

THE BRUTUS-CAESAR SONG IN FRIEDRICH SCHILLER'S DIE RÄUBER

by

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ABSTRACT

The Brutus-Caesar song found in Friedrich Schiller's first play, *Die Räuber*, is not merely a retelling of the historical relationship between Marcus Brutus and Julius Caesar, but also illustrates the divided nature of Karl Moor's personality and the inner struggle which exists between his former self and his new life as a robber chieftain. The choice of Brutus and Caesar and what these two characters represent are based largely on Schiller's reading of Plutarch's *Bioi Paralleloi* (Parallel Lives) and shows the extent to which Schiller's early thought was influenced by Plutarch.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Friedrich Schiller's first play, *Die Räuber*, completed in 1781 and first performed in Mannheim in 1782, contains a number of songs, many of which are reasonably self-explanatory. Those which are not can, and often are, explained either in notes or in the critical literature. When the reader comes across the Brutus-Caesar song in Act 4, however, he or she is faced with an enigma. The song is as follows:

Brutus.

Sey willkommen friedliches Gefilde,
Nimm den Lezten aller Römer auf,
Von Philippi, wo die Mordschlacht brüllte
Schleicht mein Gram gebeugter Lauf.
Kaßius wo bist du? -- Rom verloren!
Hingewürgt mein brüderliches Heer,
Meine Zuflucht zu des Todes Thoren!
Keine Welt für Brutus mehr.

Cesar

Wer mit Schritten eines Niebesiegten
Wandert dort vom Felsenhang? --
Ha! wenn meine Augen mir nicht lügten?
Das ist eines Römers Gang. --
Tybersohn -- von wannen deine Reise?
Dauert noch die Siebenhügelstadt?
Oft geweint hab ich um die Wayse,
Daß sie nimmer einen Cesar hat.

Brutus

Ha! du mit der drei und zwanzigfachen Wunde!
Wer rief Toder dich ans Licht?
Schaudre rückwärts, zu des Orkus Schlunde,
Stolzer Weiner! -- Triumfire nicht!
Auf Philippis eisernem Altare
Raucht der Freiheit leztes Opferblut;
Rom verröchelt über Brutus Bahre,
Brutus geht zu Minos -- Kreuch in deine Flut!

Cesar

O ein Todesstoß von Brutus Schwerte!
Auch du -- Brutus -- du?
Sohn -- es war dein Vater -- Sohn -- die Erde

Wär gefallen dir als Erbe zu,
Geh -- du bist der größte Römer worden,
Da in Vaters Brust dein Eisen drang,
Geh -- und heul es biß zu jenen Pforten:
Brutus ist der größte Römer worden
Da in Vaters Brust sein Eisen drang;
Geh -- du weists nun was an Lethes Strande
Mich noch bannte --
Schwarzer Schiffer stoß vom Lande!

Brutus

Vater halt! -- Im ganzen Sonnenreiche
Hab ich Einen nur gekannt,
Der dem grossen Cesar gleiche
Diesen einen hast du Sohn genannt.
Nur ein Cesar mocht Rom verderben
Nur nicht Brutus mochte Cesar stehn.
Brutus will Tyrannengut nicht erben
Wo ein Brutus lebt muß Cesar sterben,
Geh du linkwärts, laß mich rechtswärts gehn.

Certainly, the characters of Brutus and Caesar are well-known, but how the Brutus-Caesar song is supposed to fit in the play is a difficult question to answer. Based partially on other critics of *Die Räuber* and partially on my own observations, it is my belief that the Brutus-Caesar song shows the divided Karl Moor. More specifically, the characters of Brutus and Caesar represent two distinct halves of Karl's personality: the pre-robber Karl Moor and the ruthless Räuber Moor.

I shall attempt to explain this song, as I believe it is both useful in a thorough understanding of the play and fascinating in and of itself. To do so, I will first need to examine the events leading up to the song, particularly Karl's state of mind in terms of what has already happened and what he believes will happen.

CHAPTER TWO: SETTING

Although Karl has been leading a less than exemplary life, he has asked his father for forgiveness and expects to receive it. While awaiting the expected forgiveness, Karl shows a general disgust with the world, which he perceives as weak and lacking in the greatness of previous ages, and Spiegelberg tries to prey on Karl's excitable state. Despite his emotionally charged frame of mind, Karl is not yet willing to share in Spiegelberg's grandiose dreams:

Glück auf den Weeg! Steig du auf Schandsäulen zum Gipfel der Ehre. Im Schatten meiner väterlichen Hayne, in den Armen meiner Amalia lockt mich ein edler Vergnügen. Schon die vorige Woche hab ich meinem Vater um Vergebung geschrieben, hab ihm nicht den kleinsten Umstand verschwiegen, und wo Aufrichtigkeit ist, ist auch Mitleid und Hilfe. Laß uns Abschied nehmen Moritz. Wir sehen uns heut, und nie mehr. Die Post

ist angelangt. Die Verzeihung meines Vaters ist schon innerhalb dieser Stadtmauren.

Karl may indeed be disgusted with the general "weakness" of his time, but he is also willing to renounce his untamed ways in exchange for an idyllic life with Amalia at his ancestral home. He has the best of intentions and is willing to do whatever it takes to atone for his faults. He therefore fully expects his father's imminent forgiveness.

Unfortunately, things do not turn out as planned, and a forged letter from Franz destroys Karl's hopes and dreams in one fell swoop:

"Unglücklicher Bruder!"... "Nur kürzlich mus ich dir melden, daß deine Hoffnung vereitelt ist -- du sollst hingehen, läßt dir dein Vater sagen, wohin dich deine Schandthaten führen. Auch, sagt er, werdest du dir keine Hoffnung machen, jemals Gnade zu seinen Füßen zu erwimmern, wenn du nicht gewärtig seyn wollest, im untersten Gewölb seiner Thürme mit Wasser und Brod so lang traktirt zu werden, bis deine Haare wachsen wie Adlers-Federn und deine Nägel wie Vogelsklauen werden. Das sind seine eigene Worte. Er befiehlt mir, den Brief zu schliessen. Leb wohl auf ewig! Ich bedaure dich -- Franz von Moor"

After Karl has rushed out, Spiegelberg tries to muster together a robber band, but the potential robbers realize that "ein erleuchteter Kopf" is necessary for their plans. Karl reenters, beside himself with anger and indignation. When he pauses long enough to hear Spiegelberg's proposition that he become leader of the robber band, he agrees:

-- Räuber und Mörder! -- So wahr meine Seele lebt, ich bin euer Hauptmann!

But why does Karl accept the position and choose the life of a robber chieftain? At first, he would have us believe that it is a logical consequence of his contempt for his times and his desire for a world where might makes right:

Siehe, da fällt's wie der Star von meinen Augen! was für ein Thor ich war, daß ich ins Keficht zurückwollte! -- Mein Geist dürstet nach Thaten, mein Athem nach Freyheit, -- Mörder, Räuber! -- mit diesem Wort war das Gesez unter meine Füße gerollt...

Although Karl would like to believe that ideological motives drive him to become a robber, we know from his previous conversation with Spiegelberg that he wanted his former life more than the life of a mighty hero. In fact, it is his anger and desperation that cause his conversion; it is a desire to strike back at a world which, he believes, has rejected him -- a fact which becomes clear in the remainder of his speech:

...Menschen haben Menschheit vor mir verborgen, da ich an Menschheit appellarnte, weg dann von mir Sympathie und menschliche Schonung! -- Ich

habe keinen Vater mehr, ich habe keine Liebe mehr, und Blut und Tod soll mich vergessen lehren, daß mir jemals etwas theuer war!

Karl will use his life as a robber to vent his anger over what he perceives as an unjust situation. Personal, not political motives are the true cause of his apparent conversion.

In Act 2, Scene 3, we learn how the new robber band is faring. Spiegelberg's description of their raid on a cloister shows the depths to which some of the robbers have sunk. This is in stark opposition to Karl, who has taken on the air of being almost a "noble robber." Razmann says:

...der Ruf unsers Hauptmanns hat auch schon ehrliche Kerl in Versuchung geführt...und sie schämen sich nicht, unter ihm zu dienen. Er mordet nicht um des Raubes willen wie wir -- nach dem Geld schien er nicht mehr zu fragen, so bald ers vollauf haben konnte, und selbst sein Drittel an der Beute, das ihn von Rechtswegen trifft, verschenkt er an Waysenkinder, oder läßt damit arme Jungen von Hoffnung studieren. Aber soll er dir einen Landjunker schröpfen, der seine Bauren wie das Vieh abschindet, oder einen Schurken mit goldnen Borden unter den Hammer kriegen, der die Geseze falschmünzt, und das Auge der Gerechtigkeit übersilbert, oder sonst ein Herrchen von dem Gelichter -- Kerl! da ist er dir in seinem Element, und haußt teufelmäßig, als wenn jede Faser an ihm eine Furie wäre.

