Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Ein Dichter muß nach der Hauptidee seines Werkes den Charakter seines Helden modifizieren: auf ihm allein liegt die ganze Schuld der erzielten Wirkung: ja er darf sogar, wenn er geschichtliche Personen bearbeitet, ihren ganzen Charakter umändern. Schiller durfte seinen Wallenstein zu einer Höhe, zu einer Seelenhoheit erheben, die ihm die Geschichte niemals zugestanden hat, denn er war ohne poetisches Vorbild, das in aller Munde wäre: in diesem Falle hätte er es durchaus nicht wagen dürfen. — Aber dies war bei den Griechen nicht so. Homer war nicht nur in allen Händen, er war in aller Munde. Nahm nun der Dichter ein homerisches Sujet oder nur eine Fabel, bei der homerische Personen vorkamen, so konnte er durchaus ihren Charakter nicht ändern, höchstens nach seinem Zwecke modifizieren.[1]

So wrote the schoolboy Leopold Ranke in 1813, in a draft of the essay on Greek tragedy with which he would graduate from Schulpforta the following year. He describes Schiller's *Wallenstein*, first performed in 1798–99 and published in 1800, in not one but two regards.[2] First, Schiller promoted a historical figure to new greatness and prominence. Albrecht von Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, was not obscure — he had been controversial even before his assassination in 1634 — but he was still sufficiently unknown for Schiller to interpret him freely. After Schiller, however, the drama immediately became the foremost point of reference for subsequent writers. Thus Schiller also, secondly, became the 'Homer' of Ranke's description. The mature Ranke's biography of Wallenstein, published in 1869, would itself bear traces of Schiller's influence.

During the century following Ranke's 'Valediktionsarbeit', Wallenstein's popularity continued. A bibliography including editions and studies of Schiller's drama counted 2,524 titles on its 'rastlos behandelter Gegenstand' when the last instalment appeared in 1910/11.[3] In 1927 the British military historian and strategist Captain Basil Liddell Hart was in little doubt as to why this 'enigma of history' was well known. Wallenstein was 'a national hero, a common figure of romance and drama, enshrined for posterity in Schiller's immortal verse [. . .] a man who in a mystery-loving world stands out as the most unfathomable of human puzzles'.[4] In conclusion Hart wrote that 'in the whole of history no parallel exists to the strange career, and stranger mentality, of this many-sided genius, compound of Julius Caesar, Bismarck, and *x* — an unknown quantity. Wallenstein is unique'.[5] Such hyperbole sounds comical, but it demonstrates the effect of 'Schiller's immortal verse'. Thanks to Schiller the Bohemian Wallenstein — modern Czech knows him as 'Valdštejn', and his present-day relations go by the name 'Waldstein' — became a German hero

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

and a staple of cultural reference. In part he rode on Schiller's own popularity; in part Schiller had turned him into a compellingly 'unknown quantity'. Fifty-three per cent of respondents to a survey reported in 1985 did not know that Wallenstein had really existed; the report concluded that: 'Ein Teil der Deutschen sieht [. . .] in Wallenstein offenbar nur noch die Schillersche Fiktion'.[6]

(i) The Man and the Beginnings of the Myth

Wallenstein was born on 24 September 1583 in Hermsdorf (Heřmanice) in Bohemia.[7] His parents were Protestants, noblemen but not wealthy; they died in his youth.[8] In 1599 he entered university at Altdorf, near Nuremberg, with its tradition of 'Saufgelagen, Schlägereien, Tumulte', leaving in 1600 after nearly beating his manservant to death.[9] He embarked on a Grand Tour to Italy and may have studied in Padua or Siena. In 1602 he returned to Bohemia; in 1604 he fought with the Imperial army against the Turks in Hungary. In an almost certainly career-oriented move unremarkable at the time, he converted to Catholicism in 1606.[10] In 1609 he married Lukrezia Nekšová, a young widow, whose massive landholdings set him up financially; she died in 1614. Wallenstein gathered soldiers for the newly crowned King of Bohemia, Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, in 1617; he was a colonel in Moravia when the Bohemian revolt of 1618 spread there the following year. 'Finding that his troops were deserting to the rebels he [. . .] escaped to safety, taking with him the military treasure of the province, thus bringing much-needed help to Ferdinand and depriving the Moravian rebel army of its pay'.[11] He profited from the Bohemian Estates' defeat at the White Mountain (November 1620), both in a consortium which bought the right to mint Bohemian coinage and debased it and, more significantly, through his purchases of confiscated land at knock-down prices, including the duchy of Friedland (Frýdlant).[12] In 1623 he married Isabella von Harrach, daughter of one of Ferdinand's closest aides.

Despite Wallenstein's meteoric rise to power he was a soldier first and foremost; he used his riches to become a 'Kriegsunternehmer großen Stils'.[13] In 1625 Ferdinand (who had been crowned Emperor in 1619) accepted his offer to raise an army of 24,000 men. He was rewarded for his victories against Mansfeld in 1626 and Denmark in 1627 with the duchy of Mecklenburg, whose Protestant dukes had been staunch supporters of the Danes. Yet at this height of his power the seeds of his downfall were being sown.[14] He had powerful enemies, not least Ferdinand, King of Bohemia (Ferdinand II's son), and Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. Maximilian used semi-libellous reports from Vienna passed secretly through Alexander von Hales, a Capuchin friar in Prague, to assemble complaints against him and impugn his loyalty to the Catholic cause.[15] Wallenstein and Tilly, who commanded the troops of the Catholic League, failed to co-operate. Wallenstein's acquisition of Mecklenburg provoked further fear of his power, and its dubious legality gave a peg on which to hang resentment of the upstart generalissimo. Likewise his 'contributions system', the principle that troops should be maintained entirely by the lands in which they found themselves, 'had been under fire since the beginning of 1627 from all the Imperial estates without distinction of confession'.[16] The

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

campaign of 1628 was dominated by his abortive siege of Stralsund, significant not only because it left Denmark and Sweden with a foothold in Northern Germany, but also for its prominence in subsequent Protestant mythology and the damage it did to Wallenstein's image then and later.[17] His alleged response to an Imperial order to lift the siege became legendary: 'wann schon diese Vestung mit eysernen Ketten an Himmel gebunden were / so müste sie doch herunter'.[18] Paradoxically the Edict of Restitution (March 1629), which declared illegal the secularization of church lands since 1555, was possible because of Ferdinand's strong position vis-à-vis his Protestant subjects, but completely undermined his generalissimo's aim to achieve a general imperial peace. 'Wallenstein', according to Diwald, 'hat sich vom Alptraum des Restitutionsedikts nie mehr freimachen können'.[19] His open opposition to it increased the rift between him and the Catholic princes, and lost him the favour of Ferdinand's powerful Jesuit confessor, Lamormain.[20] He further angered Ferdinand by urging peace in the Franco-Habsburg war over the Mantuan succession.[21] Ferdinand dismissed him at the Diet of Regensburg in summer 1630, his removal and a reduction in the size of the army — just as Gustav Adolf of Sweden landed in Pomerania — the price of the Electors' continued support.

Wallenstein returned to Bohemia, first to Gitschin (Jičín) and then to opulent surroundings in Prague (the Wallenstein Palace today houses the Czech Senate). On 17 September 1631, however, Tilly was routed by Gustav Adolf at Breitenfeld; on 14 November Saxon troops entered Prague and also invaded Friedland. The consensus developed that only Wallenstein could save the day; he was appointed 'General-Capo' on 15 December for three and a half months. Further discussions, completed at Schloß Göllersdorf in April 1632, led to his permanent reappointment, with sole and absolute power to appoint officers, confiscate lands, and decide ceasefires and peace treaties. It has been a commonplace of writing on him, popularized further by Schiller, that after Regensburg he brooded on his dismissal and accepted the command a second time in order to exact revenge, but there is no evidence of such an attitude in the hundreds of extant letters written from 1630 to his death.[22] As Polišenský and Kollmann point out: 'Die schlimmste Rache hätte darin gegipfelt, die Armee nicht aufzubauen und das Generalat nicht anzutreten. Mit dem zweiten Generalat rettete er eigentlich Habsburg und Wittelsbach in ihrer kritischsten Stunde'.[23] Wallenstein was defeated at Lützen (16 November 1632), but more importantly Gustav Adolf was killed; a decisive victory over the Swedes followed at Steinau in early October 1633.

Despite such triumphs Vienna's displeasure, and the machinations of Wallenstein's enemies, returned. He was not thought to be pressing home his advantage over the Swedes and Saxons. He released the Bohemian Protestant leader, 'arch-rebel'[24] Heinrich Matthias von Thurn, who had been taken prisoner at Steinau. He failed to defend Regensburg, which fell to Bernhard of Weimar in November 1633, despite pleas by Duke Maximilian. Against this background his negotiations with the Saxons via Hans Georg von Arnim, a Saxon general who had previously (1628–29) been Wallenstein's field-marshal, aroused suspicion and insinuation even though it was Wallenstein's right to conduct such talks; likewise, 'taken in conjunction with the rumours of Wallenstein's understanding with the Bohemian

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

rebels, Thurn's release was highly suggestive'.[25] A further set of negotiations ran between Wallenstein and a French envoy, Feuquières, who had Richelieu's authority to offer him the Bohemian crown. To secure his position he summoned his officers to Pilsen (Plzeň) on 11 January 1634, where on 12 January, forty-two of the forty-nine present signed declarations of loyalty to him (the substitution of one version of this 'Pilsener Schluss' for another, as seen on Schiller's stage, is a myth).[26] Ferdinand considered this a conspiracy. On 24 January he issued a patent dismissing Wallenstein; on the same day he gave a separate order to his most trusted officers, Gallas, Aldringen, Piccolomini, and Colloredo, either to capture Wallenstein and his accomplices and bring them to Vienna, or to kill them should this prove impossible. The patent was kept secret while the officers loyal to Ferdinand secured the army's support; Wallenstein only found out about it on 21 February, when it was proclaimed in Prague. Hoping for asylum if he reached Saxony, he fled to Eger (Cheb), where, along with Kinsky, Illo, and Terzky, he was assassinated on the evening of 25 February. His body was buried next to that of his first wife at a monastery near Gitschin in 1636 and moved, when the monastery was dissolved under Joseph II, to Münchengrätz (Mnichovo Hradiště) in 1785.[27]

