

Grabbe's Last Historical Drama A Re-examination

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Literary critics have been reluctant to analyse Grabbe's last historical drama, *Die Hermannsschlacht*, and their verdict has in general been unfavourable.¹ There does not exist as yet a thorough investigation of the play in monograph form, and Grabbe scholarship, when dealing with the work at all, has deemed it adequate to indicate merely its dramaturgical and linguistic weaknesses. In these circumstances it would appear justifiable to attempt not only to describe the genesis of Grabbe's last play, and to determine the historical and geographical sources used by Grabbe to bring to life the battle in the Teutoburg Forest, but also to re-examine the overall structure and central theme of the play. In particular the following study sets out to demonstrate, in contrast to previous analyses, that the concluding scene set in Rome represents an achievement worthy of Grabbe's dramatic mastery.²

I.

Even while Christian Dietrich Grabbe was still putting the final touches to his tragedy *Hannibal* in January 1835, his letters already mentioned a plan for "ein großes Drama aus der Hermannsschlacht".³ Grabbe's impatience to commence work on his last completed drama was symptomatic of the early part of his stay in Düsseldorf where, owing to the assistance of his patron Karl Immermann, he could live as a freelance writer for the first time in his career. During this period Grabbe not only completed the tragedy of the great Carthaginian general, but also revised his dramatic fairy-tale *Aschenbrödel* and wrote the critical treatise *Das Theater zu Düsseldorf mit Rückblicken auf die übrige deutsche Schaubühne*; by the middle of 1835 all three works had appeared as separate publications. At the same time, however, Grabbe defined with ever greater clarity his plan to dramatize the battle in the Teutoburg Forest.

The genesis of *Die Hermannsschlacht* can be reconstructed on the basis of statements in Grabbe's letters and from a study of the extant early versions and variants of the play. The idea for the drama can be traced to the early days of 1835. Grabbe informed several correspondents in his hometown of Detmold that, living far from his birthplace, he had conceived the idea of a dramatic portrayal of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest.⁴ This historical

subject matter, he continued, would offer him the opportunity of incorporating in a work of literature the natural beauty of his native Lippe, with its oak and beech forests, valleys and streams. The planned work would also reflect the unique character of the inhabitants of Lippe, and for some figures, such as Thusnelde and Ingomar, Grabbe even foresaw portraying real people, as he stated in a letter to Ziegler written in April 1835: "Armins (Hermanns) Thusnelde wird wie vom Sülthof. . . . Alles soll ganz lebensfrisch seyn".⁵ The close relationship between his play and the country and people of Lippe, which Grabbe revealed to his friends and confidants in Detmold, formed an important part of his dramatic conception.

In March 1835, Grabbe began his study of the historical and geographical source material for *Die Hermannsschlacht*. From the library of his late father-in-law, Christian Clostermeier, he procured von Donop's *Historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Fürstlichen Lippeschen Lande in Westphalen* (Lemgo, 1790), Clostermeier's own treatise *Wo Hermann den Varus schlug* (Lemgo, 1822) and the first volume of Heinrich Luden's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (Gotha, 1825).⁶ Alfred Bergmann considered these works Grabbe's principal sources, and they did, in fact, remain at his disposal until he completed the final version of the play.⁷ However, in mid-1835 Grabbe was also engaged in an intensive reading of ancient historians. There is repeated reference in his correspondence to his study of Tacitus's *Germania*. In addition the Düsseldorf archivist Lacomblet must have provided Grabbe with Dio Cassius's *Römische Geschichte*, as well as with Suetonius's biography of Octavian Augustus which he needed for the writing of the great final scene of his drama.⁸