Even though Karl's decision to become a robber was primarily caused by his anger and bitterness, he has managed to incorporate some sense of justice into his robbing and seems to have overcome, to some extent, his previous blind anger. Although he is a ruthless robber, he still tries to be a man of his word. Razmann says:

Wenn er [Karl] dem Teufel sein Wort drauf gegeben hätte in die Hölle zu fahren, er würde nie beten, wenn er mit einem halben Vater Unser selig werden könnte!

Karl also shows loyalty to his fellow robbers, as witnessed in the daring rescue of Roller. The terrible human cost of Roller's rescue also shows that Karl is still compassionate. When he learns about the invalids who perished, the man who once cried "Mörder und Räuber!" says:

Oh der armen Gewürme! Kranke, sagst du, Greise und Kinder? --...O pfui über den Kinder-Mord! den Weiber-Mord! -- den Kranken-Mord! Wie beugt mich diese That! Sie hat meine schönsten Werke vergiftet...

As long as the victims were unjust landholders and the like, Karl was able to justify his actions, since he believed he was doing right. The death of so many innocent people has dispelled Karl's illusions and poisoned his idealism. His sorrow and regret are so great, he is about to give up the life of a robber:

...geh, geh! du bist der Mann nicht, das Rachscherdt der obern Tribunale zu regieren, du erlagst bey dem ersten Griff -- hier entsag ich dem frechen Plan, gehe, mich in irgend eine Kluft der Erde zu verkriechen, wo der Tag vor meiner Schande zurücktrit.

The only thing that prevents Karl from carrying out his plan is a sudden attack on the group, which temporarily brings him back to himself. After the battle, however, Karl begins to reexamine once again his chosen profession. He says:

Da ich noch ein Bube war -- wars mein Lieblingsgedanke, wie sie [die Sonne] zu leben, zu sterben wie sie. (Mit verbissenem Schmerz.) Es war ein Bubengedanke!

When Grimm admonishes him "sey doch kein Kind..." Karl responds "Wär ichs -- Wär ichs wieder! --"

His companions' attempts to cheer him up fall on deaf ears. Karl's remorse and self-pity begin to reach a fever pitch:

Und ich so heßlich auf dieser schönen Welt! -- Und ich ein Ungeheuer auf dieser herrlichen Erde!... Meine Unschuld! Meine Unschuld! -- Seht, es ist alles hinausgegangen, sich im friedlichen Strahl des Frühlings zu sonnen - - warum ich allein die Hölle saugen aus den Freuden des Himmels? -- daß alles so glücklich ist, durch den Geist des Friedens alles so verschwistert! - - die ganze Welt Eine Familie und ein Vater dort oben -- Mein Vater nicht -- Ich allein der Verstosene, ich allein ausgemustert aus den Reihen der Reinen -- mir nicht der süsse Name Kind -- nimmer mir der Geliebten schmachtender Blick -- nimmer nimmer des Busenfreundes Umarmung! (Wild zurückfahrend.) Umlagert von Mördern-- von Nattern umzischt -- angeschmiedet an das Laster mit eisernen Banden -- hinausschwindelnd ins Grab des Verderbens auf des Lasters schwankendem Rohr -- mitten in den Blumen der glücklichen Welt ein heulender Abbadona!...Es war eine Zeit, wo sie mir so gern floßen! -- o ihr Tage des Friedens! Du Schloß meines Vaters -- ihr grünen, schwärmerischen Thäler! O all ihr Elysiums Scenen meiner Kindheit! -- Werdet ihr nimmer zurückkehren? -- Nimmer mit köstlichem Säuseln meinen brennenden Busen kühlen? -- Traure mit mir, Natur! Sie werden nimmer zurückkehren... Dahin! dahin! unwiederbringlich!

This is the second time that Karl has begun to question his decision to become a robber. What originally appealed to both his desire for revenge and his sense of justice has now lost much of that appeal. First, he has seen how innocent people can be killed as a result of his actions, and second, he has seen his idealism and noble cause erode away completely. When he still believed that what he was doing was right, he could take pride in himself as a righter of wrongs and a protector of the oppressed. Now that this illusion has been taken from him, he begins to see himself as a common criminal, with neither

family nor honor. He has reached the low point in his morale. It is the name of his seemingly lost love, Amalia, that gives Karl new strength as the band set out for his old home.

Karl is obviously moved when they arrive -- he kisses the ground and calls it his "Elysium." His former gloom is apparently diminished at the sight of home, but he is nevertheless filled with melancholy and regret:

Die goldne Mayenjähre der Knabenzeit leben wieder auf in der Seele des Elenden -- da warst du so glücklich, warst so ganz, so wolkenlos heiter -- und nun -- da liegen die Trümmer deiner Entwürfe! Hier sollest du wandeln dereinst, ein groser, stattlicher, gepriesener Mann -- hier dein Knabenleben in Amalias blühenden Kindern zum zweytenmal leben -- hier! hier der Abgott deines Volks -- aber der böse Feind schmollte darzu!

Karl begins to question his decision to come back, as it causes him more pain than happiness:

Warum bin ich hierhergekommen? daß mirs gienge wie dem Gefangenen, den der klirrende Eisenring aus Träumen der Freyheit aufjagt -- nein, ich gehe in mein Elend zurück! -- der Gefangene hatte das Licht vergessen, aber der Traum der Freyheit fuhr über ihm wie ein Bliz in die Nacht, der sie finsterer zurückläßt -- Lebt wohl, ihr Vaterlandsthäler! einst saht ihr den Knaben Karl, und der Knabe Karl war ein glücklicher Knabe -- igt saht ihr den Mann, und er war in Verzweiflung.

Karl contrasts his present sorrow and despair with his previous happiness and former plans. He is almost utterly dejected, without hope or purpose. His continued presence at the estate only causes him further pain, but he cannot resist the temptation to see his Amalia again:

Sie nicht sehen, nicht einen Blick? -- und nur eine Mauer gewesen zwischen mir und Amalia -- Nein! sehen mus ich sie -- mus ich ihn -- es soll mich zermalmen! (Er kehrt um) Vater! Vater! dein Sohn naht -- weg mit dir, schwarzes, rauchendes Blut! weg, holer, grasser zukender Todesblick! Nur diese Stunde laß mir frei -- Amalia! Vater! dein Karl naht! (Er geht schnell auf das Schloß zu). Quäle mich, wenn der Tag erwacht, laß nicht ab von mir, wenn die Nacht kommt -- quäle mich in schrecklichen Träumen! nur vergifte mir diese einzige Wollust nicht!

Karl believes that seeing his beloved again will chase away, albeit only temporarily, the pain and melancholy which have descended upon him, but he is nevertheless frightened of the consequences:

Wie wird mir? was ist das, Moor? Sey ein Mann! - - - Todesschauer -- -- Schreckenahndung -- --

When we next see Karl, he is disguised as a visiting count and walking through the gallery with Amalia. When Amalia cries upon seeing his picture, Karl realizes that despite his actions, Amalia still loves him and he is momentarily in ecstasy:

Sie liebt mich, sie liebt mich! -- ihr ganzes Wesen fieng an sich zu empören, verrätherisch rollen die Tränen von ihren Wangen. Sie liebt mich! -- Elender, das verdienstest du um sie!

This rapture quickly turns once again to despair as Karl sees his father's picture:

...Du, du -- Feuerflammen aus deinem Auge -- Fluch, Fluch, Verwerfung!
-- wo bin ich? Nacht vor meinen Augen -- Schrecknisse Gottes -- Ich, ich hab ihn getödtet!

Amalia's enduring love for Karl is not enough to raise him out of his misery -- his apparent rejection by his father continues to deny him any hope of lasting happiness.

In Karl's conversation with Daniel he learns of Franz' deception:

(auffahrend aus schrecklichen Pause). Betrogen, betrogen! da fährt es über meine Seele wie der Bliz! -- Spizbübische Künste! Himmel und Hölle! nicht du Vater! Spizbübische Künste! Mörder, Räuber durch spizbübische Künste! Angeschwärzt von ihm! verfälscht, unterdrückt meine Briefe -- voll Liebe sein Herz -- oh ich Ungeheuer von einem Thoren -- voll Liebe sein Vater-Herz -- Es hätte mich einen Fusfall gekostet, es hätte mich eine Thräne gekostet -- oh ich blöder, blöder, blöder Thor! (wider die Wand rennend.) Ich hätte glücklich seyn können -- oh Büberey, Büberey! das Glück meines Lebens bübisch, bübisch hinwegbetrogen. (Er läuft wütend auf und nieder.) Mörder, Räuber durch spizbübische Künste! -- Er grollte nicht einmal! Nicht ein Gedanke von Fluch in seinem Herzen -- oh Bösewicht! unbegreiflicher, schleichender, abscheulicher Bösewicht!