The manner of Wallenstein's downfall made him even more contentious in death than in life; the controversy was deepened — for good — by the conspirators' successful attempts to muddy their parts in the event.[28] Three dramas were written about him within a decade, among them Henry Glapthorne's *Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein* (1639).[29] August von Haugwitz, author of a Mary Stuart drama (1683), apparently also wrote a *Wallenstein*, which has not survived.[30] There was immediate condemnation of 'die vnerhörte / allen Historien Teutschen Landes vnbekandte Meuchelmörderische Schandthat / deß Egerischen Blutbads'.[31] From the Imperial side, on the other hand, there came attempts to justify the assassination, foremost among them the official *Ausführlicher und gründlicher Bericht | Der vorgewesenen Friedtländischen und seiner Adhaerenten abschewlichen Prodition. . .* (hereafter: the *Staatsschrift*), an amalgamation of pro-Habsburg texts printed in October 1634 in response to continuing accusations against Ferdinand in the affair.[32] Also of subsequently contested veracity was Jaroslav Sezima Rašín's *Gründtlicher und wahrhaftiger bericht*, which ostensibly described Wallenstein's treacherous negotiations in the 1630s. Rašín, a Bohemian rebel, confessed his role as a go-between in the negotiations in order to gain Vienna's pardon in 1635.[33] These texts are of more than antiquarian interest, as they shaped common perceptions and opinions and generated historical debate well into the late nineteenth century. The *Staatsschrift* shaped the conservative Catholic historiographical tradition;[34] Rašín's assertion that Wallenstein entered negotiations with Sweden because he was 'so heftig disgustirt [. . .] von dem Kaiser', and the parallel claim of the *Staatsschrift*, that in 1630 he 'arglistige böse Anschläg für vnd an die Hand genommen [hat], an Ihre Kayserl. May. [. . .] wie auch etlichen Chur- und Fürsten sich zu rechen', launched the myth of his vengefulness after Regensburg.[35] The impact on Wallenstein's image was all the greater because *Reichshistoriograph* Franz Christoph Khevenhiller drew on them heavily for the accounts of Wallenstein in his *Annales Ferdinandei* (1640–46; final three volumes 1724–26), a solidly pro-Habsburg chronicle of Ferdinand's lifetime.[36] Despite their tendentiousness, the *Annales*, like the less biased (though not unbiased) *Theatrum Europaeum*, whose nine authors covered 1617–1718 in twenty-one volumes (1643–1738),[37] were to be influential well into the nineteenth century as a comprehensive narrative and collection of documents. Schiller considered Khevenhiller one of the most important sources on Wallenstein.[38] These texts' claims, although hotly contested, were often neither proved nor disproved by other sources: it was only demonstrated in 1920 that a secret order to deliver Wallenstein 'dead or alive', parallel to the official patent of 24 January 1634, had indeed existed as described in the *Staatsschrift*.[39] More significantly, the bias and disputed reliability of such sources, and the range of interpretations to which they gave rise, were to be a crucial factor in making Wallenstein interesting. He was to become an 'unfathomable puzzle' (Hart); as recently as 1987 Diwald wrote that 'das Faszinosum [. . .] findet sich in dem, was wir von ihm wissen und genauso in dem, was wir nicht von ihm wissen'.[40] Unravelling the compelling complexities of the Wallenstein material — and equally, exploring their aesthetic and political potential — was to be a preoccupation of writers in the nineteenth century. The gaps in the sources demanded to be filled, but they left room on the other hand for the creation of a myth.

(ii) History and Myth in the Nineteenth Century

'Wir sindt doch nuhmer gantz / ja mehr den gantz verheret!'[41] A hundred and fifty years and more after it ended, images of devastation, such as that lamented by Gryphius in 1636, still defined perceptions of the Thirty Years War. It was the outstanding trauma in the German past that gripped writers and readers of history. In a lecture in 1891 about the iconic siege and storming of Magdeburg (1631), the Bavarian historian Felix Stieve told his audience that

> die an vernichtenden Kämpfen, an Elend und Schmach so überreiche Geschichte Deutschlands bietet in ihrem ganzen Verlaufe kein traurigeres Bild als das jenes furchtbaren Krieges, welcher volle dreißig Jahre lang in immer grimmigerem und weiter gedehntem Ringen tobte, bis endlich er und seine schrecklichen Gesellen: Raub, Verwüstung, Brand, Mord, Pest und Hungersnot unser vorher wohlhabendes, strebsames und dichtbewohntes Vaterland in ein einziges, weites Trümmerfeld verwandelt hatten [. . .].[42]

After all, German civilians would not again experience war at home on such a scale until the Second World War. Germany's 'bleakest point since the end of the Thirty Years' War', according to John Ardagh, was the *Stunde Null*.[43] As Schiller recognized, the Peace of Westphalia established the European order of the following era (just as the 1949 *Grundgesetz* has often been hailed as the guarantor of stability in the Federal Republic).[44] Even in the nineteenth century 1618–48 trumped the French Revolution: French victories in Germany brought about political upheaval and, in the French-occupied territories, the burden of unruly troops, but the Napoleonic conquest brought 'renewal' as well as 'humiliation'.[45] France presented one specific national enemy, its hegemony lasted for only a short time, and, in retrospect, 1806 led via political reform to 1813: all a far cry from the prolonged *bellum omnium contra omnes* of 1618–48. As recently as 1962 an opinion poll in the countryside in Hesse

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

named the Thirty Years War as the greatest catastrophe in German history, with Germany's defeat in 1945 in second place.[46]

Only the twentieth-century world wars make 1618–48 no longer seem unique; they have now replaced more distant events as the perceived foundations of contemporary Germany.[47] As a result, historians since 1945 have queried the actual extent of the devastation in the Thirty Years War.[48] Robert Ergang argues that the 'myth of the all-destructive fury' was spread by a tendency to generalize on the basis of limited local information (such as stories of cannibalism), *pars pro toto*;[49] all Germany was not a battleground all the time. Research into eyewitness accounts of the war has been a further corrective to generalizations about its effects.[50] Historians have accused literary tradition of perpetuating sensational, inaccurate images of the war and its aftermath: most famously (but not only) Grimmelshausen's *Der abentheurliche Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1669), which appeared in some two hundred separate editions between 1756 and 1976 and which, like Schiller's *Wallenstein*, has persistently influenced perceptions of the war, Gustav Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* (1859, expanded version 1867), and Brecht's *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* (first performed 1941).[51]

Perceptions, however, are what counted in an age which looked to its past to identify the nation.[52] 'National memory', Aleida Assmann comments, 'is receptive to historical moments of triumph and trauma';[53] the centrality of warfare in constructing the nation-state gave added relevance to the memory of past wars and warriors.[54] In nineteenth-century Germany the importance of the historical can scarcely be over-emphasized. Georg Lukács believed that political fragmentation had accelerated and radicalized the 'Historisierung der Kunst' in Germany.[55] Thomas Nipperdey points out that the primacy of *Geschichtswissenschaft* was paradoxically a result of its relevance to the present: 'In einer historisch gesonnenen Kultur hatten die Historiker einen besonderen Einfluß auf die Zeit- und Lebensinterpretation, sie waren Identitätspräsentierer, Erklärer, Sinndeuter und Zukunftsformer'.[56] Nietzsche considered the national obsession with history unhealthy, but even he conceded that it served the present: past greatness had a 'monumental' function in an age of decline; 'antiquarian' history told individuals where they came from and thus linked them to others.[57]

The historians' quasi-priestly role was made possible in Germany by a 'paradigm shift' in historical perception after the mid-eighteenth century.[58] Reinhart Koselleck argues that by the end of the eighteenth century, the previously prevalent sense of past, present, and future as one continuum had been broken.[59] Precise dating is difficult: Peter Burke identifies this 'sense of anachronism' in the Renaissance,[60] and Koselleck links its emergence to the secular impulses of the German Reformation.[61] It is to the last third of the eighteenth century, however, that Koselleck dates the use of 'Geschichte' as a collective singular noun to indicate a sum of separate, individual (hi)stories.[62] 'Geschichte', Koselleck finds, now implied 'eher [. . .] das Geschehene selbst'; 'Historie', the term previously in vogue, 'dessen Bericht'.[63] Michel Foucault expresses a similar idea: that modern thought since the close of the eighteenth century has been marked by 'l'Histoire', which locates phenomena in analogy to each other, whereas 'l'Ordre', its epistemological predecessor, 'ouvrait

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

le chemin des identités et des différences *successives*'.[64] This was a premise both of Enlightenment historiography and of the *Historismus* that emerged in opposition to it as the mainstream of scholarship in nineteenth-century Germany.[65]

Aleida Assmann dates to the eighteenth century an analogous shift in the concept of memory, from memory as *ars*, static mnemotechnics, to memory as *vis*, an ever-changing process of identity-building through remembering. Among the causes of this shift, she singles out the new science of anthropology and its historical, genetic understanding of memory.[66] The upheaval of the French Revolution and the wars that followed it reinforced the perceptual break with the past: participation in momentous events heightened the sense that today's present would be tomorrow's history. Goethe reports telling the Duke of Weimar's troops at Valmy (20 September 1792): 'Von hier und heute geht eine neue Epoche der Weltgeschichte aus, und ihr könnt sagen, ihr seid dabei gewesen'.[67] For Lukács the creation and deployment of a citizens' army by Revolutionary France gave the masses the experience of taking part in history for the first time, so that they now comprehended day-to-day existence as 'geschichtlich bedingt'.[68] Changes on this scale also bring about a turn to the past in search of identity. Aleida Assmann, an *Anglistin*, observes that history as a source of identity enjoyed a high tide in the Renaissance comparable to that of the nineteenth century: she attributes this high tide, in England's case, to the Reformation, which shattered appeals to the norms of tradition and highlighted the discontinuity between the present and the past.[69] Schiller's Prologue to *Wallenstein* memorably expresses the break made in European consciousness by Napoleon. The 'alte feste Form' of the Treaty of Westphalia has collapsed (ll. 70–71); an unfathomable new order has thrown the parameters of politics wide open, making conventional responses insufficient:

> Und jetzt an des Jahrhunderts ernstem Ende,
> Wo selbst die Wirklichkeit zur Dichtung wird,
> Wo wir den Kampf gewaltiger Naturen
> Und ein bedeutend Ziel vor Augen sehn,
> Und um der Menschheit große Gegenstände,
> Um Herrschaft und um Freiheit wird gerungen,
> Jetzt darf die Kunst auf ihrer Schattenbühne
> Auch höhern Flug versuchen, ja sie muß,
> Soll nicht des Lebens Bühne sie beschämen. (*Prolog*, 61–69)

