos who is betrothed to the beautiful princess Elizabeth of Valois is happily looking forward to his marriage when suddenly he is informed that his father, King Philip, has decided to take the charming princess for his own wife. This is a bitter disappointment for the prince and he falls into a melancholy mood and completely withdraws from society. King Philip is suspicious of this action and a jealousy arises between father and son. Carlos has been sent away to the University to forget his troubles, but as soon as he comes back he is again overcome by his former love passion, and falls back into a laconic and melancholy state. He becomes a puzzle to the court as well as to the king; the latter suspects his action and is overcome with bitter jealousy towards his son. This is the situation at the opening of the drama.

The situation of Don Carlos in the opening scene of this drama is very similar to that of Hamlet in Shakespeare. For both are in a melancholy mood, and a mystery to the court.

Act I.

The play opens with a conversation between the father confessor Domingo and Carlos. In the first utterance of Carlos, "Mutter! O Himmel gieb, dass ich es dem vergesse, Der sie zu meiner Mutter machte" (27-29) the very core of the tragedy is touched. The love-sick prince confides his great secret to Domingo without knowing that he is his spying friend. With the last lament of "Beweinenswerter Philip wie dein Sohn beweinenswert" (122-23), the first scene closes. Carlos realizes that his love for the queen is unfortunate for him as well as for the king, and that it is fraught with dangerous consequences. Here we have the beginning of "the conflict between father and son" upon which the whole tragic development of the love tragedy depends.

In the second scene, where Marquis Posa approaches the prince and calls upon him to save the Netherlands, we have the initial impulse of the drama from here until Act III, scene 10, there is an ascending action.

Marquis Posa has been informed that the king has resolved to send Duke Alba "des Fanatismus rauhen Henkersknecht", as governor to Brussels and in hopes



that this will be avoided he turns to Carlos and pleads that he may go instead. But Posa makes the painful discovery that Carlos' heart no longer beats for humanity, that his former ideals of freedom have been suppressed by his devouring love for his step-mother. Carlos is deeply distressed and feels lonely and forsaken, "Ich habe niemand, niemand auf dieser grossen weiten Erde niemand". How similar in fact almost identical to Leisewitz's Julius, "Und kein Fürst hat ja jemals einen Freund". (1.

The loneliness of princes was frequently commented upon by the writers of the eighteenth century. And we remember that Schiller himself at this time felt the consciousness of loneliness and the need of a friend; evidently this was the reason that the poet saw fit to supply the Spanish prince with a friend. We find that Carlos and Posa form a close bond of friendship. When Carlos reminds him that he has once sacrificed for his sake, Posa responds, "Ich will bezahlen. Auch meine Stunde schlägt vielleicht" (262-63). Posa once more calls his attention to the great need of the Netherlands,  
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1. Leisewitz: Julius von Tarent. Act I, scene 1.

and urges that he must have an interview with his mother the queen.

Posa has succeeded in gaining for Carlos an audience with the queen. His intentions are that the queen shall exert her influence in arousing Carlos for his political plans. In the presence of the queen Carlos once more gives full vent to his passions, but Elizabeth retains her self possession and with calm seriousness reminds him of her and his duty to the king. "Weil meine Pflicht-Dem Sie und Ich gehorchen müssen" (724). Carlos rebels against the power of rigid convention that prohibits the giving expression to human nature and feeling. "Müssen? Gehorchen müssen?" he responds. The great and noble queen implores the prince to renounce and become a man. "Die Liebe ist Ihr grosses Amt. Bis jetzt verirrte sie zur Mutter. Bringen Sie, O bringen Sie, sie Ihren künftigen Reichen". (787-89). Her persuasive exhortation has an effect; the prince renounces and resolves to go to Flanders.

If the prince accomplishes his desire to go to Flanders, for which he will appeal to the king the next day, his dangers will be overcome, for undoubtedly with

a responsibility so great as that his passions will forever be subdued. But on the other hand if he would stay in Flanders he would be in continual danger of falling again into his morbid passion, which by the slightest inducement would be rekindled; if so, the break with the king would be unavoidable. Everything now depends on the conference with the king on the morrow.

In the former scene while the king interviews the queen we become acquainted with the dangerous situation in which Carlos is placed through the jealousy and suspicion of his father. We now await the result of the first conference between father and son with great anxiety.

We have in the first act been introduced to the conflict between father and son which has its origin in their love for the same woman. In the son this love is a great passion that involves a bitter anger against his father, while in the father it creates a poisonous jealousy of his son. Their love for the queen involves in each of them a certain balance between conflicting motives, and these motives are delicately developed by the opposing forces of Domingo, Alba and Eboli as we will see later.

Act II.

The first scene opens on the second day. Carlos appears before King Philip and the conference is held. The prince pleads with his father for a reconciliation but in vain. Just once the son touches the heart of the despot which arouses a human response. Carlos says, "Mir graut vor dem Gedanken, einsam und allein auf einem Thron allein zu sein" and the king responds "Ich bin allein" (1109-11). But at the next moment the bitter jealousy again triumphs over him. When Carlos makes his fervid appeal to be sent to the Netherlands, the despot gives the rigid command "Du bleibst in Spanien der Herzog geht nach Flanders" (1231-32). The youth who is denied to live out his own true life now falls back into his former love passion. And the conflict between father and son becomes more intense.