The violence and vengeful justice typical of Karl's actions as a robber come out in full force. However, this anger is not entirely directed at Franz, but also at himself for having so easily believed the deceit and having thrown away his hope for happiness.

Karl manages to contain his anger when he next sees Amalia and tries to further establish her feelings towards him.

Moor. ... -- und verdient er diese Vergötterung? Verdient er?

Amalia. Wenn sie ihn gekannt hätten!

Moor. Ich würd ihn beneidet haben.

Amalia. Angebetet, wollen sie sagen.

Moor. Ha!

Amalia. Oh sie hätten ihn so lieb gehabt -- es war so viel, so viel in seinem Angesicht -- in seinen Augen --im Ton seiner Stimme, das ihnen so gleich kommt -- das ich so liebe --

Moor. (sieht zur Erde)

Amalia's revelation of her love for Karl puts him in an awkward and difficult situation. When Karl asks her what she believes his fate to be, she professes her undying love for him:

Er seegelt auf ungestümmen Meeren -- Amalias Liebe seegelt mit ihm -- er wandelt durch ungebahnte, sandigte Wüsten -- Amalias Liebe macht den brennenden Sand unter ihm grünen, und die wilden Gesträuche blühen -- der Mittag segnet sein entblößtes Haupt, nordischer Schnee schrumpft seine Sohlen zusammen, stürmischer Hagel regnet um seine Schläfe, und Amalias Liebe wiegt ihn in Stürmen ein -- Meere und Berge und Horizonte zwischen den Liebenden...

Karl is strongly moved by her words: "Die Worte der Liebe machen auch meine Liebe lebendig," and he responds to Amalia's query about his beloved:

Moor. Sie glaubte mich tod und blieb treu dem Todgeglaubten -- sie hörte wieder, ich lebe, und opferte mir die Krone einer Heiligen auf. Sie weis mich in Wüsten irren, und im Elend herumschwärmen, und ihre Liebe fliegt durch Wüsten und Elend mir nach. Auch heißt sie Amalia wie sie, gnädiges Fräulein.

Amalia. Wie beneid ich ihre Amalia.

Moor. Oh sie ist ein unglückliches Mädgen! ihre Liebe ist für einen, der verlohren ist...Unglücklich, weil sie mich liebt! wie, wenn ich ein Todschläger wäre? wie, mein Fräulein? wenn ihr Geliebter ihnen für jeden Kuß einen Mord aufzählen könnte? wehe meine Amalia! Sie ist ein unglückliches Mädgen.

Karl believes that his old self is gone forever, and with it, Amalia's love. He thinks his actions are too terrible for Amalia to ever accept. But Amalia has a much different view of the situation:

Amalia. (froh aufhüpfend). Ha, wie bin ich ein glückliches Mädgen! Mein einziger ist Nachstrahl der Gottheit, und die Gottheit ist Huld und Erbarmen! Nicht eine Fliege konnt er leiden sehen -- Seine Seele ist so fern von einem blutigen Gedanke, als fern der Mittag von der Mitternacht ist.

There follows the brief melancholy song "Hectors Abschied," but the emotional pressure is too much for Karl to endure and he runs away.

At the beginning of the 5th Scene of the 4th Act, the robbers sing a song about violence and robbing -- a reminder of the life to which Karl has devoted himself. It stands in sharp contrast to the love song at the end of the previous scene, and it reinforces the division between Karl's two worlds. While Karl is gone, Spiegelberg tries to stir mutiny among the robbers so as to make himself their leader. He tells Razmann:

...Hauptmann sagst du? Wer hat ihn zum Hauptmann über uns gesetzt, oder hat er nicht diesen Titel usurpiert, der von rechtswegen mein ist?

When Karl learns that Schweitzer has killed the treacherous Spiegelberg, he says: "Wars nicht dieser, der mir das Sirenenlied trillerte?"

Karl, obviously distracted and almost completely spent, asks for his lute:

Bald -- bald ist alles erfüllt. -- Gebt mir meine Laute -- Ich habe mich selbst verloren, seit ich dort war...ich muß mich zurück lullen in meine Kraft -- verläßt mich....der Römergesang muß ich hören, daß mein schlafender Genius wieder aufwacht.

The members of the band fall asleep, and Karl, alone on the stage, begins the Brutus-Caesar song.

CHAPTER THREE: KARL'S STATE OF MIND

To appreciate this song fully, we must look at the context in which it takes place -- more specifically, Karl's state of mind at this point in the play, both in regards to what has already happened and what Karl believes is going to happen.

What kind of person is Karl Moor? When we first meet him, we are given the impression that he is young and idealistic, a man of action filled with images of heroes and heroic deeds, especially those of antiquity. He has indeed been leading a somewhat untamed life, as young men are often wont to do, but above all else, he values his family and his beloved Amalia. A quiet life with Amalia and their children on the familial estate is the future which Karl seeks, and is willing to forego his youthful escapades in order to fulfill his dreams.

When Franz's forged letter makes Karl believe that his hopes are lost, he falls back upon his youthful idealism as a justification for venting his wrath. Enamored of heroes and their "might makes right" philosophy, Karl embarks on the life of a robber. It is important to note that Spiegelberg's initial attempts to convert Karl were unsuccessful -- only after Karl believed he had nothing to lose and a score to settle did he decide to become a robber. Equally important is the fact that Karl never renounces his previous dreams -- they are not any less important to him after his father's apparent rejection than before it. It

is merely that they have become (in his mind) unobtainable. One thing remains constant throughout the play: At any time, Karl would gladly give up his life as a robber in exchange for a simple family life with Amalia and his father.

Although Karl seems to have quite a talent for being a robber chieftain, he is unlike most robbers. Despite cries of "Räuber, Mörder!" and the like, Karl neither kills indiscriminately nor hoards his captured booty. As we have seen, he tries to emulate his heroes and be a "noble robber" -- perhaps he feels he can, to some extent, make the best out of his new career. Compassionate robbers do not make good robbers, and Karl is forced to adopt an aggressive and merciless attitude in order to survive. Karl's personality begins to "split" therefore into two distinct halves: Karl Moor, the compassionate and noble-minded young man from his pre-robber existence, and Räuber Moor, the violent and vengeful robber. Naturally, these two halves come into conflict with one another, each one vying for control.

The first confrontation between them occurs during Roller's rescue. The death of innocent bystanders tarnishes Karl's illusion of being a "noble robber" and his "Karl Moor" side is appalled by the senseless killing. At this point, Karl begins to waver in his resolve to be a robber and is, in fact, ready to give up his robber life. We have already seen that being a robber was never his preferred career and was, in fact, a hasty decision made during the highly emotional state following the receipt of Franz's forged letter. An attack on the band brings back the need for "Räuber Moor" and Karl is forced to put aside his other half in order to avoid death or capture.

After this battle, however, Karl once again begins to reminisce about his former life, and he is filled with self-pity and self-reproach. The Karl Moor side of his personality makes yet another attempt to gain control of him, much to confusion and dismay of his robber gang.

Obviously, the original appeal of the robber life has begun to wear off, and the struggle between the two halves is intensifying. Like a moth to a flame, Karl is drawn to his old home, even though his presence there will certainly aggravate his inner conflict.

Upon his arrival at his old home, the two sides of his personality begin to wrestle for control with increasing frequency and violence. In the same utterances he is seized by both joy and bitterness, and he seems to be losing the steadfast resolution that had been his hallmark as a robber. He wavers in his decisions and questions the wisdom of his actions. He is obviously a man divided.

The revelation that Amalia still loves him gives him hope that he can indeed return to his previous life. We see how overjoyed he is at this prospect, but the thought of his father's wrath once again crushes his spirits. Furthermore, Karl's life as a robber also prevents him from going back. He is a known murderer and an outlaw -- he is wanted by the authorities and will have to spend the rest of his life as a fugitive. More importantly, he feels that he can never reveal himself to Amalia or his father because of the horrible deeds he has committed. Although Amalia has said that she loves him unequivocally,

Karl is not so sure. All of these factors increase the psychological pressure on Karl and widen the cracks in an already divided personality.

While Amalia's profession of love strengthens the pre- robber "Karl Moor" side of the protagonist's personality, the revelation of Franz' deception brings out the "Räuber Moor" side even more strongly. Nevertheless, Karl's outrage is mixed with self-criticism; he berates himself for having been too easily misled and having made too hasty a decision to become a robber.

