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## The Nineteenth-Century Schiller Cult: Centennials, Monuments, and *Tableaux Vivants*

### 1. Schiller Cult: The Mental and the Visual Image<sup>1</sup>

In the nineteenth century "Schiller became the victim of unprecedented veneration," Walter Muschg said in his speech given on the occasion of the 1959 Schiller Bicentennial, adding that this veneration of Schiller "penetrated his works like a dye and made them to a wide extent undelectable."<sup>2</sup> I wish to examine the nineteenth-century Schiller cult in several German and German-American urban communities. While most strongly connected with the Schiller Centennial 1859, arguably this phenomenon first arose in 1839 with the *Schillerfest* in Stuttgart, which celebrated the eightieth anniversary of Schiller's birth not on 10 November but on the date of his death, May 9, and the dedication of the Schiller monument by Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844) on the previous day, May 8, 1839 (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Of this *Schillerfest* Christian Reinhold wrote the following week, as though from a historical perspective: "Why should we not frankly say so? This national holiday was a religious holiday, a holiday on which all mankind celebrated God's revelation in a genius. A holiday, which as such was only possible in the nineteenth century. . . . [For] as the voice of theology was beginning to become impure, God sought different means of revelation," and the "cult of genius" gratefully and faithfully recognized this.<sup>4</sup> This cult of genius was controversial from the beginning, and in Germany, unlike the United States, was strongly opposed by Lutheran theologians and Protestant Church authorities. They opposed the liberal politics expressed through the veneration of Schiller as well as what they saw as its blatant idolatry, an idolatry manifesting itself in the focus on a sculpture, a full length sculpture at that, a format thus far reserved for rulers or, in its equestrian variant, to rulers as military leaders. Here one may think of equestrian monument by Andreas Schlüter (1660-1714) of the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg which in 1703 was the first such monument in Germany to be erected in a public location, the *Lange Brücke* of the *Schloss* in Berlin (now in the courtyard of the *Charlottenburger Schloss* (Fig. 2).

Indeed, sculptures were central to this emerging Schiller cult, even before 1839. Since 1826 Johann Heinrich Dannecker (1758-1841) had loaned one version of his 1794 Schiller bust (Fig. 3) to the *Stuttgarter Gesangsverein*, the driving force behind

the cult there, for their annual celebration. It is Dannecker's second bust of 1796-1805 (Fig. 4), not Thorvaldsen's full-length sculpture, which like no other image of him shaped the German and German-American mental image of Schiller. It did not matter, if perhaps he looked more like the undated bust by Ludwig Klauer (b.1782), probably the only other sculpted image of Schiller made during his lifetime (Fig. 5). Loosely basing his bust on the Graeco-Roman model of the bust portrayal of philosophers, Dannecker emphasizes Schiller's forehead, making his visionary gaze turn sideways toward a distant point beyond the beholder. This eagle's gaze toward an unknown place was easily associated with truth, or the future, or the national destiny of Germany, or the triad of values, "das Wahre, Gute, Schöne," coined by Goethe in his "Epilog zu Schiller's 'Glocke'" of 1805.<sup>5</sup> In this way Dannecker's bust promoted the notion of Schiller's genius, while being credited with authenticity, for it had been made by Schiller's lifelong friend.<sup>6</sup> Dannecker himself was pleased with his work, writing about it to Schiller: "I have to tell you that your image makes an incomprehensible impression on people: those who have seen you, find it is a perfect likeness; those who know you solely from your works, find more in this image than what their ideal of you could create." When it arrived Schiller responded enthusiastically: "I could stand for hours before it, and I should find ever new beauties in this work. . . . I myself have a few plaster casts of antiquities in my room at which I now don't like to look any more."<sup>7</sup>

One reason for the largely negative critique of Thorvaldsen's Schiller was that it represents him in a sort of timeless classical cloak almost hiding his contemporary dress. In other words, in the ensuing "Kostümstreit," as it became known, it was argued that whereas his bust must idealize and transcend his features, his full-length representation must not, for only if Schiller appeared in modern bourgeois dress, would his exemplary role be real, especially his role as a Republican citizen. When the neoclassicist sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch (1777-1857) declined in the end the commission for the Weimar double portrait of Goethe and Schiller, it was because he was in favor of the timeless cloak, whereas his patrons, foremost the Bavarian King Ludwig I, insisted on presenting Schiller and Goethe not in classicizing "masquerade," as he put it, but in "modern costume," as historical figures.<sup>8</sup> The sculptures for Weimar by Rauch's student Ernst Rietschel (1804-61) are historical in this sense (Fig. 6). When dedicated in September 1857, Rietschel's double portrait was successful both with the public and with its primary patron, Ludwig I who exclaimed: "Das ist mein Schiller!"<sup>9</sup>

The many nineteenth-century sculpture commissions notwithstanding, some in mythologizing timeless garb, some in modern dress, and some in both—as in Munich (Max Widmann, 1863) and Ludwigsburg (Ludwig von Hofer, 1882),<sup>10</sup> Dannecker's busts, that is his second version of 1796-1805 as much as the posthumous colossal version of 1813 (Fig. 7), were the idols of the Schiller cult, in Germany as much as among German-Americans. Dannecker certainly did not foresee the ubiquity and mobility of his sculptures; on the contrary, he wanted to bring Schiller to life, as he wrote in May 1805, "but he cannot be alive other than colossal. I want an apotheosis."<sup>11</sup> For this purpose he intended the colossal version to be housed in a temple of his own design, a design undergoing changes from a neo-Classical to a neo-Egyptian, pyramidal



style. Dannecker's widely copied Schiller busts were often adjusted so as to make Schiller look straight out at his viewers; an example of this may be seen on the stage of the Festsaal at the German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, where his "Kolossalschiller" is paired with Beethoven. On the other hand, Rietschel's Schiller—and Goethe—became the primary model for German-American communities when they commissioned full-length statues for public spaces. This was the case in Philadelphia in 1886 and 1890, respectively, and in Cleveland in 1907. It is, as if Dannecker's ideal Schiller was found to serve its purposes best in the interior, whereas Rietschel's historical and in this sense realistic Schiller appeared to belong in the public outdoor space. As we shall see, the ethical and/or political meanings attached to these models differed accordingly.

If Schiller himself found he could stand for hours before Dannecker's portrait of him, so did others later on. Standing before Schiller, both in the sense of standing before a sculpture and standing before a mental image, became a central feature of Schiller celebrations, so that even in 1959 Hans Mayer, in his Bicentennial speech poignantly titled "Dem Wahren, Guten, Schönen," could ask: "Wie stehen wir vor Schiller?" (How do we stand before Schiller?), just as one might ask: "How do we stand before God" or "How are we justified before God?" Mayer's reference is World War II and his answer is cautiously optimistic: "Something has been done by us and has happened with us, to return to the image of man that dignity that had been threatened by barbarism beyond rescue."<sup>12</sup> From 1839 to 1959 it seemed that Schiller left some kind of binding will, the content of which was an ethical ideal connected to a cause which as a German national or citizen one was to pursue, if not fulfill, and certainly not fail. It is this general way of thinking and feeling about Schiller which the Schiller cult both reflects and reinforces.

## 2. Schiller Centennials: Monument and Memorial

The well-documented Schiller Centennials in Hamburg, New York, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Philadelphia permit a close comparative study of the festival committees and programs, their participants, audiences and—always—public success. The festival programs offer a wealth of information, ranging from speeches and recitals to musical and visual components. Strikingly prominent and consistent among the latter was the *tableau vivant*. Beyond these singular events which, as in New York, could extend from 8 November to 12 November, there are others. As already mentioned, in some important and paradigmatic cases, privately funded sculpture and monument commissions—of Thorvaldsen in Stuttgart, of Rietschel in Weimar—preceded the Centennial. Rarely did they coincide with the Centennial, as was the case with C. L. Richter's bust in New York's Central Park which also was the first portrait statue to be erected there.<sup>13</sup> Often they followed or even directly resulted from it, as was the case in Hamburg, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cleveland. These commissions, their artistic outcomes, the ground breaking ceremonies, and then the dedication ceremonies some years later, shed light on a given community's sustained commitment to Schiller as a cause and on their stake in publicly honoring and identifying with Schiller.

As the program notes, press reports, and subsequent albums make clear, everywhere one took great care to make such events fall either on Schiller's birthday or on the date of his death. This raises the important question of monument versus memorial. Of these Arthur Danto writes: "We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget. . . . Monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myth of beginnings. Memorials ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends."<sup>14</sup> If his distinction is correct, then it would seem that Thorwaldsen's statue dedicated on May 8, 1839 (a date referring to the poet's birth and death), and emphasizing the classical and timeless Schiller was a monument to what endures by and about Schiller, whereas Rietschel's double portrait of 1857 emphasizing the historical and finite formed a memorial (Figs. 1 and 6). Perhaps this would have been disputed at the time; but it helps explain the intense debate then about the laurel wreath held by the two poets as the one and only symbol transcending their realistic historical portrayal by Rietschel. Furthermore, Danto's distinction helps explain the common preference for the bust which, to use Dannecker's words, was suited to keep Schiller alive because of its functional versatility. In facing a bust, those standing before Schiller in the heightened, quasi-religious sense mentioned earlier had to reflect their own actions and historical role. They had to probe whether they could justifiably lend their own actions and appearance, as it were, to his head, mind and spirit.<sup>15</sup>

This may be one more reason why both Goethe and Schopenhauer preferred busts to full-length statues, especially of poets. Thorwaldsen actually concurred with them on this point: for in addition to just standing there the poet would have to do something meaningful, i.e., create and lead spiritually, which was difficult to represent and, as Schopenhauer observed, easily made the man look "as if he could not find his rhyme."<sup>16</sup> While one might expect the subtleties in the aesthetic of sculptural commemoration to have been lost in popular forms of celebration like the Schiller Centennial, this was actually not the case. The use of Schiller busts in combination with *tableaux vivants* may be considered as striking an effective balance between memorial and monument, between what ended and what still endures. Invoked in these performances were the values of individual freedom, national self-determination, unity of word and deed, decisive individual action, and "das Wahre, Gute, Schöne."

On surface there is a striking similarity in accounts of Schiller's character and primary accomplishments in speeches given in Philadelphia or Cleveland or Hamburg and in the works selected for performance at these events. Predictably, they were his dramas and his ballads with northern subject matter, most often—and strangely not to their mutual exclusion—the revolutionary *Wilhelm Tell* and—somehow assimilated to the ballads, often by changing the title simply to "Die Glocke"—the anti-revolutionary "Das Lied von der Glocke." In view of this general similarity among the centennial programs the differences of time and place are all the more interesting and significant.



### 3. 1859: Hamburg

We begin with the by far best documented Centennial in Hamburg, using Bernhard Endrulat's illustrated 400-page account of 1860 illustrated by Otto Speckter. According to Endrulat, a teacher and a festival committee member, Hamburg's preparations for the Schiller Centennial started with a struggle between the festival committee and Hamburg's Senate regarding the date of Schiller's birthday, 10 November, which that year coincided with *Buß- und Betttag*, an important Protestant Church Holiday. The Senate declined the petition to move the church holiday in favor of the Schiller holiday so that the official program had to begin the next day. Yet Endrulat is proud to report that Hamburg proved itself as a true Republic in the heated, public debate of this issue in the full range of the City's free press, in the population's overwhelming decision for Schiller's shining light against the darkness of religious bigotry, and in the fact that the Senate turned a blind eye to it all in the end, deciding even against policing the potentially disruptive festival procession on 13 November. That procession and most other program points were meant to be all-inclusive. Thus already during the day of 10 November the Alster was full of colorfully flagged boats in defiance of the black *Buß- und Betttag* faction. For the evening of 11 November a spectacular illumination of facades and shop windows was agreed upon by their owners or renters (Fig. 8)<sup>17</sup>; major educational institutions, from schools to associations for the education of workers, were encouraged to observe the event with a memorial celebration. The Municipal Theater performed *Wilhelm Tell* and the Thalia Theater *Wallensteins Lager*. The two main events, however, were the "Gedächtnisfeier," the memorial celebration on November 11 and the public procession on November 13, a day that ended with numerous banquets in Schiller's honor.