At this time the poet brings in the Eboli intrigue according to his original French source. This he does for the sake of contrast, and he succeeds in bringing out an important development by it.

Carlos who has tried to rise above his passions and give himself over into the service of humanity now

deems that his renouncing has been of no avail. Therefore, when he receives a letter from a page which he believes to be from the queen his passion again takes him under control. In view of the fact that he has suffered a night of terrible disappointment, we may justify his action for turning immediately to the thoughts of the queen, although it seems inconsistent that he should not be able to recognize that it was not the queen's handwriting with which he had become very familiar.

Carlos goes to the appointed place, as the letter suggested, to meet the queen but finds the princess Eboli instead. The letter has deluded him to such an extent that he does not conceive Eboli's intentions but rather takes her as a sympathetic friend and is just on the verge of disclosing his secret love for the queen when suddenly he discovers her aims and plans. Carlos leaves the princess distressed and disappointed. Not only has her love been refused, but in her tactlessness she has handed Carlos a letter from the king in which he declares his love to her.

In the last scene we find Carlos and Posa at the Carthusian monastery. Two days have passed since their

last interview, and Posa has anxiously waited for the result of his meeting with King Philip. Carlos coldly informs him that Duke Alba is going to the Netherlands tomorrow, and that his relation with King Philip is broken, "Wir sind getrennt auf immer" (2276). Then in glowing passion he reads to Posa the letter from Eboli, and sounds forth his triumph, "Die Königin ist frei, vor Menschen augen wie vor Himmels Augen frei!" (2290-91). Posa as a loyal friend and a steadfast champion for the happiness of humanity tries to bring the vacillating hero to himself with this rebuke: "O Karl, wie arm bist du, wie bettler arm geworden, seit du niemand liebst als dich" (2422-23). Then with a glow of enthusiasm he again reminds Carlos that it is his work to save the Netherlands. "Karl, vergiss nicht dass, ein Auschlag der höherer Vernunft gebar, das Leiden der Menschheit drängt, zehntausend mal vereitelt, nie aufgegeben werden darf" (2457-59).

The two friends separate at the Carthusian monastery without a premonition of the dangers that are already plotted against them. Domingo and Alba who both hate and fear the prince, are persuaded that a secret love exists between Carlos and the queen. But they lack a definite

proof, and also a person who would whisper suspicion into the king's ear. They find this very candidate in the slighted Eboli who already has planned a revenge on the prince. She carries out her plans by robbing the queen's letters from her secret-chamber.

Through the Eboli intrigue Carlos has fallen a victim to his former passion and is almost lost for the lofty ideals of humanity. And for some time he drops out of the drama entirely.

We remember that by this time Schiller had lost interest in the love-theme of the St. Real novel. He had turned his attention to the political problems of life. So he decided to change his love tragedy into a historical tragedy. He realized that a love-sick prince, a sentimental weakling, would not be a fit hero for a political tragedy so he shifted the tragic interest from Carlos to King Philip. From now on the drama takes on a loftier form, both in thought and language. In the first part of the drama we are quite conscious of the fact that the poet has not entirely freed himself from his "Storm and Stress" influence.

Act III.

The action of the play takes place on the fifth day. Three days have elapsed since the conspiracy of Alba, Domingo and Eboli was formed. During this time they have managed to carry out their plot quite successfully. At the opening of the act we are face to face with the result of the conspiracy.

With touching pathos and the most powerful dramatic effect the poet portrays to us the inner conflict of the king, who suffers bitterly from the awful deception, and there is no one to help him. He yearns for truth and human sympathy. "Ich schlage an diesen Felsen und will Wasser. Wasser. Für meinen heissen Fieberdurst--er gibt nur glühend Gold" (2515-18). What a beautiful figure of speech. This is no more the youthful extravagance of the poet, but a powerful poetic expression. The king feels comfortless and alone, even his truest servant Lerma arouses his suspicion by the mere mention of "Die beste Königin". The king is fully persuaded that the queen is in love with Carlos. In bitter agony he cries out, "So ist's erwiesen sie ist falsch" (2476).

With great ingenuity the poet suddenly turns the



tables and lets the king discover the base and vile motives of the intriguers. "Es ist Verleumdung-- (1. Der Name des Weibes heisst Verleumdung" (2505-2507). The intriguers in their selfish motives have made use of the king's jealousy in order to get control over him.

The intrigue has worked out an important development in the king's character. The hard hearted despot of the first part of the drama has become human and more consistent with the spirit of the whole production. In "Kabale und Liebe" the heroes are from the first condemned to inactivity and throughout the play are worked more or less like puppets.

This fact of the king's development comes out in clear and bright colors when the poet brings in the short scene in which he pardons Medina Sidonia for the loss of the Spanish Armada.