The historical drama and novel accompanied the rise of history as a 'Sinndeuter und Zukunftsformer'; despite history's subsequent development as a self-consciously 'scientific' and professional discipline, the boundary between history and 'historical' literature remained blurred.[70] The Baroque mindset had seen past and present as a continuum, with 'nothing new under the sun' to be discerned from history.[71] Opitz's *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624) asserted that the poet 'muß [. . .] von sinnreichen einfällen und erfindungen sein [. . .] | muß hohe sachen bey sich erdencken können | [. . .] vnd von der erden empor steigen'.[72] History was mainly one of many sources of spectacle: poetry 'vntermenget allerley fabeln / historien / Kriegeskünste / schlachten / rathschläge / sturm / wetter / vnd was sonsten zue erweckung der verwunderung in den gemütern von nöthen ist'.[73]

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

Gottsched's *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* a century later (1730) marked a subtle shift: 'Ich suche in der Historie dergleichen Prinzen, die sich zu meiner Absicht schicken, und mein Vaterland insbesondre angehen'.[74] Literary demands still came first, but historical material could nonetheless have meaning for the present. The last of Wieland's *Briefe an einen jungen Dichter* (1782–84) likewise saw Lessing's and Goethe's dramas on patriotic historical subjects as natural for 'teutsche Zuschauer'.[75] Although Lukács's insistence that the historical novel began with Walter Scott has been challenged (for one thing it hardly fits with his parallel theory that it developed in the *levée en masse* and the *Sonderweg*), others also date the rise of the genre around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[76] Criticism of the historical novel from the 1790s onwards as a 'Zwittergattung' indicates that it was identified as a genre in its own right.[77]

Schiller's response to the turmoil of his age was art, which could and must respond to a changed reality: art was no replacement for reality, but was closely linked to it. Art, for Schiller, is a higher means to comprehend reality when other ways give out; it gives an illusion of reality on the one hand, and destroys the illusion on the other, reminding its recipient that its reality is in fact only imagined (*Prolog*, 129–38). This tightrope-walk made the historical novel and drama, genres between the historical and literary modes, even better suited than history to 'Sinndeutung und Zukunftsformung'. The drama *Wallenstein* was to have an impact far greater than any of the historians' studies. Parallel to Aleida Assmann's definition of 'Speichergedächtnis' and 'Funktionsgedächtnis', where one task of 'archival' memory is to be a bank of potential content for the more relevant, mutable 'functional' memory,[78] literature can be accessible and engaging in comparison with more comprehensive, but less immediately compelling, historiography. Jan Assmann identifies bards, artists and writers among the special bearers of cultural memory because of their 'Alltagsenthobenheit und Alltagsentpflichtung'; a study of nationalism finds that 'if it is through the historian one recovers the national destiny, it is the artist who dramatizes the rediscovered myths and legends, projecting them to a wider audience'.[79] Aristotle's *Poetics* judges that 'poetry is at once more like philosophy and more worth while than history, since poetry tends to make general statements, while those of history are particular'.[80] Aleida Assmann's concept of the 'cultural text' makes a similar distinction: with texts classified in this case according to the manner of their reception, the 'literary text' is read by a reader who is isolated both from other recipients and, by critical distance, from the text itself; the popularity of the text depends on the tastes and fashions of the time. The 'cultural text', on the other hand, is shared by a group, whose identity it partly defines; it is taken to convey binding truths for that group, and it remains relevant for all times.[81] Flawed as this distinction may be — many texts fall into both categories — it nonetheless emphasizes the power of literature to be relevant, and to possess exactly that present-day relevance from which *Historismus* was banned in theory but which it pursued in practice. Historical literature performs the same transition, from the period-bound to the timeless, required to turn a historical personality into a hero. According to Hölderlin's 'Buonaparte', penned in 1797:

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

Heilige Gefäße sind die Dichter,
Worinn des Lebens Wein, der Geist
Der Helden sich aufbewahrt.[82]

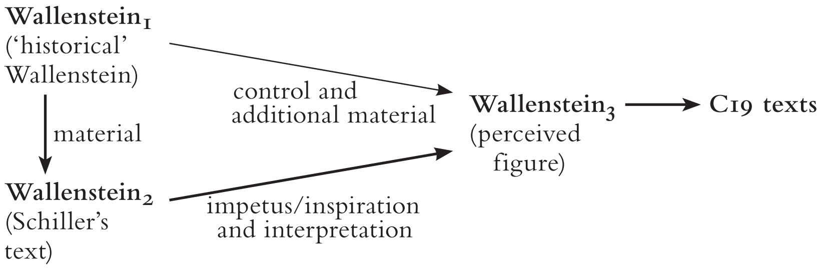
'History books', according to Rees Davies's study of the Welsh prince and rebel Owain Glyn Dŵr (*c.*1359–*c.*1416), 'are populated by dead characters; the heroes of social memory must for ever be alive'.[83]

The key to the 'living' quality of historical literature is reception. Literary works are not written for scholarship, but in large part for their effect on their recipients; whereas history analyses the past, literature evokes it. Paul Ricoeur emphasizes the reconstruction of a story in the mind of the reader as a final act of mimesis in the narrative process: 'to follow a story is to actualize it by reading it'.[84] Literary readers are guided by the text, but they interpret that text through their own imagination; the process is different from following a historian's reasoned analysis. Literary narrative and literary techniques — allegory, metaphor, symbolism — leave gaps on the author's side for the reader to fill imaginatively, and productively.[85] In the case of drama, the past is made contemporary by the physical context of its reception: the action takes place in the present tense, in front of a present-day audience. As a public space, always occupied by several people at once, the theatre guarantees the collective reception and group significance required by a 'cultural text'. Yet the men and women on the stage are dramatic representations of historical personalities, not the personalities themselves, and it is paradoxically because of this fiction that they can refer to the present day of author and audience as well as the past. Reminders that art is illusory — in Schiller's case, his drama's unrealistic rhyme (*Prolog*, 131) — underpin the effect.

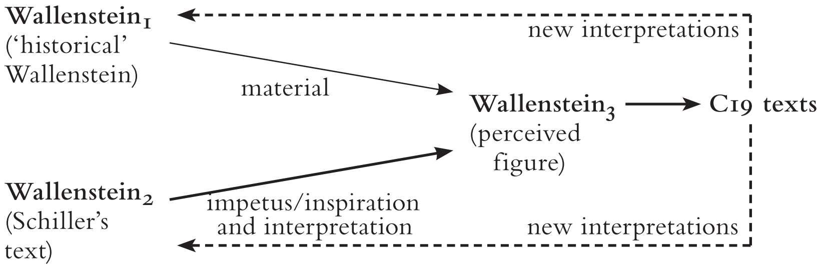
Wallenstein was the foremost example of its genre. Goethe introduced the trilogy to the public in 1798 as a 'Wagestück' and a 'Neuerung' (FA IV, 765). He observed that *Wallensteins Lager* had awakened interest in the period and was seen as both history and art: '[man] macht sich gefaßt, den Dichter sowohl in Bezug auf den Geschichtschreiber als auch in so fern er Schöpfer seines Gegenstandes werden musste, zu beurtheilen'.[86] According to Gervinus, Schiller's history plays, defining moments in forming a classical, indigenous theatrical repertoire to counter '[der] Eindrang des Fremden', had opened up 'das ganze Gebiet der neueren Geschichte dem Drama' and shown a 'poetic side' to this essentially prosaic material.[87] For Dilthey, writing in 1895, Schiller had 'created' the genre; 'Historisches Drama, geschichtlicher Roman, ja die Geschichte selbst wurden durch Schillers Drama beeinflußt'.[88] Likewise a recent study observes that 'it would be difficult to exaggerate Schiller's contribution to the shaping of the German historical drama'.[89] Schiller and his contemporaries self-consciously sought to make their works historically authentic, pointing out some (though tellingly not all) of their deviations from historical fact, and making Wallenstein's belief in astrology integral even though they thought it nonsensical: 'die unbedingte Verpflichtung auf "den Geist des Zeitalters" [gewinnt] die Oberhand über einen Gegenstand, der als "thörigt" angesehen wird'.[90]

Schiller created a 'Wallenstein figure', a mixture of fact and fiction, which was subsequently decisive not only in the literature and cultural references where

Schiller's influence might be expected, but also in historiography. Schematically the Wallenstein of historical record can be described as Wallenstein$_1$, the Wallenstein of Schiller's text, derived from it, as Wallenstein$_2$, and the perceived figure which resulted from Schiller's treatment as Wallenstein$_3$.[91] Literary, cultural, and historiographical references to, and interpretations of, Wallenstein after Schiller were not based on the 'historical' Wallenstein$_1$ but on the semi-fictional Wallenstein$_3$ influenced by the drama. Wallenstein$_3$ was not identical to Wallenstein$_2$: it was formed and re-formed in the contexts of the nineteenth century, inspired by Wallenstein$_2$ and following much of its interpretation, but with constant reference back to Wallenstein$_1$ for additional material and a control on Schiller's fictions. This relationship can be illustrated in a diagram:


Wallenstein₁
('historical'
Wallenstein)
material
control and
additional material
Wallenstein₃
(perceived
figure)
C19 texts
Wallenstein₂
(Schiller's
text)
impetus/inspiration
and interpretation

This argument — that a radically different perception of Wallenstein existed after Schiller from the one that had existed before — is chronological. At the same time it would be naive not to point out that all three terms 'Wallenstein$_{1-3}$' describe dynamic concepts subject to change. The notional 'historical Wallenstein' with which the scheme begins is unstable: it was itself the product of conflicting interpretations. Nineteenth-century perceptions of a 'historical Wallenstein' were in part the product of Schiller's drama. There is a similar problem with 'the dramatic Wallenstein': interpretations changed and the text itself was adapted. As the 'historical' and 'dramatic' Wallensteins are not absolute and cannot be divorced from their perception, 'Wallenstein$_3$' is also inherent in 'Wallenstein$_1$' and 'Wallenstein$_2$' and the relationship is not one-way but reciprocal:


Wallenstein₁
('historical'
Wallenstein)
new interpretations
material
Wallenstein₃
(perceived
figure)
C19 texts
Wallenstein₂
(Schiller's
text)
impetus/inspiration
and interpretation
new interpretations

Whether diachronic or synchronic, the core of the argument remains unchanged. Schiller's drama constituted such a landmark in interpreting Wallenstein and exerted such influence in popularizing him, that it is legitimate to see it as a caesura and precedent unmatched by any other single work.