The Schiller-Comité designated several subcommittees, two of them for the visual arts, that is, one for the "artistische", the elevated artistic, components of the formal "Gedächtnisfeier" and one for the "volkstümlich-künstlerische," the popular artistic, organization of the street illuminations and the procession. The "Gedächtnisfeier," in addition to speeches emphasizing the Schiller values and their legacy, contained the "artistische" components, i.e., musical performances, among them Beethoven's "Eroica," and a series of *tableaux vivants* of the moments considered the most significant in the selected works. These were "Das Mädchen aus der Fremde," "Die Räuber," "Don Carlos," "Wallensteins Lager," "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," "Maria Stuart," "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer," "Das Lied von der Glocke," all musically accompanied, and finally a *tableau* without a model in Schiller's work, "Schiller's Apotheosis." That Endrulat realized the humorous aspects of so much theatricality, while emphasizing the seriousness of it all, is suggested by three consecutive illustrations of his account. One is a vignette of the humorous jumbling of participants in these *tableaux* during their rehearsal break, with the children taking a nap on Zeus's throne (Fig. 9). The second shows the *tableau vivant* for the ending of "Das Lied von der Glocke," obviously chosen to demonstrate civic unity, but perhaps also as a polemic against the Buss- und Betttag faction who had decided to donate a Schiller Glocke named Concordia, the bell's name in Schiller's poem, to Hamburg's Nikolaikirche (Fig. 10). Third is "Schiller's



Apotheosis," with Zeus now sublimely enthroned, a role Endrulat modestly mentions he played (Fig. 11). Here the art historical inspiration of the subcommittee for the elevated, "artistische" program is evident. This *tableau's* centerpiece borrows its composition from Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres' "Zeus and Thetis" of 1811 (Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence) and his "The Vow of Louis XIII" of 1824 (Cathedral, Montauban), which represent Thetis both as supplicant and temptress before the enthroned Zeus, and, respectively, Louis kneeling before the enthroned Madonna and Child. Yet in addition to juxtaposing two figures by way of art historical reference, the cast for the *tableau vivant* actually counted thirty-five more persons, intended to represent different social classes, trades, professions, and men, women, children. In fact, the *tableaux vivants* were the only aspect of the Hamburg Centennial in which women participated, the only one considered not to compromise them, as it was put, whereas their exclusion from the banquets explicitly happened so as not to inhibit the men or force them to assume a "steife, förmliche Haltung." Endrulat realizes that in these decisions the Schiller-Comité put convention above its ideal of all-inclusiveness.<sup>18</sup>

It fell to the poetry competition, the school events and the festival procession to fulfill the ideal of a fully democratic and inclusive event. 1,000 copies of Cotta's centennial edition of Schiller's poetry were distributed to school children, a gift rejected only by some parochial schools. Several schools, elite gymnasiums, schools for the poor, schools for "höhere Töchter," as well as two "Israelitische Gemeindeschulen," staged remarkably similar events, which included the recital of Schiller's ballads as well as of "Das Lied von der Glocke," and crowning a Schiller bust with a wreath of laurel or flowers. These school celebrations had been called for by the eleventh annual meeting of German school teachers in 1859 (and undoubtedly originated at least another 120 years of obligatory memorization of Schiller's ballads in German high schools). Expanded versions of these events took place at the *Bildungsverein für Arbeiter*, expanded by *tableaux vivants* of "Das Lied von der Glocke," and in one case culminating in a pledge of allegiance to Schiller, a pledge to make the "Rütli-Schwur" come true. One way to demonstrate this pledge was to participate in the festival procession, as 992 members of the *Bildungsverein für Arbeiter* did, along with other large contingents of factory workers. To illustrate Endrulat's account of this temporary parity of all, a vignette binds emblems of the various trades, civic associations and factories participating in the procession into one ornament. The corresponding temporary "mass ornament" on the street, to borrow Siegfried Kracauer's term here for this choreographed, secular procession, subordinated itself to a colossal Schiller bust featured by Hamburg's Artists Association and carried like a reliquary or the statue of a saint in a religious procession (Fig. 12).<sup>19</sup> It is this very subordination to Schiller which diffused the risk of social unrest evolving from the secularized public procession. Hamburg's Senate took the risk and did not police the event.

Between 11 and 13 November 1859, seventeen Schiller busts were crowned in Hamburg. "Countless were the elaborately decorated balconies and shop windows displaying Schiller busts."<sup>20</sup> Three large transparencies of his portrait were illuminated at night, four painted portraits carried in procession, and one portrait each carried by 190 workers of Schmilinsky's factory. 8,000 lithographic portrait prints were sold,



and one could visit a replica of Schiller's study in Weimar. In addition to this ubiquitous image of Schiller, there had to be a culmination point and a destination for the festival procession. That, however, was missing, because Hamburg did not yet have a Schiller monument. To remedy this lack, Ludwig Winck made a temporary eleven-foot plaster statue erected on an equally high pedestal on the *Heiligengeistfeld* on Hamburg's outskirts, the procession's destination (Fig. 13). There all ended with a short speech by a carpenter and with the intonation of Beethoven's "An die Freude." Small statuettes of this temporary monument were subsequently sold, one of many fundraisers for the sculpture by Julius Lippelt dedicated in 1868.<sup>21</sup> To the ubiquitous reproduction of Schiller's image corresponded his imitation and emulation in bad, yet in some cases prize-winning poetry, festival prologues, rhymed banquet toasts.

#### 4. 1859: New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia

Many of these components of the Hamburg Centennial were also featured in New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1859. But there are some significant differences. To begin with, there was no question of illuminating entire cities as in Hamburg. Instead the Schiller cult was an occasion for the ethnic self-assertion of German-Americans. Often Schiller was unapologetically and unpolemically celebrated as a Freethinker and as a "großer Heide," a great heathen, without any ecclesiastical interference. As one celebrant put it: "What he lacked in interest for the cause of the Church, he gained in enthusiasm for the cause of mankind."<sup>22</sup> Whereas later one turned to contemporary composers — for example, in 1883 in Philadelphia the *Gesangverein Harmonie* performed Max Bruch's "colossal" composition for choir, four soloists, orchestra, and organ, in 1859 Andreas Jacob Romberg's composition (1809) was the most widely used musical accompaniment of *tableaux vivants* of "Das Lied von der Glocke" anywhere.<sup>23</sup> In the exceptional case of Hamburg's "Gedächtnisfeier" of 1859, Mozart's "March of Priests" from *The Magic Flute* was chosen, suggesting a link between Freemasonry and Schiller's ideals. Such a combination seemed to contradict the poem's message of social appeasement. Be that as it may, the Masonic link was strong and explicit among German-American communities. In Baltimore, for example, the Freemasons participated in the Centennial, and while the "Liederkranz" performed Schiller's anti-revolutionary "Lied von der Glocke" to Romberg's music, the dominant theme was Schiller as "der Freiheit Priester und der Menschlichkeit."<sup>24</sup> And when decades later the *Cannstatter Volksfestverein* (in contemporary publications often misspelled as *Cannstädter*) of Philadelphia commissioned a Schiller sculpture for Fairmount Park, its groundbreaking ceremony in November 1885 was led by the Hermann and Humboldt Lodges as well as the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Pride in this cooperation was expressed in a publication documenting every word spoken at the event, for a reader not familiar with Masonic ritual a mysterious text.<sup>25</sup> As at more conventional Schiller celebrations elsewhere, music—here by Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and a certain von Schreiner ("Das neue deutsche Herz")—accompanied the program in Fairmount Park. The *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, the *Cannstatter Volksfest-Verein's* biweekly newspaper founded in 1885, describes this ceremonial as

appropriate, widely appreciated and entirely congruent with further program points for the day which included "Gemüthlichkeit," "Kegelschieben" and fireworks casting Schiller's name in Philadelphia's night sky.<sup>26</sup>

Now turning to some other significant differences in the German-American Centennial, I should like to mention in New York the contextual placement, rather than isolated veneration, of a full-length sculpture of Schiller on stage between the muses Melpomene and Polyhymnia, flanked by busts of Lessing, Homer, Shakespeare, Herder, Wieland, Euripides, Goethe, Kant and Luther; further the invitation of William Cullen Bryant as one of the two main speakers at the thus decorated "Gedächtnisfeier;" and the ability to win the piano maker company Steinway and the painter Emanuel Leutze, familiar to all through his patriotic painting "Washington Crossing the Delaware" of 1857 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), for the artistic components of the festivities.<sup>27</sup> These predictably included plenty of Beethoven, Wagner and also Schumann, banquets, theater performances, and *tableaux vivants*, but also festive balls, a feature absent from German programs known to me.

Like their German counterparts, German-American Centennial celebrations in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere included poetry competitions.<sup>28</sup> Generally the German-American poems share the theme of immigration and the idea of Schiller as a cause transcending national boundaries. If in Germany the art and literary critic as well as philosopher Friedrich Theodor Vischer criticized such tendencies in the Schiller cult and advocated national emphasis, self-appointed poets in America said the opposite. Somewhat hesitantly, given their poor quality, a few passages must be quoted to demonstrate some remarkable differences from anything equally bad produced in Germany.<sup>29</sup> Here are two examples each from the Baltimore and the Philadelphia Centennial. H. Risler's prologue to Baltimore's "Gedächtnisfeier" begins as follows:

Seid mir begrüßt zur Festes-Zeit,  
Die eine Welt sich freudig eilt zu schmücken

.....

He exclaims further down: "Der Dichter ist der ächte Volksvertreter!" and ends:

Freiheit, Glück und ungestörtes Streben,  
Die hohen Güter all, Ihr kennt sie ja  
Im freien glücklichen Amerika!

Next are stanzas fourteen and fifteen of F. Freiligrath's "Festlied der Deutschen in America":

Und ist mit uns auch über's Meer gefahren,  
Und lebt mit uns im Lande unsrer Wahl!  
.....  
Er macht dies Land, dies Zukunftsland, sein eigen, —



Und baut und schafft an seiner Zukunft mit!

Now two examples from Philadelphia's *Schiller-Album, eine Festgabe der Freunde Schiller's in der neuen Welt* (1859).<sup>30</sup> First, the album's dedication:

Die wir von heimischen Gestaden  
Auszogen in die ferne Welt,  
Zum Feste sind wir heut geladen,  
Das uns ein edler Geist bestellt.

.....

And further down:

Doch ist es nicht die Scholle Erde,  
Die uns die Heimat heilig macht;  
.....  
es ist des Vaterlands Vermächtnis,  
der Geistesbildung edle Saat;  
.....

The second example is an application of such "Geistesbildung." This is, in part, the seventh stanza of Theodor Schuchhardt's "Für die Indianer":

Stets von Nord' und Süd' herbei  
Drängen sich die weißen Christen  
Eure Krieger, stark und frei,  
Fallen unter ihrem Blei,  
Eure Weiber ihren Lüsten.

If in 1859 such texts were founded in a nostalgia for a Germany that could not be and in the optimistic life experience of German immigrants hoping to realize Schiller's "Vermächtnis" in the United States (as well as in a budding German "Indianerromantik"), by the 1880s, when Philadelphia and Chicago received their Schiller statues, the circumstances of the Schiller cult were rather different.

## 5. Schiller Statues in the 1880s: Philadelphia and Chicago

In the 1880s the Philadelphia *Schwäbischer Merkur* and even more so the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, while writing in detail about these monuments and the surrounding ceremonies, concerned themselves not with the persecution of native Americans, but with the problems of the urban working class, the struggle for regulated work hours and so forth.<sup>31</sup> In 1885 at the time of the ground breaking ceremony, their Schiller was "ein Vorkämpfer, ein Führer gegen die Gewalthaber," and against absolutism and "pfäffische Verdummung," and stood for "die Sache der Freiheit,"

aided by his reading of Kant. His *Wilhelm Tell* was seen as the "Rechtfertigung der Revolution der Gedrückten," the justification of revolution by the oppressed.<sup>32</sup> Certainly, the Schiller statue in Fairmount Park by Heinrich Manger (1833-after 1891) selected from among six models submitted to the competition called by the *Cannstatter Volksfestverein* and dedicated in 1886, betrays little or nothing of this revolutionary spirit (Fig. 14).<sup>33</sup> Manger must have worked from a reproductive print and possibly also from a small-scale cast of Rietschel's monument in Weimar (Fig. 6), for his Schiller closely follows Rietschel's. The main difference is that Manger's Schiller, now separated from his companion Goethe, has to do something else with his hands than holding a wreath. Thus his right hand, instead of holding the laurel wreath, holds a pen, which perhaps ought to be a quill, and his left hand, instead of holding a rolled-up manuscript, rests on an oak stump. Perhaps this is a reference to Rauch's famous Scharnhorst monument in Berlin of 1823 which has the general of the Napoleonic Wars leaning on an oak stump as on the symbol of Teutonic valor and German identity.<sup>34</sup> Scharnhorst, whose birthday was 12 November 1755, was occasionally celebrated or commemorated along with Schiller, so in Hamburg 1859. Oak and pen suggested Schiller's spiritual shaping of Germany.

