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978-1-107-64963-7 - Schiller: Die Braut von Messina Oder: Die Feindlichen
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SCHILLER

DIE BRAUT VON MESSINA

ODER

DIE FEINDLICHEN BRÜDER

EIN TRAUERSPIEL MIT CHÖREN

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THE present edition of Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, the first to be published in England, appears much later than was originally intended, but much as the Editor regrets the unavoidable delay he cannot but find some consolation in the fact that the postponement of his work made it possible for him to use a number of valuable essays published during the last few years on certain aspects of the drama. The titles of these essays are quoted in the Bibliographical Appendix, and it is hoped that no book or article of real importance has been overlooked.

Die Braut von Messina is a drama not so adapted for ordinary reading in schools as some other works of Schiller, such as *Maria Stuart* or *Wilhelm Tell*. So far as schools are concerned, it will probably only appeal to a few picked pupils and will hardly ever be studied by whole classes. But it is an excellent play for careful University study, and not only for men and women reading Modern Languages. It should prove of great interest to such students of the ancient classical literatures as have, as all of them ought to have, a reading knowledge of German and to whom it could not fail, any more than Goethe's *Iphigenie*, to suggest many interesting comparisons. It will also, no doubt, attract people of a more mature age who are interested in good literature and are pursuing their German studies without the help of a teacher. With a view to the needs of these various classes of serious students of classical German literature the notes to the text have often been given greater fulness than is customary in ordinary school editions. The Editor has reason to believe that many readers of Schiller's noble play will be glad of detailed explanations and of various suggestive hints and literary comparisons. For this reason many quotations and parallels from other

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works of Schiller have been given in the Notes and Appendices, it being the aim of the Editor in the first instance to explain Schiller by Schiller himself, and thus introduce students in the most direct way to the great poet's poetic diction and literary aims. The works of Goethe and other contemporary authors have also been frequently referred to. Many cross-references have been given in the Notes which will prove especially useful to students who, after having once read through the drama, are anxious to go through it carefully for a second time and to study certain interesting questions of language, metre, or plot in greater detail. All deviations in Schiller's poetry (1803) from modern prose usage (1913) have been carefully noted, peculiarities of diction have been indicated, foreign terms and their German equivalents pointed out, and classical terms and allusions explained throughout, the fullest use being made of Sir William Smith's excellent *Classical Dictionary*. Mere translations without explanation have not, as a rule, been given. Some of those proposed in the case of words or lines occurring in the Choruses were suggested by happy renderings of Schiller's text by Frank Nicholson, M.A., of Edinburgh. See the Introduction, page xxii. Shorter notes and a number of renderings without explanations may be found in the two useful American editions mentioned on page 265. In a few cases the pronunciation of German words has been given in the script adopted by the *Association Phonétique Internationale* which is now widely used in England and is also employed by Professors Viëtor and Siebs in their excellent books on German pronunciation.

It would be impossible in the Introduction to a volume of the 'Pitt Press Series' to discuss the many interesting problems suggested by the study of this remarkable literary experiment as fully as is done in the numerous books and articles devoted to detailed discussion of special questions. In the present Introduction, which aims at giving a succinct synopsis of all the various questions connected with the drama, the results of much thought and deliberation could often be merely indicated in the briefest possible way. But in the case of many vexed questions the copious references given in the notes to the Introduction and the Text, and in

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the various Appendices, should enable serious students of the play to pursue the investigation of such questions further and ultimately to form their own opinions. In the same way it was not possible to mention in every case the name of the scholar whose views were either adopted or combated.

In writing the Notes and the Introduction the Editor has derived much help from a great number of commentaries and editions, books and essays, especially from those by Düntzer, Boxberger, Heskamp, Schäfer, Tumlriz, Engler, Carruth, Palmer and Eldridge; Bellermann, Bergmann, Kühnemann, Petsch, Weitbrecht, Bulthaupt, Gloël, Hahne, Olbrich, Maaß, Kohlrausch, E. Harnack, Petersen, Imelmann; Scherer, Hoffmeister, Berger, Rea, Vaughan; Zarncke, Belling, Draheim, Fries, and others. The German literary periodicals have been found of much use on many points, and the great dictionaries of the brothers Grimm and their successors, with those of D. Sanders and Sanders-Wülfig, M. Heyne, H. Paul, Fr. Kluge, and the revised edition of K. Weigand, were of great service.

Finally the Editor desires to tender his sincerest thanks to his friends the Professors Otto Francke, Max Friedländer, Konrad Burdach, Wilhelm Seelmann and Wilhelm Creizenach, to his pupils and friends Miss Minna Steele Smith, Professor Walter Rippmann, M.A., Mr Frank Nicholson, M.A., Mr Gilbert Waterhouse, B.A., and above all to his friend, the Rev. W. A. Cox, M.A., Fellow and late Dean of St John's College, for the great kindness and care with which he read through all the proofs of this edition and contributed many valuable suggestions and criticisms while the proofs were going through the press.

K. B.

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INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE PLAY.

Ich habe große Lust, mich nunmehr in der einfachen Tragödie nach der strengsten griechischen Form zu versuchen.

Schiller to Körner, May 13, 1801.

Mein erster Versuch einer Tragödie in strenger Form...

Schiller to Humboldt, February 17, 1803.