Wallenstein was thus the starting point of a myth. Common to all myths is that they serve a function in the context in which they are recounted;[92] political myths, like history in nineteenth-century Germany, offer ‘an account of the past and the future in the light of which the present can be understood’.[93] The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss claimed in 1977 to be ‘not far from believing that, in our own societies, history has replaced mythology and fulfils the same function’.[94] Myth combines subjectivity and objectivity: its contents elude scholarly verification but they are never completely divorced from reality.[95] Like the historical novel and drama, it is a productive ‘Zwittergattung’. Furthermore, myths combine uniformity (the same story is told over and over again) with variation (it is retold in different versions), just as a literary work is altered by the twists and turns of its reception.[96] ‘Mythen’, according to Hans Blumenberg, ‘sind Geschichten von hochgradiger Beständigkeit ihres narrativen Kerns und ebenso ausgeprägter marginaler Variationsfähigkeit’.[97] Myths must be believable, just as Aristotle’s mimetic poet, although no historian, is constrained to say ‘what can happen in a strictly probable or necessary sequence’.[98] They must be recognizable. On the other hand there are ‘limitless possibilities’ for a myth’s meaning;[99] the ‘quest for the *true* version’ is mistaken, as a myth is only expressed in its variant forms.[100]

Like ‘cultural’ or ‘living’ texts, political myths depend on their recipients as well as those who disseminate them, on ‘demand’ as well as ‘supply’.[101] On the one hand the recipients are all-powerful: their agenda dictates the myth’s content and effectiveness; there must be a public ‘willingness to believe’.[102] On the other hand, willing audiences can be deliberately or inadvertently tricked. Credible inaccuracies come into circulation because myths are taken on trust from ‘experts’, so that fiction can be swallowed as fact.[103] Karl Gustav Helbig, a schoolteacher in Dresden who also produced an edition of *Wallenstein* ‘für Schule und Haus’,[104] found in 1852 that in contrast with most historians, public opinion, ‘unterstützt durch czechische und protestantische Antipathien gegen das Haus Habsburg’, had reached a more positive judgement on Wallenstein,

> welches [Urteil], durch Schillers poetische Bearbeitung veredelt und gehoben, auf längere Zeit traditionell wurde, gerade so wie Goethe dem unbedeutenden Götz von Berlichingen zu einer glänzenden Popularität verhalf und der scheußliche Don Carlos durch Schiller in der Volksmeinung zu einem edlen Vertreter des liberalen Enthusiasmus wurde. Man schwärmte für Wallenstein, unbekümmert um seine fürchterlichen Gewaltthaten in Norddeutschland, während Tilly, ein Mann von viel ehrenwertherem Charakter, dessen Soldaten nichts Aergeres gethan als die Wallensteiner, als grausamer Wütherich gebrandmarkt wurde.[105]

Schiller’s disregard for historical truth had created an audience ignorant of it.

Other historical figures and events have likewise achieved mythical status.[106] Schiller’s Wallenstein compares himself to Caesar (*Tod* II. 2. 835–43) and Henri IV of France (*Tod* V. 3. 3490–99).[107] A study of the Battle of Agincourt (1415) describes ‘its lasting literary legacy in England’, ‘due in no small part to Shakespeare’s *Henry the Fifth*’.[108] Likewise Shakespeare ‘popularised and lent authority to’ Richard III’s image as a deformed usurper whose death marked the dawn of a new era after a century of crisis.[109] Goethe (as Helbig observed) deliberately turned the unimportant Gottfried von Berlichingen into a literary hero: ‘Ich dramatisire die Geschichte

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

eines der edelsten Deutschen, rette das Andencken eines braven Mannes'.[110] Ian Kershaw traces the ingredients and workings of a 'Hitler myth' deliberately created by contemporary propaganda.[111]

Cromwell and Napoleon were repeatedly compared with Wallenstein; their myths show two parallels with his.[112] First, representative aspects of their lives were singled out by posterity and invested with meaning. One such event was Cromwell's violent dissolution of the Long Parliament in April 1653, and his phrase, 'Take away that bauble!' as he seized the parliamentary mace.[113] A letter from starving workmen to the Home Secretary in 1811 conflated Cromwell with Hercules, protesting that 'It's time a second Oliver made his appearance to cleanse the Augean stable'.[114] Napoleon's image in Germany was focused on his conquests and victories up to and during 1806, the campaign against him symbolized by 1813, his banishment to Elba and 'hundred-day' return, and his martyr-like imprisonment on St. Helena.[115] In Cromwell's case, a single work, Thomas Carlyle's edition of his *Letters and Speeches* (1845), reawakened popular interest in the hero of a bygone age. Carlyle 'believed he had rescued Cromwell just in time, before Cromwell's beliefs and language, traduced for two centuries, had finally become unintelligible'.[116] Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Wales* (1778–81) revived interest in Owain Glyn Dŵr, beginning Owain's transformation into the 'father of modern Welsh nationalism' described by Sir John Edward Lloyd in the Oxford Ford Lectures in 1920.[117]

Secondly, the timelessness and variability of myths translates into polyvalence. Different causes at different times, or even different camps of opinion over the same issue, can endow the same person, event or place with mythical qualities: a variety of memories can attach to any one *lieu de mémoire* over time.[118] Owain Glyn Dŵr 'was a man for all centuries; it is his very plasticity and multi-dimensionality which made him such a serviceable national hero'.[119] 'Many-sided' Wallenstein (Hart) was applauded by *großdeutsch* and *kleindeutsch* historians. There is a consensus of interest around such figures (Blair Worden writes of Victorian Cromwellianism as a 'coalition of enthusiasms');[120] like them or not, they are part of everyone's history, and they can function as all things to all people. There is no need to approve of the man in order to participate in the myth: nineteenth-century apologists for the Church of England used Cromwell's proscription of Anglicanism as a counter-weapon against Nonconformist historiography.[121] Napoleon, according to one commentator, was

> in einer Person (wenn auch nicht zu gleicher Zeit) hellenischer Heros, römischer Cäsar, orientalischer Despot; strahlender junger Gott und gewissensloser Abenteurer; Sohn des Chaos und sein Ordner, Bändiger der Revolution und ihr Vollstrecker; elementare Urkraft und rechnender Riesenverstand.[122]

He was variously seen in nineteenth-century Germany as a saviour in an era of decline and a man of incomparable if demonic greatness, in Nietzsche's words a 'Synthesis von *Unmensch* und *Übermensch*';[123] the poets of the 'Wars of Liberation' vilified him, but in so doing contributed to his prominence.[124]

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

(iii) Secondary Literature and Methodology

Listing studies of Schiller and his works ‘würde Bände füllen’.[125] Works on Schiller reception, on the other hand, are fewer in number, although not sparse. Albert Ludwig’s monographs (1905 and 1909) were early landmarks.[126] Although their perspective may seem dated, they are thorough, and they established the premise on which nineteenth-century views of Schiller are still discussed: that few of his admirers or detractors really understood his works.[127] Norbert Oellers’s two-volume collection of texts from 1782 to 1966 (*Schiller — Zeitgenosse aller Epochen*), with comprehensive introductions, and his earlier study concentrated on the period 1805–32, are the definitive guides to Schiller reception.[128] Oellers disapproves of the nineteenth-century *bildungsbürgerlich* deployment of Schiller as a cultural adornment and source of quotations, which hindered critical engagement with his works:

> Die Geschichte des Schillerschen Nachruhms ist zu einem beträchtlichen Teil die Geschichte einer starren Verehrung, einer uniformen Bewunderung.
> [. . .]
> An Zitaten, die jedermann geläufig waren, bestand kein Mangel, sie waren das dauerhafte Gerüst, dessen Tragfähigkeit nur selten in Zweifel gezogen wurde.[129]

With the publication of a new dictionary of Schiller quotations in time for his 2005 bicentenary — not to mention salt and pepper shakers modelled on Schiller (salt) and Goethe (pepper) — one might add that this attitude has undergone little change.[130] Like Oellers, Michael Hofmann observes that in the nineteenth century Schiller enjoyed ‘eine ungeheure Popularität, die aber nicht auf der gründlichen Kenntnis [. . .] seiner Werke beruhte, sondern hauptsächlich in der Funktionalisierung einzelner Zitate und Sentenzen’. Hofmann identifies a further tendency, that by contrast with this adulation many ‘bedeutende Autoren’ sought critical distance from Schiller.[131] Büchner, Nietzsche, and Adorno all criticized his supposedly otherworldly idealism, though their labelling of Schiller as the ‘Moraltrompeter von Säckingen’ (Nietzsche) or the ‘Hofpoet des deutschen Idealismus’ who appointed art to a position of ‘erbauliche Unverbindlichkeit’ (Adorno) is just as impressionistic and unsophisticated as its opposite.[132] Three articles in the *Schiller-Handbuch* (1998) have surveyed Schiller reception in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and abroad;[133] Monika Carbe published a new book-length study in 2005.[134] There are also detailed studies of the 1859 centenary festival,[135] Schiller’s significance for early twentieth-century social democracy,[136] and his use in the Third Reich.[137]

There are nonetheless few studies of the reception of individual plays. A notable exception is the catalogue of the 2005 exhibition ‘Die Wahrheit hält Gericht: Schillers Helden heute’: brief articles on each play examine recent productions and suggest texts in which Schiller’s themes have subsequently been adapted. The article on *Wallenstein* not only discusses Döblin’s novel *Wallenstein* (1920) but also sees the generational conflict between Octavio and Max Piccolomini replicated by Riccardo and Fontana in Hochhuth’s *Der Stellvertreter* (1963).[138] Barbara Piatti’s engaging study of *Wilhelm Tell*, published in 2004 to mark the bicentenary of *Tell*’s first performance, takes two geographical locations, Weimar and the *Urschweiz*

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

around the Vierwaldstättersee, as foci for the popular reception of *Tell* in Germany and Switzerland respectively.[139]