The analogy with both Rauch's Scharnhorst and Rietschel's Weimar monument places Manger's work firmly outside revolutionary associations. But it is also true that Schiller's "Lied von der Glocke," with its explicit rejection of revolution and its call for social peace in this sense, is significantly absent from the 1885 ceremony mentioned earlier that began with the Free Masonic ritual and ended with fireworks. The *Schwaben-Verein's* commission and dedication of Chicago's Schiller monument in Lincoln Park, a replica made in Stuttgart by Wilhelm Pelargus of Ernst Rau's 1876 sculpture in Marbach, was a much anticipated and reported event in Philadelphia's German papers.<sup>35</sup> The dedication in May 1886 was postponed by a week owing to a ban on large gatherings issued immediately after the General Strike and the Haymarket Riot. Perhaps prompted by both the riot and the ban, 8,000 people attended the event as a form of political demonstration for justice.

In Philadelphia as in Chicago, a nearly fetishistic component had entered the ground breaking ceremonies along with the political concreteness of invoking Schiller, as the foundation stones contained objects functioning like secondary relics: in Philadelphia leaves of laurel from Schiller's grave in Weimar and in Chicago a piece of iron railing from Schiller's birth house in Marbach as well as a piece of leather covering from a chair there.<sup>36</sup>

Surprisingly soon the political message carried in 1886 by the Schiller monuments' dedication ceremonies and by the sculptures themselves at that moment in time in Philadelphia and Chicago was substituted by the more general homage related to the idea of pendant monuments of Schiller and Goethe, undoubtedly taking as their model Rietschel's double monument in Weimar in 1857. Thus, Philadelphia's *Cannstatter Volksfestverein* commissioned a pendant to Manger's Schiller, and the groundbreaking ceremony for Manger's Goethe took place on the date and occasion of the Schiller celebration in November 1887.<sup>37</sup> Manger's Goethe closely follows Rietschel's Goethe (Fig. 15 and 6), again with the necessary adjustments owing to the poets' separation.



Thus, Manger inverted Rietschel's pose so as to align and orient the poet's extended leg, slightly turned head and distant gaze to his right. And instead of placing his left hand on Schiller's shoulder in a gesture of protective friendship, Manger's Goethe firmly grasps his own coat's collar, thereby placing his hand pledge-like on his heart, whereas in his right he holds a rolled-up manuscript instead of the wreath. Manger's Goethe was erected in 1890 exactly opposite from his Schiller along the main axis of the Fairmount Park Botanical Society's garden, and this is where they can be seen now again, after an interim period spent in even greater separation. Unfortunately they now stand on rather high new pedestals bearing the poets' names. The double pedestal makes the poets appear aloof, staring off in some distance, each by himself and unaware of the other. There is no viewpoint available to the beholder that would allow seeing the two poets together.

Interestingly the original pedestal for Goethe bears two dedicatory inscriptions: on the front: "Gewidmet von den Deutschen Philadelphias, A.D. 1890," and on the back: "Dedicated by the German-American Citizens of Philadelphia." One cannot help but notice an uncertain identification of this ethnic group, and perhaps the foresight that eventually the German-reading audience for such sculptures might dwindle. Schiller's pedestal, by contrast, bears only one inscription: "Gewidmet vom Cannstatter Volksfestverein, A.D. 1886." That both sculptures originally bore no name suggests that in the nineteenth century one took a familiarity with the art historical convention of representing the poets' countenance and bearing for granted.

Whether or not the delay indicates a more gradual separation of the radical political left and the Schiller enthusiasts, it took German-Americans in Chicago longer, until 1890, to decide on pairing Schiller with Goethe. By the time of the commission in 1910, Lincoln Park's board requested something other than a portrait statue. As a result, Hermann Hahn's monument to Goethe represents Prometheus rather than Goethe. It was dedicated on the eve of World War I, on June 13, 1914, in a ceremony which in that context drew "some twenty thousand Chicagoans, mainly German-Americans."<sup>38</sup>

## 6. Die Gartenlaube

To situate the more generally cultural, social and political functions of the Schiller cult as well as its forms, such as the procession, the coordination of image, music, text into a sort of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and the prominent tableau vivant, it is important to gauge his popular reputation beyond its culmination in Centennial celebrations and dedications of monuments. For this purpose I now turn to the quintessential family magazine of the nineteenth century, Ernst Keil's *Die Gartenlaube*, which was widely read by Germans as well as German-Americans between 1853, when it was first published, and World War I, and which from 1869 onwards appeared both in Leipzig and in New York (Fig. 16).<sup>39</sup>

This magazine has often met with a mixture of political concern and contempt. For example, when in November 1933 Joseph Roth warns his friend Stefan Zweig against what he considered the pretense of independent political opposition to the

Nazis in the *Neue Deutsche Blätter*, he provocatively called the monthly periodical edited by Wieland Herzfelde, Anna Seghers and Oskar Maria Graf in Prague "die Gartenlaube der Kommunisten."<sup>40</sup> Most recently Peter Gay judged that *Die Gartenlaube* faced the world "by not facing it or, at least, by facing it through the mists of an obsessive optimism," that in each of its kaleidoskopic departments it "performed the rituals of denial with equal deftness," and that this practice increased after 1871, when the magazine turned away from its former liberal viewpoint to endorse uncritically the Kaiser and the German Empire.<sup>41</sup> All of this is true, even as, when put in this critical and reductive way, it belies the diversity of this publication.

Schiller was a regular subject of interest in *Die Gartenlaube*. The magazine reported on tensions in the *Deutsche Schillergesellschaft* in 1865 and on the foundation of the Goethe-Schiller Archive in Weimar in 1896. Primarily, however, and particularly in the 1860s and 1870s, it painted idyllic genre scenes from Schiller's personal life, such as of Goethe and Schiller's first encounter (1865), his wedding to Charlotte Lengefeld (1865), his "Herzensleben" (1877), his years in Jena (1877), the Schiller-Album in his house in Weimar (1879). The focus on genre suggests a connection to Schiller through the reality of the everyday, and in this way readers of *Die Gartenlaube* were encouraged to trust in his oeuvre's authority. What emerges in these texts by Max Ring and Friedrich Helbig is a writer who himself worked much in the gazebo or in the "Gartenzinne," the garden fortress, as Goethe had put it in his "Epilog zu Schillers 'Glocke'" of 1805, be it in Stuttgart or in Dresden-Loschwitz or in Jena. Undoubtedly Ring and Helbig would have appreciated the fact that Dannecker's bust was actually modeled in a garden-house as well.<sup>42</sup>

*Die Gartenlaube* had a penchant for the tableau, especially when paying homage to an individual, as in the memorial print in 1882 for the 50th anniversary of Goethe's death (Fig. 17). Its preferred type of *tableau* in both text and image was the idyllic genre scene, perhaps most poignantly and comically illustrated in 1873 by the image of Kaiser Wilhelm I feeding his chickens and other fowl at Babelsberg Castle (Fig. 18), his summer residence built for him by Friedrich Schinkel in 1835 in a "neudeutsch" (Goethe and J. H. Meyer, 1817) neo-Gothic style.<sup>43</sup> If the Kaiser could become framed genre, anyone and anything could. An exception was made in 1888, when the magazine chose a more elevated style in the illustrations of its issue on the Kaiser's death, dramatically silhouetting Rauch's equestrian monument of Frederick the Great (1851) against the Royal Palace in Berlin, and ending with the Kaiser's apotheosis. Monuments were important to *Die Gartenlaube*. It regularly reported on the commission of monuments, and described at length the dedication ceremonies of two major German national monuments, the *Hermann-Denkmal* in 1875 and the *Niederwalddenkmal* in 1883.

## 7. Tableau Vivant and Broad Appeal

What, then, is the odd relationship between monument or memorial and tableau vivant, the elevated style and the Dutch style, as it were, in *Die Gartenlaube* and in the Schiller cult examined here?<sup>44</sup> In the German literary context the best known tableau



vivant, of course, is and was the performance of Gerard Terborch's so called "Paternal Admonition" (1654-55, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie*) on the basis of Georg Wille's engraving of 1765 after the painting in the fifth chapter of Goethe's *Elective Affinities* of 1809 (Fig. 19). Goethe's novel actually anticipated by several years the social fashion of the *tableau vivant* in which both the German aristocracy and members of the educated middle class participated, often together. In most cases, the reproductive print, not the original painting—often beyond personal knowledge, served as the model for these performances, which, in turn, made the absent painting present through color, texture, and visual depth.<sup>45</sup>

Of the *tableau vivant* of Johann Georg Wille's "Paternal Admonition" after Terborch Norbert Miller writes that it highlights Goethe's use of the *tableau* throughout the novel, as a means to stylize and elevate lived reality and to enable an "Anschauung," a quasi visual awareness of this reality in its inhabitants and in the reader. The novel's narrator says of the staged Terborch that it is a success and that it has to be shown twice. Interestingly this is also what Endrulat writes of the Schiller tableaux of the Hamburg Centennial: they were shown twice, the last, newly invented one of Schiller's apotheosis even three times. But the Terborch is not a staged dramatic scene from a text; it is a representation in paint without a corresponding text. Miller suggests that in the nineteenth century the *tableau vivant*, as the "retransformation of the work of art into nature," was a means to probe the plausibility of the work of art and of its original process of transforming nature into art. In short, to stage a *tableau vivant* of a painting was to probe "in life's concreteness" the truth in art.<sup>46</sup> This would be done by lending one's body to the represented figure, pose, expression. He furthermore suggests that the increasingly widespread use of writing novels in successive *tableaux* indicated a way to affirm the validity and meaningfulness of what was narrated. The *tableau* could also have an anticipatory function, thus becoming the bearer of an individual fate or of a teleological thread in the entirety of narrated reality.

Finally, it could function as a memorial to an event, as is suggested by Endrulat's announcement, following his praise of their "künstlerischen Werthe" when performed during Hamburg's Schiller Centennial, of a planned "Pracht-Album that will contain all nine *tableaux vivants* photographically."<sup>47</sup> We shall turn to this and other functions of the photograph when discussing the *Pracht-Gedenkalbum* published in Cleveland in 1907. Here, it is important to understand that whereas in Goethe's times as in his novel most *tableaux vivants* were based on works of art in the most elevated style, i.e., on history paintings with biblical or classical heroic subject matter, on paintings, for example, by van Dyck and Poussin, the nineteenth century increasingly turned to the intermediate, Dutch genre style for its purposes, hence the paradigmatic role of Goethe's choice of the Terborch in *Elective Affinities*. Eventually, this shift in style appeared to correspond to a shift in class, from the landed gentry and educated middle class of the small court capital in *Elective Affinities* and in Goethe's Weimar,<sup>48</sup> to the urban middle class in cities like Hamburg and Philadelphia.

On Miller's account the evidently felt need in almost all programs of the Schiller Centennial not just to recite or actually play scenes from his dramas or epic poetry, but to condense these into *tableaux vivants* with musical accompaniments, corresponded



to the desire to ascertain the truth of these texts, and thus to make Schiller come alive, just as Dannecker had intended with his colossal bust. Busts and statues tended to be seen as occupying an elevated level of style, they were crowned, wreathed or surrounded by maidens dressed in white at the climactic moment of the memorial celebrations. It would seem, then, that the *tableaux*, like Goethe's Terborch, occupied an intermediate style with which a broader audience could more readily identify, despite the fact that most of Schiller's dramas treat of aristocracy in foreign lands and distant pasts. This phenomenon, then, should be seen in the larger contexts, not to be pursued here, of the translation of Schiller's idealism into nineteenth-century literary realism and of the search for realism in Schiller's idealism.<sup>49</sup> Miller somewhat cringes at a nineteenth-century literary culture which he finds increasingly "ins Breite geraten."<sup>50</sup> Broad appeal, however, was the aim of the Schiller cult.

Broad appeal meant inclusiveness not solely in terms of social class, although undoubtedly this was its primary understanding.<sup>51</sup> It also regarded participation by women as well as Jews. The tableau could be a vehicle for their participation. As mentioned above, in Hamburg only the performances of *tableaux vivants* were considered appropriate for women's participation, for here their public appearance was justified and dignified by their playing noble roles from Schiller's works. They were excluded from the street processions—though welcomed as audience (Fig. 12), regardless of how much or how little, in their usual, socially stratified everyday life, they appeared or worked in public. Of course, those participating in the tableaux were of the upper middle and educated classes, just as they had been in Goethe's Weimar, albeit with a translation of titles indicating status into those of the merchant city. Endrulat takes care to describe how *Schiller-Comité* members' wives, who formed a *Damen-Comité*, were dispatched to recruit these lay actresses so as to avoid any perceptions of impropriety. By comparison, the New York Centennial celebrations included women in the tableaux as much as in the festivities, such as the balls mentioned earlier. This comparison reflects differences in women's lives between Germany and the United States but perhaps also highlights the special status of the *tableau vivant*, which, as a social diversion of the semipublic late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German salon culture and its celebratory events had included upper class women early on, when otherwise they were largely excluded from public life.