Die Braut von Messina is one of the results of the earnest and steadfast endeavours on the part of Schiller and his friend Goethe to make the best of the ancient Greek poetry fruitful for German literature. It is one of the products of the second German *renaissance*, the Hellenic renaissance of the end of the eighteenth century, symbolized by Goethe in the second part of his *Faust* by the union of Faust and Helena. During this period of Graecism the Greek writers who exercised the chief influence on German literature were Homer and the great Attic tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

As is usual in the case of the later dramas of Schiller, we are very well informed about the genesis of *Die Braut von Messina*. The chief sources of information are Schiller's letters (especially those to Körner, Goethe, Humboldt, and Iffland), and also, after the play was finished, a number of short entries in his Diary. The study of the history of any of Schiller's works must always be largely based on his extensive correspondence, of which the letters written by himself have now been most carefully edited by Jonas¹. By a study of Schiller's letters we

¹ See the Appendix V (Bibliography) on p. 273. Two other valuable books, both furnished with very full and conscientiously compiled indexes, are *Schillers Calendar* (new edition, by Ernst Müller, Stuttgart,

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are admitted to the poet's workshop, we are privileged to watch the genesis of great works of art. The Correspondence allows us to see how the artist pondered on his choice of a subject, how in many cases he wavered a long time between several subjects that attracted him equally, how ultimately some reason determined his selection and he approached his task working—with or without interruptions—till he had mastered the material and shaped the drama to his own satisfaction. We see what helped him and what hampered him, how at later stages of the work lacunae were filled in, what points remained a long time unsettled in his mind and what new motives suggested themselves to his thought while he was working out his original plan, even after the greater part of it was finished². It is true, a great work of art can well be enjoyed, and indeed is enjoyed by the majority of people, without any knowledge of the processes through which it passed before its author presented it to the world; but those students who are privileged to enter the workshop and watch the master at work will be filled with admiration not only of the genius of Schiller but also of the infinite pains with which, in spite of his frequent bad health, he gave to each work of his, whether essay, poem or play, the highest degree of perfection which it was possible for him to attain.

A tragedy such as *Die Braut von Messina* should also be studied with frequent reference to Schiller's aesthetic writings, such as *Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen* and *Über das Erhabene*, not to mention the essay *Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie* (see the Appendix I, pp. 239–247), and, again, many parallels with thoughts expressed in his ballads and his philosophical poems should be noticed; many of them have been pointed out in the Notes.

The original conception of the play is considerably older² (1893) and *Regesten zu Friedrich Schillers Leben und Werken, mit einem kurzen Überblick über die gleichzeitige Litteratur, in tabellarischer Anordnung* (by Ernst Müller, Leipzig, 1900).

² A few characteristic extracts from Schiller's letters are given in Appendix II, on pp. 248–257.

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than the middle of August, 1802, the time when Schiller seriously set about writing the drama. As early as the summer of 1788, when Schiller was at Rudolstadt, reading Homer with the help of the masterly translation of Voss and, at the request of his future wife, Charlotte von Lengefeld, trying his hand at the translation of two dramas of Euripides, he wrote (in August) to his intimate friend Körner that he had conceived the plan of writing a play in the style of the Greek tragedy (*in griechischer Manier*). He had finished his *Don Carlos* in 1787; the period of storm and stress now lay definitely behind him, and he was for the first time in his life deeply stirred by his Greek studies. He was anxious to assimilate, as far as was possible for him, the simple and grand manner of the ancient Greek masters, to learn from them a new style and a new art, and to improve his own style of writing by translating from Euripides for his Rudolstadt friends, the sisters Lengefeld. Thus he turned into German blank verse *Sphigenie in Aulis* and a few scenes of *Die Phönizierinnen*, the latter a fine tragedy on the subject of the Hostile Brothers of Thebes. He lamented the lost serenity and loftiness of classical Greek poetry and longed for the dawn of an age of true art, simple, plastic, natural, beautiful, ideas that found eloquent expression in his poem *Die Götter Griechenlands* (1788). It was but natural that Schiller should at once turn his thoughts to the plan of himself writing a drama in the simple and lofty style of the Greek tragedians. At that time, however, he very probably did not as yet think of treating the subject of the Hostile Brothers, but he very likely intended to treat in this manner *Die Malteser*, a favourite theme of his, to be worked out as a grand tragedy, with Choruses of the Knights of Malta (*die Malteser*), the heroic defenders of their island against the overwhelming power of the Turks. This fascinating subject was from time to time taken up by the poet, but it was never fully treated by him. Numerous sketches that he has left allow us to form a tolerably good idea of his changing plans, and also of his reason for ultimately abandoning the subject. After 1788, the thought of writing a drama in the Greek style was laid aside for a time. Not only did Schiller's increased

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attention to historical studies, in consequence of his appointment to the Jena Chair (in 1789), prevent him from proceeding with the idea, but the poet also hesitated, as he wrote to Körner in 1789, because he did not yet know the Greek drama well enough and because his ideas about dramatic art were not yet sufficiently matured. Thus it happened that his next great play, *Wallenstein*³, was an historical tragedy which grew out of his historical studies and at which he worked on and off for fully thirty months between October 22, 1796 and March 17, 1799. Before he undertook the composition of his drama he had devoted much time and thought to the study of dramatic theory and also to the study of the masterpieces of Hellenic and modern literature. His essays *Über die tragische Kunst* (1792), *Über Anmut und Würde* and *Über das Erhabene* (both in 1793), and above all his masterly and truly classic treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1794), in which the peculiarities of ancient and modern, objective and subjective, classical and romantic poetry were for the first time treated with wonderful critical insight and acumen, were for Schiller himself important steps in the constant endeavour to attain a thorough understanding of Greek art, of Goethe's art, and, in contrast with this, of his own peculiar poetic talent. On October 2, 1797, when still at work on his *Wallenstein*, he wrote to Goethe⁴ that he had recently taken much trouble to discover a tragic subject of the same kind as the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles and offering a poet the same dramatic advantages. No definite plan is here mentioned by Schiller, but we see that, while busy with a great drama, the poet liked, in spare moments, and as a sort of relaxation, to turn over in his mind the possibilities of new dramatic subjects.

After he had finished *Wallenstein* on March 17, 1799, Schiller wrote to Goethe on the 19th⁵ that he was now thinking of

³ For the genesis of *Wallenstein* see my edition of this play in the Pitt Press Series, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1894, 21896), Introduction, chapter iii.