No cultural-historical study comparable to Piatti's exists for *Wallenstein*. Its reception has been considered before, but such studies have been limited in scope. Monographs have concentrated on *either* literary *or* historiographical reception, often mentioning works in the other mode, but not treating them with equal weight.[140] Such studies will be surveyed in greater detail in Chapters 3 (literature) and 5 (historiography) below. Despite these works, a recent handbook chapter speaks of 'eine literarische Wirkungsgeschichte, die noch gar nicht systematisch aufgearbeitet ist, und ins spätere neunzehnte und zwanzigste Jahrhundert zu verfolgen wäre'; such a study could extend 'zu [. . .] der einschlägigen Geschichtsforschung überhaupt'.[141] Secondly, critics have tended to focus on isolated highlights of writing on Wallenstein over a period of time, such as the triad Schiller — Döblin — Ricarda Huch.[142] This rationalizes a massive body of material, but also reaffirms the distaste for nineteenth-century Schiller reception and unnecessarily narrows the field of vision: as Hohendahl points out with reference to 1859, 'das, was in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte in der Regel als unangemessene Popularisierung ausgeschieden wird, ist unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Kanonbildung von großer Bedeutung'.[143] The 'highlights' approach has nonetheless made possible the comparison of literary and historical accounts of Wallenstein, with two such studies considering Schiller, Ranke, and Golo Mann,[144] and Mann, Döblin, and the Czech historian Josef Pekař.[145] Two recent book-length studies, both consciously influenced by the methods of New Historicism, likewise work outside the 'history *or* literature' mould. Kathy Saranpa describes the critical reception of *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart*, and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* in the context of intellectual history from the late 1790s to 'post-(re)unification criticism';[146] Peter Höyng focuses on three aspects of late eighteenth-century Wallenstein dramas — astrology, censorship, and the 'Vaterlands- und Nationaldiskurs' — as theatrical case studies of the 'paradigm shift' in historical perception *c*.1770. Höyng's work is not concerned with the plays' reception after their period, but its emphasis on the dramas' place within (and their expression of) broader cultural discourses counterbalances the separation of history and literature and the focus on prominent names.[147]

The present study examines the development and uses of the Wallenstein figure under Schiller's influence from 1790, the publication date of the first instalment of *GDK* in Göschen's *Historischer Calender für Damen*, to 1920, the publication date of Döblin's novel and Heinrich Ritter von Srbik's history, *Wallensteins Ende*. It will not treat literary and historical works as one and the same, but it will nonetheless emphasize the common image of Wallenstein on which they drew. Existing but disparate strands of research, both on Schiller and on national and historical culture in nineteenth-century Germany, are thus gathered in a single focus on *Wallenstein* for the first time. The study does not follow the methods of New Historicism (Höyng's, which does, points out that a binding 'New Historicist' methodology is difficult to define),[148] but it is nonetheless indebted to the 'broader vision of the field of cultural interpretation' on which New Historicism draws.[149] New Historicism extends the range of the texts it interprets beyond established canons and across the divide between literature and history. In that spirit, the nineteenth-century 'trivializing' of Schiller is itself interesting. New Historicism has brought the two disciplines closer by giving greater historical significance than before to 'contextual' material such as literature.[150] Cultural studies theory likewise shifts the focus from a high view of culture as 'coterminous with the arts' to a broader view where it constitutes 'the entire mental and material habitat of a distinct people or other social group',[151] though its application to periods before the late nineteenth century is severely limited. It is anchored in the rise of industrial society,[152] and, in the case of German cultural studies, in Adorno and Horkheimer's diagnosis of standardization and stultification in their essay 'Kulturindustrie' (1944), which deals with developments (notably radio and film) in the decades immediately preceding the essay's appearance and owes much to the specific context of its authors' exile in the United States and the perversion of culture under the Nazi regime.[153]

For two reasons, however, the Wallenstein material will for the most part be presented here in parallel studies of 'literature', 'culture', and 'historiography'. First, the argument progresses from literary material, where Schiller's influence can be expected, to material that speaks for popular reception outside the narrow literary sphere, and thence to the less straightforward contention that the dramatic Wallenstein influenced historical interpretation. Secondly, the three discourses, despite all the similarities between them, are distinct from each other. The texts which constitute them differ: in style and genre, but most importantly in the manner and mindset of their production and reception. Differentiating between these discourses is a prerequisite of drawing useful parallels between them. The aim to present a synthesis of texts on Wallenstein is also most clearly served by locating them in each case among similar material.

The quantity of material on Wallenstein is mitigated somewhat by its repetitiousness. As a compromise between breadth and depth the present study covers a range of texts, but also gives closer attention to selected authors and specific historical events. Many such foci, such as Grillparzer, Huch, Döblin, 1813, 1859, Ranke, and the *Deutschböhmen*, have been chosen because of their general significance; others, although less widely known, because they are internally important in the development of Wallenstein's image. This approach follows the dichotomy outlined above between 'high' and 'low' reception, though it will challenge Hofmann's suggestion that 'well-known' authors were as far from Schiller as they seem. Consequently material for the project has been selected partly on the basis of the canon established by previous studies (which has also served as a check that important works have not been left out). The broader category of material, on the other hand, has been assembled mainly from Schmid and Loewe's Wallenstein bibliography (1879–1911) and online library catalogues.[154] Systematically ordered catalogues (such as that of the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach) and archives (such as the Oscar Fambach collection in Bonn and the Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung in Cologne) facilitated this task, though only for the holdings of the institution in question. Chance finds such as the response to a particular performance of *Wallenstein* in 1813, or the drama's popularity among soldiers on the Eastern Front in 1914–18, suggested 'leads' which were then followed up. Practical constraints of time and resources meant that the search for materials was limited to libraries in the UK and to specific centres in Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic, listed in the Bibliography, where a sizeable concentration of relevant material could be found. Even this choice of 'major' research libraries is arbitrary; on the other hand, it proved a useful means to limit a broad spectrum of materials, after initial selection on the basis of their apparent relevance (titles of local or special interest were largely dismissed) without applying further qualitative criteria. The present study thus follows the tendencies towards 'quality' and canonical names, but it also goes beyond them. It contributes to existing critical debates from a new angle, and, on the other hand, relates new or hitherto less prominent material to the concept of a 'Wallenstein figure'. Similarly the period chosen combines a span of prominent works — from Schiller to Döblin, or from Schiller to Srbik — with the broader historical span of the 'long nineteenth century' from the '"double revolution" of the late eighteenth century (the French Revolution of 1789, the Industrial Revolution in Britain)' to the First World War.[155] Considerations of time and space have meant that the period 1920–45, which saw many new publications on Wallenstein and might profitably be the subject of an additional study, is not discussed here.[156] Likewise the study is limited geographically to the German-speaking countries and focuses more closely on Germany (as defined in 1871) and the Habsburg Empire than on Switzerland.

(iv) Outline

The study begins with Schiller's *Wallenstein* (Chapter 2), asking what Schiller 'did' to Wallenstein, and how he did for him what Goethe did for Götz, Carlyle for Cromwell, and Pennant for Owain Glyn Dŵr. The chapter will survey some of the literary and historical works which demonstrate the context of heightened interest in Wallenstein in which the drama appeared, and will examine Schiller's history of the war and his changing views of Wallenstein during the drama's genesis. It will then consider the result: how did Schiller's dramatic figure contrast with existing trends, or express them in a new way? Which aspects of the drama subsequently became popular, or controversial, and what is their function in Schiller's text? Chapter 3 examines nineteenth-century literary portrayals of Wallenstein, first examining the creative reception of *Wallenstein*'s themes outside Schiller's context in a broad spectrum of works. The chapter then looks in closer detail at three cases in which modification or rejection of Schiller's *Wallenstein* is nonetheless strong evidence of his influence: Heinrich Laube, Otto Ludwig, and Franz Grillparzer. Chapter 4 follows some of the same themes in a wider cultural context and with a broader basis of material: literary histories, newspaper articles, speeches, school curricula. Its two main foci are the literary-critical response to *Wallenstein*, which confirmed the drama as an important feature of German 'national literature', and the use of Schiller's Wallenstein in forging German national identity, a concomitant of Schiller's own popularity in German cultural nationalism before 1871. The chapter is intended as a bridge between the literary works of Chapter 3 and Chapters 5 and 6, which return from the general to the specific to survey a range of historical writing

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

on Wallenstein from 1800 through to 1920. Again, these chapters have two foci: the historians' perhaps unexpected response to Schiller's text, and the exploitability of the Wallenstein figure by different sides of the nineteenth-century national debate. In Chapter 6 Wallenstein is seen to have lost popularity inside the new *Kaiserreich*, but to have been transferred to bolster the identity of the German minority in Bohemia instead. The final chapter examines Wallenstein's revival as a definition, or guarantor, of German identity during the First World War — his contemporary relevance was reflected in wartime performances of *Wallenstein* and by Walter Flex's popular collection of stories about 1618–48, *Wallensteins Antlitz* (1918). In this short period two prominent authors, Ricarda Huch and Döblin, injected the Wallenstein figure with new interpretations and new means of presentation, in both historical and literary works, thus signalling the end of Wallenstein's 'long nineteenth century'. They deliberately and overtly attempted to move away from Schiller; yet they too showed an unacknowledged or downplayed debt to his *Wallenstein*.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. '[Vorarbeiten zur] Valediktionsarbeit aus Schulpforta': Leopold von Ranke, *Aus Werk und Nachlaß*, ed. by Theodor Schieder, 4 vols (Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1964–75), III, 78–79.
2. Schiller's works are cited according to Friedrich Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Gerhard Fricke and Herbert G. Göpfert, 5 vols (Munich: Hanser, 1959), abbreviated SW with volume and page number; *Wallensteins Lager* is cited as '*Lager*', *Die Piccolomini* as '*Picc*', and *Wallensteins Tod* as '*Tod*'. Texts not in SW are quoted from *Schillers Werke. Nationalausgabe*, ed. by Julius Petersen and others (Weimar: Böhlau, 1943–), abbreviated NA. Some editorial material is quoted from Friedrich Schiller, *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*, ed. by Otto Dann and others (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1988–2004), abbreviated FA.
3. Georg Schmid, 'Die Wallenstein-Literatur 1626–1878. Bibliographische Studie', *MVGDB*, 17 (1879), 65–143; subsequent instalments by Schmid in *MVGDB*, 21 (1883), supplement, 1–48, and 23 (1885), supplement, 1–39, and by Viktor Loewe, *MVGDB*, 34 (1896), 277–315, 40 (1902), 514–34, and 49 (1911), 29–60. See also Čeněk Zíbrt, *Bibliografie České Historie*, 5 vols (Prague: České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa, 1900–12), V, 38–133, nos. 12464–14406.
4. B. H. Liddell Hart, *Great Captains Unveiled* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1927), pp. 155–56.
5. Ibid., p. 202.
6. 'Bei Wallenstein müssen viele passen', *Südkurier*, Konstanz, 12 July 1985: Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach a.N. (hereafter: DLA), Dokumentationsstelle. Lesley Sharpe, *Friedrich Schiller: Drama, Thought and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), reports that 'whereas Wallenstein was a familiar figure to audiences of Schiller's day, he is unfamiliar nowadays both to German and non-German audiences' (p. 221).
7. This summary is based principally on Josef Polišenský and Josef Kollmann, *Wallenstein. Feldherr des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, trans. by Herbert Langer (Cologne: Böhlau, 1997). Hellmut Diwald, *Wallenstein. Biographie* (Frankfurt a.M.: Ullstein, 1987), is another recent study; Francis Watson, *Wallenstein: Soldier under Saturn* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1938) is a highly readable biography in English. Golo Mann, *Wallenstein. Sein Leben erzählt* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1997 [first edn 1971]), is discussed in the conclusion to the present study. For an authoritative introduction in English to the war as a whole, see *The Thirty Years' War*, ed. by Geoffrey Parker, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1997).
8. On the Wallenstein family's circumstances, see Polišenský/Kollmann, pp. 16–18.
9. Diwald, *Wallenstein*, pp. 29–31.
10. Polišenský/Kollmann, p. 27.
11. C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Methuen, 1981, 1st edn 1938), p. 172.
12. See Polišenský/Kollmann, pp. 75–81.