Recently Sander Gilman called for the inclusion of German Jews in discussions of German-American issues, such as the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants of German descent.<sup>52</sup> Jewish participation in the Schiller cult is difficult to gauge. In Hamburg it is evident from the high school programs and from a detailed letter by Martin Meyer, a teacher at the "Israelitische Freischule," to the *Schiller-Comité*, a letter both quoted and paraphrased at length by Endrulat. Meyer specifically mentions the school principal Dr. A. Réé's speech calling for Germany's unification under the *Deutscher Bund's* black-red-golden flag of 1848.<sup>53</sup> Speculation on participants' names risks being misguided or misleading; however, some names do suggest Jewish participation, among them A. Israel and R.J. Friedländer, the names of representatives of the publishing and printing industry. They participated solely in the procession, not in the *Schiller-Comité* or any of its subcommittees.<sup>54</sup> Another, entirely unmistakable



type of source is anti-semitic opposition to such participation. A particularly explicit example is an anonymous article in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* of 10 November 1859, accusing German Jews of harnessing the new secular Schiller cult to their purposes of assimilation, social climbing and commercial gain.<sup>55</sup> These were common anti-Semitic stereotypes which we can find, for example, in Gustav Freytag's merchant novel *Soll und Haben* of 1855 as well as in anti-revolutionary polemics following the Revolution of 1848.<sup>56</sup> The subject seems to have been relevant also in German-American communities. The 1905 Schiller Centennial in Chicago offers the one example known to me of German-Jewish participation and critique of German-Gentile intolerance of German Jews within a German-American community focused on Schiller, an intolerance presented as religious intolerance. In his speech titled "Schiller und die Juden," Isaac Singer argues that while Schiller's dramas contain no Jewish characters, his concept of freedom, like that of Lessing, implies the equality of all religions. Without reference to what particular events have prompted his choice of topic, Singer appeals to his audience to follow Schiller's example.<sup>57</sup>

## 8. The Waning of the Schiller Cult: Chicago 1905, Cleveland 1907

The Schiller cult generally lessened toward the end of the nineteenth century and this development, too, is worthy of comparative attention. Here the differences between the German and German-American perspectives manifest themselves in a temporal delay. While in 1905 and 1907 German-Americans in Chicago and Cleveland engaged in yet another elaborate homage to Schiller, it appears that in Germany the popular simplified image of Schiller as "Nationaldichter" was already eroding in the late 1870s and 1880s. There were few important sculpture commissions, for example. This is in contrast to the United States. And yet there is something about the very sumptuousness of the 1905 and 1907 celebrations that suggests a grand finale and thus also a German-American farewell to the Schiller cult, at least in this form and with this popular, inclusive scope.

The bilingual, commemorative album of both the Schiller centennial of 1905 and the dedication ceremonies of the Goethe-Schiller monument in Wade Park, Cleveland, Ohio, in 1907 is perhaps the best-documented German-American Schiller centennial. It is illustrated with photographs, a technological novelty in Schiller albums as in the illustrated press. These photographs tell of the enormous efforts undertaken here: the cavernous Central Armory was decorated to serve as festive hall for the Centennial in 1905, whose program included Romberg's "Glocke" and a series of *tableaux vivants* proper. It culminated in the tableau of an "Apotheosis" requiring one hundred costumed persons centered on a copy of Dannecker's bust seen also in an image of the empty stage (Fig. 20). In 1907, speakers included Kuno Francke and Hugo Muensterberg from Harvard University. The monument, a German foundry's copy of Rietschel's monument in Weimar, differed from its model solely through the application to its pedestal of two familiar quotations, in fact "geflügelte Worte," one, from Goethe's *Faust*, on the daily struggle for freedom, the other, from Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, on national unity and brotherhood. The monument had been erected in

Cleveland's Wade Park in January 1907 and since then awaited the dedication ceremony (Fig. 21). For this event Schiller and Goethe were veiled by an enormous American flag (Fig. 22), at the time a choice I have otherwise only encountered in the dedication ceremony of a presidential monument, namely, that of William McKinley in Philadelphia 1908.<sup>58</sup> In Cleveland the unveiling was entrusted to Elsa Gerlach (Fig. 23), daughter of the ceremony's chief organizer, J. H. Gerlach, something unthinkable in the German dedication ceremonies some decades earlier.

There is a self-obliviousness, which Walter Benjamin would later term the "optical unconscious," in these photographic images as they document the utter seriousness of this event for its participants who are posing for the event rather than for a camera.<sup>59</sup> The tableau of men in dark suits and women in white backed by a "Fahnenwald," a forest of flags, according to the caption, all centered on the sculpture, which itself is a replica of another one far away (Fig. 24), reminds us now of the ambiguity inherent in the tableau vivant, an ambiguity which much later Roland Barthes would see as essential in photography, of bringing something to life and bringing it to an end, to a freeze. This ambiguity is already captured in Goethe's couplet of 1817:

Statt laute Freude frisch bewegt zu schildern  
Erstarrt das Lebende zu holden Bildern.<sup>60</sup>

Ultimately, the audience for Cleveland's *tableaux* is the readership looking at the photographs in the commemorative album, the *Pracht-Gedenkbuch*, as it was titled. One cannot help thinking that in this way Cleveland's Schiller cult was placing itself in the past.

At the dedication ceremony, then, everyone participated in a double *tableau*, with one scene inside the other, or one scene framing the other. One is the captioned Rietschel copy performing the original sculpture in Weimar, the other is the framing audience and the Gerlachs together performing their homage to the copy in an effort to connect themselves to Weimar. The first scene is of one sculpture performing another so as to emphasize, via captions, national unity (the Schiller quote) in the goal of freedom (the Goethe quote), the second scene uses an American flag to veil and unveil this goal. In fact, the dedication in Weimar 1857 was subsequently called a "National Holiday," but precisely therefore whatever one used to veil and unveil Rietschel's monument then and there, it cannot have been the American flag.<sup>61</sup> The combination of remoteness and displacement in both Cleveland's sculpture and audience is palpable in these photographs.<sup>62</sup>

The difference and distance between Weimar and Cleveland is conveyed, too, by the playful homage to Rietschel himself upon his return from the dedication ceremony in Weimar in 1857 to Dresden, where he was Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy of Art. A clever tableau invented by his students united the dead and the living in an anachronistic, Pygmalian way by blending a bust of Rietschel into a painted transparency of his Schiller-Goethe monument so that the poets seemed to place their laurel wreath on the bust's head.<sup>63</sup>



The last *tableau vivant* of Rietschel's Schiller-Goethe monument sculpture known to me is documented in a photograph of 1929 showing Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee posing as Goethe and Schiller—without the wreath. Interestingly Klee puts on a large “timeless” cloak to play Schiller, a final reference to the nineteenth-century “Kostümstreit.”<sup>64</sup>

The unexpected climax of the dedication ceremony in Cleveland was its actual interruption by the arrival of a congratulatory cable from Kaiser Wilhelm II addressed to “den Bürgern deutschen Stammes” (the citizens of German origin), (Fig. 25), which, when read by Gerlach, was greeted with enthusiasm and followed by the spontaneous intonation of the German national anthem, “Heil Dir im Siegerkranz.”<sup>65</sup> U.S. Vice-President Fairbanks was quick to send a congratulatory note as well, also read by Gerlach, in which, after expressing respect for the German classics, he praised the importance of German immigrants to the United States and especially their contribution to the country's economic well-being:

America has a hospitality for Germany's great past. We are familiar with the fruits of their genius. We have read their immortal verse and draw from it inspiration. Such masterful genius as they possessed is not the heritage of one race, but of all races. Nearly, if not quite, 10 million of our countrymen are German or of German descent. They are and have been of tremendous factors in the upbuilding of our country.<sup>66</sup>

Fairbanks's political message apparently was twofold, i.e., one, in 1907 German-Americans were no longer the Kaiser's subjects, and, two, their realization of civil liberties enunciated in a “great past” by Schiller's genius now was a matter of their American citizenship.

All of this may seem ideologically incongruent now, but there is no trace of doubt or criticism in the album's 200 pages. On the contrary and even surprising in its almost anti-American tone, Kuno Francke in his speech “Goethe's Vermächtnis an Amerika” claims that Americans, unlike Germans or German-Americans, know little about “Lebensgenuss,” and above all asserts the superior value of German emotion and its lack in America.<sup>67</sup> Two months after this ceremony 3,000 Pennsylvania Germans filling five special trains undertook a pilgrimage to Cleveland's Wade Park also commemorated in the *Pracht-Gedenkalbum*.<sup>68</sup> And yet, if the publication makes anything clear, it is that by 1907 German-Americans, at least those supporting and addressed by the Cleveland centennial, were of two minds regarding their place, identity, and allegiance, and that Schiller and Goethe could not, or no longer, offer much guidance in their experience, Kuno Francke's remarks notwithstanding, of an emotional lack.

## 9. Parody and Irony

In “Die Deutschen” of c. 1885, his assault on German “Kleinstädtereie,” or small town philistinism, Friedrich Nietzsche writes: “If anything honors the Germans of

today, it is that they can no longer tolerate the grand brilliant scintillating Schillerian phrases.<sup>69</sup> ("Goethe," he finds, "is an exception.") This judgment strangely compares to that, also of c. 1885, by the poet, critic and radical leftist editor in Detroit, Robert Reitzel, who in his weekly *Der Arme Teufel* (1884-1900) mocked the champions of German-American identity via the Schiller and Goethe cult not for venerating these poets, but for not actually reading them. If they did so, "such worthies would probably advocate book-burning."<sup>70</sup>

In Germany, the decline of the Schiller cult predates that among German-Americans by several decades. This decline was due to the cult's perhaps well-intended, yet utterly reductive seriousness, and its increasing emptiness. What resurfaces is the fact that irony and ridicule had accompanied Schiller's ballads and "Das Lied von der Glocke," favorites for recital in Schiller festivals, from the day of their publication. Caroline Schlegel wrote in 1799 that "Das Lied von der Glocke" almost made her fall off her chair shaking with laughter, and Friedrich Schlegel found it "sittlich und platt," "ethical and commonplace."<sup>71</sup> Even today surveys of Schiller's poetry somewhat apologetically say that the poem is better than its reputation.<sup>72</sup> Among the ballads, "Der Handschuh," the one ballad conspicuously absent, as if by tacit agreement, from all centennial programs in 1859 and from the speeches in 1959, is perhaps the only one that can compete with "Das Lied von der Glocke" with regard to its extensive history of parody in text and image.<sup>73</sup> By 1890, not only Nietzsche's biting polarization of Schiller and Goethe, but also popular jokes, such as "Schillers Handschuh geht nicht über Goethe's Faust" ("Schiller's Glove does not fit Goethe's Fist"), indicated a perceived competition between Schiller and Goethe won by the latter.<sup>74</sup>

Yet, on June 18, 1797, Schiller sent the poem to Goethe who promptly and favorably responded, commenting on its felicitous inversion of the "reine That," the "pure deed."<sup>75</sup> We may take Goethe to refer to Schiller's ironic inversion of chivalry by having the knight first follow and then violate its rules, by having him first retrieve the glove from the lions' den and then throw it into his lady's face. The "Handschuh's" absence from it points toward an aspect of the Schiller cult which is particularly insufferable to careful readers of Schiller and to scholars like Adolf Muschg, cited in the beginning. It is the complete absence of an acknowledgment that in Schiller's work "das Wahre, Gute, Schöne" are hardly one, that there are frictions between the other Schiller values as well, that in his works "pure" in the sense of clear-cut, decisive and individual action could be criminal or self-destructive or ironic, and that these were issues on which Schiller had theorized at length.