When his courtiers have proven unfaithful the great monarch feels the loneliness of his lofty station, and a deep and irresistible longing awakens in him; it is the longing for a true man with whom he can counsel, "Gute Vorsicht du hast mir viel gegeben, Schenke mir jetzt einen Menschen" (2809-11). In the process of development  
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1. In Shakespeare's Hamlet, Act I, scene 2, Hamlet says:  
"Frailty, thy name is woman!"

the cold despot has become human, open-minded, and even forgiving. He has now been prepared for the enlightened messenger of truth from whose mouth he will hear the political problem of universal significance. So we see that Philip's great scene with Posa is an essential outgrowth of the deepest thought of the drama.

We have now come to the climax of the drama. This tenth scene is one of magnificent importance. Here are concentrated some of the noblest political thoughts of the eighteenth century. Where in German literature has there ever been anything written that is so permeated with sublime and stimulating thought! Almost every line is as deep and great poetic expression. Minor says "Nie haben die Schlagworte von Wellbürgertum, von der allge- (1. meinen Menschenliebe, von der Gedankenfreiheit und der Glaubensfreiheit einen beredteren und mächtigeren Ausdruck gefunden".

In Posa the king finds what he has been looking for, "a true man"--In this important interview with the great monarch, Posa rises to the occasion and sounds forth his triumphant note of friendship, of love, and of a free humanity to come in a most captivating manner. In the  
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1. Minor: B. II. P. 568.

very beginning of the scene Posa says, "Ich kann nicht Fürstendiener sein" (3023). With these words the poet has produced the highest degree of dramatic suspense. No one has ever spoken thus to King Philip. He is at once attracted by this amiable idealist.

Posa puts before the king his political ideals not according to the ideal of Karl Moor's destructive program against existing conditions, but a constructive one for the great possibilities of the future. Nothing now was farther away from Schiller's mind than to make actual conditions the object of his artistic meditation; this he had attempted in his former dramas. Now he has created his world of ideals and he seeks to embody these creations in terms of the real. As the exponent of a golden future he says "Das Jahrhundert ist meinem Ideal nicht reif. Ich lebe ein Bürger derer, welche kommenn werden" (3078-80).

With the love of a friend Posa reproaches King Philip for the poor government and at the same time gives him a warnign, "Zu einem Nero und Busiris wirft man Ihren Namen, und das schmerzt mich denn Sie waren gut" (3191-93). At last he makes the strong appeal, "Weißen Sie dem Glück der Völker die Regentenkraft, die ach so lang, des Thrones

Grössenur gewüchert" (3239-42).

Then he proceeds to picture in glowing colors the possibilities of a golden future where the king is the highest servant of Liberty, such as the rulers of the (1. enlightened despotism in the latter part of the eighteenth century were, where it was the aim of the king to maintain the rights of each citizen, and to encourage freedom of action and thought.

King Philip seems almost won over to the cause of humanity and freedom. He now deigns to explain his policy and to entrust Posa with the directions of the affairs of State and the intrigue of the court. Philip has now become a large-hearted, truly great monarch.

This scene shows close resemblance to the scene (2. of Nathan and Saladin. Both scenes are climaxes of their respective plays; both are characterized by a courageous and independent hero, from whom the monarch hears the truth. Both deal with tolerance; "Don Carlos" with political and "Nathan Der Weise" with religious tolerance. And both express the most fervid longings of  
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1. Lieder's Don Carlos. Introduction. P. XVII.

Frederick the Great and Joseph II desired to be considered the first servants of their state.

2. Lessing's Nathan der Weise. Act III, scene 4.

the eighteenth century. Lessing's message is more intellectual but Schiller's touches the heart and is exalting.

#### Act IV.

In the foregoing Act, Carlos is dropped out of the drama and King Philip becomes the whole center of tragic action. The love problem has been overshadowed by the weightier problem of politics, and in the last scene of Act III, it has advanced to a great historical tragedy. This development has been brought about by Posa with whom we became acquainted in Act I as a man who had at heart the welfare of humanity, and who in the progress of the play has stood as a contrasting force over against Alba, Domingo and Eboli; and as a steadfast champion between the vacillating Carlos and Philip. In the development of the first three acts, Posa has been consistent and his action has been clear and logical.

From the time that elapsed between the composition of the first three acts and the last Schiller has become a different man. Through Körner's influence, and his

study of Kant, he has been carried away by an enthusiasm for friendship and love of humanity, and has conceived of an ideal political program where people would enjoy happiness and freedom of thought. These ideals the poet has put in Posa's mouth and he has heralded them to King Philip as we have just learned in the last scene of Act III, which formerly belonged to Act IV and was composed after his friendship with Körner. The last scene of Act III ends in a dramatic suspense. We await the crisis of Philip's decision, since his enthusiasm is aroused, and he has almost yielded to the cause of freedom and happiness to humanity.

In Act IV, we are no longer dealing with a love tragedy in a royal household, but with a tragedy of political idealism where Posa has become the prominent figure of the play. We are now being prepared for the great sacrifice of Posa. The plot becomes extremely complicated, almost bewildering, and the acts of Posa are very difficult to understand, yet they are justifiable if we think of him as an idealistic dreamer; as such (1. he has motive for the best plan to follow. Thomas Calvin  
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1. Kuno Fisher: Schiller's Schiften. I. P. 25.  
"Er opferte sich für ein weltgeschichtliches Ideal,  
das er idyllisch träumte".

calls him a "Quixotic madman". But considering the time in which Schiller wrote, and remembering that Posa was the mouth-piece of the young poet who had a native bent for imaginative soaring in the realms of ideas, we can easily see how his self sacrifice was revealed to him as the best and most effective way of accomplishing his ends.