⁴ Schiller's Letters, ed. Jonas, Vol. v, 271.

⁵ See Jonas, Vol. vi, 20.

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writing a play on a subject of his own invention, the interest of which would be of a purely imaginative and human character, for of soldiers, heroes and commanders he was heartily tired. He was anxious to show Goethe some tragic material of his own creation and to obtain his friend's advice as to its suitability. In this letter no subject of pure fancy is definitely mentioned, but that he had in his mind the story of *Die Braut von Messina* is proved from Goethe. On March 22, 1799, while on a visit to Schiller at Jena, he wrote⁶ to a mutual friend, the Swiss art-critic Meyer: Schiller ist faum von dem Wallenstein entbunden, so hat er sich schon wieder nach einem neuen tragischen Gegenstande umgesehen und, von dem obligaten historischen ermüdet, seine Fabel in dem Felde der freien Erfindung gesucht. Der Stoff ist tragisch genug, die Anlage gut, und er will den Plan genau durcharbeiten, ehe die Ausführung anfängt. He did not inform Meyer of the name of the subject chosen by Schiller, but in his Diary⁷ we read under the date of March 21: Früh neun Uhr von Weimar weg, vor Mittag in Jena. Kurze Promenade, nachher zu Schiller. Die feindlichen Brüder. Über Tragödie und Epöee. Gegen Abend die vier ersten Akte von Wallenstein zusammen gelesen. This is the first definite mention of the subject which Schiller proposed to take up immediately after his great historical tragedy. On June 14, 1799, he asked Goethe⁸ for a copy of the plays of Aeschylus, but he did not for some time go on with the *Hostile Brothers*. Other plans and interests once more gained the upper hand, and two more historical plays were completed, the principal figures of which were women. *Maria Stuart* was finished⁹ on June 9, 1800, and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* on April 16, 1801. To the last-mentioned 'romantic tragedy' his next great play, *Die Braut von Messina*, forms in some respects a

⁶ See the large Weimar Edition of Goethe's Works: Division IV (Letters), Volume XIV, page 50.

⁷ See the large Weimar Edition of Goethe's Works: Division III (Diaries), Volume II, page 238.

⁸ See Jonas, Vol. VI, 45.

⁹ See my edition of this drama in the Pitt Press Series (Cambridge, 1893, ²1896), Introduction, p. xix.

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counterpart and in others a strong contrast. In 1800 Schiller had moved from Jena to Weimar in order to be nearer to Goethe and the excellent theatre to the perfecting of which he and Goethe devoted their best energies and at which all Schiller's later dramas were first performed. After the completion of the *Maid of Orleans*, on April 16, 1801, Schiller was able to turn at last to a simple drama in the strictest Greek form treating of a subject that was entirely his own. An important letter to Körner, dated May 13, 1801, contains full information about Schiller's plans as they stood then¹⁰. From it we learn Schiller's conception of *Die Braut von Messina*, as well as of the treatment of two other tragic subjects, *Die Malteser* and *Barbeck*, both of which occupied him for some considerable time and neither of which was ultimately carried out. The subject of the Hostile Brothers did not yet interest him sufficiently to make him definitely set aside all other plans—the reason being that, as in the *Oedipus Rex*, the interest was centred not so much in the persons of the drama as in the plot; thus the play was to him still lacking in human interest. The poet's general plan was, however, now quite clear before his mind: the play was to be of a simple structure and to consist of five persons and twenty scenes (including the Chorus). Between May 1801 and September 1802 very little was done. Schiller's health caused him much trouble and prevented his devoting himself, as much as usual, to the working out of a great original drama. He was, however, never idle, and if he did not feel strong enough to proceed with a great play of his own, he spent his time in writing smaller poems, such as the ballads *Hero und Leander* (1801) and *Rassandra* (1802), and in translating and adapting the plays of others, such as Gozzi's Italian play *Turandot*, and Goethe's *Pyhigene*. He also considered, as was his wont, several subjects, old and new, and these for a time attracted his interest more than the Hostile Brothers. These were the subjects of *Barbeck* and of *Wilhelm Tell*, the latter of

¹⁰ See Jonas, Vol. VI, 277. The most important portion of this letter is given in Appendix II under *b*.

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which was actually carried out as soon as *Die Braut von Messina* was completed. However, he never ceased to think of the play. Thus he gave Körner a full account of it on the occasion of a visit to his friend at Dresden, in September 1801.

The last stage in the composition of *Die Braut von Messina*, that in fact in which the play was actually written, begins in the middle of August 1802, and extends, with occasional breaks caused by bad health, over about 5½ months, to February 1, 1803, when the drama was at last completed. The first important letter telling us of Schiller's plans and progress is one to Körner, dated September 9, 1802¹¹. In this letter the title is for the first time given as *Die Braut von Messina* instead of *Die feindlichen Brüder*¹². Schiller was anxious to finish the play by the end of 1802 in order to have it acted on January 30, 1803, on the occasion of the birthday of the Duchess Luise of Weimar, for which day Goethe and Schiller always were anxious to prepare, if possible, some special performance at the theatre. In October he worked very hard; on November 5 he received a copy of Sophocles from Professor Süvern, and on November 15 he joyfully informed Körner¹³ that 1500 lines were finished (a little more than one half of the present 2840) and that he felt himself rejuvenated by the use of the new form. The study of the splendid translation of four Aeschylean tragedies¹⁴ by Count Friedrich Stolberg, which had just been published, exercised a powerful stimulus on him, and he was also influenced to some extent by the Spanish metre of Calderon, with which he became acquainted in 1802 by the production of Friedrich Schlegel's tragedy *Marfoss*, which is pervaded by the spirit and style of the great Spanish

¹¹ See the Appendix II, under *c*.