By the time of his next encounter with Amalia, Karl is an emotional wreck. The opposing halves of his personality are locked in mortal combat, and in order for Karl to survive, one or the other must perish. His internal struggle has reached its peak and has weakened him tremendously -- it is through the Brutus-Caesar song that he hopes to regain some of his strength and composure and perhaps reconcile his conflicting halves.

As for what Karl believes is going to happen, this is a much more difficult question. He knows that the conflict within him is intensifying and will most likely only become worse. Furthermore, he realizes that he will not survive such a prolonged struggle -- one side or the other must take control or Karl will meet with a painful end.

Although readers are often completely baffled as to the meaning of the Brutus-Caesar song or what relevance it has to the rest of the play or how it relates to Karl, I believe it is a logical consequence of the preceding events and Karl's current state of mind.

CHAPTER FOUR -- CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BRUTUS-CAESAR SONG

There has not been much critical commentary about the Brutus-Caesar song in and of itself. Most critics have preferred to concentrate on either the play as a whole or on other songs (notably, "Hectors Abschied"). There are, however, a number of critics who have commented on the song.

One critic, Gerhard Storz, claims that the position of the song in the play is more or less arbitrary, and not related to or brought about by the play's events:

Sonderbar ist die Stellung des Gesanges von Brutus und Cäsar zwischen der Räuberszene und Karls Monolog. Er wächst weder aus der vorausgehenden Redefolge heraus, noch mündet er in den nachfolgenden Monolog ein: der Wechsel der beiden Stimmen, Brutus und Cäsar, findet in der monologischen Situation keinen Ansatz....Das Gedicht von Brutus und Cäsar ist sicherlich unabhängig von den "Räubern" entstanden und hernach in den Monolog des Karl eingeschoben worden. (Storz, p. 35)

Storz neither explains his position, nor does he make reference to any evidence which might support his argument; he merely fails to see a connection between the song and the

surrounding text. He assumes, therefore, that the song could not have been an integral part of the text itself.

Benno von Wiese treats the Brutus-Caesar song in relatively greater depth than Storz and recognizes the importance of the song and calls it a "stellvertretendes Sinnbild für das ganze Geschehen der Räuber." He sums up the song as follows:

Cäsar, der erschlagene Vater, und Brutus, der erfolglose Sohn, begegnen sich an der Schwelle des Totenreiches. Der Sohn erschlug den Vater um des republikanischen Roms, um der Freiheit willen. Aber seine Tat blieb vergeblich und am Ende eines von Gram gebeugten Lebenslaufes hat er nur noch die "Zuflucht zu des Todes Thoren", den Weg zu "Lethes Strand", wohin er den großen Vater bereits vorausgeschickt hat. Vater und Sohn gehören in unzerstörbarer Liebe zusammen, und dennoch mußte der Sohn den Vater vernichten. (von Wiese, 158)

From a letter from Schiller to Körner on 2 February 1789, we know that Schiller did indeed feel that the relationship between Brutus and Caesar contained elements of both love and hate:

Eine ganz sonderbare Mischung von Haß und Liebe ist es, die er [Goethe] in mir erweckt hat, eine Empfindung, die derjenigen nicht ganz unähnlich ist, die Brutus und Cassius gegen Caesar gehabt haben müssen; ich könnte seinen Geist umbringen und ihn wieder von Herzen lieben.

As we shall see, Brutus did indeed have fond feelings for Caesar and vice-versa, but nevertheless Brutus believed that he had to kill him for the sake of Rome, and this is the justification he uses in the Brutus-Caesar song when he is confronted by Caesar's ghost.

Von Wiese also recognizes that the father-son relationship in the song does not allude to the relationship between Karl and his father, "der alte Moor." Instead, this father-son relationship is, in fact, a "spiritual" one.

Das Vater-Sohn-Verhältnis wird hier nicht mehr in naturhaften, sondern in geistigen Sinne verstanden. (von Wiese, 159).

Von Wiese is aware that the characters of Brutus and Caesar do not represent the relationship between Karl and his father, but rather show a division of Karl Moor's personality:

Der für den jungen Schiller charakteristische Dualismus....bestimmt auch diesen Monolog Karl Moors. (von Wiese, p. 160)

Karl Moor's personality begins to divide into two halves, which are represented in the personae of Brutus and Caesar. And this division into "Brutus" and "Caesar" halves is

certainly not unique to *Die Räuber*. Schiller, in fact, incorporated this same idea into his second drama, *Fiesco*:

In der Sekundärliteratur ist öfters die Ansicht vertreten worden, daß *Fiesco* zugleich "Züge eines Caesar und Brutus" trage, daß er ein Mann sei, "der beides werden" könne, "Volks- beglucker oder Tyrann". (Lützel, p. 18)

But for a more comprehensive view of what these personae represent, both for Schiller and in *Die Räuber*, one must first look at the historical sources from which Schiller derived his own images of Brutus and Caesar.

CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL SOURCES

Any attempt to determine the meaning and relevance of the Brutus-Caesar song requires a study of how Schiller's own conception of these two historical figures may have influenced the Brutus-Caesar song and the play as a whole. Naturally, this involves an examination of Schiller's intellectual environment prior to and during the creation of *Die Räuber*.

Schiller began his first drama when he was eighteen and still a medical student at Duke Karl Eugen's military academy. Until he graduated, he worked on the manuscript whenever the mood struck him and his studies allowed him the time. (Simons, p. 70)

Schiller's education at the academy exposed him to some of the greatest thinkers and writers of the time. Among these writers, two had an important influence on Schiller and on his conception of Brutus and Caesar. The first of these was Shakespeare.

Even at Duke Karl Eugen's Academy, Shakespeare was studied, and the numerous references to Shakespeare in Schiller's earlier writings show that he had made the most of his opportunities in this respect. (Witte, pp. 109-110)

Yet despite his admiration for Shakespeare, Schiller did not embrace Shakespeare's themes wholeheartedly:

Schiller's models are to a great extent the historic plays of Shakespeare. And yet Schiller's concern with ideas and ideals is by no means Shakespearean. (Spender, p. 51)

Young Schiller greatly admired noble heroes, men of good character and great strength who could set right the wrongs of the world. Although he did indeed find such men in Shakespeare's works, Schiller was either unwilling or unable to transform them into his own characters. Whereas Shakespeare's heroes are whole, Schiller's most certainly are not.

In Shakespeare there is a fusion of virtue and power. The result of this division [i.e. the lack of such a fusion] in Schiller is the tendency of his characters to be divided into idealists and realists, of his heroes to be split men divided in their hearts between idealism and realism. (Spender, pp. 57-58)

It is the division between idealism and realism that is fundamental to an understanding of Karl Moor, the Brutus-Caesar song, and Die Räuber as a whole.

Certainly, Shakespeare played a role in the formation of Schiller's dramas and in the characters of Brutus and Caesar in Die Räuber. However, no matter how great this influence might have been, the characters of Brutus and Caesar owe their appearance in Die Räuber to another, more ancient source: Plutarch.

Plutarch was a well-known figure among 18th century German writers. As Howard points out:

Two plays appeared in Germany in the second half of the century in which the fictional hero was inspired to heroic action from reading Plutarch. Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger (1752-1831) wrote in 1776 Die Zwillinge which Schiller studied carefully...Guelfo had read Plutarch intensively and longed to be a Brutus or a Cassius Schiller's Die Räuber owes much to Die Zwillinge, and both owe much to Plutarch. (Howard, p. 95)

Howard also notes that "At least twelve references to Plutarch appear in the correspondence of Schiller and Lotte [Charlotte von Lengefeld]." (Howard, p. 191). We know from some of these letters that he had a great respect and admiration for Plutarch, and that he wished to transfer his enthusiasm over to Lotte.

In his letter to Lotte on 21. August 1788, Schiller writes:

Ich habe gestern geschrieben und dann das Leben des Pompejus im Plutarch gelesen, das mir große Gefühle gegeben hat, und den Entschluß in mir erneuerte, meine Seele künftig mehr mit den großen Zügen des Alterthums zu nähren.