Posa has won the confidence of King Philip. "Dränget Euch zu meinem Sohn, erforscht das Herz der Königin. Ich will Euch Vollmacht senden, sie geheim zu sprechen" (3347-48). On this proposition he acts. He has an interview with the queen in behalf of Carlos' flight to the Netherlands. This is of significant importance in the development of the drama. It is this motive that the poet employs to bridge over the love tragedy of the first part with the political tragedy of the second part. Posa is confident that Carlos can be won for his new cosmopolitan plan; but this must be wrought through his love for the queen. The queen gladly consents to the plan of a secret flight to the Netherlands, but desires to confer with Carlos herself in regard to this important matter, for Posa has said to her, "Er sollte, war mein Plan, aus Ihrem Munde zum

erstermal es hören" (3484-85). Posa leaves the queen without explaining to her his new relations with the king.

Carlos and Posa meet again at the Carthusian monastery where Carlos dropped out of the drama in Act II, scene 15. Posa behaves very strangely in the presence of his friend. When Carlos inquires about his father, Posa conceals from him the truth. Posa involves himself in still greater mystery when he asks Carlos for his letter case, without giving him a reason for this act. We are puzzled about the fact that Posa conceals from his friend his new relation to King Philip. But we get some light on this matter in Posa's monologue. "Der König glaubte dem Gefäss, dem er Sein heiliges Geheimnis übergeben. Und Glauben fordert Dankbarkeit" (3644-46). The king has entrusted him to search the heart of the prince and to closely observe his conduct, and if Posa would at once go and tell Carlos about it, this would in a way be betraying the king's confidence.

But why did he not give Carlos a reason for taking from him his letter case? Again we refer back to his monologue, "Warum dem Schlafenden die Witterwolke zeigen,



die auf seinem Scheitel hängt? Genug das ich sie still an dir vorüber führe. . . Und wenn du aufwachst heller Morgen ist" (3649-52). These words indicate that (1. Posa had great self confidence in directing everything single-handed without help or advice from anyone. That this was tactless of him he sees and admits later (4640-44). In his great enthusiasm for an ideal political state he forgets to be cautious of the dangers in which he is involving himself and his friend. This act arouses suspicion in Carlos, and in the development of the drama is the tragic crisis which leads to the final catastrophe.

Next we find Posa in an interview with the king, where he gives him Carlos' letter case. The king is shocked when he finds his own letter to Eboli amongst them, and fears the consequences of Eboli's betrayal. He also finds Carlos' letters from the queen amongst them, by which Posa succeeds in convincing him that Carlos and the queen are not to be suspected of being in love.

Posa's next step is to call the king's attention to his political affairs. He tells the king that Carlos is \*-----

1. Don Carlos. Briefe No. 11.

"Das er zu sehr nach seinem Ideal von Tugend in die Höhe und zu wenig auf seinen Freund herunter blickte, wurde berder Verderben. Karlos verunglückte weil sein Freund sich nicht begnügte auf eine gemeine Art zu erlösen."

planning a secret flight to the Netherlands by the wish and will of the queen. He points out the dangers of a rebellion that may ensue thereby, but in order to avoid this danger he asks the king for a warrant for Carlos' arrest. The king grants the warrant with these words, "Das Reich ist auf dem Spiele. . . Ausserordentliche Mittel erlaubt die dringende Gefahr" (3915-16). We see that Posa is relying on his great ability to direct things even to the point of recklessness. The king has put his confidence in Posa and has solely given him over to his control.

Lerma who has been informed of Posa's interview with the king, and that he has given him Carlos' letter-case warns the prince that his friend is plotting against him. Carlos' suspicion is deeply aroused, and he becomes convinced that he has been betrayed, and not only he, but also the queen; this last thought almost drives him into despair. When suddenly it strikes his mind that princess Eboli may make it possible for him to see the queen and to give her a warning. He hastens to the princess to make known his intense desire, but is interrupted by Posa who enters and overhears the fervent plea of Carlos, "Es

gilt um Tod und Leben. Führen Sie mich zu ihr" (4103). Posa at once concludes that his plans have been betrayed, and without waiting for an explanation he arrests Carlos, but tells him that he will see him in an hour. Thinking that Eboli is the instigator of this betrayal he draws his dagger upon her, but in another instant he says, "Noch giebts ein andres Mittel!" (4192) indicating his self sacrifice. He at once writes a letter (where he represents himself as a traitor) which he knows will fall into the king's hands and will cause his death.

These acts of Posa are uncomprehensible indeed. Through his absolute self confidence in being able to direct the course of events alone, without anyone's interference he has brought himself into such awful difficulties that he can no more reason logically.

Posa has arrested Carlos with the intention of making possible his flight. He plans that before his letter gets into the king's hands, his friend will already be in safety. He hastily makes all arrangements for Carlos to escape from Madrid on the following night. But before that he will make possible another interview with the queen, in order that she may give to him his last commission.