¹² See the discussion of the double title of the play on page xxv.

¹³ See Jonas, Vol. VI, 427.

¹⁴ *Vier Tragödien des Aeschylus, übersetzt von Friedrich Leopold Grafen zu Stolberg*. Hamburg, 1802. (*Prometheus in Banden, Sieben gegen Theben, Die Perjer, Die Cumeniten*.) See also Appendix II, *e*.

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dramatist¹⁵. On November 27 he told his publisher, Cotta, that he hoped to let him have the play by the beginning of February 1803 at the very latest. On December 31, the last evening of the year, he was able to read what was finished, i.e. nearly the whole of the drama, to his wife and sister-in-law. During the month of January 1803 Schiller was busy filling in lacunae and making various important alterations and improvements in the latter part of his drama¹⁶. On February 4 he was, at last, able to enter in his Diary¹⁷: *Heute habe die Braut vollendet*; it was too late for the intended performance in celebration of the birthday of the Duchess. On February 4 it was read for the first time with great success to a private circle of friends, while Goethe read it alone and afterwards discussed it with Schiller. Several other private readings followed, including one on February 11 when Schiller read his play to the Duchess; and copies were sent during the latter half of the month to friends at a distance such as Körner, Humboldt, Iffland and others, in most cases accompanied by some characteristic utterance of Schiller concerning his artistic intentions¹⁸. At first Schiller, who well knew that in the *Oedipus Rex* a musical accompaniment had not been wanting to the songs of the Chorus, had hesitated as to the best way of producing his Choruses, and had modestly hoped that it might be found possible to have the lyrical intermezzos of the Chorus recited in a musical way and accompanied by a musical instrument. He as well as Goethe had been looking for the advice and collaboration of Goethe's musical Berlin friend Zelter, whose visit to Weimar they expected in February and with whom they wished to discuss the whole question¹⁹. But he was unable

¹⁵ See the note to l. 1057 on page 178.

¹⁶ See the important letter to Goethe dated January (26?), 1803, given in the Appendix II, *d*.

¹⁷ *Schillers Calendar* (21893), p. 140; see also page 225^b.

¹⁸ See Appendix II, *e, f, g, k, m*.

¹⁹ See Appendix II, *g*. Zelter was a composer. His (not very helpful or practical) answer dated Berlin, March 16, 1803, is printed in the *Marbacher Schillerbuch*, Vol. II (1907), p. 367.

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to come, and the idea of a musical accompaniment had to be abandoned. It was now found necessary to distribute the speeches of the Chorus among single persons who became leaders, and for these leaders characteristic names were invented.

On March 19, 1803, *Die Braut von Messina* was performed for the first time at Weimar and obtained a great success²⁰. Henry Crabb Robinson entered in his Diary²¹: 'I attended (on March 20) the first performance and wrote to my brother that this tragedy surpassed all Schiller's former works. But this feeling must have been caught from my companions, for it did not remain.' Especially loud in their praise were the students from the neighbouring university of Jena, who were wont to regard the performance of a new tragedy by Schiller as a special treat for which they never failed to tramp or drive over to Weimar in large numbers. These young men, fresh from the study of the classical dramas and full of youthful enthusiasm, were so delighted with the lyrical beauties of the songs of the Chorus and so deeply impressed by the grandeur of the last act that they gave three cheers for the poet in the theatre²². Schiller himself was deeply moved, and when the first semi-chorus with solemn song bore the corpse of Don Manuel on a bier covered with a black pall into the presence of the unsuspecting Isabella, he said to his wife and sister-in-law, who witnessed with him the impressive performance: *Das ist doch nun wirklich ein Trauerspiel!*²³ Goethe was also

²⁰ See the letter to Körner, dated March 28, 1803, given in Appendix II, under *L*.

²¹ H. C. Robinson, *Diary* (London, 1869), Vol. I. 152. The date is a mistake for March 19. Robinson was then staying at Jena.

²² For this ovation, started by young Dr Schütz of Jena, the leader received an official reprimand. The Duke had been displeased with the noisy scene in his theatre, and Goethe, as the chief official connected with the Weimar stage, was obliged to request the authorities at Jena to administer a severe rebuke. See his letter, dated March 21, 1803, Weimar edition, iv. 16, pp. 202—204.

²³ See *Schillers Leben*, by Karoline von Wolzogen (Schiller's sister-in-law), in Cotta's 'Bibliothek der Weltliteratur,' p. 250.

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much impressed, and so were those who witnessed the first performances in Berlin, on June 14 and 16, as is clear from Iffland's letter to Schiller, dated June 18, 1803²⁴. Early in July the tragedy was performed by the Weimar actors at their summer theatre at Lauchstädt, not far from Halle, from which town, and also from Leipzig, many students came to see the play. Schiller was present too and was the object of a great ovation. One performance (on July 3) was particularly impressive on account of a terrible thunderstorm, which swept over the frail theatre during the most stirring part of the drama and made an ineffaceable impression on all present²⁵. The representations at Hamburg and Vienna were also successful. At the first representation in the Austrian capital the part of Beatrice was acted by the charming Toni Adamberger, who subsequently became the *fiancée* of the poet Theodor Körner. The drama is still to-day on the *répertoire* of all the better German theatres, although it is not so often acted as *Wilhelm Tell*, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* and some other plays of Schiller. The reason is not only that the acting is more difficult for modern actors trained in the ways of the naturalistic modern drama, but also that it does not appeal so strongly to the ordinary play-goer as the great historical dramas. Still even at the present day *Die Braut von Messina* may not infrequently be seen in the best German theatres and, in spite of the many objections raised by learned critics, like all Schiller's dramas never fails to draw large and appreciative audiences.

The reception of the drama by the reading public and by the

²⁴ See the Appendix II, *o*. See also E. Genast, *Aus Weimars klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit. Erinnerungen eines alten Schauspielers* (new ed. by R. Kohlrausch), 1, 83–86.