In contrast to its moderate role and success in the eyes of twentieth-century scholarship,<sup>76</sup> in the nineteenth century Schiller's "Der Handschuh" was included in popular illustrated anthologies of poetry, a type of book emerging along with the new technologies for publishing illustrating books (lithograph, wood engraving). Johann Baptist Sonderland (1805-78) illustrated the ballad in 1846-47 for an album of German poems he published in Düsseldorf in installments since 1838 (Fig. 26), and Hans Makart (1840-84) did so for Cotta's de Luxe edition of Schiller's poems initiated in 1859 and published 1862. Among the parodic paraphrases of the poem, Max Klinger's masterly print series *Paraphrase über den Fund eines Handschuhs* of 1878-81, stands



out as an example of what Norbert Miller saw as the only salvation from the trend toward the trivial tableau originated in the Schiller cult, namely, its transformation into ironic paraphrase and citation.<sup>77</sup> Plate 2, "Handlung"/ "Action" (Fig. 27), transposes Schiller's plot to the urban setting of a modern skating ring, and thereby turns the lady into a mysterious *Rückenfigur*, the ferocious animals into a lapdog, and the knight into a smitten young man who loses his hat while picking up the glove. From this "action" a psychological drama in eight plates ensues, in which the woman exerts a strong, if imaginary influence in the man's dreams and nightmares.

Returning briefly to Hamburg's Schiller Centennial, I should like to point to two inadvertent tableaux which seemed to probe in social reality the truth of the "reine That" in Schiller's "Handschuh," though with a certain twist. Put differently, the subversive potential of the ballad's immediacy, of its dialectical dynamic of high and low,<sup>78</sup> points up the enduring power of Hamburg's social conventions. The city's efforts to overcome these conventions, if only for the duration of the festival, both intentionally and unintentionally misses what is at stake for the beneficiaries of such a suspension.

One tableau results from the *Schiller-Comité's* invitation—obviously a last-minute compromise between excluding and including them—of the *Damen-Comité* to the banquet hall's viewing balcony, to watch the uninhibited *Schiller-Comité's* feast below while themselves being served light refreshments. Down below apparently all the gentlemen turned themselves into the ballad's ferocious beasts, so there was nothing to drop and no knight left to retrieve it. With the exception, perhaps, of unspoken words: the seventh toast — and last before the last — was offered by General-Konsul Ernst Merck. His "Den deutschen Frauen" ended in an acknowledgment of drunken homage to Hamburg's women, a toast, as it were, thrown in their faces.<sup>79</sup> The other tableau is described by Endrulat with some bemusement, yet again with complete lack of irony, as an example of Hamburg's peaceful social self-regulation in no need of police control. During the festival procession an upper class man is accidentally knocked over by a worker. The worker helps his victim to his feet and offers: "Well, Sir, I couldn't help it. But if you wish, slap me in the face. On a day like this I am not going to be angry with you!"<sup>80</sup>