Posa who knows that his death is pending appears once more before the queen. This scene is most powerfully tragic. To the queen he explains the motives of his self sacrifice and bequeaths to her his last will for Carlos, being convinced that the queen will arouse him to action. With sublime words he expresses his love for Carlos and the hopes he had wished to see realized "In meines Carlos Seele erschuf ich ein Paradies for Millionen" (4259-60) Posa has through his mysterious action drawn Carlos' suspicion upon himself. He realizes the tragic situation. But Carlos must be won for the great cause! So he resolves to make the great sacrifice. How touchingly sublime these words of Posa to the queen are, "Er mache, O sagen Sie es ihm das Traumbild wahr, das kühne Traumbild eines neuen Staates" (4279-80). . . "Und sagen Sie ihm das ich Menschenglück auf seine Seele lege, dass ich es sterbend von ihm fordere" (4328-30). (1. We certainly are convinced that his self sacrifice is not a selfish heroic ambition but the lofty aspirations to obtain freedom and happiness for humanity.

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1. Schiller's Briefe über Don Carlos. No.12.

"Posa stirbt um für sein in des Princen Seele gelegtes Ideal alles zu thun was ein Mensch für sein Teuerstes thun kann, um durch sein Beispiel darzutun wie sehr ihm die Wahrheit es wert sei dass man für sie in den Tod gehe."

Act V.

While the complicated plot of Act IV which was hampered by intrigues proved rather unsatisfactory, and many of the motives failed to be truly convincing, we find that in the last act the intrigues have come to a close and the action moves on clearly and rapidly. In most exquisite eloquence and with tragic power the great and fateful human story is brought to light most clearly and pathetically. Through what the characters express in this act Schiller's profoundest poetic thoughts reach their climax.

The action begins an hour after Carlos' arrest in Act IV, scene 16. Posa has come to see Carlos in prison to fully explain to him all his former deeds. Carlos at first is so overwhelmed that he interprets Posa's course directly opposite to his intentions. He believes that Posa has gained the king's favor by revealing his love for the queen, and that he as well as the queen will have to sacrifice their lives. But even at that Carlos acknowledges as a noble motive on his friend's part. Posa is touched by this loyalty and expresses these kindling words "Das hab ich necht vorhergesehen das eines Freundes Grossmut erfinderischer konnte sein als meine Weltkluge Sorgfalt. Mein

Gebäude stürzt zusammen ich vergass dein Herz." (4523-26).  
With what exquisite tenderness the poet has succeeded in  
portraying to us the significance of this friendship!

Posa who is in full hopes that his idealistic plans  
will soon be realized says to Carlos, "Ich drücke dich  
an meine Brust zum erstenmal mit vollem ganzen Rechte;  
ich hab es ja mit allem, allem, was mir teuer ist erkaufte."  
. . . "O Karl, wie süß wie gross ist dieser Augenblick."  
(4656-60). Then Posa once more reminds his friend of the  
great mission that he leaves him to fulfill "Rette dich  
für Flandern! Das Königreich ist dem Beruf. Für dich zu  
sterben war der meinige." Carlos is amazed and filled  
with deepest emotions on hearing these words of his friend.  
Suddenly the thought rushes to his mind that such a sublime  
sacrifice would touch the heart of his father and win him  
over for the cause of freedom and humanity. "Er wird, er  
kann nicht widerstehen!" says Carlos, "So viele Erhaben-  
heiten nicht widerstehen! Ich will dich zu ihm führen.  
Er ist nicht ohne Menschlichkeit mein Vater." (4721-27).  
While they are yet talking a shot is heard and Posa falls  
to the ground with the dying utterance, "Deine Mutter  
weiss alles."

The following scene is most dramatic and significant.

For it is over the body of Posa that the great question of humanity must come to a final decision for King Philip and Don Carlos. Posa has from the very beginning stood as a steadfast champion for liberty between these two conflicting characters.

Now that Posa is gone Carlos becomes the hero of the drama. At first Carlos is completely crushed with grief over the departed, but at the thought of the murderer he towers up as a judge and revenger. With the eyes rested upon his father he in glowing pathos utters, "Natur! Ich weiss von keiner. Mord ist jetzt die Lösung. Der Menschheit Bande sind entzwei (4766-67). . . Morden Sie mich auch, wie Sie den Edelsten gemordet. Mein Leben ist verwirkt. Ich weiss. Was ist mir jetzt das Leben? Hier entsag ich allem was mich auf dieser Welt erwartet. Suchen Sie unter Fremdlingen sich einen Sohn. Da liegen meine Reiche." (4844-50). The bonds of kindred between father and son are eternally broken. But also the question for or against humanity is decided.

That the king has hired an assassin to kill Posa instead of handing him over to the law shows that he has been brought back to a former tyrant, and as formerly his gloomy spirit

seeks to strengthen and increase his own elevation and self will. He cannot endure the thought that someone greater has arisen and like a god he calls out "Er dachte klein von mir und starb. Ich muss ihn wieder haben. Er muss anders von mir denken." The stony-hearted despot realizes that Posa's self-sacrifice meant that Carlos would be his representative in carrying out his political ideals and become a monarch of a great free state. He determines to destroy these hopes. "Die Welt" he says, "Ich noch auf einen Abend mein. Ich will Ihm<sup>"</sup> nutzen diesen Abend, das nach mir kein Pflanzen mehr in zehen Menschenaltern auf dieser Brandstätt ernten soll."