13. Ibid., p. 94.
14. G. Pagès, *La Guerre de Trente Ans, 1618–1648* (Paris: Payot, 1949), p. 106.
15. Polišenský/Kollmann, p. 156. On the 'Kapuzinerrelationen', see Holger Mannigel, *Wallenstein in Weimar, Wien und Berlin. Das Urteil über Albrecht von Wallenstein in der deutschen Historiographie von Friedrich von Schiller bis Leopold von Ranke* (Husum: Matthiesen, 2003), pp. 207–12; for the texts, see Gottfried Lorenz, *Quellen zur Geschichte Wallensteins*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte der Neuzeit, 20 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), pp. 161–85, and Carl Maria von Aretin, *Wallenstein. Beiträge zur näheren Kenntniß seines Charakters, seiner Plane, seines Verhältnisses zu Bayern* (Munich: Pössenbacher, 1845), Urkunden, pp. 15–30. Moriz Ritter identified Alexander's anonymous correspondent as the Capuchin Valerio Magni in 1890; other candidates had previously been suggested, among them Wallenstein's cousin and sworn enemy, Wilhelm von Slawata: Edmund Schebek, *Die Lösung der Wallensteinfrage* (Berlin: Hofmann, 1881), p. 61.
16. J. V. Polišenský, *The Thirty Years War*, trans. by R. J. W. Evans (London: New English Library, 1974), p. 180.
17. Polišenský/Kollmann, p. 165.
18. Johann Philipp Abelin, *Theatrum Europaeum, oder Außführliche und Wahrhafftige Beschreibung aller und jeder denckwürdiger Geschichten. . .* I (Frankfurt a.M.: Hoffmann, 1643), p. 1069; also Frantz Christoph Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandei*, 2nd edn, 12 vols (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1721–26), XI, col. 197. Cf. *Lager*, 8. 604–06.
19. Diwald, *Wallenstein*, p. 429.
20. Polišenský/Kollmann, p. 182.
21. Ibid., p. 193.
22. Diwald, *Wallenstein*, p. 448.
23. Polišenský/Kollmann, p. 239.
24. Wedgwood, p. 351.
25. Wedgwood, pp. 351–52.
26. Polišenský/Kollmann, p. 245, gives the figure forty-two out of forty-nine; Friedrich Christoph Förster, *Albrechts von Wallenstein, des Herzogs von Friedland und Mecklenburg, ungedruckte, eigenhändige vertrauliche Briefe und amtliche Schreiben, aus den Jahren 1627 bis 1634. Mit einer Charakteristik des Lebens und der Feldzüge Wallenstein's*, 3 vols (Berlin: Reimer, 1828–29), III, 151n., declares that 'gewöhnlich werden 42 Namen gezählt'. On the other hand Lorenz, *Quellen*, pp. 372–74, which gives the text of this first 'Pilsener Schluss' or 'Pilsener Revers', lists forty-nine signatories, as does Hermann Hallwich, *Wallenstein's Ende. Ungedruckte Briefe und Acten*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1879), II, 187–88. Schiller and his sources have one version of the document, with a clause explicitly declaring loyalty to Ferdinand, shown to the officers before a banquet, and a second version, without the clause, given to them for signature when drunk; this was corrected by Ranke (see Chapter 6 below). On the impact of the 'Schluss', see Pekka Suvanto, *Wallenstein und seine Anhänger am Wiener Hof zur Zeit des zweiten Generalats 1631–1634*, Studia Historica, 5 (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1963), pp. 379–80. A second (and lesser-known) 'Pilsener Schluss', dated 19/20 February 1634, attempted to undo the damage by reaffirming the generals' loyalty to Ferdinand: Lorenz, *Quellen*, pp. 397–99, and Hallwich, *Wallenstein's Ende*, II, pp. clxx–clxxi and 231–33.
27. See Hermann Hallwich, 'Wallenstein's Grab', *MVGDB*, 22 (1884), 1–10.
28. *The Thirty Years' War*, ed. by Parker, p. 123.
29. Theodor Vetter, *Wallenstein in der dramatischen Dichtung des Jahrzehnts seines Todes. Micraelius — Glapthorne — Fulvio Testi* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1894); see also Maria Wolf, 'Wallenstein als Dramenheld. Literarische Gestaltungen von Vernulaeus bis Schiller' (doctoral thesis, University of Heidelberg, 1992), pp. 39–111.
30. Haugwitz claimed in the preface to *Prodromus Poeticus* (1684) that he had written the drama: Karl Goedeke, *Grundriß zur Geschichte der Deustchen Dichtung*, 2nd edn, 18 vols (Berlin: Akademie, 1884–1998), III, 228.
31. *Deutsche Illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel*, II, ed. by Wolfgang Harms, 2nd edn (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), p. 539.

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

32. The *Staatsschrift* was reprinted in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Beyträge zur Geschichte des dreyßigjährigen Krieges* [...] *nebst Urkunden und vielen Erläuterungen zur Geschichte des berühmten kaiserlichen Generalissimus Albrecht Wallensteins, Herzogs zu Friedland* (Nuremberg: Bauer & Mann, 1790), pp. 203–96, and subsequently in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Die Hauptquellen zu Schillers Wallenstein*, ed. by Albert Leitzmann (Halle a.S.: Niemeyer, 1915), pp. 1–72. References here are to the latter edition, denoted as 'Murr/Leitzmann'. On the authorship, composition, and sources of the text, see Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Wallensteins Ende. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Katastrophe* (Vienna: Seidel, 1920), esp. pp. 319–42 and 369–78. Murr also reproduced the Latin *Alberti Fridlandi perduellionis chaos*[:] *ingrati animi abyssus*[,] *cum licentia superiorum*, one of the texts on which the *Staatsschrift* was based (Murr, *Beyträge*, pp. 131–202).
33. The text is in Lorenz, *Quellen*, pp. 436–67, and Arnold Gaedeke, *Wallensteins Verhandlungen mit den Schweden und Sachsen 1631–1634. Mit Akten und Urkunden aus dem kgl. sächsich. Hauptstaatsarchiv zu Dresden* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1885), pp. 309–33; see Mann, *Wallenstein. Sein Leben erzählt*, pp. 640–41, and below, n. 36.
34. Mannigel, p. 554.
35. Gaedeke, p. 310; Murr/Leitzmann, p. 7; see Mann, *Wallenstein. Sein Leben erzählt*, pp. 641–42.
36. Anna Coreth, *Österreichische Geschichtschreibung in der Barockzeit (1620–1740)*, Veröffentlichung– der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 37 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1950), pp. 69–71. Leopold von Ranke, *Geschichte Wallensteins* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1869 [Leipzig: Reprint-Verlag, 1999]) (hereafter: RW), pp. 464–505, assessed Khevenhiller's sources and his use of them, revealing, for example, that Khevenhiller had quoted both Rašín and the *Staatsschrift* selectively in order to blacken Wallenstein (pp. 484–85 and 488–89).
37. Hermann Bingel, 'Das Theatrum Europaeum, ein Beitrag zur Publizistik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts' (doctoral thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1909), pp. 40 and 44, identifies Abelin, author of volumes I (1635, covering the period 1618–28) and II (1633, covering 1629–32) as an 'Anhänger der schwedisch-protestantischen Sache', and Oraeus, author of volume III (1639, covering 1633–38) as like-minded, though a more impartial writer.
38. Schiller to Murr, 6 November 1791: NA XXVI, 109.
39. Murr/Leitzmann, pp. 42–43. The evidence for the second order is a letter from Lamormain (whom Ferdinand let in on the secret) to the general of his order, Vitelleschi, dated 3 March 1634, reproduced in Srbik, *Wallensteins Ende* (1920), pp. 381–83; German translation in Lorenz, *Quellen*, pp. 420–23.
40. Diwald, *Wallenstein*, p. 549.
41. 'Threnen des Vatterlandes | Anno 1636': Andreas Gryphius, *Sonette*, ed. by Marian Szyrocki, Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke, 1 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1963), p. 48. On attitudes to the Thirty Years War, see also Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War, 1618–48* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 1–2. Martin C. Wald, *Die Gesichter der Streitenden. Erzählung, Drama und Diskurs des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, 1830 bis 1933*, Formen der Erinnerung, 34 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2008), and Hilmar Sack, *Der Krieg in den Köpfen. Die Erinnerung an den Dreißigjährigen Krieg in der deutschen Krisenerfahrung zwischen Julirevolution und deutschem Krieg (1830–1866)*, Historische Forschungen, 87 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2008), were published after work on the present study was complete.
42. Felix Stieve, *Abhandlungen, Vorträge und Reden* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900), p. 181. On Magdeburg, see Kevin Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), pp. 141–77. Schiller's lurid description of the event in *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs* contributed to its subsequent image as a Catholic war crime; according to Cramer (p. 150), it established 'the canonical figure of thirty thousand dead' (cf. SW IV, 522).
43. John Ardagh, *Germany and the Germans*, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 11; see also Konrad Repgen, 'Über die Geschichtsschreibung des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: Begriff und Konzeption', in *Krieg und Politik 1618–1648. Europäische Probleme und Perspektiven*, ed. by id., Schriften des Historischen Kollegs: Kolloquien, 8 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988), pp. 1–34 (p. 10), Waltraud Maierhofer, *Hexen — Huren — Heldenweiber. Bilder des Weiblichen in Erzähltexten über den Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 2–3, and *The Thirty Years' War*, ed. by Parker, pp. 192–94.