*Bryn Mawr College*  
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania



Figure 1





Figure 2

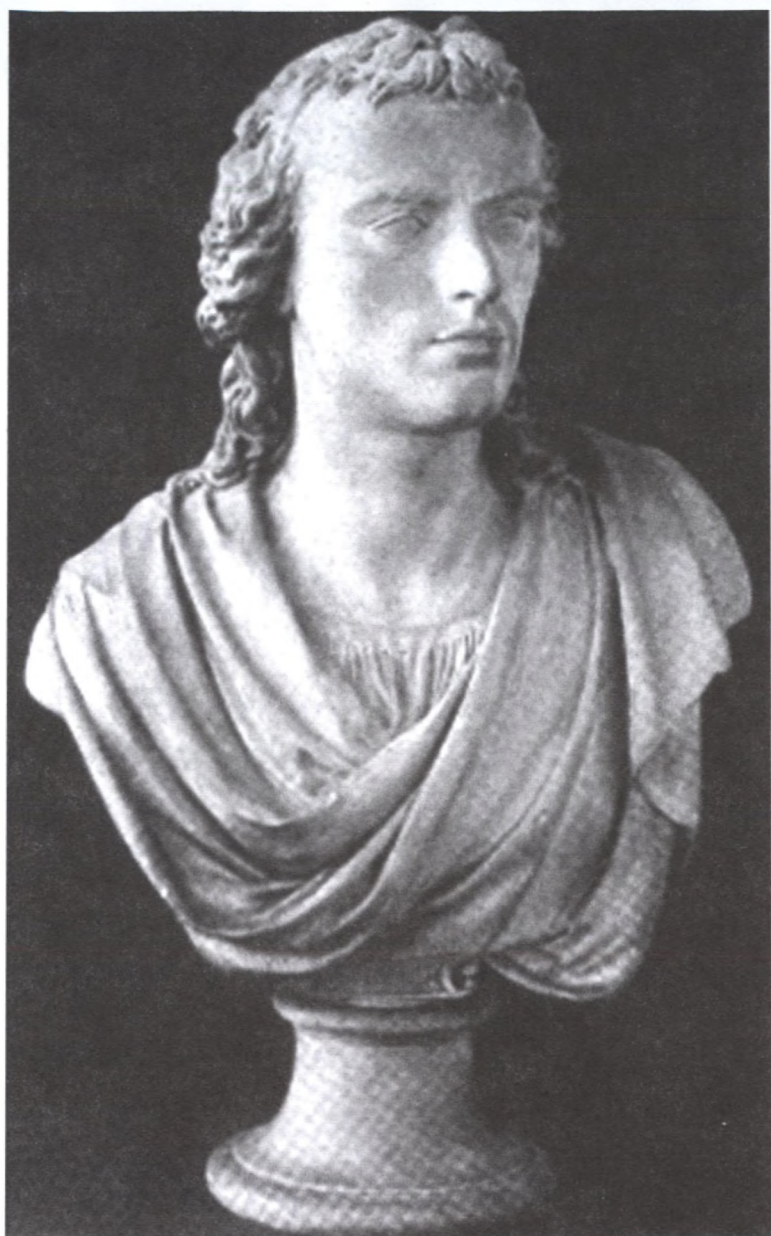


Figure 3



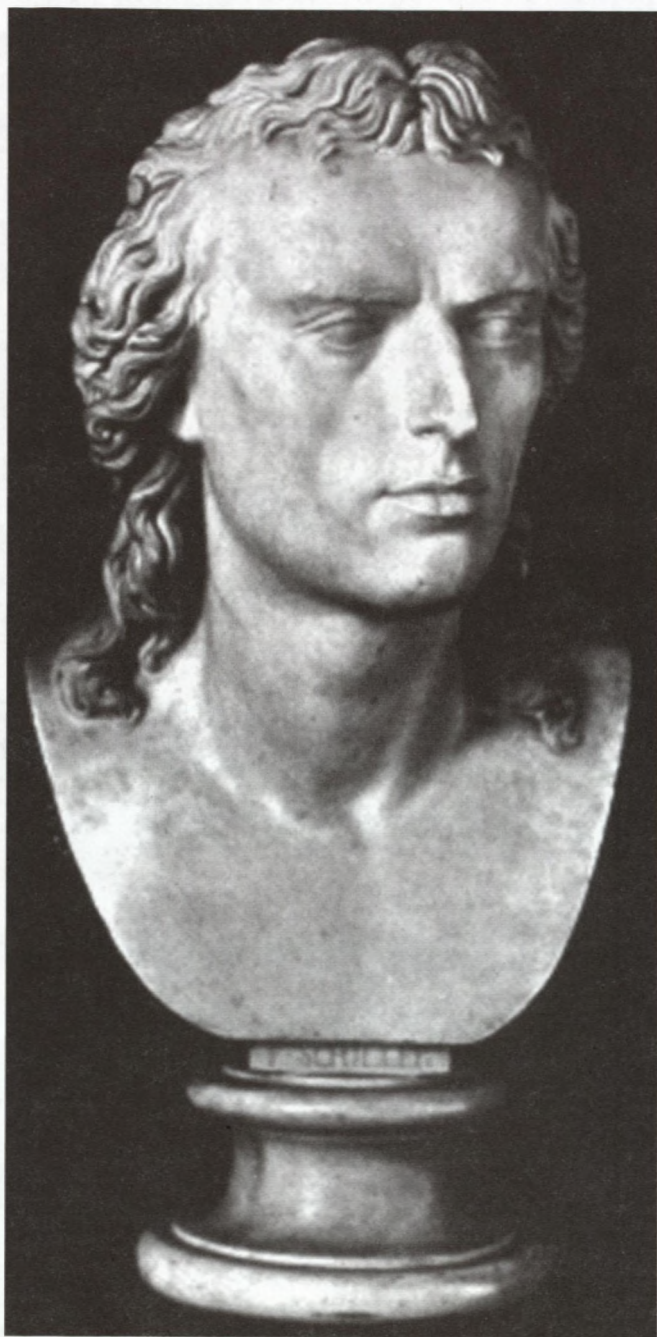


Figure 4

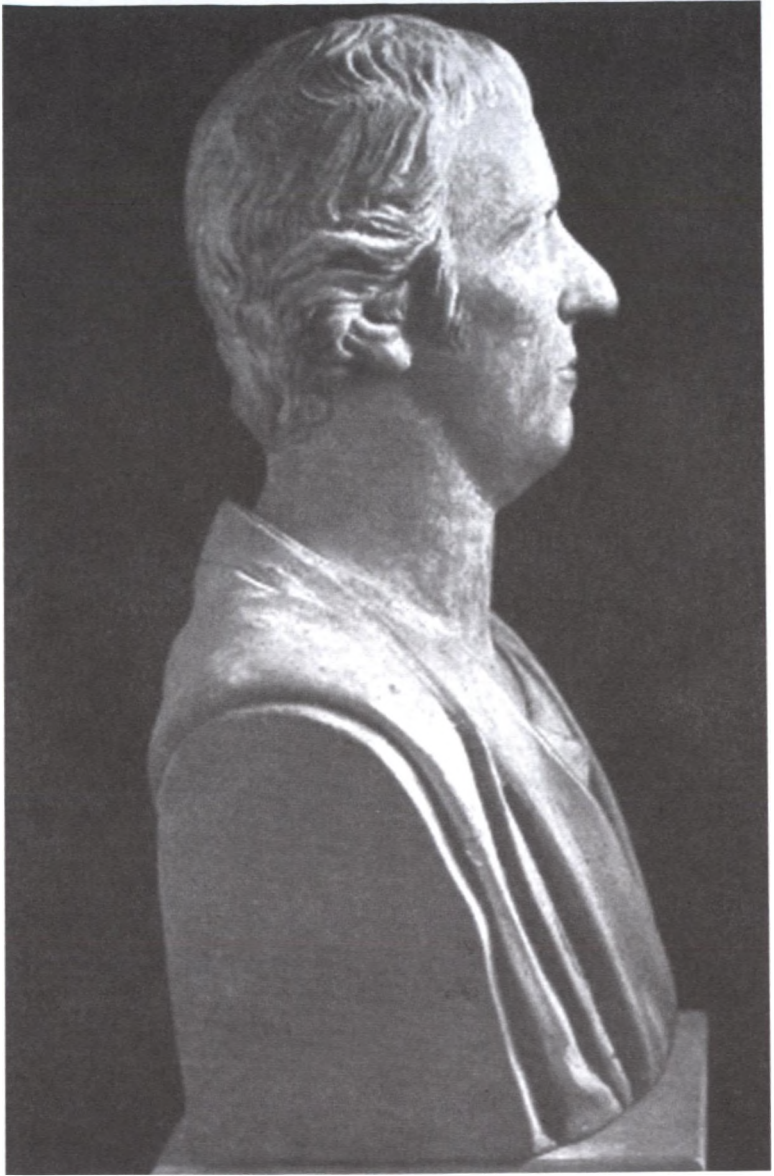


Figure 5





Figure 6

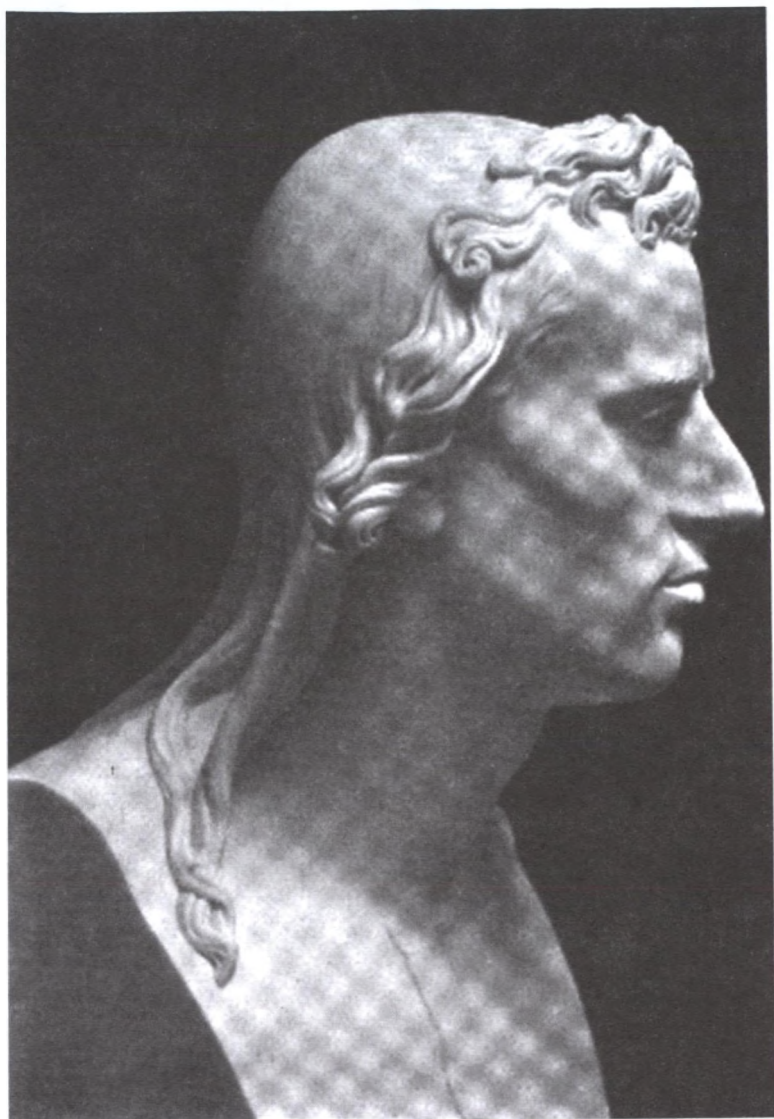


Figure 7



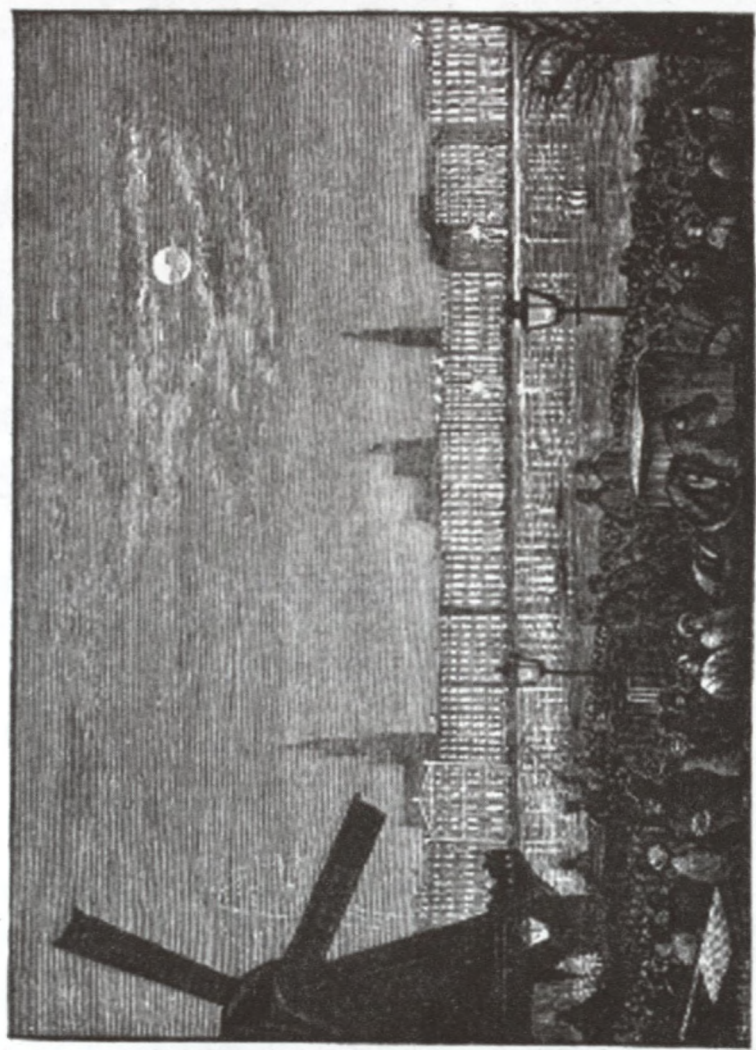


Figure 8



Figure 9





Figure 10

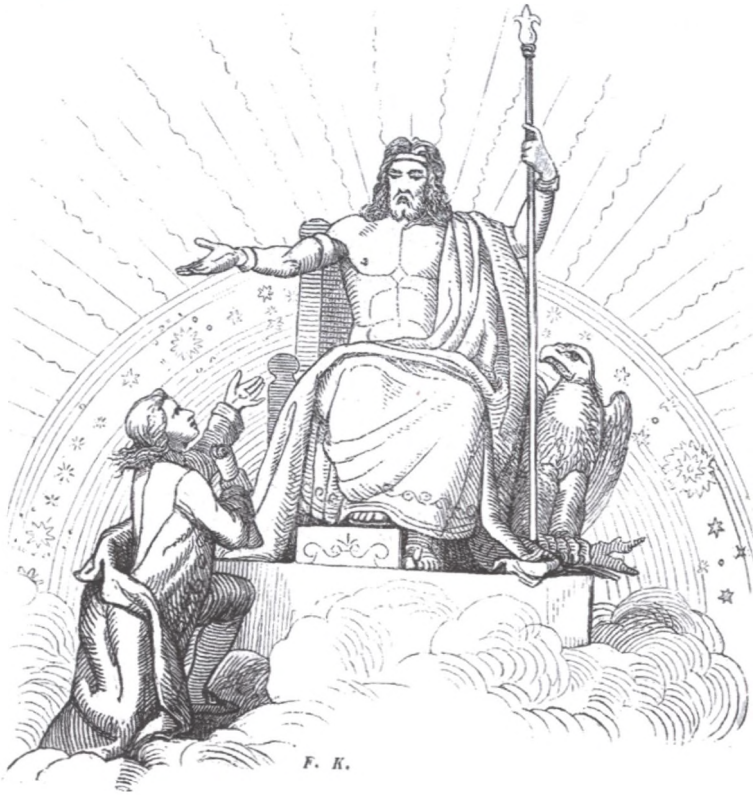


Figure 11





Figure 12

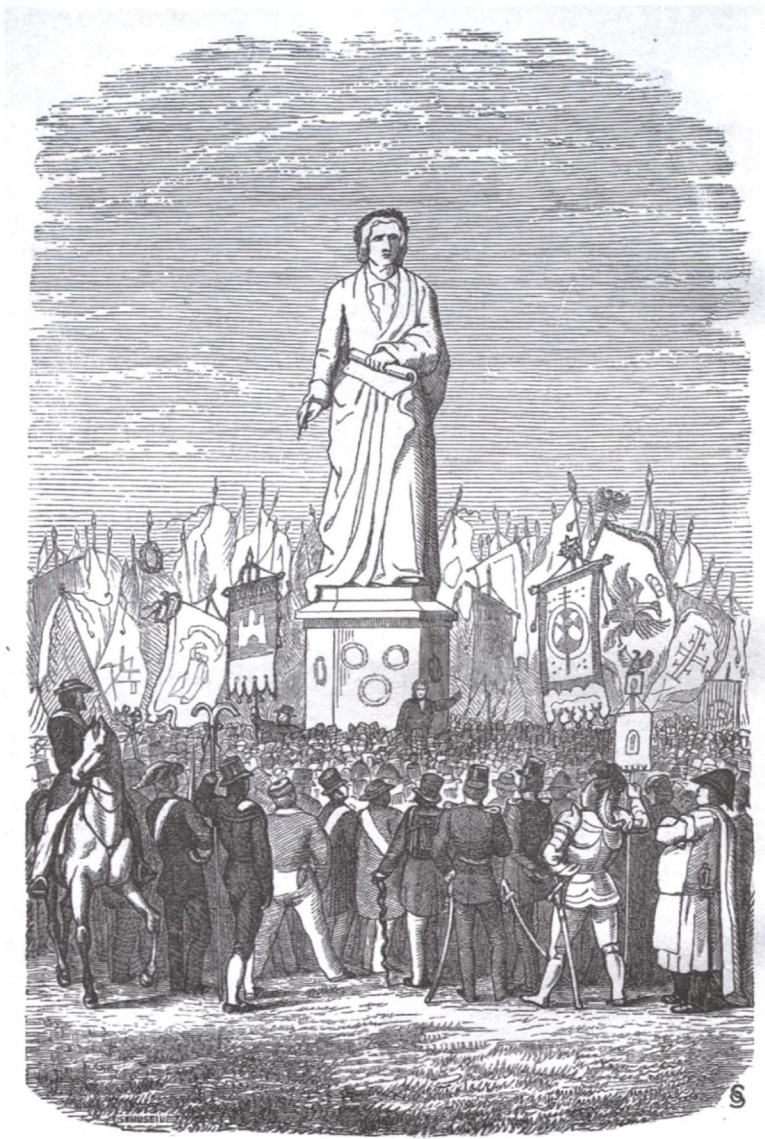


Figure 13





Figure 14



Figure 15











Figure 18



Figure 19



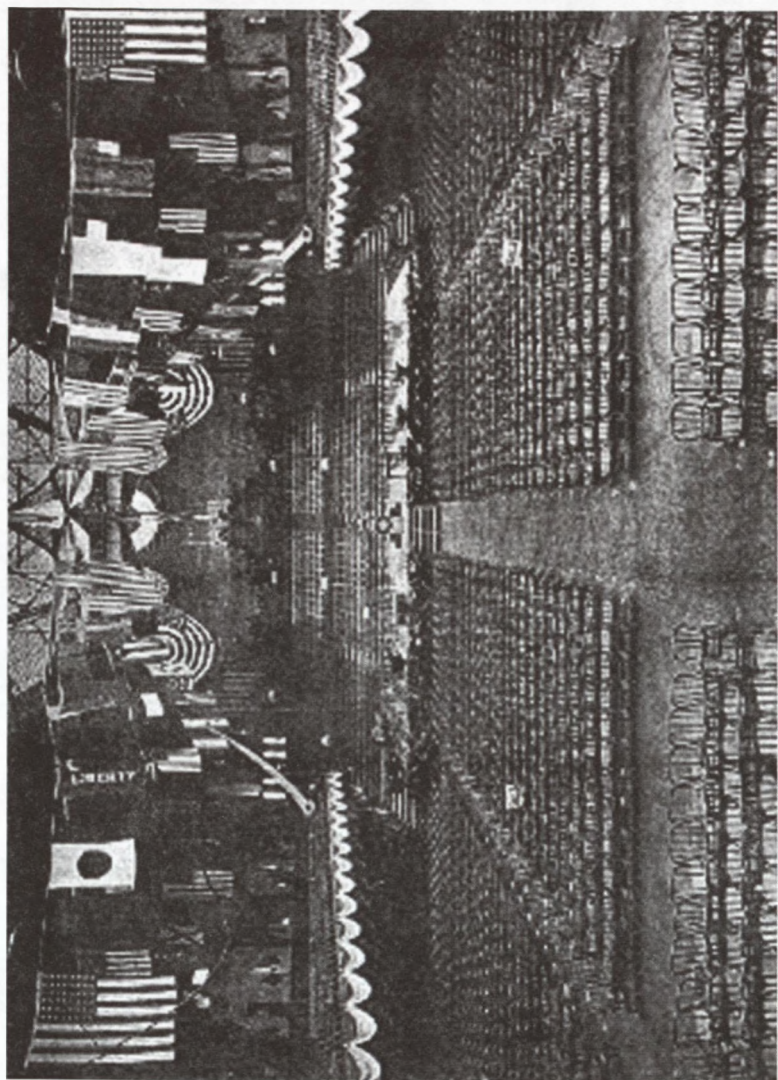


Figure 20



Figure 21



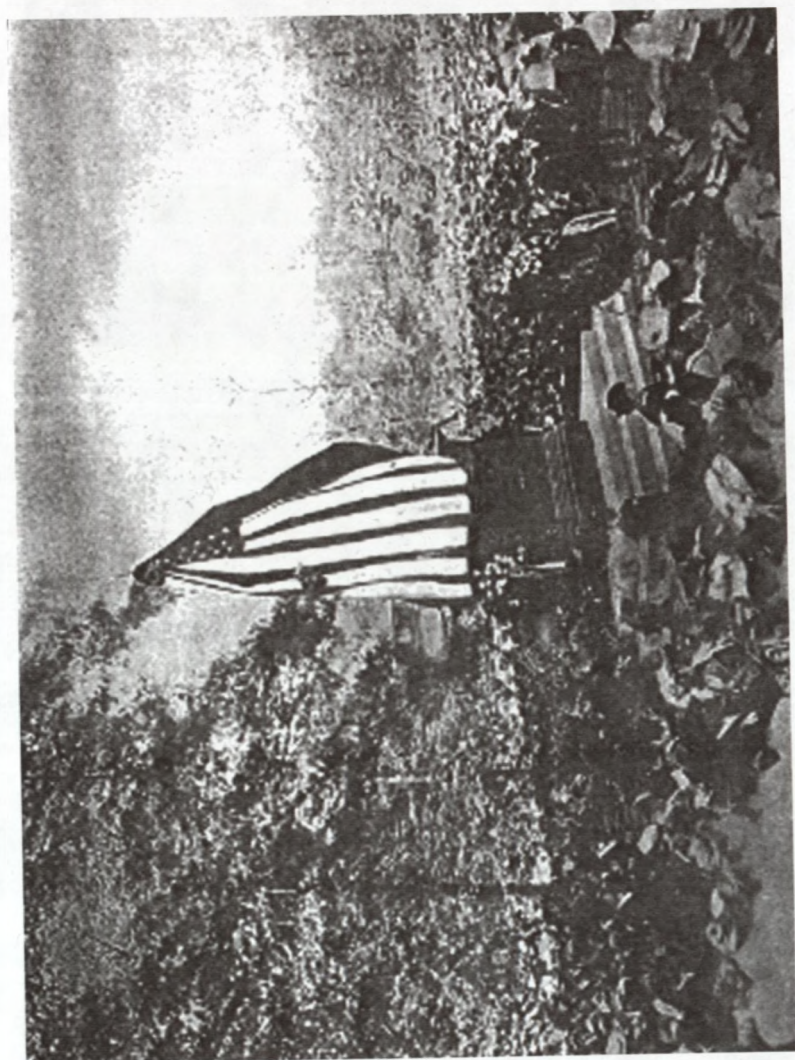


Figure 22



Figure 23



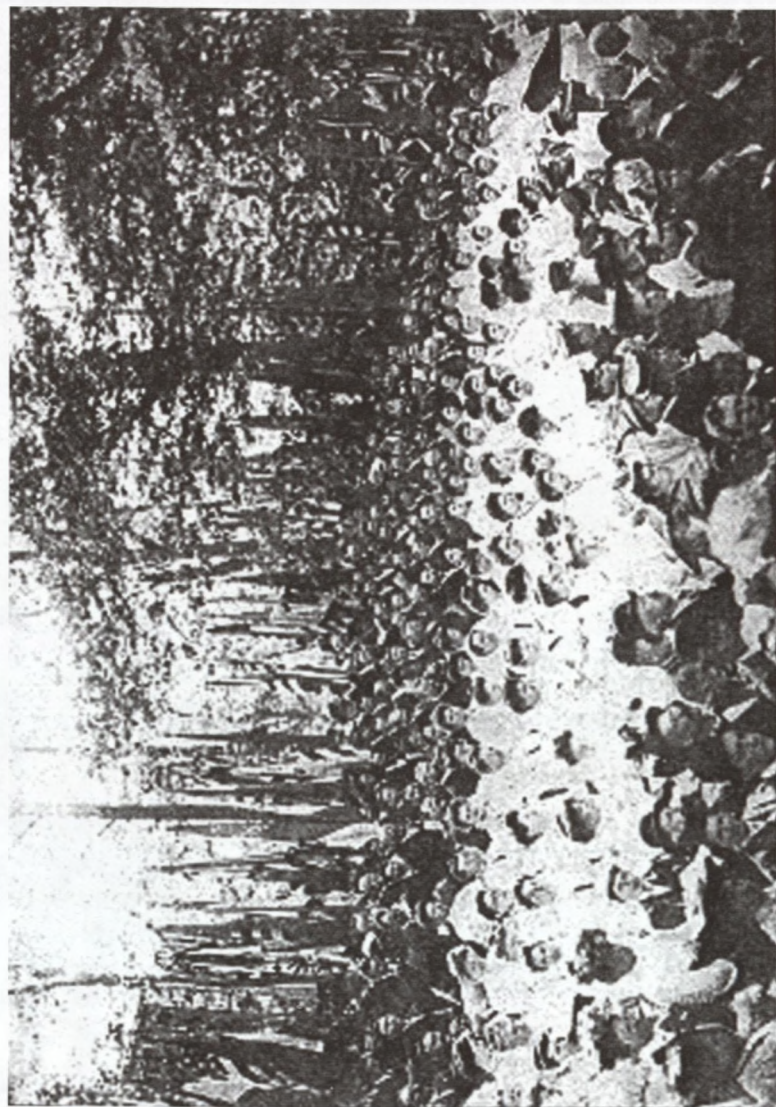


Figure 24

Seine Majestät Kaiserin Elisabeth mit dem Großkreuze des Ordens des Kaiserlich-Königlichen Österreichischen Kaiserthums

Wien, 3. Juni 1887.  
 Seine Majestät Kaiserin Elisabeth  
 mit dem Großkreuze des Ordens  
 des Kaiserlich-Königlichen Österreichischen  
 Kaiserthums.  
 Das Kaiserliche Hof- und  
 Haus-Justizministerium hat  
 befohlen, dass die Kaiserin  
 Elisabeth mit dem Großkreuze  
 des Ordens des Kaiserlich-Königlichen  
 Österreichischen Kaiserthums  
 ausgezeichnet wird.  
 Wien, 3. Juni 1887.



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 Österreichischen Kaiserthums  
 ausgezeichnet wird.  
 Wien, 3. Juni 1887.



Figure 25





Figure 26

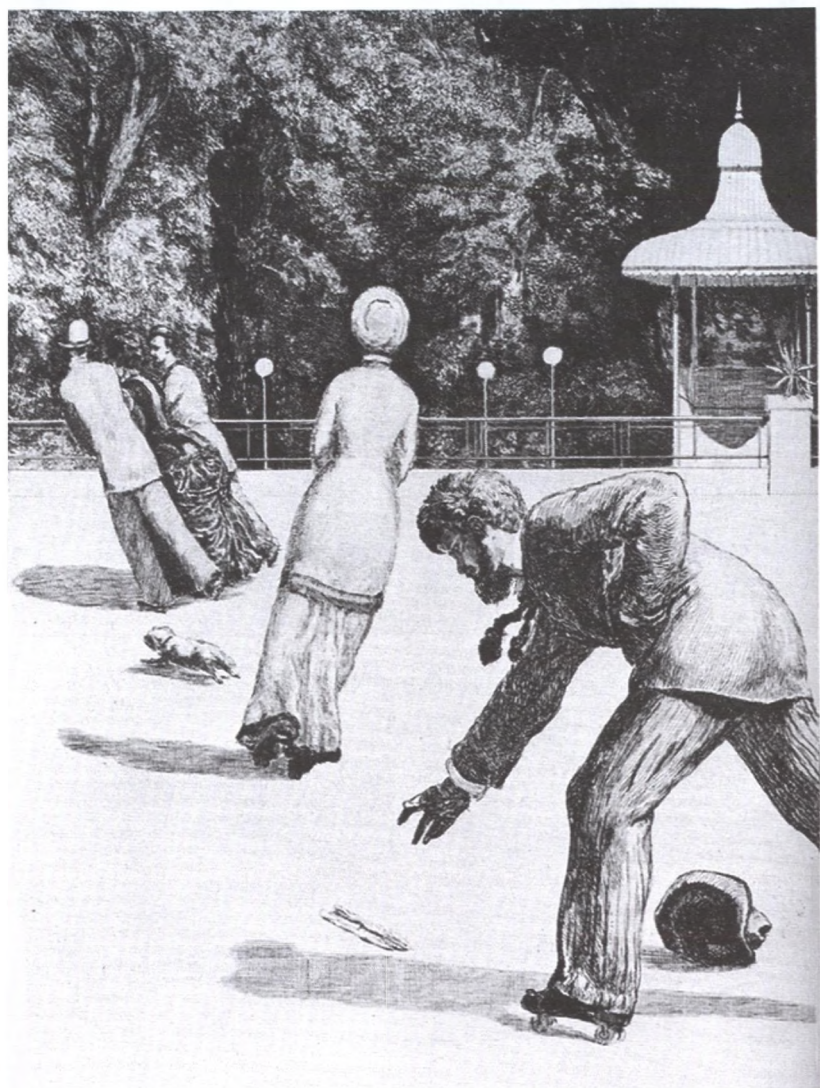


Figure 27



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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on a lecture given at "A Century of German-American Crosscurrents at Penn State (1901-2001): An Interdisciplinary International Conference Celebrating the Centennial of the Department of German at The Pennsylvania State University," held there in October 2001. I cordially thank Ernst Schürer for his invitation, and gratefully acknowledge several institutions that facilitated my research of this subject: The Joseph Horner Library of the German Society of Pennsylvania — and there especially Laurie Wolf for gathering together a treasure trove of German-American Schilleriana, the Free Library of Philadelphia, the Freiburger Library at Case Western Reserve University. I also thank Elliott Shore at Bryn Mawr College for his encouragement both to speak on this subject and to publish the result. All translations from the German are my own unless noted otherwise.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Muschg, "Schiller: Die Tragödie der Freiheit," in *Schiller: Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959*, ed. Bernhard Zeller (Stuttgart: Klett, 1961), 218f.

<sup>3</sup> Sylvia Heinje, "Zur Geschichte des Stuttgarter Schiller-Denkmal von Bertel Thorvaldsen," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen: Ein dänischer Bildhauer in Rom*, exhib. cat. Josef Haubrich-Kunsthalle Köln (Cologne, 1977), 399-418.