The note to this letter in the Nationalausgabe also describes how Schiller first became acquainted with Plutarch:

Schillers Hochschätzung der "Bioi paralleloi" des griechischen Schriftstellers Plutarchos (46 - nach 119) datierte von der Carlsschule her. Am 20. Mai 1782 hatte er sich die deutsche Übertragung von G.B. v. Schirach (8 Tle, Berlin und Leipzig 1777-1780) bei Metzler in Stuttgart gekauft...,sie dann aber vor der Flucht aus Stuttgart im September 1782

seinem ehemaligen Kommilitonen Albrecht Friedrich Lempp geschenkt.
(Haufe, p. 345)

Another footnote in the Nationalausgabe points to Plutarch's influence on Schiller:

Schillers Bekanntschaft mit Vergil und Plutarch reichte allerdings in die Schulzeit zurück; sie hatte sich schon früh in der Äneis- Übersetzung "Der Sturm auf dem Tyrrhener Meer" und in den "Räubern" gezeigt. (Oellers, p. 311)

Indeed, this is supported by another note to the text found in the Nationalausgabe:

Die "Bioi Paralleloi" (Parallelbiographien, Lebensläufe) des griechischen Schriftstellers Plutarchos (um 46 - nach 120) gehörten gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zu den meistgelesenen Schriften der Antike. Schiller schätzte das Werk außerordentlich, seitdem er es auf der Carlsschule kennengelernt hatte. Er besaß, da er selbst nicht genug Griechisch konnte, um das Original zu lesen, die deutsche Übersetzung von G.B. SchirachFrüher hatte sich Schiller mit dem Gedanken getragen, selbst einen deutschen Plutarch herauszugeben. (Ormanns, p. 342)

Burschell also comments on the connection between Schiller's Räuber and Plutarch:

Er [Schiller] machte, wie er später sagte, Die Räuber zu seiner «Parole». Sein Carl [sic] sollte einer der erhabenen Verbrecher werden, auf die ihn der von Rousseau gerühmte Plutarch hingewiesen hatte. (Burschell, p. 75)

Howard introduces the notion that Karl's ultimate surrender to the authorities is a result of his fondness for Plutarch:

Karl, inspired by his reading of the great men of Plutarch, chooses in the end to surrender to punishment, with all the nobility of a Brutus...

The influence which Plutarch had on Schiller's thought and writing is unmistakable. Plutarch's Lives supplied Schiller with the one thing which he had always sought...

...Helden. Er fand sie bei seinem geliebten Plutarch. Er konnte nicht wissen, daß der griechische Erzieher des römischen Thronanwärters Hadrian aus pädagogischen Gründen Idealgestalten geschaffen hatte. Er glaubte an die erhabene Größe dieser für das Gemeinwohl kämpfenden heroischen und tugendhaften Charaktere. Er glaubte an eine prästabilierte Harmonie zwischen männlicher Kraft und Tugend, einer anderen als der, die der Herzog ständig im Mund führte. (Burschell, 64)

It is not surprising, therefore, that Schiller incorporated Plutarch's heroes into his first drama. In the first scene of the play, even before we meet the protagonist, we learn from Franz that Karl, just as Schiller himself, is enamored of the heroes of ancient Rome:

...Ahndete mirs nicht da er die Abentheuer des Julius Cäsar...und anderer
stockfinster Heyden lieber las als die Geschichte des bußfertigen Tobias?

The extent to which Karl Moor is influenced by these stories of heroes is made glaringly apparent in the very first words he speaks:

Mir ekelt vor diesem Tintenglecksenden Sekulum, wenn ich in meinem
Plutarch lese von grossen Menschen.

There is an important cultural component to bear in mind when comparing the relative impact of Plutarch and Shakespeare on Schiller's *Räuber*. The vast majority of readers, both English-speaking and otherwise, are quite familiar with Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, but have at best a passing knowledge of Plutarch. Therefore, it is a common reaction on the part of the average reader to equate Schiller's characters of Brutus and Caesar with their Shakespearean counterparts. As we have seen, though, Schiller's characters grow almost entirely out of his exposure to and fondness for Plutarch. Therefore, attempting to interpret the Brutus-Caesar song in terms of Shakespeare's Brutus and Caesar will likely result in some inaccurate comparisons.

If Plutarch's larger-than-life heroes serve as Karl Moor's role models, then one is fairly safe in assuming that Karl's conceptions of both Brutus and Caesar are derived to some extent from Plutarch's *Lives*. Therefore, it is a closer examination of the characters of Brutus and Caesar in Plutarch's *Lives* that is of interest to us in studying the Brutus-Caesar song.

CHAPTER SIX: PLUTARCH

According to Plutarch's *Βιοι Παρραλλελοι*, Caesar showed great clemency towards his enemies in his struggle against Pompey, especially towards the man who would later lead the conspiracy to kill him:

Most of those who were taken alive Caesar incorporated in his legions, and to many men of prominence he granted immunity. One of these was Brutus, who afterwards slew him. Caesar was distressed, we are told, when Brutus was not to be found, but when he was brought into his presence safe and sound, he was pleased beyond measure. (Caesar, XLVI)

Caesar also gave the Thessalians their freedom ...he made the Cnidians also free...Moreover, all the companions and intimates of Pompey who had been captured...he treated with kindness and attached them to himself. (Caesar, XLVIII)

Although Caesar has typically been displayed as a power-hungry tyrant by many writers (notably Shakespeare), Plutarch is quite explicit in placing the blame for this reputation on others:

It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious to even the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself blameless... (Caesar, LVII)

Caesar attempted to stop this extravagance, but his efforts backfired:

...[Caesar] replied [to the senate] that his honours needed curtailment rather than enlargement. This vexed not only the senate, but also the people, who felt that in the persons of the senate, the state was insulted... (Caesar, LX)

Brutus, although the leader of the conspirators, is nevertheless a noble figure in Plutarch's work. Indeed, Plutarch seems to put the blame mostly on Cassius:

...even those who hated him on account of his conspiracy against Caesar ascribed whatever was noble in the undertaking to Brutus, but laid the more distressing features of what was done to the charge of Cassius, who was..not so simple and sincere in his character. (Brutus, I)

Cassius had the reputation of being an able soldier, but harsh in his anger and with an authority based largely on fear...But the virtues of Brutus...made him beloved by the multitude, adored by his friends, admired by the nobility, and not hated even by his enemies. For he was remarkably gentle and large-minded, free from all anger, pleasurable indulgence, and greed, and kept his purpose erect and unbending in defense of what was honourable and just. (Brutus, XXIX)

...it was thought that Cassius, vehement and passionate man that he was, and often swept from the path of justice by his passion for gain, was incurring the perils of wars and wanderings principally to establish some great power for himself, and not liberty for his countrymen... (Brutus XXIX)

Plutarch points out that the motives of the two men were much different. Brutus truly believed that his actions were just and served the higher interests of the state:

"It would at once be my duty," said Brutus, "not to hold my peace, but to defend my country and die in behalf of liberty." (Brutus, X)

On the other hand, Cassius had a reason to dislike Caesar for giving Brutus the first praetorship, which Cassius felt was rightfully his:

But Caesar, after hearing the claims of each, said..."Cassius makes the juster plea, but Brutus must have the first praetorship." So Cassius was appointed to another praetorship, but he was not so grateful for what he got as he was angry over what he had lost. (Brutus, VII)

Cassius played on Brutus' sense of justice to convince him to join the conspiracy. He tells Brutus:

...From their other praetors they demand gifts and spectacles and gladiatorial combats; but from thee, as a debt thou owest to thy lineage, the abolition of the tyranny; and they are ready and willing to suffer anything in thy behalf, if thou showest thyself to be what they expect and demand. (Brutus X)

Cassius, however, also realizes that the conspiracy could not be successful without Brutus, owing to his popularity and reputation for being a man of honor:

...Brutus was exhorted and incited to the undertaking by many arguments from his comrades, and by many utterances and writing from his fellow citizens. (Brutus, IX)

Moreover, when Cassius sought to induce his friends to conspire against Caesar, they all agreed to do so if Brutus took the lead, arguing that the undertaking demanded, not violence or daring, but the reputation of a man like him. (Brutus, X)

Even Brutus' enemies admitted that he was motivated by higher causes:

Anthony...declared that Brutus was the only conspirator against Caesar who was impelled by...what seemed to him to be the nobility of the enterprise... (Brutus, XXIX)

We know also that Brutus was troubled by his part in the conspiracy:

Brutus...in public tried to keep his thought to himself and under control; but at home, and at night, he was not the same man. Sometimes, in spite of himself, his anxious thought would rouse him out of sleep, and sometimes, when he was more than ever immersed in calculation and beset with perplexities, his wife...perceived that he was full of unwonted [sic] trouble... (Brutus, XIII)

All of these historical allusions will become very important in analyzing the role of the Brutus-Caesar song in regards to the play and Karl Moor's inner struggle.

CHAPTER SEVEN: KARL'S INNER STRUGGLE

At first glance, it is very tempting to view *Die Räuber* as merely a brother vs. brother conflict or a struggle between the hero and a weak, corrupt, and basically unjust society. On the surface, such an interpretation is not wholly inaccurate. The clash between Karl and Franz as well as the negative critique of society are found throughout the play and give it much of its momentum. These conflicts are not, however, the focus of the work.