Finally, some recent analyses of *Die Hermannsschlacht* have emphasized the importance of Grabbe's knowledge of Ranke for the historical perspective of his last play.⁹ There is indeed evidence that Grabbe first became aware of the work of the contemporary historian during his stay in Düsseldorf. Judging from his correspondence for January and February 1835, he read with intense interest an unspecified work by Ranke, not inconceivably his *Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1827 ff.)¹⁰ But it is untenable to ascribe to Grabbe's limited reading of Ranke the sudden adoption of an organic view of history and a decisive influence on the historic vision of *Die Hermannsschlacht* as expressed in the final scene. Elements suggesting the conception of history adopted by Herder and Ranke may be found in all of Grabbe's historical plays from the fragmentary *Marius und Sulla* to *Hannibal*, so that his reading of Ranke did not effect a sudden conversion, but was at most a confirmation and reinforcement of his own position. On the other hand, Grabbe's portrayal and interpretation of Roman history may well have been influenced by Edward Gibbon's *Geschichte des Verfalls und Untergangs des römischen Reichs* (Leipzig, 1799 ff.) which he had studied as early as 1825, and which he expressly acknowledged on occasion during his first weeks in Düsseldorf.¹¹

Of the many works of literature treating the Arminius material, which stimulated reflection upon the nation's past and celebrated the prince of the Cherusicans as Germany's liberator, Grabbe knew only those by Klopstock and Heinrich von Kleist. He had read Klopstock's patriotic trilogy, *Hermanns Schlacht*, *Hermann und die Fürsten*, and *Hermanns Tod*, years before writing his own play.¹² With Kleist's political drama he became acquainted when studying the source material for *Die Hermannsschlacht*. On returning the work to Immermann he remarked: "Mein Armin wird aber ganz anders. Ob besser, weiß ich nicht zu urthehn. Hoff's aber ziemlich stolz".¹³ Grabbe's position vis-a-vis Kleist's drama is typical of his attitude towards the entire corpus of Arminius material. It did not provide the stimulus for the dramatist's last work, nor did it supply important motifs or structural models. It was in Grabbe himself that the motivating causes for *Die Hermannsschlacht* lay, determining both the new conception of the historical material and the unconventional form of the work.

Already in the course of his historical studies Grabbe began to draft preliminary plans for his battle drama by noting the names of characters, places of action, historical quotations as well as some first scenic outlines. To his loyal friend Petri in Detmold he reported on 5 April, 1835: "Die ersten Szenen des Armin sind fertig".¹⁴ This statement is reliable, because Grabbe also provided details about the place and time of the opening section of his play: "Das Stück beginnt auf der Gausekötte, im Vorfrühling . . ." Only two months later, on 10 June, 1835, Immermann heard of the conception of the final scene of the play and received by letter Grabbe's draft of the valedictory speech by Augustus. The dying emperor views in conjunction the defeat of his best legions in the north and the birth of Christ in Bethlehem, and announces the Germanic and Christian threat to the Roman Empire: "Da im Nord der Untergang der Veteranen, der besten Legionen - Und wie mir Herodes schreibt, im Südost in Bethlehem ein Kind geboren, welches den Olymp erschüttert. Die alten Götter, die alten Sterne fallen, aber ein neuer Stern soll über Judäa funkeln, drei Könige aus unbekanntenen Regionen haben ihn erblickt, und brachen auf und suchten ihn, und er, mit Feuerfingern, wies sie zur Anbetung an eine Krippe, worin das Kindlein lag. Rom, dich fassen Jesus-Christ und Deutsche!"¹⁵ As Grabbe himself admitted, the conclusion of the drama was only provisional at this stage. Nevertheless, the draft constituted the second cornerstone of the work and the climactic point towards which the dramatic action was to move. Grabbe was therefore understandably convinced that he would complete the play within a short space of time.

For various reasons the final version of *Die Hermannsschlacht* was not completed, however, before 21 July, 1836. Grabbe himself conceded on several occasions that the play, with its difficult subject-matter, was giving him endless trouble, and only one day before the work lay finished he confessed: "Es ist der schwierigste Stoff, den ich je unter Händen hatte".¹⁶ This remark points to the dilemma of the historical dramatist who undertakes to revive a three-day-

long battle in a close-knit, rhythmical sequence of scenes which mirror, in ever changing and vivid images, the incalculable tide of fortune in battle. Grabbe wrote: "Ungeheure Mühe, Abwechslung und allgemeines Interesse hineinzu-bringen".¹⁷ There was also the difficulty imposed by his decision to dedicate a literary monument to the homeland; the historical material had to be sifted critically and any parochial trivialities removed.