²⁵ See the note to l. 2299. Graff's own interesting account is reprinted (as No. 392, on pp. 352–3) in Julius Petersen, *Schillers Gespräche*, Leipzig, 1911; and the account of Ludwig Krahn, a divinity student of Halle, in the same book (as No. 393, on pp. 353–6). The latter account is also given, with a few explanatory notes, by Theodor Distel, in *Studien zur Vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. v (1905), *Ergänzungsheft*, pp. 350–354.

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critics was very various, and even now opinions differ very widely on many points²⁶. The warmest reception was accorded to the new work by Schiller's personal friends Körner²⁷ and Humboldt²⁸. The opinions of other contemporaries were less favourable. The Duke of Weimar, Karl August, who had a great predilection for the classical French drama, objected to this play and judged it most severely and unjustly; the same was done, though with less excuse, by Herder, who during the last years of his life felt rather bitterly towards Goethe and Schiller, and did not approve of their artistic and literary aims. The Romanticists, especially A. W. Schlegel and his friends, did not withhold very unfavourable criticism, although their own dramatic productions in the same style, e.g. August Wilhelm Schlegel's *Ion* and Friedrich Schlegel's *Alarkos*, proved to be hopeless failures on the Weimar stage and cannot for a moment be compared with Schiller's grand tragedy. Even his friend Iffland, the great actor and experienced manager of the Royal Theatre of Berlin, who admired the play sincerely, had his doubts about the advisability of pursuing this new style and recommended Schiller not to proceed on this road any further, as the public was too sadly lacking in artistic feeling and would be sure to misunderstand him. Nearly the whole of the first half of the nineteenth century the drama was underrated; but to-day, after the play has been acted and studied again and again, the general opinion has become much more fair

²⁶ See especially Albert Ludwig, *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt*, Berlin, 1909 (with a full table of contents and a good index), and also the works enumerated in the Appendix V (Bibliography) under F. [Ernst Bergmann's Braunschweig 'Programme' of 1906 gives a very valuable survey of the various critical opinions.]

²⁷ See Appendix II, *h, i, k*.

²⁸ See Appendix II, *n*. It is not possible to reprint the two very long and very important letters on the drama which Humboldt wrote to Schiller on October 22, 1803, and to Goethe, after Schiller's death, on June 4, 1805. They are both easily accessible in Albert Leitzmann's excellent edition of the Correspondence between Schiller and Humboldt. See p. 273.

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and intelligent, and consequently much more favourable. Although modern critics disagree—and probably will continue to disagree very widely—about the idea of Fate in the drama and about the expediency of introducing the Chorus into a modern tragedy²⁹, all now readily admit that this drama is a work of unusual poetic beauty, the heart-stirring creation of a lofty spirit, full of noble thought and lyric charm, of a perfection in style and metre which has never been surpassed in German, the grand production of a thoughtful and mature artist which is in its way unique and constitutes a lasting gain to German literature.

II. THE TEXT AND ITS SOURCES.

The drama was published for the first time by Cotta, at Tübingen, in June, 1803³⁰. At the same time a cheaper edition was published, with Cotta's consent, at Vienna (by Geistinger) in order to take the wind out of the sails of publishers of piratical editions which at that time were not uncommon. 6000 copies were sold before the poet's death, and two more separate editions appeared, in 1810 and 1818, before 1825 when the drama was published among Schiller's collected works. There are now a large number of excellent German editions, many of them provided with useful introductions and notes.

The text of the present edition is mainly based on that of Oskar Walzel in Cotta's recent *Säkular-Ausgabe*, Vol. VII. All the best critical modern texts are based on the first printed edition, correcting its misprints, modernizing its spelling and punctuation, and borrowing from the Hamburg acting copy the division into acts and scenes, and also the names of the speakers in the two semi-choruses.

The only texts of any interest to the student beside the original printed edition of the drama are two acting copies in

²⁹ See chapters v and vi.

³⁰ See the Appendix V (Bibliography), under A, a.

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manuscript, the Regensburg and the Hamburg stage manuscripts. These manuscripts were carefully revised by the poet himself before they were sent out, and represent as a rule a version of the text which is earlier than that of the printed editions. In some cases, however, the text in the acting copies was altered by Schiller to make it more easily intelligible to a theatrical audience, while an original and more poetic version was reserved for the printed editions. The deviations of the acting copies from the text of the printed editions are, on the whole, quite insignificant. Their chief importance lies in what they tell us about the poet's intentions concerning the dividing up of the portions spoken by the Chorus. A complete list of the various deviations of the acting copies from the printed editions was carefully compiled by Wilhelm Vollmer, which was utilized for H. Oesterley's critical edition of the drama in Vol. XIV of Karl Goedeke's monumental edition of Schiller's collected works, Stuttgart, 1872. The deviations of the important Hamburg theatre manuscript are recorded in the Hesse edition, Vol. XX, pp. 251–61 (by Georg Witkowski). Only when they are of some importance have they been referred to in the Notes contained in this edition.

III. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SCHILLER'S
*BRAUT VON MESSINA*³¹.

Die Braut von Messina has been received with less interest in England than most of Schiller's dramas. It has excited far less attention than *Die Räuber* on the one hand and *Don Carlos*, *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart*, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* or *Wilhelm Tell* on the other. The first

³¹ See the Appendix V (Bibliography), under B, and Thomas Rea, *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England*, London, 1906, pp. 91–96 and 149. Among recent English appreciations of the drama the few pages (286–88) by Charles E. Vaughan, in his thoughtful book *The Romantic Revolt*, Edinburgh and London, 1907, deserve to be specially mentioned.