Insofar as the plot itself is concerned, *Die Räuber* is certainly neither new nor particularly innovative. The adventures of the robber band, their exploits, and their so-called successes are not unique to Schiller's time or his works. If there was nothing more to *Die Räuber* than the story of a man who becomes a robber and abandons his beloved only to return home later, it is unlikely that the play would have been successful. The events in the play serve, rather, as a backdrop for the greater struggle within Karl Moor.

It is the struggle within Karl Moor himself that is significant for the whole drama. (Stahl, p. 15)

Michael Mann supports Stahl's interpretation when he says:

Daß Schiller größtes Gewicht auf die innere Handlung legte, sahen wir schon. (Mann, p. 98)

The importance of this inner struggle cannot be downplayed or underestimated. Karl Moor's conflicting loyalties and emotions and his attempts to resolve or suppress his inner struggle are the centerpiece of the play. Michael Mann, for example, speaks of the "Widerspruch zwischen Karls äußerer, höchst erfolgreicher Karriere als Räuberhauptmann und seiner inneren Entwicklung." (Mann 76-77)

The division of Karl's personality and the ensuing conflict is made even more noticeable by the lack of such an internal division in the other characters in the play. Indeed, Karl is the only character in the play who either possesses a divided self or who undergoes any type of development or struggle at all.

...im Gegensatz zu Franzens diabolischer Charaktereinheit ist Karl ein gemischter (und daher auch entwicklungsfähiger) Charakter, worauf die Vorreden Gewicht legen. (Mann, p. 107)

How does Schiller intend for us to view his hero? He certainly does not intend us to view his character as whole and one with himself:

The creator of Karl Moor condemns his hero's desperate attempt to reform society by means of terrorism and crime, to attain justice through

lawlessness, to prepare for the emergence of a better world by striking at the very foundations of the existing one. At the same time, he invites us to sympathize with his hero, and indeed to admire him: to sympathize with his passionate desire for a nobler, freer, more thrilling life, and -- having grasped the motives that prompt his reckless venture -- to admire the virile courage, the defiant pride, that enable him to persist in it. (Witte, 107)

Karl Moor's personality seems to be divided into two separate but almost diametrically opposed parts. Michael Mann expounds on this theme:

Karl befindet sich...in einer durchaus zergliedernden seelischen Konfliktsituation...Es ist der Konflikt zwischen dem Verlangen nach filialer Geborgenheit, dem Wunsch geliebt und versorgt zu werden einerseits, andererseits, dem Bedürfnis nach Selbstständigkeit und ungehemmter Selbsttätigkeit. (Mann, 107)

As we shall see, it is precisely this "seelische Konfliktsituation" that sets the stage for the Brutus-Caesar song.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE POSITION OF THE SONG

Contrary to what Storz has said about the placement of the song being random, it is clear that the song does indeed arise out of the current situation and Karl's state of mind, and is a logical, if not necessary, consequence of the actions preceding it.

As we have seen, Karl is the victim of a divided self; more precisely, the victim of a conflict between the Karl Moor who had hoped to live in his father's home and marry Amalia, and Räuber Moor, whose attempts to institute a policy of "might makes right" by violently undoing what he perceives are the injustices of the world. Now that he has come face-to-face with his past and the happy life that could have been (or perhaps still could be), Karl's internal struggle has reached its climax. His previous outpourings of emotion, for example during Roller's rescue, were either derided by his fellow robbers or suppressed by himself, but now, with the robbers asleep, Karl is alone on the stage, and can finally make his inner feelings known. Michael Mann claims that Karl is indeed not alone at the beginning of the song and says that "Karls Gesang...lullt die Räuberbande schleunigst in Schlaf" (Mann, p. 127), but in the Nationalausgabe, the song is preceded by the following:

RÄUBER. Gute Nacht Hauptmann. Sie lagern sich auf der Erde und schlafen ein.

There then follows the "Tiefe Stille" and the Brutus-Caesar song. Given Karl's affinity to the heroes he read about in Plutarch, his choice of the characters Brutus and Caesar is both appropriate and expected.

CHAPTER NINE: THE BRUTUS-CAESAR SONG

Alone on the stage and in the "Tiefe Stille," Karl picks up the lute and begins to sing:

Brutus.

Sey willkommen friedliches Gefilde,
Nimm den Lezten aller Römer auf,
Von Philippi, wo die Mordschlacht brüllte
Schleicht mein Gram gebeugter Lauf.
Kaßius wo bist du? -- Rom verloren!
Hingewürgt mein brüderliches Heer,
Meine Zuflucht zu des Todes Thoren!
Keine Welt für Brutus mehr.

In terms of Karl Moor's divided self and his inner struggle, Brutus represents the "Räuber Moor" side of his personality. Brutus welcomes the "friedliches Gefilde" as a resting place from an unwinnable battle. The historical allusion is to the battle of Phillippi in Greece where the forces of Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Anthony and Octavian in 42 B.C. Brutus chose to commit suicide rather than allow himself to be captured. His attempt to "liberate" Rome has failed with terrible consequences.

Karl Moor, who attempted to be a noble robber and to follow his high-minded ideals, has also seen his world crumble around him, and has become weary of his struggles, both external and internal. His "Gram gebeuter Lauf" is brought about by the needless deaths and senseless suffering that he has caused many innocent people. Brutus was similarly troubled by the carnage brought about by the assassination of Caesar and the resulting civil war:

After the city had been thus destroyed, a woman was seen dangling in a noose; she had a dead child fastened to her neck, and with a blazing torch was trying to set fire to her dwelling. So tragic was the spectacle that Brutus could not bear to see it, and burst into tears upon hearing of it...
(Brutus, XXXI)

At the time of the assassination, Brutus had obviously not anticipated the terrible consequences of his decision to lead the conspiracy -- Karl Moor had also not anticipated the price he would pay for his decision to become a robber.

Cassius is Spiegelberg. As we know from Plutarch, Cassius was responsible for the formation of the conspiracy and for recruiting Brutus to be their leader. At the beginning of *Die Räuber*, Spiegelberg assumes the role of Cassius in forming the robber band and in convincing Karl become their "Hauptmann." Although Karl had first rejected Spiegelberg's suggestions as mere jokes: "(Nimmt ihn lächelnd bey der Hand). Kamerad! Mit den narrenstreichen ists nun am Ende.", Spiegelberg persists, flattering and taunting him. Cassius had used similar tactics in his attempt to convince the initially reluctant Brutus. In the beginning, Karl had no particular longing for greatness and certainly no desire to become a robber chieftain. He tells Spiegelberg: "Du bist ein Narr. Der Wein bramarbasirt aus deinem Gehirne." As we have seen, Karl had other, more idyllic plans

for a future with Amalia. Money and power would not lure Karl into the life of a robber, and in the same way, riches and titles were not enough to convince Brutus to join the conspiracy. But both men succumb to the notion that through their actions, they are serving a greater good, and both Cassius and Spiegelberg use this idealism to recruit them. And just as Cassius had lost his bid for the first praetorship to Brutus, Spiegelberg is also frustrated in his political ambitions, viz. to become head of the robber band. He is passed over for "ein erleuchteter politischer Kopf"; namely, Karl Moor. The robbers realize that their success or failure hinges on Karl. Roller, for example, says: "ohne den Moor sind wir Leib ohne Seele." A similar situation existed in Plutarch, where we read that the success of the conspiracy hinged on the participation of Brutus, and that Cassius was well aware of this. Nevertheless, Spiegelberg (like Cassius) never gave up his desire for power, which, in the end, cost Spiegelberg his life. However, unlike the historic Cassius, who died in battle, Spiegelberg is killed by his own men after attempting a mutiny.

Returning to the present, Spiegelberg, in whom Karl had (mistakenly or not) placed his complete trust and who was the main impetus in Karl's decision to become a robber, is now dead, and Karl calls out to him in the song ("Wo bist du?"). Without Spiegelberg to prod him on, Karl's willingness to continue his life as a robber has all but vanished. Karl feels that in his decision to become a robber, he has gained nothing and lost everything.

The pain and bitterness in Brutus' voice is unmistakable when he cries "Rom verloren!" Brutus knows that the end is near and that his attempt to change the existing order has failed. In *Die Räuber*, Rome represents Karl's previous hopes and dreams of an idyllic life on his familial estate, and Karl believes he has lost his "Elysium" forever.

Brutus then alludes to his "brüderliches Heer" and he uses the word "hingewürgt" to describe their loss. Räuber Moor, surrounded by his own "brüderliches Heer," i.e. the sleeping robbers, knows full well that their days are also numbered.