<sup>4</sup> Christian Reinhold (Köstlin), "Das Schillerfest in Stuttgart," in Oellers, 1:357f.

<sup>5</sup> Oellers, 484-86.

<sup>6</sup> Rudolf Krauss, "Danneckers Schillerbüsten, Mit Benutzung von Danneckers ungedrucktem Nachlass," *Westermann's Monatshefte* 46 (1902): 451-62.

<sup>7</sup> Theodor Musper, "Dannecker-Studien," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1942): 251f., and Krauss (as in n. 6), 453-54.

<sup>8</sup> Andreas Oppermann, *Ernst Rietschel* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), especially 274-300. See as well Peter Bloch, "Klassizismus im Werke von Schadow und Rauch," In Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol, eds., *Ideal und Wirklichkeit der bildenden Kunst im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1984), 87-104, especially 97, 103, and fig. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Oppermann (as in n. 8), 289. Here it must be noted that Ludwig I also sponsored Dannecker by acquiring one of the two marble versions of the Colossal Schiller and donating it to the Walhalla, thus partially fulfilling the sculptor's plan to house it in a temple. See Krauss (as in n. 6), 462.

<sup>10</sup> Jörg Gamer, "Goethe-Denkmal — Schiller-Denkmal," in Mittig, 141-62, 365-98.

<sup>11</sup> Musper (as in n. 7), 252.

<sup>12</sup> Hans Mayer, "Dem Wahren, Guten, Schönen," in *Schiller: Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959* (as in n. 2), 159-69, citation, 161.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Lederer, *All Around the Town: A Walking Guide to Outdoor Sculpture in New York City* (New York: Scribner's, 1975), 135.

<sup>14</sup> Arthur Danto, *The State of the Art*, 1987, quoted in Penny Balkin Bach, *Public Art in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 45. For a differentiated account of such distinctions, see

Alois Riegl's foundational essay of 1903, "Der moderne Denkmalkultus," translated as "The Modern Cult of Monuments," in *Opposition* 25 (1980): 21-50.

<sup>15</sup> On the psychology of the body fragment, see exhib. cat *Das Fragment: Der Körper in Stücken* (Bern: Bentelli Verlag, 1990).

<sup>16</sup> Gamer (as in n. 10), 145.

<sup>17</sup> Such an illumination is a form of spectacle once reserved to court culture. See, for example, Julius Bernhard Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremonialwissenschaft der großen Herren* (1733), ed. Monika Schlechte (Weinheim: VCH, 1990), 838-46.

<sup>18</sup> Endrulat, 74f., 80.

<sup>19</sup> Siegfried Kracauer, "Das Ornament der Masse," in Siegfried Kracauer, *Das Ornament der Masse* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1963), 50-65. He argues that the free, unthinking, pleasurable subordination to the mass choreography of gymnastic groups performing in public spaces is precisely and dialectically the degree to which the individual is instrumentalized by a proto-totalitarian system.