In this context the early versions and variants of the play, which reflect the arduous creative process, come into focus. In November 1835, Grabbe mentioned in his correspondence that he had already written three versions of *Die Hermannsschlacht*, and in July 1836, shortly before the completion of the work, he referred to no fewer than five different versions.¹⁸ From his study of extant manuscripts Alfred Bergmann noted above all the growing volume of the work from one stage to the next and therefore described Grabbe's method as an 'extending' one.¹⁹ This definition is appropriate, but should be supplemented, as may be demonstrated, for example, from the final scene of the drama. Leaving aside the first outline contained in Grabbe's letter to Immermann, the scene, 'Rom. Palatium', is extant in an early published version, three unpublished variants and, of course, in its ultimate form.²⁰ Even the earliest version is a complex scene in which the main characters of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius hold the stage throughout. The action unfolds in several steps, one of which is marked by the arrival of a praetor reporting to Augustus the outcome of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest. From the earliest to its final version the scene almost doubled in size, because Grabbe introduced new motifs or further developed the existing plot. He defined with ever greater clarity the place of action. From the beginning the dramatist had envisaged an evening scene on the Palatine in Rome, but only the last draft contains the precise indication of a great hall in the imperial residence, lit by candles. Grabbe also tried to fuse the final scene with the main body of the work; in the early drafts this had only been achieved on the pragmatic level with the news about Arminius's victory over Varus. Each version shows too that the dramatist aimed at terseness and precision in style and imagery, as a draft by draft comparison of the opening words spoken by the emperor's adopted son may demonstrate:

TIBERIUS *sieht auf den Schlafenden* Jenes schicksalmüde Haupt! Wachen wir an seiner Seite! (early printed version)²¹

Tiberius *sieht auf den Schlafenden* Jenes Haupt ist unter dem Schicksal. Wachen wir an seinen Schläfen. (unpublished version)²²

Tiberius Sprich leiser, Mutter, laß uns nur an seinen Schläfen wachen. Es sind die müden Seiten einer sinkenden Welt. (unpublished version)²³

TIBERIUS Sprich leiser, Mutter, und schluchze nicht so laut. Laß uns still an seinen Schläfen wachen, - sie sind die müden Seiten einer Welt, die er lang beherrschte. (final version)²⁴

Finally, Grabbe excised dramatic motifs and even an entire segment of the scene when, like the dialogue between Livia and Tiberius originally planned to follow the death of the emperor, they endangered the unity and effectiveness of the end of the play.

As Grabbe worked in this manner towards the completion of *Die Hermannsschlacht*, with months of minute textual revision, he gradually sensed that he was nearing death. Already in June 1835, in a letter to his publisher Schreiner, he stated: "Der Hermannsschlacht unterlieg' ich fast. Wer kann das Ungeheure, jeden Nerv aufregende, vollenden ohne zu sterben?"²⁵ He expressed his presentiment of death more clearly in a letter written to Countess von Ahlefeldt on 25 September, 1835: "Die Hermannsschlacht, welche Sie erwähnen, ist gegen Hannibal ein Koloß. Sie ist fertig. Ich feile nur noch, sinke auch wohl an ihr nieder, wenn sie vollendet ist, - auf ewig".²⁶ The confession made to Carl Georg Schreiner only one month later is no less moving: "Die Hermannsschlacht ist in und über mir, wie ein Sternenmeer. - Wohl mein letzter Trost".²⁷ The dramatist's presentiments came true sooner than most would have expected. Forced by sickness and poverty to return to his hometown of Detmold in May 1836, he still managed to write the final version of *Die Hermannsschlacht*. But the physical and mental effort completely exhausted him, and on 12 September, 1836, Grabbe died in abject circumstances, before being able to publish his last historical drama. He died, however, in the firm conviction that he had left to posterity a "Coloß, auf durchaus neuen Wegen vorschreitend".²⁸

II.