With his trusted (albeit not trustworthy) lieutenant dead, his robber band hunted by the authorities, and his hopes for his childhood dreams dashed, Karl has also lost his world and comes to the bitter conclusion -- "Keine Welt für Brutus mehr" Not only has he lost his old home, but he has also lost the lofty idealism which he sought to give his life as a robber. It is a deep, profound realization that he has become a man without a home, and without a purpose. For Karl there is no way forward and no way back. He cannot continue his robbing with a clear conscience, and he cannot return to his pre-robber existence. Both Brutus and Räuber Moor see no solution except a "Zuflucht zu des Todes Thoren." Brutus took his own life rather than succumb to the forces opposing him. The pain of Karl's internal struggle and lack of a solution push him to the limits of his endurance and indeed, almost to the point of suicide.

According to Plutarch, Caesar's ghost appeared to Brutus twice:

...he [Brutus] asked the him who he was. Then the phantom answered him:
"I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi." At the

time, then, Brutus said courageously: "I shall see thee;" and the heavenly visitor at once went away...[at Philippi] the same phantom visited him again at night, and though it said nothing to him...(Caesar, LXIX)

In the next verse, it is the pre-robber Karl Moor who sings the part of Caesar:

Cesar

Wer mit Schritten eines Niebesiegten
Wandert dort vom Felsenhang? --
Ha! wenn meine Augen mir nicht lügten?
Das ist eines Römers Gang. --
Tybersohn -- von wannen deine Reise?
Dauert noch die Siebenhügelstadt?
Oft geweint hab ich um die Wayse,
Daß sie nimmer einen Cesar hat.

It is open to question whether Caesar recognizes Brutus at this point, since he makes no specific references to Brutus. It is entirely possible that Caesar only perceives the figure of a Roman, and not that of his former friend turned conspirator. If this is indeed the case, this verse serves merely to show Caesar's concern about the fate of Rome and her inhabitants.

If, on the other hand, Caesar does in fact recognize Brutus at this point, a somewhat different interpretation of this verse may be made. Caesar (Karl Moor) calls Brutus (Räuber Moor), appropriately enough, "Niebesiegten." This is certainly no understatement, considering the notoriety that Karl has gained as Räuber Moor and his incredible string of successes. The title "Niebesiegten," however, is ironic in that Karl, who has indeed shown himself to be all but invincible in battle, risks being defeated by his most formidable enemy, the one he cannot escape -- himself. Brutus approaches Caesar from the "Felsenhang," and this descent from above is clearly symbolic of Brutus' decline in power and his impending death.

Caesar notices that Brutus walks with a "Römers Gang." Throughout the entire Brutus-Caesar song "Rome" represents Karl Moor's previous life at home and all the idyllic hopes and dreams associated with it. Allegorically, in recognizing that Brutus still walks with a "Römers Gang," Caesar points out that he still sees traces of the pre-robber Karl Moor (Caesar) in Räuber Moor (Brutus). In other words, despite his career as a robber and his renunciation of his past, Räuber Moor has not been able to extinguish completely the old Karl. Despite his attempt to break with the past, Karl continues to waiver in his resolve to be a robber, and on numerous occasions, traces of his old self come out. Caesar extends the metaphor further, calling Brutus "Tybersohn," in hopes of reminding Karl of his heritage. Caesar will not let Brutus turn his back on the past. The geographical allusion is not accidental; Karl is, in Caesar's opinion, back where he was born and where he belongs -- Karl is and will always remain a "son of the Tiber," despite his previous actions. In the more historical sense, one cannot escape the feeling that Caesar is being

both ironic and accusatory, referring to the man who betrayed his country, his friend, and perhaps his father.

This accusatory tone comes to the surface with the question "von wannen deine Reise?" Caesar knows very well where Brutus has been and what terrible things he has done, and wants Brutus to reflect on these actions. Similarly, the old Karl questions Räuber Moor in hopes of bringing him face-to-face with his exploits as a robber and with the renunciation of his previous life and his previous hopes. He hopes to make Räuber Moor question his actions and their validity, knowing that Karl is already deeply troubled by this. In referring to Karl's absence as a "Reise," the Caesar side of his personality indicates that Karl has only made a trip and has not permanently left his former home and his former self. There still exists the possibility of ending his journey and returning once and for all to his true home. Throughout the song, Karl's Caesar side tries to convince Räuber Moor that there are still traces of the old Karl in him, and it is still within his power to repent of his actions and return to his pre-robber life.

Rome has been the metaphor for Karl's previous life and the fond memories associated with it, and in the next question, "Dauert noch die Siebenhügelstadt" [i.e. Rome], Caesar, the old Karl, asks Brutus, Räuber Moor, whether or not these previous hopes and dreams about his life at home with Amalia still exist or whether they are gone forever. As long as Rome still stands, so does a part of the old Karl and therefore a chance to return to his old life. The question is somewhat rhetorical since we know that Karl still thinks often about his home and Amalia and deeply wishes to regain his old identity. It is precisely because he cannot forget them that he finds himself in his current situation.

Caesar cries for the orphan who does not have a "Caesar" -- i.e. a guardian to protect her from violence and treachery, Caesar had been the protector of Rome. In *Die Räuber*, the "Wayse" is, of course, Amalia. She is, both literally and figuratively, an orphan, and she owes her very existence to the goodheartedness of others. Having lost (she believes) the old Moor and Karl, she is without family or protector and no one to care for her. It is a Caesar (the old Karl) that the "Wayse" (Amalia) needs to rescue and protect her, and Karl's anxiety and despair are only heightened by his realization that by abandoning his "Caesar" side, he has deprived Amalia of her protector and left her in the clutches of the diabolical Franz. Karl has spoken at length about his plans for marrying Amalia and raising a family with her. Now that he has embarked on the life of a robber, he can no longer be the protector whom Amalia so desperately needs. The struggle between Karl's two selves has claimed even the most innocent of victims, and the psychological pressure and guilt that have been placed upon Karl drives him to despair.

Brutus.

Ha! du mit der drei und zwanzigfachen Wunde!
Wer rief Toder dich ans Licht?
Schaudre rückwärts, zu des Orkus Schlunde,
Stolzer Weiner! -- Triumfire nicht!
Auf Philippis eisernem Altare
Raucht der Freiheit leztes Opferblut;

Rom verröchelt über Brutus Bahre,
Brutus geht zu Minos -- Kreuch in deine Flut!

Brutus now answers Caesar in a firm, defiant voice. He is obviously upset and shaken by Caesar's appearance and by Caesar's attacks on his integrity and his actions. He rebuts Caesar's accusations and still maintains that his noble ideals were the cause of his actions. He claims that he and his followers have sacrificed themselves, "der Freiheit leztes Opferblut," for the sake of freedom on "Philippis eisernem Altare" (i.e. swords). He claims that his death will also be the death of Rome, and ends with the emotional exclamation "Kreuch in deine Flut!" -- much out of character for an adherent of the Stoic philosophy and an indication of the extent to which the situation has pressed him.

Räuber Moor recognizes in Caesar his former self, a self which he believed he had destroyed, killed once and for all. Thus he demands: "Wer rief Toder dich ans Licht?" Although Karl would like to believe that he had indeed killed the pre-robber Karl, we know from his own statements and actions that he had never completely extinguished his own self. Now Karl is finally forced to admit that this part of himself is still alive, brought out by his presence in the place where his old "Caesar" self had lived. Karl's very attempt to repress his old hopes and dreams work against him, since they only draw further attention to the pre-robber life which Karl is desperately trying to forget. He realizes the danger posed by the reappearance of these old memories and old hopes and he orders them back to the realm of the dead: "Schaudre rückwärts zu des Orkus Schlunde." The "stolzer Weiner," Caesar, is an allusion to the old Karl Moor, the side filled with nostalgia, remorse, and a profound sense of loss. The clear proof that the "stolzer Weiner" refers to the pre-robber Karl is the fact that he cries. Räuber Moor has long since tried to abandon sentimentality (or at least overt displays of it). It is not fitting that a vicious robber chieftain cry, and Karl has been derided and admonished by his robber companions whenever he displays gentle emotion or tender feeling. The pre-robber Karl, on the other hand, can and does show his gentler spirit, and the unwanted emergence of this compassion threatens the very existence of Räuber Moor -- a robber chieftain who gives in to such emotions simply cannot exist. In order to follow his present life as a robber, Karl must turn his back on his tender feelings and sentiments. The force these emotions contain cannot be underestimated. In the end, it will be feelings and emotions, not guns and knives, which cause Karl's downfall. Knowing this, his Brutus side cries out, perhaps in desperation, "Triumfire nicht!"