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who, in 1830, published a translation of one song of the Chorus (Act IV, Sc. 4) was William Taylor (of Norwich), the early interpreter of German poetry to his countrymen. He was followed by Ch. Hodges who, in 1834 and 1836, brought out translations of large portions, amounting to about two-thirds of Schiller's drama, in various publications in Germany. His renderings are not of high excellence. Indeed, the same must be said of most of the translations enumerated in the Appendix. The most faithful is the anonymous translation published at Munich in 1838 and 1839, in which the German and the English texts are given on opposite pages. The most spirited rendering of the Choruses is no doubt the one by Frank C. Nicholson, of Edinburgh, the translator of *Old German Love Songs* (1907), whose fine translation has not yet been published, but was placed at my disposal by the kindness of the author. A. Lodge's rendering can hardly be called a translation. It is frequently an adaptation—and not a very successful one—of Schiller's drama, the translator stating himself that 'he has sometimes amplified, more frequently condensed, the original, in one or two passages slightly varied the sense....' Several scenes, including Beatrice's monologue, are considerably abridged and fine parts of the Choruses omitted. G. Irvine's translation is, on the whole, more faithful, but it, too, is guilty of omissions. Two translations were inaccessible to the present Editor. No less than three of the six translations (not counting Nos. 1 and 8, which are only renderings of Choruses) were published not in England but in Germany.

IV. SCHILLER'S *BRAUT VON MESSINA* IN ART.

Two scenes in this drama, the brightest and the gloomiest, have attracted the draughtsman and the painter. The first meeting of Don Manuel and Beatrice in the precincts of the convent (I. 7, ll. 696—703) has been made the subject of a capital sketch by C. Jäger which is reproduced in the *Schiller-Galerie* (see note to l. 701) and makes a very charming picture. The

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grand pathetic scene in the Palace (iv. 5) in which Don Cesar learns, beside the bier of Don Manuel, that Beatrice is his sister, is the subject of an impressive painting, by Johann Friedrich Matthaei, called *Beatrice an Manuel's Leiche*, which hangs in the Weimar State Library, and of which an etching (by C. Müller) is preserved at Weimar in the Schiller House. A reproduction of it may be seen in Bellermann's *Life of Schiller*, on page 225. Two copper-plate engravings from the Calendar for 1804 (Offenbach) are given in Wychgram's *Life of Schiller*, on page 467.

Incidental music was written for Schiller's drama by several composers, but much of it was only used for certain performances and never published³². The music for the first Weimar performance, written by Franz Destouches, was never printed, and was probably lost in the great fire at the Court Theatre (1825). The music for the first Berlin performance was written by Bernard Anselm Weber, that for Vienna by Johann Fuss, and that for Leipzig by Friedrich Schneider. Some hitherto unprinted music was written for a Berlin performance in 1825 by Christian Urban. Apart from these compositions of incidental music, there are several overtures to the tragedy. One by Ferdinand Ries (*opus 162*), which was performed for the first time, in 1830, at Düsseldorf, met with much approval, and was often heard in the middle of the last century. Another overture, by Karl Borromaeus von Miltitz, was performed in 1838, at Dresden; it was never printed and, although well spoken of at the time, is now practically unknown. Robert Schumann also composed an overture (*opus 100*, C-minor) during the winter of 1850/51 which was performed in March, 1851, at Düsseldorf. But it is a work of his declining powers and not easy to appreciate without careful study. Three other overtures, bringing the total of independent overtures up to six, were composed by Isidor Rosenfeld (*opus 25*, F-minor), Karl Schulz, of Schwerin,

³² For information about the music and a short appreciation, see especially Albert Schaefer's exhaustive work quoted in the Appendix V, p. 273. For particulars about Berneker's fine music, see Victor Laudien, *Constanz Berneker*, Charlottenburg, 1909, pp. 75–88.

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and Theobald Rehbaum (G-minor), the last mentioned so far unpublished, but well spoken of; it was for the first time performed at Berlin in 1884.

The subject was no less than four times treated in the form of an opera. In 1839 *La Sposa di Messina*, by Nicolo Vaccaj, was performed, at the Scala theatre, at Milan, but was only repeated once. In 1840, at the Court theatre of Neu-Strelitz, was given *Die Fürsten von Messina*, tragische Oper in 4 Akten, frei nach Schiller bearbeitet von J. F. Bährdt, Musik vom Grafen G. L. von Derßen. Only the overture of this work appeared in print (Lübeck, 1871). The third opera was called *Die Braut von Messina*, tragische Oper nach Schillers gleichnamiger Tragödie, von Hermann Miller, Musik von Johann Heinrich Bonewitz. It was performed for the first time early in 1874 in the Academy of Music at Philadelphia and met with a favourable reception. The last opera was *Die Braut von Messina*, Oper nach Schillers gleichnamigem Trauerspiele, Text von Professor Hofminko, Musik von Benet Fibich (*op.* 18). This opera was first performed in April, 1884, at Prague and met with a great success. Only the Funeral March from it (Act IV, Sc. 4) has as yet been published (see the note to l. 2268). The grand Chorus in the same scene was also set to music by Georg Schumann, and by Constanz Berneker.

The fine monologue of Beatrice with which the Second Act opens was composed by Franz Holstein (*opus* 38) under the title *Beatrice, eine Scene aus der „Braut von Messina,“* to be sung at concerts by a soprano voice.