In July 1836, shortly before the completion of *Die Hermannsschlacht*, Grabbe wrote the following note to his friend Petri: "Bei Deinen Worten und Bemerkungen denk' ich oft nach, weil ich weiß, daß sie mehr als losgerissenes Gesprächskraut sind. Ich gehe in meinen Stücken stets auf einen Punct. Ein Punct wird spitz, wie der Straßburger Münster in seiner Höhe. Doch eben um diese Spitze zu erreichen muß man breit unterbauen. Das hab' ich in etwas gethan, und den letzten Acten im Schlusse (zu Rom) noch einen Haarbeutel oder Windfahne angehängt, welche nicht ohne Erfolg rauscht".²⁹ This important statement, evidently concluding a personal conversation about Grabbe's last drama, enables the critic to interpret *Die Hermannsschlacht* on the basis of its intended form, and to determine in particular the function of the final scene from the author's point of view. Grabbe understood the Rome scene as the climax of the play, as its spire or weather-vane: The steeple rises above the foundations, the expository part of the work, and crowns the soaring construction formed by the three stages of the battle waged in the Teutoburg Forest. Consequently the final scene has a dual function; on the one hand it represents the goal of the dramatic action on a pragmatic level, on the other, it forms a point of integration with regard to the imagery and symbolism of the work. In view of Grabbe's conception, Sengle's assertion, "daß diese Szene, in der

Hermann gewissermaßen durch den Weltgeist abgelöst wird, kein organischer Abschluß des Ganzen, sondern nur ein hegelianisches Einsprengsel ist",³⁰ must appear doubtful. Grabbe neither appended it to his drama, "um die welthistorische Perspektive zu eröffnen",³¹ nor did he force it upon the dramatic structure to effect "ein geschlossenes Ende".³² As this study will show, the final scene set in Rome constitutes, in accordance with the dramatist's intentions, an integral, climactic part of the drama's inner and outer structure.

The opening division of the play, for which Grabbe used the epic designation 'Eingang', is composed of seven expository scenes. Their dramatic function is to acquaint the reader (or audience) with the historical framework of the Germanic uprising against the Roman occupation. Grabbe demonstrates the ethnic differences between Romans and Teutons against the background of his own native district by portraying Hermann's compatriots as a people of earthy farmers and warriors from the North, and the Romans under Quintilius Varus as haughty, despotic Southerners. The two sides are opposed to one another like nature and civilization, natural and prescriptive law, youth and old age, health and decadence. These differences lead more and more frequently to disputes and conflicts as well as to authoritarian measures taken by the Romans, which in turn result in growing discontent and despondency on the part of the Teutons. At this critical moment the prince of the Cheruskans, Hermann, realizes his historical mission; with great caution he prepares the armed rising of the oppressed Germanic tribes and the liberation of his beloved homeland. Just as in *Napoleon oder die hundert Tage* or *Hannibal*, Grabbe once again proves his competence in dramatizing an historical situation moving ever closer to the crisis point, in portraying a turbulent period which leads of necessity to violent dissent. The dramatic action of the opening scenes moves with increasing rapidity directly to the battle between the Germanic tribes and the Roman occupying forces.

The central division of the drama, which, like the entire work, is tripartite in structure, presents the decisive battle in the Teutoburg Forest. In major scenes, which are divided into several sections and plot-strands, or in small groups of scenes the three days of combat in the forested region between the Harz mountains and the river Weser are dramatised as a close-knit sequence of events. Not only the temporal concentration, however, which is a constant feature of Grabbe's late historical dramas, but also the method of narrowing the focus of the action evidently contributes to the dramatic unity of the play. The Roman legions and the Teutonic troops on the hills and in the valleys are drawn up in such close proximity to one another that orders issued to one army are audible to the other. Many notable parts of the countryside in which Grabbe grew up and to which in his vivid imagery he has paid a lasting tribute, come into focus as the opposing armies move on and the direction of the fighting changes. They reveal Grabbe's conception of nature and landscape as powerful forces in the shaping of history, - not in the metaphysical sense of German

idealism, but quite concretely and realistically in that they support the endeavour of the Germanic tribes to free themselves from the yoke of Roman oppression.