With the words "der Freiheit leztes Opferblut" -- he shows his belief that he has sacrificed himself for the sake of freedom, and that this was his motivation in becoming a robber. Karl has repeatedly tried to portray his actions as being driven by a desire for justice, and he calls himself an "Opfer" in that he believes he has made great sacrifices in the name of freedom and righteousness. Nevertheless, we know that he himself is beginning to doubt the validity of this assertion.

Caesar now attacks Brutus not on a political or ideological level, but on a personal one:

Cesar

O ein Todesstoß von Brutus Schwerde!
Auch du -- Brutus -- du?
Sohn -- es war dein Vater -- Sohn -- die Erde
Wär gefallen dir als Erbe zu,
Geh -- du bist der größte Römer worden,
Da in Vaters Brust dein Eisen drang,
Geh -- und heul es biß zu jenen Pforten:
Brutus ist der größte Römer worden
Da in Vaters Brust sein Eisen drang;
Geh -- du weists nun was an Lethes Strande
Mich noch bannte --
Schwarzer Schiffer stoß vom Lande!

The popular version of Caesar's assassination has created the now proverbial statement "Et tu, Brutus?" and this is echoed here as well. Whereas in the last verse, Caesar tried to call Brutus' political motivations into question, he now uses emotion against him, first by alluding to their "Vater-Sohn" relationship and then by mocking him with the title "der größte Römer." After having said his peace, Caesar prepares to enter the realm of the dead and leave Brutus and this world forever.

Caesar calls Brutus "Sohn", and the father-son relationship is perhaps more than strictly allegorical. Plutarch suggests in his Life of Brutus that Caesar had reason to believe that Brutus was indeed his son:

It is said, moreover, that Caesar was also concerned for his [Brutus'] safety, and ordered his officers not to kill Brutus in the battle...Caesar did this out of regard for Servilia, the mother of Brutus. For while he was still a young man, as it seems, Caesar had been intimate with Servilia...and he had some grounds for believing that Brutus, who was born at about the time when her passion was in full blaze, was his own son. (Brutus, V)

Plutarch makes it quite clear that Caesar was quite fond of Brutus and had awarded him numerous honors and positions, not the least of which was the praetorship. Brutus, both friend and (perhaps) son to Caesar, stood to receive all that Caesar had to offer, had he not joined in the conspiracy. In a similar fashion, Karl's "Caesar" side refers to the "Erbe" that would have been his if it were not for the robber life which he has undertaken. An idyllic life with Amalia was indeed the world and the inheritance Karl wanted above all else. Had Karl not acted so rashly when he received Franz's forged letter, the world which he had always desired -- his life with Amalia in his ancestral home -- would have been his.

Karl's old self shows its contempt for the actions of Räuber Moor, and uses the term "der größte Römer" to deride his so-called success at being a robber, how he has become "der größte Römer." Räuber Moor's victories, contrasted with the utopian life which he has given up, seem empty and trite, and this is exactly what Karl's Caesar side hopes to point

out. Now that Räuber Moor has come to a full realization of the results of his actions, Caesar tells him to go. Caesar has spoken his peace and will now disappear across the river of forgetfulness -- Karl will lose his old hopes and dreams forever.

The idea of parting once and for all with his past all but overcomes the Brutus half of Karl Moor. In this last verse, Räuber Moor, in the person of Brutus, is intent on having the last word:

Brutus

Vater halt! -- Im ganzen Sonnenreiche
Hab ich Einen nur gekannt,
Der dem grossen Cesar gleiche
Diesen einen hast du Sohn genannt.
Nur ein Cesar mocht Rom verderben
Nur nicht Brutus mochte Cesar stehn.
Brutus will Tyrannengut nicht erben
Wo ein Brutus lebt muß Cesar sterben,
Geh du linkwärts, laß mich rechtswärts gehn.

Brutus compares himself to Caesar, even seeming to acknowledge that he is, either metaphorically or physically, his son. At the same time, however, he holds fast in his belief that Caesar would have destroyed Rome and that only Brutus could save it. Brutus falls back on his old ideology, calling the positions and favors which Caesar gave him "Tyrannengut." He seems desperate to prove that his actions were noble in intent, but it appears he is trying to convince himself as much as he is Caesar.

"Wo ein Brutus lebt muß Caesar sterben" -- Brutus points out that they cannot coexist -- one or the other must perish. In terms of Karl Moor's inner struggle, this is especially true; the conflict within Karl's divided self threatens his very existence, both psychologically and physically. Although able to do so before, Karl can no longer suppress this struggle. He knows that one of the two parts of his inner self must perish. What he cannot resolve is which side of his personality he must dispose of, nor how to go about it. His previous attempts at destroying his old self have met with only mixed success, and his presence at his old home have only served to resurrect the old Karl and begin the conflict anew.

It is perhaps significant that Brutus has the last words, since it is the Brutus-side of Karl's personality which appears to have temporarily gained the upper hand in his internal struggle. Brutus' choice of "rechtwärts" may in fact refer to his continued belief that what he is doing is right and just -- a final attempt to justify his terrible actions.

By the end of the song, Karl has finally confronted his inner struggle and brought to light his opposing feelings. But contrary to what he had expected, the Brutus-Caesar song has not calmed his soul or helped him regain his inner strength. He has finally confronted his problems and the apparent paradox of his inner struggle, but the Brutus- Caesar song has

not given him any solutions. Karl almost seems even more confused and desperate than ever. He says:

Wer mir Bürge wäre -- Es ist alles so finster -- verworrene Labyrinth --
kein Ausgang -- kein leitendes Gestirn...

Karl's use of the word "Bürge" has several possible interpretations. We see that his inner conflict drives him to contemplate suicide, since he believes that death will bring with it the internal peace he longs for:

Es ist doch eine so göttliche Harmonie in der seelenlosen Natur, warum
sollte dieser Mißklang in der vernünftigen seyn?

But we also know that Karl is troubled by his past actions, even though he feels that they are, to some extent, justifiable. It is possible, nevertheless, that Karl seeks a "Bürge" to testify as to his good intentions, should he be called upon to justify them in the afterlife. Karl perhaps hesitates to kill himself because, in the absence of such a "Bürge," he feels the need to go on and to prove, once and for all, that what he has done is just. Another possible interpretation of the word "Bürge" is that Karl contemplates returning to his former life but lacks someone who can vouchsafe for his return -- the question "Wer mir Bürge wäre" is therefore even more bitter and desperate, since Karl knows that no such person exists.

In any case, Karl has come to recognize that the source of his conflict lies within him. Through the Brutus-Caesar song he has gained a new self-awareness and a deeper understanding of his divided personality. He also realizes that he alone is the author of his happiness or sorrow: "Ich bin mein Himmel und meine Hölle."

Karl could end this conflict by killing himself but decides against it -- the only way he will find peace is to forge onwards and hope to end the struggle between his opposing halves:

Und soll ich für Furcht eines qualvollen Lebens sterben? -- Soll ich dem
Elend den Sieg über mich einräumen? -- Nein! ich wills dulden! (Er wirft
die Pistole weg.) Die Quaal erlahme an meinem Stolz! Ich wills vollenden.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

Although I believe that the Brutus-Caesar song is rich in meaning and metaphors, it must also be noted that there are more classical or obvious interpretations of the song itself. There is also the danger of overinterpreting the song or ascribing too much meaning to particular words or phrases, and certainly no one interpretation should be viewed as final or unequivocal. What I have attempted to do is to shed some light on how the Brutus-Caesar song fits into the greater scheme of Die Räuber.

We have seen from the very beginning of the play that Karl Moor is the victim of a divided self: one part of him wishes for nothing more than a peaceful family life with his beloved Amalia on the familial estate, while the other half is filled with an ardent desire to rewrite the laws of society through violent change. The division of Karl's personality into these two halves is nothing unusual for someone of his age, and were it not for the forged letter from Franz, this internal split would have remained on an intellectual level. What gives *Die Räuber* its impetus is that Karl gives in to youthful idealism and rebelliousness, he adopts a "might makes right" attitude and sets about robbing and murdering in the name of justice. At the same time, however, Karl never loses his desire for the life with Amalia which he has always longed for, and despite his efforts to suppress them, these desires continue to reappear at the worst possible moments. Karl's return to his old home brings his internal struggle to a fever pitch, and it soon becomes obvious that a solution must be found. The Brutus-Caesar song is both a clear manifestation of Karl's inner conflict as well as a vital part of his attempt to resolve it. The characters of Brutus and Caesar represent the conflicting halves of Karl's personality, and their statements give the reader valuable insight into Karl's divided self -- the true focus of *Die Räuber*.

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