King Philip in his furious antagonism now turns for help to the Great Inquisitor. The picture of the ninety-year old Cardinal-Inquisitor to whom the great King Philip turns in submission is truly dramatic. When the Inquisitor rebukes the king for heeding the messenger who proclaimed freedom and happiness to humanity, the king says, "Mich lüstete nach einem Menschen." (5224). To this the Inquisitor replies, "Wozu Menschen? Menschen sind für Sie mir Zahlen, weiter nichts, Muss ich die Elemente der Monarchenkunst mit



meinem großen Schüler überhören? Wenn Sie um Mitgefühl wimmern, haben Sie der Welt nicht Ihresgleichen zugestanden? Und welche Reihete, moecht ich wissen, haben Sie aufzuweisen über Ihresgleichen." (5225-34). To this the great monarch humbly replies, "Ich bin ein kleiner Mensch, . . . Du forderst von dem Geschöpf, was mir der Schöpfer leistet." Into this almighty power the king now delivers his own son in order to wipe away the influence of the one who has sacrificed his life for the ideals of freedom. The Inquisitor has said, "Der Verwesung lieber als der Freicheit." (5280). This step completes Philip's story. He is lost for humanity.

Now we are coming to the consummation of all things. Carlos and the queen have another meeting which has been arranged by Posa, and where the queen delivers to him his friend's last commission. This involuntarily reminds us of their meeting in Act I, scene 5. The comparison of these two scenes brings out the greatest significance in the artistic development of the hero's character. In Act I, scene 5, we see the pure and noble queen over against the sentimental weakling overwhelmed by his morbid love passion. There the queen renounces and makes this noble request to Carlos, "Elizabeth war ihre erste Liebe. Ihre zwöte sei

Spanien." In this last scene sentimental youth has matured into an idealistic manly character. He too renounced, "Endlich seh ich ein es gibt ein höheres wünschenswerter Gut, als dich besitzen." (5320-22).

It is Posa's self sacrifice that has wrought this change. "Ein reiner Feuer hat mein Wesen geläutert. Meine Leidenschaft wohnt in den Gräbern der Toten." (5316-17). The greatest triumph is won just as his friend has so fervidly hoped that it might be won. Carlos has completely yielded to the service for the happiness of humanity. "Einen Leichenstein", he says, "will ich ihm setzen wie noch keinem König geworden. . . über seiner Asche blühe ein Paradies!" (5294-96). In the first meeting, Act I, scene 5, Carlos looked up to the queen, and in his helplessness and weakness sought her advice; and in the last scene the queen looks up to him in great amazement and says, "Ich darf mich nicht empor zu dieser Männergrosse wagen, doch fassen und bewundern kann ich Sie." (5349-50).

While Carlos is bidding to her his last farewell words before going on his great mission to free the Netherlands, the queen falls down dead and the stony hearted despot turns to the dreadful Inquisitor and says, "Kardinal, Ich habe das Meinige getan. Tun Sie das Ihre." (5369-70). Now that

they are wholly purified their dreadful fate overtakes them, and both fall a sacrifice to their lofty ideals. How genuinely tragic the poet brings on this catastrophe!

What power of "tragic rhythm" there is in this great historical drama that grew out of a love tragedy in a royal household. The great and sublime ideal of the future happiness of mankind presses its way onward until it reaches the very throne. The great monarch is almost won over to this ideal. But when his relation with the "only true man" turns out as a disappointment to him he becomes hardened as Pharaoh of old, and determines to revenge himself against this Sublime Conception. He resolves to destroy it forever, even with the death of his own son. Thus the friends of freedom fall as a sacrifice to their lofty ideals of happiness to mankind. Although their life is destroyed, we are confident that the ideal for which they died will never die, but will live on forever and forever.

The Don Carlos drama is composed of a love tragedy and a political tragedy. The hero of the love tragedy is Carlos and his counterpart Posa, and the queen. The heroes of the political tragedy are Posa and Carlos, their counterpart, King Philip, Alba, and Domingo. In the love tragedy Posa and the queen continually suppress the hero's love

passion and uphold to him his great mission of saving the Netherlands; thus the way is prepared to make them both the representatives of the political tragedy. But this development is hampered in Act II where King Philip refuses Carlos' request which causes the hero to fall back to his former passion. Now Posa strikes upon a new plan in order to free the hero from his love passion. He plans for him a secret flight to the Netherlands. But before his plans are carried out the political opponents Alba and Domingo with the help of Eboli conspire against Carlos and arouse the king's suspicion; but they are caught in their deception and lose the king's confidence. The king longs for "a true man" whom he finds in Posa.

The love drama has now been submerged into a political one with Posa as the hero. He has won the king's confidence and now takes the political affairs into his own hands. He stands as a steadfast champion between the father and the son; and as such, tries to free the king's suspicion against Carlos, and at the same time tries to win him for his political ideals. He has almost accomplished his undertaking successfully, when in his great enthusiasm he makes a serious mistake, by which Carlos' suspicion is aroused and this brings the self

sacrifice of Posa. After Posa's death Carlos becomes the hero of the political tragedy.