Of special significance in the central part of *Die Hermannsschlacht* are the night scenes which have been inserted to describe the mood and thoughts of the encamped armies after a day of turmoil on the battlefield. As periods of rest and quiet these scenes determine the unique rhythm of the play; beyond that they guide the reader to the central meaning of the work by providing commentaries on the dramatic action. Above all, Hermann's monologues and his appeals to his compatriots ought to be mentioned in this context. The monologues reveal the social awareness of the hero whose responsibility it is to think and plan on behalf of all. The appeals to his countrymen manifest his political objective, which is not limited to the temporary amalgamation of the Germanic tribes in an hour of need, but extends to their lasting unification. When, however, his idea of a free and united fatherland is not understood, and indeed is even misconstrued as a personal ambition, he consoles himself with the knowledge that one day his vision must be realized: "Das Andere und Klügere bleibt ohnehin nicht aus, - nach Jahrtausenden, wenn wir und unsre Urenkel tot sind, ist's da".³³ This faith in the inevitable course of history enables Hermann to respond to the need of the moment and to adapt his own desires and actions to the reality confronting him. In contrast to *Napoleon* and *Hannibal*, tragedy is thus averted.

The dramatisation of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest reaches its climax and conclusion in the final night scene, when the outcome of the battle is decided. The collapse of the Roman legions, the suicide of Quintilius Varus, and the triumphant victory of the Teutonic tribes are presented with constantly rising tension. The Germanic chieftains and peoples realize that they have achieved their goal, since the Roman occupation has come to an end and the country is freed. The prince of the Cheruskans renounces his intention of carrying the victory further and of breaking Rome's tyrannical grip on the world, because his compatriots would deny him the military assistance such an undertaking would require. He does not suppress an ironic undertone, however, when inviting the Germanic troops instead to a victory feast: "Da Varus und seine Römer tot sind, und ihr nicht Lust habt, den Sieg weiter zu verfolgen, so lad ich euch zum Schmaus in meinen Hünenringen ein".³⁴ But his last thought is for the Palatine in Rome, which will shake with fear at the news of the slaughter in the Teutoburg Forest, because the Germanic victory will be regarded as an immediate threat to the Roman Empire. Thereby the historical link with the conclusion of the drama is established.

A third division, the complex final scene, ends Grabbe's historical drama. The location is shifted from the province of Germania to Rome, from the battlefield in the Teutoburg Forest to the palace of the first Roman emperor. Here Livia and Tiberius keep watch by the emperor's death-bed. In his last

hour Augustus is giving his successor instructions for the coming regency which he predicts will be turbulent and troublesome. At the end of his speech Augustus asks his closest relations: "Klatscht in die Hände! Hab ich meine Rolle in allen Verhältnissen nicht gut gespielt?" and he consoles his wife: "Livia, sei ruhig. Es tritt nur ein Schauspieler ab".³⁵ The scene is interrupted by the arrival of a praetor, who informs the emperor of the loss of his best legions in Germania. Himself close to death, Augustus is thereupon haunted by the vision of the decaying Roman Empire, threatened by young, aspiring nations, and he senses the dawn of a new age, which will see the decline and fall of Rome. Evidence of this is not only apparent in the North, but also in the South of the Empire, where three kings have followed a star to the cradle of the child born in Bethlehem and paid homage to him as the 'true son of the true deity'. After Augustus has warned his successor not to persecute the newborn child, he dies with its name on his lips: "Jesus Christus nennt man den Wunderknaben".³⁶ These words conclude the last scene of Grabbe's play, - a scene which, as it unfolds step by step, not only emphatically predicts the fall of Rome, but already rehearses it symbolically.