44. Schiller, *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs* (1790–92; hereafter: *GDK*): SW iv, 745, and Prologue to *Wallenstein*, 70–74. See B. Erdmannsdörffer, 'Zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung des dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 14 (1865), 1–44 (p. 2), and Claire Gantet, 'Der Westfälische Frieden', in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, ed. by Etienne François and Hagen Schulze, 3 vols (Munich: Beck, 2001), i, pp. 86–104; on the *Grundgesetz* see (for example) Jutta Limbach, 'Vorwort', in *Grundgesetz*, Beck-Texte, 37th edn (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001), pp. vii–viii (p. vii).
45. James J. Sheehan, *German History 1770–1866* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 291.
46. Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, 'Einleitung: Die Nähe und Ferne des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, ed. by Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 148 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), pp. 13–36 (p. 34).
47. See Joachim Whaley, 'The Old Reich in Modern Memory: Recent Controversies Concerning the "Relevance" of Early Modern German History', in *German Literature, History and the Nation*, ed. by Christian Emden and David Midgley, Cultural History and Literary Imagination, 2 (Oxford: Lang, 2004), pp. 25–49 (esp. pp. 25–27 and 44–47).
48. S. H. Steinberg named the changed perspective forced by 1914–45 as his reason for quarrelling with the terminology and mythology of 1618–48: S. H. Steinberg, *The 'Thirty Years War' and the Conflict for European Hegemony 1600–1660* (London: Arnold, 1966), p. 91.
49. Robert Ergang, *The Myth of the All-Destructive Fury of the Thirty Years' War* (Pococo Pines, PA: Craftsman, 1956), pp. 12–13 and 16–18; see *The Thirty Years' War*, ed. by Parker, pp. 186–92. Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, p. 2, highlights considerable variations in population trends between different localities. Henry Kamen, 'The Economic and Social Consequences of the Thirty Years' War', *Past and Present*, 39 (1968), 44–61, points out that not all aspects of seventeenth-century 'German' socio-economic decline can be attributed directly to the war (see also Ergang, pp. 28–35).
50. See, for example, Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*.
51. See Ergang, pp. 10–13, Krusenstjern/Medick, pp. 31–33, and Eberhard Mannack, 'Der Streit der Historiker und Literaten über den Dreißigjährigen Krieg und Westfälischen Frieden', *Daphnis*, 31 (2002), 701–12.
52. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn (London: Verso, 1991) and *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), are seminal discussions of nations and national consciousness as a constructed, not pre-existing, entities.
53. Aleida Assmann, 'Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past', in *Cultural Memory and Historical Consciousness in the German-Speaking World since 1500*, ed. by Christian Emden and David Midgley, Cultural History and Literary Imagination, 1 (Oxford: Lang, 2004), pp. 19–37 (p. 28).
54. Jörg Echternkamp and Sven Oliver Müller, 'Perspektiven einer politik- und kulturgeschichtlichen Nationalismusforschung', in *Die Politik der Nation. Deutscher Nationalismus in Krieg und Krisen 1760–1960*, ed. by id., Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte, 56 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), pp. 1–24 (pp. 1–2).
55. Georg Lukács, *Der historische Roman*, Werke, vi (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1965, 1st, Russian edn 1937), p. 27.
56. Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 1991), i, 592; see also Echternkamp and Müller, p. 15.
57. Nietzsche, *Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben* (1874): Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967–) (hereafter: KGW), iii/1, 254 and 261–65.
58. Peter Höyng, *Die Sterne, die Zensur und das Vaterland. Geschichte und Theater im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 1–7.
59. Reinhard Koselleck, 'Vergangene Zukunft der frühen Neuzeit', and 'Historia Magistra Vitae. Über die Auflösung des Topos im Horizont neuzeitlich bewegter Geschichte', in *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1979), pp. 17–37 and 38–66.
60. Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London: Arnold, 1969), p. 1.

61. Koselleck, 'Vergangene Zukunft der frühen Neuzeit', pp. 22–24.
62. Reinhart Koselleck, 'Geschichte/Historie', in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, ed. by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, 8 vols (Stuttgart: Klett, 1972–77), II, 593–717 (pp. 647–53).
63. Koselleck, 'Historia Magistra Vitae', pp. 47–48.
64. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), p. 231 (Foucault's emphasis); see also ibid., pp. 13–14.
65. On *Historismus*: Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present*, 2nd edn (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), pp. 7–13; Herbert Schnädelbach, *Philosophie in Deutschland 1831–1933* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1983), pp. 51–58.
66. Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: Beck, 1999), pp. 27–31.
67. Goethe, *Campagne in Frankreich*: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden*, ed. by Erich Trunz (Munich: Beck, 1981 [first edition: Hamburg: Wegner, 1948–60]), X, 235. On the construction of Valmy as a significant historical event, not least by Goethe, see Arno Borst, 'Valmy 1792 — ein historisches Ereignis?', *Der Deutschunterricht*, 26.6 (1974), 88–104.
68. Georg Lukács, *Der historische Roman*, Werke, 6 (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1965, 1st, Russian edn 1937), pp. 28–29.
69. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, pp. 48–51.
70. Anita Bunyan, '"Notwendige Genossenschaft". Perceptions of the Boundary between Fiction and Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century Germany', in *Das schwierige neunzehnte Jahrhundert. Germanistische Tagung zum 65. Geburtstag von Eda Sagarra im August 1998*, ed. by Jürgen Barkhoff, Gilbert Carr, and Roger Paulin (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 41–51.
71. Friedrich Sengle, *Das historische Drama in Deutschland. Geschichte eines literarischen Mythos*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1969), pp. 12–13; Ecclesiastes 1. 9.
72. Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, ed. by Richard Alewyn, Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, n.s. 8 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1963), p. 11.
73. Ibid., p. 20.
74. Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst*, 4th edn (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1751 [reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962]), p. 166: IV. Hauptstück, § 27; see Sengle, p. 21.
75. Christoph Martin Wieland, *Von der Freiheit der Literatur. Kritische Schriften und Publizistik*, ed. by Wolfgang Albrecht, 2 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 1997), I, 452–53.
76. Michael Meyer, 'Die Entstehung des historischen Romans und seine Stellung zwischen Geschichtsschreibung und Dichtung. Die Polemik um eine "Zwittergattung"' (doctoral thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1973), p. 47; Johannes Süßmann, *Geschichtsschreibung oder Roman? Zur Konstruktionslogik von Geschichtserzählungen zwischen Schiller und Ranke (1780–1824)*, Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen, 41 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), pp. 120–23; Günter Mühlberger and Kurt Habitzel, 'The German Historical Novel from 1780 to 1945: Utilising the Innsbruck Database', in *Travellers in Time and Space: The German Historical Novel*, ed. by Osman Durrani and Julian Preece, Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik, 51 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 5–23 (p. 14); see Mühlberger and Habitzel, *Projekt Historischer Roman* <http://histrom.literature.at/> [accessed 25 March 2006].
77. *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 16 December 1793, quoted by Mühlberger/Habitzel, 'The German Historical Novel', p. 8; see further Meyer, 'Entstehung', pp. 95–188.
78. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, pp. 134–36.
79. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992), p. 54; John Hutchinson, 'Is Nationalism Statist? The Nation as a Cultural Project', in *Modern Nationalism* (London: Fontana, 1994), pp. 39–63 (p. 43).
80. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1451^{b}, in *Classical Literary Criticism*, ed. by D. A. Russell and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 62.
81. Aleida Assmann, 'Was sind kulturelle Texte?', in *Literaturkanon — Medienereignis — kultureller Text*, ed. by Andreas Poltermann, Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung, 10 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1995), pp. 232–44.

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

82. Friedrich Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke. ‘Frankfurter Ausgabe’. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. by D. E. Sattler (Frankfurt a.M.: Roter Stern, 197–), V (1984), 418; see also ibid., IV, 36–37.
83. R. R. Davies, *Owain Glyn Dŵr: Trwy Ras Duw, Tywysog Cymru* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2002), p. 134 (‘Cymeriadau marw sydd yn trigo mewn llyfrau hanes; rhaid i arwyr y cof gwlad fod yn fythol fyw’); see also ibid., p. 138, and R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 338.
84. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. by Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, 3 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984–88), I, 76.
85. Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005), pp. 144–49, comments further on the relationship of memory and the literary mode.
86. Ibid., p. 423.
87. G. G. Gervinus, *Handbuch der Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen*, 4th edn (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1849, 1st edn 1842), pp. 294–95.
88. *Schiller — Zeitgenosse aller Epochen. Dokumente zur Wirkungsgeschichte Schillers in Deutschland*, ed. by Norbert Oellers, 2 vols (I: Frankfurt a.M.: Athenäum, 1970; II: Munich: Beck, 1976), II, 104.
89. Kathy Saranpa, *Schiller’s ‘Wallenstein’, ‘Maria Stuart’, and ‘Die Jungfrau von Orleans’: The Critical Legacy* (Woodbridge: Camden House, 2002), p. 4; see also Hartmut Reinhardt, ‘Wallenstein’, in *Schiller-Handbuch*, ed. by Helmut Koopmann (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1998), pp. 395–414 (pp. 395–96).
90. Höyng, *Sterne*, pp. 55–56 and 75. Höyng’s quotations are from Schiller’s letter to Goethe, 4 December 1798: NA XXX, 9.
91. This study will not use the forms ‘Wallenstein$_x$’ further; it is hoped that terms such as ‘historical Wallenstein’, ‘dramatic/Schiller’s Wallenstein’, and ‘Wallenstein figure’ will indicate ‘which’ Wallenstein is meant. ‘*Wallenstein*’ (italicized) indicates Schiller’s dramatic trilogy unless the context clearly indicates otherwise.
92. For a brief critical overview of classic theories of myth, see G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 2–31.
93. Henry Tudor, *Political Myth* (London: Pall Mall, 1972), p. 139.
94. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 36.
95. Hans Blumenberg, *Arbeit am Mythos* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1979), p. 76.
96. Wolfgang Iser argues that the indivisibility of a work from its reception makes the ‘work’ more than just the ‘text’: Wolfgang Iser, ‘Der Lesevorgang. Eine phänomenologische Perspektive’, in *Rezeptionsästhetik*, ed. by Rainer Warning, Uni-Taschenbücher, 303 (Munich: Fink, 1975), pp. 253–76 (p. 253).
97. Blumenberg, p. 40; see also ibid., pp. 165–70.
98. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1451^{a}: *Classical Literary Criticism*, p. 62.
99. Marina Warner, ‘Introduction’, in *World of Myths*, ed. by Marina Warner and others (London: British Museum Press, 2003), pp. vi–xiv (p. xiii).
100. Claude Lévi-Strauss, ‘The Structural Study of Myth’, in *Structural Anthropology*, trans. by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, 2 vols (London: Penguin, 1972), I, 206–31 (pp. 216–17). This essay was first published in English, in 1955.
101. Christopher G. Flood, *Political Myth: A Theoretical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 67.
102. Ibid., p. 67. The importance of mass belief in the ‘heroic’ image of Hitler is emphasized by Ian Kershaw, *The ‘Hitler Myth’: Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 4.
103. See Flood, p. 92.
104. Friedrich Schiller, *Wallenstein. Ein dramatisches Gedicht, für Schule und Haus herausgegeben*, ed. by Karl Gustav Helbig (Stuttgart and Augsburg: Cotta, 1856).
105. Karl Gustav Helbig, ‘Über das Historische in Schillers Wallenstein’, *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*, 46 (1852), 697–701, 726–29 (p. 729).
106. For a guide to the treatment of historical and other figures in literature, see Elizabeth Frenzel, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur*, 8th edn (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992).
107. Wallenstein also accepts comparison to Attila and Pyrrhus (*Tod* I. 5. 287). On the comparison to Henri IV, see Ritchie Robertson, ‘Schiller and the Jesuits’, in *Schiller: National Poet — Poet of*

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

Nations: A Birmingham Symposium, ed. by Nicholas Martin, Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik, 61 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 179–200 (pp. 187–88). On Caesar, see Friedrich Gundolf, *Caesar. Geschichte seines Ruhms* (Berlin: Bondi, 1924).

108. Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 261.
109. Nigel Saul, *The Three Richards: Richard I, Richard II, Richard III* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), pp. 10–12 (quotation, p. 11).
110. Letter to Salzmann, 28 Nov. 1771: Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Briefe. Hamburger Ausgabe in vier Bänden*, ed. by Karl Robert Mandelkow (Hamburg: Wegner, 1962–67), I, 128.
111. See n. 102 above; also Marcel Atze, *'Unser Hitler'. Der Hitler-Mythos im Spiegel der deutschsprachigen Literatur nach 1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003).
112. One work comparing Wallenstein to Cromwell (and Spinola) was Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 68 vols (Leipzig: Zedler, 1732–54 [Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1998]), LII (1747), col. 1518; see also Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War*, pp. 96–97.
113. Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: The English Civil Wars and the Passions of Posterity* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), pp. 243–48 and 262–63; Roger Howell, '"Who needs another Cromwell?" The nineteenth-Century Image of Oliver Cromwell', in *Images of Oliver Cromwell. Essays for and by Roger Howell, Jr.*, ed. by R. C. Richardson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 96–107 (pp. 100–01).
114. Worden, p. 246.
115. See Wulf Wülfing, Karin Bruns, and Rolf Parr, *Historische Mythologie der Deutschen 1798–1918* (Munich: Fink, 1991), pp. 18–58.
116. Worden, p. 264; on the *Letters and Speeches* and their impact, see ibid., pp. 264–95.
117. Davies, *Revolt*, pp. 336–37; see also ibid., pp. 330–32. Lloyd's lectures were published in revised form in 1931.
118. *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. by Pierre Nora, Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92); *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, ed. by Etienne François and Hagen Schulze, 3 vols (Munich: Beck, 2001).
119. Davies, *Revolt*, p. 337.
120. Worden, p. 243.
121. Ibid., p. 259.
122. Friedrich Stählin, *Napoleons Glanz und Fall im deutschen Urteil. Wandlungen des deutschen Napoleonbildes* (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1952), p. 6; see also Hagen Schulze, 'Napoleon', in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, II, 28–46.
123. *Zur Genealogie der Moral* (1887), I, § 16: KGW VI/2, 302.
124. Wulf Wülfing, 'Zum Napoleon-Mythos in der deutschen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Mythos und Mythologie in der Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Helmut Koopmann, Studien zur Philosophie und Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 36 (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1979), pp. 81–108 (p. 81).
125. Helmut Koopmann, 'Forschungsgeschichte', in *Schiller-Handbuch*, ed. by Helmut Koopmann (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1998), pp. 809–929 (p. 809).
126. Albert Ludwig, *Das Urteil über Schiller im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Eine Revision seines Prozesses* (Bonn: Cohen, 1905); Albert Ludwig, *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1909).
127. Ludwig, *Schiller* (1909), pp. 7 and 17.
128. *Schiller — Zeitgenosse aller Epochen*; also Norbert Oellers, *Schiller. Geschichte seiner Wirkung bis zu Goethes Tod, 1805–1832*, Bonner Arbeiten zur deutschen Literatur, 15 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1967).
129. *Schiller — Zeitgenosse*, I, 13–14.
130. *Kleines Lexikon der Schiller-Zitate*, ed. by Johann Prossliner (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2004). Saranpa notes (p. 3) that: '[Schiller's] words have been divorced from their context and used for rhetorical effect, and his plays and poems have been well worn in classrooms. Thus, while many speakers of German know who Schiller is, not many know his work in any detail'.
131. Michael Hofmann, *Schiller. Epoche — Werk — Wirkung* (Munich: Beck, 2003), p. 178. Hofmann's chapter on Schiller reception is reprinted in *Schiller-Handbuch. Leben — Werk — Wirkung*, ed. by Matthias Luserke-Jaqui (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005), pp. 561–81.

Extract from Steffan Davies, The Wallenstein Figure in German Literature and Historiography 1790-1920. London: MHRA, 2010. (MHRA Texts & Dissertations, 76.)
http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/texts.html#Davies

132. Adorno, 'Ist die Kunst heiter?' (1967): Theodor Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann, 20 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1970–86), XI, 599–606 (p. 599); Nietzsche, *Götzen-Dämmerung* (1889): KGW VI/3, 105; Büchner to his family, 28 July 1835: Georg Büchner, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Henri Poschmann, 2 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992–99), II, 411. Nicholas Martin, *Nietzsche and Schiller: Untimely Aesthetics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 13–52, points out that whereas 'after 1876 Nietzsche's remarks about Schiller are usually, though not always, hostile' (p. 45), his earlier *Schillerbild* was more nuanced. The oft-levelled charge, that Schiller's *Ästhetische Briefe* (1793–95) represent a flight from reality into aesthetics, is effectively dismissed by Frederick Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher: A Re-Examination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. 123–26.
133. *Schiller-Handbuch*, ed. by Helmut Koopmann (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1998), pp. 758–808.
134. Monika Carbe, *Schiller. Vom Wandel eines Dichterbildes* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).
135. Rainer Noltenius, *Dichterfeiern in Deutschland. Rezeptionsgeschichte als Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Schiller- und Freiligrathfeiern* (Munich: Fink, 1984).
136. Wolfgang Hagen, *Die Schillerverehrung in der Sozialdemokratie. Zur ideologischen Formation proletarischer Kulturpolitik vor 1914*, Literaturwissenschaft und Sozialwissenschaften, 9 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977).
137. See Nicholas Martin, 'Images of Schiller in National Socialist Germany', in *Schiller: National Poet — Poet of Nations: A Birmingham Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Martin, Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik, 61 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 275–99, which also refers to other relevant studies.
138. Ernst-Gerhard Güse, 'Helden im "Reich des Nichts, des Todes". Schillers *Wallenstein*', in *Die Wahrheit hält Gericht. Schillers Helden heute*, ed. by Jochen Klauß and others (Weimar: Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen, 2005), pp. 118–65 (pp. 119, 127–28).
139. Barbara Piatti, *Tells Theater. Eine Kulturgeschichte in fünf Akten zu Friedrich Schillers Wilhelm Tell* (Basle: Schwabe, 2004).
140. For a brief survey, see Helene Raff, 'Ältere und neuere Wallenstein-Literatur', *Deutsche Rundschau*, 168 (1916), 301–13. Despite its promising title, Paul Schweizer, *Die Wallenstein-Frage in der Geschichte und im Drama* (Zurich: Fäsi & Beer, 1899), gives only its author's views on Schiller's *Wallenstein* and the historical Wallenstein. Likewise Horst Hartmann, *Wallenstein: Geschichte und Dichtung* (Berlin: Volkseigener Verlag, 1969) concentrates on the genesis of Schiller's drama and on interpreting the text, with only a short chapter (pp. 108–32) on its reception.
141. Reinhardt, 'Wallenstein', p. 412.
142. See, for example, Waltraud Maierhofer, 'Wallenstein: The Image of the Thirty Years' War in German Literature', in *The Image of War in Literature, the Media, and Society*, ed. by Will Wright (Pueblo, CO: Society for the Interdisciplinary Study of Social Imagery, 1992), pp. 342–52. Schiller, Döblin, and Huch are the only authors discussed in detail by Paul Wallenstein, 'Die dichterische Gestaltung der historischen Persönlichkeit, gezeigt an der Wallensteinfigur' (doctoral thesis, University of Bonn, 1934), pp. 50–75.
143. Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *Literarische Kultur im Zeitalter des Liberalismus 1830–1870* (Munich: Beck, 1985), p. 199.
144. Peter Höyng, 'Kunst der Wahrheit oder Wahrheit der Kunst? Die Figur Wallenstein bei Schiller, Ranke und Golo Mann', *Monatshefte*, 82 (1990), 142–56.
145. Eberhard Lämmert, 'Dreimal Wallenstein. Differenzen der Sinngebung zwischen Historiographie und Roman', in *Historische Sinnbildung. Problemstellungen, Zeitkonzepte, Wahrnehmungshorizonte, Darstellungsstrategien*, ed. by Klaus E. Müller and Jörn Rüsen (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1997), pp. 568–87.
146. See above, n. 89.
147. See above, n. 58.
148. Höyng, *Sterne*, p. 14; see also Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 1–2.
149. Gallagher/Greenblatt, p. 11. As a standard guide, see *The New Historicism*, ed. by H. Aram Veeser (London: Routledge, 1989).
150. Annabel Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', in *What is History Now?*, ed. by David

Cannadine (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 113–31 (pp. 120–26). See also below, p. 111.

151. Rob Burns, 'Introduction', in *German Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. by Rob Burns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 1–8 (p. 1).
152. See Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), esp. p. 17.
153. Adorno, III (Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialektik der Aufklärung. Philosophische Fragmente*), pp. 141–91; see Burns, pp. 1–6.
154. On Schmid and Loewe, see n. 3 above. The Innsbruck database (above, n. 76) is a relevant resource, but its contents are very tightly defined. Criteria for inclusion are that (a) the text has to be a novel (fictionality, prose, at least 150 pages) and (b) the plot must be situated in a time before the author was born (so historical investigations were necessary for the author to write it)': <http://histrom.literature.at/docs/ about-e.html> [accessed 25 March 2006].
155. David Blackbourn, *The Fontana History of Germany, 1780–1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (London: Fontana, 1997), p. xiii; see also Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987), p. 8.
156. For an outline of works in this period, see Ralph Sidney Fraser, 'The Treatment of Wallenstein in German Literature of the Twentieth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois, 1958).