Perhaps the finest of all the music that has hitherto been produced in connexion with our drama is the magnificent setting of the Choruses by the late Constanz Berneker of Königsberg. His impressive *Chorgesänge aus Schillers Braut von Messina, für Männer-Chor, Soli und Orchester*, were for the first time performed at Königsberg in December, 1892, and several times repeated in the same town. They were intended by the composer to be used at performances of the drama on the stage, but, owing to the difficulty of the music for ordinary theatre choruses, they have so far never been heard on the stage itself, but only in the concert room. They have not yet been

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performed outside Germany, but it is to be hoped that they will soon be attempted by some well-trained choir in England. They would form a fine counterpart to Mendelssohn's choruses in the *Antigone* which are now not infrequently heard at performances of the great tragedy of Sophocles. Berneker made a selection from the Choruses and divided them into seven parts that have the following titles: I. Eintritt in die Königsburg (ll. 132 sqq.); II. Begrüßung der Königin (ll. 255 sqq.); III. Waffenruf (ll. 871 sqq.); IV. Brautchor (ll. 1174 sqq.); V. Brudermord (ll. 1906 sqq., especially l. 1962); VI *a.* Totenflage (ll. 2268 sqq.) and *b.* Friedenssehnsucht (l. 2562); VII. Sühne (ll. 2803 and 2836—40).

From Schiller's essay *Über den Gebrauch des Chores in der Tragödie* (see pages 239—47) it is clear that the poet himself was at any rate not averse to the aid of music in the performance of his drama (see p. 245, 17 and p. 251, under II, *g*). It was Berneker's wish to contribute by his setting of the chief songs of the Chorus to the fuller conquest of the German stage by Schiller's most solemn and most lyrical drama⁸³.

V. CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE DRAMA.

Der Sinnende, der alles durchgeprobt.

Goethe on Schiller, *Maskenzug*.

THE TITLE OF THE DRAMA, originally intended to be *Die feindlichen Brüder*, was first altered to *Die feindlichen Brüder zu Messina*, and finally changed to the present title: *Die Braut von Messina oder die feindlichen Brüder*. In this title the original designation is placed last, the first place being given to the heroine of the play, while the second title is added to indicate the subject of the tragedy. Schiller does not like to give merely a name, e.g. Beatrice, unless this name is historically well known

⁸³ See also the learned and suggestive observations of Konrad Burdach in his stimulating essay in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 143 (1910), pp. 108—112.

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as in the case of *Maria Stuart* or *Wallenstein*, but prefers to add a brief indication of the scene of action, such as *Die Ritter von Malta*, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, or *Die Braut von Messina*.

Long before he thought of placing the SCENE OF ACTION of his drama in Sicily, Schiller had bestowed much thought upon the political, religious and social conditions of the island in the middle ages, and had, in 1790, given a masterly picture of the medieval Sicilian world in one of his historical essays³⁴. The vivid imagination of the poet and his power of giving a plastic representation of scenery which he had never seen and of conditions that had long passed away was the wonder of all his friends. From the observation of a mill-stream and the reading of a few lines of Homer's *Odyssey* he was able to conjure up that wonderful picture of the gigantic whirlpool of the Charybdis in his stirring ballad *Der Taucher*. He had never seen Switzerland, but a few pictures, the study of many books, and the accounts supplied by his wife and Goethe, enabled him to give the grand and true descriptions of Swiss scenery and customs in *Wilhelm Tell* which delight all readers, and none more than the Swiss themselves. His task in *Die Braut von Messina* was, however, still more difficult and his achievement still more wonderful, for the Sicilian scenery was to him even stranger than the Switzerland of Wilhelm Tell. Before all it was the mixed civilisation in medieval Sicily that attracted him. It seemed to him to be particularly suitable for a drama in which he wished to introduce remnants of ancient Greek civilisation, medieval Christian beliefs, and Mahommedan superstitions all existing side by side³⁵. The Sicilians had ever

³⁴ See Cotta's *Säkular-Ausgabe*, XIII. 149 sqq., especially pp. 155–6. A short extract from it is given on page 247. Compare also R. Fester's essay, 'Schillers historische Schriften als Vorstudien des Dramatikers,' in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 138 (1909), pp. 148–158.

³⁵ See Schiller's 'Essay on the use of the Chorus,' Appendix I, p. 247, 8–19, and his letter to Körner of March 10, 1803, given in the Appendix II, *k*, on pages 254–5. For similar reasons Lessing chose Jerusalem as the scene of action for his religious drama, *Nathan der Weise*.

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been noted for their valour, heroism and stoicism, but also for their jealousy, revengefulness and gloomy superstitions, and thus were particularly well fitted to furnish the persons suitable for the purposes of the tragic poet. The assumed co-existence in Sicily of the various religious faiths, the occurrence of terms now pagan and now Christian in the mouth of the same persons, is really *not* historical, but the mistake was that of Schiller's time, and he certainly used the assumed mixture of religious ideas to the very best poetic advantage. This seems indeed to have prompted his choice of Sicily as the scene of action of his play. The official religion of the ruling family in his drama is Christian, and Christian conceptions prevail throughout; in moments of crisis all the characters use terms and utter ideas that are peculiar to the medieval Roman Catholic Church, although an orthodox Roman Catholic would in some cases not express himself as they do. Yet it does not seem astonishing that some pagan beliefs of earlier centuries were still held by the Sicilians along with Christian ideas, as several of the ancient temples had been transformed into Christian churches and the old and the new seemed to blend in many other ways. In choosing subjects such as the Maid of Orleans, the Bride of Messina, and Wilhelm Tell, not from the clear daylight of history, but from the twilight of legend and superstition, Schiller was no doubt influenced by the romantic spirit. Sicily held a prominent part in Schiller's poetic imagination and is also the scene of two of his ballads, viz. *Der Taucher* and *Die Bürgschaft*, written a few years before the drama. Among his left papers there was found a sheet on which the Sicilian Vespers (commenced at Palermo on March 30, 1282) is jotted down, among others, as a possible subject of dramatic treatment. The scene of *Julius von Tarent* (by Leisewitz), which had a great influence on Schiller's tragedy of the Hostile Brothers, is in the south of Italy, almost opposite Sicily, and Malta, the scene of his own drama *Die Maletter*, is quite close to Sicily.