It is only in this context that Grabbe fully develops the leitmotifs of his work. The final scene of the drama may therefore be interpreted as the point of integration at which the web of imagery and symbolism is completed.³⁷ Hence not only the scenic location and the pragmatic action, i.e. the evening hour in a hall of the imperial palace where the emperor lies dying, imply the decline of the Roman Empire, but Augustus also states explicitly: "Rom altert wie sein Gottesdienst".³⁸ This is a motif which recurs in various guises throughout the drama. During the long periods of occupation of foreign territories the forms of Roman administration and jurisdiction have hardened to a bureaucratic system urgently in need of reform and renewal. Hoary veterans, who have often served for decades, fill the ranks of the Roman legions. Under the command of Drusus they had already marched against the Teutonic tribes, and had fought for Octavian in the sea-battle of Actium. According to Varus their scars are the "Kommata der Weltgeschichte".³⁹ Even the traditional military formations and strategies of the Romans prove to be outdated, since they are not adaptable to the conditions of warfare in forests and swamps and remain ineffectual against the spontaneous uprising of the Germanic rebels. The Roman occupation succumbs therefore like a "reifes Ährenfeld" to the Teutonic "Sicheln".⁴⁰ The harvest metaphor clearly indicates the historical process of changing supremacy in the course of which ageing Rome is surpassed by young, rising nations.

Accordingly, Grabbe has portrayed the Germanic tribes as young, unpolished and unruly peoples whom the Romans consider, not unreasonably, barbaric. Nevertheless, Augustus admires his Teutonic bodyguard in the last scene of the drama, because from their natural instinct of loyalty and honour they remain faithful to their oath even in a crisis. The emperor compares their compatriots

to strong, firmly rooted oak trees and reaffirms that they defended their own territory against the Roman invaders more bravely than other peoples. Now that Rome has lost a secure bulwark against the vast province of Germania, the Teutonic tribes will themselves advance south "wie verwüstende Hagelwetter".⁴¹ In this manner an entire motif complex once again culminates in the final scene of the play. Already in the introductory division Grabbe had demonstrated in a court-scene the healthy sense of justice typical of the Germanic tribes; their natural customs and traditions, which the Romans frequently view with astonishment if not disdain, were given lively expression in Hermann's hall. For Varus the old Germanic traditions reflected the naivety of 'Naturmenschen' which in his opinion would have been a suitable literary subject for the pastoral poetry of Theocritus.⁴² The union of these natural people with their native landscape, which Augustus refers to, had already been intimated by Hermann when warning the Roman troops: "Seid vorsichtig. Der Germane ist voller Hinterhalt wie seine Wälder".⁴³ The close alliance with nature proves highly effective in the battle against the Romans. Not only do the Germanic troops gain a strategic advantage from the impassable terrain and luxuriant vegetation of their native land, but they are fighting their war of liberation in order to rescue the glistening rivers, the wooded mountainsides and the holy places of their forefathers. Their patriotism is to be defined as the love and loyalty all feel for their native countryside, which must be freed from the foreign yoke. For the duration of the three-day battle the Teutons therefore overcome tribal animosities and become one people: This patriotic unity is called 'Deutschland' by the prince of the Cherusicans and by the dying Roman emperor.

It is noteworthy that the name of Arminius/Hermann is not mentioned in the valedictory speech of Augustus, although the Cheruscan had been for Varus the organizer of the rebellion and his most dangerous opponent. Octavian talks only about the free Teutonic tribes and their vast territory and simply includes the great individual among his people. In contrast to the Roman commander-in-chief, he understands the victory of the Germanic tribes in the Teutoburg Forest not as the triumph of an heroic liberator, but rather as the result of a successful social initiative. The Germanic people are Rome's true enemy, as Hermann himself realized at the beginning of the battle: "Welch ein Dumbbart wär ich, wollt ich was sein ohne mein Volk?"⁴⁴ It is for this reason in particular that both Hermann and the dying emperor come to realize the historical significance of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest. While the chieftains and the Germanic warriors only comprehend the momentary effect of the victory, i.e. the end of the Roman occupation of their homeland, Hermann recognizes the outcome of the Germanic uprising, beyond that, as the historical opportunity to end the world domination of Rome. Augustus deepens this insight again by viewing in conjunction the Germanic rebellion and the birth of Christ and by evaluating both events as dark omens for the decline and

fall of the Roman Empire.⁴⁵ By establishing the true significance of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest the Rome scene proves once more to be the culmination of Grabbe's last historical drama, - a wather-vane, "welche nicht ohne Erfolg rauscht".