In the dramatic structure Posa's self sacrifice is of great importance for both the love and the political tragedy. For the love tragedy it had the significance that through its noble example the hero renounced and freed himself from his passion for the queen, and yields completely to the service for humanity. For the political tragedy it holds the significance that through Philip's disappointment his former trust in Posa is reversed into hate and fury; this causes him to turn against humanity and he resolves to destroy the ideals of freedom; this he does by delivering his own son into the hands of death. And it is the sacrifice of his son that makes this a historical drama of universal significance. The great ideals for which he died will by far outlive destruction.

Characters.

That Schiller has advanced from his former works in the portrayal of characters that add to the weight and significance in his ideal point of view is undisputable. King Philip who in the first part of the drama is pictured in the light of a St. Real as a domineering, cruel despot filled with bitter jealousy and suspicion, and is without any trait of human sympathy becomes in the development of the drama a truly great monarch who desires to bring happiness and freedom to his people. This change of King Philip is skillfully brought out by the intrigues. It is through the rebellion and hypocrisy of their deceitfulness that the king comes to the point where he realizes his own human limitations. In his helplessness he longs for a true man with whom he can counsel, and he finds this man in Posa. What a soothing power he has over the monarch! King Philip is almost persuaded to yield to the cause of freedom and happiness to humanity. In great suspense we await the crisis of the king's decision. Furthermore it is certainly a marvelous conception of the poet that the king is being prepared through suffering to see his great responsibility to his people as it is brought him by the messenger of enlightenment.

Posa represents Schiller himself. The fervid love for men which is a dominant passion in Posa was likewise the true sentiment of the poet. He is introduced as a man with a keen intellect and a devoted heart for the cause of freedom and happiness to humanity, which is his true and only purpose. He is always steadfast amidst those who waver. When Carlos shows himself as a sentimental weakling in his love for the queen, Posa cheers him into new activity by pointing out to him his great mission to free the Netherlands. When King Philip is overpowered by jealousy and suspicion, Posa attempts to bring about a reconciliation between father and son in order to also win the king for his political cause of freedom.

Posa has been severely criticized for his inconsistency, but he acts as a man of his ability and his political plans in the given circumstances would act. Gorges says of him, (1. "Er ist voll von idealen Entwürfen für Flanderns Befreiung und Spaniens Wohlfahrt, aber er vereinigt in der glücklichsten Weise, "des Schwärmers Ernst" mit "des Weltmanns Blick". Posa is continually aiming with all his force of thought and action, to advance the happiness and welfare of humanity; in this noble pursuit he is earnest, fearless and untiring. When the deathly bullet strikes him, his last thought and  
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1. Max Gorges: Schiller 's Don Carlos. P. 16.

utterance is the concern not of himself, but of the welfare of the whole human race.

He is enthusiastic, but his enthusiasm does not burst forth in violence, but with calm, sublime and enlightened force. What majestic thought Posa expresses in his last message to Carlos through the queen, "Sagen Sie ihm, dass er für die Träume seiner Jugend soll Achtung tragen wenn er Mann sein wird, nicht öffnen soll dem tötenden Insekten gerühmter besserer Vernunft das Herz der zarten Götterblume-- dass er nicht soll irre werden, wenn des Staubes Weisheit Begeisterung die Himmelstochter lästert." (4290-95). These beautiful phrases of triumphant idealism will never grow old.

In Act III, scene 10, Posa's character stands out most clearly as an exponent of Schiller's political idealism. Here all that lay on the heart of the young poet in the way of possibilities for a golden future to be realized by humane and enlightened monarchy finds immortal expression through the mouth of Posa.

In the character of Don Carlos we see a very clear progress in the poet's artistic conception. In the first part of the drama Carlos is a sentimental weakling, very similar to the "Storm and Stress" hero, Julius von Tarent.



On the other hand he is also a true creation of Schiller's own actual experience. When Carlos in Act I, scene 2, says (1. "Auch mir hat einst von einem Karl geträumt, dem's feurig durch die Wangen lief, wenn man von Freiheit sprach, doch der ist lang begraben" (170-72) the poet expresses his own melancholy feelings of deep despair and suppressed ambition.

After Schiller came into intimate fellowship with Körner, he conceived of the great idea that Carlos must and will be won for the cause of freeing the Netherlands through the loyal friendship of Posa. With delicate touch the poet portrays to us the pledge of their friendship which has a great dramatic significance in the development of the drama. While they were yet students in the University of Alcala they swore allegiance to the cause of freeing the Netherlands. Posa constantly reminds Carlos of the task that lies before him. The opponents in this political cause are Philip, Alba and Domingo; the conflict with these forces constitutes a very important part in the progress of the tragedy. But a far greater struggle for Carlos is his own love passion, and this conflict constitutes the most important part in the development of the great tragedy. Through Posa's influence and through the queen's noble aspirations his love passion is kept in check; it reappears at different  
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1. Schiller's Briefe. Letter to Reinwald, April 14, 1783.  
Ich hatte vielleicht gross werden können, aber das Schicksal stritte zu früh wider mich. Lieben und schätzen Sie mich was ich untern bessern Sternen geworden ware.

times, but it receives its final defeat through the self sacrifice of Posa. Through his friend's death the hero of the love tragedy becomes purified from his former passions, and is strengthened and prepared to enter whole-heartedly into the service for the happiness of mankind, thus becoming at the end the hero of the great political tragedy whose ideals of universal significance will live on forever more.