<sup>20</sup> Endrulat, 93.

<sup>21</sup> Gamer (as in n. 10), 149; Volker Plagemann, "Zur Denkmalgeschichte in Hamburg," in Mittig, 20-22, fig. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Ferdinand Lechner, *Friedrich von Schiller als Vorläufer der religiös-humanistischen Weltanschauung vom Standpunkt der Freien Gemeinde betrachtet* (Philadelphia: B.G.S. Lephon & Co., 1859), 21.

<sup>23</sup> See program notes, Joseph Horner Library, Philadelphia, pamphlet collection, PT2473 A3 1883.

<sup>24</sup> *Erinnerung an die Feier des 100jährigen Schiller-Jubiläums in Baltimore* (Baltimore: im Offizin des Correspondenten, W. Polmeyr, 1859).

<sup>25</sup> *Programme. Masonic ceremonies at the laying of the cornerstone of the Schiller monument erected by the Cannstatter Volksfest-Verein, in Fairmount Park: Philadelphia, PA. November 10th, 1885* (Philadelphia: S.W. Goodman, 1885).

<sup>26</sup> *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 1. Jahrgang, no. 6, 14 November 1885, 1 and 4. See also *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, 8. Jahrgang, no. 307, 10 November 1885, 3, and no. 308, 11 November 1885, 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Die Bedeutung und Feier des hundertjährigen Geburtstages von Friedrich Schiller*, ed. W. Radde (New York: Wm. Radde, 1859). It is interesting to note that Leutze's painting has itself become the model for a *tableau vivant*: every year in January the crossing of the Delaware is reenacted and this spectacle is watched by many onlookers undeterred by either cold weather or the painting's historical inaccuracy frankly admitted by those who "stage" the event. The reason given is that it all feels true. (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 December 2000, B1f.)

<sup>28</sup> For a critical assessment of this kind of poetry, see Jeffrey Sammons, "The Schiller Centennial: 1859: Some Themes and Motifs," *The University of Dayton Review* 20, 3 (Fall 1990): 5-13.

<sup>29</sup> Friedrich Theodor Vischer, "Rede zur hundertjährigen Feier der Geburt Schillers," in Oellers, 1:419-27, especially 425. Vischer's emphasis here on "Vaterlandsliebe" and his deemphasis of "Weltbürgertum und der allgemeinen Menschenfreiheit" can be seen in the context of his aesthetics of the real, the "wahrhaft Wirklichen," as opposed to the aesthetics of universal ideals such as freedom and equality. See Hilmer Roebing, "Zur Kunsttheorie Friedrich Theodor Vischers," in Helmut Koopmann and J. Adolf Schmolgen. Eisenwerth, eds., *Beiträge zur Theorie der Künste im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1971), 87-112.

<sup>30</sup> *Schiller-Album: Zur hundertjährigen Feier der Geburt des Dichters: eine Festgabe der Freunde Schiller's in der neuen Welt* (Philadelphia: Schäfer und Konradi, 1859).

<sup>31</sup> *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 1. Jahrgang, no. 3 (24 October 1885), no. 4 (31 October 1885), no. 5 (7 November 1885), no. 6, (14 November 1885); *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, 8. Jahrgang 1885, no. 307 (10 November 1885). See as well Ken Fones-Wolf and Elliott Shore, "The German Press and Working-Class Politics in Gilded Age Philadelphia," in Fones-Wolf et al., 63-80.

<sup>32</sup> *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, 8. Jahrgang 1885, no. 308 (11 November 1885).

<sup>33</sup> Fairmount Park Art Association, *Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia Treasures in Bronze and Stone* (New York: Walker, 1974), 156.

<sup>34</sup> See Bloch (as in n. 10), 95 and fig. 4.

<sup>35</sup> James L. Riedy, *Chicago Sculpture: Text and Photographs* (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 190f.

<sup>36</sup> *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 1. Jahrgang, 14 November 1885; 21 November 1885. See also Sylvia Mergenthal, "Disiecta membra poetarum: Über das Sammeln von Dichterreliquien," in *Sammler*—



*Bibliophile — Exzentriker*, ed. Aleida Assmann, Monika Gomille and Gabriele Rippl (Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, 1998), 87-98.

<sup>37</sup> *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 3. Jahrgang, 12 November 1887, 2. See also Fairmount Park Art Association (as in n. 32), 156.

<sup>38</sup> Riedy (as in n. 34), 193-95.

<sup>39</sup> The following account is based on a survey of the magazine from 1864 to 1900, at the Free Library of Philadelphia and Case Western Reserve University's Freiburger Library. For an overview of the periodical's history and contents, see Hazel E. Rosenstrauch, "Z. B. *Die Gartenlaube*," in Annemarie Rucktäschel and H. D. Zimmermann, ed., *Trivilliteratur* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), 169-89; B.K. Starcher, "Ernst Keil und die Anfänge der *Gartenlaube*," *Seminar* 17.3 (1981): 205-13; Eva Zahn, "Die Geschichte der *Gartenlaube*," in *Facsimile Querschnitt durch die Gartenlaube* (Bern, 1963).

<sup>40</sup> Joseph Roth an Stefan Zweig, 5 November 1933, in *Joseph Roth, Briefe 1911-1939*, ed. Hermann Kesten (Cologne and Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1970), 285.

<sup>41</sup> Peter Gay, "Experiment in Denial: A Reading of the *Gartenlaube* in the Year 1890," in *Traditions of Experiment from the Enlightenment to the Present: Essays in Honor of Peter Demetz*, ed. Nancy Kaiser and David E. Wellbery (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1992), 152, 154.

<sup>42</sup> Krauss (as in n. 6), 452.

<sup>43</sup> Schinkel's building was later expanded by Ludwig Persius and J.H. Starck. On Babelsberg, see Gerdt Streidt and Klaus Frahm, *Potsdam* (Cologne: Könemann, 1996), 198-214.

<sup>44</sup> On the role of a literary "Dutch style," see Peter Demetz, "Defenses of Dutch Painting and the Theory of Realism," *Comparative Literature* 15,2 (1963): 97-115, and Christiane Hertel, "The Legacy of Hegel's and Jean-Paul's Aesthetics: The Idyllic in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting," in J. Fenoulhet and L. Gilbert, eds., *Representing the Past: History Art, Language, Literature, Crossways*, vol. 3 (London: UCL, Center for Low Countries Studies, 1996), 242-56.

<sup>45</sup> Erich Trunz, "Die Kupferstiche zu den Lebenden Bildern' in den *Wahlverwandtschaten*," in Trunz, *Weimarer Goethe-Studien* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1980), 210-16.

<sup>46</sup> Norbert Miller, "Mutmaßungen über lebende Bilder: Attitüde und *tableau vivant* als Anschauungsformen des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Das Triviale in Literatur, Musik und Bildender Kunst*, ed. Helga de la Motte-Haber (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1972), 113. For the opposite view that the *tableau vivant*, though a variation on the Pygmalion myth, is ultimately about death, see Oskar Bätschmann, "Pygmalion als Betrachter: Die Rezeption von Plastik und Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in Wolfgang Kemp, ed., *Der Betrachter ist im Bild: Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1992), 237-78.

<sup>47</sup> Endrulat, 113.

<sup>48</sup> Trunz, 212-15.

<sup>49</sup> On the second context, see Käte Hamburger, "Zum Problem des Idealismus bei Schiller," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 4 (1960), 60-71.

<sup>50</sup> Miller (as in n. 46), 106.

<sup>51</sup> Instructive in this regard is Richard Östreicher, "Robert Reitzel, *Der Arme Teufel*," in Fones-Wolf et al., 147-67; esp. 152, 161.

<sup>52</sup> Sander Gilman, "German? American? Literature? Some Thoughts on the Problem of Question Marks and Hyphens," in Sander Gilman, *The Fortunes of the Humanities: Thoughts for after the Year 2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 93-113.

<sup>53</sup> Endrulat, 104-6.

<sup>54</sup> Endrulat, 186.

<sup>55</sup> Text 53, *Neue Preussische Zeitung* 10 November 1859, in Oellers, 1:467.

<sup>56</sup> Michael Kienzle, *Der Erfolgsroman* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1975), 36-59; Albert Boime, "Alfred Rethel's Counter-Revolutionary Death Dance," *The Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 577-98.

<sup>57</sup> *Zur Würdigung Schillers in Amerika, Erinnerungsblätter an die 100. Wiederkehr von Schillers Todestag* (Chicago, IL: Buchhandlung Koelling und Klappenbach, 1905), 105f.

<sup>58</sup> Bach (as in n. 14), 40.

<sup>59</sup> Walter Benjamin, "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie" (1931), in *Aufsätze, Essays, Vorträge, Walter Benjamin, Werke*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1980), 2,1: 368-85.

<sup>60</sup> Trunz, 213.

<sup>61</sup> Oppermann describes the dedication ceremony of Rietschel's sculpture in 1857 as a "Nationalfest" (as in n. 8), 291-96.

<sup>62</sup> That such displacements, now as then, don't result in melancholy passivity, is suggested in the image of Arnold Schwarzenegger dressed in Lederhosen cut from an American flag and standing on top of an alpine mountain that illustrates a *New York Times* Op-Ed page on 9 October 2003 (A 37).

<sup>63</sup> Oppermann (as in n. 8), 290.

<sup>64</sup> The photograph of Kandinsky and Klee is in Paul Raabe, *Spaziergänge durch Weimar* (Zurich: Arche Verlag, 1990), 141.

<sup>65</sup> Gerlach, 106.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Gerlach, 11-18, 17: "Die Freudlosigkeit des amerikanischen Lebens hat doch wohl vor allem ihren Grund in dem Mangel an Gefühl."

<sup>68</sup> Gerlach, 194ff.

<sup>69</sup> Oellers, 2:74.

<sup>70</sup> Östreicher (as in n. 51), 152.

<sup>71</sup> Caroline Schlegel to Auguste Böhner, 21 October, 1799; *Gedichte, Anmerkungen zu Band 21*, ed. Georg Kurscheidt and Norbert Oellers, *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe*, vol. 21,2 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1993), part 2B, 165; Friedrich Schlegel to Rahel Levin, 1 April 1802, *ibid.*, 167.

<sup>72</sup> *Gedichte, Anmerkungen zu Band 21* (as in n. 71), 170, citing Benno von Wiese. In their essay, "Schillers Lyrik," *ibid.*, 299-323, they see its "ebenso einfache wie kunstvolle Form leicht aus dem Blick geraten," (317), thereby almost echoing Werner Kohlschmidt, who in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1965), 2:830, writes that it is "besser als sein Ruf," i.e., if one does not reduce it to its "fatal-biedermeierliche" allegory. In 1959, a speaker even prefaced his bicentennial lecture's focus on the poem by asking his audience to be neither surprised nor frightened by his choice. See Rudolf Alexander Schröder, "Schiller," in *Schiller, Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959* (as in n. 2), 271-98, 278.

<sup>73</sup> See Christiane Hertel, *Studien zu Max Klingers graphischem Zyklus 'Paraphrase über den Fund eines Handschuhs' (1878-1881)* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1987), 48-53, and 96-110; and Schiller, *Gedichte, Anmerkungen zu Band 21* (as in n. 71), 170.

<sup>74</sup> I. A. , Kment, *Der Handschuh und seine Geschichte* (Vienna, 1890), 108.

<sup>75</sup> *Schiller's Briefe 1796-1798*, ed. Norbert Oellers and F. Stock, *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe*, vol. 29 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1977), no. 89, p. 85, and *Briefe an Schiller*, vol. 37,1 (*ibid.*, 1981), no. 52, p. 43.

<sup>76</sup> An early example of taking "Der Handschuh" seriously is Kurt Berger, *Die Balladen Schillers im Zusammenhang seiner lyrischen Dichtung* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1939), 35-37, 55f., where he emphasizes the poem's special historical immediacy and visibility and argues against what he thinks is Wolfgang Kayser and Herbert Cysarz's merely chronological inclusion of it in their studies of 1935 and 1934 respectively.

<sup>77</sup> Christiane Hertel, "Irony, Dream, Kitsch: Max Klinger's *Paraphrase of the Finding of a Glove* and German Modernism," *The Art Bulletin* 74,1 (1992): 91-114.

<sup>78</sup> See Martin Dyck, *Die Gedichte Schillers; Figuren der Dynamik des Bildes* (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1967), on the ballads, though underestimating "Der Handschuh," 89ff.

<sup>79</sup> Endrulat, Appendix, new pagination, 121.

<sup>80</sup> Endrulat, Appendix, new pagination, 215.