The TIME OF ACTION has purposely not been clearly indicated by the poet. It must be one of the later centuries of the middle ages and the choice seems to lie between the twelfth

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and the fourteenth century. Messina is imagined as being the capital of a small principality which is sometimes in feud with other small Sicilian states and liable to the raids of daring pirates. The rulers are a race of fierce, passionate and haughty men, despots and egotists, who in olden times had come 'from the sunset's ruddy glow'; but it would be useless to look for any definite historical personages as prototypes of the brothers, or even to attempt to say whether they were Normans of the twelfth or Spaniards of the fourteenth century. The actual political conditions were with good reason left vague by Schiller, as he wished to divert attention from the past and from public life to the private affairs of the ruling house. Thus we do not even see quite clearly who at the beginning of the action is the ruler of Messina. Is it Isabella, or are her sons joint rulers? What did they really quarrel about? All this remains almost entirely in the background; each of the brothers calls himself in turn 'the highest in Messina,' and we are nowhere told that their quarrel was a quarrel for rulership. Obviously Schiller did not wish to complicate matters by adding to their rivalry in love the rivalry for the throne. The capital of the Norman Princes was really Palermo, where also traces of Arabic civilisation and customs are numerous, and are even visible in the royal palace. Messina in Schiller's play may thus really be taken to be a mixture of Messina, Palermo and other Sicilian towns, and if the stage-manager were to draw inspiration and ideas from the ancient royal palace of Palermo, in which Oriental, Norman and German art are blended, he would not be far wrong³⁶. The names of the chief personages and of the leaders of the Chorus do not throw any light on the question of nationality; they are free inventions of the poet, and they too point to different races. While Cesar, Beatrice and Cajetan (Gaetano) sound Italian, Manuel, Diego and Isabella have a Spanish ring, although a Byzantine Emperor (Manuel I Komnenos) was also called Manuel. Bohemund and Roger are Norman (Roger being the name of the first Norman ruler in Sicily), Hippolyt represents

³⁶ See Robert Kohlrausch in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 122 (1905), pp. 118 sqq.

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the old Greek tradition, while Manfred reminds us of the glorious reign of the Hohenstaufen in Sicily. The names of the messengers, Lancelot and Olivier, that are given in the Hamburg acting copy, carry us forward to the short time of the French rulership of Charles of Anjou (1268—82) that followed upon the sway of the Hohenstaufen and preceded that of the Spaniards. If we assume the brothers to be Spaniards, they would be princes of the fourteenth century and members of the house of Aragon, which ruled at Palermo for a considerable time. Usually, however, the brothers are taken to be Normans and the time of action the twelfth or early thirteenth century.

There is but very little CHANGE OF SCENE in this play, partly on account of the intentional simplicity of the dramatic plot (see the note to l. 1629), partly on account of the Chorus which is nearly always present. The scene changes only four times in the drama; it returns twice to places where the action had taken place before, so that there are only three different scenes of action in the whole play. The TIME OF ACTION occupies one day and the following night, less than twenty-four hours. It has been questioned whether so many events could possibly have happened during those few hours. The answer is that in a drama the steady sequence of events is alone important and that it would be pedantic to calculate exactly, watch in hand, how much time each event would require in real life. Just as futile would it be to attempt to draw any conclusions from l. 192 (see the note) as to the season when the action is supposed to take place. The UNITY OF ACTION is unbroken throughout the play; nothing could be omitted, everything is well linked together as it stands. Objections have been raised to two Scenes in the Second Act, viz. II. 2 and II. 6, about which the Notes should be consulted. The Third and Fourth Acts are models of masterly dramatic structure. In the printed edition Schiller had intentionally abstained from dividing the tragedy into Acts, but had printed Scene after Scene without a break, in the manner of the ancient classical dramas. During Schiller's lifetime and indeed until 1869 the various printed editions of the drama did not give the division into Acts. But for the

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representation of the play at Berlin, Hamburg, and elsewhere the author divided the play into four Acts, and on the original playbill of the Weimar theatre it was described as : *Trauerspiel mit drei Außen*, which is equivalent to Four Acts. When he was writing the play he seems to have thought of five sections, and in a letter to Goethe (see Appendix II, *d*, p. 250) he speaks of the first four Acts as occupying five-sixths of the whole play, thus implying its completion by a fifth Act that would take the remaining one-sixth part. It seems probable that in the ultimate division into four Acts the fourth and a short fifth Act (iv. 8 to 9) were united in the present Act IV; some scholars are of opinion that the present Act II contains the original Acts II and III (ii. 1–4 and ii. 5), but this seems less probable. (See the introductory note to Scene 5 on p. 185.)

The PLOT of the play was this time not taken from history, as had been the case with *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart*, and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, nor was it mythological and borrowed from some well-known Greek legend, as was the case with Goethe's *Iphigenie*. *Die Braut von Messina* is a domestic tragedy after the model of the ancients, and the plot is an invention of Schiller's³⁷. Schiller had not treated an original subject since the days of his early revolutionary social dramas *Die Räuber* and *Kabale und Liebe*, and among the great finished tragedies of his last period *Die Braut von Messina* is the only one of this type. In many ways it bears a resemblance to the greatest of Schiller's dramas, *Wallenstein*; as in that play the subject is the utter ruin of a noble house. But there are many more romantic elements in *Die Braut* than in *Wallenstein*.

It was Schiller's aim to attempt the writing of a tragedy in the strictest Greek form, after the manner of the ancient Attic tragedies³⁸. In order to do this, his first task was to invent a

³⁷ See Schiller's letter to Körner dated May 13, 1801, printed in the Appendix II, *b*, p. 248. As early as March 21, 1799, Goethe had told their common friend H. Meyer that the plot of Schiller's new drama was his own free invention.

³⁸ See his letters given in the Appendix II, *b*, II, *e*, and II, *f*, pp. 248–51.