Another important factor in Schiller's artistic development we see in his portrayal of queen Elizabeth. The women of his former works like Amalie, Louise and Lenora were rather unconvincing characters, but Elizabeth is a truly great woman. She is one of the most winsome and lovable figures that artists have ever drawn. She renounces her love for Don Carlos, and through her stability and unwavering noble character she is able to persuade him that his love for her must be transformed to the love for the millions of human beings whose destiny depends upon him. We are well aware of the fact that she is not truly happy as the queen of the Spanish court and the wife of King Philip, yet she utters no regret nor does she sigh a word of complaint. She seeks to compensate herself in fulfilling the duties that belong to her as the queen of the land. We love her lofty aspirations.

Marquis Posa pays her a true and excellent tribute when he says of her, "In angeborner stiller Glorie, mit sorgenlosem Leichtsinn, mit des Anstands schulmässiger Berechnung unbekannt, gleich ferne von Verwegenheit und Furcht, mit festem Heldenschritte wandelt sie die schmale Mittelbahn des Schicklichen, unwissend, dass sie Anbetung erzwungen, wo sie von eigenem Beifall nie geträumt." (2355-63).

#### Style.

In "Don Carlos" Schiller for the first time uses the classic meter in which all his later works are written. He was well aware of the fact that the metrical form necessitated a more uniform loftiness in the diction and therefore he excluded the daring realism which had characterized his former works. Rhyme does not occur in the drama, and the blank verse, on the whole is fairly regular.

"Don Carlos" is the longest of Schiller's plays; it has more than two-thirds as many lines as the whole trilogy of "Wallenstein". The length of it has affected the unity of the play, but compensation for this weakness is to be found in the abundance of deep poetic thought that prevails throughout the drama. The exalted ideas of "Don Carlos" may well be compared to Lessing's "Nathan der Weise" and

Goethe's "Iphigenie", the two other classical dramas of lofty idealism.

The sonorous verse of this production, its fine phrasing of large ideas, and its noble dignity of style completely settled the question of Schiller's power as a classical dramatist.

CHAPTER V.

Conclusion.

We have followed Schiller's development as a poet from the time he wrote his "Räuber" until he completed "Don Carlos" and have found that an important transition has taken place.

The dramas of Schiller's young manhood were stimulated by Rousseau's hatred for despotism and conventionality. The language and style of these productions were "Storm and Stress" intensified. In all these works there is a ferment of a fierce desire for political and social liberty. Although they are extravagant and bombastic we find that there is in them a constant search for justice and truth and it is this that makes them so valuable.

In Schiller's "Räuber" the hero rebels violently against convention and dead legalism, but the tragic end is that his cause is shattered and he is driven into despair. Also Fiesco battles against servitude, but in the combat the evil triumphs over the good. In "Kabale und Liebe" the author again raises his weapons of scorn and rage against an unholy social order, but here too, the heroes suffer destruction because of the overpowering evils that exist in society. These dramas all reflect the author's own inner life of passion and conflict with

the result that the destructive overruled the constructive elements in Schiller's conception of life.

In "Don Carlos" Schiller is freeing himself from his former rebellion and pessimism and is rising above the sorrows and struggles of his time, and creates for himself an ideal world in which the discords of reality are harmonized and its tempest is stilled. His constructive theme is now the greatness of men and the love that binds together the whole human race.

"Don Carlos" is free from extravagant and cynical expressions. Through the adaptation of poetic verse form the drama has been raised to a far loftier realm of thought. The poet's serene and majestic mood enables him to express what he felt in glowing diction very different from that in his former works. In beautiful phrases and with great dramatic power he expresses his lofty ideals of love, friendship and humanity.

There is a decided artistic development in the way the poet makes use of the contrasting forces, especially when his thoughts turn towards politics, and he comes to treat his former theme that he had at first conceived merely as a family tragedy, in a historical sense. In dealing with the political conflicts he views his opponents with a serene

and rather unbiased vision. Quite skillfully he makes Alba, Domingo and the Grand Inquisitor representatives of an historical epoch, who cling to old traditions and oppose all progressive ideas and activities, for in contrast to these perverted principles, the idealism of Carlos and Posa becomes all the more sublime and magnificent.

The beautiful eloquence of speech, the abundance of poetic thought and the sonorous flow of language which we find in "Don Carlos" is enchanting and truly inspiring.

A recent biographer of Schiller beautifully and (1. truly characterizes "Don Carlos" in these words, "The power and brilliancy of everlasting youth radiate from this work of the noble young poet. For our fathers it set up in times of distress and wavering courage an inspiring faith in freedom and the dignity of mankind, and roused their courage to renewed efforts through feelings for manly honor and German civic pride. Thus admiration and love will follow this devoutly poetic work as long as the heart of German youth is able to glow with pure inspiration."

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1. See Lieder's Don Carlos. Introduction XLVII.  
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