Notes

- 1 Cp. the 'Forschungsberichte' by A. Bergmann, "Grabbeforschung und Grabbeprobleme 1918-1934", *GRM* 22 (1934), pp. 343-357, 437-457; F.J. Schneider, "Neuere Grabbe-Literatur", *ZfdtPh* 63 (1938), pp. 70-82; A. Martino, "Christian Dietrich Grabbe", in *Zur Literatur der Restaurationsepoche 1815-1848. Forschungsreferate und Aufsätze*, ed. J. Hermand, M. Windfuhr, Stuttgart 1970, pp. 202-246.
- 2 The present study is a revised English version of my critical evaluation of *Die Hermannsschlacht*, which was published as part of a facsimile edition of the drama for the Grabbe Society (*Die Hermannsschlacht. Drama von Grabbe. Grabbe's Leben von Eduard Duller*, ed. H.W. Nieschmidt, Detmold 1978, pp. 3-26).
- 3 Christian Dietrich Grabbe, *Werke und Briefe*, historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. A. Bergmann, Emsdetten 1960 ff., Vol. VI, p. 129. Hereafter quoted as *Werke und Briefe* with volume number and page reference.
- 4 Cp. Grabbe's letters to his wife, Runnenberg, and Petri dated 8 January, 1835. *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 129 f.
- 5 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 208.
- 6 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 190.
- 7 Cp. A. Bergmann, *Grabbe als Benutzer der Öffentlichen Bibliothek in Detmold*, Detmold 1965, pp. 80/81.
- 8 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 201.
- 9 Cp. F. Sengle, *Das historische Drama in Deutschland. Geschichte eines literarischen Mythos*, Stuttgart 1969, p. 160, and M. Schneider, *Destruktion und utopische Gemeinschaft. Zur Thematik und Dramaturgie des Heroischen im Werk Christian Dietrich Grabbes*, Frankfurt a.M. 1973, pp. 385 ff.
- 10 Cp. A. Bergmann, *Grabbe als Benutzer der Öffentlichen Bibliothek in Detmold*, p. 52.
- 11 Cp. A. Bergmann, *Grabbe als Benutzer der Öffentlichen Bibliothek in Detmold*, p. 145.
- 12 Cp. A. Bergmann, *Grabbe als Benutzer der Öffentlichen Bibliothek in Detmold*, pp. 281, 284.

- 13 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 197.
- 14 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 202.
- 15 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 243.
- 16 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 348.
- 17 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 349.
- 18 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 293, 345.
- 19 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 505.
- 20 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 185 ff., 251 ff., 310 f., 378 ff.
- 21 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 310.
- 22 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 187.
- 23 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 251.
- 24 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 378.
- 25 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 261.
- 26 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 283.
- 27 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 289.
- 28 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 349.
- 29 *Werke und Briefe*, VI, 347.
- 30 F. Sengle, *Das historische Drama in Deutschland*, p. 171.
- 31 W. Steffens, *Grabbe* (Friedrichs Dramatiker der Weltliteratur 21), Velber 1966, p. 77.
- 32 W. Hegele, *Grabbes Dramenform*, München 1970, p. 244.
- 33 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 367.
- 34 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 376.
- 35 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 379. Grabbe quotes the words of Augustus literally from his historical sources. Cp. H.W. Nieschmidt, *Deutung und Dokumentation. Studien zum Geschichtsdrama Chr. D. Grabbes*, Detmold 1973, p. 40.
- 36 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 380.
- 37 Cp. M. Schneider, who expresses a similar view in his analysis of *Die Hermannsschlacht (Destruktion und utopische Gemeinschaft*, p. 386).
- 38 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 380.
- 39 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 335.
- 40 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 371.

- 41 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 379.
- 42 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 344.
- 43 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 332.
- 44 *Werke und Briefe*, III, 346.
- 45 In much the same way as he had in *Hannibal*, Grabbe combines chronologically separate events in the final scene of *Die Hermannsschlacht* in order to show that together they produce a turning-point in history.